DISCOURSES OF ORTHOGRAPHY DEVELOPMENT: COMMUNITY-BASED PRACTICE IN MILNE BAY (P.N.G.)

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A thesis submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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October 2007

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All research procedures reported in the thesis were approved by the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences Ethics Committee (FHEC NO.: 485). The research was also granted approval by the National Research Institute of Papua New Guinea. The leaders of each participating community granted approval for my fieldwork and the involvement of the community. Permission to access the Anglican Archives, New Guinea Collection, University of Papua New Guinea, was granted by the Anglican Church of Papua New Guinea.

Abstract

Tensions between theory and practice in language development have long been recognised. Linguists, informed by goals of scientific accuracy, have sought to engage with language development tasks in the communities with which they work. Meanwhile, the communities' participation, informed by their own socio-historical context, may conflict with the framework of the linguist.

This thesis aims to make visible the complex web of issues involved in community-based language development using a framework based in Foucauldian discourse analysis. The analysis is based on a case study from Milne Bay Province, Papua New Guinea, where the speakers have been deeply involved in the process of orthography development and language standardisation. Two language development workshops formed the focal points through which community directed decisions have been made. This process of orthography development and language standardisation provides the cultural 'texts' for analysis.

Within the case study, it becomes clear that for the communities involved, language is much more than analysable patterns of sounds and structures and meanings. Not only is language a tool of communication, but it is also an integral part of human culture. It expresses and negotiates relationships of belonging and exclusion, links with the past, connection with the present and dreams for the future. Language development choices are the result of a complex set of socio-historically specific factors which both produce the options and allow for the renegotiation of possibilities. Consequently, the processes of language development involve the negotiation and explicit representation of socio-cultural identity resulting in the production of visual cultural artefacts such as an orthography, spelling rules, written stories, and word lists.

Such an analysis brings to light the relationships of power constructed and negotiated through the interaction of linguists and community members in the language development process. These relationships of power, and the constructs of truth and knowledge that create them, raise questions regarding the roles and rights of the various stakeholders in the processes of language development. The results of the analysis also lead to questioning the view of language as a discrete entity which can be best understood through linguistic analysis. This has applications not only for orthography development and language standardisation, but also for all community-based language work including language development as well as language maintenance programs.

Acknowledgements

It has taken the support of many individuals and communities to create this thesis.

Firstly, I would like to thank the communities of Wedau, Wamira, Divari, Lavora, Aigura, Topura, Yapoa, Awauya, Taupota and Galuwahi in Milne Bay, Papua New Guinea. There are too many individuals to name here. Those who participated in workshops or in small group discussions are listed in Appendix A. However, there are many more who provided accommodation, food, support, and company as I travelled. They opened up their lives to me through their hospitality, their friendship, and their wisdom, trusted me with their knowledge, and allowed me to journey alongside them as they grappled with developing their languages. Special thanks goes to the Taupota Primary School community, and particularly the Headmistress, Iris Kemokemo, for hosting and providing logistical support for the workshops, and to Theresa Carl of the Milne Bay Education Department for your support in my work. The people and places of Milne Bay remain with me.

My fieldwork was assisted by the National Research Institute in Port Moresby and the University of Papua New Guinea. Thanks go to Jim Robbins for assisting in my Visa application, and for liasing with the Milne Bay Provincial Research Committee to obtain approval for my research. I would like to thank Linus Digim'rina, Kenneth Sumbuk and Jane Mogina of the University of Papua New Guinea for taking time to discuss my research, and the University of Papua New Guinea community for accepting me as one of your own. Further, much gratitude goes to the staff of the New Guinea Collection of the University of Papua New Guinea library who assisted greatly with my archival research.

I am thankful to the opportunities I received while working with SIL-PNG. The Ukarumpa community provided the environment where the initial ideas of this thesis were developed through discussion with friends and colleagues. I have learnt much, linguistically and culturally from the experiences and vision of many people. I would like to thank Douglas Bennett and Diane Wroge for supporting me in my endeavours to approach orthography development in new ways, and for being willing to discuss my questions as they arose. Catherine McGuckin introduced me to the logistic and linguistic aspects of working in Milne Bay. Bill and Sandra Callister have encouraged me and supported this research through their knowledge of Milne Bay, through their hospitality, and their constant willingness to 'help out'. Karla Sligh and Ian Tupper assisted in communicating with participants once I was back in Australia, and in sharing information of their current work in the area. This research was

also assisted greatly by the support staff of SIL both in Ukarumpa and in Milne Bay. I thank Glenys Waters for believing in my work more than I have, and for 'looking out for me' in many ways. The staff at EQUIP Training in Melbourne have supported my research in every way I have asked.

The linguistics department at La Trobe University provided a supportive environment for completing this thesis. Rosemary Bellair and Amanda Clayton were always willing to provided administrative support and answer my many questions. Thanks to the post-grad students who have passed through the department during my candidature. Many of them readily made themselves available to discuss ideas, listen to the issues and provide suggestions. I am especially grateful for the friendship and support of Jo Taylor, Keiko Hata, and Susan Douglas who have walked this journey with me.

I have been fortunate to have two supervisors who have believed in my work. Thanks goes to David Bradley for his guidance in the initial stages of the thesis and for his thorough readings of my drafts. Secondly, I would like to thank Tonya Stebbins for having immense vision for my work, encouraging me to ask the hard questions, and sharing her academic and personal insight with me. I owe much of my academic growth to our many conversations.

Without the financial support of a La Trobe Postgraduate Award for most of my candidature this research would not have been possible. A La Trobe University Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences Research Grant funded my fieldwork.

There are a number of friends who have supported this research. Maureen McGuckin has literally journeyed with me through this thesis, joining me during my fieldwork in Milne Bay, and reading drafts of my entire thesis. She has taught me much about what it means to grapple with 'living in two cultures' and participate in a new cultural context. Bec Baran assist me with the editing. Beth Barnett has always encouraged me not to give up, and along with Chris, Timothy and Benj, provided me with the support needed to continue. I have been fortunate to have Brigit Hamilton as a friend and fellow PhD candidate to run the final yards with. I especially want to thank Sheena Van Der Mark for her immeasurable friendship and support. She spent many hours helping me unpack my ideas and file off the rough edges as we shared our PhD and PNG journeys. I must also thank my family for their practical support and for instilling in me the skills and desire to explore and question the world I find myself in.

I am deeply thankful for the depth and breath these relationships have brought to this thesis and to my life.

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Part 1 – Setting the scene

This thesis focuses on the construction of authority, power and participant roles in community-based language development. By investigating both linguistic and community expressions of the values in the processes of language development, it aims to bring greater understanding to the depth of the issues expressed through the conflict between and within linguists and community members. My goal is not to merely draw attention to the types of conflict that occur, but to consider how an understanding of the differing discursive frameworks involved can lead to a mutual situation of learning and empowerment.

Based on a case study from Milne Bay Province, Papua New Guinea, this thesis describes my experience of the creation of authority and power through the construction of roles in language development work in Papua New Guinea. It particularly focuses on the processes of orthography development and language standardisation, that is the creation of a writing system and the selection of a language 'norm' (Ferguson 1968: 34). It tells a multifaceted story involving stakeholders operating within vastly different discursive structures. Discourses create sociohistorically specific values regarding authority which are expressed through the beliefs and actions of the participants in the processes of language development. Included here are the discourses I engaged in as a linguist. These include the authority of empirical linguistic research and analysis, and the training and preparation of the expert through academic education. Secondly there are the discourses of the speakers. These include the inherited authority of the traditional leaders, the tentative balance between tradition and western education and values, and the roles created for outside authorities within pre-existing structures.

I was working for SIL (formerly the Summer Institute of Linguistics), fulfilling a subcontract from AusAID (Australian Agency for International Development), and the National Department for Education (NDOE) in Papua New Guinea. In my role as an orthography consultant in Papua New Guinea I was expected to draw on my academic training in linguistics reinforced by field experience. Over a two-year time frame, I was periodically handed the list of languages chosen by the NDOE for the next round of Alphabet Development Workshops (ADWs). Thus, my involvement with each of over 40 languages began with library research in order to find out where it was spoken, which other languages it was related to, and what phonological and other linguistic features could be expected in the area. The information was generally available in large linguistic surveys, most of which had

been conducted by linguists and/or anthropologists before independence in 1975. This research was sometimes augmented by discussions with other linguists who had knowledge of the area. With this information in hand, an ADW would be organised with the assistance of local authorities. Both linguists and literacy specialists were sent as facilitators of the ADW, bringing with them their academic training and field experience, as well as the research compiled from previous studies.

Meanwhile, word of the upcoming ADW was sent to the speakers of each language. Traditional leaders and those with authority based on their level of education or roles in government discussed who should be part of the process of language planning and development. Centuries of relational patterns, and constructions of self and other and the ownership of knowledge, guided decision making within each community and created the roles that would be played out during the ADW. Participants attended the workshop with the authority derived from these roles. The leaders from each community held the knowledge of the language and consequently the authority to make decisions. Younger people carried the weight of knowledge of formal education and the desires of their futures. The rights and roles of individual villages were also played out as villages were invited or told not to attend by other villages.

When the workshop facilitators arrived, a new stage in the process of language development began, and a new form of authority entered the process. However, even within the community context this outside authority had its place and role. Without the presence of this authority, language planning activities could not take place.

Also evident in the ADWs were the discourses of the relevant education departments (national and provincial), the discourses of the funding organization (AusAID), and the individual discourses of each person involved in the process. Each discursive structure revealed its own systems of authority, its own set of roles, and its own system of values. The complexity created by co-existing experiences of the process of language development gave rise to tensions between stakeholders. This included tensions between community members, between funding organizations and governments, between governments and community members, and between linguists and community members.

In this introductory part of the thesis, the academic framework and methodologies I used are presented along with an introduction to the case study. In §1, I review the approaches of previous studies to the issues of conflict between linguistic and socio-cultural processes of

orthography development and language standardisation, and argue for the appropriateness of a discourse analysis approach to understanding these conflicts. I then introduce the case study in §2 by placing the speech varieties that were involved within the context provided by the existing linguistic literature, by giving a demographic overview of the area being studied, and finally by discussing the participants and the methods of orthography development and language standardisation employed.

1 The academic framework

For two years I travelled throughout Papua New Guinea as a linguist, assisting over forty communities to develop orthographies. Some communities were highly literate in national and/or trade languages, while in other places I worked alongside the only three literate speakers of the language. Some spoke Papuan languages with complex phonological processes and no prior research available, while others spoke Austronesian languages with transparent phonologies and plentiful research in closely related speech varieties.

As a linguist I was continually amazed by the amount of linguistic data with which I came into contact: relationships between speech varieties, the variety of phonological and morphological processes, and the evidence of complex contact patterns evidenced in lexical similarities. However, what struck me most strongly were the similarities in terms of issues and processes of language development that arose among these regionally, linguistically and socially disparate groups. As I continued to participate in language development work, I began to realise that the tensions between the various participants in the process resulted not from a lack of linguistic understanding, but rather from the different value structures underlying the processes of orthography development and language standardisation. For the communities, it was not my linguistic knowledge that resolved their issues surrounding language development, but rather their own culturally developed understanding of language and the depth of meaning it contained.

For me as a linguist, there were tensions between theory and practice in language development. Through speaking with colleagues, I was reassured that my experience was not unique. This tension between theory and practice for linguists involved in language development is expressed over and over again at conferences and in informal discussions. However, these issues are not widely reflected in the literature as they tend to be considered procedural issues rather than part of the core of the discipline.

The tensions between theory and practice in language development are not simply issues of linguistic analysis and language classification. They are also an outcome of much broader and deeper social processes. My experiences of this conflict while working with language communities raised a number of questions for me as a linguist and as a participant in orthography development. These questions can be summarised as follows:

- How do linguists using linguistic theory in orthography development and language standardisation view language and the processes of orthography development and language standardisation?
- How do the speakers view their language and the processes of orthography development and language standardisation?
- How do these views of language and of the processes of language planning differ?
- What linguists offer communities in the processes of orthography development and language standardisation?
- What can linguists learn about language from these communities?

These are not questions of linguistic structure, but questions regarding the creation of systems of knowledge and truth, and the role of institutional and non-institutional power. The questions extend beyond the boundaries of mainstream linguistics, but are necessary to ask if we, as linguists, are to be constructively critical of our practice and relevant to the communities with whom we work. The importance of such investigation must be recognised if we want to seriously engage with issues such as language development and planning, and language revitalisation and documentation.

Studies of language development practice have generally dealt with the tension between theory and practice in one of three ways: creating a dichotomy between linguistic and non-linguistic factors, focussing on functions of language, or explaining community practices as an outcome of language ideology. However, as I will show in §1.1, rather than engaging with the complexity highlighted by this tension, these studies use the process of 'othering' to define the problematic aspects of the community processes and/or decision-making.

There are a small number of studies that have sought to engage with the tension between theory and practice through community-based language development practice. In §1.2 I discuss a number of different approaches that have been developed in recent years to assist a more culturally sensitive and/or empowering approach to language development. I particularly focus on the Alphabet Development Workshop model which is used in this thesis.

A critical analysis of language development requires a framework from beyond descriptive linguistics. It requires us to distance ourselves in order to see the value systems that underlie our practice, that of our colleagues, and that of the communities with which we work. Over recent decades, Foucauldian discourse analysis has been developed and used in a variety of disciplines for this type of purpose. Beginning in §1.3, I discuss Foucauldian

discourse analysis and its relevance to the questions raised above, and then in §1.4 I introduce the elements of discourse analysis used in this study. I then give an overview of the concepts of 'truth', 'knowledge' and 'power' as found in Foucauldian discourse analysis in §1.5. Section 1.6 discusses the use of this framework by linguists in understanding issues of language development. Finally, in §1.7, I give an overview of this thesis.

1.1 The gap between theory and practice

Recognition of the tension between theory and practice in language planning is not new. Over the years, the language development literature has taken various approaches in responding to the questions raised by the tensions between theory and practice. In this section I discuss four main approaches demonstrating a movement to an increasingly complex understanding of issues in language planning. Since the early scientific models of language development, there has been a general trend towards more multidisciplinary approaches, and towards an understanding of the social and historical contexts in which orthography development and language standardisation take place.

Firstly, in §1.1.1, I outline the development of models of orthography development and language standardisation as they impact on current theory and practice. The following sections then go on to discuss how the literature has dealt with tensions that have arisen from these models. In §1.1.2, I discuss the creation of the binary opposition of 'linguistic' and 'non-linguistic' factors. This is followed by a discussion of studies focussing on the functions of language and language planning activities in §1.1.3, and language as an expression of the 'ideologies' of a society in §1.1.4.

1.1.1 Academic models of language development

The processes of orthography development and language standardisation have been part of various societies for centuries. They have been tools used by educators, missionaries and members authoritative institutions within a society in order to gain cultural, religious and political control, and used by dominated populations as a form of creative resistance (e.g. Gubbins & Holt 2002; Irvine & Gal 2000; Joseph 2002; Makoni & Pennycook 2007). During the 1960s, a new authority in orthography development and language standardisation became prominent in the form of the discipline of language planning. It arose in response to 'culturally' determined language development practices, and in contrast aimed to develop more verifiable scientific methods for dealing with issues of language development, including

orthography development and language standardisation (see Fishman 1974c, 1977b). Language planning in turn gained its authority from the newly established connection between scientific study and language as expressed in the discipline of linguistics (Pennycook 2002).

Cooper (1989: 45) defines language planning as follows:

> *Language planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes.*

Language planning called for a prescriptive approach (e.g. Kloss 1969; Neustupnỳ 1974; Tauli 1974) that would enable linguists to provide linguistically sound solutions to 'language problems' (e.g. Fishman 1974b: 79; Haugen 1966: 52; Neustupnỳ 1974; Tauli 1974). With the advent of language planning as a discipline, language problems came to be defined as issues which can be explained and solved through linguistic reasoning, thereby reducing both the nature of what can constitute a 'language problem', and the possible responses to the 'problem'.

Three early models of language planning, which continue to be influential in the theory and practice of language planning, were developed by Ferguson (1968), Kloss (1969), and Haugen (1972 [1964], 1966, 1972 [1967]). These studies focussed on the development of a literary standard in an area with a variety of unwritten 'dialects', or on 'taking the step from "dialect" to "language", from vernacular to standard' (Haugen 1972 [1964]: 252).

Ferguson gave a three-part model for what he called 'language development' (Ferguson 1968: 34):

- *graphization, the use of writing;*
- *standardization, the use of a supradialectal norm; and*
- *modernization, the development of vocabulary and forms of discourse.*

This model focuses on the initial stages in the creation of writing systems including symbol choice and spelling decisions (graphisation, or orthography development), the choice of a form as the basis for writing (standardisation), and to a lesser extent the extension of a variety to the domains of written language (modernisation). In Ferguson's model, language development focuses on the interaction of the language planner with the language, to create a situation of language development.

Kloss' model (1969) focuses on the roles in language planning, specifically the role of the linguist in contrast to the role of the governments and communities. In relation to this, he differentiated between 'corpus planning' and 'status planning' (1969: 81). Corpus planning, defined as the responsibility of linguists, relates specifically to the nature of the language, including orthography development, spelling reform, lexical expansion, and the production of grammars, dictionaries and other prescriptive models. Status planning, defined as the sphere of governments and communities, refers to the choice of a language variety, the implementation of decisions and evaluation of the language development process. This division of activities has remained influential in both the practice and literature of language planning.

Haugen (1966, 1987) offers a four-part matrix of language planning, in which the tasks of language planning are defined as: selection of norm, codification of form, acceptance by the community, and elaboration of function (Haugen 1964 [1972]: 252). Table 1.1 shows Haugen's model with task grouped according to their identification as tasks of status or corpus planning, as well as policy planning (form) or cultivation (function). Selection and acceptance, or implementation, equate with Kloss' status planning, while codification and elaboration equate with corpus planning. These aspects of language planning can also be grouped according to form of the language, selection and codification, and its function, elaboration and acceptance.

Table 1.1: Haugen's model of language planning (Haugen 1987: 64)[1]

	Norm (policy planning)	Function (cultivation)
Society (Status planning)	1) Selection (decision procedures) a) Identification of problem b) Allocation of norms	3) Implementation [Acceptance] (educational spread) a) Correction procedures b) Evaluation
Language (Corpus planning)	2) Codification (standardization procedures) a) Graphization b) Grammatication c) Lexication	4) Elaboration (functional development) a) Terminological modernization b) Stylistic development

The three models outlined here have continued to be influential in both the theory and practice of language planning. Haugen's matrix (Table 1.1) has been widely used as a

[1] Revised from Haugen (1972 [1966]).

framework, and extended to include issues such as language-in-education planning (e.g. Cooper 1989; Kaplan & Baldauf 1997). While the validity of the differentiation between corpus and status planning has been questioned (Cooper 1989: 32-3; Fishman 1983: 382), the differentiation still appears to be strong in language planning practice among communities.

Of the three models described here, Ferguson's model, in particular the first two parts of his model (graphisation and standardisation), most closely represents the language development activities being discussed in this thesis. Ferguson uses the term 'graphisation' to refer to symbol selection based on a phonemic analysis. In this thesis, I use the term 'orthography development' to refer to a larger process of creating a writing system for a language, extending beyond symbol selection to consider spelling, punctuation, and even modernisation. The term orthography development is also more flexible in allowing frameworks beyond that of phonology as the basis for symbol selection.

The term 'language standardisation' is used in this thesis following Ferguson's definition (Ferguson 1968: 34), referring to the choice of one dialect to be used as a norm or 'standard' within a larger 'language' area, rather than the broader definition used by Haugen (1987: 64) which refers to the larger process including modernisation and graphisation (see also Romaine 2000: 87). While I was also involved in the initial stages of modernisation, this is beyond the scope of the current thesis.

These three models have provided a framework for understanding the processes of language development. The differentiation between corpus and status planning has created a set of roles for the participants in language development. However, a gap between theory and practice in orthography development and language standardisation has arisen due to a breakdown in these models in many contexts of language development practice. In the following sections we consider how these models of language planning, and the surrounding frameworks of a 'scientific' approach to language 'problems', relate specifically to the practices of orthography development (§1.1.1.1), and language standardisation (§1.1.1.2), creating scientifically 'ideal' orthographies and patterns of standardisation.

1.1.1.1 Orthography development

With the rise of models of language planning, also came specific models of orthography development and language standardisation. Academic models of orthography development focussed on the process of linguistic analysis. This approach was supported by Haugen's, Kloss' and Ferguson's models of language planning which defined orthography

development, or graphisation, as a linguistic task. Early models of orthography development focused on a phonemic approach in which each phoneme is assigned a corresponding grapheme (e.g. Nida 1964; Pike 1947). Within this model, the national language, or another prestigious language, is generally used as the basis for script and symbol choice. This model has remained influential (e.g. Aronoff 1992; Coulmas 1989; Rehg 2004; Seifart 2006), and has formed the basis of orthography development models in Papua New Guinea in the post WWII era (Cochran 1977; Healey 1975; Healey & Taylor 1977; Litteral & Malone 1991).

Further models of orthography development have arisen out of differing views of psychological salience of sounds in language. The salience of syllabic (Daniels 1992) and morphophonemic (Aro 2006; Frost 1992; Katz & Frost 1992; Mattingly 1992; Rogers 2005: 177-181; Seifart 2006: 278-280) levels of language has been used to argue for the appropriateness of syllabic and morphophonemic orthographies rather than strict phonemic orthographies. A deep, or morphophonemic, orthography is not merely a representation of spoken language in everyday use, but represents the independence of the related systems of speech and writing (see Berry 1977; Liberman 1992; Tauli 1977). A very influential product of the acceptance of the independence of speech and writing has been the development of the multidialectal orthography (Seifart 2006: 285, 294-295; Simons 1977). While phonemic orthographies by definition restrict themselves to choosing one dialect as the standard due to an inability to represent phonetic and/or phonemic variation, it is argued that deep orthographies represent a psychologically salient level which is common to all dialects of a language.

1.1.1.2 Language standardisation

The language planning models of Kloss and Haugen refer to language standardisation as status planning, and therefore a community-based and/or government-based task. However, linguistic models of language standardisation have been developed in order to manage the process within a linguist-based language development context. These models are largely based on language classification, and seek to define and measure the relationship between speech varieties, particularly with a focus on defining the 'centre' of a language and determining the maximum extendibility of literacy materials developed within the 'central' dialect.

Within the Papua New Guinea context in the post-war era, 'ideal' models of language classification were discussed and debated (Cook 1966; Ezard 1977; McElhanon 1971; Wurm

& McElhanon 1975; Wurm & Laycock 1961-2). In practice, methods such as lexicostatistics, the comparative method, and language intelligibility studies were widely used (see Wurm 1975, 1976 for classifications using these methods). These methods have all been based on the concept of a 'language' defined by mutual intelligibility, In §4 I discuss the use of these methods to determine the 'centre of languages' and the maximum extendibility of literacy resources within the context of this study.

1.1.2 Linguistic/non-linguistic dichotomy

The influence of communities and governments on language standardisation has been recognised since the earliest models of language planning which classified standardisation as a status planning task. Even within the linguist-focussed language standardisation practices of the post war era, the influence of non-linguistic factors was evident. The intelligibility of speech varieties was found to be influenced not only by linguistic similarity, but also by social factors such as trade routes, social status, inter-group attitudes and marriage ties (Callister 1977; McElhanon 1971: 138-140; Wolff 1964). Further, linguistic methods were of limited use in areas of language chaining. Obtaining ethnoclassifications was found to be a powerful tool in these contexts (Callister 1977). Consequently there was a renewed call for the recognition of non-linguistic factors in language standardisation. Callister (1977) outlined a methodology for 'sociolinguistic' approaches to language classification in order to deal with these issues and produce a language classification that represented the speakers' reality. The result has been a divide between linguistic and non-linguistic, or sociolinguistic methods of language classification (e.g. McElhanon 1971: 138-140; Wurm & McElhanon 1975).

However, the dichotomy between linguistic and non-linguistic factors is even more stark in orthography development. Kloss and Haugen describe orthography development as a corpus task, and therefore a linguist-centred task. However, the influence of non-linguistic factors has always been acknowledged (for early examples see Ferguson 1968; Fishman 1977a; Sjöberg 1966; Smalley 1964). A small sample of the factors observed include the influence of national languages and other languages of prestige (e.g. Spanish in South America (Henne 1991; Nida 1964; Pike 1947), French in Francophone Africa (Berry 1977: 6-7; Nida 1964), and Russian in the Soviet Union (Fishman 1977a: xiii)), political, social and religious allegiance (Coulmas 2003: 232-233), local cultural patterns (Sjöberg 1966), pre-existing writing systems (Sjöberg 1966: 269-70), government requirements and education systems (Fishman 1971; Henne 1991), and printing technology and typesetting (Berry 1977:

11; Schütz 1985: 20-21). In more recent studies, there have been attempts to draw non-linguistic influences together under various labels including 'politics' (Henne 1991) and identity (Bird 2001; Fishman 1988), with consideration as to how they fit into the wider social context.[2]

These non-linguistic issues were understood to influence the speakers' views of script and symbol choice and often led to a conflict between what the linguist deemed appropriate based on the linguistic analysis of the language and what the speakers considered suitable and were willing to use. Early studies of orthography development recognised that if an orthography was to be accepted by members of the speakers it needed to take into consideration the views of the speakers of the language (e.g. Fishman 1968: 10; Smalley 1964; see Venezky 1977[1970] for a counterexample).

The recognition of social factors in language development has not always rested easily within linguistics. A deep-seated desire for a scientific method has led to the stigmatisation of orthographies that accommodate non-linguistic requirements. The following extracts demonstrate the strength of the assumption that phonemic alphabets are 'good' alphabets.

After describing a method for producing phonemic alphabets, and outlining some of the non-linguistic influences on orthography development, Pike (1947: 215), recognising the strength of social considerations states:

> *A* good alphabet *[phonemic] with no motivation will not be read; a* poor one *[less phonemic] with good motivation will allow the absorption of much learning.* (emphasis mine)

Gudschinsky (1976) is likewise explicit in her view of the effect of making modifications to a 'scientific' alphabet due to non-linguistic influences. She refers to non-linguistics requirements as something which must be endured and describes them as:

> *...the kinds of modifications* suffered *by phonemic alphabets as a result of social and political pressures.* (Gudschinsky 1976: 41) (emphasis mine)

The strength of the scientific framework has continued to be evident in linguistic approaches to language development. The apparent disjunction between linguistic analysis and community action was discussed by Coulmas (1989: 238) who refers to the:

[2] Eira (2000) and Matras (1999), discuss the impact of computers and the internet on orthography choices among minority communities.

> *...social, political and cultural confines of the external requirements* imposed *by the prospective users of the new orthography.* (emphasis mine)

As linguists have undertaken orthography development, they have constantly come into contact with the conflict between theory and practice created by the theoretical focus on empirical linguistic analysis of the sound system of the language, and the practical experience of non-linguistic requirements of the community. However, within this dichotomy there has been little attempt to understand or engage respectfully with socio-cultural factors. Rather, suggestions are given that non-linguistic factors should be accommodated in order to make the orthography decisions acceptable (Haugen 1972 [1966]: 178, see also Fishman 1968: 10; Fishman 1991: 349; Seifart 2006), or that linguists should refrain from 'meddling' in the orthography development of communities beyond providing a scientific orthography to be used or ignored as members of the community decide. This has led some to call for further study into the broader non-linguistic issues of orthography development and language standardisation (e.g. Bird 2001; Fishman 1988).

Within the dichotomy of linguistic and non-linguistic factors, there has also been an increasing recognition of non-linguistic influences on the empirical methods applied and on the linguists involved in the process (Bird 2001; Fishman 1974a: 19; Stebbins 2001, 2003). This increasingly complex understanding of the tensions involved has begun to break down the dichotomy between linguistic and non-linguistic factors and created a climate in which new models for understanding the processes become appropriate. In the following sections I consider three models represented in the literature: functions of language, ideology and discourse.

1.1.3 Functions of language

The linguistic/non-linguistic dichotomy intensified, even created, the conflict between theory and practice in orthography development and language standardisation. A small number of studies have sought to address this disjunction between theory and practice through consideration of the goals and functions of language planning. This perspective allows for the influence of the community as well as external participants such as linguists, government and educators; explaining the disjunction between theory and practice as the result of different goals and functions of the process. The differences between 'goals' and 'functions' of language planning are mainly a question of perspective, with specific functions aiming for particular goals.

Recently, studies of language planning and orthography development have taken into account the different functions that language can have and the consequent functions of language planning.[3] This approach views language planning as a social process by which language gains a written expression and in relation to which the roles of specific languages/language varieties are questioned and developed. Focus on the goals of language planning grew out of acknowledgement that language planning takes place in order to reach a particular goal or set of goals. The goals can be contradictory and are often related to abstract rather than concrete purposes (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997: 59).

Nahir (2003 [1984]) proposed a list of eleven goals or functions of language planning: language purification, language revival, language reform, language standardisation, language spread, lexical modernisation, stylistic simplification, interlingual communication, language maintenance and auxiliary code standardisation. While Nahir's model is greatly expanded from earlier models of language planning, which were restricted in their scope of actions and goals, Nahir's functions remain specifically related to language use. Ager (2001) extends the idea of goals and motivations by looking beyond language specific issues to broader motives of identity, ideology, image, insecurity, inequality, integration and instrumentality. He discusses how identity, attitude and the categorisation of goals interact; resulting in different motivations for the various participants in the process (Ager 2001: 197-198).

Matras (1999) discusses goals and functions involved in decision making regarding orthography development and standardisation among Romani speaking people of Europe. In his study, Matras distinguishes between the 'overt goal of transposing oral speech into written form' (related more closely to Nahir's goals) and the 'covert functions of standardization' (1999: 484). He discusses the influences of three functions of orthography development and standardisation: communicative function, emblematic function and mobilizing-rallying function, all of which impact on the practice of language use, and consequently decision-making in language planning.

Matras links the development of a written form of Romani with wider issues of Romani identification (emblematic function), political action (mobilizing-rallying function) and the context of Romani language use in response to the creation of new institutions such as Romani email networks (communicative function). He states that 'in contrast with the

[3] See Jakobson (1981) for an overview of the 'basic functions of verbal communication'. In reference to Papua New Guinean languages, Ross (2001) makes reference to the 'emblematic function' of language being influential on grammatical structures and the understanding of historical change and the results of language contact.

principle of optimal efficiency which seems to govern the codification for both communicative and emblematic purposes, the texts with a mobilizing-rallying function involve a choice among available and accessible options' (Matras 1999: 496). Thus, the process is recognised as an expression of culture and society. The three functions help to explain how those involved in language standardisation and orthography development could have conflicting ideas as to the symbolisation of phones, and issues of the creation of a standard.

The conflict between theory and practice in language development results in part from the range of sometimes conflicting functions that orthography is expected to fulfil. Focussing on the functions of a writing system allows space to consider the multiple tensions that arise between participants involved in the process. These studies raise a number of questions relating to the reasons that different functions are important to different groups of people, and the basis on which these particular functions are established. The underlying frameworks for language development have been the focus of a group of studies which consider the role of language ideology.

1.1.4 Language ideology

The study of language ideology has developed in recent decades in an attempt to understand the interaction between language and social structures (e.g. Bourdieu 1991; Gee 1992; Kress 1979; Kroskrity 2000; Schieffelin, Woolard & Kroskrity 1998). Schieffelin and Doucet (1998: 286) define language ideology as 'the mediated link between social structures and forms of talk, standing in dialectical relation with, and thus significantly influencing, social discursive, and linguistic practices'. Language ideology views linguistic practices as part of a larger system of interaction between social structures and form. Research into language ideology recognises that language is not politically neutral, and symbols are not arbitrary, but reflect the ideologies of the context. Studies of language ideology consider the underlying historical and social structures which may lead to differences in language development processes and decision-making.

The term 'ideology' is used within these studies to refer to a way of understanding the world as socio-historically developed. This reflects the common usage of the term as found in the Oxford English Dictionary (http://dictionary.oed.com/entrance.dtl):

> *A systematic scheme of ideas, usu. relating to politics or society, or to the conduct of a class or group, and regarded as justifying actions, esp. one that is*

held implicitly or adopted as a whole and maintained regardless of the course of events.

Within the social sciences, the term 'ideology' is often politically laden. It has connections with Marxist and neo-Marxist understandings of power and the implicit link between production, class and power (see §1.5). Fishman (1994) considers language planning practice from a neo-Marxist perspective in order to give a voice to speakers of minority languages, and studies of language ideology have often sought to give a voice to minority groups. However, within the language ideology literature, the term ideology is often merely used as a tool for describing the process of the 'other' and the interactions between the linguist and the 'other'. Rather than taking an overtly political stance, there is a focus on describing the influences on the 'other', in regard to decision-making and practice.

Woolard (1998: 23) argues that, 'every aspect of language, including its phonological description and forms of graphic representation, can be contested'. Consequently, orthographic variation and change can be understood not merely as a series of attempts to reach the perfect linguistically-sound orthography, but as a reflection, and site of negotiation, of identity, socio-historical situation, and political context. That is, within this framework orthography development is understood as being intrinsically related to context in which it takes place.

Studies of language ideology within the context of language development include Jaffe (2000), Johnson (2005), Luykx (2004), Schieffelin and Doucet (1998); Sebba (2000), Suslak (2003), and Terrill & Dunn (2003).[4] Bird (2001) and Crowley (1996) also use a similar framework while not using the term ideology. These studies discuss colonialism, nationalism, education and creation of identity as social frameworks impacting on the ideologies which influence orthography development and language standardisation. They describe the tensions between different participants involved in the process, including those from different regional dialects (Suslak 2003) or different socio-economic groups (Schieffelin & Doucet 1998; Sebba 2000). They discuss the interaction of linguistic and cultural issues (Luykx 2004) and the role of 'insiders' and external consultants (Bird 2001; Suslak 2003; Terrill & Dunn 2003). Diachronic studies (e.g. Crowley 1996; Schieffelin & Doucet 1998) demonstrate how the interaction of various competing ideologies can change over time, resulting in different orthographies and attitudes towards standardisation. Within this framework, divergence from

[4] Schieffelin and Doucet (1998: footnote 36) include a list of previous studies of orthography development which consider similar issues.

a phonemic orthography and a lack of desire for standardisation are described as outcomes of the ideological context of the language development practices.

This approach has also allowed for an integrated examination of linguistic research and involvement in language planning. This has included reflective investigation into the ideologies involved in linguistic models of language standardisation (Gal & Irvine 1995; Milroy 2001) and orthography development (Bird 2001; Suslak 2003). These studies argue that linguistic research, far from being value neutral, is itself ideologically situated in relation to both its historical roots and current aims. The recognition of the ideological basis of language development practice of both linguists and communities, gives a voice to the various participants in the process. It allows us to recognise that the ideological framework of the speakers may be opposed to that of the linguist. These studies consider organizations of power as they exist and interact within a social context. Decisions made in regard to orthography development and language standardisation are considered to be a consequence of this interaction.

The language ideology approach has shed much light on the complexity and depth of the 'non-linguistic' factors in orthography development and standardisation and, importantly, has shown that these influence linguists as well as communities. However, this approach does not resolve the issues of the conflict between theory and practice in orthography development. Although it highlights the conflict, it cannot resolve the resulting tensions. It does not provide answers for all the questions raised in the introduction to this chapter.

1.1.5 Summary

In this section, we have considered models of language development that have been developed within western academic linguistics, and three approaches to understanding the gap that has arisen between theory and practice in language development: linguistic/non-linguistic dichotomy, functions of language, and language ideology. A progression from one approach to the next represents an increasing recognition of the complexity and significance of non-linguistic issues in language development, particularly in approaches involving language ideology. However, these approaches do not address the tensions involved in the decision making process and may even be used to highlight the 'otherness' of the speech communities who are portrayed as being more strongly influenced by their cultural context than the linguist and their empirically-based analysis.

Fishman (1994) gives a critique of neo-Marxist and post-structuralist approaches to language planning. Within this framework, language planning is accused of being 'frequently a hegemonic pursuit' (Fishman 1994: 92) which disempowers minority language communities. Fishman (1994: 97) argues that while these accusations are somewhat justified, they 'do not sufficiently differentiate between language planning theory and language planning practice', and thus fail to recognise the language planning that has been undertaken for the express purpose of empowering minority communities. He continues (Fishman 1994: 97):

> *Not caring for the latter [language planning practice], the critics have blamed the former [language planning theory], even though very little language planning practice has actually been informed by language planning theory…[It] strikes me as quite appropriate to castigate language planning theory for intentionally or unintentionally ignoring the chasm between language planning practice and the rebuilding of society along more structurally egalitarian and less hegemonic lines.*

Fishman's recognition of the chasm between theory and social goals reflects both the inability of the approaches discussed above to deal with the tensions created through language development practice and my own experience of the gap between language development theory and practice when attempting to work alongside communities.

In order to address this gap, we need to understand that theories of orthography development and language standardisation are deeply embedded in their academic context. This is clearly demonstrated in studies of language function and ideology, which have been unable to deal with the tension that is created between academic models of theory and practice. Growing recognition of the social embeddedness of language and literacy practices in recent years has led to the development of community-based approaches to language development. These will be discussed in §1.2 before turning to alternative frameworks for constructing theories of language development in §1.3.

1.2 Community-based models of language development

In response to the dichotomy between linguistic and non-linguistic factors in orthography development, linguists began working with speakers of the language as a tool for gaining speakers' acceptance of externally determined language development decisions (see §1.1.2). However, in recent years, there has been a further shift in language development

practice towards community-based models. These models attempt to empower the communities to make the decisions for themselves. For some practitioners, this has grown out of an interest in the effect of language planning on language ecology (see Mühlhäusler 1996; Pennycook 2004) or the recognition of literacy as a culturally embedded practice (Besnier 1995), while for others it is a response to the practical needs they see in the communities in which they work. Community-based models aim for the whole process of language development to be firmly grounded within and emergent from the speech community.

While language planning is often presented a 'top-down' approach to development, implemented by governments, educators and linguists, some have recognised a broader practice of language planning which focuses on the goals of the speech communities, rather than focussing on national or regional goals. Eastman (1983: 1-2) states:

> *Language planning is concerned with how language can be conducted and interpreted successfully in a speech community given the language goals of that community.*

This definition gives room for community-directed language development practices undertaken for the purpose of fulfilling the goals of the speech community. This is a stark contrast to Cooper's definition (see §1.1.1), which talks of 'deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others' (Cooper 1989: 45). In this section I discuss community-based approaches to language development in general (§1.2.2), before discussing the model of the Alphabet Development Workshop which is the focus of this thesis (§1.2.3). However, first §1.2.1 discusses 'speech community' which is itself a contested term.

1.2.1 'Speech community'

The term community, or speech community is used widely in everyday speech as well as in the anthropological and linguistic literature. However, the term requires a critical approach due to its ability to define the 'other' and create a unified entity out of a diverse group of individuals who function not only in relation to each other, but also in individual ways with the outside world.

The 'community' as an entity is created in many ways by many people. Within the case study of this thesis, speakers had a sense of identity strongly connected to 'village'. It is this that I refer to as the speaker's community. It is used to refer to the speakers, and in turn their practices, beliefs and attitudes. Within this context, the people have created a hierarchy of stories of identity that define them as a group, and create their framework. However,

beyond this, there are the stories that explore their identity as separate from the village, for example as members of their clan, generation, or educational background. Joseph (2002) and Creed (2006) discuss how 'community' has been romanticised and politicised as an entity within western approaches to 'culture' and 'the other'. Within this thesis, the use of the term creates an 'other' in contrast to the linguists, but does so with the aim of giving a voice to speakers.

I use the term speech community to refer to those who are part of the classification created by the speakers within the context of the language development process (see §8). I do not use this term as a statement of uniformity, but as a way of referring to the groups created by the speakers and the consequent patterns of standardisation. The socio-linguistic literature refers to the concept of speech networks which allow for the individual differences that are discussed in §8 and §9 (e.g. Milroy 1987; Milroy & Milroy 1985). This framework is able to produce a more accurate model of individual interaction and the resulting language features and attitudes. However, it does not allow us to explore the frameworks underlying practices of language development at a broader level, or provide insight into the cultural frameworks that limit and define language development practice.

1.2.2 Models of community-based language development

There is not a single 'one-size-fits-all' model of community-based language development. Due to the social embeddedness of language development, models need to consider the goals and practices of the communities involved. Thus, every situation will be unique in its needs, and in its expression of self through the language development process. Burnaby and Mackenzie (2001: 207) state that:

> *While studies of unique combinations of factors in separate cases will not bring about a singular model of 'how to do it right', they will still provide awareness of crucial factors that may need attention in new situations.*

Thus, we can learn from the practices and processes of others, but must always be aware of the uniqueness of the context in which we find ourselves.

Variation in models of community-based language development focuses on three broad areas: the degree of authority situated within the various participants and their goals, the degree of control held by the linguist, and the degree to which socio-cultural factors are normalised. Models in which the linguist and their goals have more authority resemble more

closely the scientific models discussed in §1.1.1. Within this context, the linguist is recognised as taking control of the process, and 'non-linguistic factors' are created as an 'other'. Conversely, in situations in which the authority and control of the community are recognised, 'non-linguistic factors' are integrated into a socially-embedded approach to language development.

The question of locus of authority and control is discussed by Burnaby & Mackenzie (2001). The question is not merely one of community control or outside control, but rather how to access a contextually appropriate system of control. In relation to language development activities undertaken in Cree communities since 1993, Burnaby & Mackenzie (2001: 201) argue:

> *...it is clear that simply having local control over certain decision making…was not enough to bring about a major change... And, of course, local control was by no means absolute. Because of the Crees' belief in the importance of a formal, Western-style education for their children, they agreed…to work within established mainstream frameworks for education…Since they could not avoid the restriction and perspectives of external parties…[outsiders] continued to influence the direction of eventual initiatives.*

In this case, the community leaders sought the support of a linguist to assist with orthography development, among other tasks, but the project, as a whole was community directed and based on community goals. The linguist had a role in this program because of culturally established Cree systems of authority, not because of the authority ascribed to linguists in academic models of language development. This is a point which becomes very important as the argument of this thesis develops.

Types of interaction between the 'outside expert' and the community are indicative of the authority and power relationships within language development processes. I have summarised the literature, my experiences, and those of people I have talked with, into five broad models:

- a linguist works informally with a small group of people (e.g. Carr 1991)
    - This approach relies on the linguist works towards creating an orthography, seeking input from a small pool of people when they discover areas of difficulty.

- a linguist runs community meetings to obtain input from community leaders on orthography options (e.g. Terril & Dunn 2003)
    - In this approach the linguist is similar to the previous, except that the process of obtaining assistance from speakers is formalised in a meeting context.
- a linguist facilitates language development workshops (e.g. Easton 2003; Gilley 1999; Wrigley 1991)
    - This model focuses on language development workshops as the sites of community discussion and decision making. The role of the linguist is that of a facilitator, assisting the participants to achieve their goals.
- a linguist participates in a language development committee (e.g. Eira 1998, 2000; Stebbins 2001),
    - In this approach a small group or committee is organised by the speakers. The linguist is then invited to participate as an 'outside expert'.
- the community initiates and directs language development projects (e.g. Burnaby & Mackenzie 2001; Hatoss 2006; Jones 2000).
    - Within this model all initiatives and leadership come from the speakers themselves. The form that language development projects take is defined by those involved.

Each of these models is progressively more community-directed, with increasing degrees of community control, accompanied by the opportunity for increased awareness of community goals and authority, and awareness of the socio-historical context within which language development practices are undertaken. These are not models with discrete boundaries, and placement within a particular model is often difficult. These models are indicators of the different roles and locations of authority that can exist within community-based language development.

These approaches demonstrate that a greater degree of community-based authority or control does not necessarily correspond to a greater recognition of the cultural embeddedness, and consequent recognition of the importance of 'non-linguistic factors'. For example Gilley (1999) and Easton (2003) both describe linguist-facilitated workshops. However, while Gilley (1999) focussed on providing linguistic training to speakers of local languages, introducing

participants to phonological analysis and orthography development thereby producing a 'convincing analysis' (Gilley 1999: 189), Easton (2003) describes a workshop-based approach to language development which attempts to focus on speaker perceptions of language and writing (see §1.2.3).

Given the diversity of contexts within which language development takes place, it is reasonable to expect that the approaches of both communities and linguists would vary greatly. As stated above, no single model will be perfect, or even 'best' in all contexts. However, the more community-based models do allow more space for community-based authority and control. Communities can then decide on the role of 'outside experts' who may be invited to assist them in reaching their goals.

Within Papua New Guinea, recent models of language development reflect a growing understanding of the role of the community in the process. Faraclas, working within a critical literacy framework, proposed a model for orthography development (Stringer & Faraclas 1987) in which a linguist works alongside a speaker of the language to 'ascertain the major phonological contours of any language and choose the appropriate graphemes within just a few hours…All decisions concerning which symbols are to be used are made by the community itself' (Faraclas 1995: 37). One of the goals of this method was to give the community a voice in their language development process. Discrepancies between the communities' choices and linguistic analysis are described as 'in almost every case a minute problem' (Faraclas 1995: 37) and of little consequence. Another model which has stepped further from the academic models of language development discussed earlier in this chapter is the Alphabet Development Workshop. This model, which is an example of the 'linguist facilitated language development workshops' referred to above, is used in the current study.

1.2.3 Alphabet Development Workshops

The Alphabet Development Workshop (ADW) is a community-based approach to orthography development, falling within the scope of the third model described above. It grew out of a desire among linguists working in Papua New Guinea to assist communities in developing writing systems for their own languages, rather than having a linguist learn and analyse the language in order to produce a scientific orthography. It was developed by the Papua New Guinea branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL-PNG), a Christian mission organization which focuses particularly on Bible translation and literacy projects. Due to the massive influence of Christian missions in the development of Papua New Guinea, SIL

has been heavily involved with language development work throughout the country since its arrival in the 1950s, working alongside both church and government organizations. In the late 1990s, SIL was sub-contracted by AusAID and the National Department of Education to undertake orthography development with communities through Papua New Guinea as part of a national education reform (Easton 2003: 1-2). It was under this contract, that the ADW method came to be widely used throughout the country.

The main stakeholders involved included AusAID as the funding body, national and provincial Departments of Education, SIL, and the communities. Naturally, the goals of each stakeholder differed, and at times were in conflict. Easton and Wroge (2002: 1), writing from the perspective of the 'outside facilitator' list the goals of an ADW as follows:

- *Facilitating members of a language group to develop a trial alphabet for their own language.*
- *Encouraging writers in other languages (Pidgin English, Hiri Motu or English) to write stories in their own language and become active participants in the process of deciding on how to write the sounds of their language.*
- *Developing people's awareness of their language's letters and sounds in order to assist them in producing elementary school materials in their local language.*
- *Completing the Worksheet for Alphabet Design through Community Interaction.*
- *Producing a Trial Spelling Guide, through silk screening wax stencils cut by hand. The Spelling Guide includes stories written in the local language.*

These goals are largely instrumental, focussing on product and knowledge acquisition, and it was at this instrumental level that the goals of the external stakeholders appeared to intersect. However, these goals developed out of deeper frameworks which differed for each group. The requirements of AusAID as a funding body were met, through the production of orthographies for communities, as documented in the *Worksheet for Alphabet Design through Community Interaction* and the Trial Spelling Guide. The goals of the education department for the production of practical orthographies were met (Archibald 1996: 7-8; NDOE 1997: 2) in producing alphabets that would assist communities in the production of materials for the elementary schools. The goals of SIL as an organization focussing on language development in minority communities and Bible translation were met through supporting communities in

the development of a written form of their local languages which could be used not only for education, but also in translation of religious materials. Within my personal context, my goals grew out of a framework in which the empowerment of communities contested the framework of linguistics. For each of these stakeholders, other less explicit goals also impacted on practice. It is these more covert influences which will be discussed throughout this thesis. Further, the goals of the communities differed greatly from those listed here, and are discussed in Part 3, particularly §6, of this thesis.

The development of the ADW represented a new approach to orthography development within SIL. Until this point, orthography development was largely seen as a linguist-focussed analytical task such as that described in §1.1.1 and §1.1.2. In contrast, the ADW grew out of a change in attitude among many SIL linguists working in PNG who desired an orthography development model which was designed to be a community-focussed social task. I have previously described this change in approach as follows (Easton 2003: 2):

> *Rather than an expatriate linguist designing an orthography to be 'given' to the language community, a number of language speakers attend the ADW and work through the process of developing an orthography for their own language. This significant change in attitude and approach towards of orthography development is expressed in the following extract from an SIL report:*
>
> > Attitude Change: As we are invited to help a community with the design of their alphabet, let us go with two attitudes in mind: 1) our job as a facilitator, not the doer; and 2) the ability to accept the imperfections that will arise...The ownership of the orthography…is in the hands of the speakers of a language. They must make the decisions regarding how the orthography should look and how to spell the language.
> >
> > Methodology Change: Traditionally, SIL workers elicited lengthy random wordlists on which the phonological analysis and resultant orthography were based... In order to start from a more emic base, the course will use directed wordlists… The course will also include a writers' workshop in order to test the orthography decisions right away. (Gasaway 1993:1-2)

Within the Papua New Guinea context, where people often feel disempowered by the strength of introduced colonial institutions including western education and religion, the ADW provides an opportunity for members of a language community to come together and

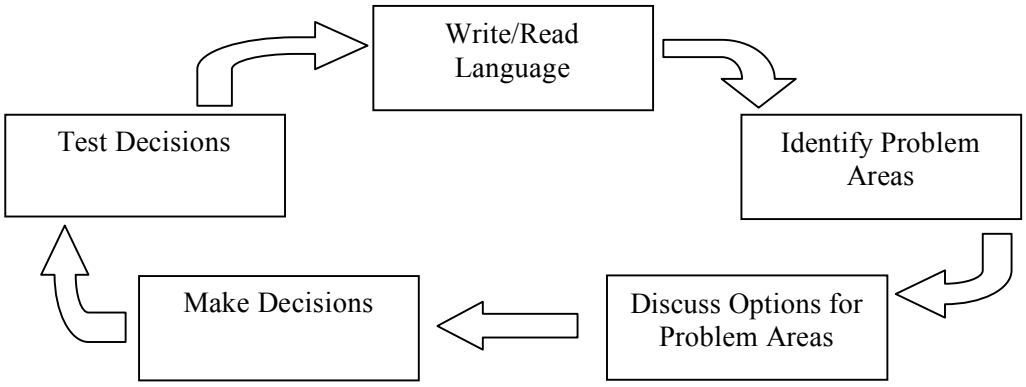

Figure 1.1: Cyclical process of orthography development

begin developing an orthography for their own language. While not always community initiated, the ADW process seeks to work with communities to achieve their goals for their languages. It provides input from trained facilitators during the initial stages of orthography development with the aim of enabling community members to continue discussions and decision-making after the workshop is completed. Thus, the process of language development rests within the community structures that existed prior to the ADW, and enables the community to participate in meaningful ways with the assistance they deem appropriate.

An ADW usually runs for nine days over a two-week period, with a break in the middle for participants to return to their home areas. Participants are involved in writing their own language from the first day. During the course of an ADW, they write and edit stories, explore the sound patterns of their language (e.g. allophones, phoneme distribution, syllable types, as well as word breaks) and produce a Trial Spelling Guide (see Easton & Wroge 2002), which includes their new alphabet, spelling rules, a short dictionary, and the stories written during the workshop. The stories demonstrate the new orthography, and are to be used for testing the writing system in the participants' communities. Through these activities, the participants develop a greater understanding of the structure of their language and the issues that arise in making decisions about the development of a trial orthography.

The timetable of an ADW is very flexible and is adjusted according to the needs of the language group(s) present. However, there is an underlying pattern during each workshop: write/read language, identify problem areas, discuss options for problem areas, make decisions, and test decisions (see Figure 1.1). This pattern is followed for the ADW as a whole, as well as being repeated many times during the workshop. The cyclical nature of this process allows for the orthography to be continually assessed and altered as required. It encourages participants to view their orthography not as a static object that cannot be

changed, but as a tool to be used and moulded by the language community in order to reach their goals.

Figure 1.1 indicates a simple cycle, but in practice, the same cycle occurs on a number of levels concurrently. An individual person may complete this cycle one or more times while writing a single story. The workshop participants also work through this cycle a number of times as a group during the two weeks of the ADW. The language community as a whole also continues this process after the ADW as they continue to test, use, discuss and change their orthography. For example, writing a story involves writing in the language, and problem areas are identified as the author has difficulty writing particular sounds or language features. The storywriter considers options for representing the problem area and decides to try one or more of the options in the story. While writing the story, two people may discuss a problem they have found, and try various solutions, resulting in many cycles of the five steps. However, within the context of the workshop, the story is only the first step, 'write language', which is then used by the group of participants to discover and discuss problem areas, some of which will be the same as those discovered by the individual. No matter what the speed of the circuit for a particular issue at a particular point in time, the same cyclical process is followed. Table 1.2 gives some examples of the cyclical process at different levels.

Table 1.2: Activities in cyclical process of orthography development

	Activities (Individual)	**Alphabet Design Workshop (ADW Participants)**	**Long Term (Language Community)**
Write/read language	• Write and read stories • Produce wordlists • Play word games	• Write and read stories • Produce directed wordlists	• Prepare Trial Spelling Guide • Prepare Story books • Prepare Elementary school materials
Isolate problem areas	• Note difficulties in reading and writing, and inconsistencies in spelling	• Note difficulties in reading and writing • Note inconsistencies in spelling between different people • Group discusses difficulties found	• Gather community feedback on materials produced during the ADW • Identify further difficulties faced by people using the orthography
Discuss Options for Problem Areas	• The author considers options for representing each phone, sometimes discussing them with a neighbour	• Participants, with input from facilitators, discuss options and their advantages and disadvantages • During the evenings/ weekend participants discuss issues with others in their villages	• A language committee, village leaders, teachers and curriculum committees discuss problems and changes they think would be helpful with input from community members
Make Decisions	• The author decides on one or more ways to write the phone	• Trial decisions made by participants incorporating the suggestions of community members	• Decisions are made in the way the language community considers to be most appropriate
Test Decisions	• The author uses the graphemes decided on in their story • Further writing, then reading written texts aloud • Decisions considered by participants leads directly to group discussions	• Write and edit more stories and wordlists • Participants return to their villages to receive feedback • Produce a Trial Spelling Guide • Decisions discussed by the entire language community	• Run writing workshops • Teaching people to read and write using the new decisions • Revise Trial Spelling Guide • Prepare story books • Any other way the community decides

Within the focus on community-based language development, academic models of language development find their place as tools for engagement with the communities. It is the knowledge created by the scientific approaches to language development that provide the foundation of the linguist's involvement. Before each workshop, linguistic research on related languages is compiled in order that insight might be gained into the phonology, dialect differences and language boundaries of the area. During the workshop, the facilitators offer their framework and knowledge as an option for consideration by the speakers. This knowledge is what defines the linguist as an 'outside expert' and creates a space for their involvement in community-based language development. Thus, even within a community-based approach, linguists have a role to play as the holders of knowledge required to assist the community in the task of language development (see §7.2).

It can be difficult for facilitators to refrain from judging the community participants' decisions against a linguistic analysis. Despite the new approach of the ADW, the roles and expectations of more traditional models of orthography development based on empirical linguistic analysis continue to assert themselves among the facilitators. For many facilitators of ADWs, the attitude change towards valuing a community-based approach has often lagged behind a change in methodology, and facilitators initiated long discussions due to their dissatisfaction with the community participants for not choosing an orthography which phonemically represented their language.

Despite these challenges, the ADW approach has proved to be successful in assisting over 100 communities throughout Papua New Guinea to develop orthographies for their languages. I have personally used it in a variety of situations. For example, communities with low literacy rates, complex phonological systems, strong language shift, and no previous linguistic descriptions have produced orthographies that are used in their Elementary schools, just like the communities with high literacy rates, simple phonological systems, little language shift and comprehensive linguistic descriptions. In Easton (2003) I discuss the use of the ADW in Thailand with Thai script, and I have had correspondence with people using the ADW in other parts of the world. While it is not a perfect model, it has been demonstrated to be flexible and responsive in a variety of minority language contexts.

1.2.4 Summary

In this section I have considered approaches to community-based models of language development that have emerged as linguists attempt to work alongside communities in recent

years. The ADW is one approach that has proved to be useful throughout Papua New Guinea and other parts of the world. This approach is the basis for much of the orthography discussion in this thesis. However, community-based approaches to language development in some ways create further tension between theory and practice since they do not provide a model for understanding the tension that inevitably seems to arise in the language development process.

Language development practices occur within a complex power network within which possibilities for roles and practices are created. As social processes, language development practices are produced by, and in turn take part in producing, the organizations of meaning within which they exist. As social events, these practices are embedded in the socio-historical context within which they take place. To understand the tensions identified there, we require a framework in which this context is recognised. The context is not identical for all participants, and is not static, rather it is continually evolving through interaction between the various participants and processes involved. We require a framework that can balance the models of language development theory and the social practice of linguists and communities.

In the following sections, I discuss Foucauldian discourse analysis, as described by Mills (1997, 2003) and Pennycook (1994), and explain how this approach provides a framework within which the tensions apparent in language development can be held, within which multiple perspectives can occur simultaneously, and within which the constantly changing interaction can be explained. I turn to discourse analysis in order to develop a framework within which the conflict between theory and practice in language development can be understood and the resulting tensions can be more directly addressed.

1.3 Discourse analysis

Language development is a social process, and the questions raised by the tension between theory and practice extend beyond linguists to the social process itself. For this reason, it makes sense to use methods from the social sciences to fully engage with the issues involved. Over recent decades there has been a greater interest in qualitative data in the social sciences resulting from 'profound changes in the conceptualisations of communication, culture, language use and function, and the relationship between representation and reality' (Wetherell, Taylor & Yates 2001: i). This has resulted in the development of the broad field of research known as discourse analysis. Through a variety of methods, discourse analysis has

enabled researchers to study what is said and/or written by particular people in specific contexts to enact certain social practices. It is through this framework that I was able to address the questions raise by my experience of the tensions in language development practice.

Discourse analysis is not a single method but rather a broad field of research, within which the definition of discourse itself varies greatly. Methods range from conversation analysis, examining language as social action (see Sacks 1995; Wooffitt 2005a, 2005b) and discursive psychology (see Billig 2001; Edwards & Potter 1992), to the more critical approaches of critical discourse analysis (e.g. Fairclough 1995; Van Dijk 2001; Wodak & Meyer 2001; Wodak & Reisigl 2001) and Foucauldian discourse analysis (see references below). While these methods share in common their concern with texts in context, they differ in their understanding of the relationship between text and discourse and language, and their understanding of relationships of power. A critical comparison and analysis of these methods of discourse analysis can be found in Mills (2004), Pennycook (1994), Wetherell, Taylor and Yates (2001), and Wooffitt (2005a). My aim here is to describe discourse analysis, particularly Foucauldian discourse analysis, and its use in this thesis.

Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA) has been used by researchers in a number of disciplines including psychology (Parker 1989; 1992), cultural theory (Mills 2004), development studies (Hall 2002), sociology (Wooffitt 2005b) social policy (Carabine 2001) and linguistics (Pennycook 1994; Rojo 2001; Wodak 2001). Like discourse analysis in general, FDA is not defined by a particular methodology. Carabine (2001: 268) states:

> *What [FDA] offers us is a lens through which to undertake discourse analysis and with which we can read discourses…[T]his lens means that we read discourses as, on the one hand, being infused with power/knowledge and, on the other, as playing a role in producing power/knowledge networks.*

FDA (also known as 'discourse as power/knowledge' (e.g. Pennycook 1994)) has been applied by Eira (1998, 2000) and Stebbins (2001, 2003) to situations of language development (see §1.5.4). It is a framework within which the socio-historical context of individuals and societies is considered primary to understanding the dynamic reality of the social processes of language development. Within this framework, the tension between theory and practice in language development can be held, multiple perspectives can occur simultaneously, and constantly changing interaction can be explained.

1.4 Texts, discourses, and discursive structures

The term 'discourse' is used in a variety of ways in a variety of fields. Foucault (1972: 80) uses the term discourse to refer to:

> *...the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of practices.*

Within the framework of what has come to be known as Foucauldian discourse analysis, 'discourse' refers to the third part of Foucault's definition, 'regulated practice that accounts for a number of practices'. Within this framework, discourse does not refer to issues such as cohesion and coherence in texts or utterances as in the study of suprasentential relationships in language (e.g. Brown & Yule 1983; Gumperz 1982), or even a social practice as it is expressed through various mediums including language as in Critical Discourse Analysis (e.g. Fairclough 1995). Rather, discourses exist at a deeper level than language, defining and limiting what can be said or done in a particular social and historical context. As Pennycook (1994: 115) argues, 'these approaches imply profoundly different understandings of the relationship between language, the individual, ideology and society'. In order to understand Foucauldian discourse analysis, it is important to understand the use of the terms discourse, text (§1.4.1) and discursive structure (§1.4.2) within this framework.

1.4.1 Discourse and text

Within Foucauldian discourse analysis, a discourse is defined as:

> *... something which produces something else (an utterance, a concept, an effect), rather than something which exists in and of itself and which can be analysed in isolation* (Mills 1997: 17).

A discourse is not a representation, or an entity in itself, but the site of the production of entities or 'texts'. Discourses both 'constrain how we might participate in life…[and] construct objects: entities or processes which acquire an objective status' (Wooffitt 2005a: 148). They are systems of meaning exist at a separate level from texts, and are constantly limiting and creating possibilities of what can be said and done; 'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault 1972: 49).

Discourses are the frameworks which create our beliefs and our construct our values, limiting what we are able to recognise and what we consider important, while also creating

the frameworks for new discovery. For example, the dominance of a discourse of development creates in some people a desire to act in such a way that they encourage the development of other people and other societies, producing a focus on issues and solutions that deal with these issues. In others an economic discourse creates a focus on issues of economic viability and sustainability, and a belief that these are the issues of importance in their lives. In reality, we all exist within a complex interaction of discourses constantly creating and negotiating our framework for living.

These discourses create the 'objects', or 'texts' of Foucauldian discourse analysis. It is in the production of these texts that the discourses become visible. Texts may be expressed through many mediums, taking on the form of language, art or action (Pennycook 1994: 130). Not only the words we use, but also the way we act, dress and form belief are all considered 'texts' of the discourse within which we are acting. Gee (2005:21) indicates the breadth of discursive texts when he defines discourses as:

> *...ways of combining and integrating language, actions, interaction, ways of thinking, believing, valuing, and using various symbols, tools, and objects to enact a particular sort of socially recognizable identity.*

Within this framework, orthographies, language development practices, processes of decision-making, linguistic research, and language attitudes are all texts which can be studied to uncover the underlying discourses which constrain and construct what is possible. Or to return to the example above, the discourse of development may be visible in written documents of development organizations, and in the programs established within communities. The texts of an economic discourse are visible in the writing, voice overs, and pictures used in the advertising of financial institutions.

Pennycook (1994: 130) describes the relationship between discourse and text in a three level model (see Figure 1.2).

non-discursive practices
discourses
text

Figure 1.2: Pennycook's three level model of Foucauldian discourse analysis

In this model, the meaning of texts is located within the discourses that produce them. Further, the discourses are themselves produced by non-discursive practices and in a relationship of reciprocal interaction with the texts. Foucauldian discourse analysis is not primarily

concerned with how discourses are portrayed in texts, but rather with how discourses produce the texts. It seeks to analyse discourses as they are made visible in the texts they produce, and understand how these texts can in turn help to transform the discourses.

1.4.2 Discursive structure

Discourses do not occur in isolation, but in relationship with other, sometimes contradictory, discourses. The interaction and formation of discourses within a particular socio-historical context produces a discursive structure within which discourses interact to limit what texts can be produced.[5] Mills (1997:17) describes discursive structures as follows:

> *A discursive structure can be detected because of the systematicity of ideas, opinions, concepts, ways of thinking and behaving which are formed within a particular context, and because of the effects of those ways of thinking and behaving.*

Discourses can be embedded, with one discourse occurring within one or more other discourses. Consequently, the relationship between discourses can be complex. For example, a discourse of localisation can occur within the same discursive structure as a discourse of westernisation creating a local form of western products (see §7.3). Within each situation, a complex web of discourses creates the discursive structure, and this discursive structure is constantly being contested and negotiated through the interaction of the discourses and through texts.

Discourses are specific to their socio-historical context. Due to the constantly changing nature of this context, discursive structures vary over time and across social/cultural contexts. Discourses are not static entities, but are continually being contested through the actual or potential interaction of other competing discourses (Lankshear & McLaren 1993: 12-13). Thus, what it is possible to say and do is the site of the contestation of discourses. Simultaneously, discourses are created by their socio-historical contexts, giving meaning to present texts through historically and culturally defined boundaries. Lankshear and McLaren (1993: 12) argue:

> *Human subjectivity…is never closed. It is never fixed. The particular forms it takes are never essentially or transcendentally dictated. What individual and*

[5] This concept of discourses and a discursive structure is somewhat similar to concepts of 'orders of discourse' (Fairclough 1995) and discourse structures (Scollon & Scollon 2001: 131), however, it differs in that both Fairclough and Scollon and Scollon (and CDA in general) use a Marxist framework in which 'orders of discourse' are ideologically determined (see §1.5).

> *collective human subjectivities reflect are the dynamics and processes of discursive production in their current historical and cultural contingency. At the same time, given the contingent facts of discursive production within a particular space and time, there is that degree of historical "determination" of human subjectivity. But that determination is, ultimately, a contingent matter.*

Discourses are not all equally active, equally visible, or equally available to all people as a result of individual variation in socio-historical setting. Individuals involved in the production of the same text can carry different discursive structures which organise the way they perceive and produce meaning. Foucault was interested in how 'the subject' is created through the interaction of discourses and the formation of discursive structures. His research focussed on 'the historical conditions which made various types of quite specific and differentiated subjects *possible* in the first place' (McHoul & Grace 1993: 91). This approach to the 'subject' is discussed further in §1.5.

1.4.3 Summary

Discourse analysis allows for a critical reflection, reaching beyond the texts themselves to the social institutions and systems of power and knowledge that construct them by limiting what is possible to say, do and think. Mills (2003:55) states:

> *Discourse does not simply translate reality into language; rather discourse should be seen as a system which structures the way that we perceive reality.*

FDA takes a step back from what is said and done (the texts) to consider the underlying organizations of meaning that are producing the texts. It aims to make the 'familiar unfamiliar' (Pennycook 1994: 130), and in doing so make visible the discourses which constrain and define us, including those that have become 'naturalised' or 'commonsense' within a particular socio-historical context (Fairclough 1995).

FDA is not a methodology, but rather a way of understanding the production of social processes and texts through their interaction with each other, and the discourses within which their meaning is constructed. In coming to understand the discursive structures which create and give meaning to processes of orthography development and language standardisation it is important to identify the discourses that are creating these texts of language development, as well as the discursive structure within which these discourses are contested. These tasks are the focus of Part 2 and Part 3 of this thesis.

