LANGUAGE USE AMONGST THE QAQET BAINING:

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF LANGUAGE CHOICES IN AN ETHNOLINGUISTIC MINORITY OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Submitted by

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Abstract

Set within a sociolinguistic framework, this empirical study of language choice of the Qaqet Baining of East New Britain, Papua New Guinea, is the first of its kind on a Baining community. The project provides a starting point for future sociolinguistic inquiry into Baining languages and contributes to scholarly discussion on language shift and maintenance in autochthonous ethnolinguistic minority communities.

Following a six week field trip into the region to conduct a series of sociolinguistic surveys on language use, the findings are presented through a framework of key sociolinguistic theories. A qualitative evaluation of the data gathered revealed clear rules surrounding language choice, as well as a number of principles governing these rules. With reference to similar case studies, the thesis will be concluded with a discussion on possible future trajectories of the Qaqet Baining language and the Qaqet Baining community.

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1. Introduction

This MA thesis began as a part of a pilot study on the acquisition of the Qaqet Baining language, a Non-Austronesian language of East New Britain (funded by the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme, ELDP), which complements the description and documentation of the adult language (funded by the Australian Research Council, ARC). While typological and grammatical aspects are the focus of the main study under Birgit Hellwig's direction, this portion of the project takes a sociolinguistic approach, examining language use amongst the Qaqet Baining. There has, to date, been no sociolinguistic inquiry into Qaqet Baining communities or any other Baining communities and so no specific aspect of language use could be focused upon. This project, therefore, set out to describe the language use patterns as reported by the community and as observed by the researchers.

The development of the methodologies (i.e., conceptualisation of the surveys and interview questions), the implementation of the methods and the data collection (i.e., the selection, training and supervision of the research assistants, guiding the interviews, and recording language use reports and family trees), and the data coding and analysis were conducted by me over the past 24 months and included a six week field trip to Raunsepna. I accompanied Birgit Hellwig to the fieldsite, whose role in my research was supervisorial but who was able to provide me with complementary data (such as transcriptions and text corpus) from her own data collection.

In the chapters that follow, the theoretical and methodological approaches (Chapters 2 and 3) to the study will be detailed and examined. The findings of the study will then be presented (Chapter 4) before discussing how these findings can be linked and supported by the theoretical frameworks reviewed in Chapter 2. Finally, in concluding, we will explore future directions of both Qaqet Baining and of sociolinguistic inquiries into endangered or minority indigenous languages (Chapter 5 and 6). Before this though, an outline of the fieldsite and the community will help contextualise the data and findings presented.

1.1 Papua New Guinea

Located to the north of Australia, Papua New Guinea is home to around 7 million people (Edwards, 2006a)[1]. First human occupation of Papua New Guinea is generally dated to around 50,000 years ago (Dunn et al., 2002), with several waves of immigrants arriving from the west over the millennia, leading to an extremely heterogeneous linguistic and cultural landscape. As a result, Papua New Guinea has thousands of distinct communities, many with only very small populations and each with their own customs, traditions and languages (Foley, 2000).

Although Europeans had encountered Papua New Guinea as early as the 16th century, its interest as a colony was only established towards the end of the 19th century with Germany administering the northern half of the country and the surrounding islands (i.e., the Bismarcks) as German New Guinea. Around the same time, the British claimed the southern half of the island, naming it British New Guinea, but later renamed it Papua when Australia took over its administration. Australian occupation of German New Guinea during World War I led to Germany withdrawing from the region, but the two territories were not united until after the World War II. In 1975, Papua New Guinea achieved independence from Australia, but opted to remain within the Commonwealth monarchy.

Although indigenous traditions and customs are still widespread, European Christian missionaries were extremely successful in converting the indigenous population and discouraging cannibalism. Since arriving in the 1800's, missionaries of all denominations have penetrated even the densest jungle and altered the cultural practices of millions of people. While the majority of the population identify as Christian today, it is difficult to say how the concepts and fables of the bible have been interpreted.

Essentially, many of the Bible stories were culturally and historically alien to Papua New Guinean communities and, as Kulick (1992) further notes, Christianity has not so much displaced traditional belief systems as encompassed them, providing a framework into which traditional beliefs can be fitted. Additionally, for many communities, the first contact with Christianity was a shock. While for some communities it was their first contact with

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[1] Please note that obtaining accurate statistical information about Papua New Guinea is difficult. The PNG National Statistics Office has not updated their website since 2006, despite a census in 2011. The latest figures on PNG are only available through organisations such as UNESCO and CIA.

white people and they were frightened by their pale appearance, some missionaries in some areas (c.f. Kulick, 1992) were brutal in their proselytising, traumatising communities by demanding to be given access to sacred objects or places, and violating strict traditional taboos by exposure to the uninitiated.

Aside from Christianity, the arrival of Europeans to Papua New Guinea also brought literacy primarily through the bible. School education was largely, and still is, provided through church institutions, however, the literacy rate in Papua New Guinea remains low (49.2% according to UNESCO, 2009), particularly in rural areas, in which around 87% of the population are reportedly illiterate (Edwards, 2006a). While most villages will have access to some form of elementary education (from prep through to year two), primary and particularly secondary education, can be further away and difficult to access. Accessibility is nly one factor; students are also challenged by the need to achieve satisfactory marks to continue up the grades and lack of funding to go to school.

The majority of the population are agriculturists, and subsist largely on the produce of their own gardens in addition to gaining a little income from cash crops such as peanuts, cocoa, coffee, copra and palm kernels (for palm oil). The little money that people do have will be spent on local produce, particularly betel nut, or on imported goods such as tinned meat and fish, rice, oil, tea and coffee, instant noodles, and cigarettes. Imports into Papua New Guinea are quite limited, and access to imported cargo is even more restricted in rural or mountainous areas.
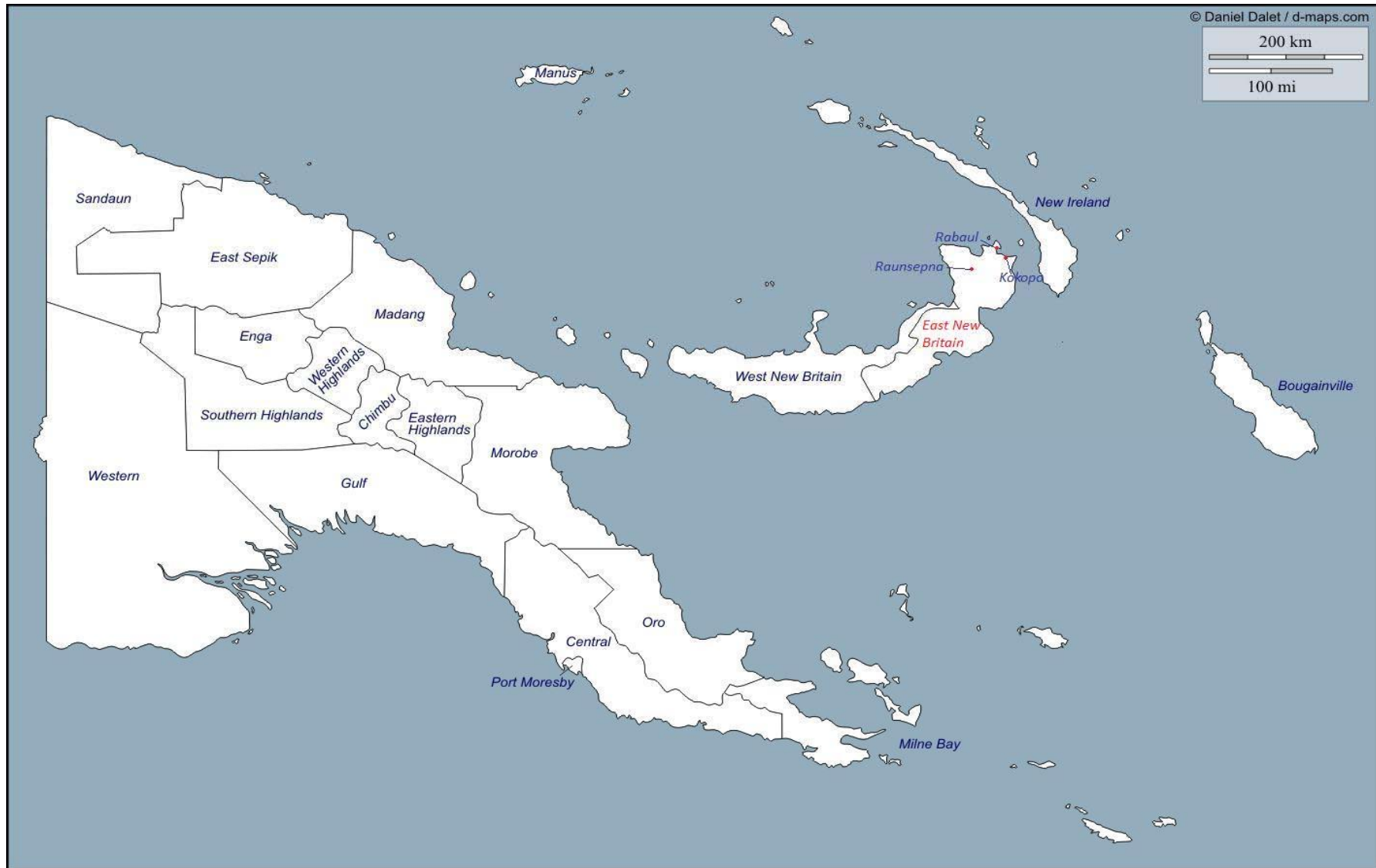
Figure 1: Map of Papua New Guinea (edited to show the location of Kokopo, Rabaul and Raunsepna in East New Britain) (Dalet, 2007-2013)

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1.1.1 Languages

Often cited as the most linguistically diverse country on Earth, Papua New Guinea has an estimated 848 languages, twelve of which are believed to be extinct (Lewis, Simons & Fennig, 2013). The languages are categorised as either Austronesian or non-Austronesian, with around a quarter of the Papua New Guinea's languages falling into the Austronesian category (Foley, 2000). The languages in the latter category are also sometimes referred to as Papuan, however this term is problematic. The only feature linking the varieties in this category is their virtue of being not of the Austronesian language family, and the term 'Papuan' presupposes some sort of genetic relationship (Foley, 2000). Non-Austronesian languages are, therefore, grouped together in what Dunn et al. (2002) call a 'residual category', until linguistic typologists working in the area can arrive at a consensus on if or how non-Austronesian languages are genetically related.

It is generally believed that Austronesian speakers arrived in the area around 4000-5000 years ago, spreading out east and south of the Bismarck archipelago to the Pacific islands (Foley, 2000). However, unlike the migrational waves that occurred in Eurasia, the languages already present in Papua New Guinea were not supplanted by the new incoming tongues, but rather added to (Foley, 2000). Over the millennia the linguistic complexity of the area has been added to, and because of the small clan structure of society, the hundreds of languages that developed are maintained by hundreds of small groups, many with fewer than 100 speakers (Foley, 2000).

Although languages that are considered non-Austronesian are not all isolates (although there are a many of them), there have been few families proposed within the non-Austronesian category. The primary reason for such difficulty in identifying groupings is that linguists must attempt to distinguish between true genetic features of a language and the areal features that have become deeply ingrained after millennia of borrowings and diffusion (Ross, 2001). The Baining languages, Mali, Qaqet, Kairak, Makolkol[2], Simbali and Uramot, have been tentatively grouped into East Papuan phylum, East New Britain family along with Butam and Taulil (Ross, 2001), although Stebbins (2009b) suggests that this grouping be revised as there has been a tendency to group non-Tolai languages together

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[2] Makolkol may be extinct

without linguistic evidence to substantiate the claim. Published data on any of the Baining languages is scarce; Mali is the only variety that has been thoroughly documented to date (c.f. Stebbins, 2009a, 2009b, 2010, 2011 & 2012) and descriptions of Kairak and Qaqet are currently being developed.

Languages of New Ireland and New Britain, PNG
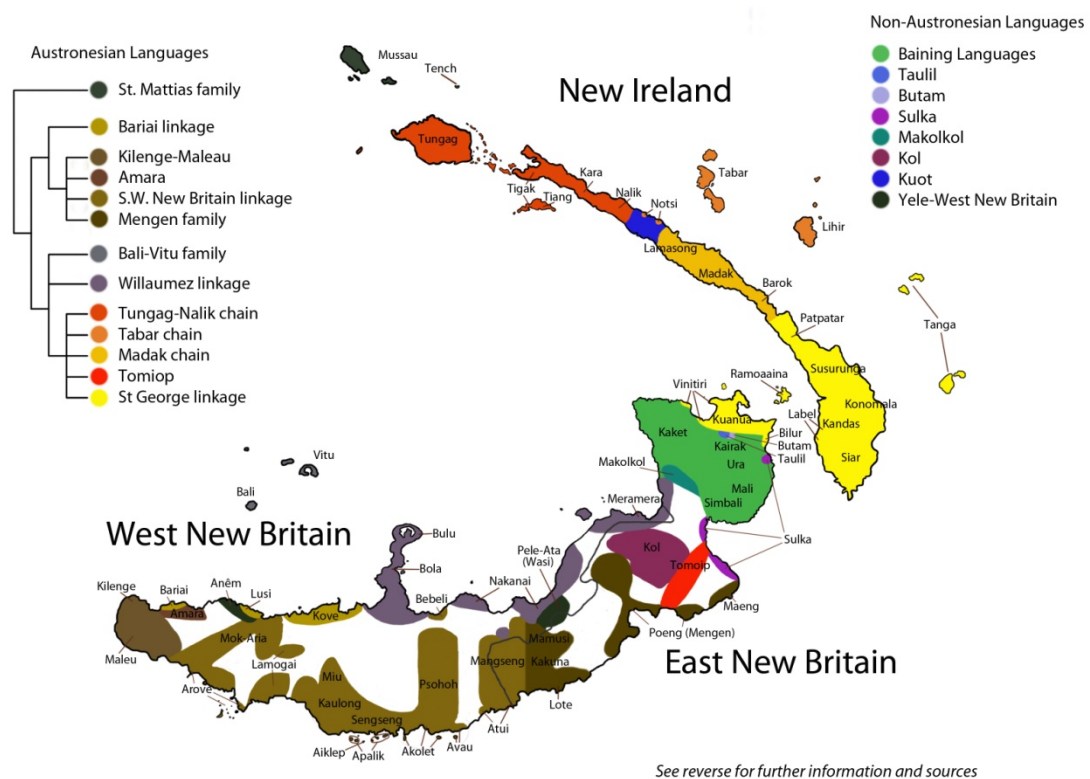
Figure **2**: **Languages of New Ireland and New Britain, PNG (Van Der Mark and Stebbins, 2009)**

Despite there being so many indigenous languages in Papua New Guinea, none are recognised as 'official' languages; the three official languages are Hiri Motu, Tok Pisin and English. Tok Pisin began as a pidgin towards the end of the 19th century in colonial plantations throughout the Pacific (including Queensland). Labourers on these plantations were transported from all over the Pacific and as a result developed a pidgin that drew primarily from English but also from German and Kuanua, the language of the Tolai of East New Britain. The pidgin evolved into Tok Pisin in German New Guinea, where the plantation industry was particularly intense and rapidly spread throughout the area as a creole. Today, Tok Pisin is the most widely used and understood language in Papua New Guinea, even being used sometimes in parliament and media. English is the official language of

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instruction, but in rural areas where English is rarely heard or used, elementary and primary schools will more often employ Tok Pisin in the classroom. School teaching materials are in English, and Tok Pisin literacy materials appear to be limited to things like newspapers, religious texts, and local announcements.

Hiri Motu meanwhile, is an indigenous pidgin and is largely spoken in Papua (the southern half of the Papua New Guinean main island), where the language on which it is based, Motu, originates. Though once widely used in New Guinea, Hiri Motu is spoken by only a small percentage of the population and is now being supplanted by Tok Pisin as the lingua franca (Ammon & Hellinger, 1992).

Although English is the language of administration, politics and instruction in schools, it is not employed by the general population in their daily lives and estimated to be spoken by around 1-2% of the population (CIA World Factbook).

1.2 Raunsepna and the Qaqet Baining

1.2.1 History

The island of New Britain, well-known in Australia for the volcanic eruption that blew the East New Britain Province capital of Rabaul away in 1994, is home to around half a million Papua New Guineans. The dominant ethnic group of East New Britain is the Tolai, who are said to have come to New Britain after fleeing a volcanic eruption on New Ireland sometime in the late 18th century, although it is impossible to establish dates (Fajans, 1997; Stebbins 2009). Their arrival on the Gazelle Peninsula (see Figures 1 and 3) displaced Baining peoples that had hitherto inhabited the area, forcing them inland into the mountains (Fajans, 1997). The relationship between the two groups was acrimonious to say the least, with both sides cannibalising the other. The Tolai, however, made concentrated efforts to capture Baining slaves and were the dominant group in this conflict.

German missionaries arriving in the area towards the end of the 19th century noted the unequal relationship between the Tolai and the Baining, with missionary records reporting the enslavement of the Baining, a practice that they set about abolishing (Hiery, 2007). The Tolai believed the Baining to be primitive and animal-like, a view that many Europeans adopted, and one that the Baining had little chance to dispel with their remote and insular

communities (Hiery 2007). Raids, punitive and retribution killings, and missionary settlements continued until the Great War, when influenza epidemics decimated populations. World War II brought more hardship for the peoples of New Britain, with the Japanese occupiers torturing, killing and enslaving people and destroying crops (Fajans, 1997).

The Baining population was further affected by the thriving plantation economy which drew the young Bainings away from villages, leaving only the aged. Missionaries also played a role in the declining Baining communities with some Bainings discouraged from maintaining their traditions and others forced into centralised settlements. By the mid-20th century, the peripheral coastal Baining populations (e.g., Kamanakam) had been so diminished by disease and social factors that they were described as a dying people (Hiery, 2007).

The inland Baining, in the mountainous areas of the peninsula, had a different colonial history though, and were not contacted by Europeans until 1939. The war and the almost impenetrable nature of region meant that the next Europeans did not return until 1951. This new wave of missionaries proved to be much less destructive in their approach than those of earlier generations, and rather than supplant traditional culture, Christianity was merged with it (Hiery, 2007). Catholic missionaries established a mission at Raunsepna, building a church, a clinic, and later a school, and even learnt Qaqet and produced a Qaqet bible. This increased contact with the outside world led initially to higher mortality rates and introduced diseases that damaged the staple crop, taro, however the effects of contact were much less devastating than to the coastal Baining populations.

1.2.2 Raunsepna today

Raunsepna, is located in the north of the Baining Mountains of East New Britain Province of Papua New Guinea (see Figures 2 and 3), around 60km to the south-west of Kokopo. While there is a road to the village, it is not well-maintained and it is necessary to walk part of the last 12 kilometres or so through rugged terrain to Raunsepna. This hike to the road at the top of the mountain is a regular walk for those picking up a cargo delivery from Kokopo, going to work in their cash crops or even just to find reception for a mobile phone. While we were not able to obtain exact figures for the village and surrounds, around 2000 were registered on the electoral role, while Ethnologue puts the number of Qaqet Baining at

around 6350. Neither of these figures is particularly accurate as the electoral role has only recorded adults above the age of 18, and the Ethnologue figure is dated 1988.

Raunsepna is one of a number of Qaqet villages (see Figure 3) which can generally be divided into northern or coastal villages and inland villages. Some of the northern coastal villages, like Kamanakam, tend to be more easily accessible and as such had earlier contact with colonists and missionaries. Most of the inland villages, such as Raunsepna, are much harder to access and more remotely located, meaning that their contact with Europeans occurred later than that of their coastal counterparts. While Raunsepna is representative of the inland Baining, other villages, such as Walmetki, are even more remotely located than Raunsepna.

There is some speculation as to the origins and the meaning of the name "Raunsepna", but the general consensus seemed to be that 'raun' came from the Qaqet word 'rlaun', meaning *billum* – Tok Pisin for 'dillybag', hence giving Raunsepna the meaning of 'bag bottom'. One theory behind this is that as Raunsepna is nestled between two mountains in a valley, it is akin to being at the bottom of a *billum*. Raunsepna is in fact the name for the missionary station where the health clinic, elementary and primary schools, priest's house, convent and church were built. The only people to actually reside in Raunsepna are the teachers, nurses, priest and nuns, i.e., outsiders sent to live in the area. Our own accommodation in the empty convent was also in this central area of the village.

The rest of the community live in bush dwellings in surrounding hamlets, some of which are a two hour walk away. Most of the population inhabit Merlalingi, Kedal, Lualait, Lasaram and Lamarain, the first four being the hamlets from which we drew our survey participants (see Figure 4).
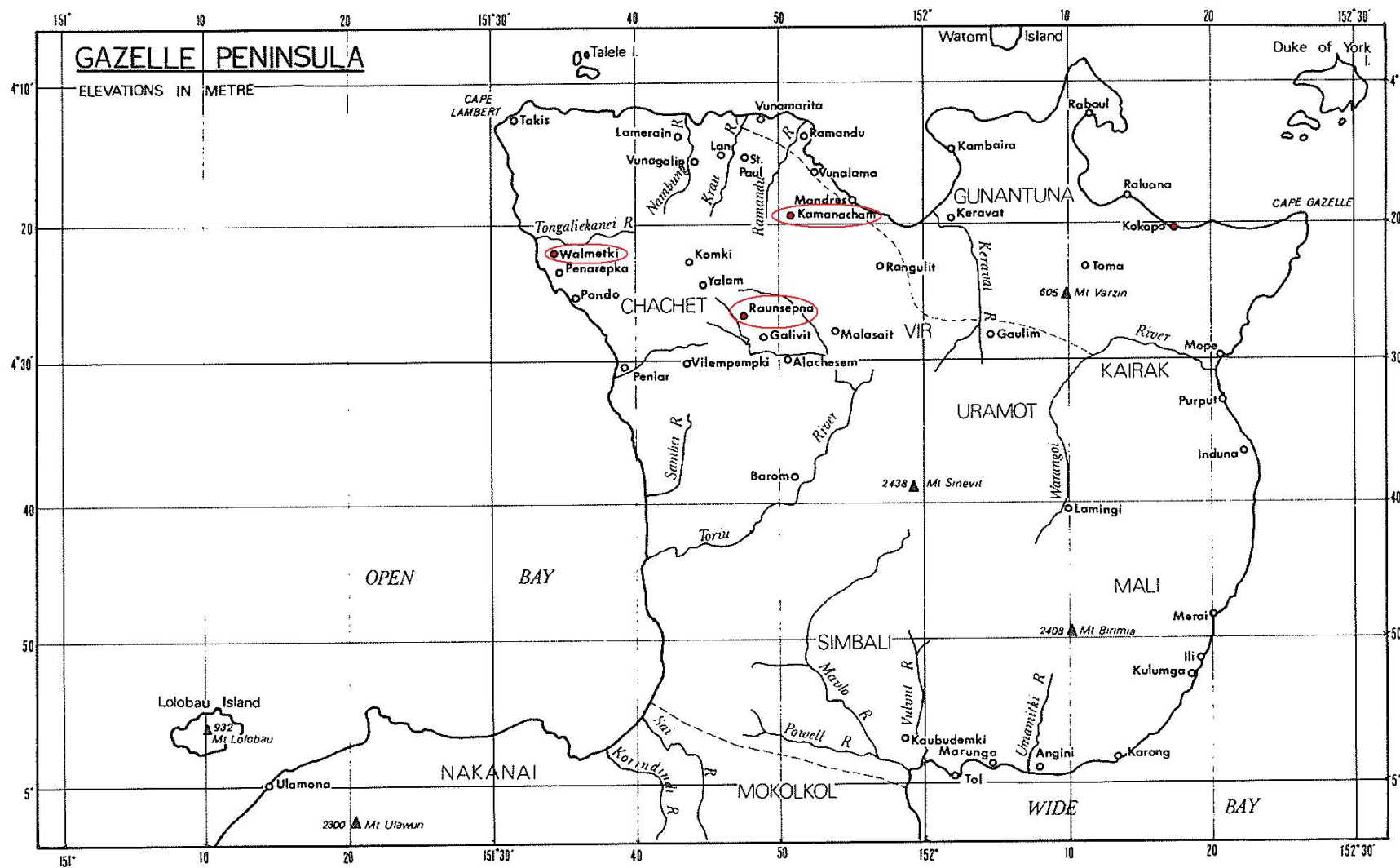
Figure 3: Gazelle Peninsula, East New Britain (Hesse & Aerts, 1982)

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MERLALINGI

RAUNSEPNA

TO KOKOPO

TO LAMARAIN

SCHOOL

SCHOOL

3
3
3
3
3

CLINIC
CLINIC

CHURCH

PLAYING FIELD

SCHOOL

1

2
2
2
2
2
2
2

CONVENT

PRIEST'S HOUSE

4

5

2

MAKI RIVER

LASARAM

KEDAL

LUALAIT

1– TEACHERS' STAFFROOM; 2– TEACHERS' HUTS; 3– NURSES HUTS; 4– PRIEST'S GUESTHOUSE; 5– MARKET

VILLAGE HUTS/COMPOUNDS

100m
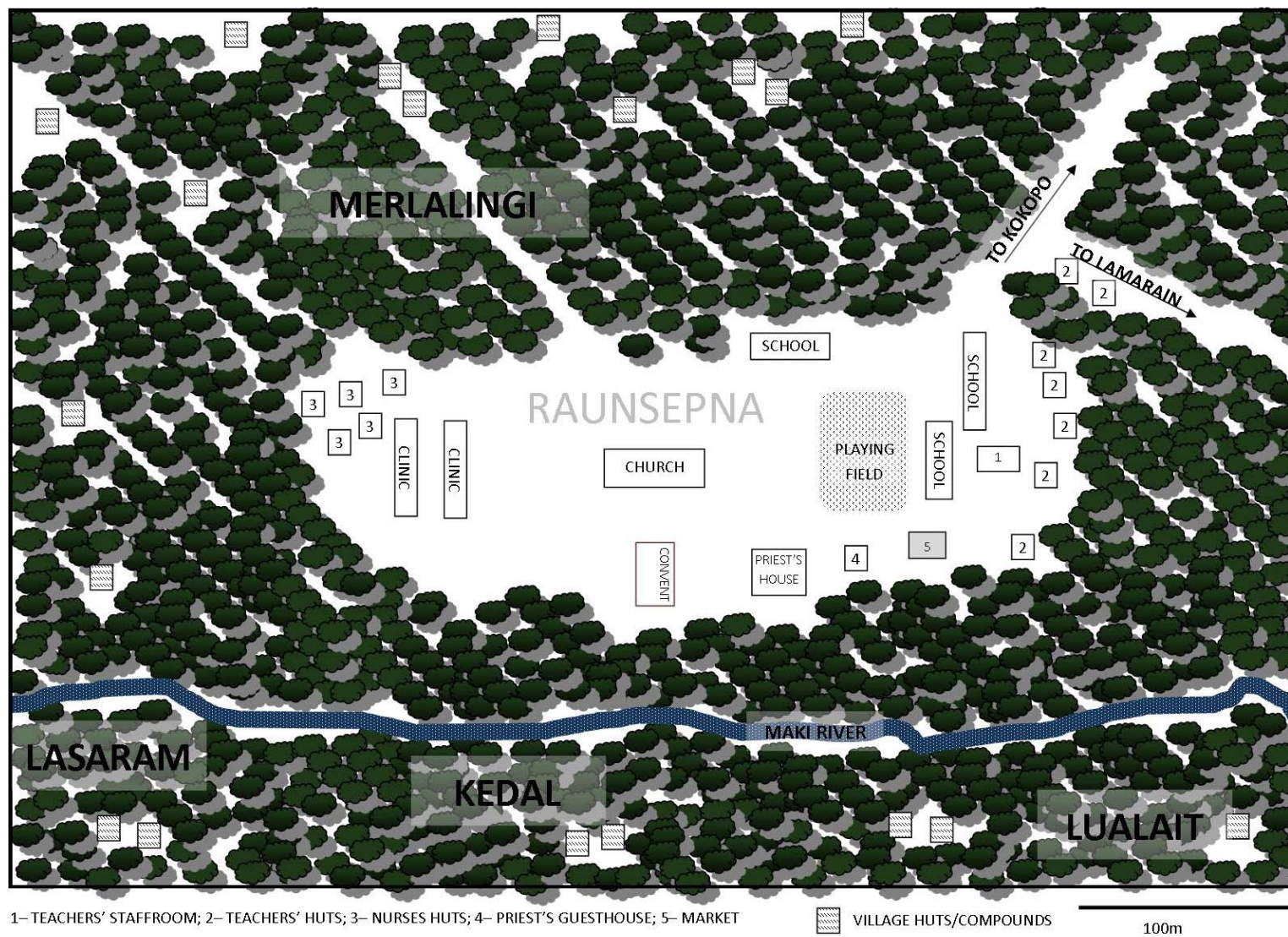
Figure 4: Map of Raunsepna

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For most residents, schooling ceases at grade 8 (at around age 18) due to the fact that children often start school at the fairly late age of nine or ten. Most go on to continue the lifestyle that has been maintained for generations; subsistence farming. Their staple is taro, a root vegetable that grows best in the cooler climate of the mountains, and which is responsible for the name the Tolai give the Baining- 'the taro eaters'. Fresh meat is limited to chickens and pigs, and these are only slaughtered on special occasions. Tinned meat and other imported goods such as, rice, flour, oil and the ubiquitous two minute noodles can also sometimes be bought at the village trade store. In addition to their own farm garden, many families have cash crops, often located somewhere along the coast, and cultivate produce such as peanuts, coconut, or cocoa. Peanuts are the primary export of the mountain area but are also sold at the local market, along with surplus from gardens.

The primary occupation of Raunsepna residents is the maintenance of their gardens, however weekly Sunday mass attendance affords them the opportunity of not only fulfilling their religious duties but also socialising, as for some parishioners it was the only time they come to Raunsepna. The community announcements after mass were of particular importance for trading village news. In addition to celebrating catholic festivals, the village celebrated secular events, such as the graduation of school students or the launch of an election campaign, with traditional dances.

Figure 5: House in Lamarain

Figure 6: Entrance to Raunsepna with the St Gebard Raunsepna Primary School sign

Figure 7: Piercing of a dancer's back for a Spear dance

Figure 8: Baining masked dancer

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1.3 Summary

The picture painted here is representative of life in the more remote areas of the Qaqet Baining region and not the coastal villages. Qaqet is listed as 'threatened' by Google's Endangered Language Project and as 'developing' (Language Status 5)[3] by Ethnologue (SIL). However, given different Qaqet communities' different experiences with Tok Pisin and the outside world, it seems likely that Qaqet is not equally 'threatened' or 'developing' in all communities. In the absence of detailed sociolinguistic research, it is difficult to say how accurate these evaluations are.

This background forms the basis of the main hypothesis of this study. We anticipated that a qualitative analysis of language use in a Qaqet community where Qaqet is known to be still fairly strong, would reveal any signs of language shift present as well as improve our understanding of what the early stages of language shift are. This assumption is based partly on the observation that Qaqet is threatened in the more accessible coastal areas (thus suggesting the possibility that it may also become threatened in the more remote interior areas) and partly on our reading of the theoretical literature, which suggests a very fragile status of many minority languages in Papua New Guinea (and indeed the world). Such an approach will make a vital contribution to the academic discourse on language shift and language maintenance, as well as potentially give practical advice to communities wishing to preserve their languages. In the following chapter (Chapter 2), the theoretical frameworks for analysing language use in Raunsepna will be explored, with particular attention paid to sociolinguistic approaches to minority and indigenous language communities. Following this, the methodological approaches used in this study will be explored in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 will present the data while Chapter 5 will analyse the data with particular reference to the theories explored in Chapter 2. Chapter 6 will conclude the thesis with a summary of the signs of language shift in Raunsepna and with an exploration of the future of the Qaqet Baining and the Qaqet Baining community.

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[3] According to Ethnologue (SIL; http://www.ethnologue.com/about/language-status), Language Status 5 means that 'The language is in vigorous use, with literature in a standardized form being used by some though this is not yet widespread or sustainable.'

2. Theoretical Framework

In determining the factors that influence language shift and language maintenance, there are number of approaches to consider. In the pages that follow, factors and processes that influence language choice and code-switching will be examined. Beginning with an exploration into multilingualism, we will see how multilingualism develops through language contact and what factors determine the distribution and contexts of use of these codes. This will include a review of influential theories on language choice and code-switching such as ethnography of communication, diglossia and polyglossia, communication accommodation, and social and ethnolinguistic identity.

Language attitudes will also be addressed, both as regards how they affect language maintenance and multilingualism and in terms of how they relate to language ideologies. Language ideologies will be the focus of the second section of the chapter, which will make reference to the content covered in §2.1 as well as introduce new case studies in exploring the role of language ideologies in language choice.

The third section will review the role language socialisation plays in language choice and maintenance of multilingualism. This is a relatively recent area of study that has clear links to language maintenance and language shift. Throughout, specific examples from Papua New Guinean communities or other ethnolinguistic minorities will be referred to in order to illustrate the relevance of these approaches to Raunsepna. Lastly, in drawing together all these areas, we will look at how these language practices and principles combine, and I will summarise those factors that I investigated in my study.

2.1 Multilingualism and Language Choice Paradigms

Traditionally, the focus of sociolinguistic inquiries has been on linguistic variation conditioned by social criteria in monolingual and polydialectal communities, particularly in North America and Europe (Meyerhoff & Nagy 2008). According to Meyerhoff and Nagy, areas of greater multilingualism such as Oceania and Africa have received very little attention from sociolinguists for a number of possible reasons: 1) focusing on the internal structure of the language is somehow more 'pristine' linguistic research; 2) measuring

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variation in different languages is difficult, especially when variants may not align semantically or functionally; and 3) it is more practical; a researcher needs to be competent in a number of languages to gather data from a multilingual community.

Sociolinguistic approaches to multilingual communities have therefore focused less on internal variation in linguistic structures of the community's codes, and more on how the community chooses between these codes. Language choice and code-switching will be focused on in §2.1.2 but preceding this we will explore how multilingualism develops. Investigations into multilingualism tend to fall into two categories: those that focus on migrant multilingual communities, and those that focus on indigenous communities. Much like in variationist approaches, there is a bias towards western societies, which, as Fishman (2006: 406) states, has meant that 'the immigrant case is overly represented while the indigenous case is severely underrepresented' in research on multilingualism. A redirection towards indigenous ethnolinguistic communities would be of interest not only to those investigating multilingualism but also to those coming from the perspective of language endangerment and language documentation.

The dearth of information about the Qaqet Baining, their language and their language use, as well as the constraints of the study meant that exploring linguistic correlates of social factors within Qaqet was a not viable option. This project, therefore, focuses on expanding our understanding of the paradigms of language use and language choice in autochthonous ethnolinguistic minorities by conducting an empirical study with hypotheses developed from the available theoretical literature. It is this literature that will be reviewed here.

2.1.1 Becoming multilingual, language choice and code-switching

Several dichotomies have arisen out of inquiries into how communities become multilingual. The micro level (i.e., individuals) can be investigated from a language acquisition perspective. Languages can be acquired *simultaneously*, whereby speakers are exposed to more than one language in early childhood during the onset of speech, or *successively*, where speakers are exposed to and acquire languages sequentially. We can consider multilingualism as either *additive* or *subtractive*, whereby the acquisition of a second language can lead to either expansion of the linguistic repertoire (additive multilingualism) or replacement of a code (subtractive multilingualism). Also, multilingualism can be rated on competency, distinguishing between *receptive* or *passive* multilingualism and *productive* or

active multilingualism. Those who are able to understand a language but cannot produce it are said to have passive competence and those who are able to do both have active competence (Edwards, 2006a).

At a macro level, multilingual communities can also be divided into two types: *washes* and *swamps*. A wash, as described by Laycock (1979: 92-3), is where two or more monolingual communities share a boundary, and at that boundary exists a multilingual community in which the two adjacent languages may be said to 'wash' into one another. A swamp, meanwhile, is where a language has almost no monolingual speakers and the adult community members speak two (or more) languages, one that is restricted to the smaller community and another that is used by the broader community. The meeting of two languages is often referred to as language contact and is an area of interest for those studying multilingualism and language choices as it is the most probably explanation for multilingualism (Garrett, 2004).

Languages coming into contact can give rise to a number of situations including the establishment of stable multilingualism, the 'death' of one or more of the languages involved, or, as is exemplified by Tok Pisin, the birth of a contact language; a discrete language that has emerged out of situations of social contact of speakers of two or more different languages (Garrett, 2004). With its rich linguistic diversity, Papua New Guinea has witnessed all of these outcomes in one way or another.

We know little about the languages of Papua New Guinea and about how they evolved, but the most commonly quoted explanation is the mixture of geographical isolation and time, where so many communities were secluded for long enough to lead to the evolution of hundreds of distinct varieties. In terms of how these languages related to one another, Sankoff (1980) suggested that before the spread of Tok Pisin (and English) in Papua New Guinea, the basic relationship of languages and dialects was socially symmetrical, and that language was viewed as pragmatic. She paints a picture of widespread and dense multilingualism that was egalitarian not only in its distribution but also in language choice. In short, no one code reigned supreme.

The reality though, as Laycock (1979) pointed out, is that it is impossible to obtain any meaningful information on the extent of multilingualism in pre-contact times, particularly given that there is not much solid data on the linguistic competence of multilinguals. He

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went on further to suggest that it is not unreasonable to assume that the situation at that time (i.e., 1979) was approximate to that of the past and there was only mild multilingualism in pre-colonial times. Laycock (1979: 87) puts this average as about two languages spoken per adult or, as he puts it, 'a little less than the average number of languages one could expect to meet with in a day's travel from one's home village'.

These hypotheses also indicate different views on how the development and spread of Tok Pisin has influenced multilingualism in Papua New Guinea, an area of interest only recently focused on in the linguistics research literature (c.f. Laycock, 1979; Sankoff, 1980; Romaine, 1992). Tok Pisin is the most widely spoken language in Papua New Guinea (Meierkord, 2006) and as a lingua franca is also 'the basis of acculturation into the wider sociocultural norms and values of the country' (Mkilifi, 1972: 201). In a country as linguistically and culturally heterogeneous as Papua New Guinea (see §1.1.1), Tok Pisin hence acts as a cultural intermediary between ethnolinguistic groups and as a unifying element in the creation of a broader national identity (Wurm, 1979).

For Laycock (1979), the success of Tok Pisin lies in its pragmatic value, as the availability of a national code removed the necessity for learning local languages. Sankoff (1980: 127), however asserts that the spread of Tok Pisin as a lingua franca is due to more than just pragmatism and that '[f]or most New Guineans, Tok Pisin is...a neutral language. Being, in the view of most New Guineans, no one's *tok ples*[4], it is thereby in the public domain and can be learned with impunity. That is, learning it will not succeed in improving the fortunes of some other (its native) group'. The adoption of Tok Pisin into linguistic repertoires though may have consequences for local vernaculars.

Kulick's (1992) examination of language shift in a Papua New Guinean village clearly indicated that the community was abandoning its language in favour of Tok Pisin. He cites socio-psychological reasons for the adoption of Tok Pisin, explaining that, contrary to what Sankoff reported, Tok Pisin became associated with the wealth and power of Europeans, the consequent belief that its acquisition would lead to bounty.

In all of these cases though, the implication is that the development of a lingua franca in Papua New Guinea has altered the traditional linguistic patterns of communities there. If, as

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[4] *Tok ples*- language (Tok Pisin)

Sankoff suggests, communities were highly multilingual before the advent of Tok Pisin, the old pattern of a repertoire of multiple vernaculars may have been traded for a bilingual paradigm of vernacular-Tok Pisin. If the pattern was more like Laycock's (1979) proposed bilingualism, then the mould of vernacular$_1$-vernacular$_2$ bilingualism has developed into vernacular-Tok Pisin. Yet, evidence from other places suggests that whatever the previous linguistic practices, the spread of Tok Pisin has led to the abandonment of the vernacular in many cases. These studies represent only a very small proportion of Papua New Guinea's ethnolinguistic communities, however, and with so poor an understanding of the degree and health of multilingualism in Papua New Guinea, it is difficult to say which the prevailing scenario is.

As it is not within the scope of this study to employ a diachronic approach, the focus here will instead be on evaluating how languages are currently used in Raunsepna. Investigating how languages are used in multilingual communities has been looked at under the research heading of language choice and code-switching.

Studies in language choice and code-switching refer to the same phenomenon, i.e., mixing of linguistics varieties, but from different perspectives. In this study, it is the former that is most relevant to this study as this approaches language use from a sociological angle, exploring what varieties are available to speakers and what factors will influence their choice. Code-switching, meanwhile, is the term generally used for the practice of mixing linguistic varieties within one conversation. This includes the switching between distinct languages as well as between dialects or even styles. In the 1970's, interest in code-switching and language choice as distinct research topics grew with Blom and Gumperz's report on the socio-pragmatics of code-switching (Myers-Scotton, 1995). From their investigations in Norway, they proposed that code-switching was governed by *situational* or *metaphorical* language choice cues, and was not just a technique to fill a gap in the lexical inventory or an 'interference' between codes (Meyers-Scotton, 1995).

Situational code-switching occurs as result of a change in context or creates a change in context. To use Woolard's (2004) example, a teacher in a Barcelona high school may chat to his students in Catalan outside of class, but during the lesson, will use Spanish. Metaphorical code-switching, meanwhile, is employed to have a semantic effect, where speakers exploit theirs and other's associations with that code. A frustrated parent, for

instance, may switch to another language when warning or reprimanding their child, because of the authoritative connotations of that code (Woolard, 2004). Gumperz (1982), also added that these types of code-switching should be viewed not as contrasting but as points on a continuum.

Studies into code-switching and language choice have led to the evolution of several theoretical frameworks namely: ethnography of communication, communication accommodation theory, diglossia, and ethnolinguistic vitality. It is the interaction of these factors and processes in these models that speakers' language choices depend on (Sachdev & Bourhis, 1990), as relying on only one of these models alone to account for language choice and code-switching leads to an over-simplified view of what is a complex phenomenon. In the following sections, these theories will be discussed with relation to their applicability to the Qaqet Baining and Raunsepna.

2.1.2 Normative Factors

Normative factors have been the traditional focal point of sociolinguists and refer to 'the situational taxonomies of speech norms' (Sachdev & Bourhis, 1990). Looking at language choice through this lens takes into account the role that cultural and situational factors play. These include cultural norms such as specific ways to address older community members, and the physical or social context in which the communication event is taking place (e.g., at church or an intimate family setting). A number of models arose out of this approach including the ethnography of communication and diglossia with its subsequent variations, all of which will be examined next.

2.1.2.1. Ethnography of Communication

Hymes, an anthropologist and linguist, developed the ethnography of communication approach after noticing that none of the work in either anthropology or linguistics really addressed language choice. This approach sought to investigate the sociolinguistic aspects of communicative competence, an area that had been neglected by anthropologists and linguistics alike, but has since instigated hundreds of ethnographies in particular speech communities (Gumperz, 1997).

As ethnographers of communication are concerned with the 'patterns of real [communication] behaviour' they employ a methodological approach of observation, asking

and comparison (Leeds-Hurwitz 2005: 343). This essentially involves observing natural behaviours, asking participants about their behaviours, and then comparing what has been learned with other studies. In short, it is a descriptive approach, seeking to provide 'a description of the behaviors of a particular group of people in a particular time and place' (Leeds-Hurwitz 2005: 343). To help ethnographers with this task, Hymes' created the mnemonic SPEAKING, which outlines the factors that are behind language behaviour:

- Setting and Scene (S): the actual time and place of the interaction as well as the abstract contextual environment as defined by elements such as culture.
- Participants (P): the individuals or groups involved in the interaction.
- Ends (E): the goals and purposes of the interaction.
- Act Sequence (A): the content and form of speech.
- Key (K): the tone of the speech, e.g., serious, joking, mocking, etc.
- Instrumentalities (I): the mode and code of the interaction, e.g., oral, written, gestural, etc. and standard, dialect, register etc.
- Norms of interaction and interpretation (N): the specific communicative behaviours as defined by cultural and social norms, e.g., loudness, proximity, gaze return, etc.
- Genre (G): the style of the utterance, e.g., poetry, prayers, lectures, riddles, etc.

Employing this model has helped in understanding what knowledge interlocutors need to know and use in order to communicate competently and successfully in their social or cultural context (Duranti, 1988 in Leeds-Hurwitz, 2005). This approach can therefore be used to help define situational code-switching (Sachdev & Bourhis, 1990; Genesee & Bourhis, 1988), although the bulk of its application has been on dialect and style shifting within one language, rather than on exploring patterns of use between multiple languages. Those who have applied it to bilingual and multilingual communities are limited (e.g., Gal, 1978; Tanner, 1967), and at the time of writing, no work has been carried out on communities in Papua New Guinea.

Although this model explains the factors behind a speaker's decision to use one code over another, it does not adequately explain why a particular code is associated with a particular factor. For instance, while we can identify which variety is used at church by focusing on language use as per Setting and Scene, the reasons for the alignment of that particular code with that particular setting are not revealed to us unless motivational factors are

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investigated too (see §2.1.3). In a Setting or Scene where there is a clearly preferred or demanded code, the code can be considered *compartmentalised*. The compartmentalisation of codes is one of the primary assumptions in the notion of diglossia (and *polyglossia*), which will be explored next.

2.1.2.2 Diglossia

Ferguson's (1959) seminal paper on diglossia defined it as the use in society of two related codes compartmentalised into separate domains as dictated by behaviours, attitudes and values embodied by each code. Languages in a diglossic relationship were assigned a high (H) or low (L) status depending on the social prestige of the code (i.e., attitudes towards the code, more on this in §2.1.3.3) and the function that the code has in society. Language associated with education, politics, and business is often the H variety, while the language of the home and in other intimate settings is generally the L variety. This original definition was expanded upon by Fishman (1967) to include not just functionally differentiated dialects and registers, but also completely unrelated codes, allowing for the model's application to bilingual scenarios. Fishman's elaboration explored four disparate linguistic situations:

+ bilingualism + diglossia

+ bilingualism - diglossia

- bilingualism + diglossia

- bilingualism - diglossia

Paraguay is cited by Fishman (1967) as an example of a speech community in which both diglossia and bilingualism occur. The majority of the population speak both Spanish and Paraguayan Guaraní, but Spanish is used in educational, government, religious, and high cultural or status situations while Paraguayan Guaraní is spoken in intimate situations or those stressing group solidarity. Bilingualism with no diglossia, meanwhile, tends to be a transitional phase as a speech community changes from bilingual to monolingual. Such a situation may be exemplified by immigrants and their children who may use both the languages at their disposal in intergroup communication (Fishman, 1967).

Situations with diglossia but no bilingualism describe those where two or more speech communities are united by religion, economy or politics into a single entity (Fishman, 1967).

Pre-World War I Europe is offered by Fishman as an example of such a scenario, where European elites spoke one variety for their intra-group purposes and the masses used another. Lastly, situations with neither bilingualism nor diglossia are rare and, according to Fishman, only occur in small isolated communities where all the group members interact with each other in same code and register.

This framework, however, does not adequately allow for situations in which more than two varieties are in use. Consider, for example, Tanzania, where a regional lingua franca (Swahili), a world language (English) and many local vernaculars are in use. With English the language of higher education and business, and the local varieties restricted to oral forms in intimate settings (Mkilifi, 1972), we might consider these the H and L varieties respectively. Where, though, does Swahili fit? Used both in formal and informal settings, Swahili has a literary tradition and is even the L1 for some urban citizens. It is, then, difficult to adapt this binary formula to language use in Tanzania. To address this, Mkilifi (1972) and Platt (1977) offer variations on the theme with their respective models of *triglossia* and polyglossia.

2.1.2.3 Triglossia

Triglossia refers to a situation in which three languages have distinct roles in a community. Mkilifi (1972) investigated the triglossic situation between local vernaculars, Swahili and English in Tanzania (see §2.1.2.2 above) and modelled the term triglossia on Ferguson's diglossia definition, explaining that:

> A typical example of a triglossia situation would be found where there exists side-by-side (a) regional (or vernacular) languages whose basic role is in oral intragroup communication; (b) a local standardized lingua franca which is used extensively in the education system, mass medium and in government administration but which is not developed enough to cover all settings of a modern urban technological culture; and (c) a world language. The situation would give rise to intersecting diglossia, on the one hand between the regional language and the local lingua franca, and on the other between the local lingua franca and the world language, giving rise to code-switching and code-mixing involving two or three of the languages concerned.

> (Mkilifi, 1972: 198)

How such a theory can be applied to Papua New Guinea is explored by Nidue (1990), who investigated the triglossic relationship into which Mountain Arapesh, Tok Pisin and English have been organised. In this case, we have a) a regional variety (Mountain Arapesh), b) a lingua franca (Tok Pisin), and c) a world language (English). As applied to Nidue's fieldsite, this model suggests that the local variety, Mountain Arapesh will be the L code when in distribution with the H lingua franca, Tok Pisin. Similarly, Tok Pisin will be the L variety when in distribution with the world language, English the H code. In short, he suggests that the three languages can be broken down into a series of binary H-L oppositions rather than multilateral relations. While there may be situations that are adequately explained by such a model, it is difficult to apply this framework to situations in which three languages are simultaneously available. Furthermore, this model does not clearly account for communities that employ more than three languages. For this we may consider polyglossia.

2.1.2.4 Polyglossia

Platt's model of polyglossia accounts for situations in which three or more than three languages are in distribution. In his development of his model, Platt (1977) refers to Singapore and Malaysia, which provide suitable platforms for investigating polyglossia as each is home to communities who switch between world languages English and Mandarin, a variety of local lingua francas, and the vernacular linked to their ethnicity. Neither Fishman's (1967) nor Mkilifi's (1972) models adequately explain language use in such multilingual settings as the presence of multiple codes leads to a more complex distribution system and dividing the languages into H and L categories does not suffice.

In describing the distribution of multiple languages, Platt (1977) maintains the main principles of diglossia; that codes are compartmentalised (i.e., in complementary distribution as defined by the context of interaction) and are hierarchically organised according to social status (as determined by attitudes towards the codes). However, instead of a binary H and L status, he proposes that in cases of multilingualism varieties be ranked on a continuum from H (High), M (Medium) to L (Low), with M varieties falling in between H and L codes in terms of status. Public and formal domains, for example, require H varieties, semi-formal and semi-public situations require M varieties, while private informal domains elicit L codes.

In his example of polyglossia and multilingualism in Malaysia, Platt (1977) lists Formal Malaysian English and Bahasa Malay as H varieties (H_1 and H_2 respectively). Colloquial Malaysian English and a dominant Chinese dialect[5] of the local area serve as M varieties, while a range of non-dominant Chinese dialects and Bazaar Malay serve as the L varieties. Certain boundaries persist though; despite the range of languages available to speakers in Singapore and Malaysia, the language choice in a given domain will still 'be determined by the speaker's own verbal repertoire, his interlocutor's verbal repertoire and to what extent the speaker is prepared to accommodate to his interlocutor' (Platt, 1977: 377). Platt's model below illustrates how multilingual communities organise their languages, with speech varieties (SV) on the vertical axis listing all the codes in a community, while the horizontal axis places these codes in social order. So in his example of Malaysia, the first speech varieties discussed (SV_1 and SV_2) were Formal Malay English and Bahasa Malay, and as highly ranked codes they would fall in the H_1-H_n column.

TABLE 3. *A model for polyglossia with multilingualism*

Speech varieties	Order of status			
	H_1–H_n	M_1–M_n	L_1–L_n	(L —)
SV_1				
SV_2				
SV_3				
. . .				
. . .				
. . .				
SV_n				

Figure 9: Polyglossia Model (Platt 1977: 367)

Given the applicability of Platt's model to any community with three or more languages, we can integrate the triglossic model into this one and suggest that in both Tanzania and Papua New Guinea, English is in the H column. The respective lingua francas of the countries (i.e., Swahili and Tok Pisin) are assigned to M, and the many local varieties meanwhile would be L codes. However, we can imagine that in situations in multilingual communities where only

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[5] Predominantly Cantonese, Hokkien, Teochew, Hakka and Haianese (Platt, 1977).

two codes are acceptable, there is a return to the binary system described in the diglossic model.

In summary, to account for code-switching and language choice in multilingual communities, we need to look not just at micro factors (as discussed in §2.1.2.1 on ethnography of communication) but also at diglossia or polyglossia. In the next section, we will examine a number of studies of language use in Papua New Guinea that have sought to integrate these two approaches.

2.1.2.5 Applications in Case Studies in Papua New Guinea

In seeking to account for language use, some researchers have devised schematic representations of the factors that influence language choice in a community. Sankoff (1980) describes language use among the Buang of Papua New Guinea, looking at the three languages spoken in the area: Buang, a local vernacular, Yabem another local variety that is used as a local lingua franca, and Tok Pisin, the national lingua franca. Her investigation led her to produce the following diagram, which is not meant to be used to predict which languages Buang speakers will use in each situation, but rather hierarchically organise the factors that influence language choice:
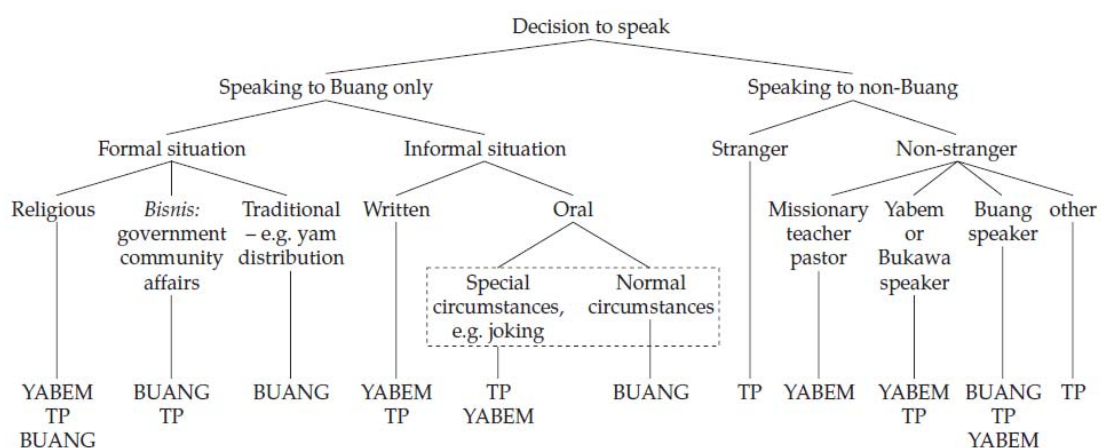
Figure 21.1 Factors affecting language choice for the Buang
Note: TP = Tok Pisin.

Figure 10: Factors affecting Language choice (Sankoff, 1980:36)

In this model, interlocutor (P in the SPEAKING model) is the most influential factor of language choice. Once the speaker has ascertained whether or not the interlocutor is a Buang, other factors are assessed, such as Setting, Key, Instrumentality and Genre. Notably there are a number of situations in which several codes may be employed (e.g., Buang, Tok

Pisin and Yabem are all used in formal settings), indicating that in some situations languages are not rigidly compartmentalised or possibly compartmentalised on the basis of normative factors not investigated. The import of this will be discussed shortly.

Nidue (1990) also developed a language use model on his work with the Makopin of Papua New Guinea, using some of the SPEAKING parameters to delineate the primary factors contributing to language choice:
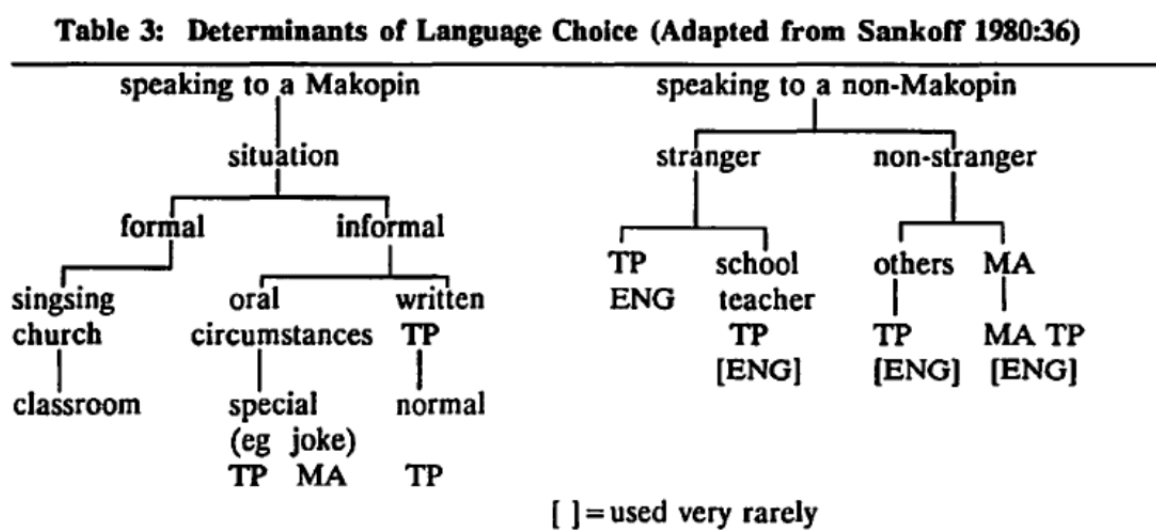
Table 3: Determinants of Language Choice (Adapted from Sankoff 1980:36)

Like Sankoff's (1980) model, Nidue (1990) hierarchically orders the factors affecting language choice in Makopin, but notes that there are only two instances in which more than one language is frequently used (when speaking to a stranger and when speaking to a Makopin-speaking non-Makopin). Nidue's schema also indicates that the languages at the Makopin's disposal are reasonably compartmentalised (i.e., their contexts of use do not overlap), unlike Sankoff's. The import of compartmentalisation as enforced by the presence of polyglossia is explained by Romaine (2003).

In her analysis of multilingualism in Papua New Guinea, Romaine (2003) indicates that strong boundary maintenance between codes is a primary factor in maintaining multilingualism. Providing the linguistic situation is stable, a community can persist in its multilingual habits for centuries, but should languages be used without contextual

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[6] I believe there to be an error in this model due to formatting; the TP under 'Special (e.g., Joke)' may actually supposed to be under 'Classroom'

restrictions, multilingualism can decline in just a few generations. As Romaine explains, situations where polyglossia has not delineated linguistic boundaries, languages compete for use in the same domains. Competition inevitably leads to one language dominating and thus generating language shift.

Such schemata then serve to provide an indication of whether or not codes are in complementary or competitive distribution (i.e., whether the polyglossic situation is being maintained) and through which parameters (i.e., the SPEAKING factors). Although these flowcharts cannot be relied upon to explain language choices as they effectively conceptualise speakers as 'situational automatons' (Sachdev & Bourhis 1990:295), they can give a general impression as to if and by what parameters languages are compartmentalised.

The question from here becomes, why or why not are codes compartmentalised? In explaining this, sociolinguists have turned to psychological parameters, such as attitude and identity, which will be discussed next.

2.1.3 Motivational Factors

Motivational factors are examined through a socio-psychological perspective of language, an area that Bradac and Giles (2005) see as the intersection of language, mind and society. In examining language choice, the traditional sociolinguistic approach to code-switching has tended to focus on factors such as topic, purpose and setting of the conversation, and the profiles of speakers (as discussed in the previous section) rather than on socio-psychological factors (Genesee & Bourhis, 1988: 229). Through this approach, however, underlying motivations are taken into account to explain language behaviour, and as a result, a number of frameworks and focal points have emerged. The first of these that will be examined is Communication Accommodation Theory, the major framework resulting from this perspective. This is concerned with the motivations that underlie changes in people's codes or speech styles and any subsequent social consequences. Secondly, the manifestation and negotiations of identity are suspected to also play a role in language behaviour, and so the two influential theories of social identity and ethnolinguistic identity will be reviewed accordingly. Language attitudes as a field of inquiry will also discussed, followed by a review of these models can be applied to communities in Papua New Guinea.

2.1.3.1 Communication Accommodation Theory

Although research has indicated that communication accommodation is secondary to situational norms (as listed in §2.1.2), particularly one's interlocutor (Hymes' P in SPEAKING) (Genesee & Bourhis, 1988: 230), it has also been demonstrated that understanding the motivations of interlocutors is vital to understanding multilingual communication (Sachdev & Bourhis, 1990). Developed by Giles and colleagues in the 1970's, Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) proposes that people will alter their speech style depending on the setting, topic and audience (i.e., the normative factors of §2.1.2) as means of expressing values, attitudes and intentions towards others (Bell, 2006). As a socio-psychological approach to language choice, CAT takes into account motivational factors at both the interpersonal level of interaction and at the intergroup level (Sachdev & Bourhis 1990). It suggests that a speaker's style (accent, lexicon and prosodic aspects etc.) may move towards that of the interlocutor (convergence) or it may move away (divergence) in order to convey approval or disapproval. In this regard, convergence may be bilateral in that both interlocutors may alter their styles towards one another, or unilateral, with only one speaker converging.

Further to seeking social approval, Sachdev and Bourhis (1990) identify two more motivations for convergence: social integration and social exchange. Broadly speaking, those aiming for social integration or social approval can be seen as being motivated by a desire to demonstrate solidarity and those aiming for social exchange are motivated by a desire to maximise reward and minimise cost, whether it be financial, emotional, or social. Given that in Sankoff (1980) and Nidue's (1990) models presented above (§2.1.2.5) conversational partner is the most influential factor in determining language choice, indicating that accommodation is the most likely explanation for these patterns.

Refinements to the theory have revealed that speakers may *over*accommodate and converge too much towards their audience causing unfavourable reaction in the interlocutors to what they perceive as patronising behaviour (Bell, 2006), and that speakers may accommodate based not on actual language used but on *perceptions* about their interlocutor's characteristics or language use (Sachdev & Bourhis, 1990). Finally, accommodation is also believed to be an important symbolic tactic used by ethnic groups to maintain a distinct cultural identity (Giles et al., 1977). The act of divergence, in particular,

has been associated with identity maintenance. Identity was only superficially touched on in this study as the main focus was on normative factors and CAT, however the next section will give a brief summary of the main points of interest in language and identity studies.

2.1.3.2 Social Identity Theory

As a multidisciplinary concept, identity is generally described as the product of a situation, rather than a single enduring state (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). Tajfel and Turner (1986) sought to explain this process of creating identity with their Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behaviour; a meta-theoretical perspective that is a platform for a number of frameworks including but not limited to theories on ethnolinguistic vitality and identity (cf. Giles et al., 1977; Giles & Johnson, 1987), communication accommodation theory (cf. Giles, 1973), and social network theory (cf. Milroy, 1985), which will all be discussed here in this study.

Social Identity theory postulates that we categorise the social world, including ourselves, into groups and that knowledge of group membership is our 'social identity'. Social identity, however, only acquires meaning by comparison with other groups and so individuals will act in a way that makes their own group favourably distinct from other groups (Giles et al., 1977; Giles & Johnson, 1987). Such assessments lead to the next concept of awareness of cognitive alternatives, the premise being that group members will either be aware or unaware of possible alternatives to group memberships and use this knowledge to achieve positive social identity (i.e., an identity to which they have attributed positive qualities). Awareness of cognitive alternatives will affect behaviour differently depending on whether the individual is a member of a dominant or subordinate group. For members of a dominant group who perceive the status quo as legitimate and stable, it matters little whether they are aware or unaware of cognitive alternatives, as their interest in maintaining the current situation results in non-convergent communication accommodation (Giles et al., 1977). Those that are aware of cognitive alternatives and perceive the status quo to be illegitimate and/or unstable are more likely to accommodate their speech in intergroup situations.

Our focus though is on subordinate groups, such as the Qaqet Baining, for whom there are also a number of options. Subordinate groups who are aware of the cognitive alternatives for the status of their group are less likely to conclude that the situation is legitimate or that it cannot be changed (i.e., that it is stable). Subordinate group members who are unaware of the cognitive alternatives, though, are more likely to believe that the group position in

society is legitimate and stable (i.e., unable to be altered). Either way, subordinate groups have a number of approaches for attaining positive identity assessments (Giles et al., 1977), the first two of which are actions more likely to be taken by those unable to see the cognitive alternatives for their group's status:

1. They may leave the group entirely and enter another one
2. They may begin to make intragroup social comparisons, comparing in-group members with one another rather than with dominant groups
3. They may assimilate and take on the characteristics of an out-group
4. They may redefine the 'negative' traits, fostering pride and solidarity in place of a sense of inferiority and self-denigration
5. They may seek out a new dimension in which to achieve new positive distinctiveness
6. They may enter into direct competition with the out-group

Whether or not an individual can enter into another group depends on the perceptions of the group boundaries. Boundaries between groups can be perceived as impermeable (i.e., closed) with clear distinctions between group members and non-members, or open with vague distinctions between members and non-members. Also arising from this list is the question of what conditions are necessary for group members to make positive changes to the group identity (points 4 and 5) or make them begin to leave the group in favour of another (points 1 and 3)? These questions are a primary line of inquiry behind ethnolinguistic identity and vitality approaches.

2.1.3.2.1 Ethnolinguistic Identity

While social identity theory accounted for identity maintenance via any social parameter (e.g., gender, generation, class etc.), Giles and Johnson (1987) sought to apply the theory specifically to the maintenance of ethnic identity through language and in doing so, developed ethnolinguistic identity theory. They postulated that 'people will define an encounter in interethnic terms and strive for a positive ethnic identity' by accentuating certain group attributes, namely language (Giles & Johnson, 1987: 72), a process that is continuous and also reveals much about the observer's own identity position (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004; Joseph, 2006). Ethnolinguistic identity theory takes these factors into account when explaining motivations behind communication accommodation, as summarised by La

Page (1997:8): 'we do not necessarily adapt to the style of the interlocutor, but rather to the image we have of ourselves in relation to our interlocutor'.

Divergence, where a speaker does *not* accommodate the interlocutor and even moves away (linguistically) from them, is particularly targeted in this approach and is explained through motivations to distinguish or distance oneself. Giles and Johnson (1987: 84) proposed that subordinate ethnic groups would be more likely to maintain their distinctive variety (i.e., not accommodate or diverge) when they:

1. 'Identify themselves subjectively and strongly as members of a group which considers language an important symbol of identity'
2. 'Make insecure social comparisons with the outgroup' (i.e., are aware of cognitive alternatives to their group's status)
3. 'Identify strongly with few other social categories' and either
   a) 'Perceive their own group's vitality to be high' and 'perceive their ingroup boundaries to be soft and open' or
   b) 'Perceive their own group's vitality to be low' and 'perceive their ingroup boundaries to be hard and closed'

Working with groups of Welsh-English bilinguals, Giles and Johnson (1987) tested their theory and proposed that the above psychological climates were more likely to promote language maintenance. Their results were supported by a number of other studies exploring language maintenance as a function of ethnic identification, e.g., Francophone Canadians (c.f. Lewis et al., 2013). They also explored the concept of multiple group membership, proposing that although a person's membership groups are all a part of their social identity, they will not all be equally salient at any one time.

Ethnolinguistic identity theory notably hinges upon the assumption that language is a salient marker of ethnic identity. While there is much evidence to support that language is often an important identity marker, there are a number of studies that demonstrate that there are ethnic groups for whom linguistic characteristics are not a primary feature of their identity. Giles et al.'s (1976) examination of ethnic identity in Anglophone Franco-Americans in Northern Maine revealed that cultural background was the salient identity marker, not

language. Rosenthal and Hrynevich's (1985) study similarly revealed that in Italian and Greek Australian communities, religion, physical appearance and patrimony are dominant identity markers.

Other oft-cited examples of ethnic groups that do not necessarily consider a distinct code a salient dimension of ethnic identity are the Irish, Scots and Jews in their respective diasporas. However, as Giles et al. (1977) explain, speech styles, accent, and jargon are all part of language, and these groups would be loath to relinquish their distinct linguistic traits. The link between language and identity is, nevertheless, very strong, but not universally so. The question that arises then is when does language assume salience as an identity marker?

Giles et al. (1977), Gumperz (1982) and Heller (1988) propose that the processes of social comparison and psychological distinction are responsible for promoting language as an identity marker. They suggest that it is in situations of group contact and comparison that language assumes salience for ethnic groups and that as a result of assigning meaning to distinguishing group features, linguistic aspects (e.g., accent, code, etc.) may be targeted. A further result of such social comparisons is the evaluation of perceived group strength and vitality which will be explored in §2.1.4.1.

Ethnolinguistic identity theory therefore proposes to account for when language assumes salience, and how salience works with other identity defining perceptions and beliefs in situations of intergroup contact to influence language use. Ethnolinguistic identity theory has its limitations however. For example, it does not account for the dynamics of multiple group membership and any conflict arising from multiple memberships. Hansen and Liu (1997), however suggest that context (i.e., the normative factors discussed in §2.1.2) may govern which group alignment takes precedence when. We see then that using this framework in conjunction with the models integrating normative factors will help define the salience of certain group memberships at certain times and thus account for language behaviour. Notably, motivational factors all appear to rely on speakers making positive or negative assessments of their interlocutor and the interaction. One important influence in making these evaluations are language attitudes, the final factor to be taken into account in this section.