1.5 'Truth', 'Knowledge' and 'Power'

FDA 'is not concerned with how discourses (texts) reflect social reality, but how discourses produce social realities' (Pennycook 1994: 131). In uncovering the discourses that create and limit the possibilities and produce ways of understanding the world in a particular socio-historical context, discourse analysis is concerned with the construction of truth, the organization of knowledge, and the relationships of power (Pennycook 1994: 127-128). Thus, within the study of language development, discourse analysis enables us to understand the creation and limitation of socio-historically specific contestations of discourses created by the renegotiation of truth, knowledge and power in language development processes. It is in understanding how truth, knowledge and power can be created that the tensions in language development can be understood in their complexity, and ways forward can be found with respect.

Within a Foucauldian framework, the concepts of truth, knowledge and power are not objective realities, but are discursively produced. This section outlines the Foucauldian approach to each of these concepts: truth (§1.5.1), knowledge (§1.5.2), and power (§1.5.3), and their relationship with similar concepts in Critical Discourse Analysis.

1.5.1 Truth

Within a Foucauldian approach, truth is understood to reflect the discourses that produce it and is therefore available as a text which gives insight into underlying discursive structure. Within a particular discursive structure, particular 'truth' or 'truths' are created. Mills (1997: 18) writes: 'regimes of truth are constructed by the societies, produced by constraints of discourses and their dialogues'. Truth is not considered to be objective. Rather, FDA aims to uncover the structures and institutions that make the construction of such truth possible (McHoul & Grace 1993: 58). For example, within the discursive structure of western science, truth can be constructed through empirical observation and experimentation within a controlled environment, as delimited by the discourses of western science.

This understanding of truth is one of the major differences between FDA and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA aims to 'denaturalise' (Fairclough 1995:27), or make visible, ideologies which contribute to unequal power and 'contribute to the transformation of institutions and social formations (Fairclough 1995: 52). Within this framework, ideologies are seen as producing discourses which obfuscate the truth, and the aim of analysis is social

transformation. This approach assumes an objective 'truth' that exists outside any social reality, and that truth is in contrast to the ideologies which create oppression.

Foucault (1979: 36) argued that the concept of ideology was problematic for a number of reasons, the first being: 'whether one wants it to be or not, it is always in virtual opposition to something like the truth'. Foucauldian discourse analysis views ideologies as products of discourses which construct the 'truth' (Eira 2000), not merely as false systems of belief and power. Wooffitt (2005a: 156) states:

> *Foucauldian scholars are suspicious of the kind of ideological studies found in Marxist writings because they presuppose that there is one position that is not ideological: the author's.*

Thus, the aim of a Foucauldian approach is not to uncover 'false truths' or ideologies, but to understand how 'truths' are produced within power/knowledge relations.

1.5.2 Knowledge

Like truth, Foucault's interest in knowledge is as something that is created through the contestation of power. Knowledge is seen as being constructed historically through discourse and 'is understood through a particular configuration of time and space' (Barron, Bruce & Nunan 2002: 1-2). Mills (2003: 28) writes,

> *[Foucault] is not interested so much in what is known at any one period [of history] but rather in 'the material conditions of thought' that is, the processes which led to certain facts being known rather than others'.*

For example, why does musical education consider particular works of certain composers such as Mozart and Beethoven as part of the 'musical canon' while other works of these composers are not mentioned? Further, many other composers are not even considered (see also Mills 1997: 21).

Discursive structures determine and limit what constitutes knowledge, and at the same time provide 'active processes of production, reproduction and transformation' (Rojo 2001: 60) of that knowledge. Within a particular discursive structure 'some discourses become silenced and some constantly reproduced' (Rojo 2001: 61). Through this process, knowledge is constructed as an expression of meaning within the dominant discourses. Foucault sees the production of knowledge as often being oppressive for marginalised groups, whose 'knowledges' are generally subjugated, or erased, within the dominant culture. However, he

recognises the possibility of both oppression, and creativity in 'knowledge/power' as oppressed groups can use their 'knowledge' to produce their own 'power'. This connection between 'power' and 'knowledge' results in the use of an alternate name of Foucauldian discourse analysis, 'discourse as power/knowledge' (e.g. Mills 2003; Pennycook 1994).

1.5.3 Power

Both truth and knowledge are seen as being produced by discourses which reproduce and contest relationships of power. That is, in constructing knowledge and truth, power is being wielded (Mills 2003: 69). Consequently, Foucauldian discourse analysis cannot be undertaken without consideration of relationships of power. As Lankshear and McLaren (1993: 12) argue:

> *Discourses are generated and lived out within political contexts, within structures and relationships of power inherited by humans inhabiting a given cultural and social time and space, these themselves reflecting previous discursive production.*

Marxism and ideology were instrumental in the development of Foucault's notions of discourse. In fact, Foucauldian discourse analysis has been described as a debate with Marxism 'about what is possible as a form of political action and…the role of the intellectual in political struggle' (Mills 1997: 32). Foucault's understanding of power gives rise to two further problems with approaches grounded in ideology: the place of the individual or subject, and the nature of power as both oppressive and productive (Foucault 1979: 36).

The involvement of relationships of power within discourses is acknowledged not only by Foucauldian discourse analysis, but also CDA and discursive psychology (Rojo 2001: 63). Within CDA, ideology is determined by an economically- and materially-based superstructure whose power is to be resisted by individual subjects. Through description of discourses and their effects on texts, CDA is 'aimed at producing enlightenment and emancipation' (Wodak 2001: 4) for the oppressed. However, from within CDA there is an increasing critique of views of power as an oppressive materially-based force, and of the inability of CDA to actuate social change through describing power structures (Kress 1996; Lo Bianco 2005; O'Regan 2005). These critiques of CDA's understanding of power are also found in Foucauldian discourse analysis.

As discussed in §1.5.1, a Foucauldian approach focuses not on uncovering oppressive forces in society, but on understanding the production of power, both oppressive and creative,

within discursive structures. Power is not seen merely as a repressive force implemented by a dominant ideology, but also as something which is 'dispersed through social relations, … [and] produces possible forms of behaviour as well as restricting behaviour' (Mills 1997: 20).

Foucault sees power as more dynamic than an oppressive force based on socio-economic relations with the State. He views economic relations as merely one type of power relation. For Foucault, power is something that 'produces as well as represses' (Mills 1997: 37) and every relationship is seen as being a site of the contestation of power. Thus, power is not only wielded by an oppressor, but situated within discursive structures of all participants, or subjects, involved in a social process. Subjects are created 'as an effect of power' (Mills 1997: 34). This understanding of power allows more room for human agency, by recognising the power existent within oppressed groups. Discourses are produced and contested locally; not just by those with state ordained socio-economic 'power'. This is not to deny oppression, but rather to acknowledge that alternative forms of power can be constructed.

1.5.4 Summary

Within a Foucauldian approach, truth, knowledge and power are all discursively constructed texts which offer an opportunity to view the underlying discursive structure. Like all texts, they are created and limited by the possibilities existent within their socio-historic context. Further, they can be contested and recreated as the relationship between discourses is renegotiated. Within the context of language development, and the gap between theory and practice, this framework allows us to understand the truth, knowledge and power that lie with the discourses of both the linguist and the community. The tensions that arise in language development practice can be reframed as tensions between the discursive structures of the linguist and of the various community members involved. Throughout this thesis, we will return to the 'truths', 'knowledges' and 'power' that participate in language development, creating and limiting what can be said and done. I will use these concepts to describe frameworks of truth and knowledge constructed by the negotiation of relationships of power between discourses within socio-historically specific discursive structures.

1.6 Discourse in language development

To return to the issue with which we began this chapter, we will now consider how Foucauldian discourse analysis, which I will also refer to as 'discourse analysis' from here on, can be applied to the understanding of orthography development and language standardisation. We began this chapter discussing the conflict between theory and practice

within language development processes, and the questions that arose for me as I participated in this process as a linguist. This section returns to these issues by discussing how discourse analysis has been used to provide a model for understanding language development. I particularly focus on the work of Eira (1998; 2000) and Stebbins (2001, 2003).[6]

Within the framework of discourse analysis, the social, political and historical context of language development, as it applies to all participants, becomes central to understanding the process. Based on her research on orthography development and language standardisation among the Hmong in Melbourne, Australia, Eira (1998: 172) argues:

> *the basis for orthography selection is fundamentally a question of the location of authority, which is in turn a function of the prevailing discourse…it is disagreement on discourse allegiance which is at the centre of controversies over orthography*

The process of orthography development involves the contestation of discourses and discourse allegiance. Disagreement occurs because of competing discourses whose arguments are based on different sets of possibilities and limitations and are consequently incomprehensible to each other. While a linguist may be involved in a discussion of linguistic analysis, a community member may participate in the same discussion which is for them about cultural identity. For example, Eira (1998: 174) observes, 'a discussion of the readability of tone diacritics is irrelevant to a language community whose ancestral heritage is at stake' (Eira 1998: 174). The discourses determine what is possible, and not possible, for each participant, whatever their role; whether they are a linguist, community elder, or a teacher.

Eira (1998) proposed a Foucauldian model for understanding the process of orthography development and language standardisation in which various discourses, including scientific, political and religious discourses, interact with each other and produce a site of contestation of authority which is expressed through disagreement in the process. Each discourse has its own agents and goals/effects. For example the linguistic academic operates within the scientific discourse with the goal of linguistic accuracy, while the mission operates within the religious discourse with the goal of proslytisation. Other discourses are present to varying degrees, and rather than acting independently, they interact with one another as they produce the orthography ('the text'). Eira (1998: 175) states:

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[6] Lo Bianco (2005) discusses discursive effects on language planning using the model of CDA.

> *In real-world circumstances, these fields are never neatly separate, but occur in layers and hierarchies which reflect the belief system structure of the culture(s) concerned.*

That is, the discursive structure involves relationships of power played out through the interaction of discourses existent in the particular socio-historical context.

Within the studies of Eira (1998, 2000) and Stebbins (2001, 2003), the 'texts' included the discussions which were part of the process of decision making, the orthography decisions reached, and the practices of using the orthography. The subjects were the participants involved in the orthography development process, both community members and linguists. Through these texts and subjects, and the ways they produced 'truth', 'knowledge' and 'power', the underlying discourses could be identified. Further, the interaction between these discourses highlighted the renegotiation of discursive structures through the language development process.

The current study aims to provide further evidence from a different cultural context to support the body of work already discussed, focussing not only the community discourses, but also on the academic discourses which create the practice of the linguist. This study also seeks to show how discourses can be transformed through contact with the alternative discursive structures. FDA enables this because unlike the approaches discussed in §1.1, FDA does not favour a 'scientific' approach to language development above any other. Unlike CDA (see §1.5), or neo-Marxist critiques of language development (Fishman 1994; also §1.1.5), it does not focus on the oppression of one group by another. Rather, within a Foucauldian framework, methodologies and issues in linguistics and language development become the socio-historical context of linguistics and language planning for the study, in the same way that historically and culturally formed beliefs about language and identity provide the socio-historical context of the speakers.

This framework understands the tensions between theory and practice in language development as an expression of the contestation of power between the various discourses involved in the process as played out by the participants through the texts produced. Foucauldian discourse analysis seeks to uncover the regimes of truth, and relationships of power/knowledge that exist. It understands the social process of orthography development and language standardisation as being produced by the interaction and contestation of a number of discourses. The importance of socio-historical context in discourse analysis enables a better

understanding of not only the tensions between the communities and the linguist, but also within the communities and between linguists, and within individual participants, whatever their role through considering the discursive construction of the subject. Thus, as Stebbins (2003: 255) states, 'It is possible to explain some of the frustration … experience[d] by identifying and acknowledging that the resolution of these discourses is in fact the fundamental process'.

1.7 The framework

In this chapter, I have demonstrated how discourse analysis provides a framework for considering orthography development and language standardisation, not so much as a linguistic exercise, but as a social practice. Foucauldian discourse analysis requires us to step back from the actual 'texts' produced, in this study the orthography and decisions regarding language standardisation, to see the socio-historical specific discursive structure which have brought these texts into being. It allows us to see what is not possible within a discursive structure, as particular options are dismissed or arguments are discounted. Further, it allows us to see how relationships between discourses change as they each contest their 'truths', 'knowledge' and 'power' in the face of new texts and introduced discourses.

The aim of discourse analysis is not merely to uncover the discursive structures at work, but to recognise the systems of truth, knowledge and power they continually create. To return to the questions in at the beginning of this chapter, discourse analysis enables us to consider:

- how the linguistic theory used in orthography development and language standardisation views language and the processes of orthography development and language standardisation in terms of the discourses involved and the construction of truth, knowledge and power.
- how speakers view their language and the processes of orthography development and language standardisation in terms of the discourses involved and the construction of truth, knowledge and power.
- how these two views of language differ, producing sites of conflict between discourses and discursive structures.
- what linguistics can offer communities in the processes of orthography development and language standardisation given the discursive structure of the processes within particular communities.

- what linguistics can learn about language from the systems of truth, knowledge and power constructed within these communities.

These questions form the basis for this thesis as I explore the creation of truth, knowledge and power within language development.

The thesis is organised around a case study of community-based language development processes in a group of villages in Milne Bay Province, Papua New Guinea. This particular case study is significant for me. Not only does it highlight the main issues I encountered while working in Papua New Guinea, but also, my involvement with these communities marked a turning point in my approach to orthography development and language standardisation. Through a two-week workshop, the people of the area taught me to understand the issues in a new way, to see their culture and values in the decisions being made, to begin to see the culture and values of the outsider in the theories of language planning. This new understanding led me on a journey of discovery which has culminated in this thesis.

My experience as a linguist involved in language development work forms the basis of Part 2. My role as an orthography consultant in Papua New Guinea required my involvement in many tasks which reflected my academic training and field experience. The tasks undertaken, the framework used for creating meaning in the language development context, and the 'knowledges' shared with the communities were all created by the socio-historically specific discursive structure I carried with me. Like all discursive structures it was not static, but was recreated through interaction with the communities.

The discursive framework of academic language development practices is introduced in §3. This is followed by two chapters which outline the 'knowledge' created by this framework in regard to language standardisation and orthography development, in §4 and §5 respectively. An analysis of this 'knowledge' brings to light a number of 'truths' created within the discursive framework. While foundational for linguistic analysis, these 'truths' are not always productive in the practice of language development. I discuss the issues raised by this conflict and introduce alternative models for understanding the issues.

Part 3 mirrors the structure of Part 2, this time focussing on the discourses of the communities. It aims to highlight the systems of 'power', 'truth' and 'knowledge' that determine and are produced by the processes of language planning in the communities. It is not one story, but many, as the cultural and historical background of the members of each

village that participated in the language development process determined its own goals, beliefs and processes. Through interaction with each other, these discursive structures cause tension between communities, and are altered through this dialectic relationship.

The goals and historical context of the communities are discussed in §6, followed by a discussion of the discourses evident in the cultural texts in §7. Language standardisation and orthography development are then discussed in §8 and §9. Part 3 aims to represent the communities' stories of the language development process, with my analysis being provided after the data has been presented.

Finally, in Part 4, the two discursive structures are brought together to consider the sources of tensions between communities and linguists. The aim is not to highlight the tensions, but to consider what linguists have to offer in situations of community-based language development, and what linguistics as a discipline can learn from alternate discursive structures surrounding language. This is done both in relation to the current case study, and also within broader issues of power, particularly in regard to rights and roles in language development work in general.

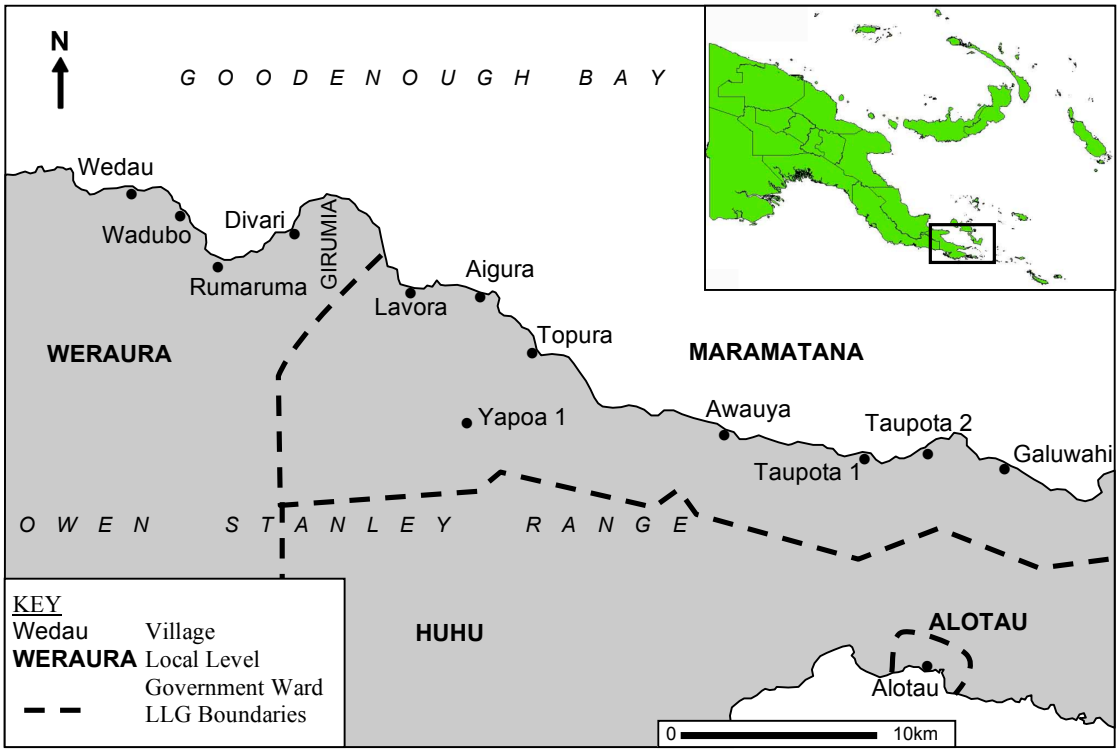
However, before embarking on the analysis, the following section (§2) introduces the case study and the methodologies used to collect the discursive 'texts'.

2 Background and methodology

This thesis is based on a case study from Milne Bay Province, Papua New Guinea. The case study centres around two focal points of language development for the communities, an ADW in 2001 and a Writers' Workshop in 2003. This thesis is a study of the cultural texts produced during and surrounding these activities. In order to orient the reader, this chapter begins with a discussion of the demography (§2.1), the influence of colonisation and missionisation (§2.2) and linguistic classification (§2.3) of the languages and communities involved. The research methodology of the thesis is presented in §2.4. Finally, in §2.5, I situate myself as a linguist with my own goals for research and community interaction. Discussion of the theoretical background and linguistic classification of the language area are largely included in Part 2 of the thesis as texts of the academic discursive structure.

2.1 Demography

The case study focuses on twelve villages along a 45 km stretch of the southern coast of Goodenough Bay, Milne Bay Province, Papua New Guinea: Wedau, Wadubo, Rumaruma, Divari, Lavora, Aigura, Yapoa 1, Topura, Awauya, Taupota 1, Taupota 2, and Galuwahi (see Map 2.1). Each of these villages consists of a series of clan-based settlements organised in relation to land ownership. With the exception of Yapoa 1, which is situated in the mountains



Map 2.1: Wedau - Galuwahi, Milne Bay Province, Papua New Guinea

of the Owen Stanley Range, the villages all lie on the narrow coastal plains found on the southern coast of Goodenough Bay.

The combined population of these villages in 2000 was 3,737. Broken up into Census Wards, the figures are as follows:

Table 2.1: 2000 Population Figures[7]

Wedau	484
Wadubo (Damayadona)	283
Rumaruma	431
Divari	261
Lavora (including Aigura)	303
Topura	442
Yapoa 1	123
Wamawamana (Awauya)	288
Taupota (including Taupota 1 and Taupota 2)	729
Garuahi (Galuwahi)	393
Total	**3,737**

The village names used throughout are those used by the villagers to refer to themselves. Consequently, Galuwahi is used rather than Garuwahi or Garuai; Awauya, rather than Wamawamana or Gidagida, Taupota 1 and Taupota 2 are two villages, although separated only by a small river, and are referred to simply as Taupota. Similarly, Wadubo and Rumaruma are separate villages, and also separate census wards. However, they are often jointly referred to as Wamira, by outsiders as well as by community members themselves. The names Wamira 1 and Wamira 2 are often used to refer to Wadubo and Rumaruma respectively. In the current study, the names Taupota and Wamira will be used for these pairs of villages unless differentiation between their subsections is necessary in the discussion.

In comparison to the national average, the residents of these villages are in general highly literate, demonstrating higher levels of general education. While 56.2% of the Papua New Guinean population are literate (National Statistical Office 2000), the figures for the villages involved in this study are much higher, ranging from 99.5% of population aged 10 years and over in Awauya, to 63.6 % in Yapoa 1. Yapoa 1 has a considerably lower literacy

[7] These figures do not include population within the Ward living on government and mission stations, except for Taupota and Topura where only overall figures are given. Many of those living on the stations are not local people, but are employed in professional roles at the schools, health clinics or churches.

rate than other villages in the area, with the second lowest being 85.1% in Divari (National Statistical Office 2000). The low literacy in Yapoa 1 can be related to its isolation in the mountains, with the closest school being two hours walk away in Topura.

The southern coast of Goodenough Bay is divided geographically by Cape Frere, known locally as Girumia. This point, which rises sharply out of the ocean, reaching a height of 1000 meters, is a significant marker in traditional ways of describing the seasons. At the tip, a small waterfall (called Girumia) runs into the ocean, dividing Divari from Lavora. According to local people, there was little interaction around the point before the arrival of the Anglican mission in the 1890s (see §6.2). Today, Girumia is an important landmark for boats travelling in Goodenough Bay. It is also the boundary between two Local Level Government wards: Weraural LLG to the west, and Maramatana LLG to the east.

The sharply rising tail of the Owen Stanley Range separates the southern coast of Goodenough Bay from the provincial capital, Alotau. The ridge of this range forms the boundary between Maramatana LLG, and Huhu LLG to the south. Along the entire coast, wherever there is a flat coastal plain between the mountains and the ocean, a village can be found. A flat area large enough for a row of houses is sufficient for a hamlet. The steep mountains of the Owen Stanley Range continue until they fall into the ocean at East Cape, casting a rain shadow to their north, producing dry grasslands. West of Girumia, traditional irrigation systems provide water for the cultivation of taro, the staple crop of the area (Kahn 1986: 11). To the east, the rainfall is higher and arable land can be found nearby in rainforest-covered mountains. The coastal plain widens further east and gardens are up to a day's walk inland from the village.

Throughout the area, houses are generally made from local materials such as bamboo and pandanus leaves. However, an occasional metal roof can be found in the less remote villages. Water is collected from creeks, or by digging wells in the beach. The villages rely on a subsistence economy with people growing most of their own food. Some food is sold at local markets, and products such as mangoes are carried to Alotau for sale.[8]

A road from Alotau, the provincial capital, runs through Galuwahi, and continues along the coast to Awauya. Remnants of a further section of road to Topura are still evident. Walking tracks along the coast, and inland to Yapoa, link the remaining villages. Access to Alotau can also be gained by walking across the mountain range near Yapoa to the road on the

[8] Kahn (1983, 1986, 1990) gives an ethnographic account of Wamira.

other side. The ocean provides the main transport route for people as well as supplies. Dinghies travel along the coast, linking the villages with each other, and with the road that leads to Alotau, the provincial capital.

2.2 Colonisation and missionisation

Over the last 120 years, there has been massive cultural and political change in the area as a result of colonisation and missionisation. While European explorers had visited New Guinea and the surrounding islands since the 17th century, it was not until the late 1880s that permanent European settlement began. After the Dutch took control of the western half of the island of New Guinea, in 1884 the Germans claimed the north-eastern part of the island of New Guinea and the nearby Bismarck Archipelago as part of their Empire and the Queenslanders responded with the annexation of the south-eastern part of New Guinea and nearby islands for Great Britain. The British territory of Papua, or British New Guinea, included what are now: Western Province, Gulf Province, Central Province, Milne Bay Province and Oro (Northern) Province. In 1906, administration of Papua was handed to the recently formed federation of Australia. After World War I, the German Territory of New Guinea was also handed to Australia for administration.

In 1884, the villages from Wedau to Galuwahi were annexed as part of the Milne Bay district of the British (later Australian) territory of Papua. Contact with newly arrived outsiders including government administrators, government patrol officers, missionaries, and traders developed. Through these new interactions, the social structure of the region changed. Patterns of contact between traditional groups changed as they were grouped together into villages, parishes, districts and provinces. Villages and hamlets became small parts of new larger entities: districts, provinces, the Territory of Papua, and the British Commonwealth, and local forms of power were subsumed by imported structures. Hamlets were grouped into villages and moved to more accessible locations to assist the government appointed Patrol Officers in their work. These Patrol Officers were given the authority to enforce the policies of the government as they travelled from village to village.

While the annexation of Papua lead to a new political system and consequent structure of institutional power, it was the government's decision to leave the 'pacification' of the territory to the missions which was to be most influential on people's lives during the early years of colonisation. In 1890, an agreement was made among the Protestant missions dividing the territory into 'spheres of influence' (Ross 1996a: 602), and the villages

surrounding Goodenough Bay became part of the area of the Anglican mission, which extended inland and further north-west around the coast into Oro Province (known then as Northern Province) (Wetherell 1977).

In 1891, the first Anglican missionaries, lead by Albert MacLaren and Copland King, landed at Kaieta, near Wedau, and were given land to build their mission station on the nearby Dogura plateau (Clarke 1977: 959). At Wedau, there was little overt resistance to the settlement of the missionaries. Trade relationships were established between missionaries and communities in order to build houses and other buildings (e.g. see Wetherell 1976). A mutual curiosity and desire to obtain valuable new goods provided a common basis for interaction between the 'new-comers' and the local people.

For the people of Wedau and Wamira, the arrival of the mission provided the first contact with western culture, its people, its material possessions, and its beliefs. The establishment of the Anglican mission influenced the lives of the people in many ways. As well as the change to their daily activities through their involvement in working for the mission (King n.d.), church services were run in the villages of Wedau and Wamira, and schools were begun for the children. The development of churches and schools quickly spread beyond Wedau and Wamira, to other villages. Clarke (1977: 959-960) states: 'eastward to Taupota, inland to a height of 3,000 feet, westward to Menapi at the head of Goodenough bay – schools were established and churches built in the villages'.

The locally used speech varieties, which differed from village to village, were subsumed within a hierarchy of language that reflected the new social structure. A new expatriate elite (i.e. the 'white' missionaries) spoke English, and attempted to teach this to the children through schools. Three further lingua francae were also influential from this time: Papuan Pidgin (spoken by missionaries from other Pacific Islands), Motu (used as a language of administration) and Wedau (the lingua franca of the Anglican mission). The diversity of speech varieties within the Anglican area, and the belief that '…the language difficulty is one of the most serious obstacles to our work' (Bishop Henry Newton 1914, quoted by Clarke 1977: 960), led to the adoption of Wedau as a lingua franca. It became the language of religion, education and wider communication throughout the Anglican region.

Interactions between the various villages began to change. Living among warring tribes, the missionaries became the peacemakers in the area. This resulted, for example, in peaceful interaction between enemy tribes such as Wedau and Boyanai (King n.d.: 16). This

was a matter of survival for the missionaries, and also served the aim of the government which looked to the missions to bring an end to cannibalism. Groups that had traditionally been enemies began to associate with one another through the activities sponsored by the mission including church festivals, schools, and medical clinics, or simply by accompanying missionaries on their journeys to other parts of the Anglican territory.

The missions remained central to the lives of the people of Papua until World War II. In the years following the war, there was a shift in focus by the administration. The control of education was taken from the missions and centralised in an attempt to create a functional nation-state within Papua New Guinea. During this time a desire for relevant Papua New Guinean education and language policy was contrasted with strong interests in nation building and 'readying' the people for independence. The result was a strong push by the government towards the use of English language in public domains, and a government supported belief in westernisation as the road to development. This will be further discussed in §7.6.

Today, there is regular contact between the villages for church and community events, visiting relatives as well as various training workshops held for a variety of purposes by government, church, health and educational organizations. Freedom of movement throughout the area has increased greatly since missionisation began in the 1890s. People report living in fear of sorcery and attack from neighbouring communities during the 'time of cannibalism'. This kept communities isolated from their neighbours. However, a simple understanding of isolation followed by a growth in interaction is misleading. Before missionisation, trade links existed throughout the area, and there was widespread migration of clans (see §6.2.2). Also, missionisation has not seen the end of all traditional hostility, this continues between some communities in new forms (e.g. sporting activities and generally expressed attitudes).

2.3 Linguistic classification

The communities chosen for this study have closely related speech varieties. As will be discussed in §4, linguistically the speech varieties have been classified in various ways over the years, largely due to the chain-like nature of the speech varieties making boundaries difficult to determine. Traditionally, Galuwahi has been a Gweda speaking village, however there has been a shift towards Taupota, and to a lesser extent Tawala. Its inclusion in this study is based on a shift to the use of the Taupotan speech variety as the language of everyday

communication.[9] Culturally, speech variety is an important marker of identity and expresses connection with the land and the beliefs of the community. In this section I give the current linguistic classification of the area, based largely on Lynch, Ross & Crowley (2002), and Ross (1988).

Milne Bay Province comprises the eastern tip of mainland Papua New Guinea and the surrounding islands. According to Lynch et al (2002), it contains approximately 50 languages of which approximately forty are Austronesian languages of the Papuan Tip Linkage of the Western Oceanic linkage[10]. The remaining languages are Papuan, or Non-Austronesian languages. The mainland Papuan languages belong to the Dagan family, and are found in the west of the province inland from the head of Goodenough Bay (Dutton 1975: 615). Yeletenye, spoken on Rossel Island is the only Papuan language on the islands of Milne Bay and is most likely part of the East Papuan Phylum, related to the languages of Bougainville and/or New Britain (Ross 1988: 193-4).

The Oceanic languages of Milne Bay Province are part of the Papuan Tip Linkage which extends both northeast and southeast around the coast. This linkage is divided by Lynch et al (2002: 106-106) into four divisions: Kilivila/Misima linkage, Nimao/Sudest family, Central Papuan family, and Nuclear Papuan Tip possibly dividing between the North Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux linkage and the Suauic linkage. Earlier studies (e.g. Lithgow 1976a; Ross 1988) divided Papuan Tip languages into only two groups, Nuclear Papuan Tip and Peripheral Papuan Tip. However more recent studies have been less willing to group the Peripheral Papuan Tip languages together at higher levels (see Lynch et al 2002: 102-106).

[9] In 2001, Gweda was moribund, with approximately 20 speakers remaining. By my return in 2004, the status of the Gweda language had shifted with the introduction of Gweda medium schools. Now a further 50 children speak Gweda, and they are teaching it to their parents and siblings. Due to the similarity of the languages the change is occurring quickly, with lexical substitution being the main area of conscious change. A study of Gweda language change due to the revival would be likely to prove interesting. While the future of the language is still uncertain, the revival has been remarkable.
[10] Ethnologue (Gordon 2005) lists 47 Oceanic languages in Milne Bay, while Ross (1988) lists 36 languages. Discrepancy in the number of languages in the area exists due to differing views of language and dialect.

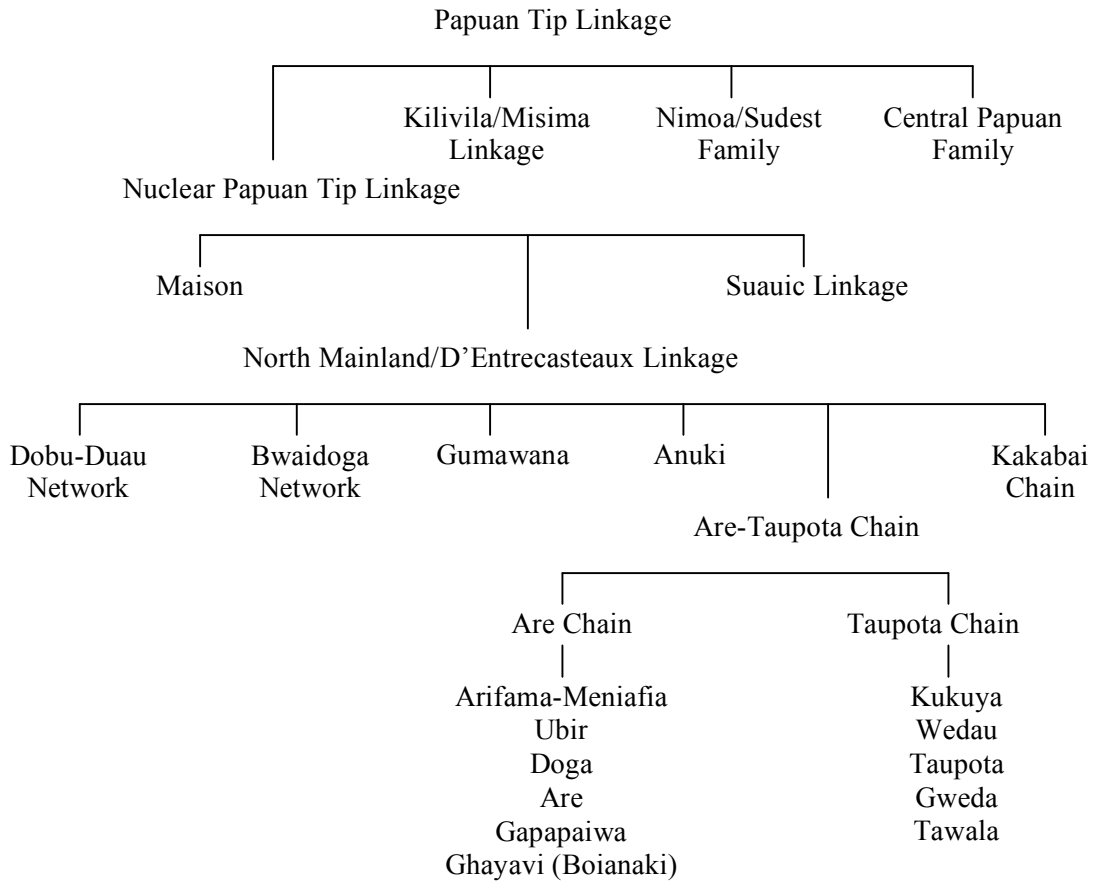
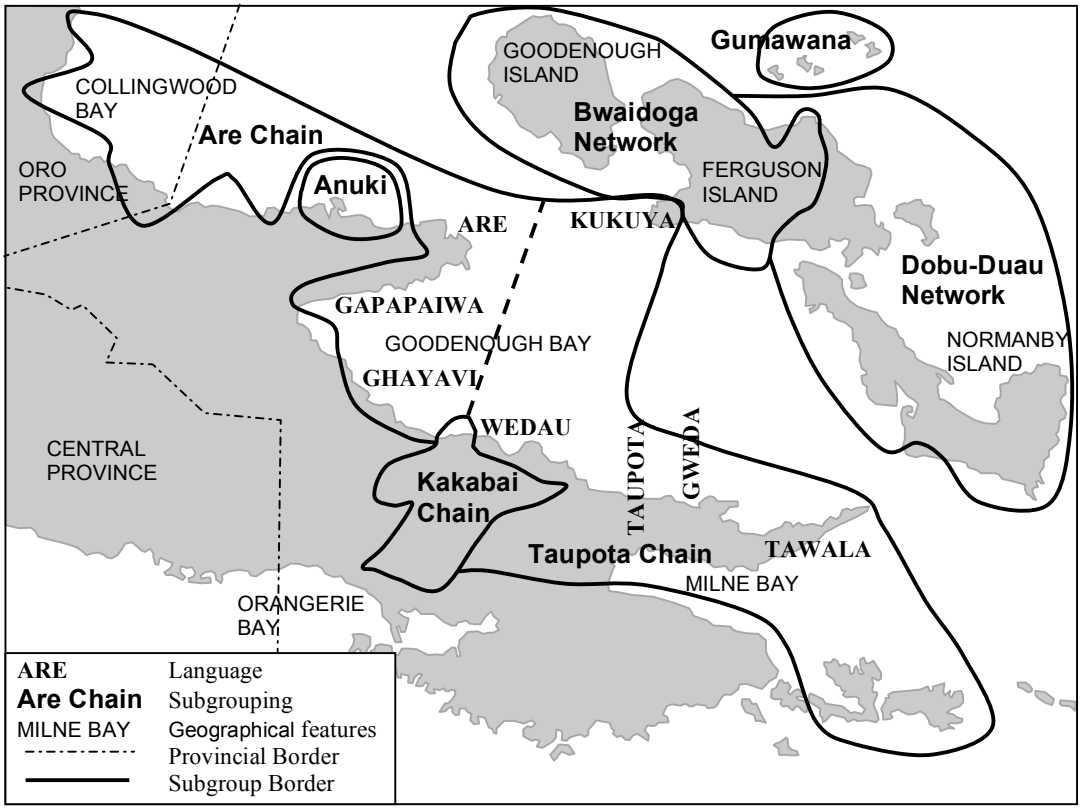


Figure 2.1: Genetic relationship of Taupota Chain to Papuan Tip Languages (Adapted from Ross (1988) and Ezard (1997), updated from Lynch et al (2002))

The villages of the current study are part of the Taupota chain of the North Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux linkage of Nuclear Papuan Tip languages. As shown in Figure 2.1, North Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux subdivides into six branches, the Dobu-Duau network and Bwaidoga network including the languages of the D'Entrecasteaux islands, Gumawana, a language isolate spoke on the Amphlett Islands, Anuki, a language isolate on the north coast of Cape Vogel, the Kakabai chain found inland from Wedau, and the Are/Taupota chain which extends around the coast of from East Cape to Oro Province. The Are-Taupota chain contains two smaller chains: Are chain and Taupota chain. Ross (1988) divides the Taupota chain into five languages: Kukuya (Minaveha), Wedau, Taupota, Gweda (Galuwahi) and Tawala (see §4.1.5 for further discussion). It is within the languages listed as Wedau, Taupota and Gweda that the villages in this study are found. Map 2.2 shows the North Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux linkage, focussing on the language of the Are Taupota chain.

The 'chain'-like nature of these languages is reflected in the name of the groupings. A chain is described by Ross (1988: 8) as a situation in which, '…communalects are typically spread along a coastline, each related most closely to its neighbour on either side'. Within this



Map 2.2: North Mainland/D'Entrecasteaux linkage showing languages of the Are-Taupota chain (based on Ross 1988 and Lynch et al 2002)

chain somewhat arbitrary lines have sometimes been drawn to differentiate 'languages'. Different approaches to dividing up sections of the Taupota chain have resulted in a discrepancy in the number of languages. While above I mentioned five Taupota chain languages, as stated by Ross (1988), Ethnologue lists nine languages within this area (Gordon 2005). These differences are due to differences in methodology and will be discussed further in §4.

Papuan Tip languages are grouped together by seven shared phonological innovations (Ross 1988: 196), and five shared morphosyntactic innovations (Lynch et al 2002: 104; Ross 1988: 208). One particularly characteristic and highly unusual innovation of the Papuan Tip languages is that they differ from other Oceanic languages by having SOV constituent order and use of post-positions, rather than the SVO constituent order that typifies Oceanic languages in general. These innovations are attributed to contact with non-Austronesian languages (Lynch et al 2002: 15). The SOV word order is not found in the Nimoa/Sudest family and the Kilivila family, but is nonetheless considered an important factor in the grouping of the Papuan Tip linkage (Ross 1988: 208-209).

Shared innovations of the Are-Taupota chain are given in Ezard (1997) based on Ross (1983):

- the devoicing of the stops *b, *d, *g in certain words
- PPT *t>Proto Are-Taupota *s/_i
- the formation of Agent nouns by suffixing the third person marker to the reduplicated verb, except in Tawala
- an unusual vowel shift: the POC causative *va[ga]- > Proto Are-Taupota *vi
- the use of an allative preposition
- Proto Are-Taupota *vo- verbal prefix

The final feature listed was added to Ross' original five by Ezard (1997: 14). Ezard (1997) questions the third feature due to its absence from Tawala, which follows a different pattern for the creation of agent nouns. The pattern found in Tawala is also found in Wedau as a second agentising suffix. Ezard proposes borrowing rather than genetic relationship as the basis for this feature (Ezard 1997: 14).

The linguistic classification of the speech varieties is still a work in progress. While a number of studies of higher order relationships have been compiled, few detailed studies of the speech varieties in the area have been completed. The historical development of the classification given here is discussed in §4.

2.4 Research methodology: setting and participants

As discussed in §1.4, a Foucauldian analysis is based on uncovering the discourses which produce the practices being observed. These practices, or texts, include language use, patterns of interaction, decision-making processes, leadership structures, and belief structures. It is a reflexive method in which the methods of data collection and analysis are determined by the context and focus of study.

As discussion in §1, this thesis aims to explore the language development practices of linguists and communities within the context of an ADW in Milne Bay, PNG. An understanding of the context of both the ADW and the communities is essential in any data collection and analysis. As my research focussed on two distinct aspects of language development practice, that of the linguists, and that of the community members with whom I interacted, two very different approaches to data collection and analysis were used.

My research of linguist involvement is ethnographic in nature, being based on my own experience as a linguist working in orthography development in Papua New Guinea for two and a half years. In his study of literacy on Nukulaelae, an atoll in the nation of Tuvalu in the South Pacific, Besnier (1995: 17) argued that in order to understand the literacy practices of a group of people, we must 'seek to understand the meaning that literacy has for the members of this society in terms of the social context in which it occurs, its symbolic associations, and its historical antecedents'. Due to the social embeddedness of literacy practice, he argues for an ethnographic approach to understanding literacy practices and the associated language development activities.

My interest in how orthography development practice is constructed on a socio-historically determined framework began during a two and a half year assignment with SIL as an orthography consultant in Papua New Guinea. I participated in 14 ADWs as a facilitator, working with over 40 speech communities in six provinces. I worked with a different set of facilitators for each workshop, each with their own experiences and goals. Thus, I was provided with a rich environment for reflecting on the language and literacy practices of linguists involved in ADWs.

Part 2 of this thesis focuses on the academic discourses of language development. The content of this section, as well as discussions of the ADW (§1.2.3), is based on my reflection on the practices of myself and my colleagues within the ADW context. Through participant observation within the context of language development, I embarked on a largely ethnographic study of community practices surrounding language and literacy. However, unlike Besnier's ethnographic study of the Tuvalu literacy practices, the focus of my research was the ADW approach to orthographic development.

My texts are not the transcriptions of recorded interviews with colleagues. Rather, I focus on the decisions and actions that I observed during workshops, and the attitudes which were expressed in the process of actual language development work. This includes, but is not limited to the numerous informal conversations I had with my co-workers before, during and after each workshop. In order to bring a focus to the research, I have chosen a case study to illustrate practices of language development of both linguists and communities. This case study is representative of my experience as a linguist involved in orthography development, and illustrates a number of issues which were pervasive throughout Papua New Guinea. The case study focuses on visits to Milne Bay Province as a participant observer in language development: as a facilitator working with an SIL team during the Taupota ADW in 2001, and

as a post-graduate linguistics student conducting subsequent fieldwork, and running a writers' workshop in 2004.

Through my observations of myself as a participant in the process, this thesis may appear uncharacteristically personal for an academic study. However, through 'writing the self' (Jordan 2001: 45-47), I am able to situate myself as a linguist within the process of community-based language development and bring insight to the process which would otherwise evade detection.

My experiences and interactions during the two workshops and the surrounding fieldwork also provided the context for collecting data relating to community practices of language development. As with my own reflexive study, this data is based on my interactions with community members and my participation in community-based language development as a outside 'expert'. It is not an ethnographic study such as Kahn's study of Wamira (Kahn 1983, 1986, 1990) which is based on a deep personal experience of the culture over a number of years. Rather it uses a broad set of methods including informal interviews, observation of and reflection on my interactions with workshop participants and other community members, ethnoclassificatory dialect mapping, and linguistic tasks such as recording words lists and stories.

I was involved in participant observation as a facilitator of language development workshops and as an 'expert' during community meetings. I also conducted informal interviews and reviewed print and electronic materials (including archival material), collected linguistic data, and facilitated perceptual mapping tasks. As a discourse analyst I have constantly analysed the texts created through the process of orthography development and language standardisation within these communities.

The focus of the workshops and the participation of community members provided a contextualised setting for discussing issues in orthography development and language standardisation within a community-based process. There was no need for hypothetical questions or formal interviews as issues of language planning were the everyday issues of the workshop participants. While I facilitated the workshops, the participants largely determined the direction of discussion. Consequently, the workshops tended to focus on issues the participants considered important. Through this process I gained insight into the speakers' perceptions of orthography development which may have been inaccessible using direct questioning or linguistic analysis.

In 2004, I also visited each village in the study to collect language data and cultural and historical information, as well as talk with communities about their issues in orthography development. This allowed for more specific research into the issues of local identity in language development as I interacted with the leaders of each village regarding the issues that were of concern to them as a community, and hear their stories in their own environment. Once again, as an outsider, my access to some culturally valuable information was limited. However, as a researcher committed to assisting the communities in their goals for language development, I was granted access to the story that is considered appropriate for outside audiences.

For the remainder of this section I discuss the Taupota ADW (§2.4.1), the writers' workshop (§2.4.2) and village-based experiences (§2.4.3) in relation to the context of participant observation within this case study.

2.4.1 Taupota ADW

In §1.2 community-based models of orthography development, in particular the ADW, were discussed. In this section, I turn to the ADW which is the focus of this thesis, held in Taupota during June 2001.

At the request of the Milne Bay Provincial education department, an ADW was held in Taupota village for the people from Taupota (including Awauya), Topura (including Yapoa, Aigura, Lavora) and Gweda (Galuwahi village) languages. In relation to the linguistic classification given above, this area reflects the Yapoa and Topura dialects of Wedau, the Taupota dialect of Taupota, and Gweda.[11] The participants from these areas were joined by elementary teachers from the northern Tawala speaking villages (Guga, Huhuna, Yapoa 2, Kiyaha and Porotona) and the Wedau/Wamira speaking villages (Wedau, Wamira, and Divari).

The workshop was staffed by eight consultants from SIL, including three language surveyors, two Papua New Guinean literacy supervisors (one from Milne Bay), a Papua New Guinean SIL staff member, and two orthography consultants (of which I was one). As the person with the most experience in orthography development, I was assigned by the regional directors to lead the workshop. Initially, as a group of facilitators, we decided that we would assign one or two people to each group of participants. As similar issues began to arise for

[11] The language names here reflect those used by the Milne Bay education department and written on the contract from the National Department of Education. The linguistic classification of these speech varieties is discussed in §4, while §8 discusses the ethnoclassification of the communities.

each group, the distinction between group-based facilitators waned. During the workshop, we discussed the issues that arose and explored options for moving forward, presenting options groups of participants according to our expertise. During the second half of the first week, the SIL regional director was also present. While I was a member of a team, and include the entire team in my use of 'we' as the facilitators, it is important to note that as an individual there were times when my motivations, my attitudes and my goals did not reflect those of the group as a whole, just as each other team member was also an individual with their own motivations, attitudes and goals.

Prior to the workshop, another member of SIL had visited each village to inform the communities of the upcoming workshops, and requested the communities choose participants to attend. He instructed the communities to choose three or four participants from each village with the following guidelines (Easton & Wroge 2002: 15):

- speakers of the language who are literate (read and write) in another language
- people who speak and know the language well
- community and church leaders who can make decisions
- people from different parts of the language area, not just one or two villages

Each village sent a small number of people who together filled these requirements, as well as the requirements of the village leaders. Thus, participants included holders of traditional authority and people who are 'marked' by the communities for language development work. This second group were often young educated people who demonstrated respect for the culture and community, as well as older women in positions of leadership. The workshop was held at the primary school on Taupota mission station. There were many more participants from the Taupota villages than from other communities.

After some initial collective teaching sessions run by the workshop facilitators, much of the workshop was spent with each language group working separately. As facilitators, we began with some teaching on alphabets and discussion of the participants' motivations for developing an alphabet for their language. The participants then began writing stories in their own speech varieties. The facilitators asked the participants to list the areas that were problematic to the participants while writing their stories. This list became the basis for the issues discussed during the workshop. The facilitators and the communities considered

options for the various letters, as the participants wrote word lists, discussed word breaks and practised story editing.

It was during this time that I was first exposed to the issues involved in orthography development in this part of Milne Bay. As the workshop leader I wanted to come to a better understanding of the issues so that I could better facilitate the process of orthography development within these communities. I listened to people's concerns, questions, and hopes regarding a written form of their own speech variety as expressed through group discussions on the advantages and disadvantages of various orthography options, participants reports on village visits and people's responses to proposed orthographies, as well as general interaction with people during and outside workshop times.

I took notes, and asked some specific questions of people involved in the workshop. Very little was required from me to encourage discussions on language and orthography. It was clear that people enjoyed talking about their speech variety and those of surrounding villages, and a workshop on how to write this added further substance to the topic. People expressed strong views about the need to follow the precedent set by the mission language, or conversely to express difference from this, to follow English, or express their unique identity, to write the same as the neighbouring village, or express difference through writing. It was in this context that I came to understand the intrinsic nature of identity in orthography development.

The ADW was a launching pad for the communities and for my research. Many participants expressed that they were encouraged by the work they had completed which was represented by the books they printed. However, as will be discussed in Part 3, a number of issues that had been raised were not resolved, and for many villages the promise of government-supported vernacular elementary education was postponed. Meanwhile, others looked to varying sources of authority to validate their decisions, and enable the use of the orthographies they had developed. This was the context of my fieldwork in 2004.

2.4.2 Writers' workshop

After the ADW 2001, the Milne Bay provincial Department of Education requested a follow-up workshop in order to check that the orthographies were 'working'. This request matched my own desire to return to Milne Bay and conduct further research on the process of orthography development among the communities from Wedau to Galuwahi. Because of the positive impact of the ADW, both in terms of assisting the communities to develop writing

systems and assisting me to understand the issues involved in such a process at a community level, I organised and ran a follow-up Writers' Workshop for the people of these communities during my university sponsored fieldwork in 2004. This enabled the goals of the education department and my research to be addressed simultaneously. For the first two days of the writers' workshop I worked with another linguist who had grown up in Milne Bay and was working with SIL at the time.

Prior to the workshop, we visited each village and informed them of the upcoming workshop and the opportunity to send up to four participants to attend. Guidelines based on age, education and language knowledge, similar to the those for the ADW (see §2.4.1), were given. Three to four participants from each of the villages from Taupota to Wedau attended the workshop, with the exception of Awauya which sent only one participant, and Lavora which sent no participants (see §9.4). This included Wedau, Wamira and Divari who sent small groups of participants, allowing for more discussion than was possible during the ADW when only one elementary school teacher was sent from each of these villages. The larger attendance reflected the communities' recognition of the need to come to some decisions regarding their orthographies. Individual participants also attended from Galuwahi and nearby Tawala speaking villages. As with the ADW, the participants were selected by their own communities. Guidelines for choosing participants similar to those in §2.4.1 were given, and the result was a mix of older people with traditional authority and knowledge and younger people who were being assigned the task as one of their roles in their community. Some participants in the Writers' Workshop had attended the ADW, while for others, this was the first time they had ever written their own speech variety.

The Writers' Workshop lasted five days. The ADW along with discussions and materials produced since then provided the basis from which this workshop could begin. During the first day of the workshop, issues relating to orthography development and standardisation were identified and discussed, with a number of decisions from the ADW being revisited. Issues regarding the authority of previous texts were raised, and in some cases, new decisions were made. The workshop quickly moved beyond specific issues of orthography to focus on assisting participants to produce more materials and explore the range of uses of writing in their own speech variety. During the following days of the Writers' Workshop, the participants tested their new orthography decisions through writing various texts, which they compiled into storybooks to be used in their communities.

One of my aims was to provide the support required to encourage the communities to look to themselves to continue in the work of establishing their writing systems, rather than continuing to rely on outside 'authorities' so that the process of language development could be based on internal authority where possible. This was partly achieved through only having one facilitator for much of the workshop. The participants had to look to each other to discuss issues and solve problems.

From a research perspective, the Writers' Workshop offered me an opportunity to gain insight into the processes and the role of the wider community in orthography development. I observed conversations and interactions between participants, and discussed issues regarding community desires for language development. Working alongside the participants, and helping them to consider the issues relevant to their questions regarding symbol choice and standardisation, I observed community members struggling to balance their own desires with those of their community and the responsibility they felt with regard to maintaining their heritage.

2.4.3 Village data collection

During 2004, I visited all twelve villages in the study area. The time spent in each village ranged from one to three days, with the exception of Taupota, where I stayed for ten days, while the Writers' Workshop was held. The length of time in each village varied due to the availability of people to help with research tasks, the length of time taken to complete the tasks, availability of transport and time required to travel to the next village. I originally planned to spend longer in each village, however, I was delayed a number of days by a lack of transport to the first village. In general the work proceeded rapidly, and people made themselves available immediately on my arrival.

In each of the villages, the following tasks were completed:

- linguistic data was collected (word lists and story)
- a 'dialect' map was drawn based on speaker perceptions of boundaries
- cultural and linguistic history, language attitudes and language use were discussed

The linguistic data was used as the basis for my phonological analysis, and to increase my understanding of the relationship between the speech varieties. The dialect map gave me the opportunity to discuss and pictorially represent the speakers' views of language and language boundaries. The cultural and linguistic history and language use and attitude data were

collected through informal interviews and provided the space for community members to raise their concerns relating to language development. Each of these tasks is discussed further in the relevant sections of the thesis.

I described the data collection tasks and the associated research aims to community members at a community meeting, and those attending determined who would be involved. Consequently, the participants did not represent a carefully chosen cross section of the community from a sociolinguistic perspective, but reflected what the community considered to be important. Participants were generally older men who held leadership positions in the community, and consequently also held the authority to give information about matters such as language, contact patterns, and cultural history. The elderly women were more active in activities directly related to language. In Aigura, two older women, who were respected as having the best knowledge of the language, gave the final 'answers' where discrepancies arose. This authority was based on their age, and their lifelong residence in the village. In Taupota, I worked with an elderly woman as well as her husband to collect the information I required. While this method of identifying participants does not mirror models found in sociolinguistics where issues of gender, generation, and other social distinctions are important in participant selection, it does represent culturally defined models of authority and knowledge dissemination. This is discussed further in §6.1.

In all cases, the work began with a formal gathering, apart from Taupota where I stayed for over a week. In most cases this was a village meeting, sometimes it included only the elders, and in one instance only three specifically chosen people. On four occasions, the tasks were completed with up to forty people listening and participating to a greater or lesser extent. In these situations, everyone understood who held the authority, and whose answer was 'correct'. This was demonstrated by referring back to the authority if there was uncertainty, or by only allowing participation from others so long as the person with authority could still be heard. Positions of leadership were based on traditional lineages of leadership in the villages. While the village elders were respected and held the authority, younger educated men living in the village, and those who held government positions were often also involved. However, even these men, who were considered to be community leaders in many practical ways, were aware that it was the elders who held the knowledge of the group's history, language and identity.

On my arrival in Wadubo, Rumaruma (the two villages of Wamira), and Divari, village meetings were organised to discuss the orthography issues raised by the 2001

workshop. The issues had remained unresolved and my presence provided a space for these matters to be revisited by the elders, elementary teachers and other community members. The communities ran these meetings, and the main outline of the issues was presented by an elementary teacher, with only a short discussion from me. Through this process and the following discussions I was able to observe varied expressions of the underlying issues in language planning for these communities. Technical aspects or the orthography were often discussed in English, to allow for my involvement. However, despite my presence, discussions at these meetings, like many during the two workshops, were generally held in the local speech varieties rather than English. This allowed for more freedom of expression for the community members and reflected my less than central role in proceedings. Due to a lack of fluency in the speech varieties, this excluded me from direct involvement in much of the discussion. However, a member of the community would discretely translate main points of discussions for me, and I would ask questions regarding the reactions and models of involvement/disengagement I observed during these discussions.

News of my intended arrival did not always precede me. Consequently, there were occasions when the appropriate person for the task was not in the village. This occurred in the first village, Wedau. While people were happy to give me language data, and talk about how their speech compared to that of other villages, they were not happy to discuss issues of the group's history and origin. However, due to the close proximity to the Anglican mission at Dogura, they referred me to books written by the missionaries who had interacted with their ancestors and written down their stories. This lead me to archival searches of the Anglican Archives held at the University of Papua New Guinea.

Through the research tasks, I was offered parts of the 'story' that each community carry to inform the culture and create their identity. This is the story which is passed from generation to generation and creates the meaning for the people of that community as they themselves recreate the story. This culturally constructed story is more relevant to the current study than a traditional socio-linguistic comparison of social factors such as generational, gender or educational differences as it gives a voice to the underlying influences on community-based language development decisions,. Similarly, the subjectivity of self-reported dialect boundaries enhances the data rather than detracting from it, as I take the speakers' views of language as an expression of underlying discursive structures.

2.4.4 Summary

My own role as a participant in language development was quite complex. As an 'outsider' my role was not the same as that of a community member. Rather it was defined by the discursively constructed systems of power created within the communities, the roles of workshop facilitator created by academic discourses of language planning, and my own discursively formed model for interaction. As a linguist, among the community I was assigned a role as an 'expert' or 'holder of knowledge' (see §7.2) in the process. I also had roles ascribed to me by the institutions I was connected to, with their own sets of tasks and requirements.

Through the two workshops and the village data collection I was able to gather a diverse range of information. Linguistic data was accompanied by speakers' discussion of language use and attitudes. Stories of cultural history and language boundaries assisted me in understanding the place of the past in the present language development processes. Conversations with workshop participants gave me insight to their experience of the process as we worked side by side to complete our tasks. On three occasions, the ADW, the Writers' Workshop, and in village discussions, I experienced the language development processes as an outside expert, but participant nonetheless. This gave me insight to not only the communities' experiences, but also those of myself and my colleagues. The diversity of methodologies paves the way for the diversity of knowledges discussed in the following chapters.

2.5 Personal goals for language development

Given that the research presented in this thesis has grown out of my experience of language development in the communities, it is important that my own goals are transparent. While I attempt to convey my experience, and that of the communities involved, with as much insight as possible, in ethnographic studies it is impossible to escape the influence of your own discursive framework on the construction of topics of interest, approaches to data collection, the type of information gathered, and the subsequent analysis and interpretation of the data (see Jordan 2001). Consequently, here I describe my own goals in the process.

As a linguist trained in a western university, my context for the language development work, which I facilitated, grew out of a western academic environment. Working under the auspices of SIL-PNG, my work was shaped by the larger goals and vision of this mission-based organization. Meanwhile, the locations and outcomes were identified by a contract with

the National Department of Education and AusAID, who funded the workshops. This web of stakeholders, and their goals, was instrumental in constructing my position of linguist facilitator in the case study.

My goals in orthography development and language standardisation developed through my experiences in the process. Before facilitating the workshop which forms the basis of the current case study, I had been involved in many ADWs in various parts of Papua New Guinea, each with their own socio-historically specific context. This experience challenged my understanding of the role of the linguist in language development, and encouraged me to explore possibilities of community owned processes. Secondly, my relationship with the various stakeholders has changed. By 2004, I was no longer working with SIL, or under contract with the Education Department and AusAID (Easton 2003: 2). Though these relationships continued to influence and support the work undertaken, I felt freer to focus on my own goals of offering consultation to the communities, and seeking to understand the language development process from their perspective.

2.5.1 2001 Alphabet Development Workshop

The ADW concept was developed by SIL-PNG out of a desire to create a framework for community-based orthography development. The method held loosely to scientific principles, focussing on training and equipping communities to undertake an orthography development process which would reflect their culture and context. SIL had not previously been involved with language development in the area from Wedau to Galuwahi on a long-term basis. However, due to requests from communities within this area for assistance with Bible translation, SIL had goals beyond those of the ADW. These included encouraging orthography decisions that would be maximally extendable to the greatest number of dialects possible, to enable the widest possible usage of literacy materials and the least number of separate Bible translations in the language chain.

While I operated as a member of a team of facilitators, and was in the role of leading this team, my goals did not always correspond to those of the group as a whole. Having previously facilitated a number of other ADWs, my goal for these communities was to produce an orthography that could be used in the elementary schools, and in other aspects of people's lives. My focus was on accompanying the communities, not doing the work for them, but providing method, guidance and consultation in the process. My goal was not to produce a phonology of the language, or even a phonemic alphabet, but rather to allow the

community to choose how their speech varieties would be written. This framework had developed out of my training in sociolinguistic approaches to orthography development, and a desire to participate in empowering community development.

2.5.2 2004 fieldwork

During my second trip to the area, my relationship with other stakeholders changed. I travelled as a PhD researcher, collecting data for my thesis, while also further encouraging the communities in using their own writing systems. While the contract was finished, I continued to consult with the provincial education department in order that our work might be mutually supportive. While no longer under the auspices of SIL, the connection continued through logistical support and community perceptions of my role. Nevertheless, I was able to pursue my own goals more readily.

However, as an academic linguist, another set of institutional requirements influenced my practice. As a PhD researcher, goals of data collection and analysis became more prominent. Funded by a university research grant, I was required to undertake scientifically valid fieldwork. With approval from a university ethics committee, I was required to conduct my research in a manner considered appropriate by that committee. With a visa issued by the National Research Institute of Papua New Guinea, I met with the provincial research committee to discuss my work and its role in provincial development.

However, my personal goal to undertake empowering community-based language development work remained strong. During the second trip, this focussed on raising awareness of the skills that existed within each community. With the future of the elementary school system under question at the time due to a lack of funding, I considered enabling communities in the area of orthography development was likely to be an important factor in their ability to meet their educational aspirations. My hope was that this would make them less dependent on outside assistance, and more able to determine their own futures.

2.5.3 Perceived goals

My work was also influenced by what others considered my goals to be. My identity as an academically trained linguist from Australia initially working with SIL created its own set of associations and expectations among the various stakeholders.

As a linguist, scientific models have been highly influential in my training, and consequently communities, educators, and linguists alike all expected this to construct my approach to language development work.

As an Australian in Papua New Guinea, my cultural and national relationship with colonisation and westernisation spoke strongly into the situation. This had a negative impact through associations with cultural displacement caused by colonialism. However, mostly it was a positive influence as people shared their longings to improve their standard of living and saw the knowledge of westernisation as a path to this goal.

Working with SIL, the goals of missionisation were also present. Due to a widespread knowledge of SIL in Papua New Guinea, communities automatically associated my colleagues and I with Bible translation. This was evident both in our relationship with local churches and in discussions with community members about their goals for language development work.

While I did not always think, speak or act within these expectations, they were present in my interactions with people influencing what it was possible to say and do in regard to goals and actions of orthography development, language standardisation, and relationships in general.

2.5.4 Summary

Within this environment of competing stakeholders, and changing contexts, my position as a linguist remained constant. My framework grew out of scientific models of language and language development. While aiming to work for communities in this process, my role was not one of imparting community knowledge about language, but of sharing linguistic knowledge. It could be tempting to argue that my goals as a linguist involved in community-based language development were largely instrumental, focussing on assisting the communities in their own process of orthography development and language standardisation. However, to consider my goals as objectively instrumental would be naïve. Like each stakeholder in the process, I had my own discursive structure which influenced what I considered possible and ‘right’, created by and creating my models and practices. My reflection on this discursive structure forms the basis of Part 2 of this thesis.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has given the background to the current study. In discourse analysis, the background is not merely a tool to help situate the study. Rather it is integral to the creation of the discursive structures of the study. Consequently, further discussion of the 'background' can be found throughout the thesis, particularly in §3 and §6 which discuss the discourses of language development and communities respectively. Likewise, methodology is seen as a discursive practice, created and limited by the active discourses. Consequently, the methodology is also discussed throughout, particularly in regard to methodologies of linguistic analysis in §4 and §5.

Part 2 – Academic discourses of language development

> *If the notions of language that form the basis of language planning are artefacts of European thinking, language policies are therefore (albeit unintentionally) agents of the very values which they are seeking to challenge.* (Makoni & Pennycook 2007: 12)

This quote from Makoni and Pennycook represents a growing awareness of the discursive framework which creates language development practices. During the 1950s and 1960s, there was a focus on creating scientific models of language development (e.g. Ferguson 1968; Haugen 1966; Kloss 1969) through applying linguistic analysis to 'language problems'. While even the early models recognised the importance of social context on the processes of language development, the search for a scientific model has continued. Within the academic discourses of language planning, linguistic analysis is seen as fundamental in producing a good 'product': an orthography that represents the phonology, and standardisation that corresponds to linguistic boundaries.

In more recent years, the impact of the social context of the linguist has been recognised. Through recognition of the impact of western nationism on the creation of languages in Europe and the colonised world, the reality of languages as objective countable entities has been questioned (Gubbins & Holt 2002; Irvine & Gal 2000; Makoni & Pennycook 2007). Likewise, the neutrality of orthographic symbols suggested by a linguistic model has come under discussion (e.g. Bird 2001; Eira 2000; Schieffelin & Doucet 1998; Schütz 1985). As discussed in §1.1 the influence of non-linguistic factors on decision-making in language development is not only found from within the target community (Cooper 1989; Ferguson 1968: 32; Tauli 1974: 65) but also among those doing the language development (Bird 2001; Fishman 1974a: 19; Milroy 2001; Mutasa 1996), making language development a highly value-laden practice (Fishman 1968: 11).

In Part 2 of this thesis, I discuss how I came to question the truths created within a linguistic context of language development through my experience of orthography development in Papua New Guinea. The academic discourses of language development create a particular set of truths and knowledges which in turn create and are recreated by a set of practices. Activities such as surveys of academic literature, linguistic classification, and

phonological analysis are given validity. Likewise, those trained within academic institutions to undertake these tasks are created as powerful subjects, and holders of knowledge.

A complex web of discourses has created the discursive structure of the recent language development activities in the villages from Wedau to Taupota in Milne Bay Province, Papua New Guinea. These discourses are evident in all aspects of the language development process, from the goals and methods of the academic participants (see §2.5), to the construction of knowledge about the 'languages' prior to and during the language development workshops (see §1.2.3). Section 3 discusses the academic discourses of language development that were evident in the case study.

The creation of knowledges and the supporting 'truths' are discussed in relation to the linguistic tasks I undertook. Firstly, §4 discusses the creation of language boundaries from an historical perspective. It considers the changing goals and methods of the studies of language classification in the area, and the impact this has had on the creation of languages and subsequently on beliefs about language standardisation during the orthography workshop. Secondly, §5 gives a phonological analysis of the speech varieties in the area, focusing on those aspects of phonology which have been most pertinent to the processes of language planning, namely regional, generational and allophonic variation. The practice of orthography development, as undertaken by the Anglican mission is discussed from an historical perspective.