2.1.3.3 Language Attitudes

Attitude can be described as 'a hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behaviour' (Baker, 1992: 10). They are acquired, and often latent, dispositions 'to respond favourably or unfavourably' to people and events in their world and have three elements: affective (i.e., feelings), cognitive (i.e., thoughts) and behavioural (i.e., actions) (Edwards, 2006b: 329). For example, a student of French may believe that learning French will grant her insights into French culture (cognitive component), may be enthusiastic about being able to read French literature (affective component), and also be saving money to enrol in a French course (behavioural component) (Garrett, 2010). As attitudes are not innate, they have a social and often political basis (Holmes, 2008) and are acquired through socialisation practices. As such, although some endure throughout a lifetime, they can change or be destabilised, or as Sears and Kosterman (1994 in Garrett, 2010) argue, people can differ in their levels of commitment to an attitude. This capacity to change is integral to language revitalisation efforts, as we shall see. Hence, as complex psychological constructs, attitudes are instrumental to how we interpret and interact with the world.

Although language attitudes are closely related conceptually to language ideologies (discussed in section §2.2), the research approach to language attitudes emanates from social psychology, while language ideology stems from anthropological traditions (Garrett, 2010). Language attitude as a distinct area of focus took off in the 1960's and 'has been a core concept in sociolinguistics since Labov's (1966) seminal work on the social stratification of speech communities' (Garrett, 2010: 19). Also of note is the contribution by social psychologist Wallace Lambert, when he created a new methodological approach in the field with his development of the *matched guise* test, a technique that has become a mainstay of language attitude studies. This method, however, was not employed in this study, the reasons for which will be discussed below and in §3.1.1.

2.1.3.3.1 Categories of Attitudes

Attitudes themselves fall into two groups: instrumental attitudes that are self-oriented, pragmatic and utilitarian in outlook; and integrative attitudes that lead to social and interpersonal orientation, attachment or identification with a language group (Baker, 1992). There is no clear distinction between these two categories, for instance, an individual

travelling abroad may learn a foreign language not only for the pragmatic reasons of navigating the country they are visiting, but also as a means of interacting with the local community for an intercultural experience.

In addition, attitudes function both as input into and output of social action (Garrett, 2010). To demonstrate, take a student of a second-language whose attitude toward that language is an important input factor into learning and achievement in the language program. Success in the language course creates an output factor of more positive attitudes towards the language. This phenomenon is of particular importance to language revival programs as language planners and educators rely on it for the success of their projects (Garrett, P., 2010).

There are several caveats to consider when studying attitudes. The first is that there is often an inconsistency between attitudes and behaviour. Having knowledge of a subject's attitudes does not mean that researchers can predict behaviour and likewise, observation of behaviour does not lead to an accurate understanding of attitudes (Baker, 1992). As attitudes are inhibited or promoted depending on the group or cultural setting, it is important to view attitudes in relation to their contexts (Baker, 1992). If there is the belief that reactions to the attitude will be negative, then the attitude may be kept hidden in order to avoid confrontation or offense.

The second is that belief, although similar, is not synonymous with attitude. A belief, unlike attitude, does not necessarily indicate a favourable or unfavourable outlook; if asked 'Is a knowledge of English important for your children, yes or no?', a questionnaire respondent might begrudgingly respond 'yes' all the while hating the language and culture (Edwards, 2006b). This question, therefore, only elicits the belief of the participant and not the attitudes. Beliefs about language use will be looked at in §2.2.

Thirdly, attitudes are not static. Attitudes can be changed through exposure to social influence or even manipulated by power groups; 'in some instances a language policy is in fact largely if not principally concerned with inculcating attitudes either to the languages or to the speakers of those languages' (Lewis, 1981: 262 in Baker, 1992). Accounting for changes in attitude requires investigating not just present person-oriented and political perspective, but also evaluating historical and sociological perspectives (Baker, 1992). An obvious example is the process by which a language becomes a national standard. Linguistic

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hegemony usually accompanies socio-political dominance; consider the manifold examples in Europe where the 'language' of the country is no more than a dialect 'officially recognised' and legitimised through government institutions (e.g., Castilian Spanish) (St Clair, 1982).

2.1.3.3.2 Approaches to Studying Language Attitude

Language attitudes studies fall into three main categories, none of which are mutually exclusive (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970):

- Language directed attitude studies that report on evaluations and ratings of language
- Studies on community-wide stereotyped impressions that look at the social significance of language and attitude towards speakers
- Studies on the implementation of attitudes and investigating language behaviour and behaviour towards language

The first of these may consider attitudes based on the intrinsic or aesthetic value of a language. Intrinsic nature refers to beliefs on the intrinsic differences across/within language varieties themselves, and the belief that languages are innately superior/inferior to one another. For example, the evaluation of a language as difficult to learn may result in a negative or non-productive attitude towards learning that language. Likewise, an attitude towards a language that is based on the idea that a language is somehow inferior may also influence language transmission practices as speakers prefer to speak the language viewed to have more prestige (a manifestation of positive identity formation as discussed in §2.1.3.2) (Day, 1982). Such an evaluation of the perceived prestige of a language variety is often based on the status of the speakers of that variety (as is the focus in the second category in studies of language attitude).

Attitudes based on aesthetic values are derived from the perception that some languages are somehow more aesthetically pleasing than others. Just as notions of prestige can be attached to a language due to the status of its speakers, notions of beauty can be attached for the same reason. Edwards (2006b) cites two studies that investigate the aesthetic value of language hypothesis, both of which found that study participants did not perceive the varieties of languages they heard (of which they had no knowledge) to be any more pleasing

or prestigious than the other (c.f. Giles et al., 1979). This does not mean that subjective preferences for a code or variety are invalid, just that there is no inherent basis for making the claim that one particular language is the most beautiful language in the world (Edwards, 2006b).

Social perception attitudes involve evaluating a variety of language based on the listener's perceptions of the speakers. Attitudes (including stereotypes and prejudices) towards a speaker or a community are evoked when a listener hears a language variety, and when language varieties are associated with social stratification then the attitudes towards the social stratum are projected also onto the language variety (Edwards, 2006b). Giles' (1970) study of attitudes towards regional and foreign accents in British English explored this phenomenon, and revealed that even when the participants heard the same speaker using different accents, their attitudes changed according to the English variety they heard.

While theoretical work in language attitude studies has concentrated on identifying some of the major themes, a great deal of attention has also been given to methodological issues. Given that attitudes are not always overt and that behaviour does not always reflect attitude, there are a number of approaches taken by those researching language attitudes to extract genuine underlying attitudes (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970). Methods can be direct or indirect, with direct approaches including questionnaires and interviews (as employed in this study), and indirect typically employing a matched guise technique. A more comprehensive review of these methods follows in the methodologies chapter with particular reference to the limitations of some of these in regards to minority language groups.

2.1.3.3.3 Language Attitudes and Minority and Endangered Languages

Language attitude studies have focused primarily on the attitudes of different groups of individuals based on gender and age or of migrant communities and non-standard varieties of a dominant language (Perlin, 2009; Baker, 1992). However, in recent years there has been an interest in studying the attitudes of endangered language communities (c.f. Kulick, 1992; Ma, 2006; Sallabank, 2007; Letsholo, 2009; Perlin, 2009; Switzler; 2012), with a speech community's attitude towards the language touted as a crucial factor when it comes to language maintenance (Bradley & Bradley, 2002). Attitudes are, for example, responsible for the hierarchical arrangement of varieties in a polyglossic situation, with H codes perceived

to have more prestige, power, or beauty than those assigned an L status. If, as we saw in §2.1.3.2, a more positive identity can be achieved by association with another code, then speakers may shift towards that code with all its positive traits as shaped by their attitudes.

Preliminary studies on attitudes of endangered languages have identified a number of key attitudes that affect language maintenance. These include those which are responsible for a delayed recognition of language loss, often realised only when the only fluent speakers are elderly (Schmidt, 1990) ; a purist view of the language where older speakers do not believe that the younger speakers speak the language properly thus making the younger speakers feel discouraged to use it (c.f. Dorian, 1994)[7]; or general acceptance of semi-speakers' language use thus also encouraging shift (Bradley & Bradley, 2002).

It is also crucial to examine the language attitudes of the dominant group in conjunction with the minority group's attitudes, specifically focusing on: attitudes towards linguistic pluralism and code-switching, perspectives on minority language use in public domains, the overall societal support for minority language maintenance, and even beliefs about the innate qualities of the language, such as beauty, importance and difficulty in learning and maintaining (Bradley & Bradley, 2002). Such attitudes may affect the vitality of a language (discussed further in §2.1.4.1) and hence are particularly pertinent to research into language shift and maintenance.

Two studies that have investigated language attitudes in minority or endangered language communities are those of Kulick (1992) and Perlin (2009). These two studies are particularly relevant to this study as they focus on two communities at different stages of language shift; one which is just beginning to show signs of change, the other, in the final stages of shift.

Perlin's (2009) time working with two small communities in west China, led him to conclude that the communities' language, T'rung, is beginning to show signs of endangerment. During his time with the T'rung, he conducted a series of questionnaires to gauge attitudes towards T'rung, Mandarin, and other languages in the area. While the community was unanimous about the importance of Mandarin, few spoke it well. Their attitudes towards the T'rung

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[7] On this note, it seems that older generations in all cultures (and throughout history) complain that the younger generations don't do not speak 'correctly', but there is particular interest in how such a view may impact language acquisition and attitudes in minority language groups.

language were more complex, ranging from pride in it as an ethnic identity marker to ambivalence and a view that it is becoming redundant in modern life.

Research on a language in this phase is uncommon, with the bulk of language attitude studies conducted on non-standard varieties of dominant languages or on migrant languages (Perlin, 2009). Those who have investigated indigenous languages have focused on languages that are moribund and language communities in the later stages of language shift. Kulick's (1992) examination of language shift in the village of Gapun, for instance, revealed that the Taiap language was already on the point of disappearance as very few children even had passive knowledge of the language and the only fluent speakers were elderly.

In seeking to understand why Taiap was no longer being learned by children in Gapun, Kulick (1992: 9) asked the question 'Why and how do people come to interpret their lives in such a way that they abandon one of their languages?' After extensive interviews with the community, he concluded that attitudes towards Tok Pisin and Taiap had led to a negative assessment of Taiap and a positive assessment of Tok Pisin. For example, Taiap was associated with backwardness and country 'bumpkins' (*kanaka*) while Tok Pisin was viewed as modern and progressive. Hence, in seeking to create a positive social identity, the Gapuners adopted the positively-assessed Tok Pisin. Moreover, as will be explored further in §2.3, these attitudes were being passed on to children, who then avoided using Taiap. In this way, Taiap was allowed to fall into disuse and eventually disappear.

Comparative studies of the language attitudes of communities all along the language shift spectrum would aid in understanding the dynamics of shift in language attitudes. While linguists who enter a community cannot force a community to choose to reinvest in their language, knowledge of the whys and wherefores of shift will help communities who do wish to revitalise their language.

2.1.4 Sociostructural Factors

The third set of factors involved in determining language behaviour are sociostructural; that is, the factors such as power and status of the group, as well as more concrete aspects such as group numbers. Sociostructural factors can be seen as the link between normative (i.e., socially and culturally determined factors such as norms of communication) and

motivational (i.e., psychological factors such as attitudes and identity) factors. How these three levels interact and the significance of sociostructural factors will be discussed under the construct of ethnolinguistic vitality.

2.1.4.1 Ethnolinguistic Vitality

First proposed by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor in 1977, 'ethnolinguistic vitality' is a conceptual tool that allows us to analyse sociostructural variables that affect the strength of a language community (Bourhis & Barrette, 2006). The genesis of the model lies in ethnolinguistic identity theory and Communication Accommodation Theory, but it also integrates elements of language attitude studies. As defined by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor,

> [t]he vitality of an ethnolinguistic group is that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations. From this, it is argued that ethnolinguistic minorities that have little or no group vitality would eventually cease to exist as distinctive groups. Conversely, the more vitality a linguistic group has, the more likely it will survive and thrive as a collective entity in an intergroup context.

(1977: 307-8)

They suggest that by evaluating a language community's attitudes and beliefs about language, language use and language behaviour, comparing these to the actual language behaviour of the community then contextualising it with regard to broader socio-economic and socio-political factors, the vitality of a community can be measured. Language vitality and language shift are therefore intrinsically related; where there is language shift in progress, there is a language experiencing challenges to its vitality (Karan, 2000). A prognosis of vitality, therefore, can be interpreted as a prognosis for language shift or language maintenance.

There are three levels to accounting for vitality. The first consists of objective variables, that is, sociological factors that are structural in nature. The second group are subjective variables; factors that function at an individual psychological level (e.g., attitudes). And the third level is at the socio-psychological level, acting as intermediary between sociological factors and psychological factors through individual and social networks.

In understanding the dynamics of vitality, Giles et al. (1977) sought to identify the primary variables that influence ethnolinguistic behaviour, the first of which was structural. This variable could be further divided into three streams: socioeconomic status, demographic factors and institutional support. Giles et al. (1977) identify these variables as the most likely to influence ethnolinguistic vitality and combine to provide a context for understanding the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups:
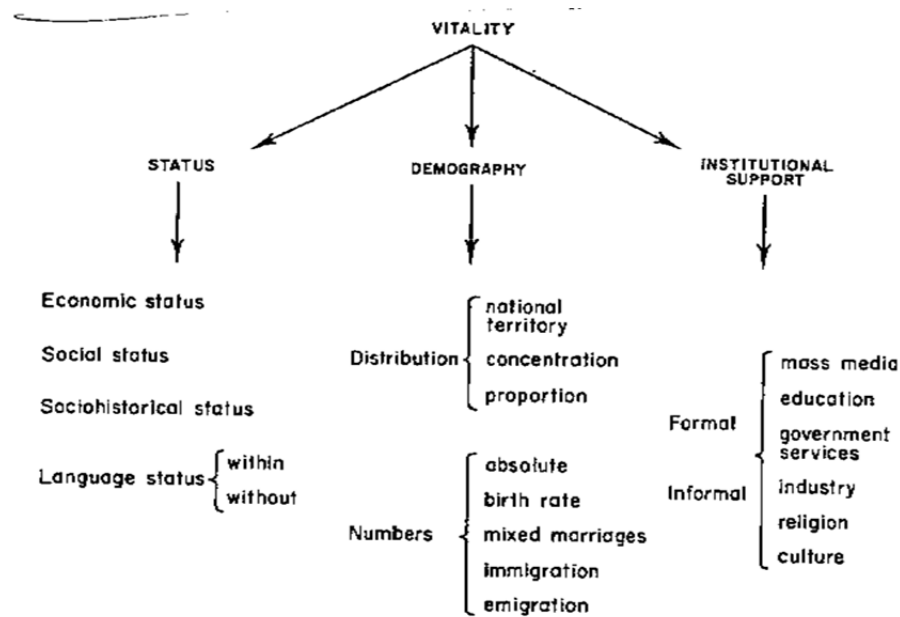
Fig. 1

A taxonomy of the structural variables affecting ethnolinguistic vitality.

Figure 12: Objective Variable (Giles et al., 1977:309)

Status variables relate to a speech community's social prestige and it was proposed that the more status a group had the more vitality it possesses collectively (Harwood, Giles & Bourhis, 1994). As Harwood et al. (1994) explain, high status associations encourages more positive assessments about group identity than low status ones do, and being a member of a low status group can affect how the groups maintain themselves. As Tajfel's theory describes, ethnolinguistic group members whose group is of relative low status may abandon their group in order to align themselves with a higher status ethnolinguistic group.

Demographic factors are the second set of variables within the objective ethnolinguistic vitality factors. Demographic variables are often the most salient for both in-group and out-groups, where the size of the group is seen to be a reflection of the power or vitality of the

group. The 'strength in numbers' argument though can be deceiving, however; Krauss (1992) identified 100,000 speakers as a safe figure for a language, yet small size alone does not condemn a language. Auslan, for example, is used by approximately 6,700 people in Australia yet has a vibrant community (Johnston & Schembri, 2007). In contrast is Navajo, which in 2000 has around 178,000 speakers, but the percentage of children learning Navajo as a first language has dropped from 90% in 1968 to 30% in 1990 (Grenoble, 2006). So while 'strength in numbers' can be used as a legitimising tool influencing institutional support, demographic factors alone cannot provide an accurate account of a group's vitality (Harwood et al., 1994).

The third category is institutional support. In short, this refers to the amount of 'formal' and 'informal' representation an ethnolinguistic group has in the wider communities at local, regional, state, national and even international level. Informal institutional support is generated within the group often through a 'pressure group' which organises private activities in education, mass media, services, business etc. Formal support comes from attaining positions at the decision-making levels of government, industry, services, religion, etc. Strong institutional vitality comes from having control in both formal and informal settings, and the degree of institutional control a group has can be equated to the degree of social power a group has (Harwood et al., 1994). Stronger institutional control is also likely to feed back into the status factors, where ethnolinguistic groups with more institutional support are more likely to enjoy higher social status relative to subordinate groups. Hence we see that none of these dimensions alone dictates vitality, that they are interdependent in their strength, and that they combine to affect ethnolinguistic vitality.

In a further development on the theory, Ehala (2010:363) proposed that in fact 'sustainability' of an ethnolinguistic group needed to be distinguished from 'vitality', where sustainability refers to a group's ability to continue existing as a collective entity, and vitality is 'a group's ability to act as a collective entity'. Furthermore, he sought to clarify that the objective factors that Giles et al. (1977) and Harwood et al. (1994) refer to as objective vitality, would be better referred to as 'strength' rather than objective vitality as these factors do not determine the ability to act collectively.

In any case, the objective vitality or strength of a group does not fully account for ethnolinguistic vitality, as Giles et al. (1977) noted in their study on Welsh bilinguals. They

suggested that investigating subjective variables would provide a more comprehensive picture. Subsequently Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal (1981) explored the concept of subjective vitality, hypothesising that the *perceived* vitality as assessed by group members was also integral to language choices.

2.1.4.1.2 Subjective Variables

Subjective variables refer to beliefs and attitudes speakers have about language and language use. Language attitudes have been discussed in detail in §2.1.3.3 and so in this section here the discussion will centre on beliefs. As means of exploring subjective variables, Bourhis et al. (1981) developed the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire (SVQ). It was proposed that employing the SVQ in conjunction with an objective vitality assessment would be a more sensitive method of assessing overall ethnolinguistic vitality and group behaviour, providing a more thorough and accurate depiction of a language's status than by relying solely on the objective elements (Bourhis et al., 1981).

The SVQ was first trialled in Melbourne, Australia on two cultural groups, one claiming Anglo-Celtic heritage and the other Greek heritage. Respondents were required to answer a series of questions regarding opinions and beliefs about the strength and spread of English and Greek and it was anticipated that such surveys would provide a meaningful way of studying ethnic group dynamics and intercultural relations. Examples include, 'how highly regarded are the following languages in Melbourne?' and 'how highly represented are the following languages in the Melbourne massmedia?', with respondents required to rate Greek and English on a 7 point rating scale from 'not at all' to 'extremely highly' (Bourhis et al., 1981).

This particular study and others (cf. Bourhis & Sachdev, 1984; Landry & Allard, 1994b) revealed a correspondence between the participants' perceived vitality and the objective assessment, leading to what Harwood et al. (1994) called a 'realistic' pattern. They also listed a number of studies where perceived subjective vitality and objective vitality have not matched, revealing biased assessments. Perceptions of vitality can be biased in three ways: 1) favouring in-group vitality exaggerating the strength of their own group; 2) favouring the out-group vitality and underestimating the vitality of their own group; and 3) in-group disagreement about the difference between the groups (Bourhis & Barrette, 2006).

In seeking to create more accurate reports, Allard and Landry (1986) developed the Beliefs about Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (BEVQ). This revised model explored more thoroughly the beliefs of participants than did the SVQ. While the SVQ focused only on the 'general beliefs' about the present ethnolinguistic vitality situation, the BEVQ took into account not just the general beliefs but also the 'normative beliefs' (i.e., what the situation *should* be like), the 'self-beliefs', (i.e., respondent's behaviour and situation), and 'goal beliefs', (i.e., respondent's desires as regards their behaviour and the situation) (Harwood et al., 1994).

Subsequent tests of this model by the authors revealed that the BEVQ was a better predictor of ethnolinguistic behaviour than the SVQ, especially when combined with objective vitality assessments (Harwood et al., 1994). Although an SVQ or BEVQ were not incorporated into this study (our focus was on normative factors), elements from these questionnaires were included in that interview groups in Raunsepna were asked about the vitality and future of Qaqet (see §3.3.1), providing some rudimentary data on which to base any future vitality assessments of the language.

Allard and Landry (1986) suggest that in order to achieve a more accurate prediction of language behaviour, vitality assessments must not be viewed in a vacuum, but rather within the social networks in which they occur. Ehala's (2010) reframing of vitality also promoted a multimodal approach. He emphasised that vitality depends on socio-psychological factors such as perceptions of in-group strength in comparison to out-groups and the closedness of a social network.

2.1.4.2 Social Networks

Social networks differ from objective and subjective views in that the focus is on the relationships between speakers rather than comparisons between groups of speakers (Milroy & Milroy, 1997). Analysing an individual's social network to explain language behaviour was approached from two directions, firstly by Milroy (1980) and the development of Social Network Analysis (SNA), and secondly by Landry and Allard (1994b) with Individual Networks of Linguistic Contacts (INLCs) model.

Borrowing from a related sociological concept, a social network, as defined by Milroy (2000: 217), is 'the sum of relationships which he or she has contracted with others' and is based

on the premise that the structure of society is derived from the relationships between individuals. For Milroy, networks provide a framework for analysing language variation and language shift. Networks not only display patterns but also act as agents of norm-enforcement, where strong, close-knit networks reinforce group norms and are the least susceptible to change, and weak network ties lead the group to be more susceptible to outside influence. Ties can be defined by the type of relationship individuals have, either categorised into five: Role-based, Perception-based, Action-based, Influence-based and Distance-based (Graham, 2000); or into three: Exchange, Interactive and Passive (Li, 1994 in Karahan, 2004).

Milroy (2000) applied this approach to Labov's (1966) work on phonological distribution, explaining that this and other quantitative studies constitute empirical evidence to support social network theory. Prior to the application of SNA, Labov's social class model of language variation correlated linguistic variation to socioeconomic parameters, an approach that has limits. As Coulmas (2003) explains, such correlations are not always enlightening; identifying the presence of a phonological feature in a particular social stratum does not automatically demonstrate a causal effect, it merely describes a statistical tendency for a speech style without explaining the social significance. While social network analysis does appear 'to be a more promising approach toward explicating social facts…than an analysis which hinges on a stratificational class model of society' (Coulmas, 2003: 570) it has its own weaknesses. Specifically, the difficulty in identifying meaningful social groups as independent variables is compounded not only by the fact that individuals can belong to multiple social groups but also by social mobility (Coulmas, 2003). Additionally, social structure differs across communities and cultures, making comparative research almost unfeasible.

By comparison, Landry and Allard's concept of a linguistic contact network has a broader scope, where one's network includes not just interpersonal relations but also contacts with mass media and education (Harwood et al., 1994).

The INLC is the link between objective variables and subjective variables (Hogg & Rigoli, 1996), the channel through which objective and subjective variables can influence each other. It is through one's social network, for example, that objective structural factors may influence the patterns of language usage between speakers (Bourhis et al., 1981: 146). The objective ethnolinguistic vitality of a speech community will determine the opportunities for

bilingual development, thus limiting or expanding an individual's linguistic network and opportunities to use the language (Landry & Bourhis, 1997: 30). Romaine (2003), for instance reported that the absence of Dyirbal in educational contexts in the Dyirbal-speaking community she worked with, could be contributing to low-vitality assessments by community members, thus influencing their language behaviour. Below is a schematic representation of how such variables interact.
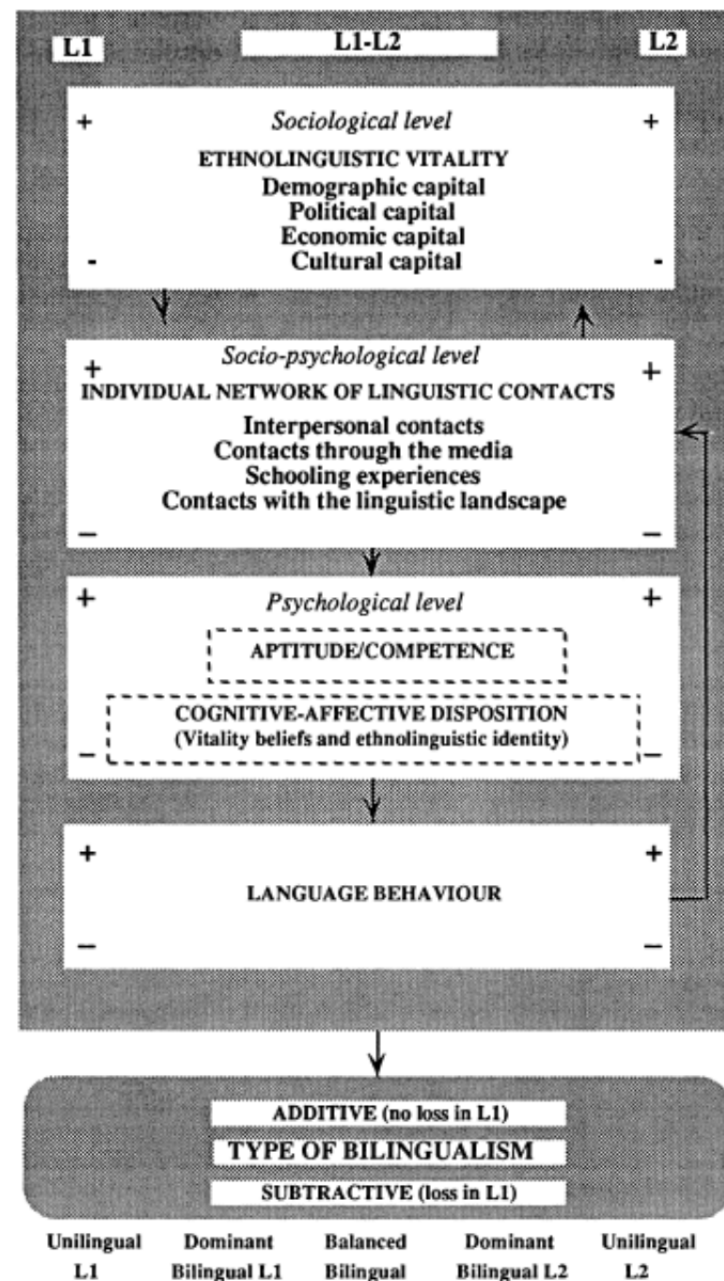
Figure 1. Model of the determinants of additive and subtractive bilingualism.

Figure 13: Model for additive/subtractive bilingualism (Landry and Bourhis, 1997:31)

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From the top we see that positive and negative assessments of the objective variables of ethnolinguistic vitality influence and are influenced by the INLC, which includes the entirety of an individual's linguistic contact situations. Experiences in the INLC affect subjective variables such as linguistic attitudes, beliefs and values, and competency. Language behaviour is derived from these psychological factors to feed back into one's INLC. As a whole then, this cyclic system leads to the language maintenance or shift.

A number of studies suggest that the influence of these dimensions is not equal, however. Hogg and Rigoli (1996) concluded from their study on Italian language maintenance amongst second-generation Italo-Australians that language usage was more influenced by societal-level support and media support than by interpersonal communication networks. Zhang (2009) came to a similar conclusion in her study on language maintenance amongst Mandarin-speaking immigrant children, where she identified the realms of education and media as having a greater impact on maintenance than interpersonal network ties. Both of these studies, however, were conducted in first-world countries involving educated middle-class participants, a factor that Hogg and Rigoli (1996) acknowledge may have skewed the results in emphasising the importance of education and media. Additionally, both examples looked at languages that have mass media presence, a status which minority indigenous languages like Qaqet cannot usually claim.

2.1.5 Summary

In summary, we see that language choice is affected at three levels, which when combined in research approaches, provides a more reliable prediction of group behaviour (Bourhis & Barrette, 2006):

1. The Psychological level (level 3 of Figure 13): takes into account subjective variables and motivational factors such as language attitudes and beliefs, and social and ethnolinguistic identity (i.e., factors in §2.1.3).

2. The Socio-Psychological level (level 2 Figure 13): includes social and cultural normative factors as discussed in §2.1.2, and social networks (see §2.1.4.2).

3. The Sociostructural level (on level 1 of Figure 13): encompasses objective variables such as demography, geography, politics, and economy (as in §2.1.4.1.1)

There have been few attempts, however, to integrate all these practices and principles of language choice, with most empirical research focusing on only one factor or a limited set of factors (Sachdev & Bourhis, 1990). As none of these sets of factors alone are enough to explain multilingual language choice, it would seem that the studies conducted therefore only partially account for the language behaviour in their respective communities. In this study, the focus has been on normative factors on the socio-psychological level with forays into the sociostructural level and psychological level to gain a general understanding of these factors and thus enabling us to identify promising areas of future research. Details on this are provided in Chapter 3.

Perhaps one of the most convincing approaches to connecting all these factors is the study of language ideologies. Language ideologies can be considered the linking agent for all the factors discussed thus far. As Woolard and Schieffelin (1994: 55-56) describe, language ideologies 'envision and enact links of language to group and personal identity, to aesthetics, to morality, and to epistemology'. Language ideologies, in short, create links between language and identity, language and attitudes, and language and sociocultural norms. In the next section, we will explore how language ideologies relate to multilingualism and language choice and how they interconnect the sociostructural, socio-psychological and psychological factors discussed above.

2.2 Language Ideologies

Language ideology as a separate field only emerged in the late 20th century (Blommaert, 2006: 510). The term 'ideology', however, was itself coined in the late 18th century and as a concept, has been redefined to suit the fields in which it is applied such as anthropology, politics, history and philosophy. For the first half of the 20th century, anthropologists dismissed 'the linguistic consciousness of natives' as unworthy of attention and were proscribed in favour of the 'expertise' of linguists and anthropologists (Kroskrity, 2004: 499). The linguistic ideologies as voiced by a community member were deemed 'misleading and disturbing' (Boas, 1911: 69 in Kroskrity, 2004) and thought to have negligible effect on speech (Bloomfield, 1944 in Kroskrity, 2004). It was not until the 1970's that speakers began to be included along with their language and a new linguistic anthropological trend began

that focused on the agency of speakers and also integrated speakers' awareness of linguistic systems with sociocultural structure (Kroskrity, 2004).

Language ideology has been defined as 'sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use' (Silverstein, 1979: 190). This is a broad conceptual canvas though, covering both the form and function of language and with a complex relationship to language attitudes. This relationship between ideology and attitude will be looked at in the following pages, as will be the primary characteristics of ideologies, and the focal points in language ideology studies.

Language attitudes (discussed in §2.1.3.3) and language ideologies are two related concepts, and so it is prudent here to disambiguate the two. The simplest approach is to consider attitudes as individual manifestations of ideologies. As Dyers and Abongdia (2010: 120) affirm, 'language ideologies precede language attitudes, and that attitudes are shaped by pervading ideologies in any given society or community of practice'. Although there are a number of overlapping concepts, the differences remain such that a distinction can be made, as is more clearly demonstrated in the table below:

Table 2.   A summary of the differences between language ideologies and language attitudes.

Language ideologies	Language attitudes
Group/community beliefs	Individual thoughts, feelings, reactions
Develops in interests of powerful groups	Possessed by individuals
Shaped by socio-historical events	Rooted in individual experience
Long-term, deeply rooted and resistant to change	Can be both short- and long-term, but more mutable than ideologies
Strong effect on language learning and motivation	May affect language learning and motivation, but not always
Play a central role in language policies and their successful implementation	May play a role in the creation of language policies, but not their implementation
Conscious, overt assessment of languages and their speakers	Often unconscious, covert assessments; sometimes distinguishes between languages and speakers of those languages

Figure 14: Comparison of attitudes and ideologies (Dyers and Abongdia, 2004: 132)

From this, it can be inferred that language ideologies are overt, developed by social forces and clearly revealed in behaviour and even institutional policies. They are always held by groups, and essentially serve as an over-arching framework from which attitudes can be formed. Language attitudes, meanwhile, are unconscious assessments held by individuals,

and are shaped around personal experience and the acceptance or rejection of the dominant ideologies (Dyers & Abongdia, 2010).

In their study of language ideologies and language attitudes in a Francophone school in Cameroon, Dyers and Abongdia (2010) concluded that students' attitudes towards English emanated from the dominant language ideologies in the country. Cameroon, which has English and French as official languages, is primarily Francophone with a smaller Anglophone area in the west of the country. In general, the students in Dyers and Abongdia's study at a school in the Francophone region held negative attitudes towards English (e.g., it being difficult, not useful in Cameroon, and conflicting with their Francophone identity). These reflected the views promoted (covertly and overtly) by their family and community, and by the economic, social and political environment of Cameroon. As the dominant language, French is used in almost all official public offices and in the media, and although English is taught in schools, it has little presence outside of this sphere. Indigenous languages fare even worse and can be heard on only a few radio stations. The students' attitudes towards English then were expressions of their experiences in such an environment, i.e., one that generally favours the use of French.

2.2.1 Paradigms of Ideologies

Ideologies are therefore at the intersection of macro and micro levels of investigation into the motivations behind language behaviour and as such form an important part in explaining language maintenance and shift. Language ideologies can also be defined by five characteristics, as identified by Kroskrity (2004):

1. *Just as society is organised into multiple meaningful divisions (gender, age, tribe etc.), so there exist multiple linguistic ideologies*: Hill's (1998) exposé on language ideologies in a Mexicano speaking community in Central Mexico, demonstrated that within the same community there existed not just different but opposing language ideologies. While the nostalgic yearning for Mexicano, particularly the honorific registers, is more likely to be expressed by men, women in the community tend to express ambivalence towards the practice as it is representative of a time when there was poverty, violence and patriarchal control over them (Hill, 1998). In this instance, although members of the same community, men and women hold

different perspectives towards the disappearance of the language based on their experiences.

2. *Language ideologies represent the interests of a specific group*: Institutional policies, particularly educational ones, are the most overt manifestation of ideologies representing the interests of a specific group. The enforcement of a dominant language as the language of instruction in schools, even in minority-language enclaves, serves to reaffirm and legitimise the minority language's subordinate status (Romaine, 2006). Such ideologies are even overtly recognised. The second article of the French constitution states that 'la langue de la République est le français' (Constitution Française. Art. II), (1958) and has been used to disseminate the ideology of linguistic homogeneity in France, effectively dismissing the historical roles of regional languages of the area such as Occitan, Breton and Corsican (Dorian, 2006). This ideology of one nation-one language initially represented the interests of French revolutionaries, seeking to unify the people, but has come to influence all institutional spheres in that the use of any language other than French in the public sector is deemed unconstitutional.