These two chapters represent the knowledge I carried with me as a linguist trained with this discursive structure, and working for a linguistic organization. It is based on reflection of my own discussions and practice, and that of my colleagues. The knowledge systems created within the academic discourses of language development make visible the underlying truths, which are also created and negotiated with this discursive structure. In my language development practice, I discovered that these truths could not in fact provide a solid foundation for my practice. The questions raised in relation to this discovery, and issues that could not be resolved within academic discourses, are also discussed in these chapters.

As a case study, these chapters focus on my own experience, and my reflections of this. However, I do not tell my story because it is unique, rather because it is part of a larger system of academic models of language development which produces similar texts as it is carried around the world.

3 Language development and discourse

Models and practices of language development are texts created by underlying discursive structures. It is in the systematicity of these texts that the underlying discourses can be studied. The discourses producing my own practice stem from my position as a linguist working within academic, government, and mission contexts. Within the context of the language development activities in the area from Wedau to Taupota in Milne Bay Province, a number of discourses are evident:

- scientism,
- economics,
- westernisation,
- literacy,
- missionisation, and
- community.

Each of these discourses validate particular 'truths' and 'knowledges', and socio-historically specific relationships between the discourses create systems of power which further legitimise the truths and knowledges created. These discourses are discussed in reference to the socio-historical context which created the practices of language development in the case study.

3.1 Discourse of scientism

The discourse of scientism gives meaning to the search for and creation of rational, objective 'facts'. It is within this discourse that much western 'knowledge' is constructed and given value. This discourse holds a hegemonic position within western society, and is consequently difficult to deconstruct from within its boundaries. The discourse of scientism legitimises all 'knowledge' which adheres to its values, consequently excluding anything which cannot be studied, or is not studied, using scientific principles (Barron, Bruce & Nunan 2002; Eira 2000; Pennycook 2002).

This discourse aims for 'objective' research in which the 'facts' are produced, distilled from their larger context. Within scientism:

> *...rational is constructed in opposition to non-rational, and objective in opposition to subjective. Observable, repeatable, verifiable occurrences delineate the canon worthy of study; analysis and categorisation are among the more privileged activities. Research and documentation refer to and build on a*

> *dense web of manifest intertextuality and an established system of authorisation.* (Eira 2000: 189)

The scientific discourse is strongly linked with 'modernist' approaches to knowledge in which absolute truths can be uncovered through objective analysis. In order that phenomena can be studied in a controlled, repeatable environment, it is necessary to be able to dissociate a problem from its larger context. Consequently, scientific truths are perceived as being independent of context.

The hegemonic status of this discourse makes it powerful in producing disciplines that adhere to its values through its ability to provide disciplines with validity within western society. Within the academic discipline of linguistics, the scientific imperative is strong, creating a set of truths and knowledges around language based on scientific principles. The creation of linguistics as a science, particularly through the theories of Saussure and Chomsky, legitimised the status of linguistics as an object worthy of academic study (Barron, Bruce & Nunan 2002; Crowley 1990; Pennycook 2002; Taylor 1990; Woolard 1998: 25-27).

In promoting some possibilities, discourses limit others. Pennycook (2002) argues that through the creation of linguistics as a science, the system of the structure of language became primary, while other language related issues were sidelined to enable the objective study of the system:

> *Among these exclusions were the relations between the history of a language and the parallel history of a cultural or national group; relations between language and political history…relationships between languages and social institutions…the relationship between these and the development of a literary language; and finally relationships between language and geographical spread and variation…* (Pennycook 2002: 15)
>
> *…But perhaps even more significant were the types of knowledge it sought to* disqualify*: all those non-scientific, interpretive, exploratory, open-ended questions about language and life* (Pennycook 2002: 18, emphasis original).

'Language' was created as a distinct entity which can be abstracted from its social, cultural and historical context, and can be analysed on the basis of the scientific principles of objectivity, 'producing the appearance that language is separate from questions of social process' (Gal & Irvine 1995: 15). Thus, the discourse of scientism impacts the object of study, the methods of study and even the boundaries of the discipline (Gal & Irvine 1995: 21).

Within the boundaries of scientific linguistic study, the social processes involved in orthography development and language standardisation are disregarded, or at best seen as peripheral, while phonological analysis and language classification are considered central.

As discussed in §1.1, during the period after World War II there was an attempt to create scientific models of language development, or language planning. This was in part a reaction to the language development efforts of missions, educators and governments, which were considered to be flawed and unscientific due a perceived lack of phonological awareness in orthography development and of consideration of intelligibility and 'central' dialects in standardisation. In order to counteract this, language planners called for a prescriptive approach (e.g. Kloss 1969; Neustupný 1974; Tauli 1974;) that would enable them to provide linguistically sound solutions to perceived community needs.

Scientific models of orthography development have aimed for linguistic accuracy based on a 'clear grasp of the language's phonology, grammar, and vocabulary' (Sjöberg 1966: 264). The phonemic alphabet was argued to be the most effective type of writing system as it represented the psychologically significant sounds of the language (Nida 1964 [1954]: 22; Pike 1947: 214), and was therefore considered easy to learn (Pike 1947: 209). However, as discussed in §1.1.1.1, psychological salience of orthographies is contested ground, with some arguing that morphophonemic orthographies represent a more salient form of a speaker's phonology and consequently assist more advanced readers (see Aronoff 1992; Daniels 1992; Frost 1992). The strength of the discourse of scientism has meant despite the disputed ground over level of salience, or orthographic depth, both of these points of view are argued from the same framework. Even when the 'ideal' of the phonemic alphabet is contested it has to be done from a scientific framework, using the same species of arguments: psychological salience, and its influence on literacy acquisition.

Even in language standardisation, which was always widely considered to be a social process (e.g. Ferguson 1968: 32; Fishman 1968: 10-11; Haugen 1987; Kloss 1969: 81;), the validating power of the discourse of scientism is often sought. Methods such as lexicostatistics, the comparative method, and intelligibility testing have been employed in an attempt to scientifically establish language boundaries and the central dialects of particular languages using testable, quantifiable means (see §1.1.1.2).

Through its ability to legitimise certain types of knowledge, scientific discourse produces a yardstick by which an orthography can be measured. Further, this privilege is

given to those with appropriate training and education (Eira 1998: 175-176). The discourse of scientism holds enormous power among linguists involved in orthography development and language standardisation who may consider any deviation from the scientific ideal as constituting a deviance from their identity as a linguist (see Bird 2001). Due to its hegemonic status within western society as the site of expertise and knowledge, it can also be active in non-western communities who create a place of authority for linguists as part of their own authority structure in legitimising certain knowledges (§7.2).

3.2 Discourse of economics

The economic discourse, as it is presented in the current study, gives meaning to the role of resources (financial, human, and material) in limiting what can be done. It legitimises activities which are considered 'economically viable', that is, have the greatest efficiency for the least cost. Generally, the financial and material resources utilized in orthography development and language standardisation within small language groups come from external sources. Consequently, this discourse is strongest among 'outsiders', often the linguists or those administering the project.

The use of scientific methods of analysis has been validated through a discourse of economics. The discourse of economics can be particularly dynamic in the process of language classification and standardisation, often emerging as a desire for economic viability. The powerful link between linguistics and the discourse of economics is discussed by Eira (1998: 176), who describes the main concern in the creation of scientific models of orthography development as being linguistic efficiency.

Further explicit examples between language development models of linguists and the discourse of economics abound. Having proposed a method for the classification of Papua New Guinea's speech varieties into language and dialects, Wurm and Laycock (1961-2: 143) conclude:

> *... the application of the suggested classification method to New Guinea languages could bring about a considerable reduction in the number of ... distinct languages. This in turn would lead to an increase in the number of natives recognized as speaking dialects of one and the same language, instead of distinct languages. There is no need to stress the importance of this at a time when arguments against the use of any native language in New Guinea for administrative and elementary educational purposes are largely based on the*

> *assumption of the enormous multiplicity of the New Guinea languages, and the smallness of the number of the speakers of individual languages.*

Similarly, Simons (1977: 327) argues that the value of multidialectal orthographies lies in their ability to unite mutually unintelligible dialects of a divergent language group, and increase the economy of producing literacy materials through a wider distribution in a smaller number of languages.

This discourse has also been used to legitimise the use of lingua francae and national languages in areas of complex multilingualism. The creation of mission lingua francae has been common throughout the world. It seems that initial desires to use the 'local language' have often been overwhelmed by the large number of languages within the mission's area of influence. In relation to mission lingua francae in Papua New Guinea (see also Ross 1996a) McElhanon (1979: 280) stated:

> *Not only would a common language aid communication at church councils and conferences and give a feeling of unity to the participants, it would also immensely simplify administration. Personnel could be freely transferred within the area, and nationals could be taught at a single secondary or tertiary school. Moreover, printing cost could be kept to a minimum since there would be no need for small production runs in many languages.*

Within this quote, the full breadth of the discourse of economics as it relates to language development is apparent. Issues raised include: administrative efficiency, the flexibility of personnel placement, the establishment of schools, and finally printing costs. The discourse of economics validates all these concerns as limiting what is possible.

In comparison to scientism (see §3.1) and westernisation (see §3.3), economic discourse is of secondary interest within linguistics. However, it is used to further legitimise options supported by discourses of scientism and westernisation, particularly to other stakeholders.

3.3 Discourse of westernisation

The discourse of westernisation gives meaning to the aim of advancement of a society towards 'development'. Within this discourse anything that promotes westernisation is considered valuable and something to aim for and identify with. This discourse can operate from within western society, as seen in colonial policies towards education and development

(Pennycook 1998), or it can operate within non-western societies, as people take on the ideals portrayed in westernisation and seek to perpetuate this development in their own society.

The creation of 'the west' is itself a discursive construction. Hall (2002:57) gives four ways in which the concept of 'the west' functions:

> *First, it allows us to characterize and classify societies into different categories…*
>
> *…Secondly, it is an image, or set of images…it represents…a composite picture of what different societies, cultures, peoples and places are like…*
>
> *…Thirdly, it provides a standard or model of comparison…It helps to explain difference.*
>
> *Fourthly, it provides criteria of evaluation against which other societies are ranked and around which powerful positive and negative feelings cluster…*

These functions bring into being a number of related dichotomies including western/non-western, developed/underdeveloped, urban/non-industrial, desirable/undesirable (Hall 2002: 57). By creating these dichotomies, the western, developed urban context is considered desirable, whereas non-western, underdeveloped, non-industrial becomes undesirable. The 'other' is measured against the west, and recreated in comparison with the west. The discourse of westernisation legitimises a desire for that which is 'western' as a step towards development, urbanisation and a desirable standard of living.[12]

Many other discourses are embedded within the discourse of westernisation. In a post-colonial era, where even those in the west are often repelled by the ideas of colonisation, truths and knowledges of discourses of colonisation which have become naturalised within the western context are legitimised through westernisation. Thus, language development, which has historically been linked with processes of colonisation and missionisation, is given validity as a tool for bettering the lives of others, and providing the opportunities of the west. This is more specifically validated by the discourse of literacy which will be discussed in §3.4.

Within western linguistics, a discourse of nationism is very powerful in the creation of languages as discrete countable entities each with their own corresponding cultural group

[12] Here, one could differentiate between the discourse of westernisation and a separate discourse of development that has arisen within aid and development organizations (e.g. see Ferguson 2002). However within the current study, this differentiation was not found to be productive.

(Irvine & Gal 2000; Makoni & Pennycook 2007). Gal and Irvine argue that the link between language and culture grew out of the belief that 'languages were natural objects, consequences of spiritual or even biological differences between populations' (Gal & Irvine 1995: 2). They continue (Gal & Irvine 1995: 2):

> *...the equation of one language with one culture was endowed with political significance: a linguistically united community ("nation"), when tied to a territory, could claim to deserve a state of its own. In effect, exactly because linguistic differences were seen to be independent of human social intention, they could serve as an apparently neutral warrant for political claims to territory and sovereignty.*

The creation of languages as distinct entities has been a product of nationism and the rise of modernity in the west (Foucault 1970; Makoni & Pennycook 2007). Through the naturalisation of the discourse of westernisation within the western academic context, this truth continues to be influential in language planning practices today and quite problematic in the context of the present study (see §4).

Also embedded within the discourse of westernisation are the discourses of technology and literacy. Within language development, the discourse of technology legitimises options which fit with current technological possibilities (e.g. Eira 1998: 218-219; Seifart 2006: 285-286). For example, orthographic symbols may be chosen due to their accessibility when using typewriters and/or computer fonts, depending on the context. Likewise, the discourse of technology may validate printing methods that are more technologically advanced, but not easily accessible to the speakers of the language.

The discourse of westernisation and all the discourses embedded within it are very productive in language development. They are often invoked as the 'common sense' argument in decision-making. Despite links with colonialism and associated cultural trauma, which language development work generally attempts to avoid, the discourse of westernisation continues to create 'otherness' through imposing western ideas, regardless of context.

3.4 Discourse of literacy

As mentioned above, the discourse of literacy is embedded within the discourse of westernisation. The discourse of literacy gives validity to literacy-related activities, and to the processes of orthography development and language standardisation as a part of development. Within this discourse, as defined in this thesis, literacy refers to reading and writing and

associated activities (see McKay (1993: 1-24) and Barton (1994) for a discussion of definitions of literacy). Within the context of this study, the discourse of literacy validates the process of orthography development and language standardisation as positive for the future of the language in question, and the community affected due to their ability to improve the accessibility of written texts.

Besnier (1995: 2) describes the autonomous model of literacy created by this course as creating a truth that, 'certain inherent properties of literacy, particularly alphabetic literacy, cause basic changes in the structure of societies, the makeup of culture, and the nature of individuals'. Within this model, literacy is seen as an agent of social, cultural and personal change, bringing practices of 'developed' societies. Gee (1996: 26) describes the discourse of literacy, or the 'literacy myth' as follows:

> *Across history and across various cultures, literacy has seemed to many people to be what distinguishes one kind of person from another kind of person. Literate people are, it is widely believed, more intelligent, more modern, more moral. Countries with high literacy rates are better developed, more modern, better behaved. Literacy, it is felt, freed some of humanity from a primitive state, from an earlier stage of human development. If language is what makes us human, literacy, it seems, is what makes us civilised…*
>
> *…literacy leads to logical, analytical, critical, and rational thinking, general and abstract uses of language, sceptical and questioning attitudes, a distinction between myth and history, a recognition of the importance of time and space, complex and modern governments (with a separation of church and state), political democracy and greater social equity, a lower crime rate, better citizens, economic development, wealth and productivity, political stability, urbanization, and a lower birth rate.*

This excerpt offers an explanation as to why literacy has been seen as such an important goal by colonial and independent governments alike. This discourse, and the promises of a better life it produces, can be seen in the perceived role of education, and literacy education in particular, in the creation of a better, more stable life. Conversely, illiteracy is considered destructive and harmful to a population (see Barton (1994: 10-32) for a discussion of metaphors used to describe literacy and illiteracy).

Also within this discourse is the legitimisation of literacy as a positive development in assisting endangered languages to survive. Fishman (1991: 96) advocates the introduction of literacy in languages which have been primarily oral languages due to its positive influence on 'interindividual, internetwork and intercommunal communication and goal attainment' including the goals of language revival, stating that the written language becomes a 'visual [symbol] of the RLS [reversing language shift] goal and the entire image of Xishness [cultural group identity] that fostering and promoting Xish [the language] represents'.

In practice this discourse occurs within a complex discursive structure. The actual role of literacy in reversing language shift has been challenged by some (see Grenoble & Whaley 1998: 32-37; Mühlhäusler 1990, 1996). Likewise the direct correlation between literacy and social 'advancement' has been questioned (Besnier 1995; Gee 1996: 39-42). However, the strength of this discourse, embedded as it is within westernisation, cannot be denied, both within western and non-western societies. It was inevitably a powerful discourse in the workshops I facilitated for all participants: facilitators, communities and funding bodies. As a facilitator, I did not question the 'truth' that local language literacy development would empower these communities to participate more fully in creating the present and future they wanted for their people.

3.5 Discourse of missionisation

The discourse of missionisation organises meaning according to religious beliefs and the institutions through which these beliefs are propagated and expressed. Missionisation refers not only to the spiritual aspects of religion, but also to associated institutions. This discourse legitimises the beliefs, aims, values and practices of a group of people through their connection with a particular spiritual understanding. That is, meaning is generated through spiritual teachings and practices. While this discourse is not always a part of the discourses of language development, it has been, and continues to be, influential on a significant number of outside stakeholders involved in the process. In Papua New Guinea, as in many situations of western colonisation, there is also a strong interaction with the discourse of westernisation.

Within the discourse of missionisation, the creation of writing systems is inherently linked with aims of proselytisation. The spread of scripts and literacy with missionisation is well known. Latin-based scripts were taken around the world with Catholic and Protestant missions alike, while Greek scripts followed the spread of Orthodox Christianity throughout Eastern Europe. While Serbian and Croatian are considered to be mutually intelligible speech

varieties, script has become emblematic of the cultural and historical differences of these two groups, with Serbian using a Cyrillic script due to their history of Orthodox Christianity, and Croatian using a Roman script. Likewise, Hindi and Urdu are often cited as an example of one 'language' with two scripts due to the influence of the Hindu and Islamic religions respectively (see Coulmas 2003: 232-233).

Literacy and the development of orthographies in Papua New Guinea followed the spread of Christian missions. In order that their teachings would be understood and spread, the mission turned to western literacy practices, applying them to local languages (see Clarke (1977) regarding the use of Wedau by the Anglican mission).

In the post-war era, Christian organizations have been established for the primary purpose of the translation of sacred writings. SIL and its partner organization Wycliffe Bible Translators are two such organizations. As an academic language development organization, SIL utilizes the theories and methods of linguistics, literacy and other related disciplines to analyse language and culture in order to translate the New Testament into each person's 'heart language' (www.wycliffe.org), thus bringing together the discourses of scientism, westernisation and literacy with missionisation. Within the discourse of missionisation, 'literacy becomes synonymous with spiritual access' (Eira 1998: 179), and the 'missionary linguist' becomes the channel through which this access is provided.

Members of SIL work in minority language communities throughout the world. Through this discourse the 'missionary linguist' is created whose aim is not purely to study language, but to study language for the purpose of evangelisation (see Makoni & Pennycook 2007: 15-16; Mühlhäusler 1996: 139-172). Through its links with discourses of scientific language development, missionisation gives authority to these missionary linguists who are trained in academic and spiritual knowledge.

The discourse of missionisation operates among missionaries, those sympathetic to the missionary goals (including many colonial governments), and among the 'missionised'. It gives power and status to the institutions of the mission, and legitimises the reproduction of the linguistic and social practices of the mission including the choice of script and the power of literacy.

3.6 Discourse of community

The discourse of community validates community beliefs and processes. It has entered the discursive structure of language development activities through the tension that

exists between theory and practice. The inability to describe or prescribe models of language development purely on scientific principles has resulted in the acceptance and validation of community beliefs and practices. However, as discussed in §1.1.1, this often results in the 'othering' of communities as they are compared with western and/or scientific frameworks.

The discourse of community has increasingly found a place within the academic discursive structure of language development. As described in §1.2, community-based models of orthography development have recently been developed in order to allow communities greater power in language development practices. Ethnographic studies of literacy have attempted to bring greater understanding to the role of socio-historical context in the creation of literacy practices (e.g. Besnier 1995). Discourse studies of language development focus on recording the communities' process and goals (e.g. Eira 1998, 2000; Stebbins 2001, 2003).

As a linguist working with communities throughout Papua New Guinea, the dialectic relationship between discourses became very apparent in my own practice. The inability of the discourse of scientism to deal with language development issues in communities led to its contestation by the discourse of community. Throughout my years in Papua New Guinea, the negotiation and contestation of these discourses was continually present. The experiences and results of each workshop became texts which simultaneously confirmed and challenged my academically grounded discursive structure, leading to new possibilities and limitations.

An acknowledgement of the discourse of community has allowed academics to deal with the tension between theory and practice in language development by expanding their set of truths and knowledges. Practices that create tension when compared with theory can be understood as being the product of alternative truths and knowledge. Participation and non-participation by communities and individuals can be understood as a practice of power. Further, the place of the linguist is no longer as the expert with all the answers, but as a holder of particular knowledge which can be offered to the process. Consequently, the 'answers' of the linguist can be dismissed in favour of the 'answers' of the community. This can be a precarious position for a linguist, but it does allow for tension to be released when the voice of the community discourse is heard. These are the issues I will return to in §10 in order to draw together the questions raised in this thesis.

3.7 Summary

The discursive structure underpinning the practices of language development in this case study has arisen through a complex interaction between scientism, westernisation, and

missionisation. These have created socio-historically specific attitudes to economics, literacy, and the role of the communities involved. The hegemonic status of scientism and westernisation was challenged as evidenced by tensions between theory and practice in language development. While the discourses of economics, literacy and missionisation have been called on to help resolve the tension, through appealing to the naturalised aspects of the discourse of westernisation, the discourse of community gained validity by offering alternate truths and knowledges to the process, and providing a way around the tension between theory and practice.

The relationship between these discourses is evident in the texts of language standardisation and orthography development discussed in the following chapters. The hegemonic status of scientism and westernisation is evident in the models of language constructed. The power of the discourses of economics, literacy and missionisation further validate the types of decisions that were made. Meanwhile, the contestation of these discourses with discourses of community created the space for previously naturalised truths and knowledges to be questioned.

4 Language classification and standardisation

Language standardisation is a process which has been undertaken by language planners, linguists, governments, educators and missionaries for centuries. While language boundaries are often considered to be concrete definable entities within academic language development, they are in fact discursively constructed. Throughout Europe, there has often been a link between nationism and the creation of languages. Irvine & Gal (2000: 50) state:

> *...for many post-Enlightenment scholars, language coincided with nations in a cultural or spiritual sense but preceded any political realization of nationhood. As the expression of the spiritual…essences of particular human collectivities, languages were regarded as natural entities out there to be discovered – natural in the sense that they were consequences of a variable human nature, not the creations of any self-conscious human intervention. But if languages were prior to human political activity, they could then serve as its warrant, identifying populations and territories that could be suitably treated as political unities, whether self-governing nation-states…or units for colonial administration.*

Irvine and Gal (2000) go on to argue that this creation of 'natural, monolingual, culturally-defined speech communities' has been very influential in the discursive creation of 'languages' within linguistics (see also Joseph 2000).

As noted in §1.1, academic models of language standardisation attempt to provide an objective, scientific framework for selecting a standard dialect of a language. In order to identify boundaries between languages in an empirical, quantifiable manner, language standardisation normally relies on linguistic approaches to language classification. This in turn is supported by the perspective of historical linguistics. Thus, scientific language standardisation creates a context within which the relationship between, and intelligibility of, speech varieties is understood in regard to historical divergence.

This chapter discusses the classification and standardisation of the speech varieties from Wedau to Galuwahi from within the academic discourses of language development. Having already given the current linguistic classification in §2.3, this chapter focuses on the creation of this classification over the last century and its application to practices of language standardisation. Firstly, §4.1 discusses the classifications created by linguists in terms of the knowledge of the active academic discourses in relation to language classification. Where relevant, this section also discusses the impact of language standardisation practices of

missions, publishers and educators. Section 4.2 discusses how we applied these classifications to the situation of language standardisation as facilitators during the ADW held in Taupota. From the context of the case study, §4.3 returns to a more general discussion of the creation of languages within the academic context. In recent years, there has been growing debate about the existence of languages as discrete entities, and this is discussed in §4.4. Finally, §4.5 outlines the discourses active in the academic processes of language classification and standardisation within the case study, and discusses the truths about language constructed within this context.

4.1 Linguistic classification: an historical account

Linguistic classification refers to the classification of 'languages' using the scientific tools of linguistics. Within the discourses of language development and linguists, the hegemonic status of the discourse of scientism requires that studies be placed within the existent literature in order to validate the study through its relationship with already verified studies. Thus, in order to validate a study of linguistic classification, it is necessary to discuss previous studies of language classification. This process was undertaken in preparation of the ADW in order to give the facilitators an understanding of the linguistic classification of the area.

This section provides an historical perspective of the creation of languages in the area. It begins with the early studies of the Anglican mission (§4.1.1), and the government commissioned studies of Ray (1907, 1938; in §4.1.2) and Capell (1943, 1954, 1962, 1969; in §4.1.3). These are followed by the more recent studies of Lithgow (1976a; in §4.1.4) and Ross (1988; in §4.1.5). The historical perspective also considers the impact these classifications had on language standardisation, and conversely the impact attitudes towards language and standardisation had on classification. Finally, §4.1.6 summarises these studies in terms of the truths and knowledges they have created.

4.1.1 The Anglican mission

The complexity of the language situation in Papua New Guinea was evident from the beginning of western contact and colonisation. 'Languages' were discovered and named when missionaries, government officials and plantation owners came into contact with the people living near deep harbours and land considered suitable for plantations, mission stations and government stations (see McElhanon 1979: 280). As missionaries were often the first westerners in an area, and understanding the local language was integral to their goals, they

often became the first linguists as well (Johnson 1977). Within the Australian territory of Papua, the government was also interested in the language situation, and word lists were collected by government officials, as well as by missionaries, and were regularly published in the administration's *Annual Report on British New Guinea*. In many cases, the administration and missions viewed the large number of languages primarily as a problem to be dealt with so that other goals, such as missionisation, westernisation and economic development could be achieved (e.g. see Clarke 1977: 960; Smith 1987: 50-51).

Linguistic classification of the speech varieties from Wedau to Galuwahi began with the arrival of the Anglican mission. The plateau above Wedau village and the shelter provided by Bartle Bay on which Wedau is situated were influential in the establishment of the 'Wedau' language. They provided a suitable harbour and land for the central mission station, and the acceptance of the mission by the people of the nearby villages of Wedau and Wamira resulted in their speech variety becoming the basis of the mission lingua franca, and the reference point for the determination of the mutual intelligibility of surrounding speech varieties.

Before settling on Dogura plateau, the mission had contact with Taupota. Originally the mission had planned to build its station near Taupota (Synge 1908: 94; Annual Report on British New Guinea from July 1890 – June 1981: Map 4). A Taupotan man, who had worked on the sugar plantations in Queensland and consequently come into contact with the church's teaching, accompanied the mission contingent to Dogura on their first trip. He acted as translator for the missionaries. Through this, the missionaries quickly became aware of the differences in the Wedau and Taupota speech varieties, and the varieties became distinct entities. This is demonstrated in King's description of the area:

> *The dialect spoken to the east of Cape Frere [Girumia] is slightly different [from Wedau], and from village to village it gradually merges into the Taupotan dialect.* (King 1901: 3)

It is unclear whether the term 'dialect' refers to 'dialects of a language' or an unwritten speech variety, but either way there is a expressed perception of a dialect chain from Wedau to Taupota, and also of two distinct linguistic entities: Wedau and Taupota. Another mission station was quickly established at Taupota, and Rev. P. C. Shaw produced a grammar and dictionary (see Ray 1938: 163) as King had done for the Wedau language. Despite the

Taupota works never being published, these activities further established the Wedau and Taupota speech varieties as distinct entities.

In this context, the classification by the mission appears to be a product of the depth of bays for sea transport, the selection of flat land for building, and the place of origin of a worker on the Queensland sugar plantations. However, there was also a perception of linguistic difference based on exposure to Wedau and Taupota stemming from the criterion of mutual intelligibility. In the early years of the mission, the discourse of missionisation produced a focus on mutual intelligibility to ensure that people could be instructed in the mission's teachings.[13] Consequently different varieties were identified and individually labelled.

The choice of the Wedau speech variety as the basis for the standardised written language for the Anglican mission was more the result of historical chance than linguistic reasoning, with the quality of harbour and land for building mission stations being the most influential factors in early language planning choices (see Gleason 1996; Johnson 1977; Mühlhäusler 1996). Through learning to communicate in Wedau and producing printed material, King developed a standard form of the speech variety, creating the 'Wedau language'. This 'language' differed somewhat from the speech of Wedau village due to the influence of loan words from other speech varieties brought to Dogura by mission workers.

The issue of language choice for mission activities weighed heavily on the early missionaries. King wrote a letter requesting assistance from colleagues outside PNG regarding the use of a mission lingua franca and/or local speech varieties.[14] In practice, an initial interest in the linguistic variation that resulted in research on speech varieties such as Taupota, Mukawa and Binandere (Wetherell 1977), was replaced with a policy of the use of Wedau as a lingua franca, and language classification became less important to the goals of the mission. However, Clarke (1977: 962) argues that this has been to the detriment of the mission:

> *It is likely that many attempts at evangelising have failed, and many strange cults have arisen, because of misunderstanding of the Christian teaching, through the failure to insist on more earnest attempts to learn the particular language of any given area.*

[13] Translations of religious materials into other speech varieties including Mukawa (Are) and Binandere (Wetherell 1977) further confirm this.
[14] Anglican Archives, New Guinea Collection, University of Papua New Guinea. Box 4, File 35. Diocese of New Guinea. Language 1899-1900 contains correspondence regarding language policy, particularly the use of lingua francae.

It appears that developing one 'language' as the mission lingua franca was influenced not only by a desire to 'reduce the language problem', but also by prevailing discussions on 'worthy' languages by publishers and linguists working in the area. Criteria for languages 'worthy' of religious translations varied. Ray (see also §4.1.2) gave four qualifications:

- *It is a distinct language, and not a mere dialectic variety,*
- *It is a recognised medium of missionary effort,*
- *It is the language of a fairly numerous and persistent population,*
- *It is not a mere jargon*

(cited in British and Foreign Bible Society Editorial Sub-Committee Minutes Feb. 26th, 1902, Anglican Archives, UPNG. Box 2, File 14)

In reference to Ray's list, Dr. Lawes of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the publishing company for many Christian religious materials worldwide, stated:

> *[Mr. Ray's list] displays wonderful linguistic knowledge, but I am afraid it will be of very little use to us in our difficulties. His four qualifications are too vague and he seems unaware of the smallness of the population of some places on his list. The people speaking some of these languages are less than 1,000…At the same rate, at least 500 translations would be necessary for the whole [of New Guinea]; This would be a great misfortune.*

(cited in British and Foreign Bible Society Editorial Sub-Committee Minutes Feb. 26th, 1902, Anglican Archives, UPNG. Box 2, File 14: 151)

Lawes, strongly influenced by economic discourse, argued that a linguistic analysis did not provide useful data to assist in the process of language standardisation as issues of cost, both financial and personnel, impacted his concern for the number of translations that would require translations given Ray's criteria. While he acknowledged the linguistic focus of Ray's work, he draws on discourses of westernisation and missionisation to validate his concerns.

> *To print all the language and dialects would be to perpetuate the old heathen divisions, and prevent further union in peaceful brotherhood.*

(cited in British and Foreign Bible Society Editorial Sub-Committee Minutes Feb. 26th, 1902, Anglican Archives, UPNG. Box 2, File 14: 151)

Lawes concluded his discussion with the following requirements for languages worthy of scripture translations:

- *Minimum population, in whose language the [New Testament] is to be provided (5,000?)*
- *The language must be distinct, and not sufficiently near any other to be possibly interchangeable.*
- *It must be a dominant language, and therefore one likely to be permanent*

(cited in British and Foreign Bible Society Editorial Sub-Committee Minutes Feb. 26th, 1902, Anglican Archives, UPNG. Box 2, File 14: 152)

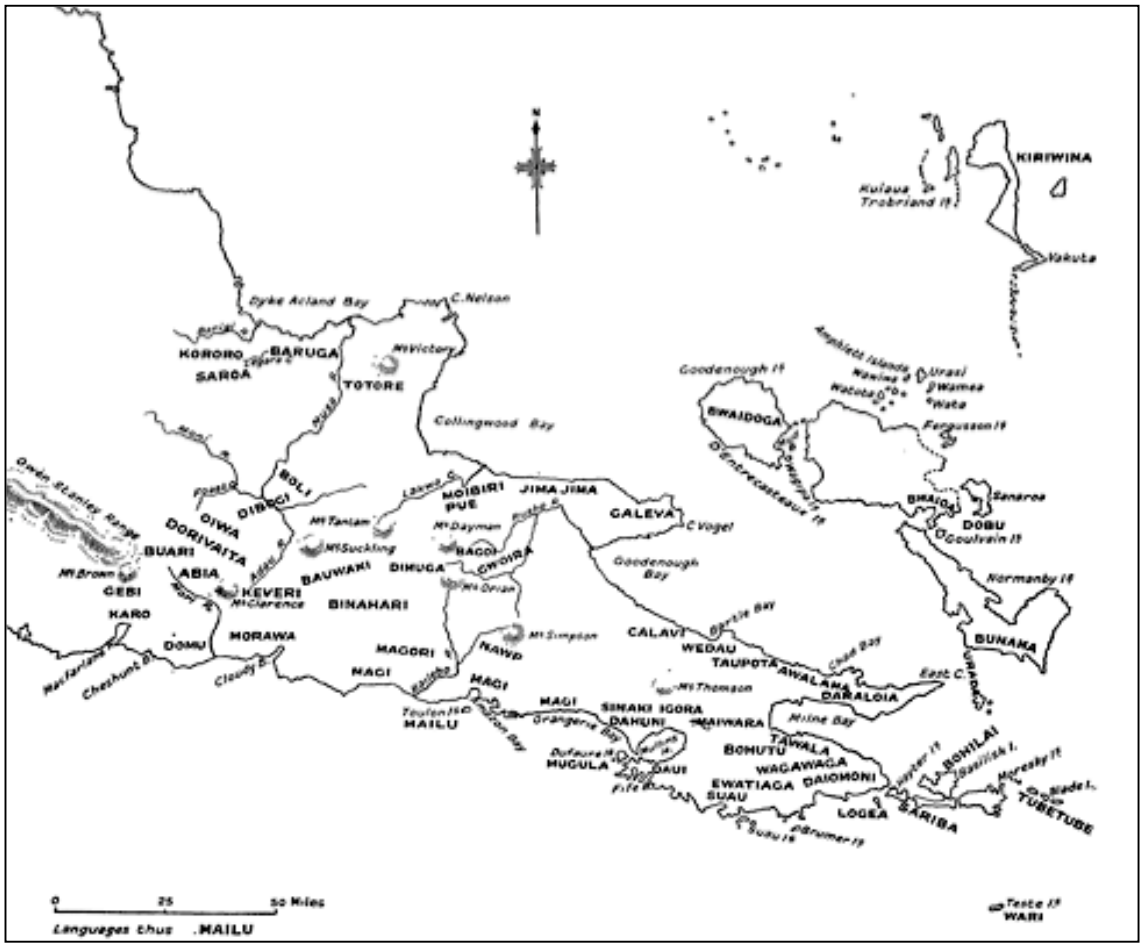
Thus, Lawes' validated his classification of 'worthy' languages through discourses of westernisation in the need for distinct, dominant and permanent languages, and economics in the need for a minimum population, sufficient differentiation and permanence. While his criteria are somewhat similar to those of Ray, they are based on a desire to ease the burden of language issues on missionaries, thereby justifying decisions by missions and publishers to focus on a smaller number of lingua francae.

These criteria reflect assumptions about the validity of producing translations in a particular speech variety, based on the variety's assigned status as 'language', 'dialectic variety', or a 'mere jargon'. Thus, as in the case of Wedau, some speech varieties came to be considered languages due to the work of missionaries in the area (see Ray's second criteria), in comparison to neighbouring speech varieties which took on the status of dialects. Within these criteria, the Anglican mission could feel justified in its focus on Wedau as a lingua franca for the mission due to the low population in the area, the chain-like relationship of speech varieties, and the lack of other culturally dominant varieties.

4.1.2 Ray

The first linguistic studies of the Milne Bay area were completed as part of a larger study by Sidney Ray (1907, 1938).[15] Using wordlists, grammars and notes compiled by missionaries and administration officers, along with any other available information, Ray began to classify the languages of the Territory of Papua. His findings for the Eastern District, which includes Milne Bay, are summarised in Map 4.1. Ray's study can be seen as part of a larger scientific interest at the time in understanding and classifying the unknown found in the

[15] See Lithgow 1976b: 160-161 for a full bibliography of Ray's works.



Map 4.1: Language of the Eastern District of Papua (Ray 1938: 154)

colonial territories of the region. He compiled comparative grammars and wordlists and discussed theories of historical relationships between speech varieties.

Despite his scientific goals, his reliance on data collected by missionaries, government officials and explorers, further reinforced the 'language situation' that had been created within these other contexts. Given the context of the Anglican mission (see §4.1.1), it is not surprising to find that along the southern coast of Goodenough Bay, Ray distinguishes Wedau from Galavi (Ghayavi) to the west, and from Taupota to the east (Ray 1938: 163). Ray described Taupota as extending along the 'coast between Chad Bay and Bartle Bay' (Ray 1907: 415).[16] Thus, Ray's Taupota included the present day villages of Awauya, Topura, Aigura and Lavora.

Based on lexical and grammatical similarities, Ray classified Galavi, Wedau, Taupota and Awayama together with Kehelala, Tawala, Maiwara, Wagawaga and Bohilai. Awayama,

[16] In his early studies (Ray 1907), Ray did not distinguish between dialects and languages. He listed Wedau and Wamira as separate dialects based on differences in vocabulary listed by King (1901).

Kehelala, Tawala, and Bohilai are currently all classified as Tawala (see Ezard 1997). Ray labelled these languages the 'northern or Wedau group', and noted their similarity with the languages such as Ghayavi and Boniki spoken further west along the coast (Ray 1938: 163).

The hegemonic discourse of scientism influenced the types of questions asked of the data, and their presentation in terms of comparative grammars and theories of relationship and origin. Unlike the classification of the mission, it was not directly influenced by personal experience and the local views on language classification. However, due to the source of the data, the discourses influential in the mission's classification were also present in Ray's classification.

As discussed in the previous section, Ray's recommendations to the missions were also influenced by discourses of westernisation, recommending that languages only be considered 'worthy' of translation, and therefore a writing system and local language literacy, if they matched the criteria of sufficient linguistic differentiation from other speech varieties, and sufficient population and dominance through the presence of missionary efforts (see §4.1.1). Given the government policies of relying on the missions for westernisation, education, and religious teaching throughout Papua, these criteria worked to privilege some speech varieties over others, thereby creating a new linguistic hierarchy.

4.1.3 Capell

Based on the work of Ray, Capell aimed to further investigate historical relationships and patterns of migration (Capell 1943: 73). Capell (1954: 66) described the language situation in Milne Bay as follows:

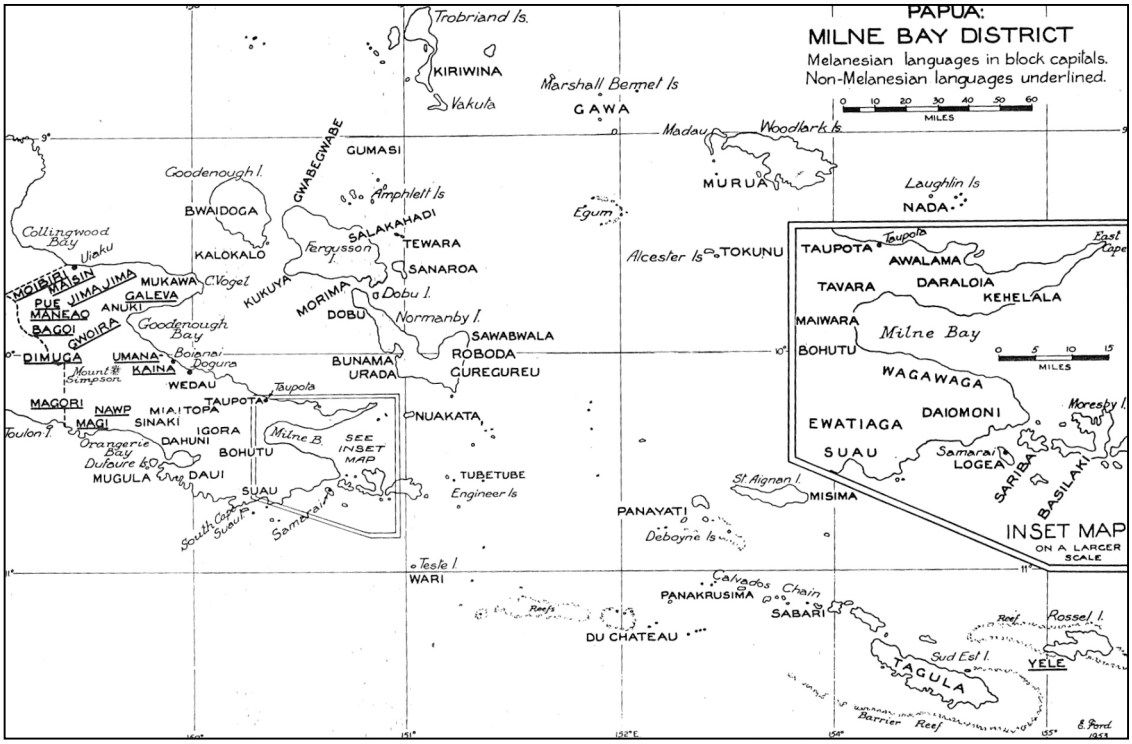
> *[The Milne Bay District] is almost entirely insular, and insular communities are apt to present the problem of a congeries of language, each of* limited validity. (emphasis mine)

The exact meaning of 'limited validity' is unclear. Capell (1954: 68-69) suggests that population size and degree of deviation from other speech varieties and cultures are both part of this 'validity'. It also seems reasonable that 'limited validity' refers to the recognition of the incomplete nature of the data and a need for further study strongly expressed in the conclusion to Capell's survey (see Capell 1954: 126-130).

Unlike Ray, who gives data from each language and provides some comparative linguistic analysis, Capell focuses on higher-level relationships. He used similar sources of

data to Ray, and consequently the status of individual languages did not change greatly (see Map 4.2). However the grouping of these languages, based on typological features rather than genetic relationships, differed. Capell (1969: 127) grouped Taupota and Wedau with Awalama (Awayama), Gayavi and Boniki. He separated this group of speech varieties from the speech varieties to the south and east: Wagawaga, Tawara (Tawala), Keherara (Kehelala), Basilaki (Bohilai), Maiwara, Bohutu and Daraloia. Like Ray, Capell was aware of the relationship between the languages of the southern coast of Goodenough Bay with those on the north coast and further west into Oro province (Capell 1943: 73).

Capell's 1954 survey was conducted under the auspices of a project of the South Pacific Commission with the aims of conducting 'a survey of the linguistic research position and requirements for the area, with special reference to the production of standard orthographies, dictionaries, grammars and textbooks' (Capell 1954: vii). In this context, linguistic analysis was being used to assist in meeting the educational and developmental goals of the government. The hegemonic status of the discourse of scientism was further strengthened by its links with discourses of literacy and development. In addition, the discourse of scientism was creating the models for understanding issues of literacy and development, providing linguistic classifications as statements of truth about the linguistic situation.



Map 4.2: Papua - Milne Bay District (Capell 1962: Map XIII)

With a turn away from vernacular education in the 1950s and 1960s, the focus of linguistic research also changed to a greater focus on the scientific benefit of linguistic research. However, the value of applications of linguistic research in education has been a recurring theme. In both his 1954, and 1962 reports, Capell states:

> *The needs are both scientific and practical. The scientific needs are for detailed studies which will enable the languages to be classified accurately and recorded in detail while they survive. There is also a need to gather the oral literatures of the people, most of which have not yet been touched. Here linguistics and anthropology meet, and indeed education is – or should be – interested as well. This is a need for practical linguistics to be applied to the work of education and culture contacts, and to help the people make the crossing from the old tribal ways to the life of the modern world.* (Capell 1954: v, 1962: viii)

This quote demonstrates not only the combination of scientific and educational goals in linguistic research and classification, but also expresses social goals. Linguistic classification is explicitly linked not only with scientific discourses, but also with the discourses of westernisation. The scientific discourse gives the classification validity through the ability to empirically classify and analyse data, while the discourses of westernisation give it validity through its links with education and development. There is an assumption of linguistic and cultural loss due to contact with western culture and language, and while recording languages and oral literature before they are lost is given importance, there is little question of the eventual outcome. This demonstrates the strength of the discourse of westernisation in Capell's understanding not only of the present situation, but also of future eventualities.

4.1.4 Lithgow

From the 1950s through to the 1970s a number of large-scale studies of Papua New Guinean languages were undertaken. These studies were to form the basis of the first two volumes of *New Guinea Area Languages and Language Study* (Wurm 1975, 1976, 1977a, 1977b), the first major survey of Papua New Guinean languages. During this period, methods of classification were discussed as linguists struggled to find methods that would provide scientifically accurate results and allow for the practicalities of dealing with such a linguistically diverse situation (see McElhanon 1971; Wurm 1975; Wurm & Laycock 1961-2). Despite criticism of the lexicostatistical method, its ability to create initial classification in a situation as complex and varied as that of Papua New Guinea resulted in its widespread use

(Crowley 1997: 171; see McElhanon (1971) for a discussion and bibliography of these studies.).[17]

Like many studies of the time, Lithgow's survey of Milne Bay languages was conducted using the lexicostatistical method. Lexicostatics was developed by Swadesh in the 1950s. It is based on a family-tree model of language in which the degree of divergence can be measured based on shared core vocabulary (Gudschinsky 1964; Swadesh 1954). Using lexicostatistics, Lithgow assigned relationship to speech varieties depending on the percentage of cognates shared between varieties.[18] Speech varieties in which more than 80% of the core vocabulary was cognate were assigned the status of dialects of a language, while 80% and below was considered to indicate different languages (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Cognate percentages (Crowley 1997: 173; Swadesh 1954: 326)

% Shared Cognates	Subgrouping Level
100%-81%	Dialects of a language
81%-36%	Languages of a family
36%-12%	Families of a stock
12%-4%	Stocks of a microphylum
4%-1%	Microphyla of a mesophylum
Less than 1%	Mesophylum of a macrophylum

Lithgow's grouping of languages differed significantly to that of Capell and Ray (Lithgow 1976a: 448). This is evident within the area from Wedau to Galuwahi. This study was the first to mention the existence of the Gweda language in Galuwahi. The Wedau language spread as far east as Topura and Yapoa, with cognate percentages between 'dialects' as given in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Cognate percentages for Wedau, Topura and Yapoa (Lithgow 1976a: 455)

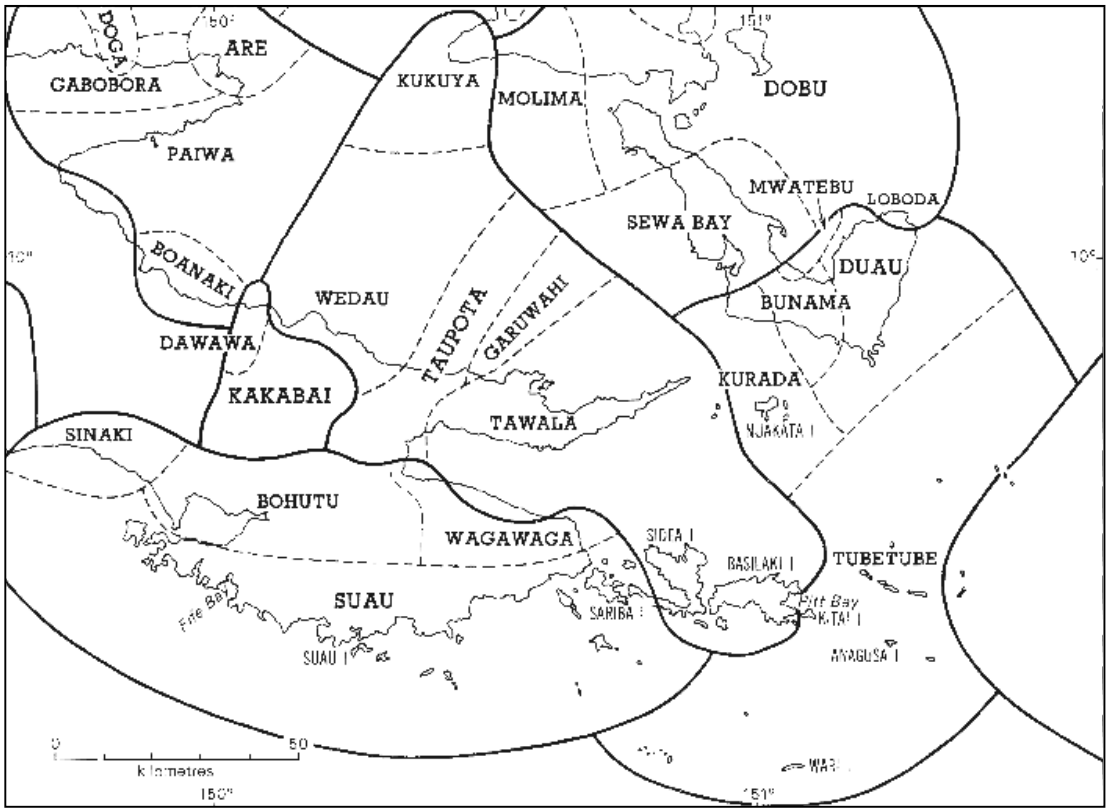
	Topura	**Yapoa**
Wedau	95	84
Topura		85

[17] Limitations of the lexicostatistical model have been long recognised. Even Swadesh considered it to be most useful in combination with other methods such as the comparative method (Swadesh 1954). Discussions of the criticisms of lexicostatistics are widespread. See Crowley (1997: 171-175) and Campbell (2004: 201-210) for two examples.

[18] The word list used by Lithgow was compiled by SIL, and differed slightly from that of Swadesh (see Trask 1996: Appendix) by including a number of culturally appropriate terms, and deleting culturally inappropriate items such as 'snow'.

The Taupota language extended south across the mountains to include the villages of Yanianini, Waiema, Laviam, Maiwala and Naura (Lithgow 1976a: 455). Capell (1969: 127) had considered the speech of these villages constituted a separate language, Maiwala. Lithgow's (1976a: 455) cognate percentages with Taupota village range from 92% between Taupota and Yanianini to 60% with Naura. This second percentage is much lower than Lithgow's guide on the classification of languages, and is also lower than the cognate percentage given for Taupota (Lithgow does not state which village within the Taupota language he is referring to) and Wedau, which sits at 62%, Taupota and Garuwahi (Gweda) at 65%, or Taupota and Tawala at 69% (Lithgow 1976a: 460).

Lithgow's family grouping was similar to that of Capell. The Taupota language family, including Wedau, Kukuya, Taupota, Garuwahi (Gweda) and Tawala, resembles Capell's grouping with the exception of Bohutu, which Lithgow classified with the Suau language family, and Ghayavi, which he classified with the Are language family (Lithgow 1976a: 449) (see Map 4.3). Like Capell, Lithgow did not attempt to group the languages into higher-level groupings, despite the provision for this in the lexicostatistical method.



Map 4.3: Kakabai-Taupota-Suau-Duau-area (Lithgow 1976a: 444)

Lithgow stated that lexicostatistics is 'only a rough guide in linguistic classification' (1976a: 459), with its limitations relating to human error, the large quantity of data, inconsistent definitions of 'cognate', variation that comes from choice of a 'central dialect' for a language (Lithgow 1976a: 448), and the effects of constant change in language, borrowing between languages, and dialectal variation within languages. In order to deal with the effects of language contact and dialectal variation on the lexical inventory, Lithgow included grammatical comparison in his research.[19] However, even grammatical comparison cannot always identify lexical borrowing among closely related languages when the grammars remain virtually identical. Consequently, the 'dialect' levelling influence of the Wedau language in the villages to Wedau's east was not visible in the results as the original 'languages' of these villages were closely related to Wedau. The results presented a situation of close genetic relationship rather than a superstrate of cultural and linguistic assimilation.[20]

The classification of 'languages' by lexicostatistics is dependent on the identification of a 'central village/dialect'. Different linguists, or even the same linguist in different contexts, can use different criteria for determining the central dialect leading to differences in the results (Lithgow 1976a: 448). This is particularly problematic in the context of dialect chaining as in Milne Bay. The speech varieties from Wedau to Taupota function as a dialect chain which continues south over the mountains into the villages that Lithgow also classified as Taupota speaking.[21] Table 4.3 gives the cognate percentages obtained by Lithgow (1976a: 455) for the Taupota speaking villages. If Taupota was chosen as the 'central' village, only Yaniyanini and Waiema would be included in same language, with over 80% of the lexical items tested being cognate. However, Yaniyanini is almost as similar to the Rabe dialect of the Tawala language (82%) as it is to Waiema (83%), while Taupota only has cognate forms of 72% of the Rabe data.

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[19] For example, Kukuya was classified as a member of the Taupota family due to grammatical similarity, rather than in Dobu family along with Molima, with which it has the highest percentage of cognates (Lithgow 1976a: 460). This classification is supported by stories of migration from Topura to Kukuya and subsequent trade relationships (see §6.2.2)

[20] Diachronic change can be observed using a series of surveys over a period of time. A handwritten note added to a report of a language survey conducted in 1982 by Lithgow and McKerras reports a 10% lexical shift towards Wedau in Awauya in the 10 years between Lithgow's two surveys (McKerras 1982: 3). This correlates with conversation I had with people from Awauya in 2004 who reported a shift to Wedau in the preceding decades. Variation in application of the lexicostatistical method (see McElhanon 1971) does not allow for diachronic studies using data from different linguists, unless there has been a conscious effort to use the same word lists, and the same guidelines for collecting data, determining cognates, and analysing the language situation based on these figures.

[21] The chain then continues through the Tawala speaking villages to the east.

Table 4.3: Cognate percentages for Taupota dialects (Lithgow 1976a: 455)

	Taupota	Waiema	Laviam	Maiwala	Naura	Tawala (Rabe)
Yaniyanini	92	83	68	80	73	82
Taupota		82	69	72	60	72
Waiema			73	68	58	67
Laviam				82	71	64
Maiwala					73	70
Naura						70

In a situation of dialect chaining such as this, lexicostatistics cannot provide a statistical answer to the question of language boundaries, but instead must rely on somewhat arbitrary decisions on the 'central dialect'. However, rather than being a problem produced by lexicostatistics, this reflects a broader model of languages as separate entities, which can be scientifically determined and are related genetically through shared features such as grammatical structure, lexicon and phonology. Consequently, the inability to deal with actual speech variation in linguistic classification is not restricted to lexicostatistics, but extends to other methodologies within historical linguistics, such as the comparative method (see §4.1.5).

Lithgow produced a classification of the Milne Bay area based on linguistic data from every major village. Being aware of some of the limitations, he also included some grammatical data which is considered to be less readily affected by contact and borrowings. As he worked under the auspices of SIL, it can be assumed that Lithgow's main aim was to facilitate Bible translation (see Oates 1997). He believed that linguistics provided the technical means for this process. Consequently, while a number of other discourses such as missionisation were strongly present in the motivation for his work, the scientific discourse retained hegemonic status to a great extent. Nevertheless, Lithgow also focussed on working alongside local people to collect data from every major village, rather than a relying on pre-existent resources. Through this approach, the influence of discourses of westernisation was weakened, while discourses of community began to be heard.

The hegemonic nature of the scientific discourse was instrumental in the development of the lexicostatistical method based on a statistical analysis of language. It also produced the space within which these languages could be created through classification. The scientific

discourse ascribes truth to classification, maps, and published research. Functioning within this discursive structure, results which are considered preliminary by the author can be taken as truth by those to follow, especially where no alternate classification and/or analysis has been completed. Lithgow's study tells us something of the lexical and grammatical relationship of speech varieties which help to produce a linguistic classification, providing a basis upon which future linguistic studies could be conducted. However, through its status as a published classification, it has been used as an objective scientific statement of classification of the languages of the area, as evidenced in our research prior to the Taupota ADW.

4.1.5 Ross

The next classificatory study of the Oceanic languages of Milne Bay was part of a much larger study. With linguistic data collected from students and written sources (see Ross 1988: 395-411) Ross investigated the relationship between the Oceanic languages of Western Melanesia using the comparative method.[22] His aim was 'to elucidate the higher-order genetic relationships of the Austronesian (AN) languages of the Papua New Guinea (PNG) region' (Ross 1988: 1). The classification given in §2.3 was largely based on this study by Ross.

While the methodology was different to that of Lithgow, the discourses informing Ross' study were similar, being based in the traditions of historical linguistics and scientific discourses. Deeply embedded in the scientific discourse, Ross' study sought to uncover the genetic relationship between languages, and in doing so created truth and knowledge about the language situation. The claims made by the Neo-grammarian hypothesis for regular, exceptionless sound change (Campbell 2004:17-19) reinforced the objective and therefore scientific nature of the method.

Recognising the inability of the family tree model to deal with dialect differentiation resulting in chaining and change as a result of language contact, Ross incorporated other models of language change. In describing his theoretical assumptions Ross (1988: 9) states:

> *[They] are a rather eclectic mixture of schools of thought which have their origins a century ago in Schleicher's 'family tree' model, Schmidt's 'wave' model, and Schuchardt's 'language mixing' model. The eclecticism is justified by the fact that each offers useful insights into the ways in which the Oceanic languages of Melanesia have diversified.*

[22] Cochran (1978) published a comparative study of Milne Bay phonology, based on twelve languages selected from Capell's three groupings. I have not included this study as it was not comprehensive enough to impact on the current study.

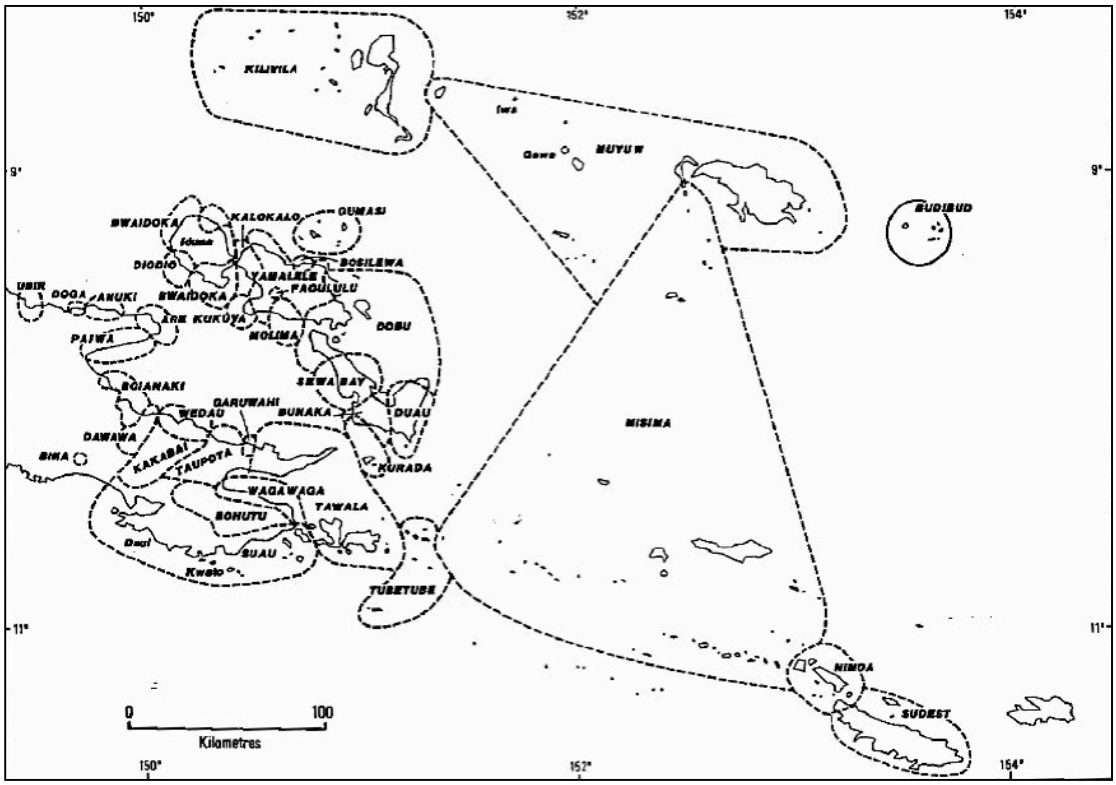
Thus, Ross' study stretched the boundaries of the comparative method which had been based on a family tree model of language in which languages are related through shared innovation, and diversify through separation.[23]

Ross distinguished between language 'families' that are created as a result of separation and 'linkages' that are created as a result of dialect differentiation. In representing this diagrammatically, he used a family tree model, with a double horizontal line for linkages (Ross 1988). Using this method, the prevalence of dialect differentiation within the Papuan Tip Cluster could be demonstrated. Innovation as a result of contact with a language outside the immediate family or chain was also represented using an arrow connecting languages of different families.

As can be seen in Figure 2.1 (§2.3), following the genetic tree down to Wedau and Taupota demonstrates a linkage relationship at every level from Proto Papuan Tip to the Taupota chain. However, the complexity observed by Ross at higher levels is not consistently reflected at the level of 'languages' which in the case of the Are and Taupota chains are listed as discrete entities. While Ross gives a definition of the differentiation between language and dialect based on morphosyntactic similarities (1988: 3), he states that his work is not concerned with 'the relationships within low-order groups of present-day language' (1988: 10) reflecting the comparative method's focus on higher-level groupings. Nonetheless his data came from individual language entities, and he was able to construct a linguistic map of the area which differentiated these entities geographically (see Map 4.4).

A comparison with Lithgow (1976a) suggests that Ross' list of 'languages' in the Papuan Tip Cluster may have been strongly influenced by Lithgow's work. While Ross' relationship between speech varieties differs somewhat, the individual languages remain almost identical, and Wedau and Taupota are referred to as two languages. Within the area from Wedau to Taupota, data was only collected from two villages: Wedau for the Wedau language, and Yaneyanene for the Taupota language (Ross 1988: 400). This differentiation reflects Lithgow's classification of the Wedau and Taupota languages respectively,[24] and due to Ross' focus on higher level groupings, there is no discussion of the location of the boundaries between these 'languages'. Thus, Ross (1988: 192) represents the Taupota chain,

[23] Descriptions of the comparative method are widely available, including Campbell (2004), Durie and Ross (1996), Rankin (2003), and Trask (1996).
[24] A number of sound changes occur between the coastal villages including Taupota and those to the south of the mountains including Yaneyanene. Consequently Ross' data on Taupota does not represent the situation in the villages in the current study.



Map 4.4: Oceanic languages of south-eastern Papua (Ross 1988: 195)

like a number of other chains in the Papuan Tip Cluster, as a list of discrete linguistic entities. This stands in contrast to the Suau chain and Sinagoro/Keapara network which are not broken down into discrete languages based on the findings of Cooper (1975) and Dutton (1970) respectively.

4.1.6 The knowledges and truths of language classification

Within the academic discourses of language development that were active in the case study, the existence of this body of research created a set of knowledges and truths around the language situation.

Wedau and Taupota were established as separate languages. This was based on experiences of the early missionaries, and further validated through the discourse of scientism in the work of Ray, Capell, Lithgow and Ross. However, it is notable, that Ross (1988) and Lithgow (1976a) were the only studies to use new data, and Ross seems to have based his data collection on the boundaries described by Lithgow except where further information was available.

The intermediate speech varieties become deviations, or dialects, of these 'languages'. Through this process, Topura and Yapoa became dialects of Wedau, while the remaining

intermediate speech varieties came to be 'erased' as variants of no significance (c.f. Irvine & Gal 2000). While the situation of dialect chaining is recognised by Ross, this is not reflected in the classifications which rely on a model of discrete linguistic entities.

In the case of Ray, Capell and Lithgow, classifications were constructed over an underlying 'truth' that historical relationships provide an appropriate classification for language development. This is replicated in the practices of language development, where such classifications are used as the basis for standardisation, which can then influence future classifications. This produces a circular self-propagating process, and principle of scientism, in which the practices and theories of the past influence the practices and theories of the future.

Underpinning all of these classifications were a number of 'truths' which influence not only language classification, but the practice of linguistics in general. Throughout the history of linguistics, the existence of languages as distinct linguistic entities has been largely unquestioned. This belief may appear to be an ontological necessity for a discipline which defines itself as the scientific study of language, however, the creation of this 'truth', and the influence it has had on linguistics and consequently language development work, has been profound. It has strongly influenced the belief that language standardisation is not only possible, but also good and necessary. It is embedded in the 'truth' that the primary function of language is communicative, and variation is only important when it conveys a difference in communicative meaning. These 'truths' and the objects they form, including standardised languages, and 'language' as a discrete entity, are all products of the discursive structure which produces, and is produced by, linguistics and language development (see Milroy 2001; Irvine & Gal 2000).

The classification produced by these studies and the underlying 'truths' that support them raised for me a number of questions for the language development process.

- Would the communities accept this classification?
- Where exactly is the language boundary between Taupota and Wedau?
- Will those villages subsumed within the Wedau language area accept the mission orthography of Wedau for their own speech variety?

Meanwhile, the recognised weaknesses of the classificatory models raised questions about the actual situation regarding the intelligibility of the 'dialects' apparently reflected in the classifications.

4.2 Language standardisation in 2001

Language standardisation was one of the most discussed issues during the language development workshops in 2001 and 2004. It was a concern for the workshop participants and linguist facilitators alike, however the nature of the issues involved differed for each group. For us as facilitators, the issues sat within a context of language classification and literacy acquisition. In conflict with this was a community discourse in which community views of language development were sought and encouraged. However, as a result of the more naturalised discourses of scientism, westernisation, literacy, missionisation and economics, standardisation, we considered the creation of the literary norm through a multidialectal orthography (Seifart 2006: 294-295) to be ideal, and linguistic measures of relatedness were used to justify this. The competing discourse of community did however caused tension within and among the facilitators as community views about standardisation conflicted with those of the dominant academic discourses.

The 2001 orthography development workshop arose from a contract which required SIL to develop orthographies for 'Taupota' and 'Topura'. These two 'languages' were part of a list compiled by the provincial education department, and represented the approach of the education reform program being pursued by the department[25] in relation to standardisation. As the education reform focussed on education in the village, taught in the local speech variety, the education department did not consider standardisation between villages to be necessary or even advantageous. Unlike the published materials of the missions and centralised models of education, elementary school materials were to be hand-made, eliminating the need for materials that could be used beyond the immediate context. This also removed the issue of printing costs, as materials would not be commercially produced.

However, the discursive context was different for us linguists as the workshop facilitators. Strongly situated within the scientific discourse, before the orthography workshop began, we conducted background research on the linguistic classification of the area based on Lithgow (1976a), as the most detailed description, and Ross (1988) as the most recent classification (Lynch et al (2002) had not yet been published). This provided us with information on language boundaries, the prevalence of dialect chaining, and higher order relationships. However, little information on the relationship between speech varieties in each of the villages within the area was available.

[25] See §7.3 for a discussion of the education reform. This is further discussed by Archibald (1996), Guy (2000), Kale & Marimyas (2003), and Klaus (2003).

SIL, as an organization viewed orthography development not only as fulfilling a contract within the goals of the education department, but also as a means to assisting communities in their desires for Bible translations. Consequently, discourses of missionisation, as well as literacy and westernisation, were influential in the process for the facilitators, as we sought to create an orthography that would not only meet the needs of elementary education, but also possible future religious translation projects. Through the goals associated with this process, the issue of standardisation came to the fore.