3. *Group members 'may display varying degrees of awareness of local language ideologies.'* (Kroskrity, 2004): Awareness of such an ideology would differ between different groups and different group members. Monolingual French speakers, for instance, with no connection to a minority language group in France, may be unaware of the impact such an ideology has on language maintenance of a minority language group, and oblivious to the ideologies of those groups. Awareness of ideologies is not affected by group membership but also dependent on context; as Kroskrity (2004) outlines, certain circumstances may illuminate hitherto latent ideologies.

4. *Language ideologies act as mediators between social structures and forms of talk*: Whether dominant or subordinate, ideologies serve as mediators between language form and social structure. As individuals interact, their language ideologies navigate them through event, helping them make decisions on their own language use and

interpreting the language use of other interlocutors. In their treatise on the semiotic processes of language ideology, Irvine and Gal (2000) refer to the appropriation of clicks through avoidance strategies in Bantu languages. As speakers sought to express politeness or formality, clicks were incorporated to avoid the offensive word, thus there is the ideology of the donor language as a mediating between social requirements and linguistic form.

5. *'Language ideologies are productively used in the creation and representation of various social and cultural identities (e.g. nationality, ethnicity).'* (Kroskrity, 2004: 501-509): This last feature is also a semiotic process, whereby languages are used to validate social or ethnic group boundaries. As a critical argument in scholarship on ethnicity and nationalism, and the basis of the nation state paradigm, this aspect of ideology has been extremely influential in shaping the Western world.

Of these, point 4 is of particular interest, as it is this feature that allows the sociological, socio-psychological and psychological factors listed in §2.1.4 to interact. With these five fundamental tenets of ideology in mind, let us now examine how they may be applied in research into language ideologies in minority and endangered language communities.

2.2.2 Research Themes in Language Ideology

Researching ideologies means evaluating both social and semiotic processes (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). As many ideologies will be present in one community, scholars seeking to examine the link between ideology and language shift need to identify the dominant ideologies in the community specifically relating to language use. The key ideologies discussed in language ideology studies are outlined in the following section:

Semiotic and contextual usage ideologies focus on how certain linguistic forms/registers/codes may be associated with different contexts, as explored in §2.1.2 in the discussion on diglossia and polyglossia. Beliefs about the appropriateness of specific codes in specific contexts are frequently exhibited in religious settings. In an ultraorthodox Jewish community, the ideology of the sanctity of language leads to the restriction of Hebrew to sacred contexts (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). By compartmentalising a code, as

is explored in the previous section on multilingualism, linguistic boundaries are enforced, assisting in the maintenance of that code.

Ideologies on the intrinsic value of linguistic forms come in three types: modal (e.g., literate/oral/manual), varietal (e.g., languages/dialect) or metapragmatic (e.g., genres/styles/registers/voices), and relates back to language attitudes in §2.1.3.3 and subjective variables in §2.1.4.1.2. Schieffelin's (2000) examination on the introduction of literacy to a village in Papua New Guinea relates how the prevailing modal language ideology on the oral tradition altered as Christian missionary texts systematically imbued Kaluli orality with pejorative connotations (Kroskrity, 2004). Literacy also became viewed as a means to acquiring much sought after cargo as villagers watched missionaries receiving sacks of mail and referring to manuals to use and repair machines, creating in their view a link between literacy and the wealth and power of the West. As Schieffelin (2000: 323) explains, 'texts…now demarcate authority [and with the] creation of "local experts" such as teachers and pastors who speak with the authority of the mission and have access to books, Kaluli society is undergoing stratification'. In another example, Eisenberg's (1986) evaluation on teasing in a Mexicano community revealed a metapragmatic ideology that condoned and encouraged teasing as a means of creating and strengthening bonds within the speech community.

Varietal language ideologies can centre on the relative value of distinct varieties, multilingualism and code-switching, affecting the presence of diglossia/polyglossia (§2.1.1.2-4). Beliefs on the correctness or the purity of a language and beliefs on code-switching are often particularly salient as they are often manifested in institutional policies, impacting upon language socialisation practices. Linguistic hegemony can be explained by ideologies in that 'codes that have attained ideological dominance are regimented by prescriptive ideologies and practices that index the standard and nonstandard form, identify those who produce and control them, and imbue insecurity in those who do not.' (Riley, 2011: 499). Educational policies that limit the language of instruction to one particular code, for example, reflect the institutionalised ideology that that code is the language of scholarship and learning.

Erasure, attributed to linguistic homogenisation by Irvine and Gal (2000), is the process of selective inattention to variations that do not fit the model of speakers in order to avoid

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cognitive dissonance, and thus rendering speakers invisible. (Irvine & Gal, 2000, Kroskrity, 2004). Singer (2012) identified such a process in Warruwi, a multilingual island community off the coast of the Northern Territory. In her study, Mawng-speaking respondents identified Mawng, Kunqinjku and Kunbarlang as the languages of the community, effectively erasing the importance of other languages spoken there (Maningrida languages and Yolngu-matha languages (Singer, 2012)). Linguists too may be guilty of erasure; as Woolard and Schieffelin (1994: 57) point out, '[w]e run the risk of excluding work in which language does not seem focal precisely because the group studied does not compartmentalize and reify social practices of communicating'.

Linguistic purism and prescriptivism ideologies manifest as a series of beliefs and expectations about how languages *should* be used and who *should* use them. They are often formally institutionalised; l'Académie Française, for example, has stood for over three hundred years 'defending' the French language from the perceived threat of other languages (particularly English) on the purity of French. Such an ideology can be beneficial to language maintenance; Kroskrity's (2000) analysis of language ideologies of the Arizona Tewa led him to explain their predilection for controlled and minimalised lexical borrowing by their linguistic purism ideologies and compartmentalisation of language. Their resistance to linguistic borrowing is, according to Kroskrity, the ideology at the root of the survival of the Tewa language in the face of colonial forces.

Iconisation is the semiotic process of linking language and ethnic or sociocultural identity (Irvine and Gal, 1995), as was introduced in §2.1.3.2. Essentially it involves interpreting 'linguistic form not just as a dependable index of a social group but as a transparent depiction of the distinctive qualities of the group' (Woolard, 1998: 19). Iconisation includes using language not just as an ethnicity marker but also as a social status marker, as is explored in George Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion.* Iconisation ideologies, like purism ideologies, can be institutionalised, sometimes at the expense of regional vernaculars. The second article of the French constitution (see above), for example, precludes the official recognition of the regional languages of France (e.g., Breton, Occitan etc.), and purist ideologies, such as those promoted by l'Académie Française, only serve to reinforce iconic links between the

French language and French identity[8]. This historical and ideological construct of identifying one language with one people cannot be taken as a natural fact as multilingual communities can attest.

The conclusion that we are led to from this review of ideologies, is that ideologies have a powerful role in language behaviour and the maintenance of language. In this study, the interest in ideologies is to identify the dominant ideologies in Raunsepna that contribute to how language is used there. Of particular focus are ideologies on language acquisition and the intrinsic value of codes, contextual usage ideologies, prescriptivism, and iconisation. Neither erasure nor varietal language ideologies were explored as they required prior understanding of how the codes in the community are used.

With a range of ideologies to explore in Raunsepna, one question arises; is there one ideology that is integral to language maintenance? Bradley and Bradley (2002: 1) argue that whether or not a group 'sees their language and its maintenance as a key aspect of the group's identity' plays a critical role in language shift. This supports Romaine's statement that strong boundary maintenance between codes (i.e., compartmentalisation of varieties defined by specific contexts) is a crucial factor in language maintenance (§2.1.2.5), as strict enforcement of code boundaries may be a result of the language maintenance ideology. Kroskrity's (1992) case study above (§2.2.2) exemplifies this.

One final aspect of understanding language shift and maintenance in a multilingual community remains- language socialisation. In the next and final section, discussion will focus on this field of study with a view to exploring language practices and language ideologies are transmitted, maintained or altered over generations.

2.3 Language Socialisation

As an interdisciplinary research field, language socialisation research uses methods from a range of disciplines such as anthropology, linguistics, education, and developmental psychology (Garrett, 2008: 190). The focus here however will be on the approaches relevant to this study: anthropological and linguistic approaches.

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[8] In 2008, l'Académie Française interceded in government moves to officially recognise France's regional languages, on the grounds that it was unconstitutional.

Language socialisation can be broadly described as the developmental process whereby a novice acquires the skills and knowledge to participate in society (Garrett, 2008). Major proponents of child language socialisation research, Ochs and Schieffelin (1986) emphasised that child language socialisation includes not just socialisation to use language but also socialisation through language. This suggests that in addition to attaining communicative competence, language is a powerful medium for conveying sociocultural knowledge (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). As a basic tenet of language socialisation studies is that 'the acquisition of language is inseparable from other kinds of social and cultural knowledge' (Garrett, 2008: 190), this process must also include the transmission of language attitudes and ideologies. However, socialisation practices are not only implicated in the perpetuation of language ideologies and attitudes, but are also the *result* of language ideologies and attitudes (Riley, 2011). For this reason, language socialisation studies have begun to move away from describing and analysing socialisation practices, to looking at the role of language socialisation in language shift, both as a conduit for change and as a source in its own right. This is explored further with regard to Raunsepna in §5.1.3.

Although the focus in this section will be on child language socialisation, it is important to note that language socialisation is not strictly confined to children. As the definition suggests, language socialisation is undertaken by a novice, be they young or old. Socialisation situations involving older community members is commonplace, especially with the development and spread of technology (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011).

2.3.1 Child language socialisation

Ochs and Schieffelin's (1986) comparative research into language socialisation practices in Samoa and the U.S. revealed that child language socialisation practices differed vastly across cultures. These differences reflect distinct language acquisition ideologies (§2.2.2) that prevail in particular cultures and societies.

Child language socialisation has also been turned to in exploring language transmission and language maintenance. For instance, whether children in a community are learning a language tends to be an obvious marker for the overall vitality of a language. In his investigation into language shift in Gapun, a Papuan village, Kulick (1992) proposed that language socialisation practices were largely responsible for the abandonment of the local vernacular, Taiap, in favour for Tok Pisin). These actual practices, in turn, arose from the

dominant socialisation ideologies in Gapun. In examining the language behaviour of the village, Kulick identified a number of socialisation practices that resulted in the linguistic status quo of Gapun.

The first of these was that adults primarily used Tok Pisin with children rather than Taiap. Although adults did switch between Taiap and Tok Pisin, often directly translating from Taiap to Tok Pisin, when they wanted children to pay special attention to what they were saying, they would employ Tok Pisin only. The children thus had only a passive competency in Taiap. Compounding this was the fact that in the community, children spent a great deal of their time in the care of older children who, as a result, were a major source of linguistic input for the children. As these older children did not have an active command of Taiap, they used Tok Pisin exclusively with their charges, further encouraging the use of Tok Pisin over Taiap.

In addition to this, Kulick (1992) noted that when children did attempt to use Taiap, they are not praised for their efforts, but rather criticised any mistakes they make. When Kulick questioned some older children about their Taiap use, they explained that they did not use it around their parents and adults because they were ashamed of their poor competency in the language. In contrast, mistakes made by children in Tok Pisin were not corrected by adults, and in fact, the roles were reversed here, as children took great delight in mocking and correcting an adult's error in Tok Pisin. This phenomenon has also been reported in a number of other small language communities around the world (cf. Schmidt, 1985; Hill & Hill, 1986; Dorian, 1994) leading to the conclusion that the 'purist discourses' propounded by older community members can 'work against the survival of the language' as they cause apprehension amongst younger speakers and make them reluctant to use it (Kulick, 1992: 220). This contrasts with Kroskrity's (1992) Arizona Tewa case study (§2.2.2), in which purism ideologies were working *towards* the maintenance of the language, indicating that there are more influential factors than purist ideologies in maintaining a language (further discussed in Chapter 6).

Such socialisation practices, Kulick feels, play a major role in the disappearance of Taiap in the community, as parents transmit their attitudes and ideologies towards Taiap and Tok Pisin, fuelling language shift. The importance of language socialisation studies for understanding language maintenance and shift is acknowledged in this study on Qaqet and

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provisions were made to collect some preliminary information on language socialisation in Raunsepna (for specific questions in the questionnaire and interviews see §3.2 and §3.3). It was impossible though to attempt anything as comprehensive as Kulick's ethnographic study in Gapun given the limited scope of this study, but the rudimentary data that was collected helps point towards areas of future research.

2.4 Summary

We have so far seen a number of approaches to exploring language use in multilingual communities and the maintenance of languages. The manifold factors that affect language use and maintenance paint a complex picture. Objective factors such as economy, status and demography, populate the sociostructural level, and while they can be quantified, they also have qualitative aspect in that they can be assessed subjectively by community members. These subjective reports, however, are in the domain of the psychological level, as they are influenced by factors such as language attitudes and beliefs. Social and ethnolinguistic identity also sit on the psychological plane, but have clear links with the socio-psychological level as they represent individual manifestations of broader socio-psychological moulds. Normative factors are also at work on this level and through social networks, are expressed and maintained. Ideologies have been shown to influence all levels, and language socialisation practices are seen to be not only the result of all these factors but also instrumental in perpetuating and creating them.

Integrating all these into one workable supertheory is well beyond the scope of this study, but attempts have been made by others. Karahan (2004) developed the following model to demonstrate how all these processes interrelate to promote or inhibit multilingual practices:
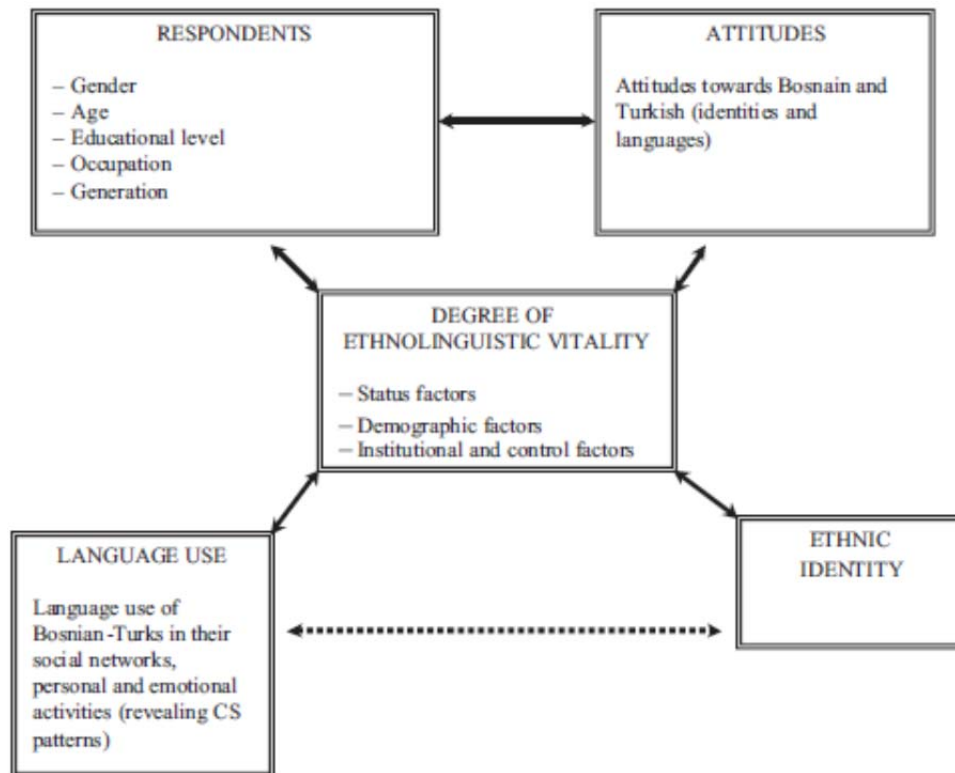
Figure 1. *The relationships of the four dimensions in the Bosnian-Turkish community*

Figure 15: Model for relations between language choice factors (Karahan 2004:89)

Karahan's (2004) work with a Bosnian-Turkish community in Turkey, led him to consider the above factors as vital to the language maintenance in this community. Central to his thesis is ethnolinguistic vitality, which influences and is influenced by the psychological factors attitude and identity, as well as social factors such as age and gender, and language use practices. He has also linked social parameters to attitude and indicated that ethnic identity and language use share some relationship, however this schema is far from complete. Neither language ideology nor language socialisation practices are incorporated into this model, and relationships between language use and social factors or between attitude and ethnic identity are left unexplored.

Conceptualising how these factors all fit together therefore is a formidable task, but I have attempted to show in this chapter how some of these factors are interrelated. Primarily, the studies reviewed here serve to demonstrate the importance of different factors and the complex relationship between them. Importantly, the case studies support arguments for the import of different factors in determining language use and maintenance. While Romaine (2003) argues that the strict compartmentalisation of languages and maintenance

of polyglossia is vital for maintaining multilingualism, Bradley and Bradley (2002) emphasise attitude towards language as the crucial factor, a premise that ethnolinguistic vitality theory also supports. Essentially, if a dominant community ideology involves the maintenance of the language and these views are reflected in attitudes, then such a psychological and socio-psychological environment may encourage speakers to employ practices such as compartmentalisation that will facilitate maintenance.

It is likely that each community studied presents unique combinations of all the factors that influence language maintenance. This suggests that the distinctive nature of the relationships of these factors in each community mean that no one formula for language maintenance will suit them all. As such, it is an empirical question as to how all these factors are linked together in a specific situation such as that of the Qaqet in Raunsepna.

The approach to exploring language choice in Raunsepna has been then to examine normative factors that delineate the situational influences on language choice by deriving questions from the SPEAKING model. Patterns in the community's description of language choice as per the SPEAKING factors allowed for an investigation into the community's communication accommodation, compartmentalisation (i.e., polyglossia), and language socialisation practices. From the patterns reported and observed, certain language ideologies could be inferred. Although attitudes and social networks were superficially inquired into, the scope of the study did not allow for a complete investigation. The next chapter will explore how these theories were translated into methodologies.

3. Methodological Approaches

3.1 Introduction

As a pilot study on language use in Raunsepna, there was no prior sociolinguistic information on the community, or indeed on any Baining community, from which to derive any focal points. Since there was no sociolinguistic information available, the hypotheses about language use in the community were derived from the literature of multilingualism and language shift. This in turn informed my methodological approach and a number of different methodological lines of inquiry have been incorporated to capture a broad picture of language use in Raunsepna. This would not only provide a backdrop for the typological and documentary research being conducted there, but also identify any trends that might arouse further scholastic interest.

With this aim in view, the research design employed questionnaires, interviews, reports of daily interactions ('Day in the life of…' language use report), and genealogies. In most cases, a number of different methods were used to investigate the same topic from different angles (e.g., closed questions on language use in the survey and open questions on motivations in the interview), which allowed for answers to be compared and to guard against methodological pitfalls of each approach. The surveys and the interviews were the primary methods of extracting data, however participant observation also allowed us to pick up data on language use, particularly in public spaces, which could also be compared to community reports in the surveys and interviews. In this chapter, I will outline the rationale for employing these instruments before detailing the design and implementation of each one. The limitations and interpretation of the results will also be considered.

3.1.1 Theoretical framework

As a theoretically informed empirical study, the resources referred to in the literature review (Chapter 2) provided a number of hypotheses regarding language use Raunsepna. These surrounded issues such as the contexts or interlocutors that may affect language choice; language contact and contact languages; multilingualism in Papua New Guinea; and

language transmission and socialisation practices. The tools employed in this study may address several of these areas at once, as will be detailed below.

In the literature on multilingual practices, several language use models were examined with respect to three sets of factors (normative, motivational and sociostructural). As so little was known about the Qaqet Baining and their linguistic habits, it was prudent to begin with normative factors and conduct an ethnographic inquiry into communication, to provide a basic outline of who uses what language when. In this regard, Hymes' SPEAKING[*] model supplied us with many of these initial questions into language use asked in the survey. Not all the elements of this model were incorporated into the study, though as will be further discussed in §3.2.1.

The questions derived from the SPEAKING model also allowed us to explore motivational factors behind language use, particularly communication accommodation patterns. Attitudes, meanwhile, were only superficially enquired into as a matched guise test was not an option in this study. Essentially, this technique requires participants to listen to a polydialectal speaker who is recorded saying a series of phrases in each of the codes in his/her repertoire. Listeners need to evaluate each recording based on a number of dimensions such as personality, values, beliefs, intelligence, education, linguistic practices and background. The principle is that the participant's attitudes towards what they perceive as different speakers will be revealed in their evaluations. The flaw in the theory behind this is that there is a presupposition that 'each population or sub-population is characterized or identifiable by a single language variety' (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970: 146), a classic monolingual view. Using this technique then in multilingual societies requires adapting the technique to focus on evaluating the appropriate use of certain codes or code-switching in certain contexts. In regards to the Baining, there is no information yet on code-switching or what constitutes 'pure' Qaqet and thus, even if we had had the means of creating a convincing stimulus recording, we had none of sociolinguistic understanding through which to interpret the responses.

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[*] S-Scene and Setting; P- participant; E- ends; A- act sequence; K- key; I- instrumentality; N- norms of interaction; G- genre

Additionally, given the small size of the community, it seems likely that if we had managed to find and record a speaker capable of mimicking different variations of Baining, listeners would have recognised the speaker, thus interfering with a genuine attitude result. So, while we asked in the interview about attitudes on language and language use, the responses could not be relied upon to be true reflections of the speakers' covert attitudes as they were consciously derived. Instead, these responses were used to help identify how speakers rationalised language choices and were considered better indications of the language ideologies in the village. §3.3.3 will examine this further.

Macro and sociostructural factors that may impact on language use were addressed in the first section of the survey (demographic information) and the family tree (to explore exogamy rates). As with the normative factors, there was little known about which objective variables were important to focus on. Other studies on similar fieldsites, particularly Gapun (Kulick, 1992), provided a starting point for determining which features to include and which to dismiss, as will be explained more thoroughly in §3.2.1. Kulick's study was also integral to the development of the questions on language socialisation in Raunsepna. Drawn from his focus on socialisation processes in Gapun, questions in both the survey and in the interview explored language socialisation in Raunsepna.

The daily interaction reports (to be discussed more fully in §3.4.1) also briefly touched on social networks, although their main purpose was to corroborate normative factors in the survey answers by asking community members about language use with different participants and topics on a specific day. If taken further however, the 'Day in the life of...' reports could lead to an analysis of social networks (c.f. Milroy and Milroy, 1985), but pursuing this line of enquiry was beyond the scope of this study.

Finally, as many of the approaches here are self-reports on language use, they cannot be said to be reliable accounts of how languages are actually used. As such they have been interpreted as idealised versions of how the language is used, giving us some insight into the community's language ideologies.

3.2 Questionnaires

As an instrument for eliciting sociolinguistic data, questionnaires have been vital for sociolinguists. Sociolinguistic questionnaires rely on a series of questions that encourage participants to express their views on a focus topic (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970). A sociolinguistic survey may typically concentrate on a demographic description, linguistic similarity, dialect intelligibility, degree of bilingualism, domains of language use, and language attitudes (Blair, 1990). Considering there is no sociolinguistic data on the Baining, they are particularly useful as they provide a general sketch of the community, helping to identify focal points for future exploration.

Some points of concern in creating and implementing surveys surround type of questions, literacy of the community, and societal norms. For example, open questions may hamper the efficacy of a survey in a number of ways: 1) respondents may be discouraged by the effort involved in writing a response; 2) respondents may not address the focus of the question; and 3) it is difficult to score answers (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970). By using closed questions and rating scales, researchers can avoid the problem of respondents failing to focus on the intended dimension as well as eliciting responses that are easier to score (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970). The disadvantage to this technique, though, is maintaining the interest of the respondent to ensure thoughtful answers: too simple and the respondents may find it boring and lose interest; too complex and the respondents may find it demanding and lose interest (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970). We also find with this approach that closed questions do not really explore the potential significance of factors as they generally tend to test existing hypotheses (Milroy & Gordon, 2003).

In this study though, there were no existing hypotheses on which to base a survey as there was no empirical sociolinguistic data collected yet on Qaqet Baining. The hypotheses therefore were drawn from the literature on empirical studies on langauge communities believed to be in a similar situation, i.e., small language communities that are assumed to be endangered. Theoretical approaches were also referred to to help develop questions, such as the ethnography of communication model. Not all the hypotheses about the situation in Raunsepna drawn from the literature were accurate though; as will be discussed in §3.2.2, there were questions included in the surveys (and the interviews) that were unsuitable to the actual situation in Raunsepna.

Scales, in the meantime, have the advantage when it comes to the interpretation of results, but generate methodological concerns when it comes to literacy. Questionnaires rely on a certain level of literacy, not just in terms of understanding and interpreting the survey questions but in decoding the structural features of the survey. Survey participants may not be experienced in following tables and grids, or applying an arbitrary numerical scale to abstract qualities of language or language use. Perlin (2009) reported that some of his participants were distracted from the content of the question by the concept of the scale, an issue that was also noted in Raunsepna (see §3.2.2). Issues such as these are easily overlooked when Western researchers work in what are essentially non-literate communities.

Used in literate and urban communities, the questionnaire can be an extremely efficient method of gathering data as it allows researchers to access a large amount of participants in a small amount of time, do not necessarily require electronic instruments or the supervision of the researcher (Milroy & Gordon, 2003; Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970). In areas with low literacy rates though, such as Raunsepna, questionnaires can be administered by field-workers, and while this can be more time consuming, it does ensure that the surveys are more accurate as the survey conductor can elucidate questions and prompt respondents for fuller explanations (Milroy & Gordon, 2003). §3.2.2 will discuss the recruitment of research assistants in this study.

One last consideration in the implementation of questionnaires is societal norms. Cultures can generally be characterised as either collectivist or individualist, where collectivistic cultures stress the importance of group cohesion and prioritise social goals, and individualistic cultures are oriented around the individual, with the focus on the self and personal goals (Holmes, 2008). The general theory behind the questionnaire is that each one represents one person's point of view, and thus as a tool reflects the individualistic nature of Western society. This indicates that the survey may be an impractical tool in collectivist societies where group settings are the norm; isolating individuals for their perspective may contravene social norms and as such can be an unsettling or intimidating experience for community members. Perlin (2009) found it very difficult to conduct rigid one-on-one interviews with the T'rung, as group situations were the norm, leading to composite

questionnaire responses. Similar issues were encountered in Raunsepna (see §3.2.2 and §3.3.1)

As researchers' expectations rarely match the actual survey conditions, the survey and the approach to surveying are modified as the project proceeds (Blair, 1990). In the next few pages, the development and application of the survey employed in this study will be described, including problems encountered and approaches to interpreting results.

3.2.1 Design

The survey employed in this project sought to obtain several things: some basic demographic information, information on adult language use, and information on child language use. In setting the questions, I referred to the questionnaires employed in other studies on isolated and endangered minority communities, specifically those by Kayambazinthu (1995), Ma (2006), Perlin (2009), my peer Temmy Thamrin in her work in Indonesia, and my supervisor, Birgit Hellwig in her work in the Sudan. An English version of the questionnaire used in Raunsepna is in Appendix A.

Section A, inquired into objective variables such as age, gender, place of birth, community role, years of education, place of education, language of instruction at school, marital status, place of birth of spouse, number of members in the household. As this is the first sociolinguistic study to focus on the Baining, no demographic data like this was available to us. The data from this section therefore not only provided some insight into the community at large but could also be correlated to language use to reveal distinct patterns in the community (see §4.2).

Section B focused on the language use of adults. The first six questions enquired as to language spoken by the respondent and their perceived competency in speaking, understanding and reading those languages. They were also asked to reflect on the languages used by their mother, father and spouse, and their skills in the languages in their repertoire. Recording the language repertoires of previous generations not only aided the enquiry into language transmission (in first language acquisition) but also contributed to our understanding of language use of non-Qaqet spouses (in second language acquisition). These questions were derived from the language socialisation literature (e.g., Kulick, 1992).

Question 7 of Section B asked participants to relate their language use in a variety of scenarios drawn from the SPEAKING model. Not all the elements of this model were broached though, specifically, Ends (i.e., the goals and purposes of the interaction), Act Sequence (i.e., the content and form of speech), and Norms of Interaction (e.g., loudness, proximity, gaze etc.). Questions on these factors were not formulated as the scope of the study was not broad enough to address them all, and some of them required prior knowledge of the salient practices in the community. Additionally, some factors did not lend themselves to this methodological approach; Act sequence, for example may be better observed than self-reported. As such, only Setting and Scene, Participant, Instrumentality, and Genre formed the basis of questions.

Based on reports on comparable communities (c.f. Kulick, 1992; Mkilifi, 1972; Nidue, 1990; Perlin, 2009) and from descriptions of Raunsepna from Hellwig (p.c.), the four settings that were hypothesised to be indicative of the spread of Tok Pisin relative to Qaqet were at church, at the market, at traditional ceremonies, and at meetings. Once in Raunsepna, these were confirmed as being marked domains. Home as a setting was not specifically enquired into as I preferred to be more specific and ask about the different participants in the home such as parents or infants.

The items in Question 7 were based on language use with certain interlocutors (P in SPEAKING model) as per: relationship- spouse, mother, father, siblings, in-laws, children, friends, and strangers; age- elderly and infant community members; and school attendance (children not at school, and children at school). This selection of interlocutors was developed on the basis of my understanding of the structure of Baining society as provided by Hellwig (p.c.), Stebbins (p.c.) and Fajans (1997).

The last four items of Question 7 focused on instrumentality (writing) and genre (counting, swearing and joking). Private prayer would have been a fifth genre, but was unintentionally omitted in the final version, and was instead discussed in the interviews.

As Question 7 asked participants to not only identify which language they used in all these scenarios, but also indicate how frequently they used them, I used a scale where zero meant that the language was never used, and four meant that it was the only language used. For each scenario, participants needed to write a figure to indicate how frequently they used

Qaqet, Tok Pisin, and an optional 'Other' language that they named. The same scale and concept was used for Question 3 in Section C.

Section C focused on child language use and contained much the same questions as asked in Sections A and B. In addition to objective variables such as age, sex, and education level of each of the children, respondents were invited to reflect on the languages spoken by the children in their household, the children's competency in these languages, and the frequency with which the children used these languages in a list of situations. Question 3 of Section C imitated Question 7 of Section B, focusing on children's language use with: the respondent, respondent's spouse, both maternal and paternal grandparents, elderly, friends, animals, themselves, and infants. We also asked about their children's language use at church, at traditional ceremonies, and when counting.

3.2.2 Implementation

Although the Tok Pisin version of the questionnaire had been translated, typed and printed in Kokopo, it was made clear during the first application of the survey that it needed modification. Not only were there were a number of mistakes in the Tok Pisin translation, but the original scale of three (rather than five) frequency levels used in Section B Question 7 and Section Question 3 was inadequate. In the three pilot surveys I conducted with the participation of three of our primary contacts, they indicated that there were finer degrees of use than the grades that I proposed: so 'never/sometimes/all the time' became 'never/rarely/ sometimes/mostly/all the time'. These changes, as well as corrections of the Tok Pisin, meant rewriting the surveys, which, without the help of the school's small photocopier and the priest's generator, would have meant rewriting forty surveys by hand. A completed sample of the final questionnaire is in Appendix B.

Research assistants were recruited from the community for several reasons. Firstly, we anticipated that literacy rates in the area would not allow for the surveys to be completed without the aid of a field-worker conducting them. The aim was to gather forty surveys- ten from each of the four hamlets that surround Raunsepna station. Ten surveys per hamlet were estimated to be a fair proportion of the population of each community from which to draw some generalisations about language use in Raunsepna. As we were aiming to conduct so many surveys, it was more efficient to employ a number of research assistants to help with this task. Recruiting from the community also meant that the surveys could be

explained by competent Tok Pisin speakers, or even, in at least one case, in Qaqet. Additionally, in having local field-workers conduct the surveys we hoped to reduce some of the intimidation that survey participants may have felt at being asked to take part in the questionnaire.

Our four research assistants were year 8 students, aged from 15 to 18, recruited from the primary school with the help of their teacher. There were a number of reasons for recruiting students as research assistants; firstly, people, especially women, were initially extremely shy around me and it seemed likely that if I had conducted the surveys, participants would have been very uncomfortable and not given accurate answers. Although towards the end of my stay, this particular problem could have been overcome, the fieldtrip was far too short to allow for this. Secondly, the literacy level of these students was anticipated to be high enough to successfully conduct the surveys. Thirdly, their low social status as students was deemed advantageous as it was hoped that they would not influence the survey participants' responses; higher status community members, for example, may have been intimidating for survey participants and they may have provided responses that would please their interviewer. An example of convergence towards the response of an elder was documented in the third interview we conducted (see §3.3.2.3). Finally, the students had time and patience to conduct the surveys, while adults in the community had considerable social and farming commitments.

Each student was allocated one of the four hamlets that surround the Raunsepna station: Lualait, Lamarain, Merlalingi and Kedal (see Figure 4), and were asked to interview 10 people from different households in their allocated communities. The group was made up of three boys and one girl, with two of the boys being non-Qaqet outsiders from Pomio. The girl likewise had spent many years outside of the village but was the daughter of a local Qaqet bigman and spoke a little Qaqet. Only one of the students was a fluent Qaqet speaker, the nephew of one our contacts AJL.

The assistants were initially hesitant, unconfident and challenged by the whole enterprise, not because of the content of the questions or the rationale behind the survey but due to the format. They were given one survey at first to practice, and these revealed that the application of the scale in Question 7 of Section B and Question 3 of Section C was the primary hurdle. The first surveys to come back showed that my research assistants had

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simply written ticks in the table rather than using the numerical scale, or not indicated which language was being used. In these instances, the assistants were asked to revisit the survey respondent and complete any sections that were incorrectly filled. For some it took several attempts to satisfactorily complete the form, but by around the sixth survey they were becoming more confident with the layout and reported that the time taken to conduct each survey was shorter.

Although the surveys were written in Tok Pisin, it could not be assumed that they were all conducted in Tok Pisin. While the non-Qaqet speaking students most likely did conduct them in Tok Pisin, BCM, the native Qaqet speaking student, was overheard translating the survey into Qaqet for at least one of his survey respondents. As the students conducted the surveys unsupervised we cannot be certain of the extent to which surveys were translated into Qaqet by either BCM or by other community members nearby at the time. For the same reason, we cannot be certain that the responses reflect an individual response rather than a composite answer, or even the interviewer's answer. Group settings appear to be the norm in Raunsepna and so it is unlikely that students managed one-on-one interviews. This does not undermine the survey, however. Anthropological literature (c.f. Fajans, 1983; Hesse, 1982) on the Baining suggests that consensus is highly valued, and to this extent, the survey catered to group situations in that participants were questioned not as individuals in the community but as representatives of a household. Thus, although the survey may have been filled in by all who were present at the home at the time of the survey interview, views are likely to be from members of the same household.