As with the Anglican mission and Bible Society during the early classifications, issues of size of print runs influenced the views of SIL, consequently supporting and validating larger speech communities. For some of the facilitators, the history of Wedau as a mission lingua franca rendered its validity as a language suitable for writing unquestioned. Taupota as a speech variety also had validity through its existence as a language in the linguistic literature. The intermediate speech varieties had little validity as languages in their own right, except for power assigned to speakers' views through the discourses of community. As a team we justified our view of the secondary status of these villages through observable mutual intelligibility and the great number of lexical and grammatical similarities. Further, our discussions about variation suggested that phonological and lexical variation that deviated from the 'norms' of Wedau and Taupota was deviant, and the regular nature of this variation was used as further evidence of the unity of the speech varieties.

At the opening of the 2001 ADW we asked the participants to group themselves according to speech variety. This strategy was part of the sociolinguistic approach of ADW, which grew out of the recognition of the importance of listening to the community discourses in language development. However, despite an initial commitment towards community owned processes, the discovery that ethnoclassifications did not match the linguistic classification in the literature, or observed intelligibility led to the strengthening of discourses of scientism and westernisation. The policies and goals of SIL as an organization involved in literacy development and Bible translation based in western academic frameworks resulted in us strongly encouraging the communities to further standardise. The discourses of community influential in the creation of the ADW model were dominated by more established discourses, producing a different set of criteria for participation and decision-making.

Given these factors, there was a strong desire among some of the facilitators for the creation of a multidialectal orthography. They believed that two orthographies, one centred at Wedau, the other at Taupota, were sufficient. We actively expressed and encouraged this

belief by strongly presenting the benefits of a multidialectal orthography as perceived by the workshop facilitators during the workshop sessions. Due to the history of the Wedau orthography, we suggested it would be best to create a new orthography for the villages from Taupota to Lavora, while leaving Wedau, Wamira and Divari to use the mission orthography. The main reasons given for creating a multidialectal orthography were:

- the prohibitive cost of small print runs
- the transferability of books and materials between speech varieties
- the limited availability of resources (including training and expertise)
- benefits of a shared variety for wider communication
- ease of transferability due to the mutual intelligibility of speech varieties
- the separation of speech and writing (i.e. same writing system does not equal same pronunciation)

After presenting these justifications, we handed the discussion over to one of the community leaders. Through the creation of space for the knowledge of the 'outside experts' (see §7.2), and the consequent interaction with the input from the linguistic facilitators, a number of the discourses of academic discourses of language development gained a strong voice within a community-based model of orthography development.

Of interest here are the underlying discourses which created the list of benefits of a multidialectal orthography. The first three justifications draw heavily on the discourse of economics, validating choices through their economic viability. This includes the burden on personnel as well as financial resources. Thus, choosing against these could be judged as being self-focussed, or within the context of aid provision, as unreasonably demanding and ungrateful. The second and fourth reasons demonstrate the discourses of westernisation and literacy through validating centralised education and cultural unity. The final two justifications draw on the discourse of scientism, invoking the power we held as facilitators trained in linguistics.

Having been part of the team of linguists promoting this framework during the 2001, I became acutely aware of the power wielded by the 'outside experts' through this process of language standardisation. This enhanced my understanding of the discourses of community in the process of language development, particularly with regard to standardisation, and as a result, I became more conscious of community voices in this process with other language groups. During the 2004 workshop with these same villages, I actively withdrew from the previously presented 'truths' that: standardisation was good and necessary, and villages

‘should’ create a multidialectal orthography. Given the cultural embedding of linguistic classification due to its historical context, and its understanding of language as merely a linguistic tool, I could not justify promoting the linguistic view at the expense of community discourses. This created further space for community processes in language development, and is the focus of §8.

4.3 The creation of ‘languages’

The creation of ‘languages’ by linguists and others involved in language development in the area from Wedau to Taupota is an object of the active discourses. From within a discourse perspective, ‘languages’ and ‘dialects’ are texts that are created by, and reflect, particular discursive structures. When languages are seen as created entities rather than an objective reality, the questions that arise from classification are no longer about method and results, but rather related to what discourses created these ‘languages’, and what truths and knowledge are being constructed by this process.

In this section, we consider the knowledges and truths that are evident in the practice of language classification and standardisation in the case study in relation to the wider discursive structures of academic language development. Within the academic context, the discourse of scientism is highly naturalised, language standardisation practices draw on the claims of scientism as the basis for the ‘best product’, and discourses of literacy and westernisation further validate this process. We begin with a discussion of an empirical linguistic approach to ‘languages’ in §4.3.1, and the creation of ‘standard languages’ in §4.3.2, followed by a Papua New Guinean model of ‘language’ that has arisen out of the academic context in §4.3.3.

4.3.1 ‘Linguistic’ languages

The classification of languages within linguistics is embedded in discourses which create and define what constitutes a ‘language’ and what are considered valid questions to consider in classifying speech varieties as ‘languages’ and ‘dialects’. Makoni and Pennycook (2007: 2) argue that ‘this metadiscursive regime treats languages as countable institutions, a view reinforced by the existence of grammars and dictionaries’. Despite the social and cultural embeddedness of language, linguistic classification creates a space of objective enquiry (Irvine & Gal 2000: 78), and methods are validated or criticised based on their level of objectivity.

In §4.1 we saw how 'languages' were created through linguistic classification of the Milne Bay region. The methodologies and aims of each study differed, ranging from linguistic survey to establishing higher-level groupings from an historical perspective. Nevertheless, the resultant scientifically created 'languages' gained sufficient validity to influence the work of future empirical studies, and also define and limit the scope of language development work in a particular area. The case study is just one example of a general trend in linguistics in which methods of language classification tend to originate from historical linguistics rather than from language standardisation practice. Consequently, the link between linguistic classification and historical linguistics is fundamental in understanding how linguistics perceives the relationship between speech varieties.

Historical linguistics is primarily concerned with reconstructing linguistic prehistory. In this approach, relationships between speech varieties are based on shared lexical and grammatical features, and in the case of the comparative method, shared innovation. The relationship between languages is described in an evolutionary model whereby languages split and diversify. Grace (1996: 170) describes the basic tenet of historical linguistics as follows:

> *... it is assumed that the system in question is this unit which we have been calling the 'language'. In short, historical linguistics is primarily concerned with linguistic change and with reconstruction, and linguistic change is conceived of as the changes undergone by these entities–languages–while reconstruction is reconstructing the history–the changes and splits–of such languages.*

Thus, historical linguistics, and through association, language classification, is not primarily concerned with present day linguistic practices, but with genetic relationship and shared innovation. It focuses on determining higher order relationships and proto-languages, not determining linguistic similarity and difference between speech varieties. The comparative method assumes that a pre-existing set of 'language entities' exist, and these 'languages' provided the starting point for comparative analysis (Ross & Durie 1996: 6).

The basis for determining the predetermined set of languages is not often given. When it is explicitly stated, often as a parameter in discussion of speech varieties (e.g. Bolinger 1975: 13, 345; Lynch et al 2002: 27), a 'language' is generally defined as being an object of mutual intelligibility. That is, dialects are mutually intelligible varieties of a language, and languages are distinct from one another through being mutually unintelligible (e.g. Campbell 2004: 186; Crystal 1997: 25; Dixon 1997: 7; Saussure 1959: 203; Wurm &

Laycock 1961-2: 128). Mutual intelligibility has been measured in various ways (e.g. Casad 1974, 1992, 1997; Grimes 1994; Milliken & Milliken 1996; O'Leary 1994; Vogelin & Harris 1951). Like historical methods of classification intelligibility studies have been questioned for their inability to accurately measure linguistic relationship, particularly in complex linguistic environments.[26]

Within the framework of intelligibility, languages are given validity as objects of mutual oral and/or written communication, and a variety becomes a separate language when speakers of another variety cannot understand it. Thus, language classification is apparently based on the ability to communicate ideas through speech, that is, the communicative function of language. This foundational truth was created in the academic discursive structure, and has been widely influential in linguistic studies. The studies discussed in §4.1, are an example of the impact of this truth, being based on methodologies that assume a context of mutual intelligibility within languages, and unintelligibility between languages. Further, the knowledge created by these empirical studies recreates 'language' as a discrete entity for future research and applications.

'Languages' are created powerfully within the discourses of academic language development. However, the model of definable entities is often unable to deal with the present day complexity of 'language'. In discussing the classification and mapping of the languages of Senegal by linguists, Irvine & Gal (2000:51) argue that 'functional or superposed varieties, multilingualism, polysemous language labels, and contested boundaries were incompatible with this approach' which assumes monolingualism and a process of linguistic evolution.

The inability of these models to deal with a current language context is particularly evident in situations of dialect chaining. Some argue that such situations are quite rare (e.g. Dixon 1997: 8; Sapir 1921: 149) and therefore of little consequence to theoretical models. Within a situation of dialect chaining, the application of language borders in order to create languages is somewhat arbitrary (Bloomfield 1933: 53; Chambers & Trudgill 1998: 3-12). As a consequence of this limitation, Lithgow (1976a) and Ross (1988) both turned to factors other than intelligibility, such as ethnoclassification, in order to determine language boundaries within the Are-Taupota language chain.

This section has shown how through the academic discourses, a framework has been constructed in which languages, based on mutual intelligibility, exist as discrete entities, and

[26] For discussions of lack of correspondence between linguistic structure and intelligibility see Casad (1997: 259), Grimes (1994), Wolff (1964: 441-2), and Wurm and Laycock (1961).

how historical studies came to represent the knowledge and truth of the current language situation. As demonstrated in the studies by Lithgow and Ross, the limitations of traditional linguistic models of language classification have been recognised, and responded to in a number of ways. In §4.4, we consider two approaches used in linguistic studies of the Milne Bay area since 2001.

4.3.2 'Standard' languages

While linguistic theory creates languages as 'linguistic' entities, language planning creates 'standard' languages which represent a unified linguistic group. Early models of language standardisation considered the development of a linguistic norm for use within society as an ideal model. Ferguson (1968: 31) refers to 'the…achievement of standardization as a stage in language development' and describes this process as 'moving toward an ideal state'. Tauli (1974: 64-65) argues that 'the levelling of [standard languages] and dialects going on in all modern countries is a normal and positive phenomenon'. The truth of the existence of standard languages influences the language attitudes and practices of linguists and non-linguists alike (Milroy 2001). Within language development, a truth has been created which states that language standardisation is both good and necessary. While gaining its validity through links with linguistics and the scientific discourse, this truth largely stems from the discourses of westernisation and literacy which validate the knowledge that standardisation, and consequent literacy practices will lead to western-style development.

The inherent goodness and necessity of language standardisation has become so normalised that it is often unexplained. This truth can be seen in the events of the 2001 ADW, and is deeply embedded within the conversation and practice of many linguists. Factors such as the unifying force of a common language, the need for a standard for use in education, the need for intercultural communication, and the cost of resources and technology required to print books have all been cited (e.g. Haugen 1972 [1966]: 170). Fishman (1991: 348) in regard to reversing language shift states that without a 'consensually recognised and unifying standard', any attempt to strengthen the 'language' will be hampered, as the speech community will have no common form for use in schools, publications, and in general interdialectal communication.

These reasons for standardisation are themselves situated within a particular discursive structure creating truths such as: an inability for linguistic diversity to exist within cultural or communal unity, a centralised model of education, and particular methods of

printing/publishing. They are created within discourses: of westernisation which validate development towards a homogenous western model of society, of literacy which validates centralised education as a vital tool for development, and of economics which validates economic viability. This list of discourses mirrors that evident in the practices of the facilitators during the ADW.

Western culture creates 'languages' as symbols of cultural identity within a nation and links them with distinct cultural and political entities. During the rise of nationalism, language played an important role in the creation of national identity and throughout Western Europe the link between nation and language is undeniable (see Fishman 1971; Gubbins & Holt 2002; Irvine & Gal 2000; Makoni & Pennycook 2007). The assumed pre-existence of 'languages' in the European context is used to argue the case for cultural independence, and the non-existence of 'separate languages' used to argue the case for cultural dependence (Irvine & Gal 2000). This process has continued to the present, and can be seen in the contestation of political and linguistic boundaries between Serbian and Croatian, two varieties of what has also been known, in certain socio-historical contexts, as the Serbo-Croatian language (Gubbins & Holt 2002: 5; Wardhaugh 2002: 29-30).

The link between 'language' and 'political entity' is based in the perception of a social organization of 'one culture, one language'. Given this, politicians and social scientists have often relied on linguistic difference 'to provide language categories that would then be assumed to delimit social groups' (Gal & Irvine 1995: 15). Consequently, linguistic difference and similarity have great power in identifying inclusion and exclusion, separating 'us' from 'them'. Further, in a case such as Serbian and Croatian, the same data can be used to argue for opposing positions.

Within this model, variation within a language is the norm, but is nonetheless marked. The term 'dialect' is used for a speech variety defined as divergent from the cultural definitions of the 'standard language'. While the standard language becomes the 'legitimate form' (Milroy 2001: 547), dialects are considered to be non-standard forms of speech, and are often associated with a lack of education and consequently a lack of prestige. Within the perceptions and policies of western cultural discourse and its institutions, these intermediate varieties are largely 'erased' (Gal & Irvine 1995: 11). This is partially achieved through the strong link between 'language' and nationalism which focuses on standard varieties as the means of education, social participation and cultural unity as tools of the nation-state.

Dialects are relegated to non-official purposes and consequently erased from all official documentation and the conscious identity of the state. This further enhances the prestige of the 'standard language' and the use of the standard as within the literary world, linking 'language' with not only education and prestige, but also with the written form of speech. This relationship between standard language and power is so strong, that even when 'non-standard' varieties are written, through their very deviation from the standard, they reinforce its existence and its power (Jaffe 2000).

4.3.3 A Papua New Guinean model of 'language'

The creation of official 'languages' within the west has spread beyond Europe, through colonisation, and as a tool of scientific discovery and classification of the 'other'. The 'truths' about 'languages' and 'dialects', their connection with the nation state, and the erasure of variation within these politically defined boundaries, have been transferred to colonial contexts. Within the context of Papua New Guinea, the truths and knowledges of languages from models of both linguistic languages and standard languages have contributed to the creation of the lists and classifications of languages that are acted upon in language development.

The links between colonisation, missionisation and language standardisation, are not always viewed negatively by Papua New Guineans. The education policies of Papua New Guinea, and the strong desire among communities to undertake language development processes, demonstrate a desire to adopt and recreate the literacy practices of the west in the Papua New Guinean context. To this end, Nekitel (1998) constructed a Papua New Guinean model of language standardisation. Based on Downes (1984), he developed a model which he found to be more appropriate to choosing a standard dialect of languages with little or no written tradition (Nekitel 1998: 42). While Downes (1984: 38) found it '…hard to envisage how… [a] sense of a language as a unified, tangible 'thing' could exist without writing', Nekitel adapted his model to assist in discovering ways standard dialects are created in preliterate communities, or can grow naturally out of the cultural environment of the community. Nekitel's model lists the following criteria for the 'standard dialect' of a language (Nekitel 1998:42):

- utilitarian value,
- historicity,
- oral correctness,

- traditional institutions,
- symbolism, and
- vitality.

Of these factors, he considered oral correctness, as perceived by the community, to be the most important due to the influence and significance of oral tradition in many Papua New Guinean communities. It is interesting to note that none of Nekitel's criteria refer to the linguistic relationship or intelligibility of dialects, and once again, the existence of the language is assumed, with only the status of the various dialects being questioned.

4.4 Classification since 2001

Since the ADW in 2001, two further classifications of the languages of the study area have become available: an updated classification in the Ethnologue (Gordon 2005), and Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002). These studies differ substantially from earlier classifications in their recognition of the relevance of social interaction to language classification. This has not necessarily led to a clearer classification, but has allowed for the expression and consideration of alternate views of language. These studies of Milne Bay demonstrate the continuing modification of the definition of language, through redefining language boundaries (§4.4.1), refining classifications (§4.4.2), and changes in practices of standardisation (§4.4.3).

4.4.1 Ethnoclassification

The use of ethnoclassification is not new in linguistic classification. However, it has generally been relegated to the role of initial investigation, and considered to give a subjective, and therefore inaccurate, view of language classification (see McElhanon 1979; Voegelin & Harris 1951). Nevertheless, there is an increasing use of ethnoclassification, particularly in the context of dialect chains, where linguistic analysis can provide no clear answers. This is evident in the classification of the Taupotan speech varieties in the recent edition of the Ethnologue (Gordon 2005). In this classification, the speech varieties listed by Lithgow (1976a) and Ross (1988) as 'Taupota' are divided into four 'languages': Taupota, Haigwai, Wa'ema and Maiwala (Gordon 2005). This division is based on ethnoclassificatory data collected during an SIL language survey in 2001 (Rueck p.c.).[27] In this classification, Taupota refers to the speech variety of Taupota village, and the 'Taupota' spoken by many in

[27] This survey was undertaken in the weeks before, during and after the Taupota ADW. The surveyors acted as facilitators during the ADW.

Galuwahi. In this classification, Topura, Yapoa and Lavora are classified as dialects of Wedau. My own ethnoclassificatory study of these villages is found in §8.

4.4.2 Lynch, Ross and Crowley

The recognition of the role of social interaction in language has also impacted 'scientific' classifications. Since the 2001 workshop, the classification of Papuan Tip languages has been further refined. Despite having developed the theoretical framework of the comparative method in order to allow for linkages and language contact in Ross (1988), Ross felt that the large amounts of residual data that could not be accounted for 'had a story to tell that I could not read' (Ross 1996b: 182). This resulted in Ross developing a new framework for historical linguistic research based on social networks as described by Grace (1996) and Lesley and James Milroy (Milroy 1987; Milroy 1992; Milroy & Milroy 1985). Rather than merely focussing on a genetic tree model of language change, Ross (1997) argued for an understanding of the complexity of social networks as constructed by individuals and the spread of linguistic innovation from an individual to members of the same social networks.

The recognition of the complexity of social networks and their impact on language change has led to an increasing number of studies of language contact. Language contact recognises the 'mixing' that occurs between languages, related or not, as a result of contact and social interaction (see Aikhenvald & Dixon 2001; Trask 1996).[28] Ross came to recognise the impact of metatypy[29] and language shift, as well as esoterogeny and exoterogeny[30] on present day language situations, 'interfer[ing] with a language's correspondences with its genetic kin' (Ross 1996b: 183). Situated firmly within the field of historical linguistics, studies of language contact focus on language change and what this can tell us about the genetic relationship of languages in comparison to their current linguistic form. Studies of language contact also necessarily involve more detailed work within a particular area and consequently limit the number of languages that can be investigated within one particular

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[28] Recognition of contact induced change is not a recent development (see Sapir 1921: chapter 9), however recent years have seen a growing interest in this field. Aikhenvald and Dixon (2001: 16) describe five types of contact-induced change, besides 'direct borrowing': system-altering change (e.g. 'metatypy (Ross 1996, 2001)), system-preserving change (see Watkins 2001), lexical accommodation, grammatical accommodation and gradual convergence and isomorphism (2001: 16).

[29] See Ross (1996, 2001) for accounts of metatypy in Papua New Guinean languages, and the impact of metatypy on Proto-Papuan Tip (Ross 1996: 192).

[30] Based on Thurston (1987, 1989), Lynch et al (2002: 26) state:

> *An exoteric language is one that functions as a contact language, and which, as a result, develops in the direction of structural simplicity. An esoteric language, on the other hand, is one that functions solely as an in-group language. Such languages tend to develop in the direction of greater complexity.*

study. These factors have resulted in a departure from the large-scale classification of speech varieties evident in earlier linguistic classification. Despite the language specific nature of language contact studies, the historicity of these studies results in a focus on higher-level classification rather than the lower-level and more recent divergences evident in everyday language use.

Taking into consideration issues such as these, together with the impact of convergence due to language contact as well as divergence,[31] Lynch et al (2002) proposed the classification given in §2.3. This involved the reclassification of some higher-level groups of the Papuan Tip linkage, particularly the creation of the Kilivila/Misima linkage, Nimoa/Sudest family, and Central Papuan family as separate high-order groups, rather than being subsumed under the Peripheral Papuan Tip linkage language (see Lynch et al 2002: 104-106). While there has been a reclassification of higher-level groups with Papuan Tip, there is no evidence of research into language boundaries.

A notable difference between Ross (1988) and Lynch et al (2002) is the lack of genetic tree diagrams in Lynch et al. As discussed in §4.1.5, Ross recognised a number of limitations of the genetic tree model of language change, and adapted it to demonstrate linkages and language contact between languages of different groups. Lynch et al argue that the family tree model cannot deal with the complexity of change referred to above, concluding that, 'because of these limitations, we can present subgrouping more accurately in a prose description than in a family tree diagram, and this is what we do here' (Lynch et al 2002: 93).

4.4.3 Redefinition and standardisation

The redefinition of language and the refining of models of relationship between speech varieties are changes within linguistics that acknowledge the need for a more holistic view of language in order to produce an analysis that reflects the complex social aspects of communication. However, this recognition does not necessarily create a product that is more suitable for standardisation. Rather, it brings into question the validity of standardisation

[31] Dixon (1997) proposed a model of language change entitled the 'punctuated equilibrium model' in which he argues that for much of history, a state of linguistic equilibrium has existed, where linguistic features spread through diffusion, resulting in 'linguistic areas'. These long periods of equilibrium are punctuated by periods of upheaval during which, for reasons such as a natural disaster, political turmoil or major technological advancement, languages expand and split. Dixon (1997: 67) argues that these periods of punctuation are well illustrated by the family trees of the comparative method. However, the much longer periods of equilibrium result in the diffusion of features regardless of 'language boundaries', a situation which is not well illustrated in family tree diagrams (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2001: 6).

based on linguistic principles of intelligibility through softening borders between 'languages', and acknowledging the often-fluid movement between speech varieties through cultural contact.

The more holistic nature of the classifications of Lynch et al renders them less useful for academic models of language development, but reveals the complex makeup of language that exists beyond the boundaries of traditional linguistic analysis. The ethnoclassifications provide a framework that is real for the speakers, even where this departs greatly from a scientific classification. As is demonstrated in §8, ethnoclassificatory studies have proved to be very beneficial in community-based language development, providing a space for the voice of communities in issues of language development.

4.5 Discourses in language standardisation

This chapter has demonstrated the complexity of language classification, and the impact that can have on language development. Consequently, where it is considered important, it has been necessary to define what constitutes a language in a particular study. For example, *The Australian Standard Classification of Languages*, a government document produced to group and classify the languages of Australia, (McLennan 1997), devotes four pages to explaining their criteria for classification, including how it may differ from a linguistic classification and why 'certain language entities, which may be regarded by some as dialects, rather than as languages in their own right, are identified separately' (McLennan 1997: 4).

My study supports the recent questioning of the existence of 'languages' as objective realities (Irvine & Gal 2000; Milroy 2001; Woolard 1998: 20). From her experience in Papua New Guinea, Romaine (1994: 12) suggests that the:

> *... very concept of discrete languages is probably a European cultural artefact fostered by procedures such as literacy and standardization. Any attempt to count distinct languages will be an artefact of classificatory procedures rather than a reflection of communicative practices.*

Mühlhäusler (1996: 328) also questions the very existence of 'separate languages' as we classify them in western culture and linguistics, arguing that it is linguistic analysis and the implementation of vernacular literacy and translation programs that creates 'languages' (1996: 145). Within the context of the Pacific, he argues (Mühlhäusler 1996: 35):

> *Language was not a self-contained object of inspection. The practice of naming languages was far from universal and when it occurred it rarely corresponded to the entities that present-day linguists set up on the basis of criteria such as shared lexicon, mutual intelligibility, geographic or political boundaries or separate literacy tradition. The difficulties of distinguishing between languages, dialects, communalects and such phenomena encountered by present-day linguists…do not so much reflect their inability to find these 'objects' as their non-existence.*

According Mühlhäusler, 'languages' as found in linguistic research and census records are not only classified by linguistic fieldwork, but are created as objects of assimilation and segregation. This is done by 'outsiders', generally linguists and missionaries, who, influenced by the discourses of scientism and westernisation, seek to bring order to the linguistic situation they find. While Part 3 of this thesis contests Mühlhäusler's idea that there were no discrete linguistic entities before colonisation, the issues that have arisen in classifying the speech varieties of the area clearly demonstrate that linguistic entities created by linguists use a very different set of discourses, creating a different type of text.

Language development practice has brought into question the act of standardisation as a necessary product of language development (see Milroy 2001: 534, also Jaffe 2000). During the ADW, the cultural-embedding of the communities' views of language constantly challenged the discourses creating the practice of the facilitators. Initially this led to more direct intervention in a bid to create standard languages. However, failure to produce a usable product reopened the space for the community discourse in the academic language planning process. The result, as will be discussed in §8.4 is a continuing process of standardisation that is forming and being formed by community-based literacy practices. However, in order for this to occur, some of the truths and knowledges created within language classification had to be questioned.

The creation of languages within Papua New Guinea is a discursive practice, and its products are very tangible and powerful. These include grammars, dictionaries, religious translations and other authoritative texts, as well as the creation of a hierarchy of speech varieties based on their status as dialects or languages. Some speech varieties have been erased from the literature, and through cultural and linguistic assimilation with 'central dialects', some speech varieties have disappeared.

Within the various approaches to linguistic classification discussed above, the following discursively produced truths can be identified:

- languages are definable entities
- standardisation is necessary and good
- languages are primarily communicative in function
- languages can/should be scientifically analysed
- relationship between languages is based on shared innovation and the existence of an historical proto-language.

These truths can generally also be seen in associated linguistic practices such as the creation of grammars and dictionaries, translation, education policies, and language development and were apparent in the linguistic approach to language standardisation during the ADW. These practices are not only created by the academic discourses of language development, but also help to reinforce the creation of knowledge based on these truths. In the following chapter, the influence of these truths on academic approaches to orthography development is discussed. In §8.5, alternate approaches to language classification and standardisation are also discussed.

5 *Phonology and orthography*

Within the discourses of linguistics and language planning, orthography development is integrally linked with phonology. Due to the hegemonic status of the discourse of scientism, as discussed in §3.1, the methods of language development draw on linguistic analysis, and in the case of orthography development, phonological analysis. Within the discourses of language development, a 'good' phonological analysis of a language is necessary for the creation of a 'good' orthography. In this section we consider the role of phonology in the development of our understanding, or knowledge, of the sound systems of languages, and the impact this has had on the development of orthographies, particularly in relation to the case study.

5.1 Phonology, orthography and discourse

Within the discursive structure of academic language development, the discourse of scientism has become naturalised, creating a hegemonic status for the knowledge, truths and power it creates. As discussed in §3.1, within the discourses of language development, an accurate phonological analysis of the language is required to enable the orthography to be truly representative of the language. The discourse of scientism creates a knowledge space in which we can come to understand the sound systems of languages through phonological analysis, creating the discipline of phonology. Thus, orthography development and phonological analysis are texts created by these discourses.

Through the discourse of scientism, phonological analysis is given validity as a true description of the sound system of the language. It allows sounds to be analysed and defined according to principles of 'objectivity', uncovering observable patterns which create a set of significant sounds for each language. Within the discipline of phonology, significant sounds, or phonemes, are defined based on their linguistic function. That is, sounds are considered significant if they signify a change in meaning, discussed in terms of minimal pairs and complementary distribution.

Phonology is important in dialectology, a discipline that studies variation in language. Within this framework, regional, social and generational variation are recognised as being variants of the 'same' sound, and not phonologically significant. Thus, while dialectology validates variation through its association with western models of language, it defines variation in relationship to 'standard' or 'normal'. Regional, social and generational variation

that does not represent semantic change is defined as a variation of another sound, and therefore may not be considered a significant phone within phonology. Dialectal variation may have a status similar to that of allophones, variation which can be systematically explained, and therefore not central to a representation of the 'true' or 'standard' language.

In the following sections, I give a phonological description of the speech varieties in the case study. If I were to take on the classifications of Ross (1988) and Lithgow (1976a), phonological variation would be described in comparison with the 'norms' of Wedau and Taupota. However, for the sake of neutrality, I have not applied such boundaries and comparisons.

Following the conventions of phonology, the basic phonemic inventory of each of the speech varieties spoken in the villages from Wedau to Galuwahi represented in this study are given in §5.3. The following sections combine the methods of phonology and dialectology, focusing on variation, with §5.4 discussing regional variation, §5.5 considering generational variation, and §5.6 focussing on the historical change that has occurred in regard to allophonic variation. However, before proceeding to the analysis, §5.2 situates this discussion in relation to previous studies, and reviews the methodology and data collection strategies employed here.

5.2 Methodology and data collection

In order to have validity within the discourse of scientism, it is necessary to situate new research firmly within an already existent framework. In relation to the current study, this can be done through acknowledging previous studies, and validating the data and methodologies presented here through links to others. The reasoning for this process often goes unstated, and it has become one of the hegemonic texts of the discourse. In order to provide authority for my study, in §5.2.1 I discuss previous studies relevant to the phonology of the speech varieties in question. Following this, in §5.2.2, I explain my methodologies for data collection.

5.2.1 Previous studies

No previous detailed study of the phonologies of the speech varieties from Galuwahi to Wedau has been completed. Areal studies of Oceanic languages in Milne Bay have included this region, resulting in general and comparative statements on the phonology of Papuan Tip Languages (Lithgow 1976a: 472-476). Comparative studies of Milne Bay

phonology for the purpose of reconstruction have also been completed (Cochran 1978; Ross 1988).

Due to the broad scope of these studies, variation within the current study area has not been fully considered. Cochran (1978) only included the Wedau speech variety in her study. Ross (1988) included Wedau and Taupota in his study, however he uses 'Taupota' to refer to the broader language name (see Lithgow 1976a), using data from Yaneyanene village, whose speech variety differs phonologically from that of Taupota village.

As the lingua franca of the Anglican mission, the Wedau language has historically had more attention that the other varieties in the area. However, even for this variety the only phonological description available is a one-page explanation of the sound system as it relates to the orthography.[32] King (1901), a missionary with the Anglican mission, published the first description of the sound system of Wedau and the orthography developed for it in *A Grammar and Dictionary of the Wedau Language*. Clarke (1977: 954-5) gives a short discussion of the phonology of Wedau in her description of Wedau as a mission lingua franca. She includes one sentence on the speech varieties other than Wedau included in the present study, commenting on the addition of a glottal stop to their phonemic inventory (Clarke 1977: 955).

While the previous descriptions correspond with my data, they do not fully represent the extent of the variation found in the area. Consequently, one of the aims of my research was to study the variation in the area. In order to achieve this, I used the methods of dialectology to collect my data.

5.2.2 Data collection

The phonological analysis and accompanying discussion are based on data I collected in 2001 while involved in an ADW and in 2004 while conducting fieldwork (see §2.4). This is accompanied by data from the Australian Board of Missions archives held at the University of Papua New Guinea in Port Moresby, and previously published descriptions (see §5.2.1). The data includes a transcribed list of 200 items collected in each of the eleven villages from Wedau to Galuwahi in 2004. Additional data was gathered through observation, direct elicitation, and the recording of stories.

In each village, I collected a list of 179 words and 21 short sentences. The purpose of the wordlist was to provide data for a phonological description of each speech variety and

[32] The Wedau orthographies of the Anglican mission are discussed further in §5.8.

enable lexical and phonological comparison between the speech varieties in each village. The list was based on the *SIL-PNG Survey Word List (1999 Revision)*, which is used in the language survey work of SIL and by other linguists throughout Papua New Guinea. It contains all items on the Swadesh 100 word list (see Trask 1996: 373-374) as well as a number of words relevant for Papua New Guinean cultures. I added a small number of words particularly suited to the cultures of the villages I was visiting (e.g. 'canoe', 'conch shell'), and a number of words which, based on data collected in 2001, I expected to be relevant for particular phonological features (e.g. 'fan', 'nail'). The results were transcribed phonetically so that the lists could be used for phonological analysis. They were also recorded on tape for future reference.

The list was elicited using English, which is well known throughout the area as the language of education and government and as a language of wider communication. The use of English did result in a small number of problems due to difficulties in translating English words with no direct equivalent in the local speech variety. For example there was no direct equivalent of 'boy' and 'girl' without being more specific in regard to age. 'Foot' and 'leg' also produced a variety of results as people tried to distinguish between these despite the two English words being covered by one term *ae* in the local speech varieties. When further clarification was required, words were given in Motu, the lingua franca of Papua in colonial times. While the young people did not generally understand Motu, this assisted the older people, particularly the men.

Sometimes the list was completed with one person. However, more often there was a group of people involved. The size of the group varied from four to over twenty. Within each group there was always a smaller group of up to five people who were the focus, with others joining in from time to time. When working with a group, there were often one or two 'experts' who the others would refer to when unsure what answer to give (see §7.2). Sometimes the 'experts' were seemingly peripheral to the group, sitting on the edge. However, participants were aware of who held the authority in regards to the language. Participation of a larger number of people in some villages allowed for some demographically based observations, most notably, differences in the speech of different generations. While not the intended focus of research, this context of data collection proved to be productive in regard to generational variation and language change.

While at the writers' workshop in Taupota, one of the workshop participants from each village read a translated wordlist onto tape for future reference. The list used for the

recording was one that I had left a copy of the list in each village and asked that someone fill it out in their variety. I had not been successful in attempts at recording the word list in a more natural setting, such as while eliciting the list in the village, due to the difficulties of recording in group settings, particularly outside, and people's reluctance to have anything recorded that was unrehearsed. The result from the read word list is less natural data, but a recording that can be clearly understood. I have used these recordings to check data when questions arose during analysis.

In each village, I also recorded a short story with a free translation. The purpose of the story was to gather some natural speech data to complement the wordlists. I generally transcribed and translated the stories outside of the village with the help of speakers attending the workshop, or living in town.

While the focus of this study is the current day situation in the villages from Wedau to Galuwahi, this is contextualised more broadly with related and neighbouring languages such as Gweda, Tawala, Dawawa and Ghayavi, as well as a number of other Nuclear Papuan Tip linkage languages spoken on the nearby islands. Comparison with related languages is included in order to explain areal features and patterns of change that have affected the variety in question. The data for Gweda and Ghayavi is based on ADWs in 2001 and word lists collected in 2004, while other data is from published sources as referenced. This study is not an attempt to create a comparative reconstruction, but to present the current day situation, particularly the variation found in the villages from Wedau to Galuwahi using the discourses of linguistics and language development.

5.3 Phonological inventory

The phonological inventory of each individual speech variety being studied is quite simple. Despite the general homogeneity between the varieties, the differences are striking. In this section, an overview of the phonology will be given. Where uniformity exists, the speech varieties will be discussed as a group, with examples from Taupota village given as the typical case. Vowels will be discussed in §5.3.1, then consonants in §5.3.2, with contrasts at the main three places of articulation, labial, alveolar and velar given in §5.3.2.1 to §5.3.2.3. Syllable types are summarised in §5.3.3. I do not discuss stress for two reasons. Firstly, it requires a more focussed study in order to analyse the stress and intonation patterns that differ between villages. Secondly, this aspect of the language did not prove to be influential in orthography

development (§8 discusses the influence of speaker perception of 'tune' on language boundaries and standardisation).

5.3.1 Vowels

The vowel system consists of five phonemes, given in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Vowel phonemes

i	u
ɛ	ɔ
a	

This system is consistent throughout the area, except that in the central villages, from Lavora to Awauya, the mid vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ] are generally slightly higher and more tense; more closely resembling [e] and [o].

All five vowels are found in all positions in a word as demonstrated in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Vowel phonemes: distribution in Taupota

	/a/	/ɛ/	/i/	/ɔ/	/u/
Word Initial	[aɾa] /aɾa/ 'tapa cloth'	[ɛɾawa] /ɛɾawa/ 'show off'	[iɾama] /iɾama/ 'axe'	[ɔɾɔtɔ] /ɔɾɔtɔ/ 'man'	[uɾa] /uɾa/ 'hand'
Word Medial	[maɾa] /maɾa/ 'sky'	[mɛpa] /mɛpa/ 'where'	[miɾa] /miɾa/ 'dirt'	[mɔɾu] /mɔɾu/ 'lie'	[mudumudu] /mudumudu/ 'abdomen'
Word Final	[ɔɣɔra] /ɔɣɔra/ 'post'	[gavuaɾɛ] /gavuaɾɛ/ 'ashes'	[mahiɾi] /mahiɾi/ 'to stand'	[kɛɾɔ] /kɛɾɔ/ 'sore'	[kʷɛɾu] /kʷɛɾu/ 'frog'

5.3.2 Consonants

The basic phonological system remains consistent throughout the area. There is a contrast between voiced and voiceless bilabial, alveolar, and velar plosives, as well as a contrast between regular velar and labialised velar plosives. The system also contains bilabial and alveolar nasals, an alveolar flap, voiced bilabial and velar fricatives and labio-velar and palatal approximants.

In order to discuss the distribution of consonant phonemes, I have grouped them according to place of articulation. In §5.3.2.1 the distribution of labial phonemes is presented. Then alveolar phonemes are discussed in §5.3.2.2, including a coronal approximant which

occurs as an alveolar lateral approximant in some villages. Finally, §5.3.2.3 discussed the velar and labialised velar consonants. All consonants contrast word initially and intervocalically. The only consonant found in a syllable coda position is /m/ (see §5.3.3.1).

There is much variation within the consonant systems of these speech varieties, resulting in different realisations of the same phoneme as well as additions/deletions of phonemes. The variation between varieties makes the creation of a summary phoneme chart difficult and requires me to make choices regarding the standard form of each phoneme. As my aim is to represent the phonology of all of the speech varieties from Wedau to Galuwahi, it is necessary to show all variation. Rather than compiling a separate chart for each village, I have brought the data together to create Table 5.3. The table lists each of village with it realisation(s) of each phoneme.

The consonant variation is complex and extensive. It can be divided into three types: regional variation (§5.4), generational variation (§5.5) and historical variation (§5.6). Generational variation and historical variation are related processes, the first often leading to the second. In this study I refer to historical change as completed change, where a feature no longer exists within any sector of the community, and generational change as change in progress, where the young people have changed to a new pattern, but the old pattern is still found in the speech of older people. Where generational variation occurs, this is marked in Table 5.3 with a (/) between the two phones, with the innovative form to the right. Variation in the speech of individual members of a community is marked by a comma (,). Historical variation is not included in the table, as it is not immediately obvious on a surface level.

Table 5.3: Variation of consonant phonemes[33]

	Wedau	Wamira	Divari	Lavora	Aigura	Topura	Yapoa 1	Awauya	Taupota	Galuwahi[34]
p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p
b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t
t/_i	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s
d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
d/_i	dʒ	dʒ	dʒ	dʒ	d,d^j/dʒ	d,d^j/dʒ	d,d^j	d,d^j	dʒ	dʒ
k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k
g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g
k^w	k^w	k^w	k^w	k^w	k^w	k^w	k^w	k^w	k^w	k^w
g^w	g^w	g^w	g^w	g^w	g^w	g^w	g^w	g^w	g^w	g^w
ʔ	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	ʔ/Ø	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
ɾ	ɾ,r	r	ɾ,r	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ
v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v
ɣ	ɣ/h	ɣ/h	ɣ/h	ɣ/h	ɣ	ɣ	ɣ	ɣ	ɣ	ɣ
h	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	h/Ø	h	h	h	h	h
w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w
j	ð	l	l	j,ð,l	ð/j,j̩	ð/j,j̩	ð/j,j̩	ð/j,j̩	ð/j,j̩	j

[33] The phonemic status of the alveolar plosives, affricate and fricative is difficult to determine and is discussed in §5.6

[34] Data was only collected from one speaker in Galuwahi. Consequently no statement about group level variation can be made.

5.3.2.1 Labial phonemes

There are five labial consonants including voiceless and voiced bilabial plosives /p/ and /b/, a bilabial nasal /m/, a labiodental fricative /v/ and a labio-velar approximant /w/. They occur in word initial and intervocalic environments. The bilabial nasal /m/ is the only consonant to occur word finally. This is demonstrated in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Labial phonemes - distribution in Taupota

	/p/	/b/	/m/	/v/	/w/
Word Initial	[pɔu] /pɔu/ 'egg'	[bɔu] /bɔu/ 'elephantiasis'	[mɔɾu] /mɔɾu/ 'to tell a lie'	[vɔɛ] /vɔɛ/ 'paddle'	[wɔwɔɾi] /wɔwɔɾi/ 'current'
Intervocalic	[apaɾa] /apaɾa/ 'hair'	[babani] /babani/ 'talk'	[ama] /ama/ 'father'	[ɾava] /ɾava/ 'people'	[manawa] /manawa/ 'stomach'
Word Final			[jam] /jam/ 'food'		

5.3.2.2 Alveolar phonemes

Four alveolar phonemes are common to all speech varieties in this area: voiceless and voiced alveolar plosives /t d/, an alveolar nasal /n/, and an alveolar flap /ɾ/. Wamira and Divari villages also have an alveolar lateral /l/. This is a regional variation of the coronal approximant (see §5.4.3). These phonemes are found in word initial and word medial positions, and are not found word finally (see Table 5.5).

Table 5.5: Alveolar phonemes - distribution in Taupota

	/t/	/d/	/n/	/ɾ/	/l/ (Wamira)
Word Initial	[tavinɛ] /tavinɛ/ 'married'	[damuni] /damuni/ 'strong current'	[natu] /natu/ 'child'	[ɾava] /ɾava/ 'people'	[laguma] /laguma/ 'lime'
Intervocalic	[mata] /mata/ 'eye'	[dadaɾi] /dadaɾi/ 'sago stalk'	[iana] /iana/ 'fish'	[haɾavi] /haɾavi/ 'mat'	[nawala] /nawala/ 'wallaby'

5.3.2.3 Velar phonemes

There are five velar phonemes found word initially and intervocalically: voiceless and voiced velar plosives /k g/, voiced velar fricative /ɣ/, and voiceless and voiced labialised velar plosives, /kʷ gʷ/. They occur in word initial and intervocalic positions, and are not found word finally as shown in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6: Velar phonemes - distribution in Taupota

	/k/	**/g/**	**/ɣ/**	**/kʷ/**	**/gʷ/**
Word Initial	[kaɾɔ] /kaɾo/ 'to scratch'	[gaɾa] /gaɾa/ 'clothes'	[ɣaɾa] /ɣaɾa/ 'to dig'	[kʷaɾapu] /kʷaɾapu/ 'fish type'	[gʷaɾa] /gʷaɾa/ 'traditional law'
Intervocalic	[kɛaka] /kɛaka/ 'coconut shell'	[mɛjagai] /mɛjagai/ 'village'	[jɛbaɣa] /jɛbaɣa/ 'fishing'	[sisikʷa] /titikʷa/ 'stone fish'[35]	[hagʷai] /hagʷai/ 'cuscus'

5.3.3 Syllable

The basic syllable structure in all speech varieties is: (C)V(m). CV is by far the most common syllable type throughout the area, with V syllables also being common. Examples of syllable types are given in Table 5.7. Shaded areas refer to syllable types that do not occur within my data corpus.

Table 5.7: Syllable patterns

	Word Initial	**Word Medial**	**Word Final**
V	/ɛ.nɔ/ 'sleep'	/ga.vu.a.ɾɛ/ 'fireplace'	/dɔ.ɾi.a/ 'sick'
Vm	/ɔm.ɾa/ 'harvest season'		
CV	/ni.ma/ 'hand'	/na.wa.ɾa.vi/ 'moon'	/hɛ.wa.ɾi/ 'young boy'
CVm	/jam/ 'food'		/u.ɾɔ.tam/ 'crayfish'

In this section I focus on two aspects of syllable: the syllable final nasals (§5.3.3.1), and adjacent vowels (§5.3.3.2).

[35] See §5.6 regarding the relationship between [s] and [t].

5.3.3.1 Syllable final /m/

The syllable final nasal is the result of the deletion of the high back vowel /u/ following the bilabial nasal /m/. This is an areal feature of Papuan Tip languages which has resulted from the deletion of /u/ following /m/ in non-stressed syllables (see Ezard 1997: 34).

While the predominant syllable type in Papuan Tip languages is CV, in a number of these languages a syllable may end in /m/ creating a CVm syllable pattern. This pattern is more or less widespread in different languages (see Lithgow 1976a: 474; Madden & Canavan 1999: 5; Miller & Sligh 2001: 4). Unlike in the Peripheral Papuan Tip languages of Kiriwina and Gumawana, in the area from Galuwahi to Wedau the elision of vowels cannot result in a word initial syllabic nasal. Consequently /mu/ can be found word initially, or in the initial syllable of reduplications, as shown in the Taupota words in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8: Word initial /mu/ in Taupota

/mu.tu/	'point'
/mu.du.mu.du/	'abdomen'

5.3.3.2 Adjacent vowels

The initial consonant is more commonly absent in the speech varieties to the west where the glottal consonants have been deleted (see §5.4.2). There are two patterns of adjacent vowels, depending on the comparative height of the vowels. If the first vowel of the pair is higher than the second, there is a syllable break between them. If the second vowel is higher or of equal height, there is a tendency to form a diphthong in fast speech. However, the speakers perceive them as separate vowels, and clear syllable breaks can be heard in careful speech.

When the first vowel is higher than the second, a transitional semivowel is produced through assimilation at the onset of the syllable containing the second vowel (see Table 5.9).

Table 5.9: Transitional semi-vowels

[ru.^{w}a.ɣa]	/ru.a.ɣa/	'two'
[i. ^{j}a.na]	/i.a.na/	'fish'
[rɔ.^{w}a.rɔ.^{w}a]	/rɔ.a.rɔ.a/	'children'

There is no contrast between [u.^{w}V] and [u.V], or [i.^{j}V] and [i.V], demonstrating that this is an assimilation feature rather than phonemically significant. Unlike /j/ this epenthetic [^{j}] does not alternate with [l] and [ð] (see §5.4.3), with all speech varieties having the same phonetic realisation of these transitional semivowels.

5.4 Regional variation

Regional variation is a feature of the speech in the villages from Wedau to Galuwahi. Five main regional variations in phonology are discussed here. With one exception, these variations are also features of other Papuan Tip languages and reference will be made to these where relevant. The alveolar flap and trill will be considered in §5.4.1. Section 5.4.2 then describes the use of the glottal fricative and plosive. This is followed by discussions of the palatal approximant in §5.4.3, and the voiced alveolar plosive in §5.4.4.

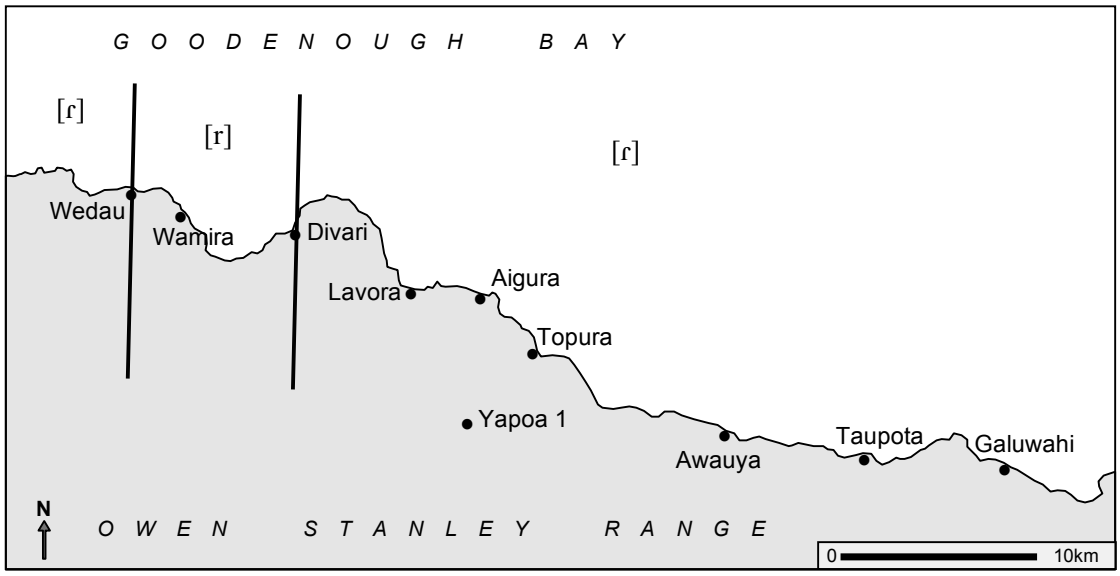
5.4.1 Alveolar flap: /ɾ/

An alveolar flap, [ɾ], is found throughout most of the area, with the exception of the western-most villages of Wedau, Wamira and Divari, where an alveolar trill, [r], is found. The trill is particularly distinct in Wamira, while in Wedau and Divari it is used interchangeably with the flap (see Table 5.10). The variation is represented in Map 5.1.

Table 5.10: Regional variation of /ɾ/ - Wedau, Wamira, Divari and Taupota

	Wedau	Wamira	Divari	Taupota	
Word Initial	[rava, ɾava]	[rava]	[rava, ɾava]	[ɾava]	'person'
Intervocalic	[ɔrɔtɔ, ɔɾɔtɔ]	[ɔrɔtɔ]	[ɔrɔtɔ, ɔɾɔtɔ]	[ɔɾɔtɔ]	'man'

Variation between an alveolar trill, [r], and an alveolar flap, [ɾ], is uncommon in Papuan Tip languages. The alveolar trill is extremely rare. The only other example is Sud-Est (Anderson & Ross 2002: 322; Lithgow 1976a: 474), part of the Nimoa/Sud-Est family, and



Map 5.1: Regional variation of /ɾ/

linguistically and geographically only distantly related to the Wamira speech variety (Lynch et al 2002: 104) (see §2.3).

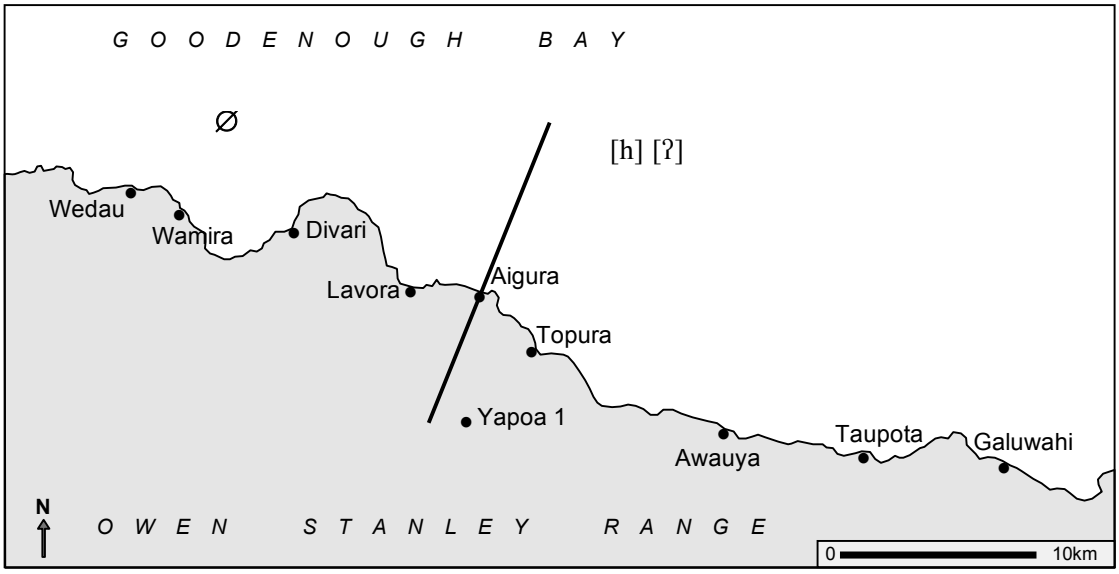
Sud-Est and Wamira are also the only Papuan Tip speech varieties to have both a lateral phoneme and an alveolar flap or trill (see Lithgow 1976a: 473; Lithgow & Staalsen 1965: 8). Other Papuan Tip speech varieties have either, with these two phones being reflexes of the same phone diachronically (Ross 1988). The variation between lateral phonemes and alveolar flaps can be seen when comparing Wamira and Taupota with two other languages of the Taupota chain: Gweda, spoken in Galuwahi village, and Tawala, spoken further east. Where Wamira has an alveolar trill /r/ and Taupota has a central flap /ɾ/, Gweda has a lateral flap /ɺ/, and Tawala has what Ezard (1997: 29) describes as a retroflex approximant /l/ (see Table 5.11). Unlike the lateral in Tawala and Gweda, the lateral in Wamira is a variation of the coronal approximant.

Table 5.11: Regional variation of /ɾ/ - Taupota Chain

	Wamira	Taupota	Gweda	Tawala	
Word Initial	[rava]	[ɾava]	[ɺava]	[lava]	'person'
Intervocalic	[ɔrɔtɔ]	[ɔɾɔtɔ]	[ɔɺɔtɔ]	[ɔlɔtɔ]	'man'

5.4.2 Glottal phonemes: /ʔ/ and /h/

The glottal plosive /ʔ/ and a glottal fricative /h/ are found in the villages from Aigura to Galuwahi (see Map 5.2).



Map 5.2: Regional variation of glottal phonemes

The fricative /h/ occurs word initially and intervocalically while the glottal plosive /ʔ/ occurs word medially. Examples of these phonemes from Taupota are given in Table 5.12. Phonemes with similar places and manners of articulation are included to demonstrate opposition with similar phonemes.

Table 5.12: Glottal phonemes: distribution in Taupota

	/ʔ/	**/h/**	**/k/**	**/ɣ/**
Word Initial		[haɾa] /haɾa/ 'to dance'	[kaɾɔ] /kaɾɔ/ 'to scratch'	[ɣaɾa] /ɣaɾa/ 'to dig'
Intervocalic	[paʔa] /paʔa/ 'coconut'	[tajaha] /tajaha/ 'road'	[kɛaka] /kɛaka/ 'coconut shell'	[jɛbaɣa] /jɛbaɣa/ 'fishing'

In Aigura, the transitional zone with regard to this variation, these two phonemes are often deleted in fast speech, and are not always strongly pronounced even in careful speech. This is particularly true among the young people (see §5.5.1). In the remaining villages to the east of Aigura, these phonemes are sometimes deleted in fast speech, however they are always articulated in careful speech.

In the western-most villages, the phonemes, /ʔ/ and /h/, are deleted. Examples of this correspondence are given in Table 5.13 which compares Taupota with Wedau. The words selected are common throughout the area, with Wedau representing Wedau to Lavora, and Taupota representing the villages from Aigura to Galuwahi.

Table 5.13: Regional variation of glottal phonemes - Wedau and Taupota

		Wedau	**Taupota**	
/ʔ/		/tuɾau/	/tuɾaʔu/	'my friend'
/h/	**Word Initial**	/aɾa/	/haɾa/	'to dance'
	Intervocalic	/aiɾipa/	/ahiɾipa/	'grass skirt'

The consonant deletion in the western villages leads to another phonological process. Where the glottal phoneme is deleted between two identical vowels, one of the vowels is

deleted along with the glottal consonant (see Table 5.14). This vowel deletion is consistent with that fact that double vowels do not occur in these speech varieties.[36]

Table 5.14: Glottal consonant deletion - Wedau

	Taupota	Wedau	
/ʔ/	/paʔa/	/pa/	'coconut'
/h/	/gɛraha/	/gɛra/	'beach'

The forms in the western-most villages reflect the completion of a process of lenition and elision. This process can be more clearly seen when Taupota and Wedau are compared with Ghayavi, a member of the Are chain of the Are - Taupota chain of languages (Ross 1988: 191)[37], as shown in Table 5.15.

Table 5.15: Consonant lenition in Are-Taupota Chain

	Ghayavi	Taupota	Wedau	
Word Initial	/paka/	/paʔa/	/pa/	'coconut'
Intervocalic	/basu/	/bahu/	/bau/	'smoke

The lenition of velar/glottal segments is an areal feature of Milne Bay languages. It is evident when comparing languages as above, and when comparing mission records of Suau and Dobu, and traditional Dobu texts, with present day speech patterns in Suau and Dobu (Lithgow 1992: 35-36). Historical accounts of Wedau do not demonstrate this change. This indicates that the deletion of the glottal phonemes in Wedau had occurred before the arrival of the Anglican mission in 1891.

[36] The same correspondence between /h/ and Ø is found when comparing Duwau and Dobu, also Papuan Tip languages. The /h/ found in Duwau is deleted in Dobu. However, unlike in Wedau where vowel deletion is applied to avoid a double vowel, Dobu retains the double vowel (Leckie & Lithgow 1974: 7-8).

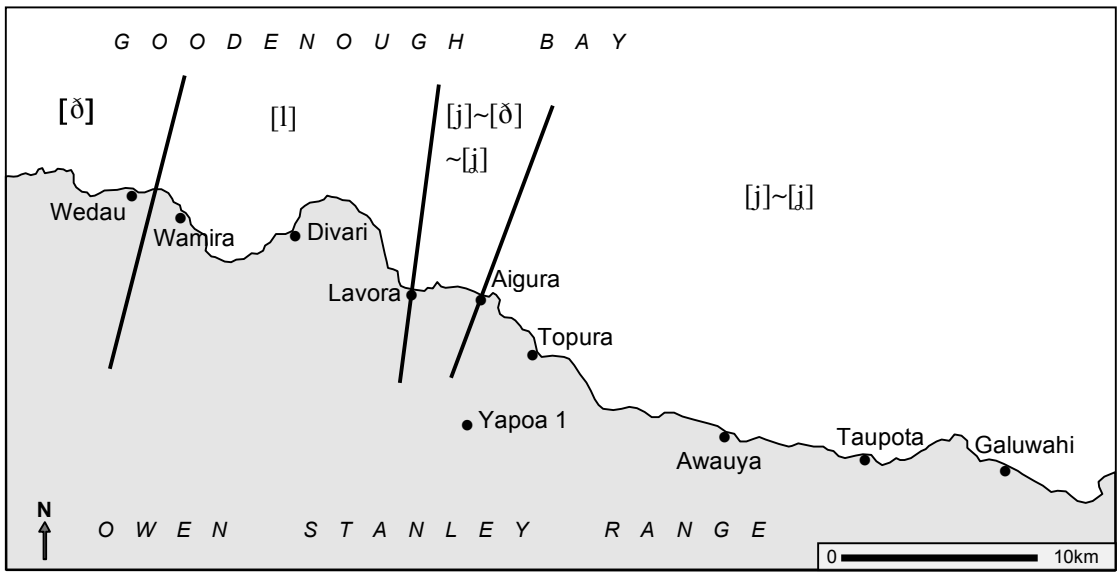
	Duwau	Dobu	
/h/	/tohu/	/tou/	'sugar cane'
	/maha/	/maa/	'full'

[37] Ghayavi is referred to as Boianaki by Ross (1988). I use Ghayavi as this was the name of the language given to me by the speakers. Boianaki (Boyanaki) is the name of the Anglican mission station situated in the language area.

5.4.3 Coronal approximant: /j/, /l/ and /ð/

The coronal approximant has three main variants: the palatal approximant [j], the alveolar lateral approximant [l], and the interdental fricative [ð]. In careful speech, the palatal approximant [j] can be fronted with the tongue protruding between the teeth, sometimes with a small amount of friction. This variant will be represented as [j̪]. The variation between these phones is largely regional, however changing language use and contact patterns over the last century have also resulted in generational variation (see §5.5.3). The pattern is shown in Map 5.3.

The examples in Table 5.16 demonstrate the considerable regional variation of this phoneme. The palatal approximant [j] is used in the central and eastern villages, from Lavora to Galuwahi. However its use in Lavora, and a lesser extent in Aigura, is limited to the younger people. As with the glottal phonemes, there is a transitional zone around Aigura and Lavora. The lateral approximant [l] is used in Wamira, Divari, and by some in Lavora. The interdental fricative [ð] is used in Wedau, among some in Lavora and Aigura, and by a number of old people in the other villages who went to school in Wedau. The variation between Wedau and Wamira is particularly remarkable, as these two villages are only separated by a small creek. The people of Wedau and Wamira use the variation of this phone as an emblematic feature in describing their speech varieties. This is also true of the other villages, but to a lesser extent.



Map 5.3: Regional variation of coronal approximant

Table 5.16: Regional variation of coronal approximant

	Wedau	Wamira	Divari	Lavora	Aigura	Topura	Yapoa 1	Awauya	Taupota	Galuwahi	
Word Initial	[ðam]	[lam]	[lam]	[lam] [ðam] [jam] [ʝam]	[jam] [ðam]	[jam] [ʝam]	[jam] [ʝam]	[jam] [ʝam]	[jam] [ʝam]	[jam]	'food'
Inter-vocalic	[ɔða]	[ɔla]	[ɔla]	[ɔla] [ɔða] [ɔja] [ɔʝa]	[ɔða] [ɔja]	[ɔja] [ɔʝa]	[ɔja] [ɔʝa]	[ɔja] [ɔʝa]	[ɔja] [ɔʝa]	[ɔja]	'hill'

The distribution of these phones within this small area reflects variation which occurs in Papuan Tip languages as a whole. Lithgow (1976a: 474-475) described the variation of this phoneme within the 'island languages':

> *A fronted fricative /y/[/ʝ/] is found with variations throughout most of the island languages. In Muyuw it is fronted without friction, and the equivalent of this phoneme in Budibud is a lateral with the whole blade of the tongue held against the palate for a time and then released quickly. In Kilivila it is fronted with friction, as in Gumasi and the whole of the Bwaidoka Family. In Yamalele and Fagululu the friction is so pronounced that it sounds like /z/ or /ð/ but fluctuates with non-fricative /y/[j].*

Regional, allophonic and free variation of these phones occurs within a number of these languages. For example, in Iamalele, '/j/ can be pronounced [ð] except before [i].' (SIL n.d.: 3). Dobu has the following distribution, '/j/ is pronounced with a fricative quality, especially between [e] and [a]' (Lithgow 1992: 3). In Kukuya, 'some speakers have [l] for [ð], but only in word initial position' (Lovell 2002: 3).

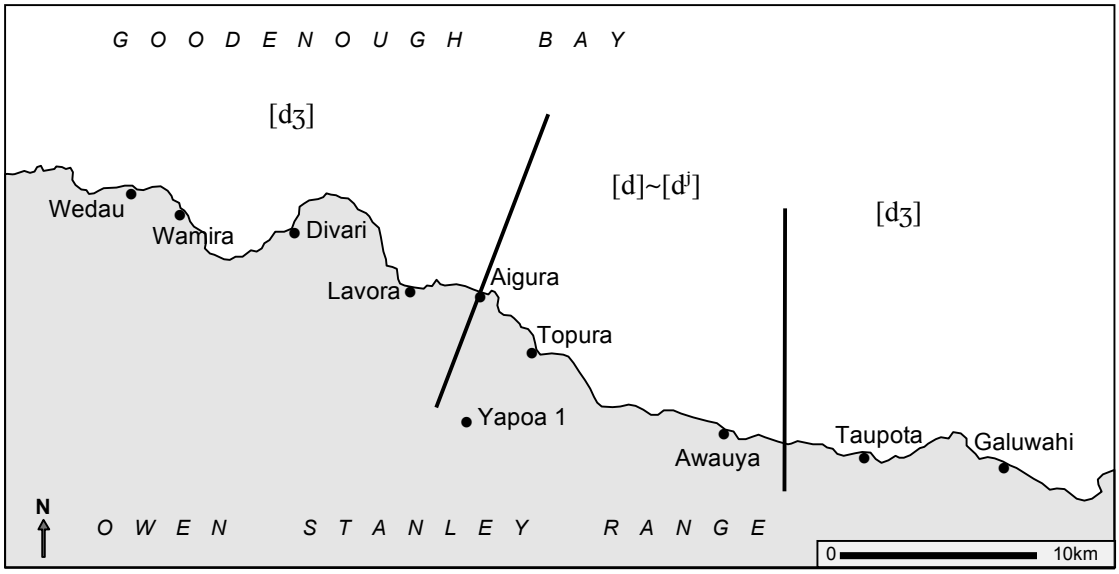
While Lithgow (1976a: 474) only found evidence of variants of the palatal approximant in the island languages, more recent research has shown that the distribution extends to the mainland. Knauber (1995) describes three variants of /j/, [j], [ʝ] and [l] in the Dawawa language of the Kakabai family: 'The realisation as [j] is in free fluctuation with [ʝ] while the realization as [l] is typical for the coastal dialect' (1995: 5). Regarding Tawala, Ezard (1997: 29) describes the phoneme as having 'a fricative quality between low vowels,

following a stressed syllable. The tongue is brought forward so that blade is below the upper teeth'.

The three realisations of the palatal approximant found from Wedau to Galuwahi reflect variation similar to that of other Papuan Tip languages described above. According to Ross (1988: 200), who does not indicate the differences in pronunciation of this phoneme, these variants are not the result of the merger of separate phonemes, but all descend from the single Proto Papuan Tip phoneme *y, which is itself derived from Proto Oceanic *y. This suggests that the variation between [j], [j̞], [ð] and [l] is an areal feature of the Papuan Tip Cluster of Oceanic languages in Milne Bay.[38]

5.4.4 Voiced alveolar plosive: /d/

The voiced alveolar plosive occurs with allophonic variation before the high front vowel /i/. Further, the allophonic realisation varies geographically (see Map 5.4). In the eastern-most and western-most villages, before the high front vowel /i/, the plosive is palatalised and affricated, becoming the postalveolar affricate [dʒ]. However, in the central villages of Aigura, Topura, Yapoa 1 and Awauya, slight palatalisation, with a realisation similar to [dʲ], occurs in free variation with [d]. This results in [dʒ] and [dʲ] ~ [d] being regional variations of the voiced alveolar plosive /d/ before /i/. Examples can be seen in Table 5.17.



Map 5.4: Regional variation of allophonic variation

Table 5.17: Regional variation of voiced alveolar plosive allophone

	Galuwahi (Taupota)	Topura	Wamira	
Word Initial	[dʒidʒi]	[didi] [$d^{j}id^{j}i$]	[dʒidʒi]	'waterfall'
Intervocalic	[$ik^{w}adʒi$]	[$ik^{w}adi$] [$ik^{w}ad^{j}i$]	[$ik^{w}adʒi$]	'3sgSUB wave'

As with the variation in the glottal phonemes and the palatal approximant, the realisation of the voiced alveolar plosive in Aigura is dependent on generational variation. This will be discussed in §5.5. The two patterns of allophonic variation found within this area can also be found in other languages in the region. This is discussed in §5.6 within the context of allophonic variation in general.

5.5 Generational variation

As the previous section indicates, much variation is at least partially generationally determined. In my data there are three main reasons for this age-based division of language use. The first is a language shift taking place in the villages from Lavora to Awauya where the traditional language is being replaced by Wedau (see §6.3.2 and 6.4.2). As a result of language loss, phonological shift is occurring, with speech varieties assimilating to Wedau phonology. The process of this shift is currently most obvious in Aigura, where it has resulted in generational variation. The second cause of generational variation is a change in patterns of language use which has resulted in a gradual weakening of the influence from the Wedau speech variety, and an increasing influence of English. This is largely due to a change in the language of instruction in schools and a change of geographical focus for the Anglican Church away from Wedau. The third reason is a continuing process of the weakening of phonemes. These three factors do not occur independently of each other. Consequently, discussion is not framed around the reasons for change, but is organised around the phones being affected. The variation in the use of glottal phonemes and allophonic variation as a result of language shift in Aigura is considered in §5.5.1. The phonetic weakening of the glottal fricative in the western-most villages is then described in §5.5.2. The discussion of variation of the coronal approximant begun in §5.4.3 is then continued in §5.5.3.