3.2.3 Interpretation

In the final count there were forty-three surveys conducted- my three surveys plus the forty that the research assistants conducted. Upon collating them in SPSS and NVivo though, I discovered that there was a duplicate- two of the students had interviewed the same person, although they had focused on different hamlets. This accident provided a convenient reliability indicator though, as the respondent gave exactly the same responses in both surveys. In the end, there were forty-two surveys from the approximate 167 households that made up Raunsepna's satellite settlements; nine surveys from Kedal (31 households), eleven surveys from in Lualait (30 households), ten surveys from Lasaram (72 households), and twelve surveys from Merlalingi (34 households).

In interpreting such a small data set, we can refer to Perlin's (2009) approach with the T'rung. With a total of 48 survey respondents, Perlin did not feel that this constituted a large enough number to support a full quantitative analysis despite it being a meaningful percentage of the T'rung population- around 7,426 according to a 2000 Census (Perlin, 2009). As a result, his study is primarily qualitative supported by some descriptive statistics from the survey responses and observation. The similarities between the Raunsepna and T'rung communities (e.g., isolated, rural communities with small populations) and the comparative survey sizes (42 surveys from a population of around 6350 Qaqet Baining), means that a similar approach can be applied to this study on the Qaqet Baining. With no basic demographic data from which to target specific subgroups, sampling was unreliable from a quantitative perspective. With the additional support of the interviews, genealogies and 'Day in the life of…' reports though, the results from the surveys could be analysed qualitatively and used to detect language use patterns.

As self-reports are not always reflective of actual language behaviour (Côté & Clément, 1994), this factor was catered for by employing a number of methods and comparing results. Respondents reporting on language use, for example, may provide inaccurate representations of behaviour by exaggerating or understating their linguistic competency or frequency of use. They may also neglect to report on a language they do know and use. Distorting reports was not an intentional action of respondents, but rather a reaction to the questions in an effort to provide the response that they thought was wanted. As predictors of behaviour, questionnaires alone are inadequate, but the data from these questionnaires can be used to explore perceptions and ideologies of language use in the community as the responses can be considered reflections of idealised language use. This was particularly the case with Section C where reports of child language use seemed to greatly differ to the reports in the interviews and from observation. We can therefore compare the idealised language use with the actual language use to begin a sociolinguistic sketch of the Qaqet Baining. As language ideologies play an integral part in the maintenance of a language (Silverstein, 1985) and no such data is yet known about the vitality of Qaqet Baining, these questionnaires will provide a starting point for gauging the status of Qaqet.

Questionnaires were initially entered into SPSS (a quantitative data analysis program) and excel to create spread sheets with which to analyse and classify the respondents. While

some general patterns were detected in this process it was not until these spread sheets were imported into NVivo (a qualitative data analysis program) as data sets that these trends could be clearly defined. NVivo allowed the responses to be classified according to the demographic data provided in Section A or according to the language use data of Section B. Initially filters were applied to the information supplied in the demographic section, however as only two parameters revealed any patterns (age and place of education), a cluster analysis was run on the results of Question 7 to visualise how the respondents could be grouped together through reported language use patterns. This proved to be the most successful approach, as a cluster analysis grouped the surveys into six groups that were supported by earlier manual classification attempts on the data. It also generated a clear visual representation of the spread of the participants (see Figure 25 in §4.2). Chapter 4 (results) demonstrates the outcomes of this approach.

Section C of the questionnaire proved to be the most problematic to analyse, as it was difficult to substantiate parents' and carers' claims about child language use. While the adult language reports in Section B could be supported with data from other methods, the child language reports seemed to differ from our observations. Additionally, adults' interpretation of questions about child language use meant that older respondents were providing information about their adult children (some of 37 years!) rather than just the juvenile family members. The data from this section was still useful though, as correlations between the reports on child language competence and school attendance helped identify ideologies in the community.

3.3 Group Interviews

In comparing interviews with questionnaires, the interview has an advantage over questionnaires in that it, 1) allows people to more effectively record their responses, especially long ones (for whatever reason; tedium of writing long responses, literacy, fears about recording on paper etc.), and 2) it can be modelled around each participant (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970). The personal contact element allows for the interviewer to gauge the abilities and mood of the participant and shape the interview to fit the pariticpant to ensure optimum opportunity for accurate responses (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970).

Interviews are, however, time consuming not just as a data gathering technique (e.g., organising participants and recording sessions) but also in transcribing and translating. There is also the danger that in trying to shape the interview to suit the participants, the responses will be distorted. Interviews also require electronic instruments and some participants may experience anxiety towards the recording process that may also affect the data. Managing anxiety levels by altering the interview to suit each participant may, however, result in biasing the data. The questions themselves could also be problematic in that the researcher must ensure that they are culturally sensitive and avoid ethnocentric stances. Additionally, as with the questionnaires, social norms need to be taken into account. Interview as a style or one-on-one encounters in general may be unfamiliar practices, but group interviews can help create more natural speech by relaxing the participants and reinforcing their own group norms (Milroy & Gordon, 2003). §3.3.1 will discuss how these issues were approached in this study.

Unlike most sociolinguistic interviews, the interview in this study focused on questions about language use rather than trying to elicit specific phrases or repeat word lists. Without any prior knowledge about varieties in Qaqet Baining, exploring variation within Qaqet was not an option for this study. Also, although the surveys were essentially conducted as interviews, they differ from the group interviews in that the surveys were a selection of random community members and contained reflex responses, while the group interviews were structured around focal groups and aimed to elicit discussion and negotiated responses. The discussion process in the survey was not documented and the survey conductors were asked only to record answers and not take an active role in the discussion.

3.3.1 Design

The purpose of the interview element of the study was to probe for explanations to the responses in the closed responses of the survey. As discussed in §3.2, group situations are the norm in Raunsepna and so to avoid any anxiety at breaking social customs by conducting individual interviews, the interviews were conducted in groups.

This format enabled us to see how speakers reached a decision and determine whether responses were generally individual or composite. While this worked to an extent, it was not completely successful as the interview groups were given time to privately discuss the questions *before* recording. Allowing the groups time to prepare for the interview was

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intended to help alleviate anxiety by familiarising the participants with the format and questions but meant that the true discussion process was unrecorded. Even when interviewees hinted that different views may have been expressed during the preliminary discussions, because of the cultural value of consensus there is no overt disagreement during the recorded sessions. The transcript by Birgit Hellwig from Group 1's response to Question 13 on change in Qaqet, for instance, indicates that AJL takes a different view to ABL but that his disagreement is so heavily veiled in rhetoric that the translated summary of this response presents a consensus.

The questions themselves were drawn from a number of sources, which will be discussed below. A final version of the interview questions can be found in Appendix C. Question 1 straightforwardly asked which languages were used in the community. Questions 2- 6 were drawn from Karan (2000) and his perceived benefits model for assessing ethnolinguistic vitality. In his view, 'languages spread and shift occurs because individuals, consciously and unconsciously, make decisions to use certain languages in certain situations' (2000: 68). These decisions are motivated by what people consider to be their personal good. Karan identified four motivations, which are the basis of questions 2-6: communicative motivations (Q2), economic motivations (Q3), social motivations for power and prestige, and for in-group solidarity, unity and acceptance (Qs 4 and 5), and religious motivations (Q6). These questions focused on participants beliefs about the languages most appropriate for each scenario.

The next questions asked participants to evaluate the languages and language use in the community, and were derived from similar interviews by Kayambazinthu (1995) and Hellwig & Jabr Eldar (2011). These focused on beliefs about the innate qualities of languages (Q7), language preferences (Q8), perceptions of people's competency, and attitudes towards linguistic practices such as baby-talk and code-switching (Qs 9, 10, 14-19). These questions were largely derived from language attitude studies and although they cannot be relied upon to be true reflections of the underlying attitudes, as conscious responses they are more likely to reflect idealisations about language and language use. Questions on language socialisation, acquisition and transmission also prompted idealised descriptions, but on language socialisation practices (Qs 20-30).

Other questions inquired into a number of different aspects, including whether Qaqet and Tok Pisin allow them to convey everything they want to say (Qs 11 and 12), or whether they believed there to be any language change happening (Q 13). These provided insight into community perceptions on the utility of the languages around them, adding to our understanding of ideologies about language.

With a total of thirty questions, it was anticipated that this interview would encourage participants to reveal their views and beliefs about language and language use in their community. The group situation would, it was hoped, reduce any anxiety surrounding recording through peer support and promoting social norms, and also mean that the answers were discussed with a variety of views being aired. In order to facilitate this, we, the researchers, intended to play a minimal role in the actual discussion, leaving a group member to read the questions and keeping ourselves on the periphery and monitoring the recording equipment. Both audio and visual data were to be recorded so that we could later identify the speaker in cases of overlapping speech and to record any non-linguistic factors that were part of the communication event such as gaze or gesture. The final setup was not confirmed until actually at the fieldsite and will be discussed below.

3.3.2 Implementation

Organising our groups proved to be a difficult task and ultimately we only managed to arrange three groups. The groups were to be no more than three or four people and to represent different groups within the community: older men, older women, younger men, and younger women. Such homogeneous groups were aimed for to help reduce any influence older or higher status group members might have over other speakers. The third group we recorded (younger women), as we will see presently, was a case in point. The fourth group of young men, never eventuated as our main contacts in this subgroup were elementary school teachers with very little time at their disposal.

Recordings were made in the kitchen of our accommodation, with the setup as shown in Figure 16. The audio device, managed by me (AM) was a Zoom H4 with an attached external microphone (Røde NT4). The microphone was placed in the middle of the semi-circle created by the three seated participants. The camera, managed by Birgit Hellwig (BH), was a digital SLR camera (Panasonic DMC-GH2).
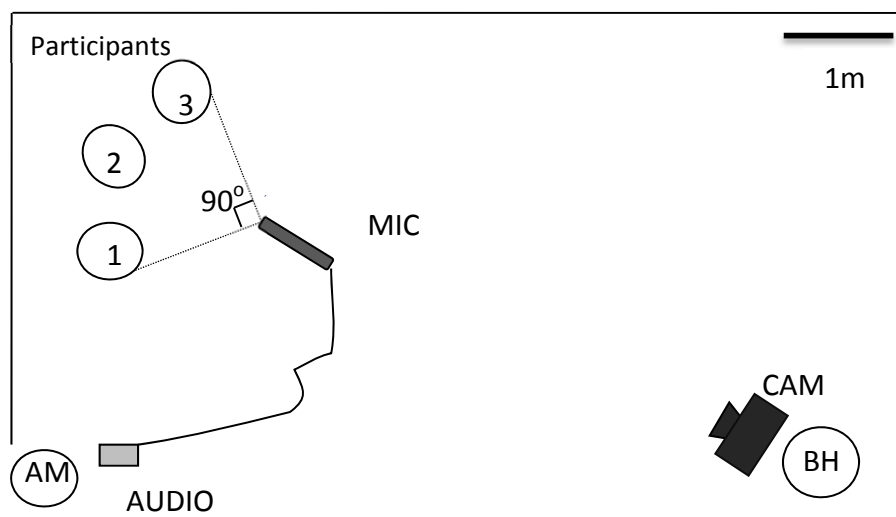
Figure 16: Interview recording set up

3.3.2.1 Group 1

Group 1 comprised of three adult men aged 60 to 67 years old who held prominent roles in the community and were often seen making public announcements after mass on Sundays or holding council over local issues. One of the participants spoke English fluently and a second was competent, whilst the third had only a basic command. As AJL, the most proficient speaker of English was nearly blind we arranged for ATA, who had the second best proficiency in English, to read aloud each question (written in Tok Pisin) and open it for discussion with the group.

In preparation for the recording session, I went through each question with them, ensuring the intention of each question was understood and to resolve any remaining queries or ambiguities surrounding the questions. The actual recording itself took around one and half hours; the group proceeding at its own pace with minimal interference from the researchers. They established a pattern of asking the question in Tok Pisin and responding in Qaqet. Although this approach provided us with plenty of natural linguistic data, it did not allow us as non-Qaqet speakers to be certain that the question was understood or answered adequately at the time of the interview.

Indeed, once we had a free translation of the interviews, it was clear that a number of questions had either not been addressed or not elicited congruent responses. For instance, in Question 7 when asked about the innate qualities of Qaqet, Tok Pisin and English, the group answered that they were all equally good. By and large, it appeared that it was not

necessarily the content of the question but rather the structure of the question that caused problems. Many questions had several parts to them, asking the group to answer a closed question then to qualify their answers, or asking them to account for a number of items at once. Question 8, for example, asked which languages respondents preferred for a) speaking, b) reading and writing, c) children speaking, and d) children learning to read and write, and ATA reread the question several times before pausing to ask for clarification. Interview groups were also asked to explain the reasons for their answers, but it seemed that splitting the question into sections like this did not facilitate comprehension or prompt suitable responses. This question in particular illustrated how literacy levels can affect methodology; ATA read the question as a whole rather than pausing and answering each section separately meaning that not all elements of the question were addressed.

3.3.2.2 Group 2

The second group of volunteers for the discussion consisted of three women aged 60, 67, and 56. Two of the women were the wives of two of the men in Group 1 whilst the third woman was a cousin of the third man in the group. As with Group 1, the women in the Group 2 played important roles in their communities; sitting on council boards, running committee meetings and organising community projects. Of this group, one could speak moderate English but the other two women spoke only Qaqet and Tok Pisin. Clarifying the questions with them beforehand was therefore done in Tok Pisin only, and as my Tok Pisin was fairly basic I could not be certain that the questions were entirely comprehended.

Like Group 1, Group 2 took just over an hour to complete all thirty questions. This group, however, misunderstood the format, preferring to allow one spokesperson per question to sum up a group answer and give one-word answers rather than candidly discuss their response. In order to record the women openly discussing their views, during one of the equipment check pauses I encouraged the women to all contribute, and so from Question 14 onwards, the recorded responses are much more substantial. A sample transcript from Group 2 can be found in Appendix D.

3.3.2.3 Group 3

Group 3 was organised in a short space of time and comprised of two women in their 30's who spoke Qaqet and Tok Pisin. They were accompanied by ACL, an older Qaqet woman

who had taken part in the Group 2 discussion. The two younger women in this third group were very timid however, and ACL's efforts to support the women led to her frequently responding for them with their barely audible concurrences. The recording session was aborted as it became clear that the women were uncomfortable and that many of the responses were going to be ACL's.

Although the responses that the two younger women did give matched the responses given by Group 1 and 2, the importance of this discussion group for this study was in revealing methodological problems. Firstly, the importance of securing a homogeneous group when conducting the interviews or at least a group who were comfortable with one another to speak freely was brought home to us. The older woman (ACL) seemed to be a somewhat intimidating presence for the two younger women and they appeared reluctant to contribute much to the interview other than agreeing with ACL. Furthermore the two younger women were unfamiliar with the recording situation and despite acquainting themselves with the questions beforehand and the presence of ACL who (by comparison) seemed relatively confident, anxiety levels remained high. We also found out later that the women felt pressured for time and were eager to go somewhere else but were unsure how to tell us.

3.3.3 Interpretation

The translation and transcription of the recordings had two stages. We initially recruited the help of our primary contacts, to help with a summary of the interviews. This was done over several days, and involved AJL, ATA and ABL listening to the recordings and then translating and summarising the interviews into English and Tok Pisin, which I wrote down. Later, with the help of our contacts, Birgit Hellwig transcribed the recordings. It was the summaries, however, that my analysis focused on as the translators provided extensive commentary on the responses in the recordings (see Appendix D).

As no reliable attitude test (see §3.1.1) was employed in this study, the views expressed in the attitudinal questions (Qs, 9, 10, 14-19) of the interview cannot be relied on to reflect the true underlying attitudes towards languages and speakers. Instead, what we have elicited are rationales behind language use and beliefs about language acquisition. Together with the questionnaires, these suggest some of the dominant language ideologies of the community. Given the influential role that ideologies play in language shift and

maintenance, gathering information on the dominant ideologies in the community can help in the evaluation of the ethnolinguistic vitality of the community.

The responses from the interviews were coded in NVivo into themes: language acquisition (of Qaqet, and Tok Pisin), literacy, language use in public domains and religious settings, language use with perceived non-Qaqet speakers, and child language. These themes were identified by analysing the entire dataset and noting on which questions the interview, genealogy, and 'Day in the life of…' data supported and added additional information to the survey data, and where it deviated from the data. The processed data will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4, while an evaluation of the main results from this processed data will form the discussion in Chapter 5.

3.4 Other instruments/methodological approaches

The questionnaires and interviews were to be the primary instruments of this study but there were a number of other approaches employed to support the data from the questionnaires and interviews. By using other approaches such as interviewing individuals about their interactions the previous day, mapping of family trees, and participant observation, we were able to pose questions about language use differently to confirm the reliability of the answers in the surveys and interviews. Our observations were particularly useful to help verify data as it enabled us to compare the self-report data with actual language use.

3.4.1 'Day in the life of…' language use report

This approach essentially consisted of asking community members to recount all their interactions of the previous day. We were particularly interested in finding out who they spoke to, which languages they used with their interlocutors, and the general topics discussed. These 'Day in the life of…' reports would be used to support language use reports from the questionnaires and the interviews. Five of these sessions were recorded on paper in one-to-one settings and the responses from these were also coded in NVivo, coming to support many of the general language choice trends reported in the questionnaires and interviews. These were insightful especially for corroborating the language use reported in the surveys and interviews, particularly supporting communication accommodation practices. See Appendix E for a sample report.

3.4.2 Family Tree

Part of the broader pilot study on the Qaqet Baining has involved mapping family trees. With a tradition of endogamy and adoption, family trees in Raunsepna proved to be densely interwoven with one another. While genealogies hold much interest from an anthropological perspective, the purpose of them in this project was to gauge an understanding of the degree of exogamy, particularly with non-Qaqet Baining spouses. In this regard they were particularly useful in establishing exogamy as an important factor in language shift (further discussed in §5.1.3.1 and §6.1), a factor that was highlighted by Romaine (1992). Like the 'Day in the life of...' reports, these were documented on paper by the researchers in one-on-one sessions with four community members. An example is included in Appendix F.

3.5 Summary

As a set, these approaches were considered on the whole successful, despite some setbacks, as they yielded information about language use of the Qaqet Baining to create the first sociolinguistic sketch of the Qaqet Baining. In the next chapter, the responses from these methods will be analysed with reference to the literature, to provide an outline of the general language use patterns in the community of Raunsepna.

4 Data

This chapter will be broken into two parts. §4.1 will provide an overview of language use in the village, with particular attention paid to language beliefs and the social and functional distribution of the primary languages of the village. The broad patterns described here have been formed by the data provided in the survey, by the interview groups, the genealogies, the daily language use reports, and from observations. Of particular focus will be the data from the survey, especially the demographic information from Section A, and the adult language choice data of Question 7, Section B. The SPEAKING parameters of Setting/Scene, Participant, Instrumentality, and Genre used in this question have been used to form generalisations across the whole community.

§4.2 will provide a more in depth analysis of the data, explaining how the data was interpreted and exploring specific patterns of language use within the village. Additionally, there is a description of language use from the perspective of individual speakers to highlight the differences in language use in the community. This leads to the identification of several speaker types in Raunsepna and reference is made to key language choices and the demographic background of these speaker types, as exemplified by specific community members. Chapter 5 will then evaluate the data with reference to the literature reviewed in Chapter 2 to explain the language choices in Raunsepna.

4.1 Ethnography of Communication in Raunsepna

In the following sections, I will outline factors that I hypothesised would affect language use in Raunsepna. With reference to the SPEAKING model, the focus will be on looking at how people in Raunsepna use language according to Setting and Scene (S), Participants (P- i.e., interlocutor), Instrumentalities (I) and Genre (G) As mentioned in §3.2.1, the other elements of the SPEAKING model (i.e., Ends, Acts, Key, and Norms of interaction) could not be incorporated into the survey due to the limitations of our prior knowledge on the Baining. The results from Question 7 of Section B of the survey will be frequently referred to as it is this question that asked about language use in specific contexts. Before examining these language choice factors though, let us look more closely at which languages are used in the community.

4.1.1 Languages of Raunsepna

Based on reports from earlier fieldtrips to Raunsepna we were aware that Tok Pisin and Qaqet were spoken in the community, but knew little of other languages that may have been spoken there or what determined the distribution of these languages. The results from Section B on adult language use and Section C on reported child language use revealed the other languages used in the community as well as a rough idea of the prevalence of these codes. Figures 17 to 22 below show the raw data from Question 7, Section B and from Question 3, Section C providing an overview of how Qaqet, Tok Pisin, English, and Kuanua are used in the community. Not all of the SPEAKING items covered in these questions will be explored here as the aim is to highlight the general trends and point out significant findings.

4.1.1.1 Qaqet

Qaqet Baining is spoken by the majority of the community at Raunsepna. Those who do not speak it are those who do not come from the area; primarily those living in the village for work: parish priest, nurses, and teachers. Exact figures for non-Qaqet living in Raunsepna were hard to obtain, but we estimated around fifteen families of nurses and teachers, and four church personnel. While some of these community members may have acquired some basic Qaqet, they stay in the community only for two or three years. In addition to this group, there are also a number of non-Qaqet spouses who have married into the community who also have limited Qaqet proficiency. Numbers of non-Qaqet spouses were difficult to obtain, but at least five were known to us through our contacts, and the genealogies and surveys revealed just a few more. The import of this group will be looked at in more detail in §5.1.3.1.
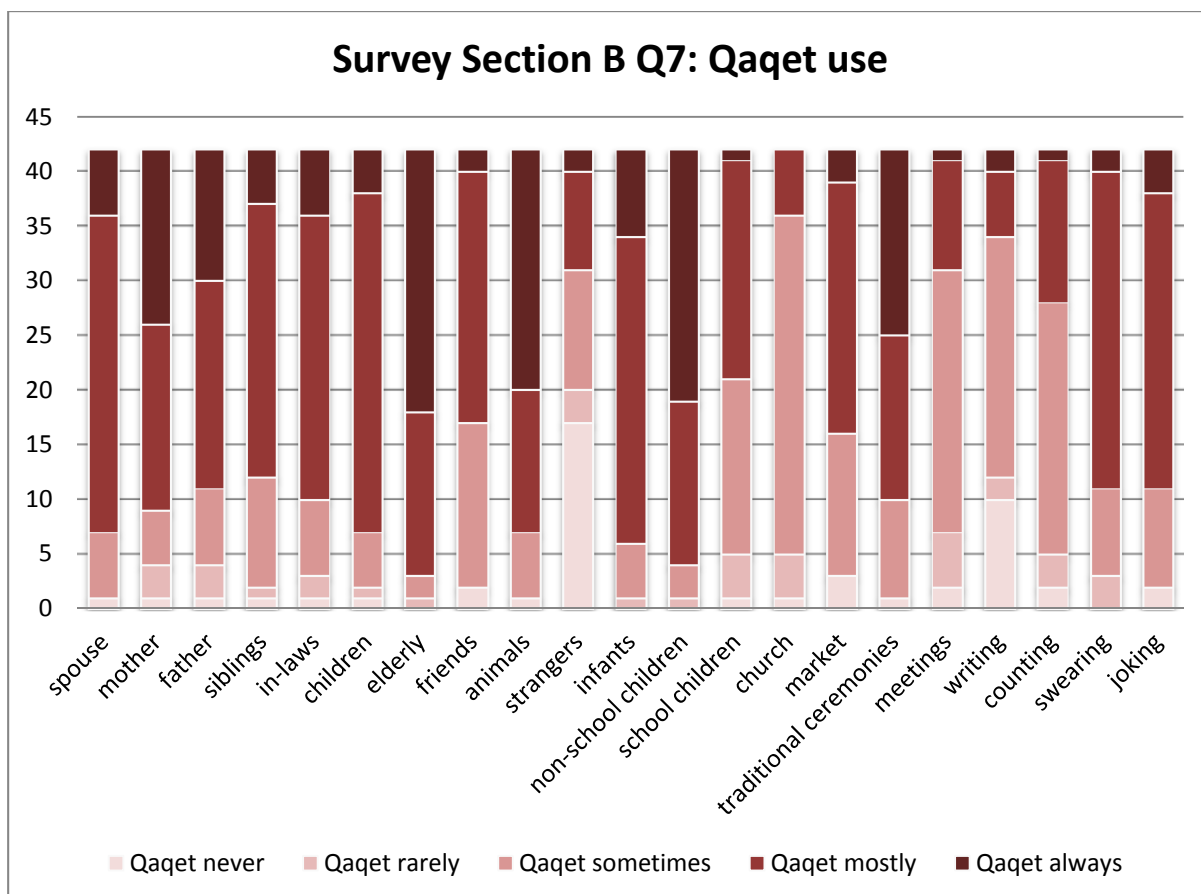
Figure 17: Reported Adult Qaqet Use

The children of such exogamous marriages were also reported to not always speak Qaqet well as Tok Pisin was the main language of interaction at home. This is not to say that only children of Qaqet parents learn and use Qaqet; some children of exogamous marriages and even those of non-Qaqet migrants to the area appear to have picked up a little Qaqet, even if only of a passive nature. Outside of playing with Qaqet-speaking children and responding to adult commands to do or fetch something, it seems that non-Qaqet children do not have many interactions in Qaqet, and the majority of the community will address them in Tok Pisin.

Survey Section C Question 3: Child Qaqet Use

Legend: Qaqet never, Qaqet rarely, Qaqet sometimes, Qaqet mostly, Qaqet always
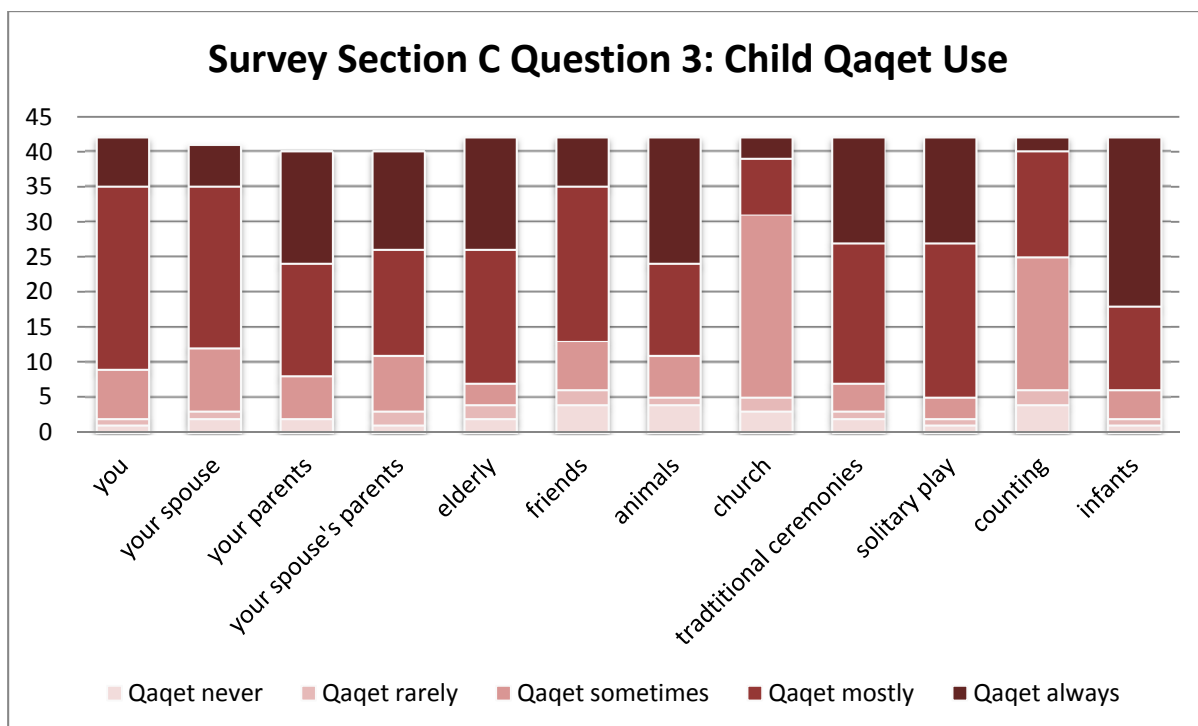
Figure 18: Reported Child Qaqet Use

Figures 17 and 18 illustrate reported Qaqet use in the community and should serve to give the reader a general impression of Qaqet's strongest and weakest points. A comparison of the items in these figures will be given in §5.1.3.2.

4.1.1.2 Tok Pisin

As the lingua franca of Papua New Guinea, Tok Pisin is widely spoken in Raunsepna. In general, Tok Pisin is learned by children in Raunsepna once they begin school, although English is in theory the school language. This is not to say that children are not exposed to or addressed at all in Tok Pisin before they start formal education but rather that once at school, acquisition of the language begins in earnest. This sequential bilingualism appears to be the predominant pattern in Raunsepna, with children beginning as monolingual Qaqet speakers then gaining proficiency in Tok Pisin as they age to become adult bilingual Qaqet and Tok Pisin speakers. Those who do not fit this pattern are most frequently the children of non-Qaqet speakers and their Qaqet friends, who acquire Tok Pisin much earlier. Such a pattern does not hold for all Qaqet speaking communities; in the coastal village of Kamanakam, it is reported that the acquisition of Tok Pisin by children is much earlier than in Raunsepna and the two languages are acquired almost simultaneously. Kamanakam will be looked at more closely in §6.1.2.
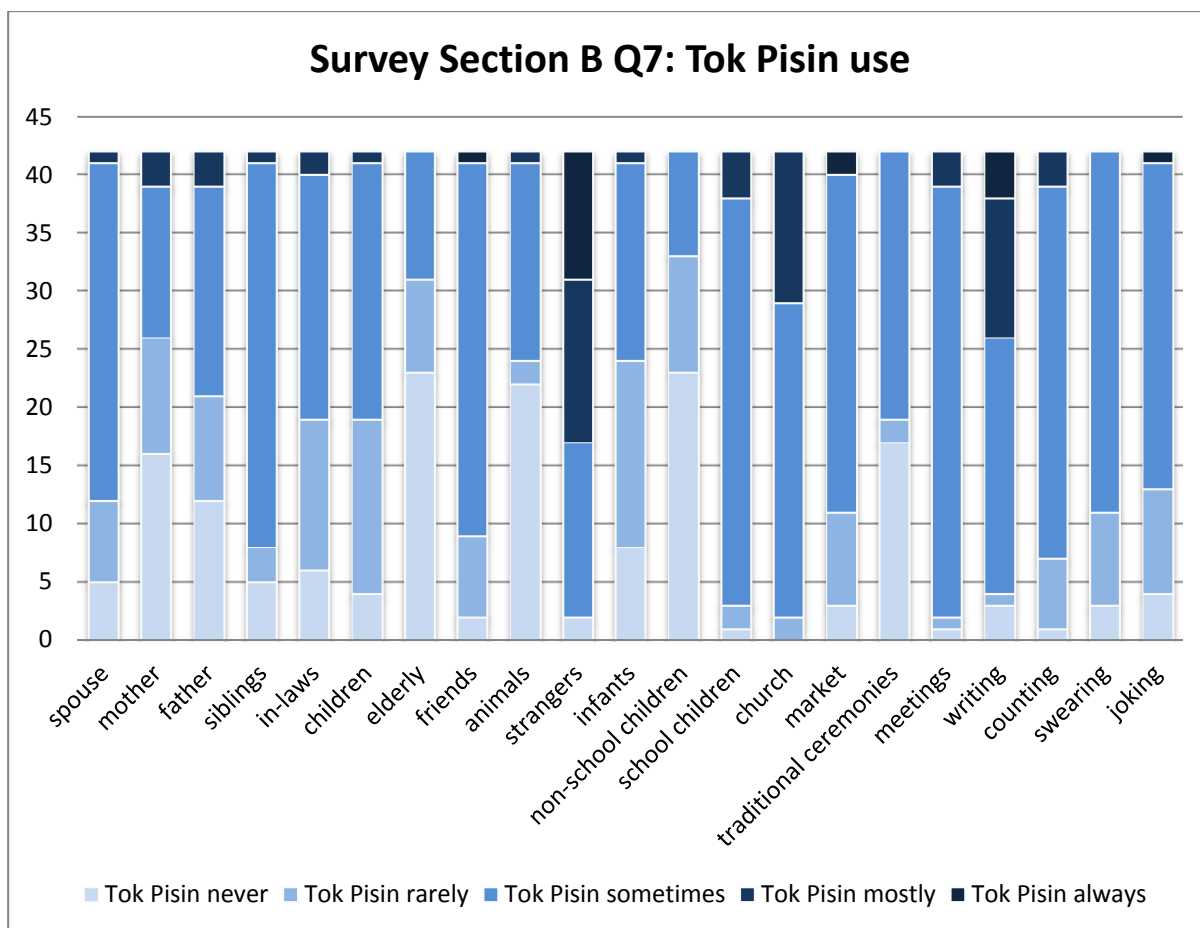
Figure 19: Reported Adult Tok Pisin Use

Given that concentrated efforts to learn Tok Pisin are delayed until school, it is not surprising then that education is linked to Tok Pisin in the minds of many in Raunsepna. The general response to the survey question regarding the acquisition of Tok Pisin was that this was a language learned at school. Supporting this was the disclosure (in the survey) by many that Tok Pisin was the language of instruction.