[38] This feature may in fact be more widespread. Data I collected from the Bilur language of East New Britain, part of the New Ireland network of Oceanic languages, contained a [ð] or a fronted [j̟] which corresponds to Kuanua [j].

5.5.1 Allophonic variation and glottal phonemes: /ɦ/ and /ʔ/

In Lavora, Aigura, Topura, Yapoa 1 and Awauya, a process of language shift is underway whereby the traditional speech varieties have been, or are being replaced by the Wedau speech variety. Language shift has resulted in a process of phonological assimilation, whereby the phonological patterns of the traditional variety are being replaced by those of Wedau.

In Aigura, the process of phonological assimilation is more advanced among the younger people than the older people. The young people use Wedau phonological forms, omitting the glottal plosive and fricative, /ʔ/ and /h/, and affricating the voiced alveolar plosive phoneme before a high front vowel /i/. Older people retain the traditional pronunciation. However, in fast speech even the old people tend to delete the glottal phones. Variation also occurs in Topura, with younger people tending towards Wedau forms, especially the postalveolar affricate [dʒ], but the change is less pervasive than in Aigura.

The process that is underway in Aigura and just beginning in Topura is completed in Lavora. Meanwhile, in Yapoa 1 and Awauya, the people retain their own phonology, applying it to Wedau forms. As generations do not have specific boundaries, discussion of generational trends is useful. Table 5.18 demonstrates the two extremes of the generational trends, with the transitional age group being an intermediate stage where both forms co-exist.

Table 5.18: Phonological assimilation: glottal phonemes and allophonic variation

	Lavora	**Aigura**		**Yapoa 1**	
		< 35	**>50**		
/ʔ/,/ɦ/	[aiaina]	[aiaina]	[ahiʔahina]	[ahiʔahina]	'good one'
/di/	[ik^{w}adʒi]	[ik^{w}adʒi]	[ik^{w}ad^{j}i] [ik^{w}adi]	[ik^{w}ad^{j}i] [ik^{w}adi]	'3sgSUB wave'

5.5.2 Lenition: velar fricative /ɣ/

In Wedau, Wamira, Divari and Lavora, the velar fricative /ɣ/ is realised as [h] by the younger generation. The area in which the lenition of /ɣ/ to [h] is occurring corresponds to the western-most villages, where an earlier phoneme /h/ has been deleted. This process of lenition can be seen when comparing the speech of the older generation with that of the younger generation. The generational trends can be seen in Table 5.19.

Table 5.19: Lenition of velar fricative in Wedau, Wamira, Divari and Lavora

	< 35	>50	
Word Initial	[haehaena]	[ɣaeɣaena]	'big one'
Intervocalic	[taniha]	[taniɣa]	'tongue'

Reasons for this change are unknown. It could be argued that it is due to the growing influence of English. What is clear is that the deletion of /h/ in the western-most speech varieties described in §5.5.1 has allowed for this process of lenition to occur without causing disruption to the phonological system.

5.5.3 Coronal approximant: /j/, /l/ and /ð/

While regional variation is the main influence on the distribution of each of the variants of the coronal approximant, generational variation also occurs. The generational variation comes from two sources: a change in contact patterns as a result of missionisation, and a process of lenition, which itself may be a result of language contact.

Until the 1950s, the language of the early years of school was the mission lingua franca which developed from the Wedau speech variety with many children attending school at the Dogura mission station next to Wedau village (see §7.4). Consequently, the older generation were exposed to Wedau speech variety through education and everyday interaction while at school. Under the influence of Wedau, some old people in [j] speaking villages such as Taupota, often use [ð] rather than [j]. The interdental fricative [ð] is not found among the young people, except in Aigura and Lavora villages where the phonological system is changing to that of Wedau.

A second type of variation occurs in the villages from Aigura to Galuwahi. Some people in these villages pronounce this phoneme with the tongue protruding between the teeth, and may produce a small amount of friction [j̪]. This tendency reflects the realisation of this phone in Tawala (Ezard 1997) and Dawawa (Knauber 1995) as well as a number of island languages (Lithgow 1976a). This realisation is not found among the young people who use the palatal approximant [j].

Knauber (1995: 5-6) describes a similar situation of generational variation alongside regional variation in Dawawa, a language neighbouring Wedau village:

[j] is clearly used by the young and middle age people of the main dialect. Old people speaking the main dialect pronounce [j̊] and the coastal villages would have a clear lateral approximant [l].

It is difficult to know the cause of this change towards [j]. As with the lenition of the velar fricative [ɣ] to [h] above, it may be due to increasing contact with English causing a shift towards the English phoneme [j]. The palatal approximant [j] is found as the basic realisation of this phoneme in Are chain languages. This may suggest a natural process of lenition whereby the place and manner of articulation are relaxed for ease of production.

5.6 Historical change and allophonic variation

The patterns existing for alveolar plosives display allophonic variation, regional variation, generational variation, and historical variation. The variation discussed in previous sections focussed on the voiced alveolar plosive /d/ and its allophones. In this section we also consider the voiceless alveolar phoneme /t/. The basic allophonic rule is described is §5.6.1. This is followed by a discussion of areal trends in §5.6.2, and the effects of loan words in §5.6.3. Finally, §5.6.5 brings together all the data to investigate the phonemic status of the phones in question.

5.6.1 Allophonic variation

From Galuwahi to Wedau there appears to be consistent allophonic variation of the voiceless alveolar plosive.

The voiceless plosive /t/ becomes a fricative [s] before the high front vowel /i/.

/t/ > [s] /__/i/

With the exception of Aigura, Topura, Yapoa 1 and Awauya, a similar pattern of allophonic variation also occurs with the voiced alveolar plosive. The voiced plosive /d/ becomes an affricate, [dʒ], before high front vowel /i/.

/d/ > [dʒ] /__/i/

The allophonic variation is demonstrated in the Taupota words found in Table 5.20. When considering traditional words, we see that [s] and [dʒ] are only found preceding /i/ and [t] and [d] are never found in this environment, but are in complementary distribution with them.

Table 5.20: Allophonic variation in Taupota

	t, s		d, dʒ	
/i/	[sisikʷa]	'stone fish'	[dʒividʒivi]	'small black ant'
/ɛ/	[tɛtɛ]	'step'	[dɛbagau]	'old garden'
/a/	[taniɣa]	'ear'	[dabaruma]	'club'
/ɔ/	[tɔpa]	'pool'	[dɔbu]	'land'
/u/	[tupɔna]	'short'	[duama]	'pregnant'

5.6.2 Areal trends

There are two areal trends that are relevant to the current discussion. Firstly §5.6.2.1 discusses similar patterns of allophony found in other Papuan Tip languages. This is followed by a discussion of a breakdown of this system in Are-Taupota chain languages in §5.6.2.2.

5.6.2.1 Patterns of allophony

Similar patterns of allophony to those found in the speech varieties from Wedau to Galuwahi can be found in other Papuan Tip languages. In some languages, both the voiced and voiceless alveolar plosives have allophonic variation as in Wedau, Wamira, Divari, Taupota and Galuwahi. However, a greater number of languages reflect the situation in Aigura, Topura, Yapoa 1 and Awauya, in which only the voiceless alveolar plosive has allophonic variation.

Like the western-most and eastern-most villages in the area under study, the main dialect of Dawawa, a language which borders Wedau, has allophonic variation of both voiced and voiceless alveolar phonemes in which /t d/ become the affricates [ts dz] (Knauber 1995). However, unlike Wedau, this occurs before both high front and back vowels /i u/, and Dawawa has an alveolar affricate as the allophone of both voiced and voiceless phonemes.[39] Historical documents of the Wedau speech variety reflect a situation in Wedau similar to that of Dawawa in which both the voiced and voiceless alveolar plosive have alveolar affricate allophones (Clarke 1977: 954; Jennings 1930; King 1901: 5). Jennings (1930, 1933) refers to both the 'ts' and the 'dz' sounds, and described a situation of lenition in progress, with [ts] weakening to [s]. In the Wedau speech variety, a change has occurred in which the voiceless

[39] The main dialect of Dawawa has the following allophonic variation for alveolar plosives:
/t/ > [ts]/_[i, u] /d/ > [dz]/_[i, u]
The coastal dialect does not have [ts dz], but uses [t d] before all vowels (Knauber 2001: 9).
[s] is a separate phoneme in this language.

allophone has weakened to the fricative [s], and the voiced allophone became a postalveolar affricate [dʒ]. However, memory of the former realisation still exists of the voiceless [ts] in the older village members. The exact reasons for these changes in allophones are unknown, however, with the increasing influence of English, and the associated culture, it is likely that the English phonological system may have been a factor, resulting in a system which more closely reflects English phonology (see §9).

The allophonic variation found in the central villages of the current study is similar to that of Tawala (Ezard 1997), Kukuya (Lovell 2002) and Gumasi (Olson 1992). In these languages the voiced plosive /d/ remains constant in all environments, while the voiceless plosive /t/ has the allophone [s] before the front high vowel /i/.[40]

5.6.2.2 Allophony in Are-Taupota chain languages

Among languages of the Are-Taupota chain there is another process in progress which is resulting in the breakdown of the allophonic relationship. Ross (1983, cited in Ezard 1997) gives the following as one feature of Are-Taupota Chain (see §2.3):

Pro Papuan Tip *t> Proto Are-Taupota *s/_i

That is, in Proto Are-Taupota, Proto Papuan Tip *t is subdivided into two allophones, *s and *t, with *s occurring before the high front vowel /i/.

In the Are chain, these two allophones have developed into two separate phonemes. This can be seen when comparing Wedau, a Taupota chain speech variety with Ghayavi, an Are chain language (see §2.3). As shown in Table 5.21, where Ghayavi has [t] in all environments, Wedau has allophonic variation between [t] and [s].

Table 5.21: Allophonic variation and Ghayavi /t/

	Ghayavi /t/	**Wedau /t/**	
/i/	[tia]	[sia]	'fish/meat'
/ɛ/	[tɛpa]	[tɛpapu]	'head'
/a/	[taku]	[tau]	'I/me'
/ɔ/	[tɔm]	[tɔm]	'sugar cane'
/u/	[tuna]	[tuna]	'freshwater eel'

[40] Iduna (Lucht 1992) and Kalokalo (Guderian & Guderian 1999) also have allophonic variation of /t/. However, the environment of [s] is extended such that [s] occurs before both /i/ and /ɛ/.

In Table 5.22, Ghayavi has [s][41] where Wedau once again has the allophones [t] and [s].

Table 5.22: Allophonic variation and Ghayavi /s/

	Ghayavi /s/	**Wedau /t/**	
/i/	[sipeni]	[sipeni]	'fish/meat'
/ɛ/	[sɛjasɛja]	[tɛlatɛla]	'to be clean' (Ghayavi) 'to be light/easy' (Wedau)
/a/	[sago]	[tagogi]	'one'
/ɔ/	[sɔpa]	[tɔpa]	'to sob' (Ghayavi) 'pool' (Wedau)

These examples, combined with the historical reconstruction of Ross (1988: 198-202), suggest that Ghayavi developed two separate phonemes /t/ and /s/, the second of these merging with the already existing PPT *s.[42] The comparative data suggest that the original environment of each phone has been extended. If this was due to borrowing, it must have been widespread, with words entering Ghayavi and Wedau alike, as shown in the cognate words above, assimilating to the phonological patterns of each language respectively. The phonological split of [t] and [s] in Ghayavi, which took place before the arrival of the Anglican mission in the 1890s, predates similar patterns of change which are currently occurring in the speech varieties from Taupota to Wedau (see §5.6.3).

Preliminary data on the Gweda language, part of the Taupota chain, suggests that it has followed the same path as Ghayavi. The environments of [s] and [t] are somewhat restricted with [s] occurring before [i, a], and [t] occurring before [e, a, o, u]. /s/ and /t/ are not mutually exclusive, with both [s] and [t] occurring before [a], and are consequently phonemes in the Gweda language. However, the environmental restriction suggests the likelihood of allophonic variation in the past. A breakdown of this system then allowed [s] to occur before other vowels. While Gweda is not as far advanced as Ghayavi in extending the environments of [t] and [s], it appears to have undergone the same process.

The case of Gweda suggests that the trend in the Are chain towards the phonological split of [t] and [s] is also occurring within the Taupota chain. This trend has been further

[41] My data contains no examples of cognates with /su/ in Ghayavi and /tu/ in Wedau.
[42] In Ghayavi [s] also stems from PPT *s (Ross 1988: 199-200). In Taupota PPT *s has become [h] or Ø, suggesting a process of *s > [h] > Ø. In Wedau, and many of the Are chain languages, *s has been deleted (see Ross 1988: 198-202).

extended during recent years. Due to the influence of cultural and language contact during the last century, phonological split is also occurring in other languages of the Taupota chain: Tawala, Kukuya and the speech varieties being discussed in this study.

5.6.3 Borrowings

Due to the influences of westernisation over the last century, many words have been borrowed into the local speech varieties from languages with connections to the new cultural influence such as English and mission lingua francae. Borrowed words, particularly lexical items from English, can be heard in almost any conversation in a village. The influence of English borrowings began with the introduction of religious terms by the Anglican mission. The practice of borrowing lexical items quickly spread to other domains of life as western goods and cultural artefacts became more common. The result is not only the extensive borrowing of words, but also the destabilisation of the allophonic pattern described above. In §5.6.3.1 the early influence of the mission will be considered, followed by more recent borrowing in §5.6.4.

5.6.3.1 Mission influence

The first influx of borrowed words after colonisation resulted from the settlement of the Anglican mission at Dogura, near Wedau village. As the missionaries began translating religious materials into the Wedau variety, they included words such as the following:

<Sabate>	'Sabbath'
<serapim>	'seraphim'
<sipu>	'sheep'
<bisope>	'bishop'
<sukomore>	'sycamore'

A number of other loan words are included in King (1901: 91). His list contains words with [s] in all phonological environments. While in some cases, the English phones were altered to fit the phonology of the Wedau speech variety (e.g. <kapita> 'chapter, <pauke> 'fork'), this was not done in the case of 's'. [s] was not a Wedau phoneme, and according to King (1901: 5), was not an allophone of /t/ at that time. Rather the phone was introduced along with lexical items that contained this phone in English. In fact, as the list above demonstrates, [s] was also used to substitute for other English sounds not found in Wedau (e.g. <sipu> 'sheep').

5.6.4 Recent borrowing

While the borrowed words listed above only affected the status of the voiceless alveolar plosive /t/ and its allophones, [t] and [s], more recent borrowings have impacted both the voiced and voiceless alveolar plosives, /d/ and /t/ respectively, and their allophones, [t] and [s], and [d] and [dʒ]. Ordinary conversation includes many everyday words which have been borrowed from other languages, mainly English, but also Suau (e.g. *waga* 'dingy', *dimdim* 'white person') and other Milne Bay languages (e.g. from Ghayavi *kamkena* 'supper').

As words are borrowed, they are generally modified to fit the phonology of the local speech variety. For example, in Taupota any thing made of flour is called *payawa*, 'pencil' is *penisira,* and 'bottle' is *botora*. However, the rules of allophone variation described in §5.6.1 do not apply. Borrowings containing the voiceless affricate [tʃ] and fricative [s] are both realised with a voiceless fricative [s], regardless of the following vowel. The voiceless plosive /t/ is borrowed as [t] in all environments including before the high front vowel /i/. This has resulted in the voiceless alveolar plosive [t] and the voiceless alveolar fricative [s] occurring in all environments, as demonstrated in Table 5.23.

Table 5.23: Distribution of voiceless alveolar phones in Taupota

	[t]		[s]	
/i/	[taɾa]	'blood'	[samɔn]	'tinned fish'
/ɛ/	[tɛvɛɾa]	'child'	[sɛnsi]	'to change (clothes)'
/a/	[tipɔti]	'teapot'	[sipɔɾɔ]	'lemon'
/ɔ/	[tɔu]	'to cry'	[sɔpi]	'soap'
/u/	[tutu]	'nail'	[suga]	'sugar'

The situation with the voiced alveolar phones is similar. When words with a voiced postalveolar affricate [dʒ] or a voiced alveolar fricative [z] are borrowed, these phones are borrowed as a voiced affricate [dʒ]. A voiced alveolar plosive [d] is not changed to an affricate before the high front vowel [i], as the allophonic rules of the speech variety would suggest, but remains [di]. Consequently [d] is now found in all environments, and [dʒ] has extended beyond its original environment to precede other vowels. This is demonstrated in Table 5.24. Due to the influence of borrowings [t], [s], [d] and [dʒ] can now all be found

preceding all vowels, taking on phonemes status and breaking the pattern of allophony described in §5.6.1

Table 5.24: Distribution of voiced alveolar phones in Taupota

	[d]		[dʒ]	
/i/	[damana]	'to cross'	[dʒa]	'jar'
/ɛ/	[dɛba]	'bald'	[dʒɛd]	'letter z'
/a/	[dina]	'dinner'	[dʒidʒi]	'waterfall'
/ɔ/	[dɔa]	'ground'		
/u/	[dunara]	'white cowry'	[dʒum]	'mixed fuel'

The influx of borrowed words and the resulting changes to the phonological systems are also evident in other Taupota chain languages. Due to the influence of borrowings in Tawala, the allophonic relationship between [t] and [s] has broken down, and both of these phones can now be found preceding all vowels (Ezard 1997: 30). Some borrowings have retained the allophonic rule of Tawala with the alveolar plosive, [t], becoming a fricative, [s], before the high front vowel, /i/ (e.g. *pasi* 'putty' rather than **pati*).

5.6.5 Status of phones

This section has considered the allophonic variation and the recent phonological split within the speech varieties from Wedau to Galuwahi in a number of ways. In §5.6.1 the patterns of allophonic variation as found in traditional lexical items were given. The pattern of the central villages is different to that of the other villages, with only the voiceless alveolar plosive /t/ being affected. In the past, these rules were without exception. However, as shown in §5.6.3, due to the influence of extensive borrowing since colonisation, the pattern of allophonic variation has now broken down. While there is an obvious influence of contact with English and other languages, there is also a similar trend in related languages, as described in §5.6.2, which predates the establishment of new contact patterns of the last century. The recent influence of English borrowings has reinforced an already existing pattern of phonological split in the Are-Taupota languages. The evidence given above suggests the occurrence of a phonological split, resulting in [t], [s], [d], and [dʒ] all developing phonological status within this area.

The phonological split in the speech varieties from Wedau to Galuwahi is considered differently by the language communities. As only borrowed words break the otherwise consistent pattern of allophony, many consider the allophonic variation still to exist in their speech variety. A number of speakers have conceptually separated their 'real' speech variety from outside influences. This is part of a broader attitude of language purism resulting from a desire among speakers to save their language and culture from contact-induced shift (see §6.5).

5.7 Summary of phonological variation

The phonologies of the speech varieties of the villages from Wedau to Galuwahi are characterised by variation reflecting geographic, generational, and historical differences. Consequently, this section contained a discussion of variation rather than a description of similarity. The speech varieties from Wedau to Galuwahi are in many ways quite homogenous, with the systematic variation in the phonological system resulting in quite extensive differences at a lexical level. This variation is profoundly significant in the development of orthography, especially in any attempts at language standardisation based on the levelling of difference, and is dealt with differently in different discourses (see §4.2, §8.4, §9.4).

Regional variation may be indicative of underlying influences such as substrata, or differences in contact patterns with neighbouring and/or dominant languages. This reading may correspond to the stories given by the people regarding their speech varieties and their origin (see §6.2). Generational and historical variation, which are viewed here as two steps in the same process, reflect changes in contact patterns among languages within the area being studied, and with speakers of other languages such as English.

This analysis has highlighted specific areas which are relevant for orthography development. The basic phonemic structure of the speech varieties suggests that orthography development would be a straightforward process of assigning a symbol to each phoneme. From within a scientific linguistic framework, the variation would suggest that a process of language standardisation is likely to be required. However, as §5.8 will show, the process of orthography development by the Anglican mission demonstrates that, even when focussing on only one speech variety in the area, orthography development is far from straightforward.

5.8 Orthography of Wedau

Beginning in the 1890s, the speech variety of Wedau village was developed as a lingua franca by the Anglican mission, which was based on Dogura Plateau, just behind Wedau. The missionaries learnt the local speech variety and began to translate religious and teaching materials for use in village churches and schools, with the goal of bringing Christianity to the people of their territory. Much of the early work, including creating an orthography for the speech variety, was undertaken by Rev. Copland King. Strongly influenced by discourses of missionisation, westernisation and literacy, and the discourse of scientism naturalised within his methods for working with language, King's orthography has became an expression of the church and its institutions. The issues that arose in the early years of the mission, have become part of this institution, and are still evident today.

The process of developing the orthography was briefly described in a manuscript of *An introduction to the Wedau language*[43]:

> *The English Alphabet is used, with the exception of c, h, j , x, y, & z. These letters are used however, in introduced words. The letter 'q' is used without 'u', to represent the sound of the English 'qu'.*

After describing each letter, it continues:

> *The Language was a spoken, not a written one, and we wrote it down using our alphabet, but we only tried to reproduce the sound…So to hear a Wedauan word is to be able to spell it. The written language is entirely phonetic.*

This description clearly shows the impact of the discourses of scientism, westernisation and literacy, which gain their validity through their link with the discourse of missionisation. The discourse of missionisation created the need to spread the Christian message in a language the people understood. The institutions of the church, its liturgy, and the schools, all created by the discourse of missionisation, normalised the need for creating a written form of Wedau. Through this, missionisation legitimised the discourses of westernisation. The use of the English alphabet as a basis for orthography development was unquestioned, as was the actual need for creating a written form. It was considered necessary to explain that the language was a 'spoken language', as if a 'written language' was the normalised state of languages in the world. Orthography and literacy were indisputably

[43] No author or date is included on the manuscript. However, its similarities with King (1901) suggest that it may be an earlier draft of this publication.

positive, forming part of the ‘natural’ process of westernisation within the communities of Papua New Guinea. The link between sound and symbol was also viewed positively, expressed as a desire to make the orthography easy to write and read, a goal that would be achieved through creating a scientific, or ‘phonetic’ alphabet. These few sentences above direct us towards the underlying discourses of westernisation, literacy and scientism. These discourses, and conflict between them, are also evident in the specific orthography choices made by the mission, and the ongoing tension between particular options.

Like the manuscript already discussed, King (1901) describes the Wedau orthography based on a comparison with English, with the aim of assisting newly arrived missionaries to learn to speak the language. In relation to the phonology of Wedau, King’s discussion can be summarised in Table 5.25 and Table 5.26.

Table 5.25: Wedau orthography - vowels

<	a	e	i	o	u	>
/	a	ɛ	i	ɔ	u	/

Table 5.26: Wedau orthography - consonants

<	b	d	g	k	l	m	n	p	q	r	s	t	v	w	gw	>
/	b	d	g, ɣ	k	ð	m	n	p	k^w	r	s	t	v	w	g^w	/

King’s phonological analysis closely matches my own data from Wedau, Wamira and Divari villages (see §5.3), demonstrating awareness of allophonic variation. Writing in a time before the concept of the phoneme was strongly established (Trubetskoi 1969), despite describing the orthography as ‘phonetic’, King’s orthography is actually a phonemic alphabet.

King (1901) described the sounds in relation to similar phonemes in English. In many cases, there was a simple correlation between the Wedau and English phonemes. However, a few were more problematic. The voiced velar plosive and fricative were both described with reference to English <g>, while the allophonic variation of the alveolar plosives was described in reference to the English letters <t>, <s>, <d> and <j>. This comparison with English is still evident in how the speakers talk about their language today (see §9).

In the century since King’s original orthography, orthographic problem areas have risen in regard to the representation of the voiced velar phonemes (§5.8.1), allophonic variation (§5.8.2), and labialised plosives (§5.8.3). My data is based on 38 documents and

publications in Wedau found in the archives of the Australian Board of Missions located at the University of Papua New Guinea. Most of these are translations of scriptures or other religious materials, with the majority being written before 1960. A list of the texts consulted is given in Appendix B.

5.8.1 Voiced velar phonemes

In referring to the voiced velar plosive and fricative, King described the Wedau language as having, '…two g's which we found hard to distinguish, and one of them still harder to pronounce to the natives' satisfaction' (cited in White 1929: 30). In his grammar King (1901: 5) describes them as follows:

> G *has two sounds – the ordinary hard* g*, and Melanesian, or guttural,* g*…When possible, this second* g *is distinguished by being printed in italics, or by being written with two dots over it. In this Grammar, where the native words are in italics, this* g *is printed in Roman type.*

Thus, two phonemes came to be talked about as variations of one letter. The discourse of westernisation was stronger than the discourse of scientism, driving the decisions made, and creating the possibilities of how sounds could be described. Also visible in this quote is the discourse of technology. The options for symbolising the velar fricative are being limited by the capabilities of a typewriter. As writing/typing is itself a western technology, the associated introduced technology is also a creation of the discourse of westernisation. The reliance on western technologies, combined with the need for a scientific alphabet with a single symbol for each sound, is naturalised.

While their representation has varied, the symbols for both the velar plosive and fricative were based on the English 'g'. King's original grammar and dictionary (King 1901) used an italicised 'g', <*g*>. However, in the dictionary, they were combined and alphabetised under <g>. It appears that the subtlety of the italicised 'g' for the velar fricative was lost, as it came to be seen as a soft 'g' and subsequently underrepresented in the orthography. Jennings' dictionary (Jennings 1956), and the majority of materials published by the mission, failed to distinguish between these phonemes. Three exceptions have been:

- a communion manual published in 1958 (*God ana anivivira. bo: Turia ravai ai vokaukaua ma viegualau book-na altar na sacrament vivireina au baina. Aniraupari gelaui maiteni*), which used the italic g, <*g*>;

- a Bible translation published in 1985 (*God nolana aiaina parivainuaḡana wadubona ḡuta nununai ma Iesu Keriso nolana aiaina anina parivainuaḡana vouna*), which used <ḡ>, despite an earlier intention to use the italic g (Clarke 1976: 954); and
- a reprint of King's grammar and dictionary (King 1950), which used <g̈>.

In Wedau the velar fricative has been represented in a number of ways, and largely underrepresented, since the missionaries began writing the language in the last decade of the 19th century. These representations all clearly demonstrate the early missionaries' perceptions of the sound system and its relationship to English, created by the hegemonic status of the discourse of westernisation. The various choices, including those that differentiate between the two phonemes, all reflect to some extent the idea that there are two different 'g's, rather than two separate phonemes. Within this context there are no possibilities for discussing phones not found in English in any way other than in reference to the 'closest' English phoneme. Despite the discourse of scientism allowing for the recognition of other phonemes, they still do not receive the same status as phonemes also found in English. The discourse of westernisation limits what can be talked about, and the choice of symbols available to orthographers.

5.8.2 Allophonic variation

King recognised the allophonic variation present in the alveolar phonemes (see §5.6.1), and followed scientific principles for orthography development in using a single symbol to represent a single phoneme. Since King's initial orthography, there has been a desire by some towards overrepresentation, differentiating allophones by using symbols that reflect the corresponding English symbols for the same phone. Through the discourse of westernisation, the authority of the English alphabet and language both impacted speakers' perceptions of allophonic patterns in traditional words, and encouraged the breakdown of traditional patterns of allophonic variation through the introduction of loanwords (see §5.6.3).

In King's (1901) grammar and dictionary /t/, including its allophones was represented as <t>, and /d/ as <d>. The symbol <s> was reserved for borrowings (see King 1901: 91). However, within three decades, 'official' orthography decisions were being discussed by the mission. Jennings (1930) states:

> *At the conference of the White Staff of the Mission held at Dogura in 1929 it was decided that words which had a 'ts' sound, which were formerly spelt with a 't' should in future be spelt with 'ts'.*

In 1933 Jennings added the following:

> *Another alteration has been made with regard to words with a 'dz' sound. These words were formally spelt with 'd', like 'didimanina'. These words are in the latest translations spelt with a 'j', e.g. 'jijimanina.*

A further undated note from Jennings states:

> *The 'ts' has now been discarded, and 't' only used as before. But in many of these words the 's' sound is more pronounced that the 't' sound. I would prefer to spell these words with 's' rather than 't', but in this I have no supporters.*

Jennings' dictionary (Jennings 1956) uses <t> but adds the spelling with <s> in parentheses, and uses <d> with no reference to its allophonic variant.

Out of all the orthographic variation in Wedau, this aspect has been the most fluctuating. Of the 38 texts consulted, eight varied from King's phonemic use of <t> and <d>.

- *English, Wedau, Mukawa Dictionary*, (Tomlinson 1916): <s>, <j>
- *First Reader in Wedau* (New Guinea Mission 1935), *Buka vivivireina parivainota wadubona. Genesis – Deuteronomy* (1947), *Prayers, Psalms and hymns. In the dialect of Wedau, British New Guinea* (n.d.): <ts>, <j>
- Newton (1930) lectures on the teaching of the church: <ts>, <d>
- *Various Old Testament books: revised translation* (1950-1953), revised by A. P. Jennings uses: <s>, <d>
- *Prayer Book* (1957), and a manual of Devotion for Communicants, *God ana anivivira. bo: Turia ravai ai vokaukaua ma viegualau book-na altar na sacrament vivireina au baina. Aniraupari gelaui Maiteni* (1958), use: <j>, no example of /ti/ included

The range of options for representing these sounds continues to impact orthography decisions today. The changing nature of these phonemes due to extensive borrowings, particularly from English, and the weakening of the voiceless allophone to [s] has further emphasised the importance of using separate symbols. Today, it could be argued that there are in fact four phonemes in question /t/, /s/, /d/, /dʒ/, and that to follow past patterns of phonemic representation would now result in underrepresentation. Thus, English and borrowings from

other languages have influenced orthographic options not only through symbol choice, but also through their direct impact on the lexicon and phonology.

5.8.3 Labialisation

The representation of labialisation has been a point of contention, and now constitutes part of the division between Wedau and Wamira villages (see §9.2.2). While the labialised voiced velar phoneme has consistently been represented by <gw>, the voiceless phoneme has been presented by both <q> and <kw>. King (1901) introduced the use of <q>, relating it to the English use of the symbol, and it has been widely used since. In reference to a staff conference in 1929, Jennings (1930) stated: 'It was decided … to use 'kw' instead of 'q', thus bringing Wedauan into line with other languages in used in the Mission'. However, in 1933, he added the following note: 'Apparently translators have now gone back to the 'q''. This orthographic choice has been strongly reflected in subsequent publications.

There have been two significant exceptions to the use of <q>, both of which use <kw>:

- *Wela Book: Services, Prayers and Hymns in Wedauan*, published in 1980; and
- a New Testament translation published in 1927, (*Ata Bada Iesu Keriso ana parivainot vouna. Riwa mai Wedau*).

Both of these publications have had a wide distribution, and continue to be used in the churches to the present day. It is interesting to note that the Bible translation published soon after the 'Wela Book' (*God nolana aiaina parivainuaḡana wadubona ḡuta nununai ma Iesu Keriso nolana aiaina anina parivainuaḡana vouna* 1985) uses <q>.

5.8.4 Discourses of mission orthographies

As a text of the active discourses, orthographies can bring to light the underlying discourses and the systems of knowledge they create. The Wedau orthographies of the Anglican mission demonstrate the hegemonic status of the discourse of scientism that pervades linguistic-based orthography development. However, as is evident in the orthography issues discussed, this comes into conflict with, and may be subverted for the sake of the discourses of westernisation and literacy, in this case evident in the influence of the English language and orthography. All of these discourses gain their validity through the overriding discourse of missionisation which sought to communicate Christian teachings in written form within Papua New Guinea.

The subjects created within this discourse, also came from a western context, either through place of origin, i.e. Australia or England, or through teaching obtained in a mission context in their place of origin, i.e. Pacific Islands. Thus the discourse of missionisation validated the discourses of westernisation, literacy and scientism through their chosen methods of interaction with the local communities. Through these discourses, a new structure of linguistic power was created in which written language took on the role of representing the sacred texts of Christianity, also creating a canon of texts that have come to represent 'correct' language and writing (see §7.4)

Within this particular socio-historical context, a specific set of conflicts arose. As contexts alter, so do the types of conflict and the ways of dealing with these. The next section discusses the orthography issues created by the facilitators involved in orthography development in 2001 and 2004.

5.9 Issues in orthography development

Orthographies in developing countries have generally been a technology introduced by missionaries, educators and linguists as a tool of missionisation and/or colonisation, and the communities of Papua New Guinea are no exception to this. Much time and effort has been given to phonological, morphophonological and syntactic analysis such that a correct orthography could be produced. Menezes de Souza (2006: 152) describes the process as follows:

> *... the methodology involved was considered to be rational, precise and scientific, and the role of the linguist involved in the transposition of speech into writing was considered to be neutral.*

Linguists throughout the world have applied this perspective in their working approach to languages. However, these methods rarely provide orthographies that are acceptable to the communities. This leads to an increased allowance for 'non-linguistic' factors in orthography development (see §1.1). It was within this context that the ADWs were created, and orthography development took place in the Milne Bay communities.

Through the ADWs, SIL facilitated community discussion and decision-making, creating a role for itself as an external facilitator leading the discussions and giving linguistic input into the process. Consequently, the decisions made were intended to be created by the discourses of the communities involved (see §7) rather than by a purely scientific framework. Nevertheless, among the facilitators, the academic discourses of language development were

still powerful, giving rise to the 'linguistic issues' of the workshop. This discursive structure and the issues created within it are the focus of this section. The texts used to study the discourses of the facilitators are the discussions we had with each other, and the issues we raised with the communities.

The issues most discussed by the facilitators were:

- underrepresentation of the velar fricative,
- underrepresentation of the glottal plosive in some of the villages,
- consistent representation of allophonic variation,
- consistent representation of labialisation,
- representation of transitional vowels, and
- standardisation of regional variation.

These issues are all products of the discourses of scientism and westernisation which validate orthographies based on phonological analysis, the creation of systematic (i.e. consistent) orthographies, and the existence of distinct languages with standard forms and dialects. In the discussions involving linguist facilitators, the discourse of missionisation was also evident through the goals of SIL.

The common-sense status of a phonemic alphabet in the academic discourses, with one symbol for each phoneme, was evident in the concern we expressed over underdifferentiation of the velar fricative and the glottal plosive. As discussed in §5.8, the mission texts tended to underdifferentiate the distinction between the voiced velar plosive and fricative. As facilitators, we saw this as problematic as both phonemes carried a high functional load and a number of common minimal pairs could be found.

Likewise, we considered the tendency not to represent the glottal plosive as problematic in those communities where it is present (see §5.4.2). Once again, this stemmed from and was justified by the existence of common minimal pairs.

The representation of allophonic variation also became an issue for us as facilitators. While it we did not discuss it extensively, one of the major activities of the workshop was based around exploring this concept. The participants were required to write word lists for each sound they had identified, demonstrating that consonants could be followed by any vowel, in any position in a word. These 'directed word lists' provided the context for discussion about allophonic variation with the workshop participants, and resulted in little time being spent on this as a large group. A 'scientific alphabet' would not represent

allophonic variation, and consequently we made an issue of this aspect of the orthography, even before the representation of these sounds was causing difficulties for the participants.

Through orthography development, the discourses of scientism and literacy are brought together. While the issues just mentioned are created by the discourse of scientism, it was argued that a phonemic alphabet represents the psychological real sound system, and consequently will aid the process of literacy acquisition (see §3.1). As the overall goal was for literacy acquisition, particularly among the children, this discourse held a lot of power.

Within a western academic framework, the power of the discourse of literacy often intersects with the discourse of scientism leading to a desire for an orthography that represents phonemic patterning in the language due to a belief that phonemic orthographies are easier to learn (see §3.1). This was evident in the issues surrounding the representation of allophonic variation and labialisation. When it became apparent that sounds that appeared to be allophones (see §5.6) were likely to be represented by the communities, the facilitators began encouraging a consistent system, either using both <s> and <j>, for the voiceless/voiced pair, or using neither. Likewise the representation of the voiceless labialised phoneme was an issue for us. While this, like the other issues already discussed, was an issue inherited from the mission orthography (see §5.8.3), for us as facilitators it became an issue of consistency, with a preference expressed for marking labialisation with <w> for both the voiced <gw> and voiceless <kw> phonemes, avoiding <q>.

A further issue for us was a desire among the Taupota group to symbolise transitional semivowels. While some words contained a phonemic palatal approximant, in a number of others it was transitional. This was clearly evident through comparison with the other speech varieties which do not have a phonemic palatal approximant (see Table 5.27).

Table 5.27: Representation of transitional palatals in Taupota and Wedau

	Taupota	**Wedau**	
/iana/	<iyana>	<iana>	‘fish’
/apia/	<apiya>	<apia>	‘weapon’

As these semivowels are not phonemic, we considered their representation unnecessary and somewhat cumbersome. However, while comparative studies could highlight the difference between the phonemic approximant and the transitional semivowel, it is unclear whether this was evident to the speakers. I return to this issue in §9.2.3.

A further issue we raised at the workshop was the representation of the coronal approximant /j/: [j]~[ð]~[l]. Along with the allophonic variation of the voiced alveolar plosive, this became the expression of the representation of regional variation, and the tensions in language standardisation.

The issues that existed among us as workshop facilitators demonstrate the hegemonic status of the discourse of scientism in creating the framework for understanding orthography development. Through links with discourse of literacy, these issues were validated, as orthography choices became issues of education and development. A further discourse can be seen in the questions we did not raise. The unquestioned use of a Roman-based orthography, and the development of an orthography itself, demonstrated the largely naturalised status of the discourse of westernisation within this context.

5.10 Orthography development and discourse

This chapter has described a number of texts of the academic discourses of language development. Phonological analysis and the practices of orthography development are part of the knowledge produced through the interaction of these discourses, and an expression of the underlying truths and relationships of power. Those with appropriate academic training are given authority as orthography developers through their knowledge of phonology. The discourses validate the phonology, and consequently, a scientific approach to orthography, as representing the sound system of these speech varieties. Menezes de Souza (2007: 152-153) refers to this as the 'fetishization of the phoneme'.

The two processes of orthography development discussed here demonstrate how the discourses associated with phonological analysis contribute to the development of orthographies. The discourse of scientism creates the 'true' or 'good' orthography, being supported by discourses of literacy and westernisation. The truths evident within this framework, mirror those of language standardisation:

- languages are definable entities
- languages can/should be scientifically analysed
- languages are primarily communicative in function
- an orthography is necessary and good
- an orthography is a representation of phonology
- phonology represents psychologically salient sounds

However, the academic discourses were unable to solve the tensions that existed within the communities regarding orthography choices. As will be discussed in Part 3, a phonological analysis did not create an objective set of language boundaries, or describe the most salient processes of the sound system for the speakers. The scientific approach was unable to deal with the issues of identity that were captured within the process. Menezes de Souza (2007: 153) discusses this in reference to Brazil:

> *...much classroom time is spent in indigenous teacher education courses, given by linguists of this [scientific] bent, discussing the adequacy and correctness of orthographic systems, on a wild goose chase for the perfect phoneme and the perfect grapheme, when the main objectives of writing in the indigenous languages are lost.*

While linguistic theory can offer a scientific analysis of language data, practice has lead to a desire for a more holistic model of language development. Through this a discourse of community has increased in validity within academic discourses of language development. Through this discourse, the community voice gains validity in language development practice. Even within the community-based model for orthography development of the ADW, the concerns of the linguists still have a significant voice, and tools to offer. Nevertheless, the power of decision-making lies firmly with the communities. Through the contestation of discourses of scientism and communities, the discursive structure of academic language planning is being renegotiated, albeit slowly. In Part 4 we return to consider what this contestation of discourses offers linguistics and communities involved in language development. However, first, in Part 3, we turn to the communities themselves, to discuss the discourses informing their practice of language development.

Part 3 – Community discourses of language development

> *[A] modern speech community wants its language to be more than neat and trim and handy. It also wants it to be* theirs*, i.e.* like *them in some way, reflective of their individuality in some way, protective of their history in some way.* (Fishman 1974a: 23, emphasis original)

As stated in the quote above, the process of language development is vastly different for speech communities than for linguists. The scientific models of linguistics do not assist communities to achieve their goals of producing an orthography that represents, and is in essence equivalent to, their identity as subjects of the present, deeply connected with their past. While the creation of written forms of language is often a product of colonisation, communities throughout the world have adopted this practice and adapted it to meet their own goals.

Part 3 of this thesis focuses on the language development activities in twelve villages in Milne Bay Province, Papua New Guinea: Wedau, Wadubo, Rumaruma, Divari, Lavora, Aigura, Yapoa 1, Topura, Awauya, Taupota 1, Taupota 2, and Galuwahi. These villages represent a diversity of historical and cultural contexts which are evident in their patterns of language use and language attitudes. The process of language development was not merely a linguistic task, but a task of negotiating the representation of their cultural and social history, their relationships, and their connection with the past, present and future.

The cultural and historical context of the communities' goals for language development is given in §6. This is followed by a discussion of the active discourses in the process in §7. These two chapters provide the framework for understanding the cultural processes of language standardisation and orthography development within these communities. These particular processes are discussed in §8 and §9 respectively. As a basis for language standardisation, §8 also presents the ethnoclassifications of the speech varieties in the area.

In this discussion, it quickly becomes evident that while the same discourses are active for each community, the relationship between the discourses varies. This produces differing desires for language standardisation and orthographic symbol choice. Despite the geographical proximity of these villages, and the cultural and linguistic similarities, they are

not a unified speech community. Rather, much of their identity lies within very localised groups.

This part of the thesis produces an alternate view of language and language development. The speakers of a language construct and negotiate their own discursive structure, creating socio-historically specific truth, knowledge and power. While linguistic analysis is grounded on a belief that what is being uncovered is the language as it exists within the minds of the speakers, an examination of the linguistic understanding of speakers reveals a somewhat different framework within which meaning is created and language exists. For the speakers, language is not only an expression of communicative meaning, but also embeds emblematic meaning, providing a site of expression and negotiation of identity. And consequently, the primary function of language development is not the creation of a linguistically sound 'product', such as the 'good' orthography of the academic discourses, but the negotiation of appropriate expression of local identity.

6 Community goals for language development

The socio-historical context of the villages in the case study is a complex layering and intersection of migration, invasion and social transformation, resulting in the continual revision and restatement of identity within a changing world. The impact of annexation, missionisation, and westernisation during the last 120 years are particularly evident in the current post-colonial era as people grapple with how to 'save' their cultures and languages while also participating in a national and international economic system.

As discussed in §2.1, today there is regular contact between the villages for church and community events, visiting relatives, and through attending the various training workshops held by government, church, health and educational organizations. This represents a major change since missionisation began in the 1890s. The current freedom of movement contrasts starkly with the isolation that their ancestors lived in during the 'time of cannibalism', in which a fear of sorcery and attack from neighbouring communities severely restricted movement. However, the situation is also much more complex than this characterisation suggests. Patterns of interaction between communities extend back beyond the arrival of the mission into the legends which create meaning and identity within these cultures. Further, traditional hostility between communities continues, despite the increased interaction in both traditional and new ways.

In order to understand the goals of the communities in language development, it is important to become aware of the historical and cultural context within which the orthography development and language standardisation processes have taken place. This section discusses the contact patterns and language attitudes and use within these communities during three eras: the pre-colonial era (§6.2), colonisation (§6.3), and the current post-colonial context (§6.4). It is also important to understand my own relationship with the data I present as the views of the community, and the limitations this places on our own creation of meaning as 'outsiders' to the communities. Consequently, my methods for learning about these communities' views of themselves and their neighbours are discussed in §6.1. Having situated the current study, §6.5 then discusses the goals of the communities for language development as expressed during the ADW.

6.1 Methodology and data collection

In an attempt to give voice to the communities in reporting their own history, the data is largely based on information collected through informal interviews with community members. This is supplemented by observation, and information collected by the Anglican mission and an anthropologist, Miriam Kahn (e.g. 1983, 1986, 1990), who undertook fieldwork in Wamira. This section discusses the historical and social contexts from the perspective of the members of the local villages in the case study. However, it is necessary to remember that the story is being retold within the context of academic writing, and is in some cases incomplete due to a lack of available data. Therefore, I do not aim to report an ultimate 'truth', and any discrepancies with published descriptions are presented as the communities' 'truths' as reported to me. In order to help achieve this I have had the communities check the information used before including it here.

I collected much of the information in this section through informal interviews with community members during 2004. The communities directed me towards those with the authority to share this information. The reported data is representative of those who shared the information, and may not represent the beliefs of every community member (see §2.4.3). Reported data is also limited by the context of the researcher. As an outsider who spent limited time in the area, I assume that I was only given access to certain parts of the information. Few recordings were made as my informants were not comfortable in having our conversations recorded, and consequently transcripts are not available. In order to check the accuracy of my information, I sent copies of the information I wrote on each village back to the village leaders to be checked. I have attempted to represent the communities accurately according to my experience and have sought feedback from the communities on the data collected. My intention is that what I present is can be recognised by the communities represented to be an acceptable representation of their knowledge and the processes of language development.

Observation was useful in distinguishing between 'ideal' language use, and actual language use within churches, schools, and villages in general. There is a need to differentiate between reported and observed data. Both these types of data have their own story to tell. Reported data gives an insight to community members' 'ideal' or 'perceived' language use. This may differ from the data gathered through observation and/or linguistic analysis. However, this does not negate one type of data, in favour of the other, but demonstrates a

conflict in discursive structures. This conflict is significant in understanding language attitudes and the subsequent actions relating to language development.

A focal point for orthography development and standardisation in the area from Wedau to Galuwahi was a two-week ADW held in 2001, followed by a Writers' Workshop in 2004. As a facilitator at these workshops I had the privilege of working alongside representatives from each of these villages in developing orthographies for use in their elementary schools. The workshops were developed in an attempt to give the speakers of the languages more of a say in the development of their orthographies, transferring the control of the process from the linguist to those who own the languages. This approach gave me a window into how the speakers view the process, their goals, and the discursive structures that underlie this process for them.

As stated above (see §1.3, and §1.4), discursive structures can be detected by the systematicity of the production and negotiation of texts including ideas, behaviour, beliefs, opinions and processes within a particular context. The language development workshops formed one of the major 'texts' on which the analysis of community discourses is based. Through observing and participating in this process, the operating discourses became visible as participants created and provided a site of negotiation for the discussions held, for the decisions made or avoided, and for living the process of orthography development within that particular socio-historical context. By examining this text we can further explore speakers' beliefs about their speech and that of those around them, thereby revealing the underlying discourses creating knowledge, truth, meaning and validity.

While being an outsider limited my exposure to the texts, and my ability to understand them from within the communities' discursive structures, it also offered me a unique insight into the discourses of these communities in relation to each other and to 'outsider' discourses. At times, I refer to published sources. These sources are used where the communities directed me to them during data collection. For the communities, these published texts created extra validity for their knowledge, or provided a means to share information in the absence of the appropriate elder (see §7.2). I have included references to Kahn (1986, 1990) in my discussion of Wedau and Wamira where she provides further detail.

6.2 Pre-colonial context

The pre-colonial, or traditional, context refers to the socio-historical context of the area before annexation in the late 1800s. Social change and the impact of migration and

resettlement extend back to the pre-colonial era, when localised groups fought for control of land. People lived in groups of hamlets which were largely isolated from each other due to a constant threat of violence and magic between groups. This resulted in a strong sense of fear of the 'other' (Kahn ???). Despite this, the people participated in elaborate systems of trade and kinship rituals, and there was widespread migration of clans (§6.2.2). There is little knowledge of pre-contact patterns of language use, except for the subsequent loss of local speech varieties from Lavora to Awauya (see §6.2.1.4). This loss of knowledge about language mirrors a general loss of knowledge of traditional culture in the area. There is a strong fear among the speech communities that their traditional culture will soon be lost, along with their language and history.

The importance and sensitivity of cultural and historical knowledge was emphasised in Wamira where the elders deliberated before deciding to share their information with me. An ongoing land dispute has made this information extremely valuable. At the same time, the loss of traditional culture due to contact over the last century has made some people eager to tell their story and have it recorded. The following sections aim to portray the aspects of the stories of the communities from Wedau to Galuwahi which provide insight into the current socio-historical context of these communities, as well as aspects which they themselves consider relevant to issues of orthography development and language development.

The remainder of this section discusses current and traditional patterns of interaction and isolation. Firstly, §6.2.1 discusses the origins of the people in each village. Their traditional patterns of interaction are then discussed §6.2.2 before considering the impact these patterns may have had on language attitudes and use in §6.2.3.

6.2.1 Pre-colonial contact patterns

Prior to colonisation in the late 1800s, despite their close proximity contact between a number of these villages was restricted due to fear of attack and witchcraft. Communities were basically self-sufficient, with trade occurring along established trade routes. Material possessions, magical knowledge and marriage partners were exchanged. With the exception of a few mission documents and Colonial Reports, no written history of this area exists. In the following sections, I report the history of the villages as given to me by village leaders, with reference to other sources as highlighted by the communities themselves (see §6.1).

Although the origins of the people in the villages involved in this study are varied, the villages report common events and themes. Each village is made up of a number of clans that

have their own stories, including stories of origin. Each village is also defined to some extent by the original inhabitants of the land, with stories of origin being integrally linked with stories of land ownership. This is central to the identity of the people, who look to the land as a physical expression of their heritage. This is also reported in Kahn (1990). Their identity as members of relational structures extends through time to their past and through space in their current village organization. Issues of land ownership were being debated at various levels and in various ways in this area. As a result stories of origin had a very emotive function at the time of the study.

Descriptions of the origins of the people in this area will be given according to self-defined groups, beginning with the western-most villages and working eastwards. In §6.2.1.1 the stories of Wedau will be given, followed by Wamira and Divari in §6.2.1.2. Lavora, Aigura, Topura and Yapoa 1 are then discussed in §6.2.1.4. Awauya is the focus of §6.2.1.5, Taupota in §6.2.1.6 and finally Galuwahi in §6.2.1.7.

6.2.1.1 Wedau

Wedau is situated beneath the Dogura plateau where the Anglican mission station is located. I was unable to obtain much traditional knowledge during my stay in Wedau, as the elder who held this knowledge was away in Alotau (see §2.4.3). However, I was told one origin story which is also reported in Kahn (1990: 56). This story tells how the Bouni clan, found in both Wamira and Wedau, came to be in the area. When they came to the area, the Bouni gave fire to the Aukera clan, who already lived there. The Aukera boy who received the fire thanked his 'big brothers', and in doing so, inadvertently granted the Bouni status in the area. Antagonism, expressed by the accidental granting of status to the newcomers in the story (now representative of Wedau), exists between these two villages, particularly in regard to land ownership.

As the appropriate village elder could not speak to me, the people referred me to the documents of the Anglican mission as the best source of information. According the Anglican mission records, a settlement at Wedau existed when the mission arrived in 1891. King (1894-5:39-40) gave the following description of the origin of the Wedau people:

> *It was at Daba [6 miles to the east of Wedau] that the ancestors of the majority of these two tribes [Wedau and Wamira] once lived. Apparently the grandfathers of the middle-aged men [in 1894] were born at Daba. But, in order to escape the constant incursions of the mountaineers, the whole Daba tribe moved eastwards.*

> *Some of them settled in Wamira, purchasing what land they required from the original inhabitants, and paying for it with pigs. Sometimes, when members of the original families try to taunt the descendants of the colonists with the ground not belonging to them, the answer is given: 'We (i.e., our ancestors) paid for it when we came, and you said the payment was sufficient.' The Wamirans, however, soon found that they were rather crowded… The emigrants from Daba, who did not join the Wamira tribe, settled along the shore between the Wamira boundary and the Wamira River, but not liking the place on account of its being very much exposed to winds and waves, they soon moved to the more sheltered position to the west of the Wamira River. This Wedau village derives its name from a patch of ground within its limits.*

Daba as a place of origin matches the description in Kahn (1990), which is based on information collected on the Bouni clan in Wamira. Kahn (1990: 56-57) gives Lamogara, also about six miles west of Wedau, as the place of origin. There are also a number of other clans in Wedau that have originated from other parts of Milne Bay Province.

6.2.1.2 Wamira

As discussed in §2.1, Wamira contains two villages, Wadubo and Rumaruma. These two villages share a common history, clan structure, and one paramount chief. Like all villages in this area, these villages are made up of hamlets related by lineage. Wadubo (meaning 'old place') is the original settlement in the area, and the home of the paramount chief for both villages. Rumaruma (from the verb *ruma* 'to go check on') was originally a garden settlement where people lived while caring for their gardens and pigs. As the population expanded, some stayed in Rumaruma and built 'real' houses. King (1894-5: 39) related the arrival of the Wedau people from Daba, and consequent crowding of Wamira, with the establishment of Rumaruma as a permanent village where people sought more space. Settlement began before the mission arrived in 1891, but residents of Rumaruma reported that the major settlement developed between 1891 and World War II. By 1894, Rumaruma was numerically larger that Wadubo, and that is still the case today (see Table 2.1, §2.1). Kahn (1986: 20-24) comments on the existence of antagonism and competition between the two villages, however, during my stay I found no evidence of this. However, it was clear that Rumaruma looked to Wadubo for approval in decision-making regarding issues affecting both groups jointly.

The current inhabitants of Wamira come from many parts of Milne Bay. The Aurana clan was the first to settle in the area. Then the Bouni came from further west. According to a local legend they came after a flood, when some of the Bouni went north, some east, and some settled in Wamira. After migration, they lost their original language and began speaking the language of Wamira. It is from these people that the Bouni clan in Wamira and in Wedau both descend.

As discussed in §6.2.1.1, the origin legend of the Bouni expresses ongoing animosity between the Wamirans and the Wedauans. Some say that Wamira means 'dirty canoe' (*wa* 'canoe' *miramirana* 'dirty one'), and that this was used as an insult to the Wamirans. It is said that the Wamirans replied telling the Wedauans that they only had 'rickety rafts lashed together with cane' (Kahn 1986: 13) as *wei-dau* means 'this raft'. However, the old people in Wamira quickly tell the younger ones that this story is not true. The Wamiran leaders reported that *wa-mira* refers to the fact that their canoes were fighting canoes always ready for a raid.

Five other clans have come to the area from other parts of Goodenough Bay and inland, including the Manibolanai from Boyanai to the west, the Lavarata clan from the east, and a number of clans from the mountains. These migrations occurred before the arrival of the mission in 1891, and 'true Wamira' as described by the village leaders brings together all seven clans found in Wadubo and Rumaruma.

6.2.1.3 Divari

Divari is more accurately described as a row of hamlets than a village. It extends along a thin strip of coast between the ocean and the mountains of Girumia. People moved to this otherwise uninhabited land from Wamira, beginning five generations ago, as it was considered a good pig farming area. The calm sea also made it good for fishing. People also came from Kwabunaki, inland from Wamira, on hunting trips and stayed in Divari. Others came from further to the east via Wamira and then settled in Divari. Due to this history, there is a strong feeling of connection with both Wamira and Wedau, which are likewise situated on Bartle Bay. There is also a relationship with Lavora to the east through past and present intermarriage.

6.2.1.4 Lavora, Aigura, Topura and Yapoa

Girumia, a large point extending both vertically and horizontally between Divari and Lavora, forms a geographical barrier that is reflected in the culture and language of the people on either side. While there is interaction between Divari and Lavora, the contact did not

extend further east than this before the 1890s. Wamira and the people east of Girumia were traditional enemies.

The four villages between Girumia and the Tameo River: Lavora, Aigura, Topura and Yapoa 1, share a common story of migration over the Owen Stanley Range which divides Goodenough Bay from Milne Bay. The stories are best remembered by the elders in Yapoa 1 and Topura.

According to elders in Topura, the original inhabitants of Topura came over the Owen Stanley Range, and then via Yapoa and Lavora before settling in Topura between seven and nine generations before the current middle-aged people. An ancestral connection between the people of Yapoa, Topura, Lavora and Aigura is further confirmed by a common story of a dangerous wild pig that forced their ancestors to flee to nearby Ferguson Island where the Kukuya now live. [44] According to the legend, once the pig had been killed, the people returned to resettle the mainland. While stories of migration due to wild pigs are not uncommon in Papua New Guinea, this one is significant in that it unifies the four communities in question through a shared story of migration and settlement. Upon this common base, further stories of subsequent migration and settlement of clans exist within each village to explain current clan lineages.

These four villages all share a story of having their own ancestral speech varieties and cultures which have been replaced by Wedau over the last century. The elders in Yapoa gave separate names for the speech varieties of each village (see §8.2.7). There are still four elderly speakers of the original speech variety of Yapoa 1, which they call Hidomu, in Go'omira, the most inland hamlet of Yapoa 1.

As with Wedau, Wamira and Divari, clans from various parts of Milne Bay are represented in these villages. A different number of clans are found in each village reflecting different migrations, but the overall level of diversity is similar. For example, in Lavora there are eight clans. The first two to arrive were Yogayoga and Yavarata. The Yogayoga are considered to be the mountain people, from the Lavora area, and the Yavarata are thought to be from Suau to the south. Then there are the Ahurana clan from Guga, east of Taupota, the Garuboi from inland of Dogura, and the Yamani from Kwabunaki (inland from Wamira). The

[44] A trading relationship still exists with the Kukuya people (see §16.2.2). Linguistic similarities with Kukuya are represented in the classification of the languages. Lithgow (1976a) and Ross (1988) include Kukuya as a language in the Taupota chain. While Kukuya is lexically more similar to its neighbouring languages of the Bwaidoga Network, it shows grammatical similarities to the languages of the Are-Taupota chain (Lithgow 1976a; see also §2.3).

most recent to arrive were the Hehewa from Kwamana, west of Wedau, and the Paiwa and the Gaugau, the last two from Paiwa across Goodenough Bay. This complexity exists within a population of just over 300 people. A number of these clans are also found in other villages (see §6.2.2)

6.2.1.5 Awauya

The people of Awauya remember little of their history, but are very clear that much of their traditional way of life, including their language, has been lost. The people of Awauya lived in small hamlets in the mountains near their gardens before moving to their current site after colonisation (see §6.3.1). For the Awauya people, the inland location was closer to their vegetable gardens planted in the mountains, as well as providing protection from enemy villages. Small hamlets were originally established on the coast for shelter while fishing.

Like their neighbours in Topura, the people of Awauya report they migrated from over the Owen Stanley Range. However, they do not identify themselves as part of the same group of the people who are in Topura and Yapoa. The people of Topura and Yapoa also consider Awauya to be a separate group. Despite reporting that there was little travel before the mission arrived (unless a canoe went adrift), they also have clans from various parts of Goodenough Bay, including Wamira.

6.2.1.6 Taupota

Taupota is made up of two villages, Taupota 1 and Taupota 2. Like other villages, this is further subdivided into smaller hamlets based on family groups. The clans came from all around Goodenough Bay, including Awauya, Topura, inland from Dogura, Boyanai, Wamira, and Tawala.

The Taupotans arrived after the people of Awauya and Galuwahi. The Taupotans proudly tell of their settlement from over the mountains in which they ambushed the Awauya and Gweda people and pushed them westwards and eastwards respectively in order to claim land for themselves. They continued to ambush both the Awauya people and the Gweda people who now live in Galuwahi village, claiming more land for themselves, until colonisation (see §6.3.1). The name of the people, the place, and their speech variety, *taupota* means ‘we ambush’ in the local speech variety.

The Colonial Report of 1894-5 (Kennedy 1894-5: 42) gives the following description of the settlement of Taupota:

The grandparents of the present old men of the tribe lived in the present Taupota villages. They do not know whether their great grandparents lived in the present villages or on the hills. The Taupota tribe formerly lived on the mountains, and what is now known as Taupota was uninhabited land, without a name, and there were no coconut trees planted. After the tribe had increased, the people migrated to the beach…and the new settlement was called Taupota. The old Taupota now consists of about half-a-dozen houses only.

Over the years, the Taupotans have become very proud of their history as 'ambushers' and their group identity is very strong. While links with people over the mountains still exist, they do not appear to consider themselves as part of this larger group in everyday decision-making.

6.2.1.7 Galuwahi

Galuwahi village, like Awauya, is a new settlement created to enable easier administration by the colonial government. Before colonisation, the people lived in two inland villages, speaking Gweda. They originally come from Naura, on the southern side of the mountains and then migrated to the Kakabai speaking area behind Wamira before settling on their current land. They think this may have occurred in the 1800s, with the inland villages on their current land established before colonisation in the late 1800s. Linguistically, they consider themselves to be most closely related to Naura, Delama, and Kapurika. A number of clans in Galuwahi are from further west and over the mountains.

In 2001, the language of Galuwahi was moribund, with only 20 speakers, mainly elderly people, remaining. However, unlike the villages further west, language shift was from Gweda to Taupota and to a lesser extent Tawala, rather than to Wedau. Galuwahi was considered a Taupota speaking village by those in Taupota and Galuwahi, but there was no sense of shared identity as a result of this language shift.

6.2.2 Migration, feasts and trade

The previous section gives an impression of a somewhat static, individualistic notion of village. In fact, interaction between groups is somewhat more integrated due to migration of clans, trade between villages, and festivals. These were part of the inter-village contact before missionisation, even within a culture of fear of the 'other' based on fear of possible physical or spiritual attack.

Given the distribution of clans and the diversity of places they originated from, it seems that migration was occurring around Goodenough Bay and from the mountains to the coast long before 1891. The same clan names can be found in different villages. For example, the Ahurana clan is found in Lavora and Taupota. It is likely to be the same as the Aurana clan in Wamira, with a regularly occurring sound change. The Yavarata clan is found in Taupota, Topura, Lavora and also in Wamira as Lavarata.[45] The name of a hamlet in Wamira, Gomira, is also found inland from Yapoa 1 as Go'omira. This is said to be due to the migration of people from Wamira to Yapoa 1.

Thus, the picture is not one of static relational spheres, but rather dynamic interaction throughout the area. Reasons for migration range from stories of floods and family feuds to dangerous wild pigs and good land for raising domestic pigs. To try to document these clan movements would be a major study in itself, and one that is becoming more difficult as time passes and cultural knowledge is lost. Nevertheless, even a cursory glimpse at clan names and a description of their origins clearly demonstrates the interconnectedness of the people in the area.

One result of the spread of clans was that people could travel and live with the members of their clan in another village. Ties of clan were stronger than ties of village, so people could migrate between enemy villages as clan membership allowed. Feasts were often clan-based, rather than being centred on village affiliation. In Taupota, feasts were held for marriages, deaths and the arrival of a first-born child. Clan members from other places would come, bringing pigs, shell money or other presents. Such a feast would require repayment from the clan members in the receiving village.

A feast, which resulted in interaction between otherwise enemy groups, was held in Wamira in 1901. The large feast, known as the Walaga, was witnessed by the Anglican missionaries who then documented the event. It was held every sixteen to twenty years and in 1901 was attended by around 200 people, some from surrounding areas, crossing into enemy territory to attend. Interaction between these groups was described as follows:

> *It was one of the few occasions when the normally war-like coastal and mountain peoples came together. Although the mountain people remained suspicious of the men from Wamira, they at least shared the meal together.* (Gill n.d.: 4*)*

[45] Pairs of names demonstrate the regular phonetic changes that occur within the area: the deletion of /h/ and /ʔ/ in Wamira, and the variation between [l] and [j] throughout the area (see §5.4).

These feasts demonstrate interaction among the villages within the current study as well as with other nearby villages.

Patterns of trade are interesting as they indicate a focus of interaction outside of the study area rather than within it. None of the villages in this study reported a tradition of trade with each other. Rather, trade networks were oriented towards the islands or other mainland groups.

Wamira and Divari were involved in two trade cycles. One was with Cape Vogel, on the other side of Goodenough Bay, from whom they received bananas and clay pots. The second was with Kukuya on Ferguson Island, a relationship that still continues today.[46] People came from Kukuya in canoes and items including traditional magic and names were mutually exchanged, while the Kukuya also brought *bagi* from Goodenough Island,[47] as well as giving pigs, yams and sago in exchange for Wamira dogs. The Wamira people are unsure as to the traditional method of communication for this trade cycle, but refer to a number of similarities in vocabulary, the use of hand actions and the fact that some of the Kukuya knew the Wamira speech variety as factors which may have enabled communication. The people of Divari have a story of migration to Kukuya which has lead to a similarity of language and consequent intelligibility (c.f. §6.2.1.4). This same trade relationship is described by the people of Topura and Yapoa 1.[48] Topura added the trade of betel nut and clay pots from Ferguson Island, and the modern transition to trading plates, cups and clothing. Along with Divari, they have a story of temporary migration to Kukuya (see §6.2.1.4) and a consequent similarity in language that allows communication during trading.

The focus of trade for Awauya and Galuwahi was away from its westerly neighbours. Awauya was part of the *kula* ring (see Malinowski 1922), trading with Goodenough and Ferguson islands, as well as Kiriwina and Woodlark. The Gweda people traded with people at East Cape, exchanging clay pots for taro. This continued into the 1950s or 1960s. The people of Taupota reported that they were not part of a trading cycle. This is possibly due to their recent arrival on the coast from over the mountains.

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[46] The most recent trade occurred in April 2003. The Kukuya came in a diesel boat and people who shared the same name, due to the previous trading of names, received 'special deals'.

[47] *Bagi* is traditional shell money that was of great value in the *kula* trade ring in the Milne Bay islands (see Malinowski 1922).

[48] Topura and Yapoa reported trade with the Kukuya from Ferguson Island, while the Wamira and Divari people both reported that trade was with Goodenough Island, then mentioning Kukuya when asked for further clarification. The Kukuya people live on Ferguson Island. This possibly suggests that the trade route included Goodenough Island as well as Ferguson Island, with the Kukuya being the ones who acted as traders, travelling between each of the villages.

These trade routes demonstrate that the focus of trade was not necessarily with neighbouring villages, but related to past migration, and consequent relationships. These trade cycles situate the villages of the study area within the larger context of Milne Bay cultures, extending beyond their own immediate villages to acquire valuable goods and knowledge. This was such an important part of the culture that some groups of people lived on their canoes as nomads, travelling from place to place, trading goods of value for what they needed to survive.[49] Meanwhile, continued interaction within clans whose members have migrated to various places indicates ongoing contact between villages in the area.

6.2.3 Interaction and language

The traditional patterns of migration and interaction raise a number of questions related to language:

- What was the language of each of the migrating clans?
- What was the linguistic context of these migrations, and what how did the migrations and subsequent contact impact upon the linguistic make up of the region?
- If each clan had their own speech variety, how quickly did each of the villages become a homogenous speech community and how did this occur?
- How was communication between people from different places accomplished?
- Is the current situation a result of levelling due to contact, or is diversification due to contact?