There are adults in Raunsepna who do not speak Tok Pisin, one of which was the mother of one of the local political candidates. These were reportedly more likely to be elderly community members and those who had very few years of schooling. Even for those who do speak Tok Pisin (or Qaqet or any of the other languages) it is not possible here to really comment on their competency in it as language testing was not a part of this project design. One thing we can report are perceptions of competency; although the majority of the population in Raunsepna speak Tok Pisin, interview Group 2 suggested that outsiders may have a better command of Tok Pisin than the Qaqet community. They attributed this simply to their belief that outsiders use Tok Pisin more frequently than the Qaqet do.
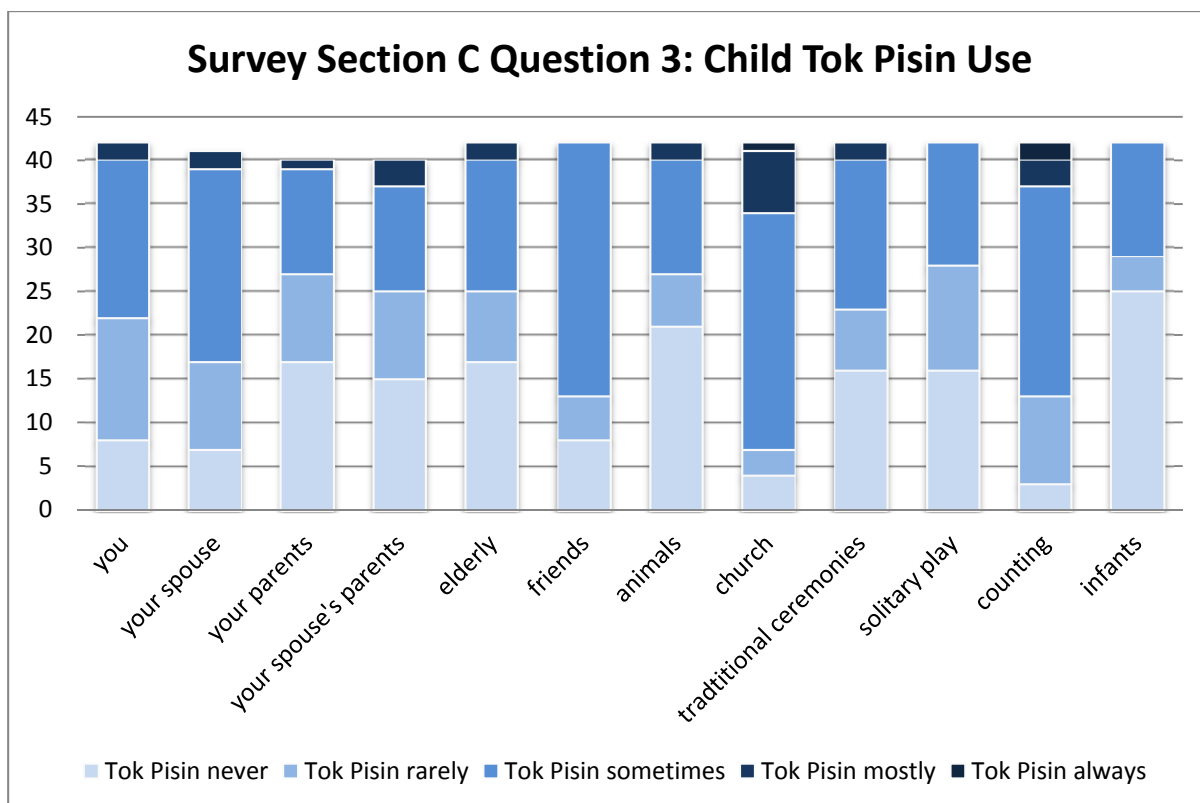
Figure 20: Reported child Tok Pisin Use

As with Figures 17 and 18, Figures 19 and 20 demonstrate the areas in which Tok Pisin is used most frequently and most rarely. A more in depth analysis of the differences between adult and child Tok Pisin use will be provided in §5.1.3.2.

4.1.1.3 English and Kuanua

English in Raunsepna is extremely limited and there are no Anglophones in the community. Although around a third of survey participants indicated that they spoke English and half said that they understood English, such reports are to be taken with a grain of salt. Aside from methodological issues surrounding self-report, Tok Pisin and English can be considered as existing on a continuum with Australian English at one end and Tok Pisin at the other, and with varying degrees of English inflections between. It is difficult to know whether speakers with more 'Englishified' manifestations of Tok Pisin are perceived or perceive themselves as speaking English. At any rate, there is little opportunity for many Qaqet to use English and indeed, in their day to day life there is practically no need. Those whom we did meet who spoke English, were community members who had spent a substantial amount of time away from Raunsepna and completed higher education, such as primary school teachers and politicians.

English is generally 'learned' at school as it is the official language of instruction and ideally all school children in Papua New Guinea receive their learning in English. The reality in Raunsepna, however, is that Tok Pisin is the language of the classroom. Children are thrown in the deep end vis-à-vis English and school in general and so teachers turn to Tok Pisin for pragmatic reasons. The use of English with children revealed some interesting results. While a distinction is clearly made between non-school children and school children, with English use reportedly nil with non-school children but dramatically rising with school children (see Figure 21), reports on child language use showed that few children actually use English (Figure 22). For all but one of the scenarios in Question 7 though, English was reported by at least one respondent as a possible language.
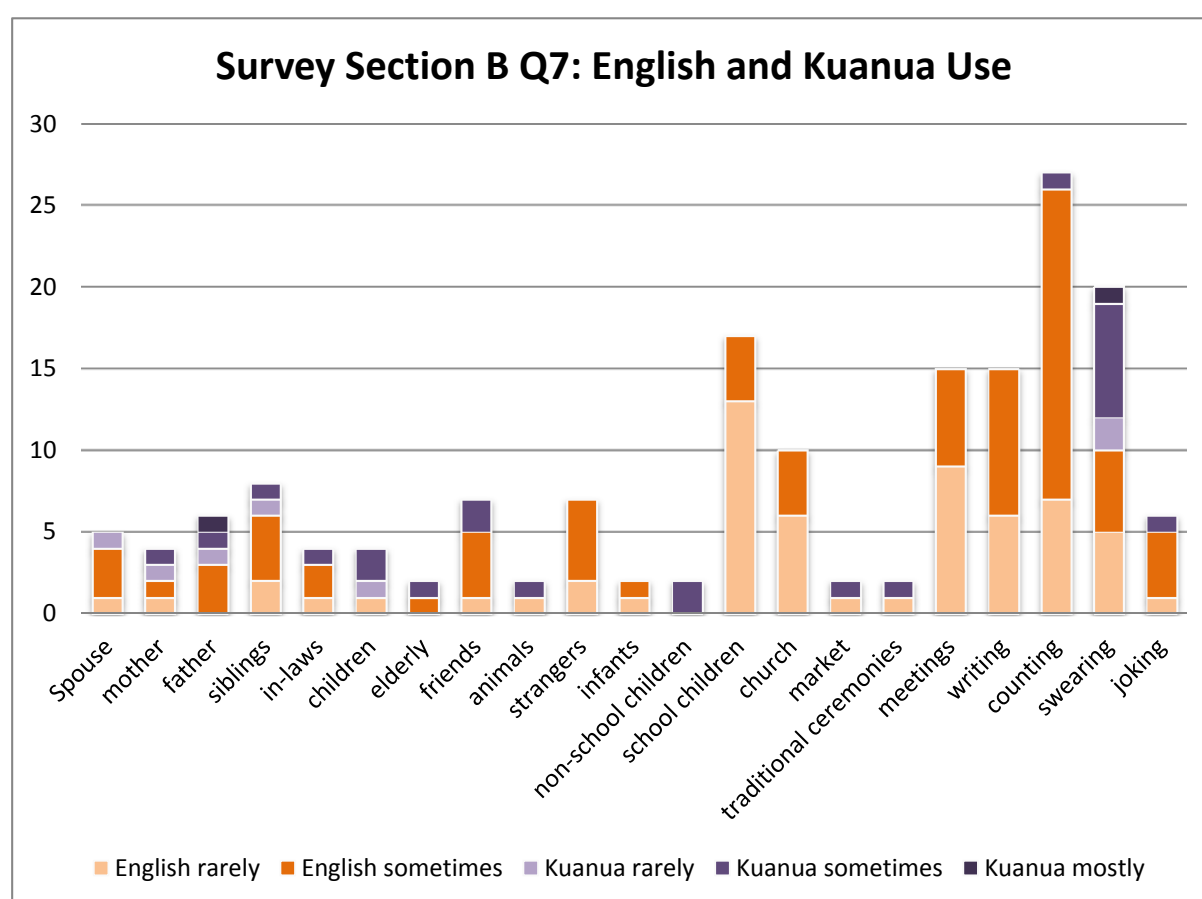
Figure 21: Reported Adult English and Kuanua Use

Counting was the most popular instance in which English would be used. This item is difficult to analyse as because Tok Pisin numbers are based on English numbers, we cannot be certain how speaker conceptually distinguish between the two numerical systems.

Perhaps for some, counting in Tok Pisin *is* counting in English[9], but we do not know without systematic language testing whether or not speakers are realising numbers closer to English or to Tok Pisin. Lastly, we see that school children, meetings and writing also elicit significant levels of English use from around half the participants. This will be discussed further in the following sections.
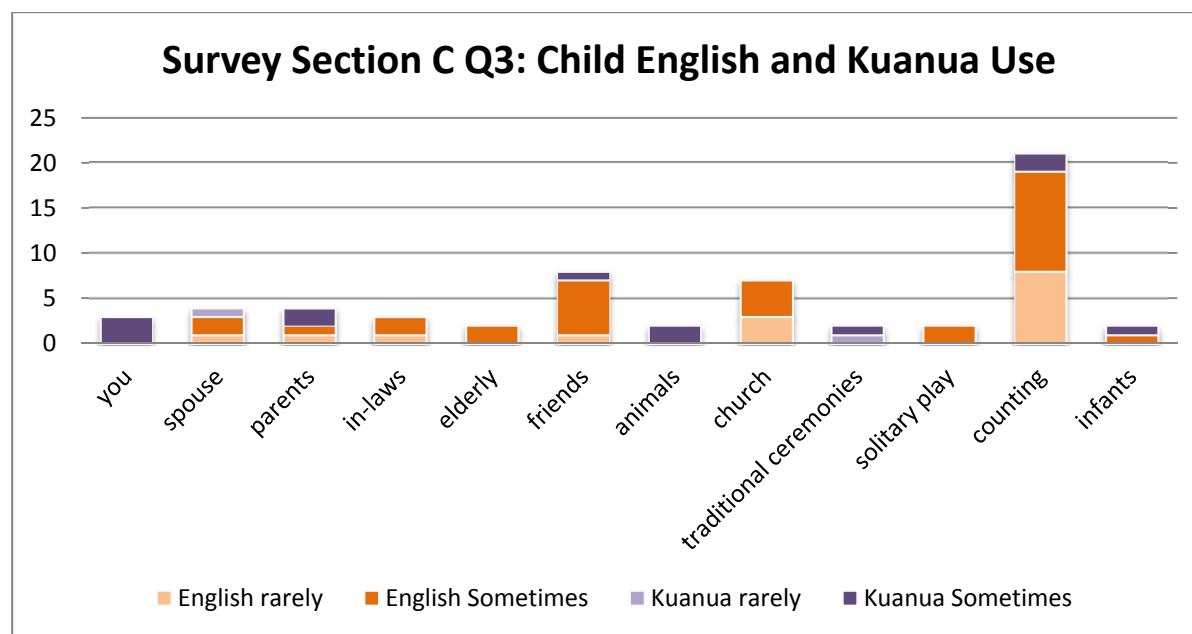
Figure 22: Reported Child English and Kuanua use

Kuanua, meanwhile, is also spoken a little in the area, but reportedly not to the same extent as English. Although few claimed to speak Kuanua (only three), over a third of the survey respondents indicated that they had some understanding of it. As the language of the Tolai, the dominating ethnic group in New Britain, it is understandable that some Qaqet have picked up a few Tolai words and phrases, especially those who have spent time away from the Baining area.

Indeed, according to Figure 22, Kuanua use peaked on swearing, and in informal conversations with community members, people reported that swearing in Kuanua is not uncommon. Notably, Kuanua is not reported to have the same frequency of usage as English, and the only context in which Kuanua is used and not English is with non-school children, presumably because the parents are speakers of Kuanua. Kuanua was also reprted

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[9] In the cases of counting we recorded, numbers were realised at the Tok Pisin end of the spectrum and so it looks as if people judge their Tok Pisin counting to be in English rather than it actually being English.

to be used to a limited degree by children, notably the children of the three who spoke Kuanua (M1, M2 and M4).

Generally though, the primary code-switching in the village takes place between Qaqet and Tok Pisin. Given that Tok Pisin has in other villages around Papua New Guinea begun to supplant, or in some cases completely supplanted local vernaculars (c.f Kulick, 1992), the relationship between Tok Pisin and Qaqet is of particular interest to this study and the future of Qaqet.

4.1.2 Settings and Scene

Setting and Scene as per the SPEAKING taxonomy refers to physical, temporal or sociocultural context of an interaction. In this study, a number of domains were selected to provide focal points for the exploration of language use in Raunsepna: church, meetings, markets, and at traditional ceremonies. The 'Home' domain was omitted for the reason that language use there was indirectly captured through the focus on family participants. In the following pages, each of these settings will be examined in terms of reported language use, actual language use, and general views and beliefs about language use, as per the surveys, interviews, and observations made in Raunsepna.

4.1.2.1 Church

Church was a central part of life in Raunsepna and mass was a whole family outing. Mass was held once a week on Sunday mornings at 8am, and as the majority of Raunsepna and the surrounding hamlets attended, the congregation would often spill out of church onto the veranda. School aged children sat at the front of the church not only so that the catechist could keep them under control but also because their attendance was marked for the religious element of their education. The choral groups were organised according to hamlet and each week a different group would lead the hymns. Mass generally went for around an hour and was led by a priest from Pomio, East New Britain, but with prominent community members including non-Qaqet residents like teachers taking part in the liturgy and the prayers of the faithful.

Both Qaqet and Tok Pisin are used at church however, 'church' was shown to be the domain in which preference for Qaqet was weakest by both the respondents and their children. It was also the only setting in which *all* the survey participants said they would use Tok Pisin.

In general, the mass was conducted primarily in Tok Pisin, but often hymns and even sometimes gospel readings were in Qaqet. At times the priest would ask the catechist to reinforce a point in Qaqet. Although the New Testament has been translated into Qaqet and parishioners are encouraged to read aloud from it at mass, it is infrequently used. This is most likely due to very few people in Raunsepna being able to read Qaqet, an issue that was confirmed in interviews with community members, with only one of our contacts (ATA) able to fluently read in Qaqet with no hesitations or mistakes. We were also told the story of a time when the catechist organised for one young Qaqet man to come forward during a sermon to read from the Qaqet bible. The young man declined, explaining that he did not know how to read his own tongue.

Infrequently, sermons are conducted in Qaqet, but these seemed to be restricted to when the parish priest is away and the weekly service is led by the catechist, a Qaqet man in his late 60's, and even then, the catechist would reiterate in Tok Pisin. Qaqet hymns are written by local song writers and learned by the community during choral practice sessions, and prayers of the faithful (that part of the mass in which the congregation compose their own prayers) are in both Qaqet and Tok Pisin. Non-Qaqet also participate in this process; a number of Qaqet nurses reported enjoying singing in Qaqet as it was easier to learn Qaqet when it was sung rather than spoken.

English was reportedly used to an extent by a small number of respondents, however the only time that we observed any English use at church was when the parish priest reiterated an element of his homily. Although no respondent reported using Kuanua at church, one contact, ABD, reported in her daily language use report singing in Tolai at mass that day.

Services were not just attended for religious reasons alone. Directly after services, the congregation would remain outside the church to share news and to hear community announcements. This, however, I feel can be categorised under the domain of meetings and hence will be discussed there.

4.1.2.2 Markets

The *tu dak maket* derived its name from the fact that the market generally ran in the early hours before dawn from around 4am to 6am on Tuesdays, Thursday and Saturdays. Like church, some people walked many kilometres to reach the market and sell their produce

and hence the market also represented another important setting for village interaction. One explanation given for the early start was that by the time the market was finished, the sellers still had a whole day ahead of them to do their work. However, another reason that revealed itself over time is that it is seen as shameful to buy and sell garden produce even though everybody does it. Doing so under the cover of darkness perhaps allows a level of anonymity to market goers or provides a level of legitimacy to the event that the daylight hours do not. Attempts to change the hour of the market by the parish priest have been futile, despite the priest prophesying dire consequences such as illness.

At the market, produce such as taro, *kumu grass* (fern), choko and choko leaves, banana, raw peanuts, betel and mustard stick, *pitpit* (a wild cane), spring onions, and kumara are the primary trade items, however news is also an important trade items. At the teachers' markets on Wednesdays and Fridays, goods were sold cheaply as a means of supporting the outside personnel, who generally did not have gardens on which to sustain themselves.

In addition to the community market, two local residents ran trade stores (plus the school store run by the teachers), selling *kago* brought in from outside of Raunsepna. Key products included rice, oil, instant noodles, cigarettes, flour, tea and coffee, and tinned fish and meat but for the majority of Raunsepna residents these were luxury items. Not that people could not afford them, but rather that because of the poor road infrastructure; getting these items to Raunsepna was difficult and the trade stores had usually run out of goods.

Most survey respondents indicated that both Tok Pisin and Qaqet were used in this context, and when language use in trade situations was broached with the interview groups, Group 2 was quick to point out that if they did not speak the language of the trader/vendor, they would not be able to buy what they wanted. Their overall emphasis was on the importance of successful communication in this scenario, explaining that they would use the language that the vendor understood, whether it be Qaqet or Tok Pisin. From our own observations we saw that at the market, Qaqet was generally used and that not all the sellers spoke Tok Pisin, with younger women sometimes translating our Tok Pisin into Qaqet so that the older vendors could understand.

4.1.2.3 Traditional ceremonies

Traditional ceremonies or events happened infrequently and consisted of a public and a private facet. Our information on the private facet of these, including language use, is limited due to the secrecy surrounding ceremonies. Language use during the creation of the masks for dances, blessings of elders, private curing ceremonies, or in other private magic, was not really available to us as outsiders. For instance, when asked about language use with spirits, interview groups revealed that Qaqet was preferred when dealing with spirits or traditional healers, but went no further than to say that it was vital to use a language that the spirits or healers understand. This was particularly so for traditional healers, for if they are not competent in the language needed to placate spirits or cast spells, they may inadvertently misuse their power, with dire consequences. Most of our information on language use in traditional ceremonies therefore is on the public facet.

We were fortunate enough to witness two *singsings*, in the case of the Baining, this was a spear dance and a fire dance. In both instances, men were the primary custodians of these traditional occasions, with women's roles dependent on the type of dance. Women's participation in the fire dance, for instance, was limited; masked male dancers invoked spirits creating a dangerous situation for women and children, who are particularly susceptible to the spirits' bad energy (Hesse & Aerts, 1982). During the fire dances, women will watch from a distance whilst men will sing, play bamboo drums and even dance with masked dancers.

The spear dance, by contrast, involves much female participation. Singing and playing of bamboo orchestra is all done by women, and women and children take part in the circular dancing, led by men in elaborate costumes *sewn* into the flesh of their lower back. The construction and preparation of the spear dance does not have the same taboos surrounding gender, and female relatives may be actively involved even in the piercing process. We were given permission to attend this part of the preparation and allowed to take photos (see Figure 7)

While we cannot be certain whether the survey participants were referring to private ceremonial elements or the public face, traditional events prompted stronger preference for Qaqet than any of the other settings discussed here. As regards language use in the public side of dances, songs at both fire and spear dance ceremonies are in Qaqet.

4.1.2.4 Meetings

Unlike church or markets, village meetings, were not necessarily domains in which the whole community participated. Meetings were held for various reasons and by various groups. From interviews with local contacts, the main meetings involved village council meetings to discuss and arbitrate local issues. These could involve intra-village issues such as delegating maintenance work and counselling estranged couples, or inter-village issues such as land disputes with neighbouring hamlets. Council meetings involve the participation of local big-men and village elders including women.

Another type of meeting was held by the women's church group, who gathered to discuss social issues such as contraception and sexual health, or provide services such as advice to newlyweds or how-to-vote forums. Additionally, there were meetings on local administration issues, particularly involving the school. These generally involved the village elders and big men as well as the school principal, some of the school teachers and the parish priest.

Finally, as mentioned earlier, there was the weekly community gathering after Mass on Sunday mornings. This constituted a very important part of life in Raunsepna as it was a great opportunity to gather the local news. The format of the meeting was essentially a series of announcements on general village subjects such as reminding residents to attend a local event or meeting. Sometimes calls were made for volunteers or workers to help with a village project or the transport of goods. Announcements were frequently made by the local big-men and elders, however on occasion non-Qaqet teachers and nurses would address the assembly too. Women rarely addressed the community at these meetings, usually asking a man to make their announcement for them and then answering any questions that arose.

Both Qaqet and Tok Pisin were used during these announcements. While non-Qaqet speakers used only Tok Pisin, Qaqet community members would frequently switch between Qaqet and Tok Pisin depending on topic and addressees, with a common approach being to make a speech in Qaqet followed by a reiteration in Tok Pisin to cater for the whole community. See §5.1.1 for a discussion of this pattern.

4.1.3 Participants

When exploring the language use in the community, both the speaker and the audience must be considered. Survey respondents were asked to describe the general language use of their family and then to reflect on their own language use with various people in the community. In addition, they were asked to describe the language use of their children. Age and gender were two factors that were repeatedly tested in the survey, as was the relationship between the speaker and the listener. Survey respondents were required to give their age and gender and following this were asked about how they interact with infants, children and elderly community members. They were also asked to report on the language use of their mother, father and spouse as well as their own use of language with their mother, father and spouse. Relationships that respondents reported on were with family, in-laws, friends, strangers, and animals.

4.1.3.1 Age

There were two ways of looking for patterns between language use and age. The first was to seek out patterns based on the age of the respondents and the second was to seek out patterns based on the age of the speaker's audience. Hence we can explore language use in terms of intergenerational interaction or in terms of particular age groups.

In looking at the how the age of the survey participants' interlocutor might influence language use, survey participants were asked to report on their language use with infant and elderly, and school children and non-school children. The pattern of bilingualism in the community as described by interview groups and researcher observation indicates a sequential acquisition of Qaqet then Tok Pisin. Qaqet usage is strongest with infants and young children (i.e., not at school), who prompt a strong pattern of avoiding Tok Pisin and preferring Qaqet across the whole community, even those who barely speak Qaqet at all.

Elderly members of the community also elicited the same language behaviour, suggesting that there are older community members who do not speak Tok Pisin. As much was said by the interview groups when reflecting on the Tok Pisin proficiency levels of the community

One other trend related to age (although perhaps more to education) is the language use with school children. Language use with children not yet at school compared to those who are at school differed dramatically and it seems that a clear distinction is made between

children who attend school and those who do not. As reported above, non-school children prompt the community to speak primarily Qaqet with very infrequent use of Tok Pisin. School children, however, motivate much more usage of Tok Pisin.

Overall, as regards the age of participants, there were no strong trends in the language use described by interviewees or participants, save with a small group of young adults, who will be focused on in more detail in §4.2.2.

4.1.3.2 Gender

As with age, gender can be analysed as per the gender of the participants of the interviews and the surveys, or from the gender of the participant's audience. In general, gender appears to bear minimal influence on language use in Raunsepna, and what patterns that were suggested are also linked to age or generation.

The most noteworthy distinction in language use between genders related to reported language use of mother and father. In Question 6, Section B of the survey, respondents reflected on the language use of their parents; only seven respondents recorded their father as being monolingual Qaqet speakers, *seventeen* respondents recorded their mother so:

Qaqet Speakers = 41			Non Qaqet speaker = 1
Qaqet only = 7	Qaqet + other = 34		TP + Kuanua = 1
	Qaqet + TP = 34		
	Qaqet + TP only = 26	Qaqet + TP + other = 8	
		Q + TP + Eng = 6 | Q + TP + Kua = 2	

Figure 23: Reported language use of father (N = 42)

Qaqet Speakers = 40			Non Qaqet speaker = 2	
Qaqet only = 17	Qaqet + other = 23		TP + Kuanua = 1	TP + Bola = 1
	Qaqet + TP = 23			
	Qaqet + TP only = 20	Qaqet + TP + other = 3		
		Q + TP + Eng = 2 | Q + TP + Kua = 1		

Figure 24: Reported language repertoire of Mother (N = 42)

There is also a noticeable difference between the number of mothers who spoke Tok Pisin and the number of fathers who did so. In explaining this, we could look to Kulick's (1992) speculation as to the gender imbalance in Tok Pisin and Taiap use in Gapun. He cites the fact that in the past men often picked up Tok Pisin before women due to extended periods away on contracted labour while women often only learned Tok Pisin later when it was brought back to the village. Such an explanation may also suit the above results as Tok Pisin entered Raunsepna in much the same way; that is, through villagers returning after spells away from the area working.

This, however, appears to be the only question in the survey that elicited a distinction between the language use or repertoire of men and women, suggesting that gender (at least nowadays) is not necessarily an influencing factor in language use.

4.1.3.3 Relationships

For the purposes of this study, Participants (P in the SPEAKING model) were defined by their relationship to the survey respondent or interview. The following were focused upon: mother, father and siblings, spouse and in-laws, friends and strangers, children and animals.

Of all these relationships, stranger was the only Participant that indicated a uniform pattern throughout the whole community. Tok Pisin achieved its strongest preference in this survey item, with over half of survey respondents indicating that they would mostly or always use Tok Pisin with a stranger rather than Qaqet. It is curious that half indicated that they would use Qaqet with a stranger even though it is safe to assume that a non-Qaqet stranger will not speak Qaqet. This result suggests that many of the respondents were confident that the

strangers they would encounter would be Qaqet strangers from other Qaqet villages, serving to demonstrate how remote such communities are.

Language use with friends differed greatly between community members, as did language use within the family. One approach to looking at language use with family is to consider cases of exogamy. Although there is a strong preference for endogamous unions, particularly cousins, marriage to outsiders and non-Qaqets is not an uncommon phenomenon in Raunsepna. Traditionally, as with many societies in Papua New Guinea, non-Qaqet speaking partners were expected to learn the language of the village to which they moved, a practice that reportedly still exists in another more remote Qaqet village of Walmetki. As Romaine (1992) reported though, in ethnically heterogeneous urban areas where mixed marriages were common, Tok Pisin has become the sole language of many families. Exogamy, therefore, is of particular interest in this study as the literature suggests that the language use of such couples and their children may be different to those of endogamous unions. This will be explored further in §4.2.3 and in the discussion.

4.1.4 Instrumentalities

In addition to language used in speech, we were interested in language used in writing. Going simply from the responses to Question 7, more than half the community indicated that they would use Qaqet to write, although writing in Tok Pisin was much more preferable with only three respondents indicating that they would not use Tok Pisin to write. English also scored relatively highly in reports of writing, a result that at a glance is not so surprising given that English is the official language of schooling. Reports from the interviews and from general observation, however, suggest that literacy in Raunsepna is actually very low (particularly in Qaqet), much lower than the questionnaire data would suggest.

Writing then, in Raunsepna, appears to have been given a distorted description by survey participants, both in terms of frequency and competency, the reasons for which will be explored in §5.2.1.1.

4.1.5 Genre

Three genres were discussed in the surveys: counting, swearing, and joking. The corpus of texts collected by Brigit Hellwig for the description of Qaqet also included interviews, descriptions, instructions, and narratives (all with very little use of Tok Pisin), however these

were not analysed for this thesis. The survey results indicated that in general the preferred language for counting, swearing and joking was Qaqet, but that Tok Pisin is used to some extent by the majority of the community, and that some may even employ English and Kuanua.

As described in §4.1.1.3, counting was the genre in which English received its highest incidence of use with around two thirds of survey participants indicating that they would use English to some extent when counting. Counting was also discussed during the interviews, and as a number of interesting comments were made as regards numerical systems, counting will be further explored in §5.2.1.1. and §5.2.2.1.

Two other genres were also identified during the interview: prayer and speech making. Like with traditional ceremonies, prayer appeared to have a public and a private aspect, each one eliciting different language choices. While we saw that at church (§4.1.2.1), both Qaqet and Tok Pisin were used, interview groups indicated that Qaqet was preferred when praying at home, although not exclusively. Group 2 emphasised that it was important to communicate with God in the language they could best express themselves, which they felt to be was Qaqet. This perspective is similar to that articulated by the interview groups as regards interaction with spirits and healers (§4.1.2.3).

Another genre that arose was speech making. This was not an identified item in the survey, however, from the interviews and from observations, there appeared a regular pattern of employing both Qaqet and Tok Pisin sequentially to reiterate one's point (as was seen by a number of speakers at the after-mass announcements). Although the topics and tone of the speakers varied greatly from welcoming introductions of new people in the village to frustrated reprimands of individuals not turning up to appointments, the pattern remained more or less the same. Speakers would begin in Qaqet, then once having made their point would switch to Tok Pisin. Often, they would repeat this pattern of reiteration several times, especially when they were trying to convince the community to do something such as pay school fees. This is reminiscent of the oratory styles as described by Sankoff (1980), and the parallels between her example and this one in Raunsepna will be looked at in §5.1.1.2.

4.1.6 Summary

The above pages have provided a description of Raunsepna's linguistic landscape, explaining which languages are used and what settings, participants, instrumentalities and genres are key to explaining language choices. This broad sketch, however, is not complete without a closer inspection of the individuals in the community. What follows in the next section is a description of the various types of speakers found in Raunsepna. Survey respondents have been mapped onto a language use continuum with specific speaker types being grouped according to patterns in their language use.

4.2 Speaker Type Continuum

As Question 7 of Section B of the survey was the most revelatory in terms of adult language use, the data from this question, when correlated with the demographic information of Section A of the survey, revealed a number of patterns. There appeared to be a continuum of Tok Pisin and Qaqet language use, ranging from those who spoke it almost exclusively to those who barely spoke it at all. Within this continuum, respondents could be grouped into five speaker types: A, B, C, D and E.

These speaker types were determined by firstly comparing Qaqet use, with those using it the most considered the most conservative speakers (Speaker Type A) and those using it the least (or not at all) considered non-speakers (Speaker Type E). Everyone in the community falls somewhere along this spectrum, and by also looking at some of the demographic factors (such as age or place or education and birth), it was possible to identify some links between demography and speaker types. The profiles of each of these Speaker Types will be examined in the following sections, but preceding this is a visual representation of this spectrum. Figure 24 below shows all the survey participants as organised by a cluster analysis (based on the results of Question 7; see §3.2.3 for methodological aspects of this analysis), and the brackets indicate the speaker type delineations:

Nodes clustered by attribute value similarity
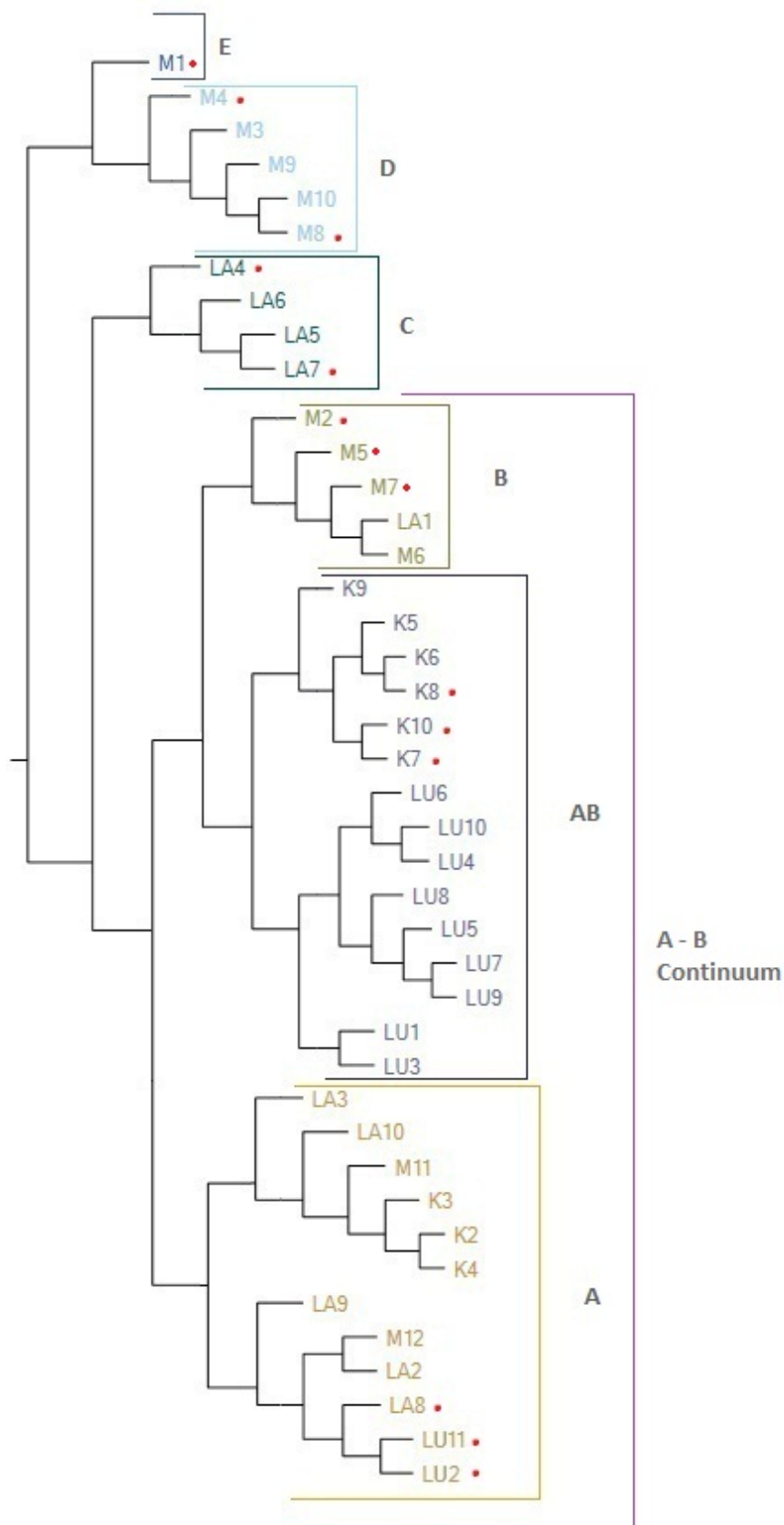
Figure 25: Raunsepna Speaker Type Continuum

Using a tree graph to map the distribution of the respondents, the first branching splits Speaker Types E and D away from Speaker A, B and C. Speakers D and E distinguished themselves from Speakers A, B and C in that their Tok Pisin use is greater than their Qaqet use. This is particularly so for Speaker E, who rarely if ever speaks Qaqet and can be considered a Rare or Non-Speaker of Qaqet. Speaker D, meanwhile, can be considered a Modest Qaqet Speaker. The next split in the tree graph discerned Speaker Type C, a small group of speakers whose distinctive language behaviour marked them as Moderate Speaker Types.

The last groups, Speaker Types A and B, demonstrated very similar language behaviour and as this is where the majority of the respondents fell, a clear continuum can be discerned. As such, people who are in the A-B range are Conservative Qaqet Speakers, ranging from extremely conservative in the A Speaker Type to moderately conservative in the B Speaker Type. The AB group fall between these extreme ends of the A-B Speaker Type spectrum.

Typical representatives of each of these Speaker Types have been denoted with a red dot. In examining the language use of speakers of Speaker Type A to B, the results of three representatives from either end of the A-B Speaker continuum will be addressed.

Only a small number of respondents identified as Speaker Types C and D and for these groups I have also opted to use the results at either end of the group's spectrum in discussing the language use of this speaker Type. Speaker Type E had only one representative (M1) and hence her results will form the basis of the description of this final Speaker Type. Additionally, although there is only one representative of Speaker Type E here, there was sufficient evidence from the interviews and our observations that this is indeed a Speaker Type, albeit a small but growing one.