Answers to these questions rest in knowledge that has largely been lost.[50] Only a few pieces of anecdotal evidence are still available. The anecdotal and linguistic evidence collected from speakers suggests that each village once had its own speech variety. Given that migration occurred over a century ago for the most recently arrived groups, and that no written records were kept before 1890, the language of each clan cannot be identified with any confidence, particularly since similar patterns of migration may have occurred in the clan 'homelands'. Thus, it is unclear whether each clan had their own speech variety, or shared a common language. If we assume that each of the clans spoke the language of its place of

[49] People in Taupota told of some nomads who settled in their village.
[50] Nettle and Romaine (2000: 80-90) describe the linguistic ecology of many parts of Papua New Guinea involving a situation of multilingualism and language as an item of cultural value. I have not extrapolated this to use in the current study, as the cultural situations differ in many ways, most particularly due to the recent date of migration of many of the communities in the current study.

origin, which may have been related to the language spoken in that area today, it is reasonable to assume that the groups were culturally and linguistically related. However, the widespread variation and divergence that was evident at the time of colonisation, and is still evident to a lesser extent today, could also suggest that each clan brought with it its own speech variety.

The current homogeneity of speech in each village suggests that if linguistic divergence existed between clans, a common speech variety developed after migration. The residents of Wamira reported that the Wedauans came to settle on Wamira land, and subsequently lost their own language which is now only evident in dialectal variation.[51] However, the elders in Wamira also talk of extensive diachronic language change in Wamira itself. This is evidenced in the language of their traditional songs and witchdoctor's chants which they say is more related to Ghayavi and 'Mountain' languages (likely Dawawa and/or Kakabai). They report that they only understand one or two words per sentence of the traditional songs.

As mentioned in §6.2.1.4, there is a hamlet in Yapoa 1 whose people originated from Wamira. These people are now the main ones who still use the traditional language of Yapoa 1. Although they presumably spoke Wamira before migrating, they clearly switched to the speech variety of Yapoa 1. Although there is evidence of language loss after migration, the impact of language contact is not obvious and there is no knowledge about this within the community.

Much traditional knowledge has been lost, and even where legends are remembered the details are sometimes missing.[52] The strongly acknowledged facts are that traditionally there were five speech communities in the area of this study: Wedau, Wamira and Divari; Topura, Yapoa, Aigura and Lavora; Awauya; Taupota; and Gweda. This division is most significantly differentiated by land ownership and language (see §8 for further discussion of ethnoclassifications).

The possible effect of communication within clans and within trade routes must also be acknowledged. A situation of multilingualism in which people learn the language of

[51] The language of Wamira is known by outsiders as 'Wedau' due to the influence of Dogura station and the work of the Anglican mission using the 'Wedau' language. This is a contentious issue for Wamirans who argue that it is the Wedau people speak the Wamira language, not vice versa. This is a statement of authority and ownership of the language and the land.

[52] For example, the legend of the flying fish (the origin story of the Yavarata clan) is well known. It tells of the migration of these people and the magic used to catch flying fish. Although the story is still being passed down, the words of the chant have been lost.

neighbouring groups and those of important trade partners appears likely, however there is no current knowledge of this.

While little is known about the pre-colonial contact and migration, these same questions can be asked of the situation since colonisation. Since colonisation there have been changes in patterns of language use, new functions of specific speech varieties, the introduction of new languages, and cases of language death. The colonial and post-colonial stories will be considered here with regard to their impact on views of language and identity among the people from Wedau to Galuwahi.

6.3 Colonial context

With the colonisation of Papua, and subsequent nationalisation in the formation of Papua New Guinea as an independent nation-state, the social structure of villages changes (see §2.2). Communities became small parts of a new larger entity. The government administration, a newly established power from outside the local community, implemented policies that affected people greatly. Patterns of contact between traditional groups changed, and contact with newly arrived outsiders developed. The language attitudes of the new elite, and the consequent language policies, resulted in changing patterns of language use. While numerous articles and books have discussed these issues form an external or policy perspective (e.g. Dickson 1970; Johnson 1977; Patton 1995; Smith 1987), the current section considers the more direct impact of the policies of governments and missions on local communities, particularly in regard to contact patterns (§6.3.1) and language (§6.3.2).

6.3.1 Colonial contact patterns

The annexation of present-day Papua New Guinea in the late 1800s had a profound effect on the people of the region. Small family units, connected through complex webs of clan ties, suddenly became subjects of a foreign power with its own institutions, laws, religion, culture and language. Structures of leadership and power that had held together these dynamic social structures were subsumed underneath a new, and structurally distinctive, system of western power. At a village level, this was most commonly enacted by government patrol officers and missionaries.

Across the region, the effect of the government and its patrol officers was strong. According to government policy, small family based hamlets were forced to move into larger villages, and villages were moved from the foothills to the coast to facilitate better control and

supervision by the patrol officers. It was during this time that the current villages of Awauya and Galuwahi were created by bringing together smaller inland settlements (see §6.2.1.5 and §6.2.1.7). The hamlets of Awauya were moved to the current village site on the coast, which previously had only shelters for use while fishing. The mission station is now found on this coastal site, with hamlets scattered around the station and along the coast. Likewise, Galuwahi was created by bringing together on the current coastal site two inland villages situated at the base of the mountain. During this time, the village identity also became more important. Despite the identity of separate hamlets remaining within villages to this day through clan-based land ownership, village names, rather than hamlet names, were used as the 'official' place of residence during this period, requiring people to refer to themselves in relation to their village.[53]

During this time, government law became powerful, and the power of traditional law was eroded. This had many effects. Firstly, the patrol officers gained power over issues of land and conflict. For example, due to ongoing fighting between Taupota and Awauya, and the taking of land, the patrol officers forced the Taupotans to return some of their newly acquired land to the Awauya people. Traditional boundaries also began to erode. Due to the centralisation of education and work, young people moved beyond the local villages for work. Despite traditionally held beliefs about the perils of such adventuring, they discovered that they could return alive (see also Kahn 1983: 100-101). In many ways, the Australian administration had taken control and the power of decision making out of the hands of the village leaders.

The daily lives of the people of Papua were more directly affected by the arrival of the missions than by the newly appointed colonial government. It was the mission, not the government, which established the new infrastructure and institutions. The coming of the Anglican mission marked a significant turning point for these villages. The importance of this event is evident in the stories of the missions' arrival in each village. Wedau and Wamira disagree over the ownership of the land the first missionaries landed on. While Wedau point to the cathedral behind the village on Dogura Plateau as evidence of their connection with the first missionaries, Wamira point to a number of monuments found along the coast. Meanwhile, the people of Divari proudly tell of the prior existence of a theological college in their village before it burnt down. Down the coast, Taupotans talk proudly of their ancestor

[53] It is interesting to note that in some areas, such as Divari and Wamira, the use of clan/hamlet name, even with outsiders, is still common. This suggests their hamlet-based identity remains strong.

who was the interpreter for the first missionaries, accompanying them to Wedau. In both Taupota and Galuwahi, the people tell how the missionaries originally landed between these villages, and only moved on to Dogura due to constant illness. These early interactions with the mission have proven to be influential in these villages recreating their identity in a newly missionised and westernised context.

The activities and policies of the mission also resulted in increased contact between villages. Schools were established, and for many years, young boys left their villages to attend school in Dogura with children from all over the Anglican mission area. Thus, contact with local knowledge and culture was greatly diminished as these boys were educated using western models. Many older people point to this practice in trying to explain why their culture and traditional knowledge been eroded. With the subsequent establishment of community schools in a number of other villages, primary education became physically less centralised. However, this did little for cultural preservation, but rather further strengthened the language and cultural attitudes of the government within the village context. This can be seen in language attitudes today (see §6.4.2).

6.3.2 Colonial linguistic context

In a society characterised linguistically by small local speech varieties alongside trade languages and widespread multilingualism, the impact of increased interaction with neighbouring communities, and the introduction of the languages of the new elite was enormous. New pidgins, colonial languages and mission languages were added to the linguistic repertoire of people who had strong beliefs about the tie between language, land and identity. For administrators and missionaries, linguistic diversity was generally seen as a problem to be solved (e.g. Bishop Henry Newton 1914, cited in Clarke 1977: 960). The motives behind language policies have been diverse and the roles of the various stakeholders have differed considerably over time. As a result, the policies and practices imposed on the communities in the area have varied greatly.

The most influential linguistic change was the introduction of new colonial languages: English, Motu, and Wedau. These languages all represented access to the new power, and the material, social, and religious growth it symbolised. Initially, English was merely the language of the western elite, while Motu and Wedau took on practical functions (Johnson 1977: 438). However, as the goal of westernisation became stronger after World War II (see

§7.5), and education was taken into the hands of the government, English took over many domains previously occupied by Wedau and Motu.

Before World War II, Motu was the language of the patrol officers, and of interaction between local people and the government in general (Dutton 1976; Johnson 1977: 431; Kaplan & Baldauf 2003: 192; Mühlhäusler & Dutton 1979: 218). Village leaders and others who worked in government appointed roles learnt Motu to use not only for official purposes, but also as a lingua franca throughout Papua, the Australian territory of current Papua New Guinea. Motu became a marker of Papuan identity, particularly in contrast to Tok Pisin; the lingua franca within the German colony, and later the Australian protectorate, of New Guinea. Within Milne Bay, Motu remained a language of wider communication, and did not infringe on any domains of village life.[54]

As discussed in §4.1.1, and §5.8, Wedau became the language of the Anglican mission, being used in schools, churches, and as a lingua franca throughout the Anglican sphere of influence. Until World War II it was the language of at least the initial years of education. Consequently, Wedau was used widely among children, eventually leading to a language shift in the surrounding areas. As the language of the mission, and consequently all associated development and institutions such as churches, schools, health clinics, stores, transport services and western goods, Wedau also held great prestige.

For many years, the education policies of the Anglican mission and the colonial government resulted in children attending boarding school in Dogura (near Wedau). The languages of education and interaction in this context were Wedau and English (§7.4, and §7.5). Consequently, fluent knowledge of local speech varieties was lost within a generation. The people of Lavora, Aigura, Topura, Yapoa and Awauya all talk of the influence of education and westernisation on the death of their traditional speech varieties and culture which began with the mission schools, and continues to the present day through western forms of education, and a belief in development through westernisation and consequently, the English language. Thus, the massive social change due to colonisation and missionisation

[54] It is interesting to note that there was no knowledge of the existence of Papuan Pidgin in the area. A variety of Pidgin English known as Papuan Pidgin (Johnson 1977: 431; Mühlhäusler & Dutton 1979: 210-216) predated the arrival of the administration, spreading with the return of people captured for work on the Queensland sugar plantations. Despite the scorn of the administration towards this speech variety, it was widely used in communication between field administrators and the local people. By 1941, Papuan Pidgin was largely eliminated, becoming the single example of successful implementation of language policy by the administration before World War II (Johnson 1977: 431).

resulted not only in new patterns of contact, forms of education, religion and rituals, but also in the death of many speech varieties.

English also entered the linguistic repertoire of the region with colonisation. The language of the elite, and eventually a national language of newly independent Papua New Guinea, the influence of English on the linguistic situation of the region has been extensive. After World War II, the influence of Wedau receded as English became the language of instruction in schools (Clarke 1976: 963). The English language was explicitly linked with development and prosperity by the government (see §7.5) and these attitudes can still be seen today in the villages of Papua New Guinea, as will be discussed below (§6.4, §9.1, §9.2). For a new generation, English became the language of education and wider communication, not only for an educated elite, but also throughout Papua.

6.4 Current context

The current context has grown out of a history of traditional culture, punctuated with the impact of missionisation and colonisation. In the post-colonial era, communities are seeking to hold onto their traditional culture, while also creating an identity as part of a provincial, national and international community. The creation of identity is a salient aspect of community life, as current generations struggle to come to terms with the losses of the past and find hope in the future.

6.4.1 Current contact patterns

Patterns of contact and interaction among the villages of this study are influenced by the institutions found there, the most significant being the Anglican Church, the education system, the health system and the local economic system involving the trading of goods through markets, trade networks and stores. A number of stations, both government and mission, are situated throughout the area, providing a focal point for services within the area.

The two largest centres are Galuwahi and Dogura. Galuwahi is the Maramatana Local Level Government headquarters and has a school (up to grade 8), medical centre, and other government offices. Dogura Anglican Mission station, which was begun in 1891, neighbours Wedau. This station has a primary school (grades 3-8) and a boarding high school (grades 9-12), which caters for students from all around Goodenough Bay, as well as a medical centre, post office and a market where women from surrounding villages come to sell their garden produce. Dogura is best known for its cathedral and its historical importance as the main

mission station of the Anglican Church in Papua New Guinea. In the past Galuwahi, and Dogura both had airstrips. The Galuwahi airstrip has been closed for many years, while the one in Dogura has been closed in the last few years due to lack of repairs.

Smaller mission stations are found in Wamira, Divari, Topura, Awauya and Taupota, with those in Wamira, Topura and Taupota having aid posts and schools as well as churches. These schools, aid posts and churches provide a focus of interaction for each community. Mission stations act as a centre for church activities including services, festivals, mothers' union activities and youth activities. Some of these events are held in individual villages. However, as Anglican communities, these people have a strong connection with the parish centred on the mission station and the priest who lives there. Church parish boundaries strongly link Topura with Yapoa, Aigura and Lavora, who share the one priest. Awauya have their own priest but are connected to Topura as the centre of their parish. Taupota has its own priest, but is in the same parish as the Gweda and Tawala speaking villages to its east.

Primary Schools and Community Schools set up different divisions.[55] Children from Wedau attend school in Dogura with children from Dawawa-speaking villages in the mountains. Children from Wamira and Divari attend school in Wamira along with children from the Kakabai speaking village of Kwabunaki. Children from Lavora, Aigura, Topura and Yapoa 1 all attend school in Topura, with students from Yapoa living in Topura during the week. Children from Awauya walk to Taupota for school. As the schools in Topura and Taupota do not run up to grade eight, students from these schools who continue with study in grades seven and eight go to Galuwahi. For grades nine through twelve, students attend high school in Dogura.

Schools foster a point of interaction for children from the feeder villages and their playing fields provide a focus for sporting events on the weekends. Tournaments are held year round with teams from different villages competing at games such as rugby, soccer and volleyball. In the case of Wedau and Wamira, ongoing disputes have been played out on the rugby field, resulting in the cancellation of games. Disagreements between members of the Topura and Wedau communities at sporting events were also reported.

Markets provide a further focus of interaction. While they are mainly attended by women for the purpose of exchanging goods, they also act as a medium for the dissemination

[55] Primary schools have grades three through eight, while community schools generally have grades one through six. This is discussed by Kale and Marimyas (2003) and Guy (2000).

of information, such as coming events and the arrival of visitors in the area.[56] Topura has a market each Saturday at which women from Yapoa 1, Aigura, Lavora and Awauya sell their garden produce. This market does not rely on the exchange of money for produce, with the exchange of goods being common. Wamira also has a market which is also attended by people from Divari, Lavora and Aigura. There is also a market at Dogura. This is one of the larger markets in the area and is attended by people from as far away as Topura, as well as people from Dawawa- and Kakabai-speaking villages inland from Dogura. If local women have a lot of produce to sell, it is carried over the mountains, or along the coast by dinghy and then by road to Alotau, the capital city of the province.

School districts, parish boundaries, modes of transport, markets, sporting and other communities events have all had an influence on perceptions of identity and in-group definition. The situation is multi-dimensional involving various institutions and cultural practices. It reflects not only the current situation, but also historical patterns of interaction and contact.

6.4.2 Current linguistic context

The current linguistic context, and associated patterns of language use and language attitudes have clearly development in response the to past. Post-colonial goals of localisation can be seen in attitudes towards ancestral languages, while the influence of colonisation and missionisation can be seen in attitudes towards 'introduced' languages. The resulting practices are discussed here in reference to local languages in §6.4.2.1, and languages of wider communication in §6.4.2.2.

6.4.2.1 Local languages

Within Papua New Guinea, language is an important marker of identity. With massive variation in a small area, language is a marker of place, and consequently group membership. Within the study area, local languages are highly valued. People enjoy talking about language and variation between villages, and language-based humour is common. Furthermore, these local languages with small populations exist in a complex system of multilingualism and ever changing cultural values.

On the surface, it appears that local languages are very strong. Each village has its own speech variety which is generally learnt as the first language of children, and used for

[56] As I travelled through the villages doing fieldwork, news of my arrival was often passed on through women travelling to and from market.

everyday communication within the village. Wedau, Wamira, Divari and Galuwahi all use the local speech variety for the first three years of education. Between the villages within the study area, there is enough similarity and contact, to allow people to speak their own variety and be understood. Due to mixed marriages, people often grow up speaking both their mother's and father's languages, but the preference is for the language of the village where they are living.

However, as in many parts of Papua New Guinea and the Pacific, the situation of the local speech varieties is being influenced by the changing social makeup of the region (Aikhenvald & Stebbins 2007; Dutton 1992; Kulick 1992; Nekitel 1998: 46-61, 78-120; Smith 1992; Wurm 2001). Many local speech varieties are endangered as other languages gain prestige. In 2001, Gweda, the language of Galuwahi was moribund, with only 20 speakers, mainly elderly people, remaining. Since the 1960s, there has been a language shift to Taupota and Tawala in this community. People have felt ashamed of their language, and have chosen to speak the languages of their neighbouring villages instead.

A similar situation is found in Yapoa. However, in this case, only four elderly speakers of the original language remain in a remote village. The people of Awauya, Topura, Aigura and Lavora also talk of the loss of traditional languages (see §6.2.1.4, and §6.2.1.5), in these cases due to the influence of culture contact and education of the Anglican mission, and the mission lingua franca, Wedau. In Yapoa, Topura and Aigura, there is a sense of loss, and the older people in particular are holding on tightly to the phonological and lexical features of the traditional languages which have survived into their speech. However, these features are being lost in the language of the younger generations whose speech continues to assimilate lexical and phonological features of Wedau.

A number of people, both older and younger, are trying to revive their languages through preschools and elementary schools. In Galuwahi, the introduction of Gweda as the language of instruction in the elementary school has resulted in the reversal of language shift. In 2004, forty children were using Gweda as their language of education and as the main language among themselves in the village. Numerically, this is a significant shift in a village of less than 400 people. Community members are excited to see children speaking and singing in Gweda and those with knowledge of the language have begun to teach it in their homes. The young children are also teaching the older children and their parents.

In the villages from Lavora to Awauya, there is little hope of reviving the languages, as they were spoken 100 years ago and there are no remaining speakers, except for four elderly people in Yapoa. However, people are eager to do what they can to encourage the use of the 'language of their land'. In Yapoa, this has led to some people trying to learn the language of their grandparents before they die, and then passing it on to the children through preschool and Sunday School activities.

The complex web of languages with shifting domains of use is not new or unique. However, in the context of this study, the situation of language shift has been greatly influenced by the multilingual context and the shifting domains of language over the last 100 years. Before colonisation, the largely self-contained villages each had their own speech variety, and multilingualism and trade languages developed among those who ventured beyond the local village (see §6.2.3). Since the arrival of new cultural groups and the creation of new systems of interaction and power, a number of languages have been introduced, and the status of existing languages has been altered.

6.4.2.2 Languages of wider communication

Wedau, the lingua franca of the Anglican mission, is largely based on the speech variety of Wedau, Wamira and Divari villages. Due to its status as a lingua franca and language of education and religion for much of the last 100 years, all adults in the study area understand Wedau. In Taupota, the children have difficulty understanding it, suggesting a situation of learned intelligibility rather than mutual intelligibility. Wedau is often used as the common language among people in the Anglican mission area. However, today it is sometimes replaced with English, especially among the younger people. Among the older people in particular, Wedau holds a special status as the language of the mission and all that it brought to the area (see §7.4). Each village reported that Wedau is still the language of church, using the Wedau language prayer and hymnbooks as evidence of this. However, in practice, English is often used for the liturgy, and preaching is generally in English and/or the local speech variety, partly depending on the languages spoken by the Priest. Hymns are largely sung in Wedau, however English is also used. Modern songs are generally in English, Tok Pisin, or the local speech variety.

Motu is a trade pidgin which was once widely used throughout Papua as a language of administration. Now it is only spoken by the older men who use it when speaking with people from inland villages who do not understand Wedau. Like Wedau, but to a greater degree, English is replacing the domains of Motu in the younger generations.

English is the language of education (beyond grade 2), government, and is also becoming the language of church and wider communication in many places. The domains of English are reinforced by the status of English as a national language, the language of many workplaces, and by the existence of writing and printed materials.

A more recent addition to the language situation is the use of Tok Pisin. This language is considered by many to be the language of New Guinea, as opposed to Motu, the language of Papua. However, Tok Pisin has spread into the region, and is particularly used among the children and young people. Mirroring the attitudes of the colonial government and missions (see Wetherell 1977), many people fear that use of Tok Pisin will result in further language shift as it has in other parts of Papua New Guinea.[57] There is also a fear among adults that it will affect people's English, resulting in substandard knowledge and use of this prestigious and powerful language. Within this context, it is not difficult to understand why the young people tended to hide their knowledge of Tok Pisin from me, even when it would have enabled clearer communication.[58]

6.5 Goals for language development

The communities from Wedau to Galuwahi responded to the opportunity presented by the ADW, and subsequent writers' workshop, with enthusiasm. The Taupota community provided a venue, cooks, assistance with transport and accommodation, while the remaining communities sent participants for the workshops. [59]

The ADW began with the participants discussing and listing their goals, or reasons for wanting an alphabet for their speech variety. These lists were completed spontaneously, some groups choosing to write in English, and others writing in their local speech variety. These lists clearly show the main goals of the workshop participants, giving some indication of the communities' goals. An English translation of the lists is given in Table 6.1.[60]

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[57] For examples from other languages see Dutton (1992), Kulick (1992), and Sumbuk (1993).
[58] It was only when I overheard children using Tok Pisin with each other that I discovered that they knew the language. As they were often not fluent in English, using Tok Pisin would have enabled better communication. However, they were apprehensive about speaking with me in Tok Pisin.
[59] See §2.4 regarding the participation of each village during the each workshop.
[60] The groupings used in this table reflect the initial ethnoclassification during the workshop, and differ from groupings used since (see §8.4). The groups including the following villages:
Wedau – Wedau, Wamira, Divari
Topura – Lavora, Aigura, Topura, Yapoa, Awauya
Taupota – Taupota
Gweda – Galuwahi

Table 6.1: Community goals for orthography development

Wedau	For: communication writing reading keeping records (e.g. history) We need an alphabet because it is the key to learning language (writing and reading it)
Topura	Our children will write in our own language. Our children must know our: language traditional words for planting etc. history, landmarks, background legends, traditional life songs, both traditional and hymns
Taupota	For: speaking writing reading teaching communication history singing (5 song types listed) worship
Gweda	It helps us to: write read sing communicate with relatives who are far away keep track of past histories understand the needs of others learn legends of the past keep record of important cultures Helps us in our learning process

The goals of the four groups were very similar. They can be summarised in two broader goals: the maintenance of traditional culture and language and the reclamation and expansion of the domains in which the local language is used, most notably in education. These goals reflect a belief in the community that traditional knowledge and values are dying out and need to be preserved. The desire for traditional culture to be retained was observed in a number of other ways during the workshop, including teaching the children traditional dance. Aleman (p.c. 2002: 19) reports, 'One Taupotan man named Utikas holds regular classes with the youth to maintain traditional practices; such as making/playing kundu drums, making spears, dancing and chanting.'

The integrated nature of language and culture was clearly demonstrated in the workshop goals listed by the participants. Written language was considered a tool for retaining knowledge of legends, landmarks, history, songs, gardening and traditional life. In

this context, culture and language maintenance involved transferring oral culture to writing in order to preserve both the culture and the language. Local language literacy, given validity through the discourse of localisation (see §7.3), is seen as a way to retain and strengthen traditional knowledge and culture within the context of the dominant discourse of westernisation.

Development of the local speech varieties was not only seen as a 'return to the past', but as a way of connecting with the present. People expressed to me a desire to translate church materials into the local speech varieties. This is significant as it is the main context of literacy activity within the community, and expresses a desire for community-based literacy practices to be conducted in the local speech variety rather than the more 'prestigious languages' of English or Wedau.

A desire to expand the domains of vernacular language use to include those that have been held by Wedau and English for the last century was particularly evident. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the domain of church and education related literacy activities has been filled by Wedau, and more recently English, for the last 100 years. This created an environment in which the prestige of these languages was increased at the expense of local speech varieties, in spite of the fact that education and learning have been carried out in the local speech varieties for centuries. Consequently, while reading and writing were not traditionally performed in the local speech varieties, the expressed desire for literacy in the local languages for the purposes of education can be considered to be reassigning the local speech varieties to their traditional roles. In developing orthographies, the people were reclaiming for their own speech varieties the domains of education, religious ritual, and the passing down of cultural stories, legends and records.

6.6 Conclusion

The historical context of migration, trade, missionisation, colonisation and independence highlights the complexity of relationships between and within communities and individuals. Hostilities and connections from the precolonial era continue to influence interactions and relationships between villages. The complex layering of authorities created by missionisation and colonisation produce a contestation of alliances. This context has been influential in the creation of the current desire for the retention of localised cultural identity, while also equipping the younger generation to continue the development of their communities and nation.

As an integral part of the identity of the communities, the social and cultural values and tensions are evident in language attitudes and use, and more overtly in the communities' goals for orthography development. The goals of the process were not linguistic, but cultural, as communities sought to create relevant culturally nurturing education for their children, through the teaching of cultural knowledge. In the following chapter, I outline the discourses that have been established through this socio-historical context, and have produced and defined the language development process for the communities.

7 Discourses of community

The impact of colonisation and missionisation on the people of Papua New Guinea has been massive. In a brief passage of time, contact with frameworks developed from discourses of westernisation and missionisation have resulted in the introduction of new religions, education systems, beliefs about health care and the creation of a nation out of a diverse collection of small largely isolated communities. The present study is situated in this context of past alienation from traditional culture, and current desires for and attempts at reconnection. The group loyalties and struggles of the past are still strong but some people are now in a position to have some control over the decisions regarding their children's education, the future of their people and their language. Where people do not yet have this opportunity, there is a longing to regain control over key decisions about the future.

In order to understand the process of orthography development and language standardisation in this area in recent years, an understanding of context is required which extends beyond the events of the past and present to the underlying discourses that enable the creation of meaning around these events. These discourses have arisen from the interrelationships of a number of beliefs and historical events including:

- traditional beliefs of community,
- traditional beliefs of boundaries, both social and linguistic,
- the arrival and subsequent impact of the Anglican mission,
- the Anglican mission's focus on Wedau,
- the colonisation and westernisation of communities,
- the desire for development through further westernisation, and
- the desire for retention of identity through promotion of traditional knowledge and language.

The constantly changing political influences, and the social consequences of this context, result in a continually shifting discursive structure. The early colonisers and missionaries were strongly influenced by the discourses of missionisation, westernisation, and literacy, and consequently introduced these discourses into the discursive structures found in village communities. The relationship between these discourses has created a very powerful framework for action as these discourses continue to strengthen and validate one another.

However, these introduced discourses did not enter a discursive vacuum on their arrival in Papua New Guinea. Community discourses, which created and negotiated cultural practices, identity and interaction, predated colonisation. A number of these discourses of

community remain active and were evident in the language development process. A discourse of self and other (§7.1) validates boundaries between communities as land and power is contested. A discourse of 'holders of knowledge' (§7.2) validates a power structure based on heredity in which the elders hold the knowledge, and consequently the power, which define each community. This knowledge has been passed down from generation to generation giving a historical context for understanding the present.

The traditional discourses and those of the colonisers have been brought together to create the present cultural context within which the language development activities discussed in this thesis took place. Each of the discourses has been redefined through current relationships. The discourse of localisation (§7.3) creates space for bringing together the discourses of the 'outsiders' with the traditional discourses. Through this process, discourses of missionisation (§7.4), westernisation (§7.5), and literacy (§7.6) have become part of the discursive structure of Papua New Guinean village communities. The following sections summarise the relationship between each discourse and the language development activities at the centre of this study.

7.1 Discourse of self and other

The discourse of self and other defines membership within a community. This discourse legitimises acts of inclusion and exclusion, identifying particular ways of doing and speaking as acts of the in-group, and other ways as acts of the out-group. This is not to say that variation is not part of this discourse, rather that it limits the variation that is allowable within 'self' and defines any further variation as 'other'. Pennycook (1998) identifies this discourse within the construction of the Other (e.g. Orientalism) within colonial ideologies. Within the context of the current study, this discourse refers to the construction of self as a member of a 'local community' as opposed to being a citizen of the local level government area, province or nation. Among other things, this is expressed through language, ownership of land, and kinship ties.

Through this discourse, social boundaries are constructed to differentiate 'self' from 'other'. These boundaries do not necessarily correlate with cultural or linguistic boundaries, but are themselves 'a social product which may have variable importance and which may change through time' (Eriksen 2002: 38). A number of studies have discussed the conceptualisation and production of boundaries, demonstrating the variety of influences on the process (see Lamont & Molnar 2002: 4-7). What is clear is that they are a product of their

socio-historical context, not objective, scientifically verifiable linguistic or ethnic borders. Within the current case study, we will see that historical patterns of migration, trade and marriage are all influential in the defining of boundaries. However, ownership of land and the culture and language, which are considered integrally linked to that land, are the major influences in the production of social boundaries.

Language is a commonly discussed marker of self and other in Papua New Guinea. People are aware of differences between their own speech variety, and that of neighbouring villages, using these differences to describe and imitate people from elsewhere. Language takes on an emblematic function (see Grace 1996: 173-174; Ross 1996b: 181, 1997: 232-236), representing identity and belonging. Thus, the discourse of self and other is very influential in ethnoclassification of speech varieties (Gal & Irvine 1995; Irvine & Gal 2000).

As a visual representation of speech, orthographies are integrally linked with culture and the expression of cultural identity (Coulmas 2003: 231), expressing identifying differences between communities. Eira (1998) discusses the complexity of identity expressed and contested through orthographies. By strengthening linguistic identity, the orthography gives expression to social, historical and religious identity. Eira (1998:172) states:

> *...orthographies are constructed as symbols of identity for groups delineated by language, culture, country of origin, religion… They are used to identify communities both as distinct and unitary; and they are imbued with the power to validate and perpetuate the existence of a language or language group.*

Through the choice of orthographic symbols, and the process of standardisation, orthographies create a new concrete expression of the discourse of self and other, and in the process potential new selves and others.

Within community-based language development, the discourse of self and other is very productive in defining and limiting the creative space, through validating processes and decisions which express the communities' identities and boundaries. Through this process, the discourse is further strengthened through the creation of new texts reflecting its truths.

7.2 Discourse of 'holders of knowledge'

Authority of a particular person, group, or knowledge structure is something that is given and held through the interaction of various discourses within a particular historical and social setting, or discursive structure. Within this case study, there is also a discourse which

validates the authority of certain people/groups as 'holders of knowledge' giving them authority over the use, dissemination and decision making within that field of knowledge. Other people may also have knowledge of these things, but a particular person/group of people with the appropriate heredity and training hold(s) the authoritative voice. This discourse legitimises knowledge of certain people who hold certain positions within the society.

This discourse was clearly evident as I collected data. People were very clear regarding whom I should speak to about particular topics. Even though younger people knew aspects of their history, elders had to be present for the discussion to take place. Without the 'holders of authority' being present, no discussion was held, or decisions made. This is also reflected in the experiences of Neumann (1992: 7) who worked among the Tolai people of East New Britain, among whom authority is situated within the kinship system:

> *I soon learned that I could not just ask IaAn or ToAn (the Tolai equivalent of Ms. and Mr. Average) to tell me something about the past. In most cases they would refer me to somebody else who in their opinion was more knowledgeable. The person would either have a reputation as an expert and be a prominent member of the community or be in some way related to them.*

Eira and Stebbins (2007, in press) relate a similar situation within the Tsimshian community in western Canada:

> *The role of "elder" is identified with being a holder of knowledge…An important aspect of the role of the elder in knowledge management is in taking care of the information passed on to others…Knowledge is not freely exchanged in this model. People who are not elders should not act as sources of information for others. This would be an example of handling information irresponsibly.*

A breakdown in transmission within this authority structure was often expressed to me during my research. Elders related how knowledge had been lost as the older people did not always trust their sons with the knowledge that traditionally would have been passed on to them.

The introduction of western knowledge altered this structure, but did not destroy it. External roles were added to those held within the village. The 'white people' held the authority in regard to 'their' knowledge (see also Burnaby & Mackenzie 2001: 201-202),

while traditional structures of authority also remained regarding traditional knowledge[61]. The differentiation between western and local knowledge and the associated roles have been contested. Today, local people run domains of western knowledge such as the educational institutions. The authority has been transferred from western teachers to local teachers, through western-style training in the knowledge required for this role and authority. The growing intersection between local and western knowledge and the associated roles allows community members to refer to the research of 'outsiders' in order to validate the authority of their traditional knowledge and stories as I experienced in Wedau, Taupota, and Divari (see §6.2).

In relation to orthography development, the discourse of holders of knowledge meant that those with authority in all areas related to language and education needed to be part of the process if any decisions were to be made. This became particularly evident during my fieldwork in 2004. When I arrived in each village, a meeting was called with the village elders and other interested people. While this meeting provided an opportunity for me to inform the community of my fieldwork, it also became a forum for community members and elementary teachers to raise their issues with the current orthography. My role in these discussions was not to provide the answers, but rather to be present as a holder of knowledge, anchoring a space in which discussions could take place. At times my opinion was sought on technical matters, but it was very clear that I had no role in making decisions about the language. The community elders carried that knowledge and responsibility. The discourse of 'holders of knowledge' legitimised the orthography development process through creating an authoritative space for orthography development through defining who was able to say and do what, and with what effect.

The roles of outsiders as 'holders of outside knowledge' validated the influence of the discourses of language development within this context. Thus, discourses of economics, technology and scientism came to have a role in the decision making process by providing the opinion of the outside expert as the local 'holders of knowledge' deemed appropriate. None of these western discourses could be validated without their connection to the community discourse of 'holders of knowledge'.

[61] In some ways, the influence of western values did result in a breakdown of much of the traditional authority of the village elders. For example, young men leaving the area with missionaries and returning alive broke the fear that once kept people in their villages (see §6.3).

This discourse intersects with the discourse of self and other in relation to land ownership, creating a discourse of authority and ownership of land, language and knowledge. This discourse constructed definitions of ownership giving authority for people to dismiss the opinions of others who 'did not belong'. These 'outsiders' could be dismissed as they were not part of the structure of 'holders of knowledge' that validated the relevant systems of authority.

7.3 Discourse of localisation

The discourse of localisation gives meaning through traditional values and knowledge. It draws people back into a relationship with their past traditions. Once an implicitly held framework of the communities, the influence of westernisation has resulted in this discourse becoming more vehemently enacted due to a fear that the local culture, language and values are being replaced by western culture, English language, and the values of westernisation.

Localisation is often contrasted with globalisation. Discussing the nation-state, Eriksen (2002: 166) notes that the concept of globalisation is 'too big to give people a sense of community, too small to solve the problems facing humanity'. Within Papua New Guinea, the discourse of westernisation gains power from its position as 'solving the problems of humanity', while the discourse of localisation gains its power from a desire for community, identity and belonging, both to the past and in the present. Friedman (1992: 361) argues that a renewed focus on the 'traditional' is often a 'solution to lack of identity…the individual feels the acute need to engage himself [sic] in a larger project in which identity is concrete and fixed irrespective of mobility, success and other external changes in social conditions'. This can be seen strongly among more educated people who have left the village areas for education and work, but retain a longing to return to their 'home'. It is not unusual for people to return to their village despite the lack of employment and infrastructure in the area in order to participate in the life of their community.

Within the discourse of localisation, the community recognises the value of traditional knowledge and grapples with ways to meet the need to pass this on to future generations in order to ensure its survival. This is not a discourse which necessarily calls for a return to the past, but gives significance and connection to the present and future through traditional systems of value and authority. Due to the hegemonic status of westernisation, localisation may be enacted in a somewhat reactionary way, as people attempt to define what it means to

be part of their own culture and society within the larger national and global context. Traditional practices are adapted to the current context, or new practices are adapted in relation to the traditional values and beliefs of a society.

This process of the redefinition of 'traditional' is similar to Ranger's (2002) discussion of the invention, or imagining, of tradition in which traditional practices and their value are redefined from within a new framework produced by the effects of colonialism and westernisation. For example, the contestation and/or accommodation between the discourse of localisation and discourses of westernisation can be seen in the desire to retain cultural knowledge of plants for medicinal purposes alongside western-style clinics, the desire to pass down traditional stories alongside Christianity and western education, and the creation of local forms of literacy. Kahn (1983) gives an account of the spiritual practices of the people of Wedau, arguing that missionisation has been a process of selective adaptation. She describes ways in which people have come to understand Christianity from within their local framework, assimilating aspects of traditional practices with the Christian practices introduced by missionaries.

Within Papua New Guinea, the discourse of localisation has been given validity and strengthened through the process of independence. The discourse of missionisation has evolved through contestation with localisation with locally run churches being very influential in the daily lives of the people of Papua New Guinea. No longer explicitly linked with 'outsiders', the Church and other texts of this discourse, including way of life, are now the result of locally sustained discourses. The focus on localisation has resulted in a new focus and expression of the discourse of self and other as people define themselves, not only as citizens of Papua New Guinea, or Milne Bay Province, but also as a member of a local community with historical links to land and language.

A further example of the discourse of localisation contesting the discourses of westernisation at a national, as well as local level has been the establishment of elementary schools with locally determined curriculum throughout Papua New Guinea. While the road to independence in Papua New Guinea was paved with westernisation, the post-colonial era has seen a desire to reintegrate traditional culture and value systems into Papua New Guinean national life. After decades of debates over vernacular education (e.g. Groves 1936[62]; NDOE

[62] As early as the 1930s, the discourse of localisation could be seen in the reports of the colonisers. Groves (1936: 12-13) outlined an educational philosophy in which he sought:

> *...education which will belong truly to New Guinea: an education which will be bound up with the people's past, and which will provide for their future progress...Such an*

1986; for summaries see Kale 1990; McKinnon 1971; Patton 1995; Wurm 1974), it was through an impetus from grass-roots programs undertaken in rural areas by the local people and non-government organizations (Ahai & Bopp 1993; Patton 1995)[63] that government education policy was finally began to change.

The Matane Report (NDOE 1986) was very influential through its call for relevant, accessible education which reflected 'Papua New Guinean ways'. It called for an education system which was in line with the constitution which states that 'each individual has the right to literacy in the vernacular' (Archibald 1996: 4). The success of non-formal vernacular preschools, combined with concerns about social dislocation and high attrition rates, led to moves by the Education Department towards a formal education system which included vernacular elementary schools for preparatory grade, grade 1 and grade 2, and new primary schools from grade 3-8 (Kaplan & Baldauf 2003: 195).

In 1995, elementary education was implemented with the first three years of schooling being taught in a language chosen by the community, using curriculum based on national guidelines, but developed at a community level. According to Archibald (1996: 7-8), the education reform aimed for education that would:

- *increase access to early childhood eduction*
- *provide initial literacy in a language the child speaks*
- *ensure greater cultural bonding*
- *increase retention of students*
- *improve education standards*
- *increase access to secondary education*

> *education will ensure the native culture's advancing along its own line, but quickened with an infusion of new power.*

He considered attempts to teach in English as 'foolish' (1936: 116):

> *When English is widespread in New Guinea villages, they will no longer be New Guinea villages. And a sorry day that indeed will be.*

[63] Interestingly, reports of the Vernacular Preschools often used discourses of westernisation to validate their 'success'. For example, Ahai and Bopp (1993: 57) focus first on westernisation, before turning to the 'successes' of localisation:

> *Tok Ples Skuls are an obvious success story. There are now over 3,500 classes. It has been observed that Tok Ples Skul 'graduates' uniformly do much better in the formal system than their counterparts who do not attend Tok Ples Skuls. Also, children come out of Tok Ples Skuls with an enhanced ability to function in their own language and with an appreciation of their own culture; something parents found was systematically undermined by the National Community School system.*

Milne Bay was the first province to implement the elementary education reform with the establishment of nine schools in 1994 as a pilot project (Archibald 1996: 22-24; Kale & Marimyas 2003: 7). By the end of 2000, elementary schools were being run in around 380 indigenous languages around Papua New Guinea, as well as Pidgin and English, with plans for schools in another 90 languages to begin in 2001 (Klaus 2003: 2). The use of local teachers and simple materials, cultural relevance and community participation and ownership, and co-operation with non-government organizations has been listed as influential in the initial success of this program (Klaus 2003).[64]

While there is less community ownership in the Elementary Schools than in the non-formal Viles Tok Ples Skuls (Siegel 1997), the education reform has resulted in increased participation of the community in the education of their children in comparison to the previous model of formal education. With over 800 languages (Aikhenvald & Stebbins 2007: 240) in Papua New Guinea, and the complexity of providing curriculum in all of these languages, elementary education is necessarily validated through localisation, and communities are instrumental in developing the program for their children. Kale and Marimyas (2003: 9) list the community responsibilities are as follows:

- *support for Education Reform in their community;*
- *owning and managing the school building, teacher's houses and classrooms through a Board of Management or and Elementary Committee;*
- *deciding on the location of the school*
- *advising and assisting in curriculum development*
- *selecting the teachers for training*
- *deciding the language of instruction*
- *participating in Parents and Citizen days and school learning activities; and*
- *providing security for the school, staff and children*

Formal education was taken out of the hands of the community by the missions, and then further alienated by the 'English only' education system of the Australian administration. Through elementary education, communities are once again involved in their children's

[64] Kale and Marimyas (2003), Klaus (2003), Guy (2000), and Siegel (1997) discuss political aspects of the implementation.

education. This has further validated the strength of the discourse of localisation within communities. Even in areas where the education reform has not yet begun and the English only school system continues, people feel empowered to ask when it will be their turn.

Part of the implementation of the elementary education reform has been the creation of orthographies for many speech varieties. Within this context of localised education, the orthographies are strongly linked with the discourse of localisation, enabling communities to express their identity through a previously western form. It is also through the discourse of localisation that discourses of missionisation, westernisation and language development are validated, as communities look to these discourses in order to create their present in view of their history of missionisation and colonisation.

7.4 Discourse of missionisation

As discussed in §3.5, the discourse of missionisation validates meaning according to the religious beliefs and institutions of the mission, in this case, the Australian Board of Missions of the Anglican Church in Papua New Guinea. The Anglican mission has had a massive impact on village life, from daily activities to deeply held religious beliefs (see Wetherell 1977). Soon after the arrival of the Anglican mission at Dogura in 1891, mission stations were built throughout the mission area. Within the forty kilometres represented in this case study, stations were built at Taupota, Awauya, Topura and Wamira. These became the focal point of western institutions and culture. Churches, schools, medical aid posts and markets were built on the stations. Outside staff were sent to run the stations, teach at the schools, run the aid post, and introduce the people to Christianity and western culture (Clarke 1976: 959-960). Despite an initial focus among the missionaries on learning the local speech varieties, Wedau quickly became a lingua franca, and consequently, the language associated with the practices and institutions of the mission and westernisation in general.

In academic discourses of language development, the discourse of missionisation validates the processes of language development through the role of the missions in proselytisation. Within the local communities this is not central to the discourse of missionisation. However, this connection is evident among some speakers who undertake language development work due to a desire to translate religious texts into their own speech varieties. For the communities more generally, the main focus of the discourse of missionisation in language development is to validate their decisions in orthography development in relation to the conventions established by the Anglican mission. Thus, the

discourse of missionisation gives great power to the mission lingua franca 'Wedau', and a small number of authoritative texts created by the missionaries. These texts include: dictionaries (King 1901; Jennings 1956), hymn and service books (*Wela bukana. Taparoro, pari ma wela ponanei* 1980; *Wela ma Salamo* 1905) and Bible translations (*Ata Bada Iesu Keriso ana parivainot vouna. Riwa mai Wedau* 1927; *Ata Bada Iesu Keriso ana parivainota vouna* 1953; *God nolana aiaina parivainuag̅ana wadubona g̅uta nununai ma Iesu Keriso nolana aiaina anina parivainuag̅ana vouna* 1985).

Like the use of special languages for the purposes of magic or other rituals, the use of a lingua franca as a language of religion can lead to the language becoming sacred, or 'magical'. Thus the language and its script gain a supernatural status along with the teachings and practices they encode. This renders change and variation almost impossible (see Eira 1998: 179). This process is evident in the use of Wedau as a mission lingua franca for religious and educational purposes. As the missionaries used the language to spread their message, 'Wedau came to be looked on as a 'church' language and it was quite irreverent to expect God to listen to any other than English or Wedau' (Clarke 1977: 961). Education and religious practices across the Anglican area were based on rote learning and recitation and ordinary use of the language was extremely limited in non-Wedau speaking communities.[65][66]

Due to changes in education and language policy in the 1950s (see Dickson 1970; Johnson 1977: 438-448; Patton 1995; Smith 1987), the educational function of church languages was displaced by English. This led to a general decline in the use of Wedau (Clarke 1977: 963-964), even within the domain of church services and related activities. The mission lingua franca took on an ever more ceremonial role. During this period, mission lingua francae in general rapidly lost ground as people saw English rather than the mission languages as the gateway to economic and social advancement (Neuendorf & Taylor 1977: 420-422). Nevertheless, it is not uncommon to hear Wedau used in churches throughout the Anglican area of southeastern Papua New Guinea today, indicating that it has retained some of its prestige and authority as the language of church. This is evidenced by the fact that many people reported to me the use of Wedau as the language of church services when in practice

[65] This has resulted in some linguists questioning the status of Wedau as a functional lingua franca (Clarke 1977: 962; Ross 1996a: 606) in the northern and inland parts of the mission area.
[66] The acquisition and comprehension of Wedau was helped by the structural similarity of the coastal languages which form a chain around Goodenough Bay. However, Wedau was situated close to the eastern extreme of the Anglican area and the further one travelled from Wedau, the less intelligible it became. Inland, further west from Wedau, there were also a number of Papuan languages. The mystical view of the language was enhanced by a lack of comprehension for those from the northern half of the mission area.

language use has shifted to local speech varieties and/or English. Actual practice reflects the more recent preference of the Anglican Church of Papua New Guinea for the use of locally understood speech varieties, but the ideals of the past continue to be influential.

The current discourse of missionisation has developed from a history of pervasive mission influence on village life over the last 120 years. It is stronger within the older generation, and is weakening through the generations, just as the influence of the mission has weakened since World War II. Overall, this discourse enables people to identify with this aspect of their history, and works together with other discourses to create the present.

7.5 Discourse of westernisation

The post WWII era can be characterised by a strengthening of the discourse of westernisation as the discourse of missionisation weakened. The discourse of westernisation has become largely 'naturalised', both in the west and in many 'developing' countries. In Papua New Guinea, and many other parts of the world, numerous aspects of western culture such as sport, Christianity and the western-style education of children have become adopted by local cultures as signs of 'good development'. In taking on the dichotomies created through the discourse of westernisation, communities are driven towards western development in order to belong to that which is 'good'. For example, one community leader in Taupota village set up a sporting competition in order to encourage community development through increased positive inter-village interaction and providing community activities for the young people.

The discourse of westernisation can impact on the language situation in many ways. As discussed in §3.3, within this discourse, the development of orthographies and the standardisation of language are highly desirable. The creation of a writing system gives a speech variety value and a higher status as it gains some of the privilege ascribed to written languages, notably English, associated with westernisation. The unquestioned use of the Roman script as the basis for orthography development in many parts of the world, including in the current instance, and the influence of English on issues of under- and overdifferentiation, further demonstrate the power assigned to English, and other European languages, within large sections of the 'developing' world.

The colonisation of Papua by the British in 1884 brought with it a range of administrative policies, including language policies, which were strongly influenced by the discourse of westernisation. Johnson (1977) gives a summary of the language policies up to

independence, citing many primary sources. The colonisers believed that through linguistic and cultural assimilation to English, the lives of the local people would be improved. Further, it was considered to be an ordained responsibility of the colonisers to impose this 'development' on the local communities. According to Sir Hubert Murray, the Governor of the Australian Administration (Papua) from 1906:

> *The superiority of English to any New Guinea language is so great that it is obviously to the advantage of the native to acquire it as quickly as possible; and if we do not teach it to him we are hardly carrying out the duties of our 'sacred trust'*. (Murray 1924:7, cited in Johnson 1977: 432)

Similar views were held by the government anthropologist F.E. Williams.

> *...the ability to speak, and better still to read, the superior tongue [English] will open the gate to far wider fields of experience and knowledge: it will provide for the development – to what limits we cannot foresee – of the intellectual powers which, however hidden at present, we must assume the native to possess*. (Williams 1935: 30, cited in Johnson 1977:433)

The first Lt Governor of Papua, Sir William MacGregor, called for English education in the mission schools, and following the 1906 Royal Commission, English education was made compulsory (Dickson 1970; Smith 1987: 49). However, little was done to encourage this practice until after World War II.

In the years following World War II, despite a desire among some for a relevant Papua New Guinean education and language policy (e.g. Groves 1936; see Patton 1995), strong interests in nation-building and 'readying' the people for independence resulted in a new momentum for westernisation through English education. The Education Ordinance of 1954 required schools, previously run by the missions using mission lingua francae, to register with the government and follow the set curriculum in order to receive government funding. Government grants were based on an emphasis on English literacy through native English speaking teachers (Cleland 1956: 3). In a post-war era when resources were scarce, this policy was extremely effective. During this era, with a rise in government spending on education, the number of administration schools grew sharply (Wurm 1974: 211). Not only was the use of vernacular languages discouraged in schools, but also students caught speaking a language other than English were punished (Johnson 1977: 442). The aim of this English-based, 'nation-unifying' model of education was no longer to implement universal primary

education, but to create an educated elite who could govern upon independence (Kale 1990: 192). Within a few years, vernacular education almost totally disappeared as the prestige of English grew.

Johnson (1977: 442-443) argues that the Australian government was feeling pressure from the United Nations to demonstrate tangible evidence of development in the territories of Papua and New Guinea, and believed that language policy could bring this about. Thus the goals for their policies were strongly driven by the discourse of westernisation, and in particular, western views of political, economic and logistical considerations in development (Johnson 1977: 441). A particular kind of discourse of nationism (Eira 2000: 184-189; Pennycook 1998) is apparent within the discourse of westernisation in the justification of government policy due to the need to create a self-sustainable nation.

7.6 Discourse of literacy

The validity given to the education reform through the discourse of localisation also demonstrates the power of the discourse of literacy. While finding validation in the discourse of westernisation, the discourse of literacy has been adopted for local uses, thereby also contesting the discourse of westernisation.

In discussing the introduction of literacy practices in Papua New Guinea, particularly the village of Gapun, Kulick and Stroud (1993: 55) state:

> *The matter has not so much been one of literacy "taking hold" of Gapun, as it has been of Gapuners seizing hold of those dimensions of literacy for which they consider they have the most use…The villagers of Gapun have their own ideas about reading and writing, generated from their own cultural concerns. It has been and continues to be these ideas…which they apply to the written word in the village.*

Similarly, the goals for orthography development among the communities in this study (given in Table 6.1), demonstrate a value in local literacy practices as growing from local concerns for development, cultural preservation, and communication of identity, rather than value in literacy as a means for introducing western-style development (see §3.4). Thus, the discourse of literacy among the communities stems from a locally constructed desire for literacy, has developed within a discursive structure which has grown out of traditional discourses, and validates literacy as valuable practice within the current post-colonial context of these communities.

The discourse of localisation validates the discourse of westernisation through the support of western technologies of writing, printing etc. However, it also contests the discourse of westernisation by validating alternate forms of literacy (see Heath 1983). Besnier (1995) suggests that literacy is not only recreated as a local practice, but has been used as a tool of defiance against those who introduced it. In relation to Nukulaelae in Tuvalu, he argues (Besnier 1995: 178):

> *...literacy appears to have served as an instrument of resistance as much as domination. The very early emergence of letter reading and writing demonstrates that literacy was put to use for purposes that were quite different from what the religious authorities who introduced it had intended. Letters can thus be considered to be a mild form of resistance; at least, they represent a use of literacy that falls outside of the introducing agents' control.*

Likewise, the communities in the current study are using literacy to validate and strengthen their local identity, thereby resisting the century long movement of colonisation towards unification and westernisation through the repression of local difference.

Far from remaining an introduced practice, literacy has been transformed in new cultural contexts. What has been transferred is the validity of literacy practices as tools in the development of community and national life. This was clearly evident in the communities' language development goals listed in §6.5. For these communities, literacy has not only been linked with economic and social opportunity, but also with the survival of language, culture and identity (see Besnier 1995: 185-187).

7.7 Summary

The discursive space of community-based language development is created by a complex interaction of a number of discourses. The discourses of self and other and holders of knowledge are strongly linked to the traditional context of these communities as they renegotiate their current identity through their history. The discourses of missionisation and westernisation could be described as borrowed discourses, being introduced through colonisation by British and subsequently Australian administrations. However, these latter two discourses have been integrated into the local discursive structure through their interaction with previously existing discourses, creating newly relevant understandings of power and social structure. The discourse of localisation is the clearest example of a discourse bridging the gap between traditional and borrowed discourses. Its roots go back to the pre-

colonial era, while at the same time it grows from a reaction against the borrowed discourses of westernisation. The following chapters look more specifically at how these discourses are contested by one another in the negotiation of meaning, and the creation of the orthography development and language standardisation process.

8 Ethnoclassification and standardisation

Ethnoclassification refers to people's classification of their own environment. In terms of language this means how people classify their own speech varieties, and those around them, and where and on what basis they establish boundaries through the creation of 'us' and 'them'. Ethnoclassification is interested in how speakers classify linguistic features, and which features are salient in their classification of speech varieties, rather than in linguistically defined genetic relationships between speech varieties. In the current study, ethnoclassification is recognised as a text produced by specific discursive structures. Thus, the factors involved in ethnoclassification are recognised as being as diverse as discursive structures and their products.

When people involved in the current study described the distinctiveness of their speech varieties, the typical starting point was the sound system, or phonology, with commentary on differences in the realisation of phonemes, 'added' or 'lost' phonemes, and very commonly the 'tune' of the variety. Consequently, an understanding of phonological variation is instrumental in understanding how beliefs of a scientific discourse in relation to standardisation and orthography development differ from the decisions made by speakers for whom issues of cultural and linguistic identity greatly influence the concepts of 'language' and 'dialect'. Recognition of this disjunction provides a basis for understanding one of the sources of tension that arise between linguists and community members in language development work.

The methodology used to collect ethnoclassificatory data is discussed in §8.1, and the results from each village including diagrammatic representations of this data in the form of maps are given in §8.2. The maps created in each village varied. This resulted in a complex web of patterns of classification across the study area. However, within this web, a number of more consistent patterns can also be seen. These patterns are discussed in §8.3. The application of these classifications in language standardisation is then presented in §8.4. Finally, in §8.5, the results are brought together in a discussion of the creation of languages within the case study.

8.1 Methodology: perceptual dialectology

The methodology used here is based on studies of perceptual dialectology (for bibliographies and collections of articles see Canobbio & Iannàccaro 2000; Long & Preston

2002; Preston 1989; Preston 1999c), particularly the mapping task used by Preston and others (see Benson 2003; Hartley 1999; Iannàccaro & Dell'Aquila 2001; Inoue 1999 [1995]; Inoue 1999 [1996]; Lance 1999; Long 1999; Preston 1989: 25-49). The overall purpose of the task was to facilitate discussion on language varieties, boundaries, and attitudes, and to represent this discussion in a pictorial way. The mapping task was carried out in each village from Wedau to Galuwahi.

Social dialectology aims to gather objective linguistic data and information on language attitudes, that is, as far as possible uninfluenced by the informant being overly conscious of their speech due to interacting with an 'outsider' (Chambers & Trudgill 1998: 48-49). Perceptual dialectology however is interested in speakers' responses to their own speech and that of others, both as they correlate with linguistic production and in the ways they differ. Mapping tasks were developed by Preston to collect data on the 'cognitively real' dialect areas within the United States, as perceived by people from various places (Preston 2002a: 51-54). In the mapping task, participants are asked to mark speech varieties on a map of the specified area. Individual maps are then collated and corporate maps of the area are created either manually or digitally. Mapping tasks also involve participants labelling each area they define either by name or distinguishing features. These labels are often used for studies of language attitudes (Dailey-O'Cain 1999; Demirci & Kleiner 1999; Kuiper 1999; Inoue 1999 [1995], 1999 [1996]; Long 1999; Preston 1999b).

My own study differed from previous studies in perceptual dialectology due to the different cultural context. The literacy skills required, the individual nature of the tasks, and the use of formal interaction through written tasks and interviews for the North American, European and Japanese studies were not appropriate to the village context of Milne Bay. The method was adapted so that participants who do not usually participate in literacy-based activities could take part and communicate effectively. The focus of previous studies on sampling the population and creating generalised results based on individual results was abandoned in favour of community collaboration. Formal interviews were replaced by informal conversations, directed by the research questions, but not dictated by them.

Before arriving in the language area, I had planned to have a number of individuals complete the map task in each village. In the first village, Wedau, the task was completed by an individual, and requests for further information or clarification from others resulted in responses confirming the validity of the data already elicited. In subsequent villages, there were many people who were interested in assisting with the task. However, it quickly became

apparent they wanted to complete the task as a group, not individually. While this did not allow for comparison of results within each village, it did meet my goals of generating data consistent with the socially held beliefs of the community.

Previous studies have found that the 'blank' maps must contain enough information to orient the participant without giving information that will influence the results (Preston 1989: 25, 126). For the current study, a basic map of the area, which included the coastline, major rivers and major villages, was prepared and copied. The map included not only the villages involved in the research but also a small number of surrounding villages to assist participants in the definition of speech varieties. In order to orient participants with the map, village names were corrected before beginning the task, and villages were added or crossed out as required. The map was then discussed with the aim of discovering how the people view themselves and their speech variety in relation to the other people and speech varieties in the area, and how they describe themselves and others.

I had envisioned that the participants would draw the speech varieties on the map. However, the mapping task came to be incorporated into discussion of speech varieties and variation, with the map being a way of creating a pictorial representation of our discussion. Unlike studies in more urbanised cultures, indicating the boundaries between speech varieties on the map was not an isolated task, but was integrated into the larger discussion. Consequently, unlike previous studies of perceptual dialectology, there was no set questionnaire following the mapping task. Rather, the map was a tool to facilitate discussion. As the discussion progressed, I drew on the map, recording boundaries and groupings, names and descriptions of speech varieties, and differences and similarities as they were mentioned in the discussion. This was done within view of the participants who were quick to point out incorrect interpretations. My questions focussed on perceptions of language variation and intelligibility, and grouping of speech varieties and borders. The questions were open-ended and discussion was encouraged. This allowed participants to raise and air other relevant topics. These included comments on language attitudes, particularly 'correct/fluent speech', marriage and migration patterns and attitudes to language standardisation. This integration of tasks provided a means for discussing a topic which is 'more complicated and dynamic' (Inoue (1999 [1996]: 175) than what can be encoded on a two dimensional map.

The importance of cultural differences has been recognised in terms of the types of social factors found to be influential in ethnoclassification (Dailey-O'Cain 1999: 238; Demirci & Kleiner 1999). This study demonstrates the importance of also considering cultural

factors in the methodology. The cultural setting of the current study made the informal discussion more appropriate than other methods (such as a questionnaire). While there is a high level of literacy in much of the area (see §2.1), most people do not interact with written text on a daily basis. Explaining a questionnaire would have taken a lot of time, and would have been likely to lead to many misunderstandings, rendering any quantitative analysis of the data questionable. In the traditional culture of the area, storytelling is one of the main modes of teaching important cultural material. Consequently, verbal interaction is more likely to produce significant data than a questionnaire. The current study demonstrates the importance of understanding that there are different ways of communicating about these topics which need to be taken into consideration by the researcher.

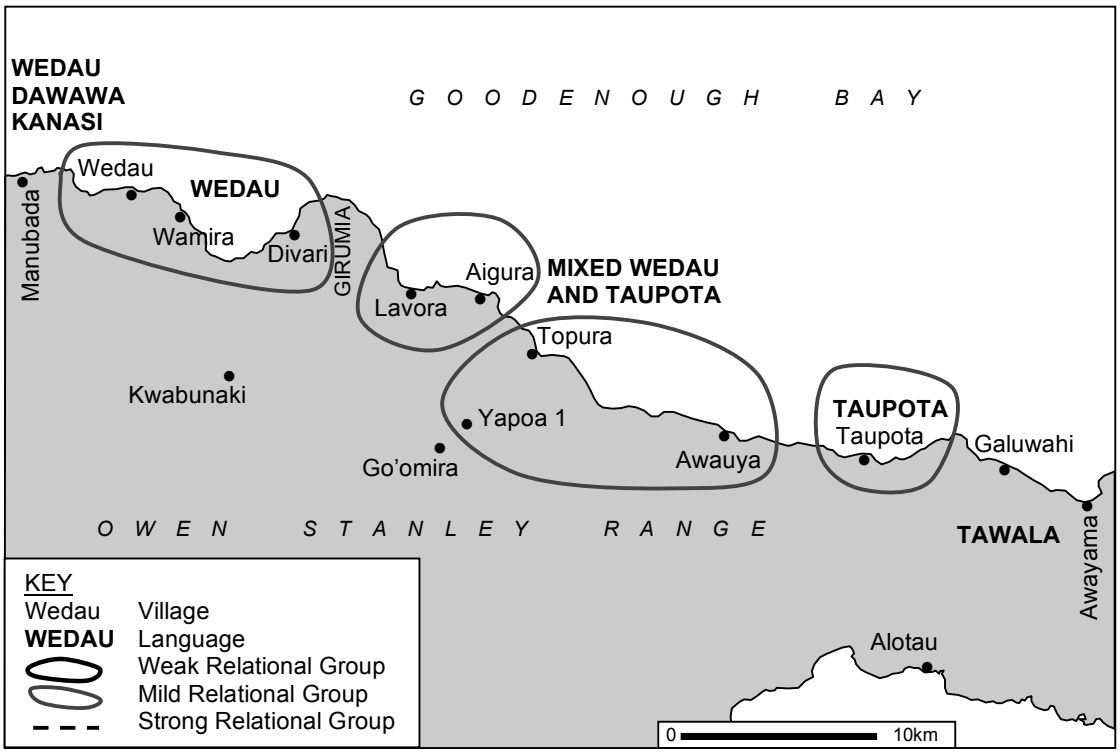
The ethnoclassifications recorded in this way were varied, representing social, cultural and historical influences on local group identity. This was evident from the moment I explained the task to the participants and they responded positively to my expressed need to understand historical and current patterns of interaction between people in order to understand the language situation and the classification of speech varieties.

8.2 Ethnoclassifications of communities

The results of the mapping task, including the accompanying conversations, cannot simply be represented on a single summary map which incorporates the data collected from each village. The complexity and diversity of responses requires each village to be considered individually. This section gives a summary of the ethnoclassification of the speech of each of the villages from Wedau to Galuwahi. A summary map from each village is discussed; focussing on the salient linguistic features used to distinguish between speech varieties, and reporting assessment of intelligibility and language attitudes where these were given. The language names not enclosed in a circle refer to languages which extend beyond the boundaries of these maps, and this study. A comparison of the results is given in §8.3 with discussion across the communities.

8.2.1 Wedau

In Wedau, I was told that the Wedau people speak the Wedau language. Findings are illustrated in Map 8.1. This language was described as also being spoken in Wamira and Divari, with each village having its own variety, characterised by different realisations of the coronal approximant (see §5.4.3). These three villages were grouped together, and



Map 8.1: Ethnoclassification of Wedau

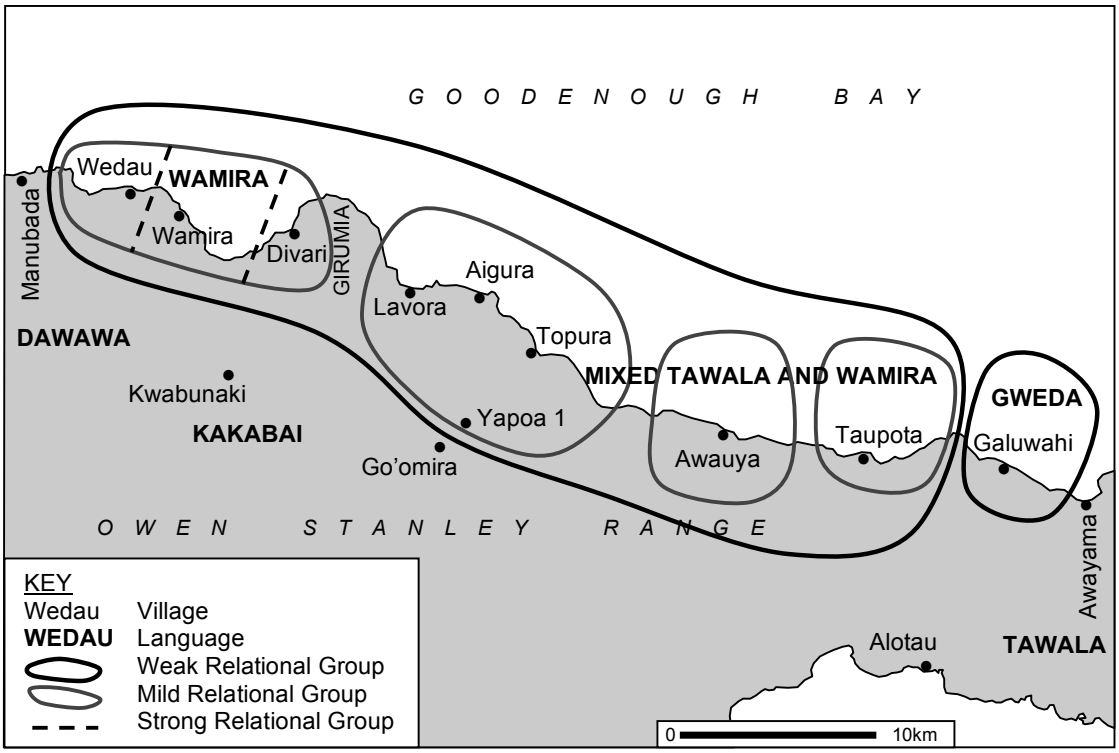
differentiated from those to the east, as well as those to the west and inland.[67] East of Girumia, Lavora and Aigura were grouped together as being the next variety, with Lavora being mixed with speakers of 'straight Wedau' who moved across due to marriage. Topura, Yapoa and Awauya formed the next group which was described as an intermediate variety, mostly like Wedau, but with features of the Taupota speech variety such as the glottal plosive and a number of 'Taupotan' lexical items. Taupota was described as being like Wedau with some different words, a different 'tune' and stress patterns, and different patterns of reduplication. Galuwahi and Awayama were labelled Tawala speaking.