To aid in detecting the patterns, the tables have been colour coded. Question 7 items coloured grey indicate an exclusive or near exclusive preference for Qaqet. Blue, indicates a strong preference for Qaqet, while green indicates no strong partiality for either Qaqet or Tok Pisin. Orange signals a preference for Tok Pisin over Qaqet and red indicates an exclusive or near exclusive preference for Tok Pisin.

Before moving on to examine the language behaviour of these speaker types, a couple of caveats need to be addressed. The first is that although individuals in Raunsepna fall

somewhere along this spectrum from exclusive use to non-use of Qaqet, it only shows the tendencies of Raunsepna residents and cannot be used as a predictor of language behaviour. Secondly, as a small scale pilot study, relating the results here to the demographic data for the respondents does not produce definitive trends but merely hints at possible trends in the community.

4.2.1 Speakers A-B

Speaker Types A to B can be considered conservative Qaqet speakers. They use Qaqet in most of the scenarios described in §4.1. A number of respondents were chosen to represent each group, and their responses are used to exemplify the language behaviour of the group. Generally, there did not appear to be any distinction between the way men and women responded and the age range of Speaker Type A was from twenty-two years to sixty-seven, suggesting that conservative speakers make up all ages and generations in the community. Nor does the number of years of education appear to be a contributing factor with most respondents in this group having around six years but ranging from four to fifteen years of education. One pattern that did emerge was that all the respondents who had parents who do not speak Tok Pisin and are monolingual in Qaqet (seven in total) all fell into the A or AB group.

4.2.1.1 Speaker A

Respondents Lu2, Lu11 and La8 represent some of the most conservative Qaqet speakers in the community, indicating that Tok Pisin and other languages were rarely employed in the scenarios given in the survey. In general, most Participants elicit near exclusive use of Qaqet with Speaker Type A particularly with family members, infant and elderly community members, animals, friends and non-school children.

Interacting with strangers, meanwhile, prompts exclusive Tok Pisin in these three speakers. Also of import is that talking with school children also seemed to prompt a higher use of Tok Pisin, although not a clear preference for it.

Language use according to setting produced differences also. While traditional ceremonies or events demand exclusive use of Qaqet amongst Speaker Type A, markets require an amount of Tok Pisin, and church and meetings necessitate almost equal use of Qaqet and

Tok Pisin. While there is no preference for Tok Pisin in these latter two domains, Qaqet is also not clearly favoured.

In instrumentality we see that Qaqet is never favoured for writing. In terms of genre, joking, counting and swearing compel Speaker Type A to use mostly Qaqet, particularly when joking.

English has been nominated as being used very rarely during meetings and when counting and swearing. Overall, even though this speaker type falls at the conservative end of the Qaqet language use spectrum, there are still instances in which Tok Pisin is used. The significance of this will be broached in Chapter 6.

Finally, although none of the respondents indicated that they were monolingual Qaqet speakers, such speakers were indicated to be in the community. One such speaker was an elderly woman, the mother of a local political candidate. Such a speaker will in future be referred to as Speaker Type A+.

Speaker Type A- Extreme Conservative Qaqet Use									
	Lu2			Lu11			La8		
Language:	Q	TP	Oth	Q	TP	Oth	Q	TP	Oth
spouse	a	n	n	a	n	n	m	r	n
mother	a	n	n	a	n	n	a	n	n
father	a	n	n	a	n	n	a	n	n
siblings	m	s	n	s	s	n	a	n	n
in-laws	a	n	n	a	n	n	a	n	n
children	m	r	n	a	n	n	a	n	n
elderly	a	n	n	a	n	n	a	n	n
friends	m	s	n	a	n	n	a	n	n
animals	a	n	n	a	n	n	a	n	n
strangers	n	a	n	n	a	n	n	a	n
infants	a	n	n	a	n	n	a	n	n
non-school children	a	n	n	a	n	n	a	n	n
school kids	m	s	n	a	n	n	r	m	n
church	s	s	n	m	r	n	s	s	n
market	m	s	n	a	n	n	m	r	n
ceremony	a	n	n	a	n	n	a	n	n
meetings	s	s	n	s	s	n	r	s	E r
writing	n	a	n	n	a	n	n	a	n
counting	a	n	n	s	s	n	s	s	E r
swearing	s	s	n	m	r	n	m	r	E r
joking	a	n	n	a	n	n	s	s	n

a = always, m = mostly, s = sometimes, r = rarely, n = never
E = English, K = Kuanua

At the other end of the Speaker A to B spectrum, is Speaker Type B, who demonstrates some noticeable differences in the distribution and frequency of their use of Qaqet and Tok Pisin.

As with Speaker A, Speaker Type B gives strong preference to Qaqet in most settings and with most participants. We can see, however, that Tok Pisin may be more frequently used by this Speaker Type than by Speaker Type A judging by the number of green cells. Note that (s) - 'sometimes used', occurs much more frequently in Speaker Type B respondents than it does in Speaker Type A.

Some patterns are emerging though. In terms of Participants, Speaker Type B will maintain an almost exclusive use of Qaqet with elderly community members, animals, and children who have not yet commenced school. A clear preference for Qaqet is still noted for family, but friends and school children are now just as likely to be spoken to in Tok Pisin as in Qaqet by Speaker Type B.

Speaker Type B is also consistent with Speaker Type A in his/her choice of language when addressing strangers, steering clear of Qaqet and preferring to use Tok Pisin.

Speaker Type B- Moderate Conservative Qaqet Use									
	M2			M5			M7		
Language:	Q	TP	Oth	Q	TP	Oth	Q	TP	Oth
spouse	m	s	E s	M	s	n	m	s	n
mother	s	r	E s	M	s	n	a	n	n
father	m	s	K s	M	s	n	m	s	n
siblings	m	s	n	M	s	n	s	s	n
in-laws	s	s	E r	M	s	n	s	s	n
children	m	s	K s	m	s	n	m	s	n
elderly	a	n	n	m	s	n	a	n	n
friends	s	s	E r	s	s	n	s	s	n
animals	a	n	n	m	s	n	m	s	n
strangers	n	m	E s	m	s	n	n	a	n
infants	m	s	n	m	s	n	m	s	n
non-school children	a	n	n	m	s	n	a	n	n
school kids	s	s	E r	s	s	E r	s	s	n
church	s	s	E r	s	s	E r	s	s	n
market	s	s	n	m	r	n	s	s	n
ceremony	s	s	n	m	s	n	s	s	n
meetings	s	s	E r	s	s	E r	s	s	n
writing	s	s	E r	m	s	n	m	s	n
counting	s	s	E r	m	s	n	s	s	n
swearing	m	s	E s	m	s	n	s	s	n
joking	s	s	E r	m	s	n	m	s	n

a = always, m = mostly, s = sometimes, r = rarely, n = never
E = English, K = Kuanua

Certain settings also elicited similar language use between Speaker Type A and B. At church and during meetings a mix of Tok Pisin and Qaqet was generally used. At the market and particularly during traditional ceremonies Speaker Type B may be more likely than Speaker Type A to employ Tok Pisin as well as Qaqet.

With Genre and Instrumentality we see that counting, swearing and joking all elicit similar language preferences by Speaker Type B to Speaker Type A but that for writing, Qaqet is clearly preferred to Tok Pisin. There is, even at this end of the spectrum though, a clear preference for Qaqet in most situations and with most interlocutors, and Tok Pisin is only preferred in one scenario; talking to strangers.

Finally, we can note that conservative Qaqet use does not necessarily reflect upon competence in or knowledge of other languages. M2, a Speaker Type B, for example, uses Kuanua with her father and her children and reported that her children sometimes use Kuanua with her. As the focus of this study was on Qaqet and Tok Pisin use in the community, the extent of Kuanua in the community has not been explored.

4.2.2 Speaker C

Speaker Type C indicates a break from the language use of Speaker Type A-B. Unlike Speaker Type A-B, Speaker Type C responses were provided by survey respondents of a particular demographic; young adults. The eldest of this group was twenty-three years at the time of the survey and the youngest twenty. As Speaker Type A-B behaviour was also demonstrated by young adults, we cannot generalise this behaviour to all young adult community members; one of the most conservative Qaqet speakers, La8, was only twenty-five years old. However, given that Speaker Type C is only made up of Qaqet speakers in their early twenties, it may be that community members with this pattern of language use are more likely to be younger community members. I will discuss in detail the import of this in §5.1.3.2 and §6.1.2.

While some scenarios elicit similar language behaviour to Speaker A-B, there are several differences that necessitate this speaker type to be analysed as a separate group. At a glance at the accompanying table, we can see that there are a number of instances where Tok Pisin was given preference over Qaqet (note the orange cells).

In the four settings proposed in the survey, Speaker Type C behaves comparatively to Speaker B. At church, and at the market, both Tok Pisin and Qaqet are spoken with no clear preference for either. Ceremonies still warranted an inclination towards Qaqet, however meetings, for this Speaker Type, prompted stronger Tok Pisin use than this setting did for Speaker Type A-B.

Interacting with elderly, infant and non-school age community members drew strong Qaqet use from Speaker Type C. Family though, particularly parents, do not necessarily elicit a preference for Qaqet by Speaker Type C, a significant trend that not only goes against the general expectation of using Qaqet with older community members but may also hint at a possible generational language change (discussed further in Chapter 6). Just as with Speaker A-B, a distinction is made between children who are at school and those who have not yet started, with school-aged children receiving at least as much Tok Pisin as Qaqet when talking to Speaker Type C.

Speaker Type C- Moderate Qaqet Use						
	La4			La7		
Language:	Q	TP	Oth	Q	TP	Oth
spouse	a	n	n	m	r	n
mother	r	m	n	r	m	n
father	r	m	n	s	s	n
siblings	s	s	E s	r	s	E s
in-laws	m	r	n	m	r	n
children	r	m	n	m	r	n
elderly	s	s	n	a	n	n
friends	s	r	E s	s	s	E s
animals	s	s	n	s	s	n
strangers	s	s	n	n	a	n
infants	s	s	n	m	r	n
non-school children	m	r	n	s	s	n
school kids	s	s	E r	r	m	E r
church	m	r	n	r	m	n
market	n	a	n	m	r	n
ceremony	s	s	n	a	n	n
meetings	s	s	n	r	s	E s
writing	r	s	E s	n	s	E r
counting	n	m	E s	r	m	n
swearing	a	n	n	r	s	K s
joking	m	r	n	m	r	n

a = always, m = mostly, s = sometimes, r = rarely, n = never
E = English, K = Kuanua

A preference for Tok Pisin is shown when counting, and while Qaqet is still preferred for making jokes, Speaker Type C is as comfortable swearing in Tok Pisin as in Qaqet. Speaker Type C also may make use of other languages, although as with Speaker Type A-B, using English or another language is not necessarily a defining trait of this speaker type.

4.2.3 Speaker D

This next group mark another step in the language use continuum in Raunsepna. As with Speaker Type A-B, gender and age do not appear to contribute to the language pattern of this speaker. What could be an influential factor for this particular group is their place of birth. Although all report having acquired Qaqet as a child, speakers who fall into this category have indicated that they were born outside of the Baining area or at least outside of Raunsepna parish. A number of this group also indicated that their spouse was born outside of Raunsepna parish, although exogamous marriage is not an exclusive marker for the group; La9, a Speaker Type A, married a woman from Lassul, a Baining village close to the sea, but with a large non-Baining community.

In comparing the reported language use of Speaker Type D with that of Speaker Types A-C, we can see that Qaqet is no longer the preferred language in many situations. Another perspective could be that Tok Pisin is more favoured by this Speaker Type than by Speaker Types A-C. There also appears to be a pattern emerging regarding certain scenarios and Qaqet preference.

Unlike Speakers A-C, Speaker Type D shows no clear preference for Qaqet in any of the four settings explored in this survey. This is so, even for traditional occasions, which for the other speaker types elicited strong Qaqet preference. Equally though, Tok Pisin is not necessarily favoured in any situation by Speaker Type D, even at Church, which was the only setting to prompt more Tok Pisin usage by survey participants than Qaqet.

Speaker Type D- Modest Qaqet Use						
	M4			M8		
Language:	Q	TP	Oth	Q	TP	Oth
spouse	s	s	K r	s	s	n
mother	s	s	K r	s	s	n
father	s	s	K r	s	s	E s
siblings	s	s	K r	s	s	n
in-laws	s	s	K s	s	s	n
children	s	s	K r	s	s	n
elderly	m	s	E s	m	s	n
friends	s	s	K s	s	s	n
animals	s	s	E r	s	s	n
strangers	n	m	E r	n	a	n
infants	s	s	E r	m	s	n
non-school kids	m	s	K s	m	s	n
school kids	s	s	E s	s	s	n
church	s	s	E s	s	s	E s
market	s	s	E r	s	s	n
ceremony	s	s	E r	s	s	n
meetings	s	s	E r	s	s	n
writing	n	s	E s	s	s	E s
counting	s	s	E s	s	s	E s
swearing	s	s	E r	s	s	E s
joking	s	s	E s	s	s	E s

a = always, m = mostly, s = sometimes, r = rarely, n = never

E = English, K = Kuanua

There are more noticeable differences between Speaker Type D and Speakers type A-C language use in terms of interlocutor. Family in particular, unlike with Speaker Type A-B, do not elicit strong Qaqet use from this speaker. In fact, the only people to whom Speaker Type D would be more inclined to speak primarily Qaqet are the oldest and the youngest in the community. Speaker Type D also distinguishes between children who attend school and those who have not yet begun. There is also consistency in Speaker Type D's language use with strangers, with Qaqet never being used.

Much like Speaker Type C, Speaker Type D may swear in either Qaqet or Tok Pisin, and counting follows the pattern of Speaker Type B. Unlike Speaker Types B and C though, joking is no longer preferred to be done in Qaqet, with Speaker Type D using Tok Pisin just as much.

4.2.4 Speaker E

The final Speaker Type, Speaker Type E, behaves linguistically at the other end of the language use spectrum to Speaker Type A. With only one survey respondent falling in this category, it is her responses that are used to exemplify this speaker type's language use. The definitive characteristic about this speaker type is their non-Qaqet upbringing. Speaker Type E has very little, if any, knowledge of or competence in Qaqet as he or she is typically not Qaqet. The emphasis for this Speaker Type though should be on their competence in the language and not on their ethnic heritage. In this particular example, this Speaker Type E is a Tolai woman, brought up speaking Kuanua and Tok Pisin, but married to a Qaqet man and currently living in Raunsepna.

In the Settings listed here, Speaker Type E will prefer to speak Tok Pisin and even another language if there is one at his or her disposal. There appears to be no Setting that would provide a suitable amount of pressure for this speaker to attempt to speak Qaqet.

Interlocutors, on the other hand, appear to do so. While with family, friends, strangers, school children and animals, Speaker Type E will use Tok Pisin or another language, elderly and juvenile members of the community may prompt use of Qaqet. As with Speaker Types A-D, Speaker Type E distinguishes these community members by marking them as the only participants with whom he or she would employ Qaqet. Even so, it is rare, and we might speculate that Speaker Type E's competence in Qaqet is quite low.

Speaker Type E- Rare/Non Qaqet use			
Language:	Q	TP	Oth
spouse	n	m	E s
mother	n	s	K s
father	n	s	K m
siblings	n	m	E s
in-laws	n	s	E s
children	n	s	K s
elderly	r	s	K s
friends	n	s	E s
animals	n	m	K s
strangers	n	s	E s
infants	r	m	E s
non-school kids	r	s	K s
school kids	n	s	E s
church	n	m	E s
market	n	s	K s
ceremony	n	s	K s
meetings	n	s	E s
writing	n	s	E s
counting	n	s	K s
swearing	r	s	K m
joking	n	s	K s

a = always, m = mostly,
s = sometimes,
r = rarely, n = never
E = English, K = Kuanua

Speaker E, as with Speaker Types A-D, also makes a distinction between children who go to school and those who do not, with non-school children falling into the group with whom Speaker Type E would use Qaqet. Qaqet is also never used when writing, counting or joking, but may be employed when swearing, although a language other than Qaqet and Tok Pisin may be more likely to be used.

4.3 Summary

One of the primary aims of this project was to describe language use in Raunsepna, and this data set provides a number of findings that allow us to paint a preliminary picture. The main findings are summarised below:

- Qaqet and Tok Pisin are clearly the most used languages in Raunsepna, but Kuanua and English are also occasionally used.
- There are a variety of speaker types in the community situated along a continuum, ranging from monolingual Qaqet speakers (Speaker Type A+) to non-Qaqet speakers (Speaker Type E), with the majority of the community falling in the Speaker Type A-B range
- For Speaker Type A, Qaqet is the most used language with Tok Pisin only being used on a regular basis when talking to strangers, when writing, and when attending church or meetings. It may also be occasionally used when counting and talking to school children.
- For Speaker Type B, Qaqet is still the preferred language and considered the only language appropriate for elderly and infant community members. Tok Pisin may be more frequently employed than Speaker Type A though, and may be used in not only interactions with strangers and at church and meetings, but also when addressing friends, in-laws and school children and even very occasionally family members.
- Speaker Type C's language choices are different again, with a marked rise in Tok Pisin compared to Speaker Types A and B. Generally a younger community member, Speaker Type C still prefers Qaqet in some situations such as talking to elderly and infant community members, but will rarely use Qaqet exclusively. Notably, Tok Pisin can be used in any situation and is even preferred in situations where Speaker Types A-B give clear preference to Qaqet, such as talking to parents.

- Speaker Type D's language choices are representative of those who speak Qaqet but may have grown up in an area where Qaqet is not widely spoken or of those who are the offspring of mixed marriages between a Qaqet and non-Qaqet speaker. Speaker Type D only prefers Qaqet when talking to infant or elderly community members and non-school children, and in all other scenarios will be just as likely to use Tok Pisin as Qaqet.

- The final Speaker Type, type E, are those who do not speak Qaqet well or at all such as non-Qaqet spouses or non-Qaqet migrants to Raunsepna. Speaker Type E will use Tok Pisin in all situations but may at times employ a little Qaqet when talking to elderly or infant community members or non-school children.

- The situations in which Qaqet is strongest across the community is with the elderly, infants and non-school children, with Tok Pisin more strongly reported when addressing strangers, when writing and when counting.

In the next two chapters, we will examine the probable explanations for these patterns, first exploring the guiding principles behind the community's language choices (§5.1.1 and §5.1.2), then investigating the factors that contribute towards the development of different Speaker Types (§5.1.3). The broader ideologies that are suggested by these code-switching practices and language choice principles will then be considered (§5.2), leading to an evaluation of the likelihood of language shift in Raunsepna (Chapter 6).

5. Discussion

This chapter will consider the organising practices and principles of language choice in Raunsepna. Based on the reports of language use and the observed language behaviour, patterns emerge that point towards specific language practices that can be explained by the models developed from studies on language choice, code-switching, and language socialisation. Following an exploration of the practices in Raunsepna, the language ideologies that support them will be discussed.

5.1 Language Use in Raunsepna

In explaining language use patterns in Raunsepna we can apply some of the frameworks discussed in Chapter 2. Those particularly applicable to the data gathered on language use in Raunsepna are: situational and metaphorical code-switching, ethnography of communication, and communication accommodation. Situational and metaphorical code-switching practices will be looked at first and can be linked to language use in specific settings and through specific genres and instrumentalities.

As both Kulick (1992) and Sankoff (1980) found in their respective communities, what has appeared to be the most important factor influencing Raunsepna villagers' language choice is their conversational partner, 'Participant' in the SPEAKING factors. Although the ethnography of communication helps define the factors that influence language choice, it does not clarify how these particular parameters do so. Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), however, provides a useful and adequate framework through which to do so. The third practice that will be explored is language socialisation, which provides a framework for explaining the distinction in language choices made between school children and non-school children.

These theories and models will help explain language choices in Raunsepna, with reference to specific examples and speaker types in the community. The rationale or ideologies behind the behaviour and the effects of the practices will be discussed in §5.2 and §5.3.

5.1.1 Language Choice and Code-Switching

Observation and reports of Qaqet and Tok Pisin use indicate that code-switching is a widespread and acceptable practice in Raunsepna. As explained in §2.1, code-switching can be approached from various perspectives. Intrasentential code-switching (changing the code within a sentence) appears to be infrequent in Raunsepna, and as such the focus here will be on intersentential code-switching (more frequently referred to as language choice), where speakers change code across sentence or paragraph boundaries. Language choice, as it occurs in Raunsepna, can be explained by situational or metaphorical parameters.

5.1.1.1 Situational Code-Switching

Situational code-switching, where a code is changed based on the Setting (e.g., meeting, church, market and traditional ceremony), Genre (e.g., counting, swearing, praying), or topic (e.g., government issues), is one model that can explain language choices in Raunsepna. In the table below, we see the summarised raw data of language choice in four Settings and in one Genre:

	Qaqet					Tok Pisin					Other				
	never	rarely	sometimes	mostly	always	never	rarely	sometimes	mostly	always	never	rarely	sometimes	mostly	always
church	2	5	24	10	1	1	1	37	3	0	27	9	6	0	0
market	3	0	13	23	3	3	8	29	0	2	40	1	1	0	0
ceremony	1	0	9	15	17	17	2	23	0	0	40	1	1	0	0
meetings	2	5	24	10	1	1	1	37	3	0	27	9	6	0	0
counting	2	3	23	13	1	1	6	32	3	0	13	7	21	1	0

Figure 26: Survey results of language use in specific settings genres in Raunsepna

What is striking about these results is that in none of these contexts is Qaqet or Tok Pisin exclusively used by the whole community. Traditional ceremonies, for instance, elicited a stronger preference for Qaqet than Tok Pisin by survey respondents, but it was by no means exclusive. As explained in §4.1.2.3, as we cannot account for whether respondents were

referring to the public manifestation of traditional culture (e.g., spear dance) or private ones (e.g., audience with a traditional healer), it is difficult to make any assumptions about the extent to which this Setting impacts upon language choice.

Baining dances often mark special events, such as end of school exams or election campaigns, and are even sometimes held just for fun. They frequently attract people from further afield, and have incorporated elements from the modern world into them, with masks sometimes representing modern world items such as tinned beef and aeroplanes in addition to more traditional motifs. Overall, interpreting language use at dances as being representative of traditional ceremonies paints a more simplistic picture than what is likely to be the case.

Situational code-switching, however, does appear to play a role at meetings. This was a Setting that both survey participants and interview groups identified as one in which both Qaqet and Tok Pisin are used, but it is not entirely clear which factors are responsible for the code switching: the Setting, the Participants, the topic, or the Genre. Code-switching here can be partially explained by the presence of non-Qaqet speakers in the community, with speakers switching to Tok Pisin to allow for those group members to follow the discussion. Language choice as reflection of one's interlocutor, however, will be examined in §5.1.2 and so will not be used as a parameter here for explaining language choice in meetings.

The topic of discussion was also used to explain this result. Interview groups indicated that for many, it was easier to discuss government issues, which were often the focus of meetings, in Tok Pisin rather than Qaqet. This trend is not particular to the Qaqet, as similar patterns are described amongst the Yimas of the Sepik region of Papua New Guinea (Wardaugh, 2010). This perceived limitation of Qaqet in terms of the topics that can be discussed could potentially help explain any intersentential code-switching, where speakers switch to Tok Pisin to fill a lexical gap.

The discussion of politics is not necessarily restricted to specific Settings (e.g., at meetings) and we cannot assume that two people having a private discussion about politics will or will not use Tok Pisin. Clearly then there is something about the Setting of 'meeting' apart from the topics discussed that does encourage greater use of Tok Pisin. As an event involving a group of people, meetings require an element of speech making, a Genre that contributes

to language choice decisions. Language choice as a speech making practice will be explored further in the next section on metaphorical code-switching.

Genres also appear to not demand a specific code, with the community indicating that when counting or swearing, a number of languages were acceptable. For now, we see that language choice in Raunsepna can be influenced by the topic of discussion (e.g., politics), but not strictly by other situational parameters such as Setting or Scene. Code-switching as a result of any inherent code norms associated with the Setting (e.g., switching to Qaqet only *because* this is a traditional ceremony) does not appear to be a practice present in Raunsepna.

5.1.1.2 Metaphorical Code-Switching

Metaphorical code-switching is the practice of changing codes for semantic effect. In analyses of oration of Melanesian 'big men', Sankoff (1980) concludes that oratory styles in Papuan cultures encourage multilingualism, in that prestige and power is awarded to those with a range of rhetorical skills, including code-switching, at their disposal. Our observations of political and religious speeches indicated that code-switching was used to some such effect in oratory practices in Raunsepna. Addressing the audience in Qaqet then switching to Tok Pisin before returning to Qaqet, all the while talking about the same issue, was a technique witnessed several times at the weekly meetings after mass. The village catechist was a particularly prime example, chastising in both Qaqet and Tok Pisin young betrothed couples for not attending their marriage preparation meetings. As this pattern of code-switching was not observed in other Genres, we can surmise that there is a degree of semantic effect behind code-switching in Raunsepna in that effective public speakers will use both Qaqet and Tok Pisin to 'harangue and convince their audience', as Sankoff (1980: 12) puts it.

We see then that language choice in Raunsepna is somewhat influenced by both situational factors, particularly topic or Genre, and by metaphorical factors, specifically oration. The primary influence, however, appears to be interlocutor, and this will be focus of the discussion in §5.1.2.

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5.1.2 Accommodation

Speech Accommodation essentially involves adjusting one's speech apropos one's interlocutors in order to satisfy a variety of motivations (Bell, 2006; Sachdev & Bourhis, 1990). As both Nidue (1990) and Sankoff (1980) found in their communities, the interlocutor (Participant in the SPEAKING model) was the primary factor behind language choice. This also seems to be the case in Raunsepna, where speakers demonstrated speech convergence to that of their interlocutor. As this behaviour was reported by all the Speaker Types (A-E) in Raunsepna, we can surmise that convergence is broad linguistic practice in the community.

Patterns in speech convergence appear to be bound by assumptions on the language repertoires of the interlocutor. These assumptions are seemingly based on two factors: the age of the interlocutor and the perceived group membership of the interlocutor. Elderly and infant community members, for example, are perceived to have lower competence in Tok Pisin than other community members, and hence elicit a stronger use of Qaqet. Strangers (i.e., those who are not known to be members of the Qaqet speech community), meanwhile, are not expected to have any competence in Qaqet and as a result, prompt a strong use of Tok Pisin.

5.1.2.1 Age

Accommodating younger and older community members appears to involve increasing Qaqet use and limiting Tok Pisin use. As was demonstrated in the data (see Figure 26), talking with elderly and infant community members was a situation in which *all* survey participants would use Qaqet (i.e., no respondents said they would never use Qaqet).

	Qaqet					Tok Pisin					Other				
	never	rarely	sometimes	mostly	always	never	rarely	sometimes	mostly	always	never	rarely	sometimes	mostly	always
elderly	0	1	2	15	24	23	8	11	0	0	40	0	2	0	0
infant	0	1	5	28	8	8	16	17	1	0	39	2	1	0	0

Figure 27: Language use based on age of interlocutor

In accounting for this behaviour, we can turn to the perceptions of these community members as reported by the interview groups. It would seem that these community members are perceived as Speaker Type A+ (i.e., monolingual Qaqet speakers). Speakers A-E accommodate for this likelihood by converging towards the language perceived to be most spoken by this group: Qaqet. An attempt at convergence towards Qaqet is even detected in Speaker Type E, traditionally a non-speaker of Qaqet, who will employ his/her limited skills in Qaqet as an attempt to accommodate the perceived Speaker A+.

Age-related stereotypes play a role in communication across all cultures (De Bot & Makoni, 2005), but it has to be kept in mind that without language testing of the Raunsepna community, we cannot determine how accurately such stereotypes reflect the language competency of older community members.

5.1.2.2 Perceived Community Insider/Outsider Status

The other factor that appears to influence a speaker's propensity for accommodation is whether the interlocutor is perceived as a Qaqet speaker. Strangers, for example, were reported by survey respondents as being Participants that would generally elicit Tok Pisin. This convergence is based on assumptions the speaker makes about their interlocutor's status as Qaqet speaker. If they are perceived as an outsider, the likelihood is that they do not speak Qaqet and hence Tok Pisin will be employed to aid social integration (as discussed §2.1.3.1). Perceptions about in-group member status can be incorrect though; one incident was related to us where a visiting nun was addressed in Qaqet by a trader at the market and upon realising her mistake, the trader switched to Tok Pisin. The methodological problem that arises here is whether or not the survey participants interpreted stranger as 'someone I don't know personally (but they may be Qaqet)' or 'someone I have never encountered before and is unlikely to speak Qaqet'.

Strangers, though, were not the only people to prompt convergence towards Tok Pisin. There were a number of non-Qaqet speakers in the community, as Speaker Type E represents, and interview groups and researcher observations indicated that with such interlocutors, Tok Pisin was the preferred code. While Speakers A-E will make assumptions about a stranger's Qaqet use, convergence towards Tok Pisin with known non-Qaqet speakers is based on prior evaluation of the interlocutor's linguistic competence.

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Although a member of the community, Speaker E's limited Qaqet skills will mean they have been tagged by the community as a non-member of the Qaqet speech community. Speakers will accommodate Speaker Type E by converging to Tok Pisin. Social integration appears again to be the primary motivation behind this convergence.

In explaining their language choice with Speaker Type E, interview groups reported that even in cases where their interlocutor can speak a little Qaqet, they prefer to use Tok Pisin because it is assumed to be easier for them. M1's daughter, ASB, for example, speaks and understands a little Qaqet, but the interview group described her Qaqet as 'heavy' and not fluent, and that they prefer to speak in Tok Pisin with her. Although her father is Qaqet, she and her siblings lived for many years outside of the Qaqet-speaking area, in Kokopo, and been much exposed to Tok Pisin. The community's identification of ASB as a non-competent or unconfident Qaqet speaker (despite being ethnically half Qaqet) leads them to accommodate her by speaking Tok Pisin. The community's perceptions of Speaker Type E's identity as a non-member of the Qaqet speech community is also revealing for language socialisation practices, which will be examined in §5.1.3.

We can see then that Speakers A-E will evaluate their interlocutor on the basis of age and whether or not they are perceived as a member of the Qaqet speech community. They then converge to the language in which they perceive their interlocutor to be most proficient or comfortable. As discussed in §2.1.3.1, Sachdev and Bourhis (1990) look to social integration as a motivating factor for this behaviour, and in taking this stance, we can account for convergence both towards Qaqet and Tok Pisin by speakers in Raunsepna.

Social exchange objectives also appear to be a motivation behind convergence to Qaqet or Tok Pisin. Convergence to the perceived strongest language of one's interlocutor was a recognised communication technique by interview groups. During their discussions on language use in trade situations, interview groups explained that it was important to use a language in which the trader or vendor was proficient for if not you were in danger of not getting what you want from them. This supports convergence towards both Qaqet and Tok Pisin, where interacting with a Qaqet trader at Raunsepna market might prompt Qaqet but conversing with a non-Qaqet-speaking trader would encourage Tok Pisin. Convergence here is motivated by an aim to minimise cost and maximise reward, be they financial, social, or emotional (discussed §2.1.3.1).

In Raunsepna then, we see that language choice is determined by perceptions of an interlocutor's linguistic competence and repertoire. Assumptions and evaluations guide the language choice of Speakers A-E, leading them to accommodate their interlocutor by converging to the code in which the interlocutor has been judged most competent. While monolingual Qaqet speakers (Speaker Type A+) do not necessarily have the choice between Tok Pisin and Qaqet, bilingual Qaqet-Tok Pisin speakers navigate their interactions partly based on the language practice of accommodation. The motivations behind the practice, namely social integration, social approval and social exchange, are all in turn governed by broader language ideology principles (to be looked at in §5.2).

5.1.3 Language Socialisation practices

The focus of this study was on normative factors, and so questions on language socialisation practices were only explored in a superficial way. The preliminary findings discussed here are based on Section C of the questionnaire, on observations, and on reports made by the community, and suggest a number of interesting topics for future research. In addition to child language socialisation we will also consider the language socialisation experiences of non-Qaqet migrants to Raunsepna.

5.1.3.1 Adult language socialisation

Due to the presence of non-Qaqet speaking spouses and families in Raunsepna, adult language socialisation practices meed to be considered. The presence of Speaker Type E suggests that rates of Qaqet acquisition by migrants are low. Although Speaker E may claim to have some Qaqet, reports by interview groups and observations, indicate that they have not usually acquired any more than basic expressions. Our analysis of language choice patterns indicates that Speaker E's non-acquisition of Qaqet can partly be linked to the community's tendency to accommodate interlocutors. According to one of our contacts, traditionally non-Qaqet spouses would have learned Qaqet (although to what degree of competency we cannot say), to help facilitate their integration into the community. However, this custom has diminished in Raunsepna, suggesting that the spread of Tok Pisin appears to have changed socialisation practices.

Traditionally the Qaqet preferred to marry close relatives, but exogamy was not completely alien or forbidden. There were reports that in Walmetki, another Qaqet village even more

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remotely located than Raunsepna, non-Qaqet spouses still learn Qaqet. In theory, Tok Pisin should be available in remote areas such as Walmetki, so perhaps it is not the availability of Tok Pisin in the community that affects this practice but rather the opportunity to use Tok Pisin. In the families that we interviewed, the instances of exogamy were not insignificant; there was only one non-Qaqet spouse out of nineteen couples in our contacts' parent's generation, four non-Qaqet spouses in twenty-six couples in our contacts' generation, and five non-Qaqet spouses out of thirty in our contacts' children's generation. Given that just one non-Qaqet speaker in the family alters language use, having considerable impact on the children (as we saw in the survey results), rising exogamy rates would not be without consequence for Qaqet language use.

The presence of a lingua franca in Raunsepna has reduced the need for migrants to learn the community language. Even if Speaker E was intent upon learning Qaqet, they may find that the community's accommodation practices of switching to Tok Pisin in the presence of non-Qaqet speakers may impede their rate of acquisition. This is not to say that no spouses learn Qaqet when they move to Raunsepna; a number of survey participants who indicated that their spouses were from outside the Baining speaking area reported that their spouses spoke Qaqet. We cannot, of course, make any claims here about the proficiency of these speakers, but migrant spouses were identified by interview groups as those who have the least proficiency in Qaqet in the community. The social and communicative repercussions for those who do not acquire Qaqet are minimal, as Raunsepna is a bilingual community and it is possible to function there with Tok Pisin alone. There are, though, consequences for the transmission of Qaqet to the children of a speaker who has low or nil competence in the local language and predominantly uses Tok Pisin, which will be looked at in the next section on child language socialisation.