8.2.2 Wamira

The results for Wadubo and Rumaruma are recorded together and summarised in Map 8.2. They are mainly based on the Rumaruma data which was considered acceptable to the leaders from Wadubo. The Wamirans called their speech variety 'Wamira', and described Wedau as being a mixed, impure dialect based on Wamira. The term 'mixed dialect' refers to the Wedau speech variety as being deviant from the true Wamira speech variety due to mixing from other languages such as Ghayavi through contact with the mission, and through

[67] Those to the west in Manubada and the neighbouring village of Diriuna were described as speaking Wedau 'as if they are just learning it' and people from the villages inland from Wedau were categorised as speaking Dawawa.

intermarriage. The variation of the coronal approximant was a salient feature of the variation between Wedau and Wamira (see §5.4.3). Divari to the east was also considered mixed with half the people being from Wamira. The other half are thought to be from Lavora, bringing with them aspects of the Lavora speech patterns. Despite these differences, Wedau, Wamira and Divari were all grouped together as varieties of 'Wamira'. East of Girumia this group described three speech varieties which were a mix between Tawala and Wamira, with the lexical differences being the most salient feature distinguishing the groups. The groups were: Lavora, Aigura, Yapoa and Topura; Awauya; and Taupota. As well as lexical differences Taupota was described as having a different 'tune'. 'Tune' refers to the interaction of the prosodic features of stress and intonation, and is a salient feature of difference between speech varieties throughout Milne Bay.[68] A major change in speech variety was recognised at Galuwahi. At this point, the language changed to Gweda which was described as being be very different and unintelligible. Further east at Awayama where a number of Wamira people lived was the Tawala language, which was reportedly intelligible to Wamirans.

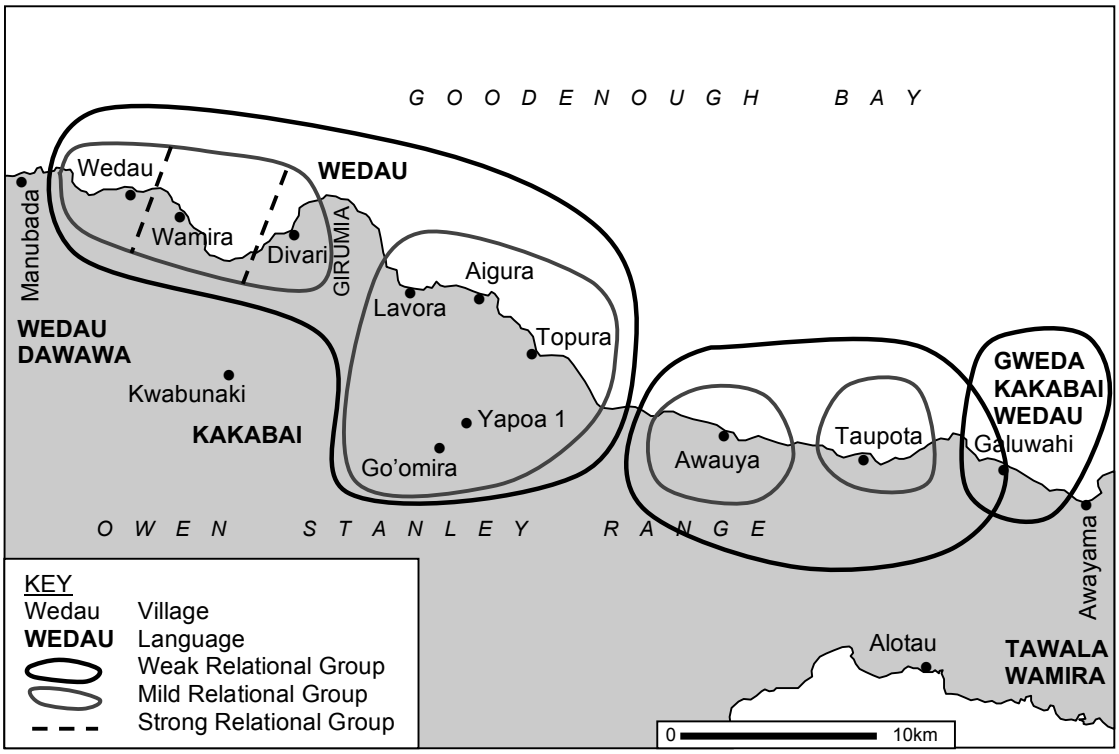


Map 8.2: Ethnoclassification of Wamira

[68] Further analysis of linguistic features of 'tune' would require additional study of the suprasegmental features of the speech varieties. While this would be a profitable line of enquiry, it is beyond the scope of the current study.

8.2.3 Divari

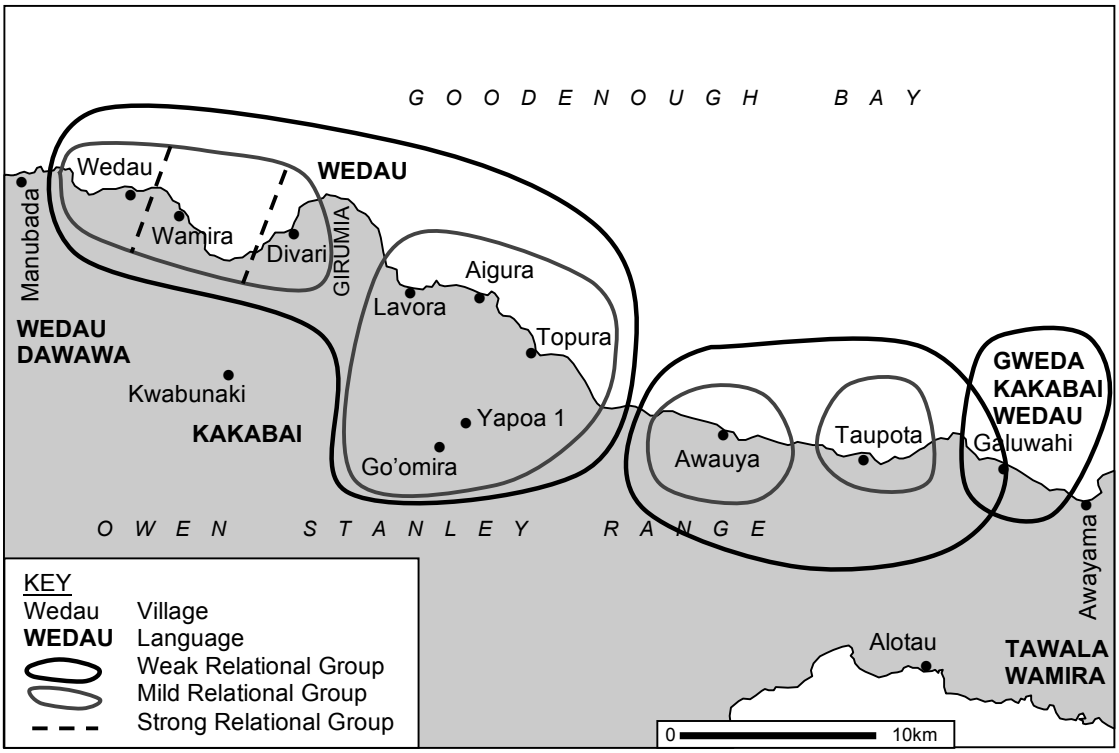
Like Wamira and Wedau, Divari grouped themselves with these two villages. However, from their perspective, the 'tune' was the most salient difference between villages. They also noted variation in the coronal approximant phoneme between Wedau and Wamira, and grouped themselves together with Wamira in this respect. They described their own speech as being mixed Lavora and Wamira. Despite drawing a border between themselves and Lavora, some described 'fluent Wedau' as continuing to Aigura, while others described the area from Lavora to Topura as being a different variety characterised by a different 'tune' and variation in lexical items. Further borders were drawn differentiating the speech varieties of Awauya and Taupota as two separate varieties with the most salient features once again being the 'tune' and lexical differences. Galuwahi was described as having its own language, Gweda, which the old people of Divari could understand. They described the speech in Galuwahi as mixing Kakabai, Wedau and the Galuwahi language. Finally, Awayama was differentiated as being both Tawala and Wamira speaking, with the Wamira speakers having settled there very recently. These results are shown in Map 8.3.



Map 8.3: Ethnoclassification of Divari

8.2.4 Lavora

As illustrated in Map 8.4, Lavora, which had been excluded from the Wedau/Wamira group by the villages to its west, included itself with this group. They described their speech as the same as Wedau, except for a difference in 'tune'. The similarity with the Wedau speech variety was explained as being due to the spread of Wedau as a lingua franca after the arrival of the mission and the consequent death of their traditional language. Lavora reported that Wedau, Wamira, Divari, Lavora and half of Aigura speak the 'same Wedau language' but with phonetic variation, particularly regarding the coronal approximant (see §5.4.3). However, they reported that they use the same 'soft l' as Wedau, [∂].



Map 8.4: Ethnoclassification of Lavora

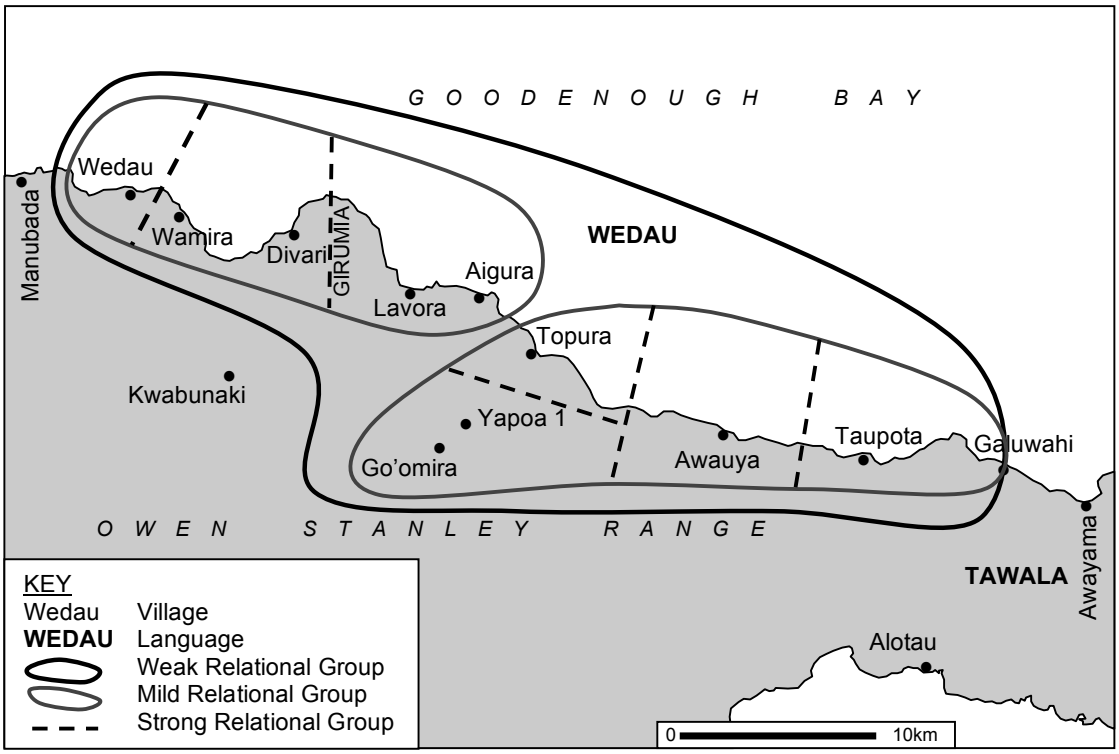
The villages from Aigura eastwards were differentiated from Wedau-speaking villages through their use of /h/, which is deleted in Wedau (see §5.4.2). Topura and 'lower Yapoa', labelled here as Yapoa 1, were grouped together with the remaining half of Aigura as speaking a similar variety. This speech variety was differentiated from Wedau by the 'tune' and lexical items. Upper Yapoa, labelled as Go'omira, was described as speaking a different language 'Ekai'. Awauya was reported have its own language, which was lexically more similar to Taupota to its east, but also shared lexical items with Topura. The Lavora described the change of speech variety as being gradual along the coast with the Taupota speech variety

still being intelligible. The situation changed at Galuwahi where the people were reported to speak a totally different language, 'Gweda', which was difficult for people from Lavora to understand. Awayama was described as a Tavara, or Tawala, speaking village.

8.2.5 Aigura

As shown in Map 8.5, Aigura grouped themselves together with Lavora as part of a larger group which also included Wedau, Wamira, and Divari. Within this group, Wamira and Divari were also grouped together as the villages that use [l], while Wedau is described as using [j] like Lavora and Aigura (see 5.4.3). These five villages were described as speaking the same language with only slight lexical variation and differences in 'tune'. The people of Aigura explain their inclusion with this group to be the result of language shift to Wedau as a result of mission influence.

To their east, Aigura described each village as having its own speech variety, the 'same' as that of Aigura, but with different 'tunes' and lexical variation. Yapoa and Topura were described as being more like each other than the other villages, but with each still having its own 'tune'. Galuwahi was described as being the site of a language boundary between Taupota and Tawala, with both of these languages being spoken in this village. Awayama was also considered a Tawala speaking village.



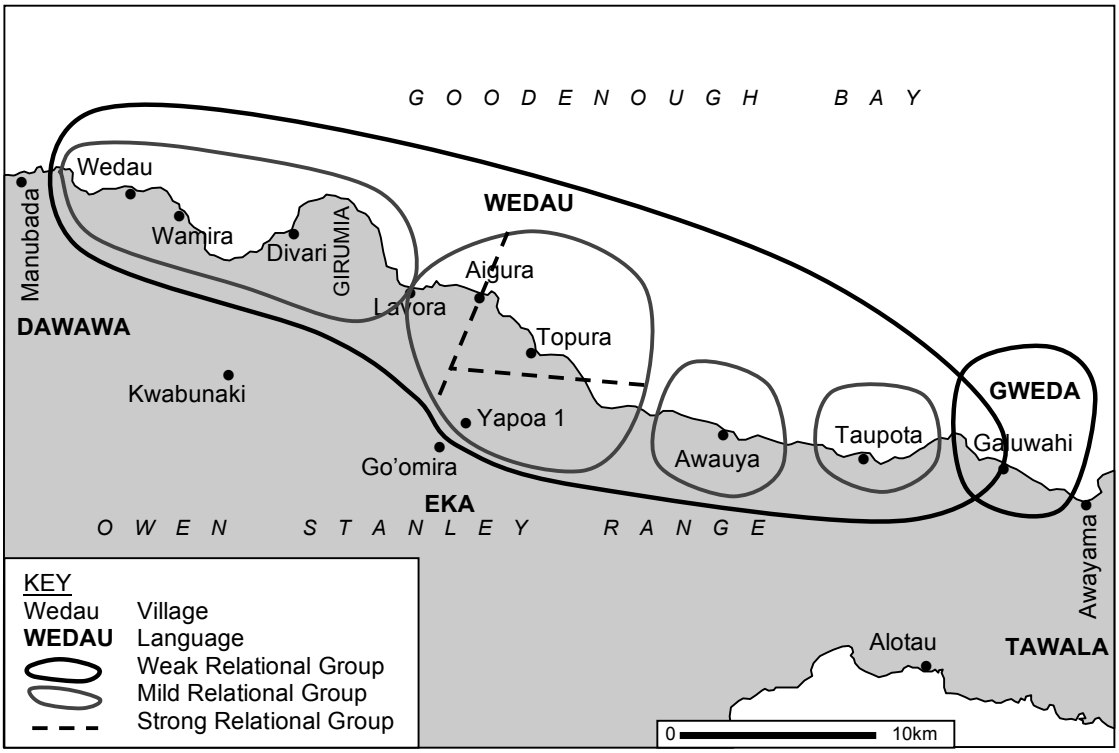
Map 8.5: Ethnoclassification of Aigura

8.2.6 Topura

Topura grouped together all the villages from Wedau to Taupota as Wedau speaking villages. However, as represented in Map 8.6, within this area they identified a number of different groups. One differentiation was based on the use of /h/ from Topura eastwards, and its absence to the west (see §5.4.2). Topura grouped themselves together with Yapoa, and Lavora and Aigura. Yapoa was described as the most similar to Topura, with a language boundary running through Yapoa with the inland villages speaking Eka otherwise known as Galuwahi. This was reported to be the original language of Topura and was grouped together with the Gweda language of Galuwahi.

Aigura was described as being half like Topura and half the same as Lavora. This difference was due to language shift occurring from west to east. Lavora and Aigura were described as being a different dialect with slight lexical and phonetic variation in comparison to Topura. Wedau, Wamira and Divari were grouped together with lexical differences (names of trees being given as an example) being the most salient variation in comparison to Topura. Some grouped Lavora with these villages to its west, citing heavy intermarriage as the cause of language shift towards Wedau.

To the east of Topura, Awauya was described as having its own speech variety, characterised by its 'tune' which was described as song-like as opposed to the 'straight

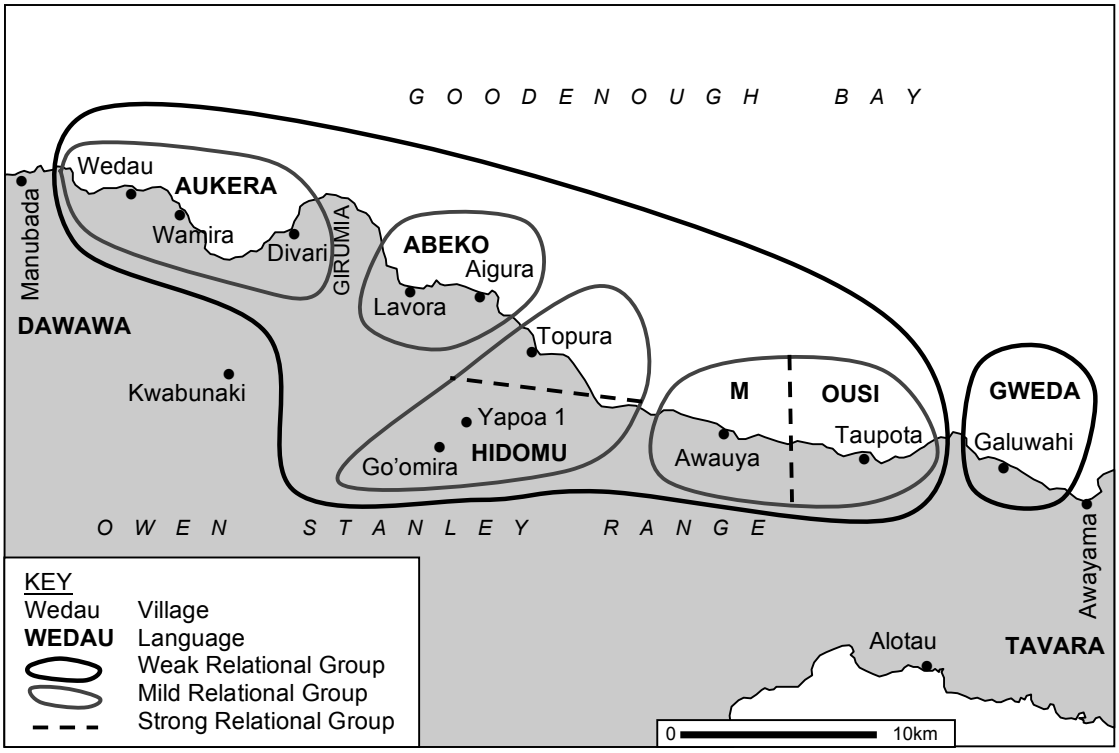


Map 8.6: Ethnoclassification of Topura

speech' of Topura. Awauya was described as being more traditional, bearing more resemblance to its original language. The lexicon was described as being mainly like Topura but with some influence from Taupota. The speech variety was described as being most like Yaneyanene, which is south across the mountains. Taupota was classified as its own group with its own 'tune', but the 'same pronunciation' as Topura.

8.2.7 Yapoa

The detailed of the classification of speech varieties in Yapoa matched their extensive knowledge of traditional culture (see §6.2.1.4). As shown in Map 8.7, they were able to label many of the traditional speech varieties in the area. Yapoa labelled their own speech variety as 'Hidomu'. They grouped themselves with Topura, with lexical and phonetic variation, along with differences in 'tune' being the most salient differences. They described their own speech as being 'short cut' while Topura 'pull their speech' which makes it 'sound like singing'. They did not know the name of the Topura speech variety but were sure there was one. Lavora and Aigura were described as having the same speech variety, known as 'Abeko'. Within Lavora, they described variation in the realisation of the coronal approximate between [l] and [j] (see §5.4.3, and §5.5.3). 'Abeko' was described as 'dragging'. Lavora, Aigura, Topura and Yapoa were grouped together as 'h' speaking villages, but separated from the

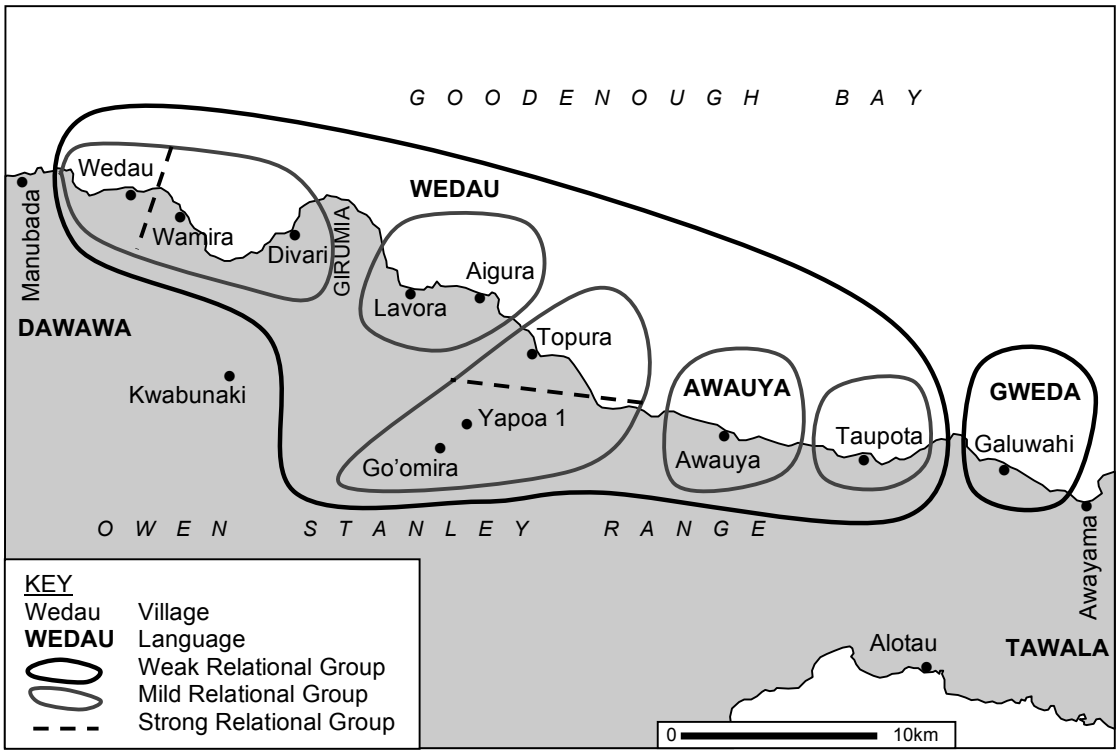


Map 8.7: Ethnoclassification of Yapoa

other ‘h’ speaking villages to their east. Awauya and Taupota were grouped together and separated from Yapoa due to shared lexical variation from Yapoa. However, differences between Awauya and Taupota were recognised and they were described as having different ‘styles’. The names given to the speech varieties in these two villages were ‘M’ and ‘Ousi’ respectively. There was a definite border between Taupota and the speech varieties to the east labelled ‘Gweda’ in Galuwahi and ‘Tavara’ (an alternate name for Tawala based on phonological changes) in Awayama. To the west of Lavora, the villages of Wedau, Wamira and Divari were grouped together with the name ‘Aukera’. All these speech varieties were described as being intelligible to the people of Yapoa.

8.2.8 Awauya

The ethnoclassification of the Awauya participants is represented in Map 8.8. Awauya described their current speech variety as one dialect of the Wedau language which stretches from Wedau to Taupota. They described Taupota as having a separate dialect, with different ‘sounds’ and ‘tune’, and 25% different lexical items. To their west they grouped Topura and Yapoa as being almost the same as each other, but like Taupota in that they differed from Awauya in ‘sounds’ and ‘tune’. Lavora and Aigura were also grouped together as being almost the same, but different from Topura. Despite common ties with Divari, lexical



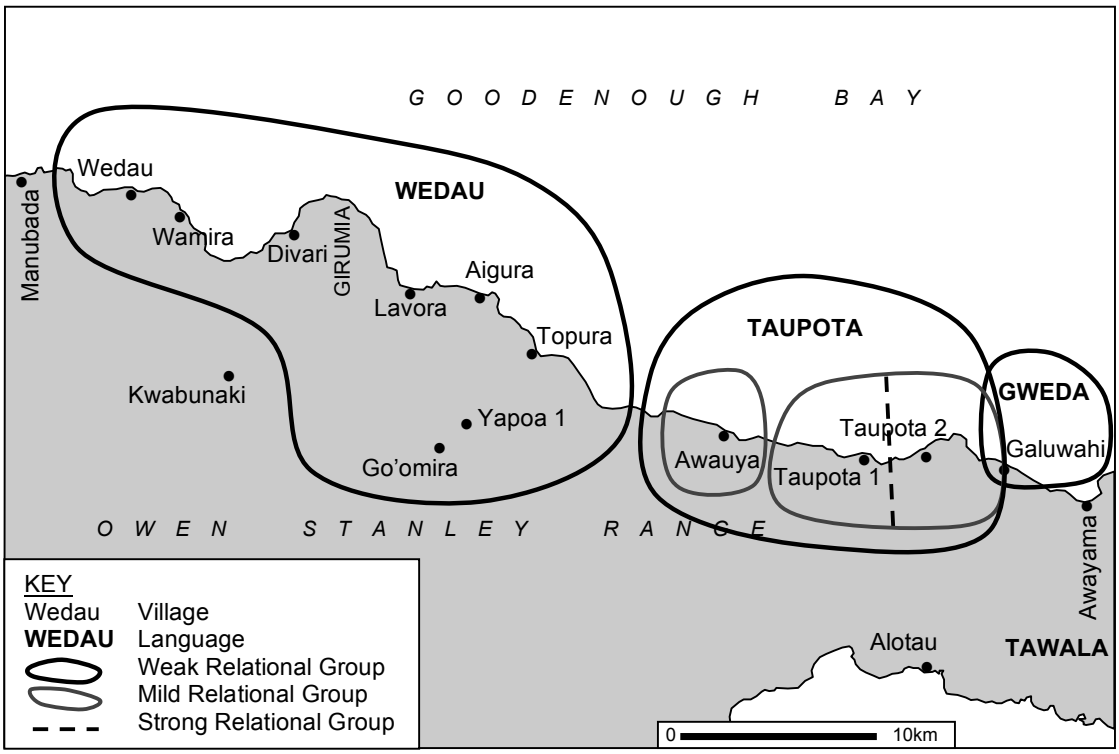
Map 8.8: Ethnoclassification of Awauya

difference with Divari was put at 25%. Divari and Wamira were also grouped together with both villages having the [l] realisation of the coronal approximant (see §5.4.3). This speech variety and that of Wedau were described as being very similar with close ties between the villages. The most salient difference was the use of [ð] in Wedau for the coronal approximant. In Awauya the young people enjoyed imitating and laughing at the dialects of the people originally from these other villages.

To the east of Taupota, Galuwahi was described as having its own language, Gweda, and Awayama, Tawala. However both of these languages were reported to be intelligible with the variation being described as 'dialect and tune changes', and the use of 'lots of k' in Tawala. They also reported intelligibility with the local language around Alotau.

8.2.9 Taupota

Map 8.9 represents the ethnoclassification of Taupota. Taupota speakers described four varieties of the Taupota language. Firstly, there was a differentiation in tune between Taupota 1 and Taupota 2. Secondly, there were the Taupota speakers in Galuwahi who spoke the Taupota language, but with the 'wrong tune'. This 'wrong tune' made Taupotans angry. Awauya was considered a separate variety distinguished by a very different 'tune', but they were described as part of the Taupotan language as shown through their use of [j] for the



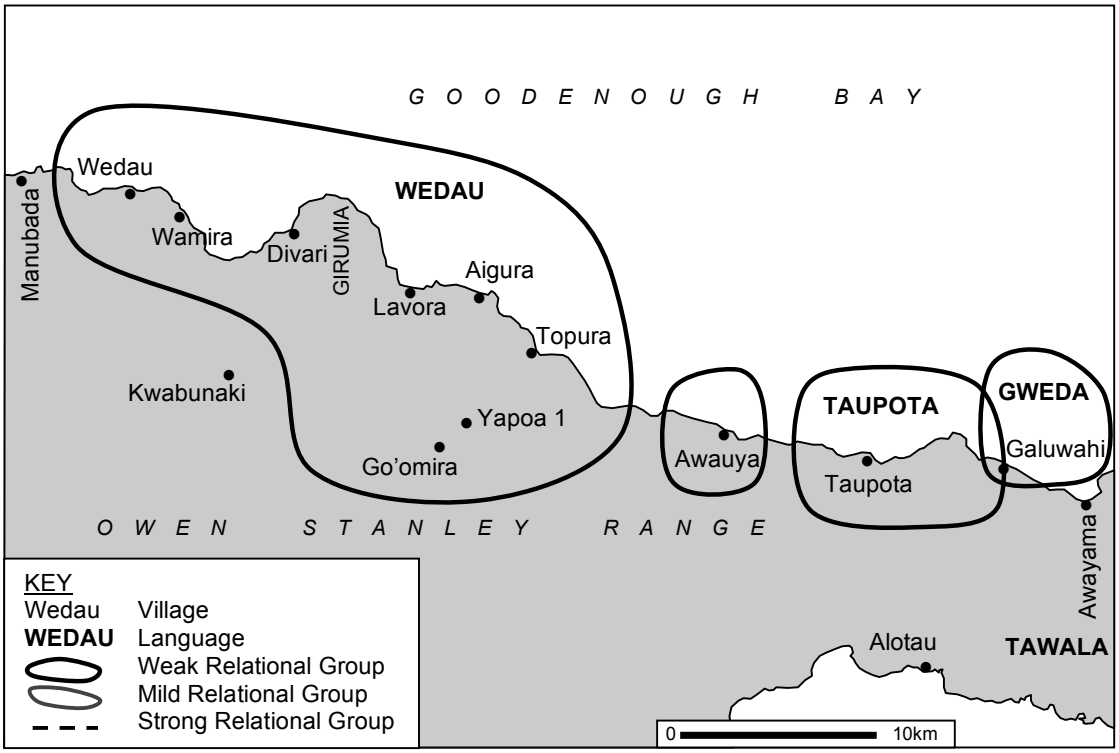
Map 8.9: Ethnoclassification of Taupota

coronal approximant (see §9.2.3). This was opposed to those further west who used the [l] realisation of the phoneme. The self-classification of the Awauya speakers towards Topura was explained as being due to the influence of parish boundaries.

Further west, the villages from Topura to Wedau were described as the Wedau language, with Topura and Wedau having almost the same speech variety except for variation in 'tune'. These varieties were described as sharing the use of [l] for the palatal approximant phoneme. Yapoa was grouped as part of Wedau, but described as having a lot of borrowings. To the east of Taupota, Gweda was given as the original, but moribund language of Galuwahi which was being replaced by Taupota and Tawala. Similarities between the Taupota and Tawala languages were described as follows: 'they speak like us, not us like them', meaning that the Taupota speech variety was the 'pure' variety, with the other varieties being corruptions of this.

8.2.10 Galuwahi

As summarised in Map 8.10, in Galuwahi, Gweda was given as the original language of the village. It was descried as being replaced by Tawala and Taupota, with a mix of one-third Tawala and two-thirds Taupota. The Taupota spoken in Galuwahi was described as having a Gweda tune, which was reported to be similar to the Awauya tune. In this way it



Map 8.10: Ethnoclassification of Galuwahi

grouped Awauya and Galuwahi together in contrast to the Taupota tune found in Taupota. Awauya was described as having its own speech variety, separate to that of both Taupota and Wedau. The Awauya speech variety described as having both Taupota and Wedau lexical items. The area from Topura to Wedau was described as one group speaking the Wedau language.

8.3 Summary of ethnoclassifications

The act of classification of speech varieties is primarily an act of creating boundaries between groups of people. Thus, the task by its very nature is produced by the discourse of self and other. In discussing speech varieties, particular linguistic features become emblematic of both self and of other. Similar features took on this role throughout the area, with 'tune' being the most widely used description of variation.

8.3.1 Summary of results

With the exception of the Taupota community, there was general agreement that the speech varieties from Wedau to Taupota formed some type of group which differentiated them from villages to the west, to the east, and inland. Within this large area, there was a fairly consistent differentiation between eastern villages and western villages. However, the place of the line varied from between Divari and Lavora, to between Awauya and Taupota. The Taupota community, however, considered the Taupota speech group (which included Awauya) and Galuwahi to be a separate group from Wedau.

Within these distinctions, there were some patterns regarding the construction of smaller groups. Wedau, Wamira and Divari were consistently placed in one group, with slight variations between each village. At the eastern end, Taupota and Awauya were almost consistently grouped independently from the other villages, and from each other. Some communities such as Aigura, Yapoa and Taupota added an intermediate level of classification within which Taupota and Awauya were grouped together. However, for Galuwahi or Awauya the distinction between Taupota and their own speech varieties was strongly emblematic.

The classification of the intermediate villages was quite variable. For example, the Lavora and Aigura communities focused on current language usage and grouped themselves with Wedau, while the Topura and Wamira communities tended towards traditional language patterns before the influence of Wedau as a lingua franca, consequently grouping Lavora and

Aigura with Topura. The Wedau speakers described Lavora and Aigura as an intermediate variety between Wedau and Topura.

Unlike the results of linguistic data, the data obtained through ethnoclassification is difficult to represent in a single map of the area. The results are not uniform, but rather reflect the social, political and historical relationships in the area. An attempt to create a summary map would require some voices to be silenced. In the model of Irvine and Gal (2000), this process would require the 'erasure' of difference as one new 'truth' is created. Further, this process would have to result from a change of discourse. Not the voices of the communities but my interpretation of these voices would come to be the focus. Consequently, I do not provide a summary map. Rather, I turn my analysis of these results to understanding the discourses that have produced the ethnoclassifications given above, and the creation of linguistic salience within communities as an emblematic function of language.

8.3.2 Discourses and salience in ethnoclassification

Each of the ethnoclassifications from each village demonstrates a clearly defined sense of self and other within the area. While classifications were less definite or precise as distance increased (see also Preston 1989: 35), the boundaries of self were clearly defined with specific linguistic realisations. The salient features used to describe speech varieties were quite consistent between villages, with the focus being on the coronal approximant (see §5.4.3), the 'tune', lexical variation, and especially among the central villages (Lavora, Aigura, Topura, Yapoa, and Awauya) the use and deletion of /h/ to the east of Lavora (see Map 5.2).

What may be less evident is that each village did not always describe these features consistently. Regarding the coronal approximant, Taupota described Topura as an [l] speaking village, thus differentiating the speech of Topura from that of Awauya, and asserting that Awauya belonged with Taupota, not Topura. Meanwhile, Lavora grouped Topura with Taupota as a [j] speaking village, as a statement of exclusion from the [l] speaking Wedau villages from Lavora to the west. My linguistic analysis reported in §5 groups Topura with Taupota as a [j]~[ɹ] speaking village, and classifies Lavora as a border village between [j]~[ɹ] to the east and [l] to the west. Each of these classification is different. Rather than any being more true than any other each classification reflect its own truth. In the context of the ethnoclassifications, sounds come to be emblematic or stereotypical, linguistic features which

are objects created by the discourse of self and other, containing shifting emblematic meanings regarding group identities.

The variability of linguistic features in the area allowed for a layered concept of identity. Wedau, Wamira and Divari could differentiate themselves through descriptions of the respective uses of the coronal approximant and specific lexical variations. At the same time, they also acknowledged a shared linguistic inheritance based on shared origins, with Divari largely being settled from Wamira, and Wedau linking themselves with the people of Wamira through their legends. As a result, these communities differentiated themselves from all other villages linguistically, culturally and historically. Each community used linguistic variation to strengthen their understanding of their stories of belonging and exclusions. Irvine and Gal (2000) refer to this process within the discourse of self and other as fractal recursivity. Features of linguistic difference, such as lexical variation, are extended to cover areas of similarity in order to further substantiate the construction of cultural identities.

Through the discourse of self and other, the classification of speech varieties has less to do with current linguistic patterns than with the creation and expression of local identity. This is further validated through the discourse of localisation. Within the case study, speakers tended to identify with the speech varieties of their particular village rather than a larger linguistic area, and the local speech variety was emblematic of the community. Localisation gave meaning and authority to traditional patterns of interaction within their contemporary context, regardless of the current linguistic reality. Topura grouped themselves firstly with Yapoa (whose speech was most similar) and also with Aigura and Lavora, who traditionally had a similar speech variety. While the people of Topura reported that they now speak a dialect of Wedau, their linguistic identity remained with their traditional speech variety. The variation between their 'dialect of Wedau' and 'standard Wedau' has become emblematic not only of a previously greater difference in language, but of cultural difference and traditional patterns of interaction and belonging. The situation in Awauya closely mirrored this example, with the current 'dialect of Wedau' functioning as a symbol of cultural and historical difference that once had a more distinct linguistic realisation. Localisation was also evident within the Taupota community as they constantly rejected the prestige given to Wedau through missionisation which resulted in them being subsumed under the label of Wedau. Through connecting with the past, its traditions, language and land, Taupota were recreating their linguistic and cultural identity as separate from Wedau.

In other villages, the discourse of missionisation was particularly strong due to the creation of the 'Wedau language' by the mission as a written lingua franca, and its use in education, religion, and as a language of wider communication within the mission territory. In Lavora, where the original speech variety has died out and been replaced by Wedau, and to a lesser extent in Aigura where the remaining features of the original speech variety was restricted to the older generation, people readily classified their current speech with that of the Wedau speech variety. In doing this, they principally identified themselves not with the current linguistic and cultural context of Wedau village, but with the historical context of missionisation and the religious and social institutions it developed. Likewise, the people of Wedau drew on the authority of this discourse in naming their speech variety (shared with Wamira and Divari) 'Wedau', thus giving authority to their speech variety as an established 'language' with a dictionary, grammar and history as a lingua franca for religious and educational purposes. The Wedau community used the discourse of missionisation to validate their preference in contrast to the stance of the Wamira community who used the discourse of holders of knowledge to legitimise calling the same speech variety 'Wamira'.

Discourses of authority and ownership of land and language were expressed in the differences in classification between Taupota and Awauya. While Awauya was strongly influenced by localisation, identifying their village as having its own speech variety, Taupota believe that the Awauya speech variety was actually a variation of Taupota. Consequently, Taupota grouped Awauya as a Taupota-speaking village, giving the Taupotans the power to make decisions regarding the Awauya speech variety. This was to have significant consequences in the events of the ADW (see §9.2, and §9.4).

The socio-historical specificity of discourses means that influential factors in one situation will be different from those in another situation, even when the linguistic 'facts' remain constant. The classification of speech varieties is an expression of identity by the speakers who create the classification as a 'textual' expression of the underlying discursive structure. It is complex, with discursive structures varying from village to village as the value of various aspects of the speakers' past and present interactions are evaluated and set forth.

Ethnoclassification provides an insight not only into the way speech varieties are classified by people in a particular area, but also into how those who do the speaking are classified by others, and how the places where the speaking is done are classified. The classification of speech varieties is a powerful expression of the how speakers group themselves and those around them, not only linguistically, but also more fundamentally,

through the cultural, historical and social boundaries constructed within the particular socio-historical context. The discursive structures vary for each context, and consequently, so do the classifications and the salient features used in classification.

8.4 Standardisation of speech varieties

Within a scientific framework, the term 'standardisation' is generally used to refer to the selection of a speech variety for codification and elaboration in a written form (see §1.1.1.2). The written form of this selected variety then becomes the standard form to be disseminated through education and other means as deemed appropriate. The unifying goal of standardisation is inherent in the term itself. It defines a process towards unification and cannot therefore be applied to language development processes resulting in the creation of written forms of a number of divergent varieties reflecting social, regional or historical variation. Consequently, as models of language planning indicate, a lack of linguistic unification for written and other official domains may be seen as a failure in standardisation.

This section, however, refers to standardisation in a broader and much less accepted sense, in which diversity can be still acknowledged and variation expressed as literacy practices develop within their own context. It refers to the process of choosing a variety for the basis of the writing, regardless of the level of unification realized. Within the context of emergent literacy practices, a long-term process of standardisation takes place naturally with or without specific active language standardisation intervention. As Milroy (2001: 534) describes, '[it] is continuously in progress in those languages that undergo the process'. This process approach to standardisation contrasts with the short term 'final decision' approach typified by scientific models of language standardisation in that it is ongoing and is recognised as being socio-historically embedded (Milroy 2001).

As discussed in §4.2, within the case study, the process of standardisation became an explicit practice within the context of an ADW during 2001, and a subsequent writers' workshop in 2004. During the first day of the workshop, we asked the participants to group themselves according to 'who speaks the same as you'. This did not appear to be a particularly difficult task for the participants who readily grouped themselves as follows:

- Wedau, Wamira and Divari
- Lavora, Aigura, Topura, Yapoa, Awauya,
- Taupota

However, it quickly became evident, that the process of standardisation was a site of great tension for both the participants and facilitators. These groups were not clearly defined either within the minds of the speakers or the facilitators, and the consequent tensions became a focal point for the workshops in 2001 and 2004 alike. By the 2004 workshop, I had acknowledged the long-term nature of standardisation resulting naturally as emerging literacy practices became evident. In my facilitation of the workshop, the voice of scientific models was quietened. Consequently, communities felt able to counter the decisions of 2001 and create new groups within which their literacy practices would continue.

For the speakers, standardisation is a practical expression of their ethnoclassification. However, as a process based on western models of literacy and development, outside discourses of classification and standardisation, as introduced by the workshop facilitators, teachers and community members through discourses of scientism, literacy and westernisation, are also prominent. While, at the 2001 ADW, decision-making lay with the workshop participants, we drove the activities. In the following sections the decisions made during the ADW, and the expressions of dissatisfaction with these decisions and subsequent actions taken, are discussed according to the four main groups given in the ethnoclassifications:

- Wedau, Wamira, Divari (§8.4.1)
- Topura, including Yapoa, Aigura and Lavora (§8.4.2)
- Awauya (§8.4.3)
- Taupota (§8.4.4)

8.4.1 Wedau/Wamira

On the first day of the 2001 workshop, the participants from Wedau, Wamira and Divari (one elementary school teacher from each village) grouped themselves together, recognising the internal phonetic and lexical variation as occurring within a single 'language'. However, the linguistic variation between the varieties and the socio-political situation represented by this variation proved to be much more problematic than the initial grouping suggested.

I have chosen to call this group the Wedau/Wamira group. The double name represents a disagreement on the language name. The Wamira argue that the language belongs to them as they were the original inhabitants of the area. They state that when the inhabitants of Wedau moved into the area, they began speaking the Wamira language with their own

variations. Consequently they argue that the language should be called ‘Wamira’. The people of Wedau use 115 years of mission history and adaptation of the ‘Wedau’ speech variety as a mission lingua franca to support their claim for the name ‘Wedau’.

Despite these deep and emotive disagreements, these three villages regard themselves as part of the same speech community. The ethnoclassifications demonstrate that internal variation is most saliently represented by variant realisations of the coronal approximant and a small number of lexical differences. Interestingly, the representation of the coronal approximant has not caused any conflict, with all three villages agreeing to write the phoneme with an <l>, as in the mission orthography. This agreement in the face of phonetic variation is evidence of the strength of discourses of missionisation rather than scientism. Other variation is not dealt with as consistently.

The Wedau and Wamira communities have been unable to agree on a single orthography. The reasons for this are historic as well as being a reflection of current social tensions. The variations in the Wedau orthographies of the past (see §5.8) have become emblematic of particular villages, particularly in regard to the voiceless labialised velar plosive (see §5.8.3). At the completion of the 2004 workshop, it was decided that the participants from all three villages would jointly visit each village to discuss the orthography in the hope of coming to some agreement between the villages. Those from Wedau and Divari appeared to be more confident of agreement between the villages than those from Wamira. While the elementary teachers in Wedau and Divari have been using an orthography from the 2001 workshop in their schools, the teachers from Wamira feel unable to do so until the village elders make a decision on the orthography to be used. Within the Wamira context, the elders hold great authority over the language, and appear to hold much power about decisions regarding a written form.

Within this larger grouping there is also generational variation. The older people are more strongly influenced by mission orthographies, consistently pointing to their knowledge of the mission orthography, and using the Wedau dictionary, hymnbook and other publications to support their preferences. Meanwhile, the younger people are strongly influenced by their English-based education and literacy skills, and desire a single orthography for use in these three villages, believing that as a visual symbol of unity, it will assist these communities to move forward together.

8.4.2 Topura

The existence of a group centred around Topura was evident from the first day of the 2001 workshop. This group is based on a shared cultural heritage and an ancestral language (see §6.2.1.4). Identity within this group was strongly influenced by the degree of current connection with this history. While linguistic and cultural shift towards Wedau has occurred throughout the area, the degree of shift has varied, reflecting the amount and nature of contact with the Anglican mission, and Wedau culture and language. The local speech variety has been replaced in Lavora, remains only in a few lexical items and the phonology of speech in Topura and the older generation in Aigura, and is still spoken by a small number of elderly people in Yapoa. While Topura, Aigura and Yapoa were happy to group themselves together, the edges of this group have been more difficult to define.

The participants from Lavora at the 2001 workshop were part of this group, which like the previous group included a degree of internal variation. However, during data collection in Lavora in 2004, one of these participants expressed her dissatisfaction, stating that they should have been part of the Wedau/Wamira group due to the language shift to Wedau that had occurred in the previous generations. This statement of identity was not reciprocated by either the Wedau group, or the Topura group. No participants from Lavora attended the 2004 workshop, so there is nothing further to report on this issue.

A larger grouping ranging from Lavora to Taupota was created during the 2001 workshop, largely as a result of external pressure from the workshop facilitators (see §4.2). We strongly encouraged the participants from these villages to standardise so that joint language and literacy projects could be undertaken. We cited issues of limited external human and financial resources to encourage participants to focus on the similarities between their speech varieties rather than the differences. This led to a decision to have a single orthography for the area, but internal variation could not be ignored. Phonetic differences as well as socio-cultural differences displayed themselves in the variations which were integrated into the 'standardised orthography'. The amount of discontent expressed among ADW participants during discussions with Taupota indicated that this 'choice' was not voluntary but externally imposed.

As a result of the discontent over standardisation during the ADW, during the 2004 writers workshop I actively withdrew from the 'ideal of standardisation' encouraging the group to revisit the question of standardisation in the context of their own literacy practices. In

order to diminish the power of the discourses invoked by the facilitators during the ADW, I stated that dividing into smaller groups was a valid option and we discussed possible advantages and disadvantages of this option. A decision was made among the participants to divide into three groups: Topura, Awauya and Taupota. The Topura group included the villages of Topura, Yapoa, Aigura and Lavora. While Lavora group themselves with Wedau, as noted above, their lack of attendance at the 2004 workshop excluded them from this discussion.

8.4.3 Awauya

In 2001, the participants from Awauya grouped themselves with Topura. However, Awauya quickly became contentious ground. Workshop leaders from Taupota expressed strong dissatisfaction with Awauya working with Topura, stating that they should be grouped with Taupota, as they speak a variation of Taupota (see §8.2.9), citing parish borders as the reason for the 'incorrect' grouping. The participants from Awauya expressed their dissatisfaction by leaving the workshop.

In 2004, a single participant from Awauya attended. A number of others were reported to have been chosen by the community to participate but did not attend. After establishing that his speech variety was different from both Topura and Taupota (see §8.2.8), the one participant decided to include his stories in the Topura book which was labelled as being from Topura and Awauya. Once again the Taupota group strongly expressed their opinion and desire to include Awauya in their book, also including them in the title. However, when the stories were printed and books collated, the Awauya stories were only included in the Topura book, to the dissatisfaction of the Taupota group. Through this process Awauya managed to assert their identity as their own group, and express their preference for working with Topura over Taupota. However, the practical implications of this are difficult to predict as children from Awauya attend school in Taupota, and are taught the Taupotan alphabet for the first two years of school. It may be decades before the impact of these decisions by those from Awauya are known. These decisions by the participants from Awauya stem from a desire to express cultural and historical difference from Taupota, thereby asserting their identity as a distinct people.

8.4.4 Taupota

As discussed in §8.2.9, the people of Taupota have a strong sense of local identity. This was expressed strongly in their standardisation choices. The Taupota group consisted of

the villages of Taupota 1 and Taupota 2. As discussed above, they strongly believed and stated that Awauya should be part of their group, as speakers of a variety of Taupota. Conversely, Awauya chose to demonstrate their disagreement by leaving the process. The attitude of Taupotans towards Awauya contrasted strongly with their response to Taupota speakers in Galuwahi. The Taupotans recognised the use and shift towards Taupota that was occurring in Galuwahi, however, they did not want to include this group of speakers in the standardisation and orthography decisions. This was explained as being due to linguistic variation, with the differences between Taupota 1 and Taupota 2 already posing enough problems in creating a standardised Taupota orthography.

In 2001, the decision had been made to work together with the villages as far west as Lavora, including the Awauya and Topura groups. While in 2004 both Awauya and Topura had quickly welcomed the fragmentation of this larger grouping, Taupota were initially reluctant, opposing any changes to decisions made in 2001, citing the decisions made as permanent. However, as each group made their own decisions, it quickly became obvious that Taupota did not have the power to unify the groups as they desired. This was ultimately demonstrated on the last day of the workshop, when the participant from Awauya did not include his stories in the Taupota book.

8.4.5 Overview

The process of standardisation enacted by the communities was based on the complex discursive structure revealed by the ethnoclassification tasks reported earlier in this chapter. The small groupings of communities were not based merely on being 'exactly the same', but on the complex statements of identity derived from kinship, migration, contact patterns, and shared linguistic and cultural heritage. Each of the groups, except Awauya, reported internal variation due to historical change and regional differences. Some variation was accepted as existing within the 'speech community', while other variation was considered deviant and emblematic of a different speech community. The process of standardisation also extended beyond the ethnoclassifications. The discourses of self and other, localisation and missionisation expressed in the ethnoclassifications were further contested by external discourses associated with language development which gained authority through relationship between the process of language standardisation and western forms of knowledge.

During my fieldwork in 2004, the groupings I have described solidified to some degree. This was achieved this through discussion during the workshop, general community

discussion, and the production of books of stories by each group. While the stories from Awauya were included in the Topura book, the existence of two distinct groups was recognised by those compiling the stories, and expressed in the title of the book. The long-term viability of these groups is unknown. In fact, long-term stability was not an issue for the workshop participants, who considered the process to be a statement of current identity reflecting historical roots. For these communities, standardisation was not a linguistic exercise, but a statement of group identity through linguistic and orthography variation and cohesion. As the literacy practices of these communities continue to develop, this process of standardisation will also continue. As the changes between 2001 and 2004 demonstrate, language standardisation is a culturally embedded *process*, not a *product*.

During the 2001 workshop, the participants from Lavora to Taupota were strongly influenced by the discourses of language development as these we voiced them in our role as workshop facilitators. We drew on discourses of westernisation, literacy and economics to persuade the participants to make decisions towards standardising the speech varieties into one written variety. As holders of knowledge in this process, our opinions validated the truths of our discourses within community discussions. For the participants, the discourse of economics was particularly powerful. The communities already felt disempowered with regard to the lack of resources. Presenting issues such as cost of print runs, the willingness of publishers to print more than one local variety, and availability of assistance for multiple varieties, rendered the discourses of language development powerful, while weakening the discourses of the community by compounding existing feelings of disempowerment.

The rationale for larger scale standardisation we gave was based on a 'truth' that each of the varieties was merely a variation, not a 'language', and therefore lacked linguistic significance. Through the discourse of holders of knowledge, the participants accepted our power of those who held this 'knowledge', and consequently attempted to create a standard written form of 'Taupota/Topura'. However, while the participants could conceptually accept a need for broader standardisation, the discourses of self and other were too strong to enable this to become a reality within the process of orthographic symbol selection.

The ethnoclassifications described in the preceding section give voice to the contestation of discourses of missionisation, localisation, self and other, and holders of knowledge both within and between the villages from Wedau to Galuwahi. The dialectic relationship of these discourses and the different socio-historical contexts of each village have produced, and are in turn renegotiated by, the ethnoclassifications and standardisation

decisions discussed above. Unlike in the academic models of standardisation discussed in §1.1, and §4, within the community context standardisation was not about classification based on linguistic history, but focused on developing the speech varieties for the survival of local culture and identity. Thus the discourse of self and other was particularly powerful in discussions and decision-making.

8.5 The creation of 'languages'

In §4.3 the creation of languages was discussed in regard to the discourses of language development and linguistics. It was shown that within that framework, 'languages' were created based on shared genetic inheritance and deviation. While some have argued that the creation of 'languages' is in direct contrast to traditional cultures of the Pacific (Mühlhäusler 1996: 328), my experience and the data presented here concur with the observations of Crowley (2004:17) that the classification of speech varieties has been part of these cultures since before colonisation. In fact I would argue that it is, and has been, an important marker of identity within a linguistically diverse ecology. Within the context of the villages in the case study, linguistic classification is part of the everyday practices of self-actualisation, and is highly dependent on the specific context of each village.

As the ethnoclassifications demonstrate, within the local language ecology, differences in speech are highly salient and are used as markers of identity to and belonging with a particular place and group of people. While the boundaries differed from village to village, within each context the limits were clearly recognised. The ethnoclassifications demonstrate that language, and even particular linguistic features, are important aspects of creating and maintaining identity. Hymes (1974:123) states:

> *Any enduring social relationship or group may come to define itself by selection and/or creation of linguistic features, and a difference of accent may be as important at one boundary as a difference of grammar at another. Part of the creativity of users of language lies in the freedom to determine what and how much linguistic difference matters.*

The preceding discussion clearly demonstrates the significance of specific linguistic features on ethnoclassification, particularly the coronal approximant, 'tune' (complex interplay between intonation and stress), and lexical variation. While these features have little weight in terms of intelligibility, they have significant salience as markers of identity.

Deeply embedded within the discourse of self and other, the linguistic ethnoclassifications can be explored with reference to three processes described by Gal and Irvine (Gal & Irvine 1995; Irvine & Gal 2000): iconisation, fractal recursivity and erasure. These three processes involved in the sociolinguistic differentiation, including the division of speech varieties are described as follows:

- Iconization: the process by which indexical linguistic features come to '[depict] or [display] a social group's inherent nature or essence' (Irvine & Gal 2000: 37)
- Fractal recursivity: 'the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level…[thus] provid[ing] actors with the discursive or cultural resources to claim and thus attempt to create shifting "communities", identities, selves, and roles, at different levels of contrast, within a cultural field (Irvine & Gal 2000: 37).
- Erasure: the process in which the situation is simplified, 'render[ing] some persons or activities (or sociolinguistic phenomena) invisible. Facts that are inconsistent with the ideological scheme either go unnoticed or get explained away' (Irvine & Gal 2000: 37).

Iconisation is a result of the creation of truths within a particular discursive structure. It is the process by which particular linguistic features come to be the essence of a group and subsequently proliferated. In an area where localisation is so strong, linguistic difference was more important that similarity. Emblematic features such as intonation and the coronal approximant are powerful iconic markers of deeper cultural and social boundaries. People from each village would describe their speech in relation to the 'tune', and could describe and imitate the tune of its neighbours. At times, people were introduced to me as originating from another village, as demonstrated by their tune. In Topura, Aigura, Yapoa, and Awauya, where the original language has been lost, phonological and lexical features of their variety of Wedau have become the most important factor in creating boundaries between themselves and Wedau, not only linguistically, but also culturally.

Fractal recursivity can be seen in the creation of 'otherness'. Lavora create their 'otherness' from Aigura, Topura and Yapoa, in continuing the shift from their traditional speech variety to Wedau, using their speech as a salient feature of their 'otherness'. Cultural oppositions based on land, or history can be reflected recursively in the creation of the 'other' as they are reflected onto language. Differences in the realisation of phonemes become the

salient expression of otherness which extends from a much deeper difference. 'Imagined others' are created. For example, Lavora is created as an other by Wedau/Wamira/Divari due to their difference histories, despite their current linguistic reality. Fractal recursivity is also the process through which the salient linguistic differences between communities become objects creating cultural and social boundaries as seen between Wedau and Wamira. Orthography development is influenced by recursivity as decisions reflect oppositions salient at another level, even where the phoneme in question is identical (see Jaffe 2000).

Within a group, variation can be erased or absorbed into the stories of group identity. Specific discursive structures enable truths to be constructed in which variation is eliminated. This is demonstrated in Taupota's reporting of Awauya's coronal approximant being identical to that in Taupota in order to create a more homogenous speech community. Conversely, similarity can also be erased. This is seen in Taupota's lack of recognition of the use of the Taupotan speech variety in Galuwahi, and the consequent lack of inclusion of this grouping in the ADW. As we will see in the following chapter, erasure is also evident in orthography choices, particularly in the agreement of representation of the coronal approximant within the Wedau/Wamira group despite a phonetic difference in the realisation of this phone between these communities (see §9.2.3).

Language variation is not a context free 'truth'. Rather it is a symbol of group identity, of unity or dissociation. It serves to strengthen cultural boundaries as powerfully demonstrated in the case of Awauya and their construction of boundaries between themselves and Taupota. Creating 'language' boundaries is a part of creating identity, and linguistic differences are used powerfully in 'defining the self as against some imagined "other"' (Gal and Irvine 1995). [69] Thus, linguistics and ethnoclassification ask very different questions regarding the meaning of linguistic variation. Unlike linguistic classification, ethnoclassification is not bound by type or degree of linguistic variation within and between groups, but looks to the emblematic function of linguistic features as symbols of cultural and historical difference.

While linguistic classification focuses on historical relationships between linguistic speech varieties, ethnoclassification is an expression of current identity. Ethnoclassification is not devoid of a sense of historicity; however, the time depth in question differs greatly from

[69] It is interesting view the truths and knowledges of language classification using a model of 'self' and 'other'. Within language classification, the linguist, or 'self', is often defined as using 'scientific and objective' methods to uncover the truth, while the homogenous 'other' is argued to rely on amorphous 'cultural' influences in creating perceptual data. See Gal and Irvine (1995) for further discussion.

that of historical linguistics. Within Papua New Guinea a sense of identity is very closely linked with the ownership of land, and with that the language and culture of place. In order to demonstrate the truth of a legend a storyteller will take you to the landmarks created as events of the story unfolded. People in Topura, when asked 'what language do you speak?', respond that they speak Wedau. However, if you ask 'what is your language?', they tell you of their ancestral language linked with the land, which now exists only in a few words and phonetic realisations. In the case of Topura, their speech community is defined by 'their' language, not 'what they speak'. Thus they are part of the Topura group including Yapoa, Aigura and Lavora, not part of the Wedau/Wamira group. This understanding of self and other creates a situation in which current speech patterns are classified in the context of past linguistic systems.

As demonstrated by the case of Topura, the importance of history in ethnoclassification is not the existence of a common proto-language, but shared knowledge, stories and kinship. For these groups in particular, the connection of language with the land results in a relatively short history to draw on. With the exception of Wamira, who place their ownership of the 'Wamira' language on their status as the original inhabitants of the land, all the groups in this case study migrated to their current land nine or less generations ago, and have no knowledge of the language situation before or during this process of migration. Consequently, with the exception of Wamira, when people talk of identity and language based on land, the time depth at their current location is likely to be not more than 250 years.

An understanding of the creation of languages by speech communities is particularly important in the application of language classification to current day situations of language development. However, practices of ethnoclassification and community-directed language standardisation are not necessarily identical. Language standardisation is strongly connected with discourses of westernisation and literacy. Among the older generation, the discourse of missionisation is also very strong. Consequently, these frameworks impact language standardisation decisions. During the 2001 workshop, the participants from Taupota to Lavora decided to try to create a unified writing system under the influence of the workshop facilitators. This was despite a deep awareness of the differences in their speech and the expressions of identity contained within them.

In 2004 when the 'Topura' group decided to separate from the Taupota group, the participant from Awauya was happy to work with the Topura group, and use the same orthography. This was apparently a statement of difference from Taupota, rather than

alignment with Topura. The contestation of authority evident here between Taupota and Awauya was also evident between Wedau and Wamira. While acknowledging the similarities in their speech varieties, they were unable to make orthography decisions together due to a disagreement on the ownership of the language. This is discussed further in §9.4.

Knowing what causes people to make the decisions they do regarding their speech variety and that of others enables us to better understand the reality of the language in the minds of the speech communities as well as the language behaviour we observe. It is in this context that the value of research into language realities as perceived by the language community itself can be most clearly seen. As Preston (2002b: 74-75) states:

> *...having determined what the cognitively real (rather than linguistically determined) speech areas of a region are, we may proceed to ask a number of related questions (or use this information in related research).*

In light of this, we consider the process of orthography development, enacted by the communities from Wedau to Galuwahi during the 2001 and 2004 workshops in §9.

8.6 Summary

This chapter has discussed the ethnoclassifications of the speech varieties from Wedau to Galuwahi and the application of these classifications in community directed practices of language standardisation. From these findings, a number of discursively constructed truths of the communities concerned can be seen:

- language is a discrete definable entity, based on land and shared knowledge,
- relationships between speech varieties are based on cultural heritage and authority,
- language has an overtly emblematic function,
- language can only be understood in context of history and cultural interaction,
- standardisation is good and necessary within appropriate speech varieties,
- prestige dialects are iconic of cultural domination,
- linguistic variation contains layers of meaning and identity, and
- the representation of identity is highly important

These truths reflect the intrinsic link that exists between language and identity. Within this framework, language standardisation is a cultural practice, not just a product of linguistic analysis. This is also evident in the process of orthography development discussed in the following chapter.

9 Community-based orthography development

The standardisation issues discussed in §8 were one aspect of orthography development. The discourses of self and other, localisation, missionisation and holders of knowledge, together with the discourses of westernisation and language development, created a localised sense of identity in which linguistic variation became iconic of cultural and historical difference. The process of language standardisation was however only part of the larger process of orthography development in which the workshop participants worked to discuss and decide upon how their 'language' would be visually represented. Through the process of orthography development and the related discussions and activities, representation of linguistic and socio-cultural variation was negotiated. For these communities, orthography development is not merely a technical exercise. It is an act deeply embedded in social structure, requiring culturally appropriate decision-making and the constant renegotiation of identity in a changing world.

In my analysis, I have identified two types of decisions emerging from the workshops: naturalised decisions and contested decisions. Both were created by the prevailing discursive structures which delimited what was possible, both in terms of the types of decisions that could be made and in defining what the problem areas were. Firstly, there were a number of 'decisions' which grew out of the naturalised discourses (Fairclough 1995: 28), particularly an unquestioned connection between literacy and westernisation. These 'common-sense' decisions of orthography development did not require an explicit decision-making process. They are discussed in §9.1.

The orthography discussions among the participants, and communities in general, focussed on a small number of 'problem areas'. The naturalised decisions provided a framework within which the 'problem areas' were identified and discussed. The participants' discussions, and the decisions they made, produced a clear text within which influential discourses can be identified. The problem areas as defined by the participants are discussed in §9.2. The current orthographies, as of June 2004, are given in §9.3. Finally, §9.4 considers the tensions created and/or resolved through the process of orthography development in these communities.

The data of this chapter is largely based on informal interviews, or my observations during the ADW, Writers' Workshop and during village discussions. As with the previous

sections, there are few transcripts, as the people I spoke with did not want the conversations recorded. Transcripts of participant reports are included where they were available.

9.1 Naturalised decisions

The naturalised decisions in the process of orthography development all arose from links between literacy practices and westernisation and missionisation. The creation of this socio-historical context can be linked to the introduction of literacy into the area through the Anglican mission and a colonial education system. Within the current Papua New Guinea context, the process of orthography development is validated through the growing strength of localisation, and its naturalisation alongside westernisation in regard to locally developed education and literacy in the post-colonial era.

As discussed earlier, literacy was introduced to this area initially through the practices of the Anglican Church through Wedau and English instruction, and later through English only instruction of the colonial government. Literacy, particularly English literacy and the associated cultural practices, came to represent development and success in the national culture of Papua New Guinea. The change in education policies that have grown from an emphasis on localisation (see §7.3) in the post-colonial era has given communities permission to teach cultural knowledge, and validated the desire to see local culture and knowledge survive. The strength of these cultural values surrounding literacy could be clearly seen in the goals for orthography development given by the workshop participants (see Table 6.1). Creating a written form of their language was seen as a way to preserve their language and culture, by giving their cultural knowledge more authority through writing. In a context that relies heavily on written text in education, writing down traditional knowledge is a key to its inclusion in education, as well as preserving the current knowledge for future generations.

This context of literacy and the related educational practices resulted in four aspects of orthography development being considered ‘common-sense’ by communities within the study area:

- use of a Roman script,
- orthography as a representation of significant sounds,
- the good of literacy, and
- the creation of an orthography for each speech variety.

The unquestioned use of a Roman-based alphabet stemmed from the links between English and literacy through the mission and colonial history of Papua New Guinea. Roman-

based orthographies are used throughout Papua New Guinea and surrounding countries. However, the influence was not purely from English.[70] King (1901: 5), an early Anglican missionary at Dogura, described the five vowel symbols of Wedau as having the 'Continental sound', such as found in Italian. The five-vowel system of Latin, which is used in Motu, Tok Pisin, and Wedau, created the basis for vowel symbolisation for all the speech varieties in the area. The symbol-sound correspondence of the dominant colonial language English formed the basis for consonant choice. The current status of English as a national language and its use in education from grade three continues to create strong links between English and literacy in general, further strengthening this connection. Thus the process of orthography development for a local speech variety is not one of creation from nothing, but an adaptation of symbols and ideas from the larger socio-cultural context. This 'truth' of the suitability of an English-based Roman orthography for adaptation to the languages of the study area, particularly among participants, such as teachers, who had been successful within the larger national context, led to many of the tensions associated with specific symbol choices.

The relationship between orthographic symbols and significant sounds in the language as also unquestioned. The link between symbol and sound is very prevalent in teaching styles in Papua New Guinea. Further, mission languages including Wedau have generally had quite phonemic orthographies, thus allowing for a phonic approach to teaching and easy transfer of literacy skills between languages.[71] As an alphabetic system, the link between sound and symbol is considered consistent. However, the correlations do not necessarily correspond to phonemes determined by linguistic analysis. As described in the following sections, sounds can take on emblematic functions, rendering them significant as markers of regional, generational and social identity. Consequently, defining the significance of a phone is also a discursive practice.

In this case study there was also a common-sense belief that creating an orthography was a significant and good process in the development of the community. While this is not uniform throughout Papua New Guinea[72], in this case it was clearly represented in the communities' commitment to the process and the workshop goals. However, despite this

[70] The influence of German can be seen in the orthographies of the Lutheran mission in New Guinea such as <j> for /j/ in Kâte and Jabem, Morobe Province, and <ch> for /ɣ/ in Mali in East New Britain.
[71] While today mission languages and Tok Pisin are rarely taught in a formal sense, those who are literate readily transfer their skills to these languages.
[72] Members of a language group in Madang Province told my colleagues that they did not want an orthography for their language. Similarly, I have worked with a community who had no desire to use the orthography once it was developed. In both these cases, this was influenced to a belief that a language shift to Tok Pisin is necessary to bring development, and should consequently be encouraged.

belief reflected in the 'truth' that local language literacy is unquestionably good, other competing discourses can still have an effect. Both Lavora and Awauya chose not to participate in various ways (see §8.4.2 and §8.4.3) due to disputes over group membership. Wedau/Wamira continue their debates over symbol choices as part of a larger disagreement over land ownership. These examples show that while certain discourses become naturalised within the context of literacy practices, orthography development still occurs within a much larger context in which the powerful discourse of self and other can render participation unviable, even if it is motivated by other discourses. These examples are notable as they indicate the strength and variety of patterns of behaviour and belief that organised participants' behaviour. They illustrate the complexity of power relations that exist in relation to orthography development.

The products of the hegemonic discourses described in this section resulted in most orthographic symbols being undisputed. While these aspects of orthography development have become naturalised within this particular socio-historical context through the discourses of literacy, westernisation and localisation, even discourses with a hegemonic status can be renegotiated through their dialectal relationship with other discourses. It is this process that allowed the non-participation of Awauya and Lavora at particular times. Also, it is this dialectal relationship that results in the tensions between communities, within communities, and within individuals. These tensions, which are discussed in the following section, were expressed in the identification and discussion of problem areas, and in the negotiation and decision-making processes used by communities in addressing them.

9.2 Contested decisions

The orthographic problem areas discussed here are those areas that the participants identified as being problematic when writing stories and compiling word lists. These are the issues which the participants and communities discussed and worked through during the ADW in 2001. Some issues remained unresolved and were once again discussed during my fieldwork and the Writers' Workshop in 2004. Within the discourses of language development, a list of problem areas could be created based on an analysis of the phonology of the speech varieties. Within the community discourses, there is a different set of discursively produced truths and knowledge about language. Thus the problem areas identified by the participants do not necessarily correspond with those of a linguistic analysis. Rather, problem areas are defined by socio-historical context which defines some things as

commonsense, and others as problematic (see Besnier (1995: xvi) regarding the creation of problem areas in Tuvalu).

Due to the phonological similarity of the speech varieties (see §5.3), the largely shared history since colonisation (see §7.3, §7.4, and §7.5), and the consequently similar discourses surrounding literacy practices, many of the orthographic problem areas were the same throughout the area. However, the desire to express differing group identities through the orthography led to different solutions. At times there was tension between communities, and sometimes between generations within a single community. While many of these problem areas could be explained in linguistic terms, the solutions came through community interaction and discussion. For interaction to be possible, communities had to find ways to hold both the tensions that arose, and the great range of possible resolutions available to them.

In the following sections, each of the problem areas is discussed. While the linguistic situation is mentioned, the focus is on the attitudes and goals of the communities. Problem areas are defined as aspects of the orthography that the participants found challenging during the 2001 ADW. The data includes informal discussions with participants, my own observations as a facilitator at the workshop, and reports given by participants on community discussions.

9.2.1 Glottal phonemes

As described in §5.4.2 and §5.5.1, the patterns of use of the phonemes, /h/ and /ʔ/ are based on regional and generational variation, with these phones most consistently present in the speech of the older people in Awauya, and with their frequency becoming less common towards the west. The ADW gave the participants from these villages the opportunity to write 'their' speech as opposed to the speech of Wedau, thereby regaining some of the value their speech varieties had been stripped of by the prestige to Wedau through its use by the Anglican mission.

As a salient feature of the differentiation between Wedau and the speech varieties of Aigura, Topura, Yapoa, Awauya and Taupota (see §8.2), little discussion was required before these groups decided to include the symbol <h> in their orthography.

Conversely, initially the glottal plosive was not represented or even identified as a problem area to be discussed. During the second week of the workshop, one participant from Taupota asked how to distinguish orthographically between a minimal pair, one containing the glottal plosive, and one without as shown in Table 9.1. At this point the participants

decided that it was desirable to include a symbol for this phoneme. However, they did not consider the phoneme to be a 'real sound', and consequently rather than using a letter, the participants chose to represent the glottal plosive with an apostrophe <'>, a symbol used elsewhere in Milne Bay for the same phone. This symbol was deemed more appropriate than other options such as <c>, as it was not a 'real' letter, just like the phoneme was not a 'real sound'.

Table 9.1: Minimal pairs and orthographic representation of glottal plosive in Taupota

/au numa/	<au numa>	'to the house'
/aʔu numa/	<a'u numa>	'my house'

While the <h> is written very consistently, the glottal plosive is often omitted in writing. The omission of the glottal plosive by native speakers has been documented in other parts of Milne Bay (Lithgow 1974). It is difficult to know the reason for this omission. Context may be sufficient for speakers to distinguish between a vowel cluster and vowels separated by a glottal plosive. It may be due to the lack of a phonemic glottal plosive in English, and a consequent lack of symbol. In this context, the inconsistency in writing may be due to the phoneme being lost. In Topura the phoneme is only present in the speech of the older people, and even in Taupota, where the glottal phonemes are still in use throughout the population, the pronunciation of the glottal plosive is considerably weakened in fluent speech.

Among the Topura group, where use of these phonemes is restricted to the older generation, the representation of these phonemes was considered important because of their emblematic role in distinguishing the speech variety from Wedau. Whether the symbols can be used accurately by the younger generation who do not produce these sounds in speech is doubtful. An indication of difficulties for the younger workshop participants from the Topura group was their reliance on the older people to edit their stories and word lists to counteract their inferior language skills.

9.2.2 Voiceless labialised velar plosive

The voiceless labialised velar plosive phoneme has a consistent realisation throughout the area. Initially workshop participants wrote the phoneme in three ways: <q>, <qw> and <kw>. The first of these was due to the influence of Wedau which used <q> in many of its publications, particularly those which hold the greatest authority including the dictionary and hymnbook. The digraph <kw> was also used in some Wedau publications (see §5.8.3), and is widely used in other languages throughout Papua New Guinea, including Tok Pisin. Some

workshop participants created the digraph <qw> in order to retain the tradition of the Wedau orthography (<q>), while consistently representing labialisation with <w>.

The participants recognised the inconsistency in representation of this phoneme after the first writing task. Initially, older participants from each of the groups stated their preference for <q> as a link with the authority of the Anglican mission. After a short discussion, the participants from the Taupota and Topura groups quickly agreed on using <kw> following neighbouring languages and the pattern set by <gw> for the voiced labialised velar plosive. Despite the decision not to use <q>, this was not an overt statement of difference from the Wedau orthography. Rather it was expressed as a decision based on consistency and a desire to make the attainment of literacy as easy as possible for the children. It does, however, also act to distinguish the Taupota and Topura systems from the Wedau orthography of the most commonly used mission texts (see §5.8).

The Wedau/Wamira group was unable to agree on the symbolisation of this phoneme. There was no phonetic difference between the villages. Rather this disagreement was an expression of a cultural conflict between the people of Wedau and Wamira, and of generational cultural shift within villages. Wedau elementary schools were teaching <kw> while Wamira and Divari have been teaching <q>. This is the continuation of an orthographic problem already identified in 1930 (see §5.8.3). While there is no documentation to support the influence of the discussions in the 1930s on current attitudes, it is not unreasonable to suspect that it was at that time that the symbols <q> and <kw> took on emblematic status for Wamira and Wedau respectively.

Among the Wedauans there was a general consensus that <kw> should be used. However, some of the older people preferred <q> citing its use in the mission publications for validation of their preference. The symbol <q> was used in all of the authoritative Wedau texts currently in use, particularly the hymn book, liturgy and Bible, as well as its use in the Wedau dictionaries published by King (1901) and Jennings (1956). Some people were willing to write <kw> but were worried about the previously printed materials which used <q>, and the subsequent need to print new materials.[73] The discovery of the use of <kw> in some mission texts by a Wedau Elementary School teacher during the 2004 workshop gave further authority to his argument for change to <kw>, both in his own eyes and in the Wedau community more generally.

[73] This concern demonstrates the influence of economic discourse of standardisation in community decision-making processes.

The preference for <kw> in the Wedau elementary school was based on an attempt to create consistency with the voiced labio-velar plosive /g^{w}/, written <gw>. This corresponds to the decisions made by the Taupota and Topura groups. Some of the younger people in Wamira, including the teachers, also wanted to write <kw> rather than <q>. One participant from Wamira, Pesco Raupuri (p.c.), reported:

> *'q', is a bit undecided, but most of the elder people, because they went to school in Wedau…they said it must be…The young people say…that we should rewrite the language.*

In Wamira <q> became to be emblematic of the community, as distinct from Wedau. The emblematic function of the coronal approximant in speech (see §8.2, and §8.3) was taken on by the representation of the voiceless labialised plosive in writing. In a time of intense cultural tension between Wedau and Wamira relating in part to disagreement over land ownership, it seemed that resolution of this issue was unlikely to come through standardisation. Additionally, the generational differences created a situation of both inter- and intra-village disagreement. In producing the spelling guide at the end of the 2001 workshop, the Wedau/Wamira group decided to include both <q> and <kw> as two alternatives, and in 2004, the participants made their own choices on which symbol to choose. There was a tendency for those from Wamira 1 to write <q>, while others, including Wamira 2, wrote <kw>. However I had a very small data set as this is not a high frequency phoneme. The variation between Wamira 1 and Wamira 2 may have represented a difference in intensity of conflict with Wedau village.

Participants from Wamira decided to continue discussions after the workshop. The younger people saw their role as expressing their concerns and opinions, stating that it was only the elders, the holders of the knowledge and authority, who could make decisions on these issues.

9.2.3 Coronal approximant

The coronal approximant has a number of regional and generational variations (see §5.4.3, and §5.5.3), and is a salient feature in ethnoclassification throughout the area (see §8.2, and §8.3). Despite the strongly emblematic function of variations of this phoneme in speech, the choice of symbols was relatively unproblematic. The choice of <l> for the coronal approximant throughout the villages of the Wedau/Wamira group was unquestioned, despite the phonetic variation within the three villages. This symbol had been used without variation

in the mission orthography for Wedau (see §5.8). In this case, the emblematic function of the linguistic variation in speech, so important in the creation of self and other, was not transferred into the orthography.

In Taupota, however, the emblematic function of this phone was transferred into the orthography. The Taupotans defined themselves as being 'y' speakers, unlike the 'l' speakers to their west (including Wedau and Wamira) (see §8.2.9, and §8.4.4). Consequently, they required their alphabet to have a <y>. The use of this grapheme spread beyond the coronal approximant to the palatal transitional semivowel (see Table 5.27) which was left unmarked by all other groups at the ADW (see Table 9.2). Further, the decision to write the palatal semivowel, extended to also writing the labial semivowel. Through these decisions, the Taupotans were defining themselves and their speech variety as different from that of Wedau.

The representation of this phoneme was somewhat more problematic for the Topura group. Originally they chose to write <l> as had been used in the mission orthography. In respect to this phoneme, the speech of the older people in Lavora and Aigura tends to resemble that of Wedau, using [ð]. As the village name suggestions, in Lavora this phoneme is often realised as [l], probably due to heavy intermarriage with Wamira and Divari. However, [j] is widespread in Topura and Yapoa. There were tensions between discourses of missionisation and localisation as the participants and communities discussed whether to follow Wedau and write <l> based on the mission alphabet, or to follow their speech variety and write <y> based on the English alphabet. During 2001, representation of this sound was one of the issues that Taupota and Topura could not agree on in their attempts to create a unified orthography, with Topura eventually deciding to write <l>. In 2004, Topura decided to write <y>, preferring to represent their own speech rather than Wedau. However, unlike Taupota, this did not extend to the transcription of transitional semivowels. The decisions made are summarised in Table 9.2.

Table 9.2: Orthography for coronal approximant

	Taupota	**Topura**	**Wamira**	**Wedau**	
/ɔja/	<oya> [ɔja]~[ɔða]	<oya> [ɔja]~[ɔða]	<ola> [ɔla]	<ola> [ɔða]	'mountain'
/apia/	<apiya>	<apia>	<apia>	<apia>	'spear'
/ua/	<uwa>	<ua>	<ua>	<ua>	'neck'

9.2.4 Voiced velar phonemes

The representation of the voiced velar fricative was the focus of much tension during the ADW. On arriving at the workshop, the participants unquestioningly wrote the velar fricative with a <g>, which was consistent with the most prestigious mission orthographies of Wedau. However, as they began writing and reading stories and word lists in their speech varieties, some participants discovered that the underdifferentiation between the voiced velar fricative and plosive was causing difficulty in reading, reflecting the high frequency of the two phonemes. Participants from the Wedau/Wamira group had experienced this difficulty in their elementary classrooms and in their own reading of Wedau texts in church services. The issues identified by the participants, and the knowledge of this issue in related languages, led us to facilitate discussion on the difficulties involved in underdifferentiation. The discussion of these two phonemes became a focal point both during and outside of the workshop. The relevant issues are discussed in more detail in §9.2.4.1 on emblematic and practical functions of the phones and §9.2.4.2 on community-based decision-making.

9.2.4.1 Emblematic and practical functions

The attitudes of the participants on this issue varied based on a complex intersection of generation, village, and participation in the broader westernised national culture. Generational tension existed between the old people who were educated in Wedau and held the church and its institutions in high esteem, and the younger people who were educated in English and aligned themselves with westernisation and development by being willing to vary from the Wedau orthographic system.

The older generation wanted to follow Wedau, by using <g> for both the voiced velar plosive and fricative. This was a system they knew, and they had learnt to deal with the ambiguity resulting from underdifferentiation through inference based on discourse context. For these people, the Wedau writing system was a symbol of the influence of the Anglican mission in their lives.

Meanwhile the younger people had experienced difficulty in reading Wedau in church services, and wanted to make the orthography easier to read and write by differentiating between the two velar phonemes. Some people in Topura village wanted to do this by using a diacritic such as <ḡ> or <ǥ> as done in some Wedau publications. However, most of the younger people in the Taupota and Topura groups wanted to use the digraph <gh>. The use of

the digraph C+h was perceived as making their orthography look more like English and therefore validating their language by invoking the prestige of English.

For the Wedau/Wamira group, the use of <h> was also discussed. This symbol reflected the speech of the younger generation (see §5.5.2), and was consequently favoured among this group. However, it was not considered acceptable by the older generations who did not think positively of this change in the younger generation. The groups to the east have a phonemic /h/ (see §5.4.2) which carries a strongly emblematic function (see §8.3). Consequently <h> was not considered an option for the velar phoneme.

Within the Taupota group, there was a vocal subgroup made up of two teachers, one the headmistress of the local community school. These teachers wanted the Taupota orthography to reflect English as a statement of desired westernisation and the high prestige of their language. While this goal seems consistent with that of the younger generation, the symbol choice was different. The two teachers aimed to minimise the differences between Taupota and English, stating a preference for writing <g> for both the voiced velar plosive and fricative, orthographically erasing a phoneme that does not occur in English. Due to the status of the teachers in the community, their views held great sway.

While the influence of the mission orthography was strong, most participants (the older ones less readily) agreed that differentiation was desirable. This was considered important in ensuring that learning to read would be as easy as possible, thereby increasing the potential that the local language and culture would survive current cultural change. However, the participants differed in their preferred methods of doing this. The options discussed were: <g, ḡ, ǥ, gh>. The first three had been used in Wedau publications, while the fourth is used by nearby related languages (Ghayavi and Gapapaiwa) for the same phoneme.

Generational and educational divides and differing allegiances to the Anglican mission and westernisation caused tensions within and between communities, and even within individuals. Consensus, however, was reached through the consideration of other factors. The workshop facilitators suggested to participants that they consider their goals for their orthography which they had discussed on the first day of the workshop. The participants viewed orthography development as part of the process of preserving their culture, as it would assist in literacy development, cultural understanding, language retention, and the maintenance of cultural activities. By referring back to these goals, the focus of participants shifted from what they thought the orthography should look like, or its emblematic function,

to their desires for its use, or its practical function. This shift in focus enabled discussion to continue as issues of localisation and education were aired. These issues were shared by a cross-section of the participants.

For the older people who fear the death of their culture and language due to the influence of English language and culture, decisions that would enable the education of children in local speech varieties and encourage their participation in local life held more appeal than the expression of allegiance to the mission by following the Wedau orthography. For the highly educated participants, this shift allowed them to turn their focus from gaining prestige through being like English to Papua New Guinea's more recent emphasis on localisation and the value of traditional language and knowledge through the development of locally governed elementary education. Within this context, the younger people were also able to have their voice, as community leaders acknowledged that these were the ones who would need to implement the orthographic decisions in the future, and through whom the preservation of culture and language would be achieved.

9.2.4.2 Community-based decision making

After the first week of the workshop, the participants returned to their villages for the weekend to discuss the orthography options and get feedback from their communities. As a result of the community meetings, Taupota decided on the use of the digraph <gh> for the voiced velar fricative. As described by Bonita Nohowan (p.c.), a workshop participant:

> *... the ones who came to the church [for the meeting], they all said, "We [don't like] the gh." But yesterday after service when we went through they really agreed. So they want the hard g, g only, and gh for the soft g.*

This process of decision-making reflected a change from focussing on the emblematic function of the orthography to the practical function. However, in order to validate this change in focus, there needed to be validation from the discourse of self and other. Thus, a return to the potential emblematic function of <gh> legitimised the decision.

Rex Iuda, a village leader, stated that while the older people initially did not want to differentiate between the voiced velar fricative and plosive due to the influence of Wedau, the need for differentiation was actually a matter of linguistic identity. The neighbouring language, Tawala, does not have the voiced velar fricative, but has a number of cognate words which use a voiced velar plosive. Consequently, underdifferentiation of the plosive and fricative would result in failing to represent one of the indexical differences between Taupota

and Tawala. Iuda commented, ‘If we write <g> we will be writing Tawala but speaking Taupota’ (Iuda, p.c.). A salient example used in community discussions is given in Table 9.3.

Table 9.3: Comparison of Tawala and Taupota phonemes

Taupota	Tawala	
/ɣaima/ < ghaima >	/gaima/ < gaima >	‘stone’

For the Topura group, being most closely linked to Wedau, both linguistically and culturally, meant that the influence of the existing Wedau writing system was strong. They accepted a need for differentiation in order to accurately read and write their language, however, in order to adhere more closely to the mission texts, some of which used <ǧ>, they preferred using a ‘g with a mark on it’. On returning from a weekend in the village, one participant reported, ‘They told us to use a sign or something else to represent the ‘soft g’, but not to put a <gh>’. As the facilitators had given the difficulty of printing and typing as a disadvantage of this option, participants also considered these issues. The people from Yapoa stated that they wanted any diacritic on a ‘g’ that a computer can produce. If there were none, ‘then we will have to use ‘gh’’. This factor was influenced by the people’s desire to ensure their language is relevant and accessible to the coming generations while still maintaining the link with the Anglican mission through their orthography choices.

Due to the pressure from the facilitators to create a single orthography for Topura and Taupota (see §4.2), the participants made an attempt to decide on a single symbol. Over a number of days and many heated discussions the issues were debated. The Wedau/Wamira elementary teachers strongly expressed their support for differentiation as they were having trouble teaching this aspect of their orthography which used <g> for both phonemes. Eventually, the Topura group agreed to write <gh> for the voiced velar fricative, with the choice gaining validity through the ease of typing it. The symbol <g> remained solely for the plosive. During the 2004 workshop, and the preceding research, it appeared that the communities were happy with this choice, and it had come to be a marker of differentiation between them and Wedau. In 2004, a participant from the 2001 workshop who had difficulty accepting the change from the <g> of the mission orthography proudly showed me a song she had written in the Topura orthography using <gh> instead of the <g> of Wedau.

During the ADW, the three participants from the Wedau/Wamira group were elementary school teachers. They had experienced difficulty in teaching their students ‘the

two ‘g’s’ which were included in their alphabet. However, through the Anglican mission, they also had 100 years of printing and education in their language influencing the opinions of the people in their villages. While this group strongly encouraged the Taupota and Topura groups towards using separate symbols for the separate phonemes, they were unsure of the possibility of change in their own area. The young people agreed that changes needed to be made, however the community as a whole was not supportive of this change. Joel Biare from Wedau reported, ‘I came up with this list of alphabet[s] for them to change maybe <g> to <h> or <gh>. They still wanted this to remain…as <g>’ (Biare p.c.). However, the reaction from the communities did not lead to a resolution.

Through community meetings held prior to the 2004 workshop, this issue was once again raised. It was obvious that the discourses of missionisation and westernisation were very strong in supporting underdifferentiation. However, the teachers, while they did not have the authority to make such a decision, were determined to get the elders to deal with the educational issues. During the writers’ workshop, the participants, who included elders as well as teachers, decided that differentiation was desirable. Like the Taupota and Topura groups, this was influenced by turning to goals of cultural retention and literacy. However, the symbol choice remained problematic, demonstrating the non-arbitrary nature of symbols within the speakers’ frameworks. While the younger people preferred using <h>, reflecting the speech of this group of people, the older people required the link with <g> to be maintained, thereby retaining links with the authority of the mission. Having obtained consent for differentiation, the younger people were willing to be more flexible regarding the symbol. One of the teachers found a Wedau text that used <ḡ>, and it was decided to follow this, thus acquiring validation through association with the mission, while also allowing differentiation of the phonemes. This decision was accompanied by a further decision for the participants to take the ‘new orthography’ to each village to explain the decisions made, and gain acceptance from all of the village leaders. Despite choosing to write <ḡ>, its use was erratic. Typed texts used <g> due to the limitations of a typewriter, while handwritten texts are inconsistent, with the diacritic often being omitted. In July 2007 I received correspondence that indicated that a group of Wedau participants involved in a Bible translation project was writing <ḡ> (Tupper p.c.).

9.2.5 Alveolar plosives

While the representation of the voiced velar fricative was probably the most intensely discussed topic at the ADW, the representation of the allophonic variation in the alveolar plosives proved to be almost as problematic. As discussed in §5.6, the alveolar plosives are characterised by allophonic variation resulting in two phonetic realisations of each phoneme. This is further complicated by the influence of loan words which have resulted in both phonetic realisations being used in all environments within this set of lexical items. The representation of the allophones was problematic in the mission orthography of Wedau, with a number of changes from phonemic to phonetic representations and back again.

The initial symbol choice of workshop participants was for two symbols, <t> and <d>, reflecting the orthography of the authoritative Wedau publications. However, among the young people there was a preference for representing all four sounds: <t>, <s>, <d> and <j>. The divide between the older and younger generations once again stemmed from their differing discursive structures, created through the contexts of different languages of education, and the reduction of the impact of the mission on language and education policies after World War II as the influence of westernisation increased. As a result of cultural change, the linguistic context of each group, as well as their allegiances to the associated institutions differ. For each group, their view of significance of sounds was based on salience in their broader language experience.

Further, not even a linguistic analysis was able to provide a definite answer. As discussed in §5.4.3, the phonemicity of these sounds is difficult to determine. Due to language variation and change associated with the cultural shift favouring English, old patterns of allophonic variation have broken down, with each sound taking on phonemic status in everyday speech (see Table 5.23 & Table 5.24). Thus, people arguing for both representations looked to linguistic argument to further validate their stance.

The Taupota group readily agreed on phonetic representation using <t>, <s>, <d> and <j>. As a workshop facilitator, I entered into a discussion about allophonic variation with the Taupota group, and the participants quickly found examples of [s] in environments other than before the high front vowel. The examples cited were all loan words, part of current everyday speech for concepts with no Taupotan equivalent. These symbol choices were seen as a further way to distinguish the Taupota speech variety from Wedau.

The representation of these phones was an area of unresolved tension between Taupota and Topura in their attempts to create a standardised orthography in 2001. While the Topura group agreed to write <s>, <t>, and <d>, they refused to write <j>. For the Topura and Awauya groups, the allophonic variation of /d/, which only occurs in free variation, resulting in only slight palatalisation of the plosive, renders the allophone closer to English /d/ than English /dʒ/. As this is a phonetic feature that differentiates these speech varieties from both Wedau and Taupota, the Topura and Awauya groups were not willing to include the grapheme <j>, using the mission orthography of Wedau to support their decision. The Taupota/Topura spelling guide created during the 2001 workshop included two options, <j> and <d>. When these groups decided against a single orthography in 2004, the use of <d> alone by Topura became a salient emblematic feature of the Topura and Awauya groups.

As with other problem areas, the Wedau/Wamira group were limited by the mission orthography, as it was perceived through the authoritative texts. The phonemic representation had been problematic for the elementary teachers who had been educated in English and were finding it difficult to teach the children using a phonemic alphabet. The alphabet used in class demonstrated their attempt to fit the phonemic alphabet into their own understanding of their language. The alphabet they had been using in class is given in Table 9.4.

Table 9.4: Wedau/Wamira/Divari Elementary School orthography pre 2001

Orth	a	b	d	e	g	g	i	d	k	l	m	n	o	p	r	t	t	u	v	w	q/kw	gw
IPA	a	b	d	ɛ	g	ɣ	i	dʒ	k	l	m	n	ɔ	p	r	s	t	u	v	w	k^w	g^w

Just as two <g>s were included for the two voiced velar phonemes, two <d>s and two <t>s (one for each allophone) were also included. The grapheme for each phone was placed according the position of its sound in the English alphabet (e.g. <d> occurs in the English <d> position for [d], and in the English <j> position for the phone [dʒ]). For the elementary teachers, the status of the 'two <d>s', and 'two <t>s', was that same as that of the 'two <g>s'. The linguistic status of the phones as environmentally determined allophones was of little relevance to how they were viewed by the speakers of the language, particularly the young people whose first language of literacy is English. As the older people were first educated in Wedau, they were less receptive to a change in the way their language was perceived and represented.

Those who preferred a phonemic representation also drew on the discourse of localisation, through aligning this option with the 'pure' language; the language which should

be saved from the influence of westernisation. They supported their claim by demonstrating the systematicity of the allophonic variation that occurred in 'true' words, while arguing that borrowed words are not part of the language.

At the conclusion of the 2001 workshop, the Wedau/Wamira group desired change, but were unable to implement it as the communities, and particularly the elders, did not consent. However, in 2004, the issue was still alive for the elementary teachers, and along with the voiced velar phonemes, was discussed in community meetings during my fieldwork. As taught in the Elementary schools, the phones were discussed in reference to their English equivalent phonemes. As well as discussing the option of representing both allophones for each phoneme, there were also options regarding the representation of the voiceless allophones. While the authoritative mission texts generally used <t> phonemically, some used <ts>.The old people talked about a historical phonetic change with [tsi] weakening to [si] since the arrival of the mission. While the option of <ts> was looked on favourably by some of the older people as a way of differentiating the phones while adhering to mission orthographies, it was not considered to be representative of current speech. During the 2004 workshop, the participants decided to differentiate between the allophones by including <d>, <j>, <t> and <s> in their orthography. Unlike the velar phonemes, the representation of these phones was consistent in the writing of the participants. This decision was to be taken back to the communities and elders for approval.

9.3 2004 Orthographies

The naturalised decisions and the process of decision making for each of the problem areas have resulted in the orthographies summarised in Table 9.5. As discussed above in relation to a number of the problem areas, these orthographies are still works in progress, particularly for the Wedau/Wamira groups who were attempting to reform their orthography after 100 years of mission produced orthographies based on their speech variety.

Table 9.5: 2004 orthographies

		Wedau/Wamira	Topura, Awauya	Taupota	
/b/	/bada/	<bada>	<bada>	<bada>	'elder/respected person'
/d/ [dʒ]	/dɔbu/ /didi/, [dʒidʒi]	<dobu> <jiji>	<dobu> <didi>[74]	<dobu> <jiji>	'land' 'waterfall'
/g/	/gɛru/	<geru>	<geru>	<geru>	'ride/get on'
/ɣ/	/ɣuɣu/	<ḡuḡu>	<ghughu>	<ghughu>	'breast'
/gʷ/	/gʷɛrigʷɛri/	<gwerigweri>	<gwerigweri>	<gwerigweri>	'witchdoctor'
/h/	/hara/		<hara>	<hara>	'dance'
/k/	/karɛna/	<karena>	<karena>	<karena>	'beginning'
/kʷ/	/kʷɛru/	<kweru> <qeru>	<kweru>	<kweru>	'frog'
/l/	/laguma/	<laguma>	<laguma>	<laguma>	'lime'
/m/	/mira/	<mira>	<mira>	<mira>	'dirt'
/n/	/nawaravi/	<nawaravi>	<nawaravi>	<nawaravi>	'moon'
/p/	/pɛtɔ/	<peto>	<peto>	<peto>	'marlin'
/r/	/rava/	<rava>	<rava>	<rava>	'people'
/t/ [s]	/tɛvɛra/ /tia/, [sia]	<tevera> <sia>	<tevera> <sia>	<tevera> <siya>	'child' 'fish'
/v/	/vari/	<vari>	<vari>	<vari>	'stingray'
/w/	/wavinɛ/	<wavine>	<wavine>	<wavine>	'woman'
/ʔ/	/paʔa/	<pa>	<pa'a>	<pa'a>	'coconut'
/l/, /ð/, /j/	/ɔlapa/ /ɔðapa/ /ɔjapa/	<olapa>	<oyapa>	<oyapa>	'bandicoot'
/a/	/apia/	<apia>	<apia>	<apiya>	'weapon'
/ɛ/	/ɛta/	<eta>	<eta>	<eta>	'road'
/i/	/ipiri/	<ipiri>	<ipiri>	<ipiri>	'lip'
/ʲ/	/apia/	<apia>	<apia>	<apiya>	'weapon'
/ʷ/	/ua/	<ua>	<ua>	<uwa>	'neck'

[74] The phonetic realisation of this word within the Topura area is [dʲidʲi]~[didi]

9.4 Understanding the tensions

The tensions that exist in community-based orthography development are not necessarily questions of phonological analysis or orthographic depth. Rather, they arise from the competing discourses that exist within and between communities. In this study, the competing discourses are based on generational, educational, and cultural differences. These social distinctions influence the authority and even the nature of the discourses creating particular spaces for the orthography development process.

The generational differences are particularly stark as a result of the speed of social change in Papua New Guinea during the last few generations. The powerful influence of the missions as the source and authority of new western religion, institutions and goods was replaced by a government-led focus on westernisation and nation building in the post World War II period. Furthermore, those under thirty years of age have experienced nothing other than an independent nation searching for its own expression as a diverse people. From an external perspective, it is therefore not surprising to find tension between the authority of the discourse of missionisation among the old people, the discourse of westernisation among the educated of middle generation, and the discourse of localisation among the young people. This tension persists as the authority of the institutions and people attached to each discourse come into question.

Furthermore, competing discourses of self and other contest the ownership of language and land. Wedau and Wamira, as well as Taupota and Awauya challenge each other's authority. Within the discursive structure of each community, the tensions expressed through orthographic decisions, or the lack thereof, grow from a systematic formation of truths and knowledge. The link between language, land and identity results in the process of orthography development as a negotiation of self and other both between generations within a village, and also between villages.

The factors that lead to each orthographic decision are complex, and cannot be explained with a simple appeal to one linguistic or social factor. At times, the process of coming to a decision altered the relationship between different influences, and resulted in a new interaction between the various discourses. A focus on the emblematic function of the orthography validated through the discourses of missionisation or westernisation came into conflict with the discourse of localisation through goals of language and cultural maintenance, and a perceived need to make the culture and language relevant to the coming generations.

The following quote is from a workshop participant reporting on a village discussion on orthography problems. It expresses the tensions between generations, and the interaction between these and the accessibility of local language materials:

> *Some of the people agree [to the proposed changes], especially the young people. Because they know English so they think that the alphabet should be changed so they can be able to read in Wedau, they can be able to sing in Wedau…In our church they don't hold those things [books] because they might make mistakes, reading the 'd', 't' and the 'g'. That's what their fears are, what they fear in the church. That's why they don't hold the books.*

The tension between discourses is not merely a cerebral contest. As systems of meaning, discourses create not only rational processes and decisions, but also emotive and relational responses. They create and limit our negotiation of identity in all aspects of our lives, including our fears and our dreams. Thus, the process of orthography development is connected with deeply created and felt systems of identity and being, renegotiating what is valid and what is possible, not only in terms of reading and writing, but in all aspects of life.

9.5 Summary

The process of orthography development has been and continues to be highly emotive within these communities. Discourses are contested between villages, between generations, between the linguists and the communities, and even within individuals as they grapple with the complexity of their identity and values, both for themselves and for their communities. However, even within this complexity, a number of common truths can be found in the practices of orthography development within these communities:

- orthography represents salient sounds,
- salient sounds include those with an emblematic function, and
- an orthography is desirable, but less important than cultural integrity.

Like the truths identified in community processes of language standardisation, these truths highlight the cultural nature of language development. Within a linguistic framework it could be argued that a number of issues arose due to non-language related factors. A fundamental claim of this thesis is that within the communities' frameworks the issues were all deeply entrenched in language. The 'significant sounds' for different participants may not have always been phonemic, but they did always carry meaning, emblematic meaning. The

community process was not a contestation of discourses over linguistic issues, but a discursively created renegotiation of personal and communal identity.

In Parts 2 and 3 of this thesis, I have discussed the discourses within which the language development processes took place, the tensions that arose out of the contestation of these discourses, and the truths and knowledges which provided the frameworks for decision making. In the final section of this thesis, I return to the questions of Part 1 to consider the broader implications of a discourse approach for linguistic models and practice of language development.

Part 4 – Language and the construction of truth, knowledge and power

> *There may be interaction as well as simply contrast between folk belief (and practice) on the one hand and scientific or specialist knowledge on the other…*
>
> *…even when there is considerable contrast between scientific and folk information and when some scientists may find little of value in the folk facts, those who labor in applied fields will want to know what nonspecialists believe if they plan to intervene successfully…* (Preston 1999a: xxiv)
>
> *In the general area of applied linguistics, folk linguistics surely plays a most important role. When professionals want to have influence, they are, we believe, ill-advised to ignore popular belief, and … popular belief about language is both ubiquitous and strong.* (Niedzielski & Preston 1999: vii)

In the previous chapters, two strongly contrasting constructions of language and language development have been discussed. Within the same language development situation, discourses are renegotiated as linguists and communities, young and old, one community and another community attempt to express their framework of truth and knowledge about language and culture as created by their underlying discursive structures. As linguists working with communities, we may be tempted to create an 'other' out of the community, and consequently erase troubling tensions from the 'linguistic' task. However, as the quote above suggests, if we wish to have an impact on language communities, we must try to understand the speakers' truths and knowledges surrounding language. The difference between community frameworks and those of linguistics does not render interaction impossible.

These ideas are not new. Hoenigswald (1966) argued for the importance of studies of speaker knowledge about language, believing that rather than being a hindrance to our understanding, speaker perceptions increase our knowledge of how the language functions within its setting. Studies of folk beliefs about language have been conducted within the fields of language attitude studies, folk linguistics and perceptual dialectology. Sociolinguistic studies of language attitudes have studied how people view their own speech and that of others often within the context of language change, language shift and language acquisition. A limited number of studies of folk-linguistics, which study speaker perceptions of their own language and that of others, have also been undertaken (e.g. Bradley 1981; Kramer 1974;

Krzyzynski 1988; McGregor 1998; Niedzeilski & Preston 1999; Rundblad & Kronenfeld 2003). However, as a discipline linguistics has often fought against such knowledge with the creation of participants such as the 'linguistically naïve' language helper, focusing more on protecting the purity of scientific data than on the larger world of knowledge about language that exists beyond sometimes narrowly self-imposed borders.

As this thesis is drawn to a close, I bring together and contrast the truth and knowledge frameworks of the discursive structures of academic language development practices and community language development practices. This not only highlights the creation of the tensions in language development practice, but also more positively allows us to learn about a different concept of language. Based on the case study presented here, I consider the role that linguistics can play in community-based language development work, and then question whether linguistics is able or willing to learn from community models of language and language development. If we aim to understand the process of orthography development and language standardisation, and interact with the process in a constructive way, we need to acknowledge and seek to understand the speakers' perceptions of their language within its socio-cultural context.

10 Truth, knowledge and power in language development

Parts 2 and 3 of this thesis have discussed processes of language development for linguists and communities from a number of approaches. The underlying discourses have been presented as frameworks which interact in socio-historically specific ways to produce particular practices of language development. The knowledges and truths created by the academic and community discourses of language development demonstrate the competing discursive structures which cause tension in the practice of language development and simultaneously allow participants to contest and renegotiate the relationships between discourses.

Within the case study presented, it can be seen that while the academic and community discourses are very different, they do intersect. Where scientific methods are unable to provide answers to issues of language development practice, a discourse of community gives voice to the speakers within academic language development practice. Similarly, the academic discourses are given validity within the communities through the discourse of holders of knowledge, which privileges them as 'outside experts'. Thus, dialectic relationships occur not only within discursive structures, but also between them as people interact working alongside each other. Through the interaction of these discourses, the status of the various discourses is challenged, and new discourses are introduced leading to change in the underlying discursive structures. In this way, academic discourses of language development, and community discourses of language development interact with each other, allowing space for each other's knowledge, and in doing so allow themselves to be transformed.

This chapter aims to bring together Parts 2 and 3, and consider how these differing frameworks can work together in language development. Firstly, in §10.1, the truths and knowledges of the two frameworks are presented and compared, demonstrating the source of the tensions that arise within and between communities, and between linguists and communities. These structures give rise to particular subjects and patterns of power. In §10.2, I discuss the creation of authority and ownership within the relevant power systems, and show how these were enacted in my case study.

Having drawn on the patterns of interaction and authority evident in the case study, the following two sections look beyond the case study to what this study can show us about the relationship between communities and linguists in language development practice in

general. Section 10.3 discusses these what linguistics has to offer 'community-based' language development, particularly focussing on the role of linguists in my own work with Papua New Guinean communities. This leads to a discussion of my personal experience as a linguistic facilitator in community-based language development. Finally, §10.4 discusses the role of community-based activities in linguistics more generally.

10.1 Truths and knowledges

In the preceding chapters, the construction of the truths surrounding language development within the case study has been discussed. Through the interaction of the active discourses, specific sets of realities or truths are created which can then be seen in the practices of linguists and communities alike. These truths both influence practice, and are recreated by practice. They create particular frameworks of knowledge and power structures which further impact language development practice and the relationships between participants.

Table 10.1 lists the truths created within academic and community discourses in the case study. They are drawn directly from the concluding sections of the preceding chapters. I have divided these into truths about language, standardisation, and orthography. Each section begins with a similar truth. Due to the obvious dissimilarity between these discursive frameworks in practice, I initially found the similarities surprising. However, I came to realise that the discrepancy relates to the different contexts in which these similar truths are understood. Thus, while both sets of discourses have a truth that language is a discrete definable entity, based on land and cultural context, the different understandings of the relationship between speech varieties and the role of variation led to differing practices in language standardisation. Coming from the academic discourse, this table has somewhat normalised the truths of this discourse, as my experience of the communities was always in comparison to my own discursive structure. However, I present them here as a summary of two alternate frameworks for understanding the participation of two groups of people involved in the same process.

Table 10.1: 'Truths' of language development

Academic Discourses	Community Discourses
Language	
Discrete, definable entity, based on land and culture	Discrete definable entity, based on land and shared knowledge
Relationships based on shared innovation and historical proto-language	Relationships based on cultural heritage and authority
Primarily linguistic function	Overtly emblematic function
Can and should be scientifically analysed	Can only be understood in context of history and cultural interaction
Standardisation	
Good and necessary within language group	Good and necessary within speech community
A linguistic process	A political process based in complex expressions of identity
Variation from 'norm' largely erased	Variation contains layers of meaning and identity
Orthography	
Represents salient sounds	Represents salient sounds
Significant sounds based on linguistic function, i.e. phonology.	Significant sounds include emblematic function, and broader linguistic context
Good and necessary for development	Desirable where it supports cultural integrity

Within the academic framework, language was considered to be an analysable entity, existing independently of context for the purpose of oral communication. The relationship between languages as discrete entities was likewise based on a context independent model of language change. However, for the Milne Bay communities, language was intrinsically linked to land and cultural history, so much so that the knowledge of language and history was considered valuable in land claims. The real understanding of language did not lie in its analysis, but in its association with cultural identity and patterns of authority. Even where the academic discourses were validated in the cultural practices of language development, their acceptance was confined by the communities' truths.

The contrasting truths around language underpin the truths of language standardisation and orthography development. Within the linguistic framework, both of these tasks were scientific and analytical, and abstracted themselves from the context of the communities. Within the community framework, these tasks were not linguistic, but cultural,

creating a new visual representation of language, and by extension, identity. This is reflected in linguistic truths based on language as an analysable, context free entity, contrasting with community truths constructed around language as a cultural, interactional, and identity expressing and formulating practice.

In summary, the main difference between the two sets of truths lies in the relationship between the culture of everyday life and language. While the academic view tends to separate the two in order to find the underlying 'reality', the communities see language development as part of the larger practice of creating and renegotiating current identity in relationship to the past. Thus, the communities required orthographic practices that expressed and strengthened their specific cultural values and knowledges, while the linguistic preference was for practices that relied on culture-independent scientific models which could be applied to any language in the world, but could not deal with culture specific communicative practices. The academic truths allowed the scientific models to be seen as context independent, rather than as practices created within their own socio-historically specific context.

The truths listed in Table 10.1 produced a set of knowledges which were instrumental in defining practice in the case study. Thus, academic discourses produced knowledges about language classification, sounds of languages, and the processes of language development based on language as a context free entity which can only be truly understood through linguistic analysis. Conversely, community discourses produced knowledges about language classification, sounds of languages and the processes of language development based on language as a culturally embedded practice. Table 10.2 lists these knowledges as they have been discussed in the previous chapters.

Table 10.2: 'Knowledges' of language development

Academic Discourses	Community Discourses
Linguistic classification based on historical relationship	Ethnoclassification based on cultural relationships
Sound system based on phonological analysis of language	Sound system encompasses emblematic function of language
Academic models of language standardisation and orthography development	Colonial and mission-based experiences of written language

These truths and knowledges and their interaction have been created within a socio-historically specific context. Menezes de Souza (2006: 156-164) discusses the process of language development within the Brazilian context. While there are a number of similarities

with the Milne Bay context discussed here, particularly with regard to the cultural embeddedness of language development practice, the specifics are different. Different relationships between local speech varieties and the national language influence attitudes towards standardisation. Furthermore, a contextually specific understanding of the purpose of writing as the representation of knowledge, not just speech, influences practices of engagement with language development.

Tension results from two contrasting discursive structures being brought to bear in the same process of language development. Discursive structures with different frameworks of truth and knowledge clash as the truths and knowledges are negotiated. At the same time, relationships of power are contested. Consequently, the 'same process' of language development contains very different meaning for participants operating from different discursive structures. Linguistic theories do not translate to the culturally embedded contexts of language development practices. They were not created to deal with the impact that the expression of identity through language, including the sound systems and written language, has on community-based decision making. Similarly, when the communities opened themselves up to the academic discourses, their framework clashed with the context-neutral models of the academic discourses.

Why then do people open themselves up to contesting discourses? Contesting discourses are allowed space by the renegotiation of the discursive structure through the recursive production of texts. While academic discourses have provided the framework for the construction of scientific models of language development, within academia there is also space for the problematisation and critical reflection of scientific models, and this is available in linguistics, anthropology and sociology, among other disciplines. Likewise, discourses of community not only draw on tradition and culture, but also the changing social context as it impacts on their daily lives, providing space for the voice of discourses of the agents of change. In all these situations, the contestation of discourses and the consequently shifting discursive structures are evident in the power situated and produced within the discursive structures, and the roles, ownership and systems of authority they create. These issues of power and authority are discussed in the following section.

10.2 Power, roles, authority and ownership

The systems of truth and knowledge created within the academic and community discourses of language development are constantly being renegotiated within discursively

created systems of power. Within the framework of Foucauldian discourse analysis, power is not seen from a simple Marxist perspective, but rather this approach acknowledges the complexity of power relationships that exist in any interaction. Power is not seen in contrast to powerlessness, but as a creative response by any participant including those with less political or social power. Power within a particular discursive structure is linked with access to its knowledge systems. Within the case study of Milne Bay, tension arose when numerous frameworks, and consequently numerous systems of power and knowledge operated within the one situation. The power systems were enacted through and validated by the roles and authority of various participants, and the ownership of land, language, and other cultural artefacts.

10.2.1 The academic discourse

The academic discourse creates a particular set of subjects and objects which are related to one another according to their access to the systems of knowledge. This creates a set of roles based on 'us', the linguist, and 'them', the community (as seen in the organization of this section). This dichotomy is clearly evident in the literature review in §1.1. According to this dichotomy of linguistic and non-linguistic factors, authority and ownership of the processes of language development is assigned to the linguists who have the knowledge of scientific models of language development.

The linguist takes the position of subject. This role is created as a position of power, allotted to those with the knowledge gained through western academic training in linguistics. As discussed in §3.1, this knowledge is part of the scientific institution and expressed through academic qualifications, publications, and positions at a university. The linguist has a set of tools, and a theoretical framework which validates their work and gives them authority in a particular area of knowledge. Within the western context, there is a degree of ownership over this knowledge, reflected for example in the rules relating to plagiarism.

Within the language development literature, the role of the linguist is generally as the expert who analyses the language and creates the orthography. In an earlier Critical Discourse Analysis of roles in language development, based on a review of articles on community-based language development from 2000-2005 (see §10.4), I made the following observations (Easton 2005):

> *... linguists [focus] on issues such as the proposal and introduction of writing systems, scientific analytical tasks such as the description of the phonology, or*

> *the comparison of languages, the construction of a linguistic framework for the language planning process through undertaking needs assessment of the communities, and the establishment of criteria for standardisation.*
>
> *... the linguist expresses their own knowledge as values, rather than knowledge structures that need to be justified. They talk of a desire to balance linguistic with political, cultural and pedagogical concerns, and favouring phonemically based writing systems.*

While corpus tasks such as creating orthographies, defining and codifying norms and publishing dictionaries are assigned in this system to the linguist, the implementation of decisions lies elsewhere. Thus, the academic discourses created a context in which the powerful position only has authority over analysis and the creation of language products, not over their use, which is beyond the linguist's research tasks.

Within these discourses, linguistic tasks are contrasted with non-linguistic tasks, and the linguist is contrasted with the community. The community is generally considered to be a homogenous entity with a 'traditional' culture, language and land rights. In the history of colonialism, these 'communities' have often been the object of research, with their artefacts, rituals, culture and languages being recorded. Within the language endangerment literature, this documentation is justified as a means to save the knowledges contained in the languages of the world. Communities are often described as having 'subjective' views of their language. Within a scientific framework this knowledge is often largely erased.

However, despite the position of seeming powerlessness attributed to communities, the academic literature does recognise the role and authority of communities in some aspects of language development. In Easton (2005), I argue that within the literature, communities were observed to have a much broader role in language development. They were recognised as being involved in corpus tasks, albeit less actively than linguists, and particular individuals' knowledge of 'linguistic' aspects of language was considered remarkable enough to require mentioning. Communities were also heavily involved in the implementation and acceptance of orthographies. In this way, they were able to take ownership of their own language practice based on their own systems of authority.

10.2.2 The community

While the academic discourses attempt to create a homogenous unit out of 'the community', communities are in fact made up of diverse and sometimes disagreeing

individuals. The systems of power within the communities of the case study were based on the 'holders of knowledge' (see §7.2).

The roles of holders of knowledge are assigned through the passing down of cultural knowledge from one generation to the next, giving the authority of decision making to the elders of a community. These knowledge frameworks tell the stories of the ownership of land and power, and the stories that unify and separate communities from one another. Introduced institutions have created further positions of leadership in the community, including teachers, women's fellowship leaders, church leaders, Sunday school teachers, and local level government councillors. These roles are widely recognised, but only carry limited authority. For example, most of the younger participants in the language development workshops held some sort of recognised position in their community. While their input was acknowledged and accepted, the elders needed to be present to enable any decision making to take place.

Such roles can also be assigned to outside experts in relation to introduced knowledges. Within the case study, the community leaders assigned power to me as a linguist through the discourse of 'holders of knowledge'. Orthography development was viewed as an external process that required external expertise. My role was to be present as a holder of knowledge, thus enabling the process of orthography development to take place. I did not own any knowledge of the language, only my knowledge of orthography development and linguistics in general. I had no authority over community processes and decision-making, but did have the authority to present the views of linguistics, and was often asked to do so.

It would have been possible for me to take more authority, and emphasise the scientific approach to orthography development. However, in doing this, I would have been stepping beyond the boundaries of community systems of power, and rendered the process less effective in producing an orthography that would be used by the community, accepted as a cultural artefact to be implemented, maintained, and transformed as the community saw appropriate. The importance of this limited role, as imposed from outside, is reflected in the use of the orthography in the Taupota School. After the ADW, an elementary program was introduced into Taupota Primary School. However, rather than using the Taupota orthography developed during the ADW, the teachers used the Wedau orthography of the Anglican mission. In 2004, they were waiting for me to give final approval to their orthography so that it could be used in the school. This limitation had been placed on them by the Education Department.

The cultural knowledge of the communities also created systems of power between communities. This is most obvious in the case of Taupota, who chose to exclude the Taupota speakers from Galuwahi from the ADW, while attempting to tell the Awauya participants that they were part of the Taupota group (see §8.4.3, and §8.4.4). While Taupota attempted to exert power, the communities of Galuwahi and Awauya responded with power in a more creative way. Galuwahi chose to focus on developing their ancestral language, Gweda, at the ADW, while Awauya passively chose not to be influenced by Taupota through non-participation. During the 2004 workshop, Awauya once again demonstrated their power and ownership of their speech variety despite the claims of Taupota, by choosing to put their stories in the Topura book, rather than the Taupota book.

Issues of power, ownership and authority are central to the tensions between Wamira and Wedau. Wamira claim ownership, and consequently authority, over the land and the language. Meanwhile, Wedau rely on the authority of the Anglican mission in their claim for authority and ownership. Issues of language standardisation and orthography development cannot be resolved without addressing these issues. The workshop participants saw their role as educators for the communities, particularly for the elders and the schools who are responsible for the decisions made and their implementation respectively. Without the cooperation of these groups, unresolved issues would spread through the communities, particularly through the elementary schools. Interestingly, in Divari, the teachers and communities have decided to continue to write how they see fit until Wedau and Wamira reach a decision. This demonstrates both the authority of Wedau and Wamira over Divari, and the power that Divari has over its own activities as a small, newer settlement. The elders of Rumaruma (Wamira 2) also took a similar view to that of Divari.

10.2.3 Alternate frameworks

The role of the linguist exists within both frameworks, but the actual substance of this role is different. For the linguist there are goals of data collection, linguistic analysis, the creation and use of orthographies, and language preservation. Issues of broader cultural and economic development of the communities are rarely considered. Meanwhile, the communities have goals of cultural and language preservation, the perpetuation of traditional knowledge, providing relevant education for their children, social and economic advancement. Issues of linguistic analysis are only of interest when they help to achieve these goals.

The creation of the community in linguistics helps to achieve the relevant scientific goals, while simultaneously creating a recipient of language development tasks. However, as can be seen from the case study, the interaction of power, authority and ownership within the communities is complex, influencing intergenerational discussion, as well as intercommunity conflicts. While the academic framework may describe the community as 'linguistically naïve', from within the community framework, a much more complex understanding of language is created.

Having discussed the role of linguist, and that of community, I also need to mention the role of linguistic facilitator. During the language development processes described in this thesis, the linguists (myself and colleagues) took on the role of linguistic facilitators (see §2.5, and §1.2.3). Thus, our goals, at least consciously, were not those of linguistic analysis, but of assisting the communities in their own process. The power structure created through this approach at least superficially acknowledged the ownership and authority of speakers over their own language use and was open to the tensions that arose within and between the communities. The role was still one of an outside 'expert', but not that of the provider of products. Rather, we aimed to support the communities' creation of their own cultural artefacts. The practices and relationship ideally possible as a result of this approach are discussed in the next section.

10.3 Linguistics in community-based language development

The case study was an example of community-directed language development work. The role of the linguist was one of facilitation, not analysis and decision-making. The process was an interaction between community values and truths and those of the 'outside facilitator'. I learned about the influence of the communities' context on their communication, while the community participants were presented with linguistically based options in their problem areas.

While the linguistic facilitator is generally discussed as a change in attitude of the linguist (see §1.2.3), the role is actually defined by the community through their internally created systems of knowledge and power (see §7.2). There were times when community members would ask me to take a more active role in making decisions. However, once I assured them that they were capable of such decision-making, they readily took on the responsibility. The linguistic facilitator is a role of empowerment, providing the support communities need to engage with introduced technologies such as writing and the

construction of books and other materials. In my role, I also encouraged communities to find the 'experts' within their group: writers, storytellers, teachers, so that they could become less dependent on outside resources which are unlikely to be available. As a result, the participants made the decisions, and my presence as a linguistic facilitator gave them the courage to confront a range of sometimes pressing and emotionally charged language-related issues.

My knowledge of linguistics enabled me to bring new insight to speakers' understandings of their communication patterns. Linguistics did not provide a model for practice, but provided some tools that participants could choose to access. We discussed minimal pairs, allophonic variation, linguistic change and variation, and lexical borrowing. However, these were not presented as answers, but as contextual information for discussions of orthography options. As the facilitator, I would often share stories of how other languages in that region or elsewhere in Papua New Guinea had dealt with similar issues. This opened up new possibilities for the participants.

As part of the decision making process, the workshop participants and linguistic facilitators together created a list of advantages and disadvantages of the various orthographic options. (Seifart 2006: 287 gives a generalised list of advantages and disadvantages of various orthographic choices.) Then community models of decision-making took over. This often involved lengthy discussions, both within the workshop and after hours. The process was not a 'nine-to-five' job, but a deep renegotiation of self and community.

As a linguist, I was able to give insight into the process of orthography development and suggest activities and model practices that might be helpful for the communities. Due to my willingness to consult with the community, rather than have the participants work for me, the language development process became one of empowerment for the communities as they further reclaimed their role in culture and language maintenance. At the conclusion of each workshop, this aspect of my role was acknowledged by the participants who had grown in their confidence and determination to continue developing their own speech varieties in a way that is connected with the past and also with the present climate of cultural change.

However, a further aspect of my role which proved to be surprisingly empowering, was my acknowledgement of the history of my own language. In a context where English is seen as the key to success and wealth, I would tell the story of the development of English. When the participants saw the level of 'borrowing' that had occurred as a result of cultural invasion, the historical phonetic changes represented in the orthography, the irregularity of

spelling rules, and generally the 'humanness' of English, they began to see their own speech variety in a new light. They no longer felt that they spoke a substandard mixed language destroyed by cultural change, instead they spoke a language with a history not dissimilar to English. One of the most humbling moments of my work in Papua New Guinea was when an elder in Bougainville gave a speech to conclude a workshop and said that what he was most thankful for was that I had shown him that English was also a *longlong* language ('crazy/stupid' in Tok Pisin). He had found new value in his culture, and in his person.

Community-based language development provides an opportunity for mutual learning. As we share our linguistic and cultural knowledge with communities, we experience the deep connectedness of language and life within them. Through living in the villages of Milne Bay, I learnt not only about language, but also about relationship with community, environment and sociohistorical context. Given that language is an important part of relationship, I had much to learn about what is important. The minimal pairs and the allophonic variation paled in significance compared to the deeply held and expressed sense of self as a person connected with their world in many complex ways. I can only imagine what I would have missed, and what the communities would have missed, had I entered the process as the creator of their 'language'.

My experience has led me to believe that linguists and linguistics do have a role in community-based language development as long as we are willing to step beyond the confines of scientific analysis. The process can be beneficial for both parties, and can be one of empowerment for speech communities which are often looked over by their nation. My experiences and the findings of this thesis are summarised in Stebbins (2003: 274):

> *Community directed language documentation has the potential to be a transformative process,… both for communities and for linguists. Finding ways to work together generates hope.*

However, there is also a need for the role of the linguist in community-based language development to be recognised within the institutions of linguistics. This is the focus of the following section.

10.4 Community development in linguistics

The case study of this thesis has demonstrated the role that linguists can have in community-based language development. However, another question needs to be asked. Given that the role, authority and power relationships of the linguist in community-based

work are based on a community-constructed framework, does community-based language development work have any place in linguistics? Even studies of language endangerment struggle with this question as they focus on the construction of academic grammars and dictionaries for dying languages.

If community-based work is to be part of linguistics, it has to be viable within the discourses informing its practice. Currently, there is much community-based work being undertaken by linguists, but it is in many ways considered secondary to their real work. Silk-screened books of stories do not count on a list of publications. Research must be generated within the scientific framework of linguistic analysis, and peer refereed. Academic grammars and dictionaries are considered the real work of a linguist, while the creation of schoolbooks, teaching grammars and other texts requested by the communities are secondary tasks that are unlikely to attract funding.

In my work, I have continually found myself trying to justify my methods. Some linguists have questioned the validity of a phonological analysis completed during the two weeks of the ADW, unable to understand that a comprehensive phonological analysis was not the basis of the process. The concept of the ADW has been dismissed by many linguists as inappropriate for 'their' phonologically complex language, despite its widespread use in the Austronesian and Papuan languages of Papua New Guinea, and for the minority languages of Thailand. AusAID, the funding organization for the ADW, sent copies of our orthography documentation to be checked by a linguist who in one case questioned 'our' analysis of semivowels (as seen in the orthography), having not recognised that it was the communities, not the linguists who made the orthography decisions. When I tell the story of my work in Papua New Guinea to linguists, I am often asked how long I spent in each language area, as they grapple with the concept of community directed and owned work which invites linguists in as short term consultants.

These attitudes are also reflected in the literature. I undertook a Critical Discourse Analysis study, based on the framework of Fowler (1985) and Eira (2005), of articles written by linguists or language planners portraying the process of current community-based language development. I searched five journals which focus on language planning and/or orthography development, from 2000 – 2005, and only seven articles were found.[75] My conclusion was

[75] The journals searched were: *Written language and literacy*, *The international journal of the sociology of language*, *Current issues in language planning*, *Language policy*, and *Language problems and language planning*.

that within academic discourses, there is little room for the communities, or community-based tasks of the linguist (Easton 2005):

> *Academic discourses of language result in a discipline which focuses on the role of the linguist or language planner rather than on any of the other stakeholders in the process, including the speakers of the language themselves. This is done through patterns in naming, the focus on corpus tasks and the hegemonic status of western scientific frameworks of knowledge. It fails to recognise the power which lies within the communities for whom language planning is part of a larger process of the social construction and negotiation of identity. Despite working with communities on a number of tasks, academic discourses do not allow linguists the space to recognise, acknowledge and discuss community discourses of task, knowledge and power. Rather, an 'other' is created. This other is considered deviant from the academic discourses, and exists only in comparison with 'self'.*

This 'other' can be the community or it can be the linguist undertaking tasks extraneous to those of academic linguistics. This 'othering' renders community-based practices external to the 'real' work of linguistics.

It would be misleading of me to suggest that linguists are not involved in tasks beyond those of academic research. Linguists respond to the situations they find in their fieldwork in many ways worldwide. What I argue here is that this is despite the discursive systems of power within linguistics, not because of them. Pensalfini (2004: 154) supports this view in describing his work with Aboriginal communities in northern Australia.

> *In the academic world, [community directed work] is considered less important than, and an accidental by-product of, my collecting, analysis and theorizing over linguistic data. When it comes to calculating funding ratios, assessing the impact and quality of research, the theoretical article and reference grammar are valued much more highly than materials, which can be used for the direct benefit of speech communities…Even where academic linguists would like to be of use to the communities from which they draw the resources for their career, the pressures and priorities of the academic world mitigate against this.*

If we, as linguists, hope to respond positively to the language-related aspirations of the whole range of communities struggling against circumstance in various ways, we need to

validate community-based linguistic work, and acknowledge the goals of speakers for their languages. We need to recognise what we have to offer, and approach the task with the appropriate humility of an outsider invited to provide insight into the renegotiation of cultural identity.

11 Insights into community-based language development

This thesis has focused on the roles and practices of communities and linguists in community-based language development, particularly language standardisation and orthography development. Practice has been discussed as a discursively created text, which highlights the underlying socio-historically specific truths, knowledges and systems of power. However, the aim has been more than description. It has been to grapple with the issues that linguists face in community-directed research and language development on a wider scale.

In §1 I presented five questions about language development that have arisen out of my own practice in Papua New Guinea.

- How does the linguistic theory used in orthography development and language standardisation view language and the processes of orthography development and language standardisation?
- How do the speakers view their language and the processes of orthography development and language standardisation?
- How do these views of language and the processes of language planning differ?
- What can linguistics offer communities in the processes of orthography development and language standardisation?
- What can linguistics learn about language from these communities?

Having discussed the issues raised by these questions through the thesis, here I summarise the arguments by addressing each question separately.

The linguistic theory used in orthography development language standardisation is created by a strongly scientific discursive structure. Languages are considered to be discrete entities, most effectively analysed outside of their context. The existence of languages is a naturalised phenomenon, and the work of the linguist is to uncover the underlying grammatical and phonological structure that enables communication. Thus, language standardisation and orthography development is a process of uncovering this structure in a scientific manner and assigning a writing system based on this analysis of language (which unquestionably exists). While within the academic discourses, tensions between theory and practice are recognised, there are few tools for dealing with these tensions.

Meanwhile, speakers view their language as a cultural artefact through which their identity is represented and negotiated. The meaning contained in language is embedded within the culture, with even the phonetic realisations of sounds having an emblematic function.

Language does not only refer to what people speak, but can also create connections with the past through the retention of ancestral languages as markers of identity. Within this context, the processes of orthography development and language standardisation are essential practices of the negotiation and recreation of identity and cultural meaning. Decisions are based on connections with the past, relationships between villages, and the desires to create a sustainable cultural representation that will be retained for generations to come. Linguistic analysis is only useful in so far as it supports the goals and desires of the participants in the process. As a deeply culturally embedded process, decisions are not made lightly or without the appropriate holders of knowledge being present.

The beliefs of these two groups in relation to language and language development differ in their connection with context. While linguistic analysis removes itself from context in order to gain objectivity, community approaches continually draw in new layers of context as the process continues. For the linguist, symbols are arbitrary, but for the community they represent hostilities, connections, authority, belonging and commitment. Given the differences discussed in this thesis, it has been surprising to me that occasionally there is superficial agreement between the linguistic view and communities' views. However, even in these situations, tensions may arise reflecting the underlying motivations that are likely to be poles apart as they are based in quite different discursive structures.

Given the depth of the difference involved, it is reasonable to consider what, if anything, linguistics has to offer community-based language development. While linguistics may not be able to provide practical models and answers, it is able to provide tools, and help the communities understand some of the educational implications of their decisions. However, given the disempowerment of many communities through colonisation and missionisation, and the associated introduction of foreign technologies such as writing, I believe that the most important thing a linguist can offer is the gift of empowerment. By being present, offering our knowledge as linguists and encouraging communities in their desires for their people and their language, we can contribute towards the creation of a space in which they can take back some of the control of their lives. We can help communities to see the value in their culture and language, and equip them with the tools to continue to develop as agents after we leave. Because unless we choose to give up our current life, and turn our back on the academic linguistic world, and our homes and families, we will most certainly leave the community. They should have more than a few stories of the silly outsider as a result of our stay.

There is also much that linguistics can learn from communities' approaches to language. The embeddedness of language within life is something that can be forgotten in the midst of the scientific discourse. We can forget that language is a cultural artefact used to negotiate connection and identity. We can miss seeing the complexity that underlies each utterance, and the simplicity that underlies each legend. We can fail to recognise the subtle change in meaning due to a gesture or an inflection. We can lose the mystery that is embodied in human communication. While the speakers I worked with may not have been able to construct an academic grammar of their language, they knew all of these things well. These knowledges about language and culture were a salient part of who they were, and a salient part of the practices of orthography development and language standardisation.

Long experience has shown that the tensions that arise between participants in language development are impossible to ignore or suppress. Pushing them underground will not make them go away, and imposing an answer will not move the process forwards. Rather, we can choose to learn from each other, and work towards a communal goal, instead of personal success. Within the communities described here, there are elders who have the power to make the decision of the community. During the language development workshops, I watched these elders choose to listen to the young people, to the teachers, to me. Despite the personal tension this created they chose not to simply dismiss the ideas of others, but rather grapple with the values and desires that were creating the alternate realities. I believe that we, as linguists, can learn much from their example.

Appendix A – Community participants

Many people participated in this research. The following list acknowledges those who participated in the 2001 ADW, 2004 Writers' Workshop, and those who assisted with village-based data collection. There are many others who participated as part of community meetings whose names are not included in this list, but their assistance is also acknowledge and appreciated.

Aigura

Abednigo Baipamuri
Molly Mawero
Serah Mawero
Nita Ninido
Lorna Taugaloidi

Awauya

Nancy Kei
Duncy Korisibeni
Sanders Soliwin

Divari

Molly Baibuni
Lina Giririba
Joshua Sauga
Melisa Wilfred

Galuwahi

Jerome Aladina
Frank Geribo
Washington Paisowa
Isaac Routuna
Rhona Waibadi
Evelyn Webumo

Lavora

Mavis Lawakina
Rhona Ninido

Taupota

Kiplin Auwedi
Natalie Burorosi
Emily Cliff

Taupota cont.

Hames Cliff
Rex Nixon Iuda
Lindsay Kako
Fr. Wilfred Keabani
Samson Keipona
Trecy Keimou
Stewart Keko
Airis Kemokemo
William Kemokemo
Lucy Luke
Bonita Nohowan
Hezekiah Raubiro
Linda Remi
Rita Rodesi
Beryl Samba
Washington Samba
John Tapiedi
Jonathan Tauwaherao
Septimus Tawaia
Anna Teio
Cademon Teio
Dickson Teio
Margaret May Teio
Albert Tiwekuri

Topura

Anita Cuthbert
Felicity Duluvina
Chris Gehora
Delma Gehora
Bella Konegala
Washington Samba
Warrington Waranaga
Molly Weuta

Wamira

David Badirega
Frean Barakaina
Hubert Boloti
William Bonagadona
Philip Dagiwaime
Watson Giurina
Romney Matuai
Maud Namuri
Pesco Raupuri
Nigel Taripena
Harold Taubobori
Grant Taukum
Wallace Tiriwa

Wedau

Joel Biare
Simeon Kibikibi
Nick Raurela
Mathias Taugopi
Nita Taugopi

Yapoa

Ethel Slade Bagitaia
Abel Buneara
Gladford Eniba
Julian George
Ann Marie Kuloidi
Jones Yoma

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