5.1.3.2 Child language socialisation

One language socialisation practice that emerged from both the surveys and the interview groups was the reported language use distinction made between children who went to school and those who did not. As described in §4.1.3.1, the general pattern across the community is to use more Tok Pisin with children who attend school than with those who do not. Although this was a trend reported by all the Speaker Types (i.e., A-E), it seems unlikely that non-Tok Pisin speakers would engage in this practice, instead maintaining

Qaqet with school children. Only one survey respondent, Lu11 -a 67 year old man, falling towards the extreme of the Speaker A end of the Qaqet use spectrum, indicated that he would not use Tok Pisin with school children. So it appears that most of the community, save the most conservative Qaqet speakers, distinguish between school children and non-school children through language choice.

School attendance therefore appears to be behind at least one language socialisation practice in Raunsepna. This finding suggests that the community have formed a connection between Tok Pisin and education, an association that will be looked at in greater detail in §5.2.2.1. In the meantime, we can comment further on why this distinction is made.

Although it is tempting to suggest that adults do not use Tok Pisin with non-school children because the children have not learned it yet, we cannot assume this, as it is unlikely that children have not acquired some Tok Pisin before school given its prevalence in the community. Even though interviewees and survey participants reported learning Tok Pisin at school, most Qaqet children have been exposed to Tok Pisin well before school. In addition to weekly mass being held primarily in Tok Pisin, children spend much of their day in the company of other children, including the non-Qaqet speaking children of nurses and teachers, roaming around the village. So perhaps the distinction is made not because children have not learned Tok Pisin yet but because the children do not really need it until they start school. It may additionally be a mixture of these two motivations and tie in with ideologies about language learning (discussed further in §5.2.2.1).

Such perceptions on child language use are exemplified in an anecdote related by ADN about her six year old granddaughter whom ADN believed to speak only Qaqet. ADN recalled her surprise at overhearing ZMS use Tok Pisin with another child, explaining that although she occasionally used Tok Pisin with ZMS, she did not think that the child had picked up any of it. It would seem that ZMS's acquisition of Tok Pisin has begun well before she started school and that the company of non-Qaqet speaking children in the community had helped facilitate this.

This last point is of particular importance as it brings to light that a large part of language socialisation of children in Raunsepna is in the hands of other children and teenage caretakers, not just adults.

The final point to make here is that these language use patterns suggest that community members identify as different speaker types in different stages of their life. For many community members, infancy is a period of almost exclusive Qaqet use and that many Qaqet children would be identified as Speaker Type A+, with little to no Tok Pisin use. Survey respondents' reports of child language use in Section C of the survey indicated as such; no children under the age of three were reported to have any Tok Pisin. However, as children are exposed to Tok Pisin and begin to acquire it, they may be drawn out of the Speaker Type A+ category and into the A to C part of the Qaqet and Tok Pisin bilingual spectrum.

Speaker Type C distinguished themselves from Speaker Types A and B by their markedly higher reported use of Tok Pisin. This group was also linked by their unmarried status and being in their early 20's, although the age factor may be insignificant as other young adults identified as Speakers A-B. In any case, the language socialisation practice of distinguishing between school children and non-school children by increasing the use of Tok Pisin, may explain the language behaviour of Speaker Type C. After six years of schooling and being addressed in both Tok Pisin and Qaqet due to this language socialisation pattern, is it reasonable to expect all children of Raunsepna to turn into Speaker Type A adults?

Although based on reports by adults rather than observation of actual behaviour, children's Qaqet use was reported to be more or less the same as adults' use (see Figures 17 and 18 in §4.1.1.1) with a similar pattern occurring in intergenerational interactions. Adults reported being more likely to use exclusive Qaqet with their parents and in-laws than they did with their children. Likewise, children were reported to be more likely to use Qaqet exclusively with their grandparents than they did their parents (see Figures 28 and 29):
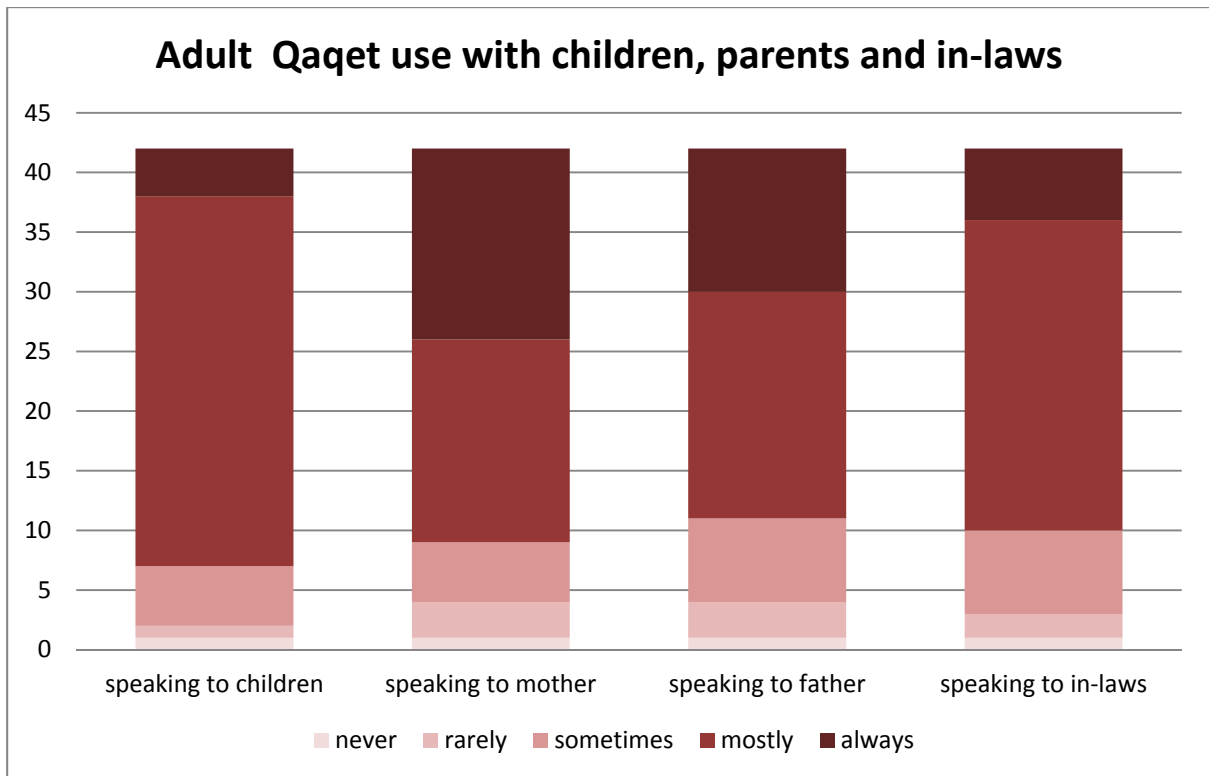
Figure 28: Adult intergenerational Qaqet use
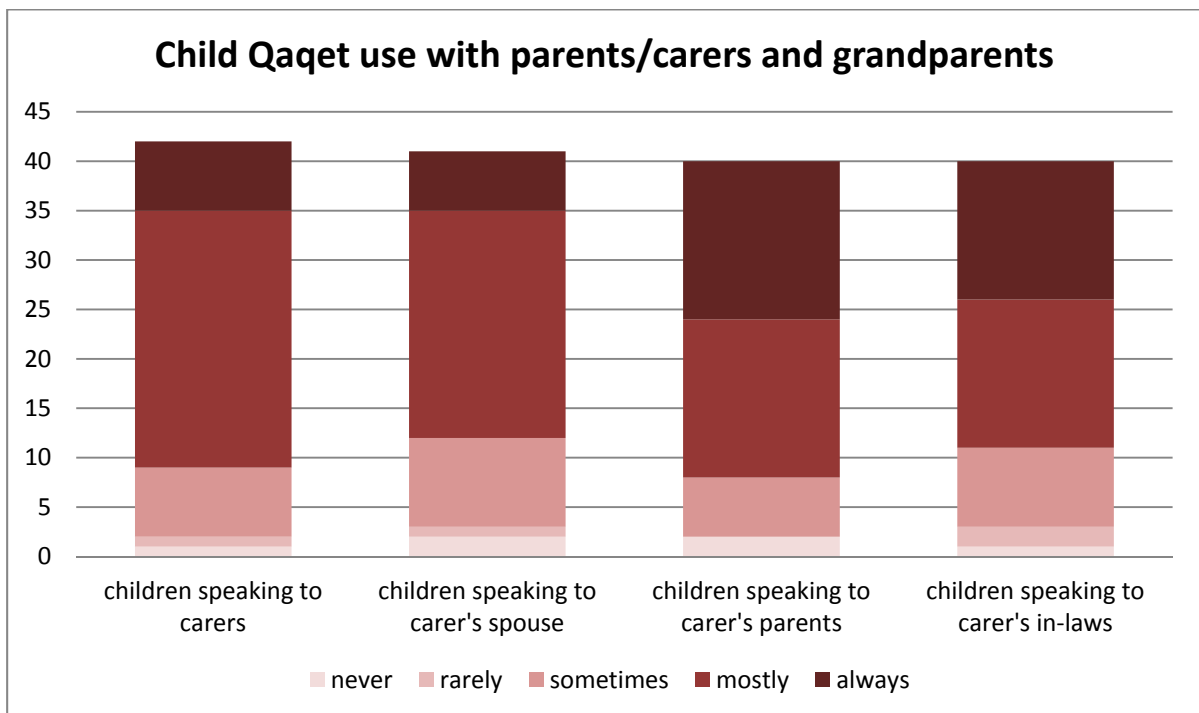
Figure 29: Child intergenerational Qaqet use

Similar findings were found for Tok Pisin, with adults less likely to use Tok Pisin with their parents than with their children, and children reported to use Tok Pisin less with their grandparents than they did with their parents (Figures 30 and 31)[10]:

Adult Tok Pisin use with children, parents and in-laws

legend: never, rarely, sometimes, mostly, always
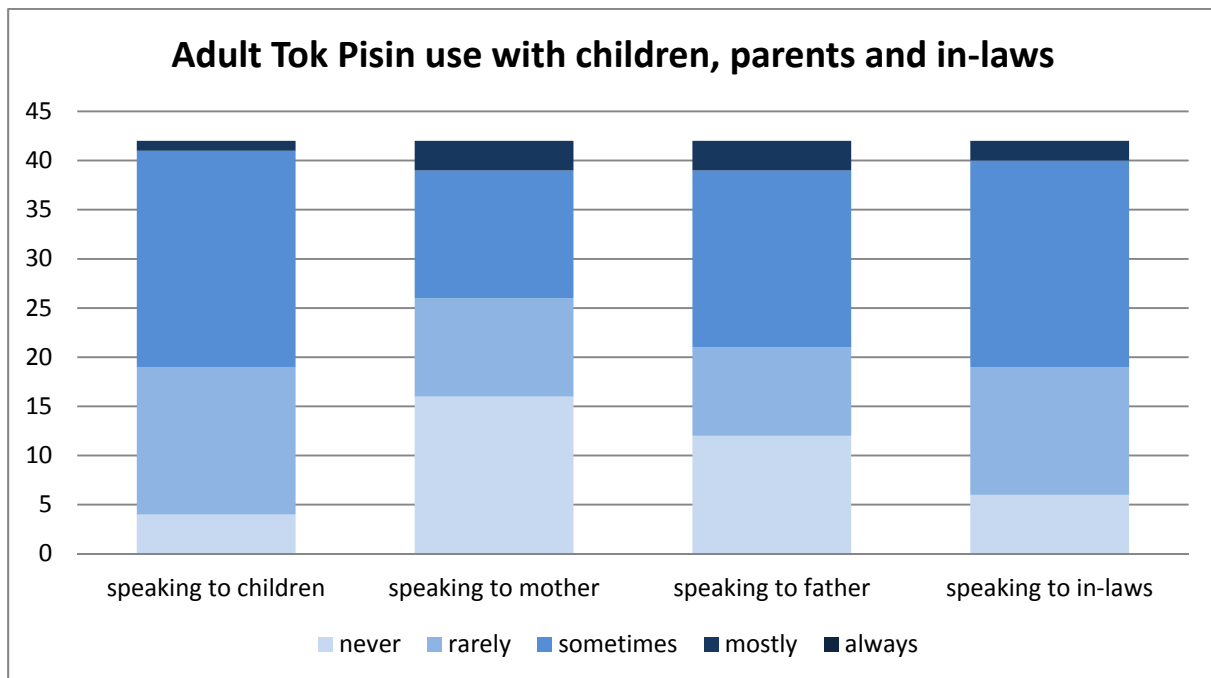
Figure 30: Adult intergenerational Tok Pisin use

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[10] Only four shades are represented here as no respondents indicated that theywould use Tok Pisin always
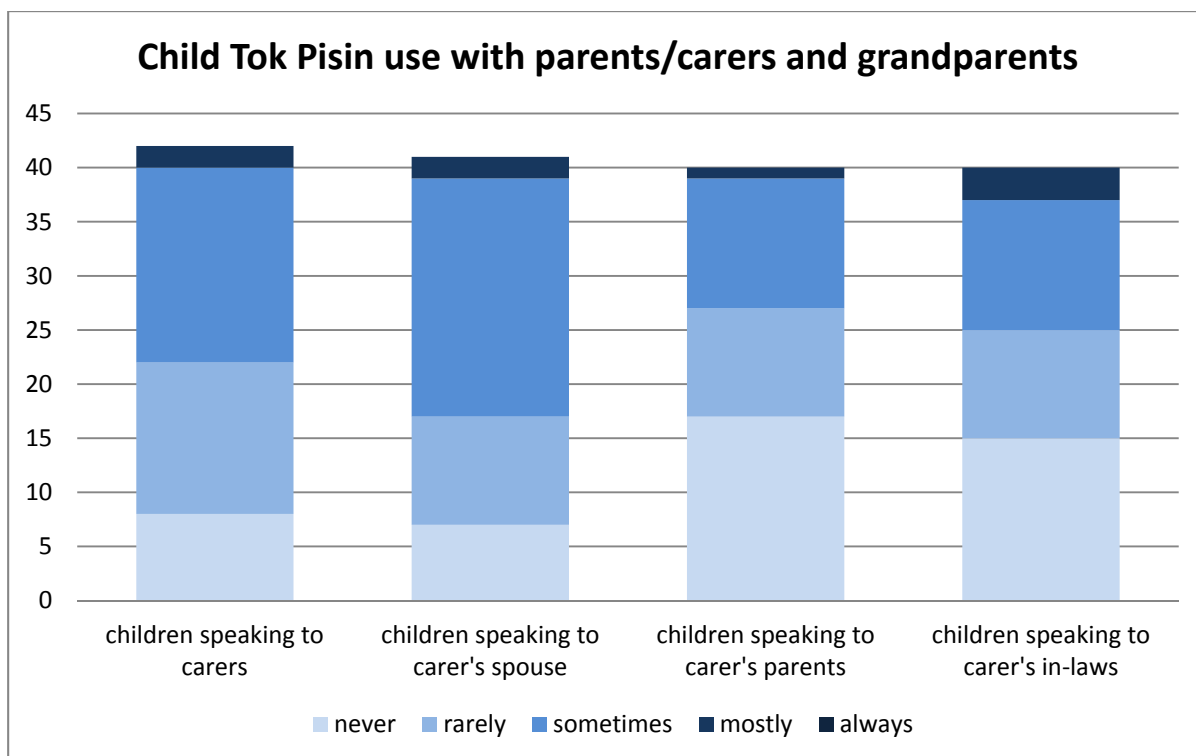
Figure 31: Child intergenerational Tok Pisin use

There are a couple of general impressions we can draw from this preliminary investigation. The first is that there appears to be a perception that children use of Tok Pisin slightly more than their parents do. Secondly, despite this report, it seems likely that respondents under-estimated children's language use as most indicated that their children who were not yet at school did not yet speak Tok Pisin, yet children as young as 2;5 were recorded in the corpus data using Tok Pisin. These perceptions will be discussed in more detail in §5.2.1.

With most of the research on language socialisation in multilingual communities focusing on migrant communities, it is difficult to provide any reasonable comparison to these findings in Raunsepna. However, these studies show that schooling affects the language of the home, with siblings often switching to the language of schooling as they grow up (Schecter & Bayley, 2003). The import of these findings, especially the existence of Speaker Type C, will be further discussed in §6.1.2.

5.1.4 Summary

In Nidue (1990) and Sankoff's (1980) explorations into language use in Papua New Guinea, each employed a flow chart to help visualise the patterns behind language choices in their respective fieldsites (see §2.1.2.5). Their schemata incorporated a hierarchical set of

conditions that influence language choice, including the codes of the interlocutor, the formality of the situation, the modality of communication, and the topic. However, as they also demonstrated, and as indicated in the analyses above for Raunsepna, language use cannot be easily schematised with most situations reportedly allowing more than one language.

There does however appear to be a hierarchy in the factors that influence language choice in Raunsepna. Aside from the speaker's own linguistic repertoire, the primary factor in language choice is interlocutor, and so accommodation is the key practice in the community. The speaker will evaluate their interlocutor's language proficiency taking into account factors such as age and group membership. Assessment of the language of the interlocutor is also at the basis of language socialisation practices, with school children eliciting different language behaviour than those not yet at school. After this, other situational and metaphorical code-switching practices come into play, such as topic (e.g., government issues) and Genre (e.g., counting, swearing, speech making). Overall, factors that influence language choice are multiple and interacting, producing a complex picture of language use in Raunsepna.

5.2 Language Ideologies

An understanding of language ideologies is, as summarised by Silverstein (1985 in Schieffelin et al., 1998), crucial to understanding linguistic practices and structures. Recalling that language ideologies are 'sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use' (Silverstein, 1979: 190), we can gain an understanding of the dominant language ideologies in Raunsepna by examining the beliefs about language use as indicated in the reported language use and as articulated by interview groups.

In this section, we will explore the language ideologies that were uncovered by this study, particularly those regarding innate qualities of language, language use, language acquisition, and ethnolinguistic identity.

5.2.1 Language Use Ideologies

Language use ideologies pertain not just to beliefs about how a language is and should be used, but also who should or should not speak it. This can lead to expectations of certain groups or individuals to use certain codes at certain times, and thus the rigid compartmentalisation of varieties. In Raunsepna however, such expectations do not appear to hold, with the only strong language use ideology to emerge being that of accommodating one's interlocutor.

A number of other language use ideologies were also uncovered as a result of comparing reported language use with actual language use. This was not an approach that we could apply widely as we did not always have actual language use data with which to compare reports. The areas in which we were able to discern discrepancies were in reports of Qaqet literacy, competency in and frequency of English, and reports of child language behaviour. The reports of child language use also revealed insights into child language socialisation practices and principles, which will be looked at in §5.2.2.

5.2.1.1 Ideologies about Qaqet

Explicitly asking community members about innate qualities of the languages of their community revealed little about the beliefs about language as the groups appeared to struggle with answering the question. While this provided a methodological discussion point, it meant that our understanding of attitudes towards the languages cannot be based on the answer to this question. One ideology that did emerge was the perceived complexity of Qaqet. The numerical system was particularly focused on, with one contact, AJL, explaining that the Qaqet counting system is perceived as difficult and many will prefer to use Tok Pisin to count. Numbers in Qaqet are counted in bases of five and ten. So, after 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, come 5 and 1, 5 and 2, 5 and 3 etc. until 10, at which point begins 10 and 1, 10 and 2 etc.:

1	aqunaska	**16**	amalepka ngenariqit ngenaqa
2	aquanasiam (1-dual)	**17**	amalepka ngenariqit ngenaiam
3	adepguas	**18**	amalepka ngenariqit ngenadepguas
4	arlatpes	**19**	amalepka ngenariqit ngenarlatpes
5	angeriqit	**20**	amaleviam (ten-dual)
6	angeriqit ngenaqa (5 plus 1)	**21**	amaleviam ngenaqa (ten-dual plus 1) ...

7	angeriqit ngenaiam	**30**	amalev amadepguas (ten times 3)
8	angeriqit ngenadepguas	**31**	amalev amadepguas ngenaqa …
9	angeriqit ngenarlatpes	**40**	amalev amarlatpes …
10	amalepka	**50**	amalev amangeriqit …
11	amalepka ngenaqa (10 plus 1)	**60**	angeriqit ngenaqa nama malep
12	amalepka ngenaiam	**70**	angeriqit ngenaiam nama malep
13	amalepka ngenadepguas	**80**	angeriqit ngenadepguas nama malep
14	amalepka ngenarlatpes	**90**	angeriqit ngenarlatpes nama malep
15	amalepka ngenariqit	**100**	amalepka nama malep

Even children who speak only Qaqet may know how to count in Tok Pisin well before they can speak Tok Pisin, and adults who can count in Qaqet may switch to Tok Pisin when referring to high numbers. Counting and switching to Tok Pisin will be explored further in §5.2.2.1.

There were also reports from both Qaqet and non-Qaqet that Baining languages are complex and difficult to learn especially in comparison to Kuanua. The pronunciation was latched onto as a particular sticking point for those trying to learn Qaqet; with its numerous consonant clusters and velar fricatives, outsiders are not really expected to learn Qaqet properly. This perception does not stretch to Qaqet children though, who are expected to acquire the language.

Aside from the innate qualities of Qaqet, we can also explore the ideologies behind the use of Qaqet. One example from the survey is that Qaqet use was over-represented in the reports of writing. The number of survey participants reporting that they wrote in Qaqet was striking for two reasons: the first concerns literacy in general, and the second surrounds Qaqet literacy in particular. As indicated in §4.1.4.1, survey reports on literacy in Raunsepna appear to have been exaggerated both in terms of frequency of use of literacy skills and in terms of competency, leading us to examine how the community defines literacy.

In everyday life there appears to be very little need for reading and writing for the Raunsepna community members and it was gauged from interviews that there is the prevalent belief that one only need learn the alphabet to be considered 'literate'. The main literacy events in the village tend to require Tok Pisin or English and are restricted to church,

school, and official events such as elections. During our stay there, we observed the lead up to a federal election. Part of this process involved tutorials for the community on how to vote. Many hours were dedicated to teaching the community how to fill in the boxes on the ballot paper, and even at the end of several of these sessions, many people in the community were unsure or nervous about writing the numbers in the ballot boxes. In addition, there were instances of parents or guardians of children coming to sign ethics approval forms for our study and marking their name with an X. Interview Group 2 also reported that sometimes hymns are occasionally written out for someone to learn, however our impression is that this is extremely uncommon.

Even for the very few people in Raunsepna who can actually read Qaqet, there are exceedingly few reading materials at their disposal. When I enquired about the reading materials in the village, the only Qaqet texts that could be thought of were the bible and some primers produced by G. Misaqi, S. Tiqa, A. Kaltaumen and Diane Parker (1989, 1992 and 1996). Nor were there many Tok Pisin texts on hand; the bible, church booklets or pamphlets, and very occasionally a newspaper.

Although literacy in Qaqet is attempted in the first two years of elementary school, for most children, it is not continued into upper elementary and primary school as the language of instruction switches to Tok Pisin and (ideally) English. Literacy in Tok Pisin or English, therefore, seems a more likely outcome from the current education system than literacy in Qaqet. Reading and writing in Tok Pisin and English though, is still a limited ability for many community members. For many, six years of education, primarily in a new language (Tok Pisin) with most teaching materials in another new language (English), does not promote strong literacy skills in any of the languages of the community.

In explaining the high report for using Qaqet in writing in the surveys, we may look to the prevailing ideologies surrounding literacy in Raunsepna; there would be, it appears, a desire at large in the community to be perceived as literate in Qaqet. Aspirations towards community literacy arose several times during the interviews, with both interview groups explaining that although community members have no problems speaking Qaqet, there are very few people who can read it. Interview Group 2 expressed the opinion that children

should be learning to read and write Qaqet as well as speak it, and Group 1 even discussed the possibility of launching an adult Qaqet literacy program in the community.

Schieffelin (2000) suggests an explanation for such an ideology (i.e., desire to appear literate), proposing that the intrinsic value attached to literacy in a Kaluli village in Papua New Guinea is attributed to connections the villagers made between wealth and power of the West and literacy. Although this may be the case for Schieffelin's fieldsite, the reasons for literacy given by our contacts seemed to largely centre on the desire to read the Qaqet bible, so that they could better understand Christian doctrine. However, without further anthropological inquiry into Qaqet Baining ideologies we cannot be certain if other motivations are at work in Raunsepna and how they interact.

5.2.1.2 Ideologies about English use

Question 1 of Section B asked survey participants to list the languages they could speak, understand or read. Around a third of the survey participants said that they could speak English and around half the participants said that they could understand or read English, a proportion that is not substantiated by the interviews or observation. It would also appear that the use of English has been over-reported in Raunsepna, as reported in Question 7, Section B. The reality seems that very few people in the community have active or even passive competence in English. In exploring reasons behind this distorted report of English use, we must look at two considerations. Firstly, we can consider the possibility that there exists in the community a different understanding of competence, and secondly, that there may be prestige surrounding English.

In Laycock's (1979) account of perceptions towards language competence, he reports that from his experiences of trying to speak a Ndu language, native Ndu speakers would praise him unduly for his efforts even though he was a very poor speaker. His explanation was that because the overall emphasis in the community was on communication, there was a high tolerance level for errors and as such reports on competence may be inflated. There is also the possibility though that the community were excited by the fact that a white person was making an effort to communicate in their language. As reported by many other linguists in their respective fieldsites, one of the challenges in Raunsepna was to convince the community to correct our efforts to speak Qaqet; any attempt to speak Qaqet, no matter

how poor, was praised (c.f. Bowern, 2008; Crowley, 2007; Samarin, 1967). However, even if we considered this interpretation of proficiency as just a passive competence in English, then it would appear that competence in English has been over-reported in Raunsepna.

In terms of reports on usage, English was reportedly used in all the scenarios proposed in Question 7 except with non-school children. Although in most of the situations, only a very small number of people indicated that English would be used (in addition to other languages), this too is likely to be an inflated representation of English use. The survey items in which English received the most nominations (when writing and counting, at meetings, and with school children) are also likely to be skewed to over-represent English.

Writing in any language, as previously discussed in §4.1.4, is a limited skill in Raunsepna. Although most of the community goes to school, very few go on to high school, where English is more rigorously taught – last year only one year 8 student from the school in Raunsepna went on to high school, and this student was not Qaqet.

As was discussed in §4.1.1.3, the counting system in Tok Pisin is based on English, but whether or not this is the reason for survey participants believing themselves to be counting in English, is difficult to say. With counting generally learned at school and the language of instruction being English, speakers may in fact be counting in English. Even if they are not completely successful in their realisation of English and they produce something closer to Tok Pisin, the point remains that they are not counting in Qaqet.

The use of English at meetings was also reported by many people. This may be explained possibly by the content of the meetings themselves, particularly when discussing government issues. As with much of the Tok Pisin lexicon, words for government and political topics are drawn from English into Tok Pisin- (e.g., *gavman, ileksan, palamen,* etc.). Given that Tok Pisin was indicated to be used to some degree by almost all the participants at meetings, it may be that some of the words of English origin in Tok Pisin are perceived as English, leading to inflated-reports of English use. This is not to say that English is not used at all in Raunsepna. Those in the village that did in fact speak English spoke it to Birgit and myself, and during the election campaign speeches, one of the local candidates did slip into English occasionally and his Tok Pisin had many English borrowings.

Aside from misconceptions of actual language use, another explanation for the over reporting of English may be for the prestige attached to the language and the desire to present themselves positively in the survey. As we were unable in this study to gain much insight into the attitudes towards English, we can only speculate as to where such presumed positive associations have come from. The most likely possibility is that it reflects the status of English as an official language of education and of Papua New Guinea, as well as its position as a world language – its prestige therefore lying in its use outside of the village.

Lastly, because English has semiotic links to education, exaggerated reports of English use with school children may be linked to the socialisation practice of distinguishing between school and non-school children. This will be focused on in §5.2.2.

5.2.2 Language acquisition ideologies

Unlike Gapun, where the prevailing view is that children are responsible for the acquisition of languages, Raunsepna adults see themselves just as responsible for this process. Placing the responsibility of language acquisition on the shoulders of the child has had serious impact on the transmission of Taiap in Gapun, as Kulick (1992) notes. Initial comments made by interview Groups 1 and 2 that Qaqet children are expected to just 'pick up' Tok Pisin may suggest a similar ideology, however further probing and reflection on actual practices reveals that in Raunsepna the community *does* take responsibility for the transmission of languages.

We see that there is a difference in the perceptions of child language acquisition and socialisation practices and the actual practices. While both the survey participants and the interview groups emphasised school as the onset of the acquisition of Tok Pisin, downplaying the role of family and community in the acquisition of Tok Pisin, it would appear though that children are likely to have acquired some Tok Pisin before this stage. And although the interview groups insisted that parents did not generally make conscious efforts to teach their children Tok Pisin, the fact that the use of Tok Pisin is increased with school students suggests that adults are pro-active in transmitting Tok Pisin. The interview groups also indicated that adults also correct children's language mistakes (both Qaqet and Tok Pisin), giving further evidence of a language acquisition ideology that sees adults as responsible for language transmission. In a Qaqet interaction recorded between a mother

and her children, we documented the mother (ABD) correcting her 2 years, 11month old son (ZGT):

ABD: ka mit kua?
where did he go?

ZGT: galip
(to the) groundnuts

ABD: da?
is that right?

ZGT: <shakes head>
yes

ABD: ip ka was temnget te i ama ginget?
what is he guarding against?

ZGT: galip
groundnuts

ABD: anes
(no) parrots

ZGT: galip
groundnuts

ZKM[11] to ZGT: ama nes, nge nama galip
parrots, together with groundnuts

ZGT: <gets up and runs away>

(C12VARPlay 05/08/12)

Here, ZGT has chosen the wrong argument for the verb, misconstruing *was tem* as 'to guard something' rather than 'to guard against something'. In another example from the corpus, a mother repeatedly corrects her 2 years, 5 month old daughter's pronunciation of Tok Pisin 'four', prompting her to say *foa* instead of *poa*.

The actual practice of correcting child speech is very different from that reported in the interviews. In interview 2, AAN explained that children are explicitly corrected and given

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[11] Daughter of ABD and sister of ZGT, aged 4;11

reasons for the correction, however all the documented instances of correcting children are implicit, with words repeated but no explanations as to what the error is.

5.2.2.1 Education

The community's current perceived link between Tok Pisin and education is clear, with all but one of the survey participants saying that they learned Tok Pisin at school and interview groups revealing their expectations that Tok Pisin would be learned at school. The distinction between school children and non-school children supports the above assertions, but also indicates that even though the acquisition of Tok Pisin is generally attributed to education, the community has a clear hand in facilitating its acquisition by increasing the amount of Tok Pisin used with school children compared to non-school children.

The link between Tok Pisin and school may also better account for the use of Tok Pisin when counting. As mentioned in earlier sections (§5.2.1.1), this pattern was attributed by some in the community to the perceived complexity of the Qaqet numerical system. A stronger argument though is that children most need to count in the school context (i.e., in Tok Pisin or English), leading to firmer ties between counting and Tok Pisin.

Most children in Raunsepna usually encounter Tok Pisin before starting school, but English is less frequently heard, perhaps only on occasion at church or during a campaign speech. Although English is, in theory, the language of instruction, it is not employed enough to facilitate student competency. Even so, many in the community reported being able to use it, suggesting that the community is aware that if they attended school then, in theory, they should be able to use some English. Of course the reality is that the current system does not allow for the effectual acquisition of English, and there is no real need for English in everyday life in the village. Despite this, adults still report making an effort to use more English when talking to school children, indicating that even if children fail to acquire English, it is still ideologically linked to education.

The semiotic bond between education and Tok Pisin and English is strengthened by the fact that Qaqet is largely excluded from the school room. Although Qaqet is used in prep and year one classes, the shortage of Qaqet-speaking teachers means that its use is restricted to the first two years of elementary education. Romaine (2003) discussed the implications of the exclusion of local vernaculars from education, explaining that the absence of local

vernaculars from the school room gives students the impression that their language has no place in the modern world. There is also pressure from the non-Qaqet community (i.e., teachers and nurses) to introduce Tok Pisin into the prep and year one classrooms so as not to disadvantage their own children.

5.2.3 Ethnic identity

There appear to be mixed messages as to whether or not Qaqet is an ethnic identity marker. A recurring notion that was implied in the survey and broached in interview responses was that Qaqet was the traditional language of the Qaqet people and that as a Qaqet it was important to know one's own language. Comments like this indicate that for some there is a semiotic link between Qaqet people and Qaqet language. However, the children of M1 (Speaker Type E) who were generally not perceived to speak Qaqet well, were still considered Qaqet and a part of the Qaqet community, indicating that competence in Qaqet is not a prerequisite for Qaqet identification.

There were also indications in the survey that Tok Pisin was important for identification with the broader Papua New Guinean community, with several respondents (n=8) describing Tok Pisin as the language of the people of Papua New Guinea. The spread of Tok Pisin and its role as the national lingua franca has given Tok Pisin strong emotional appeal and has allowed it to be what Wurm (1979: 8-9) 'describes as a vehicle for nationalistic self-expression'. Incidentally, he adds that 'the emotional appeal of English is different' and that because it 'lacks the feature of serving as a means of self-identification in connection with all that is typically Papua New Guinea' English is not a likely symbol for national identity (Wurm 1979: 8-9).

5.2.4 Summary

Although this is a rudimentary sketch of the language ideologies in Raunsepna, we see that there are a number of ideologies that the community hold that interact with one another. There exist ideologies about the innate qualities of language such as the perceived complexity of the Qaqet numerical system and ideologies about language acquisition and education such as the conceptual linking of Tok Pisin and English with education, which in turn reinforce the former by promoting Tok Pisin as the language for counting. Perhaps most significant are ideologies on how people *should* behave, that is, that there is a strong

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predilection in the community to accommodate one's interlocutor. We noted that this philosophy of not imposing oneself on another stretched beyond the realms of language and that in general, the cultural trend was toward avoiding conflict. In an ongoing scandal surrounding one of our contacts and his recent decision to take a second wife (the practice of polygamy is discouraged since the community's adoption of Christian values), the community elders held a number of counselling sessions to try and persuade the man to return to a monogamous state. However, these attempts were (at last report) unsuccessful, and as was explained by one of the elders, if the man chooses to continue with both wives there is little that the committee can do and the community will accept the man's, even if they may disapprove. Qaqet Baining society as a whole then is very accommodating and the implications of this outlook on the future of Qaqet will be further addressed in Chapter 6.

5.3 Outcomes

The picture that is painted here then is that of a largely bilingual community but one that supports a range of language behaviours from monolingual Qaqet speakers (Speaker Type A+) to non-Qaqet speakers, such as Speaker Type E. The community's accommodation practices ensure that Speakers A+ and E are not excluded from community activities (provided Speaker Type E speaks Tok Pisin), and the socialisation practices ensure that the next generation are exposed to Qaqet and Tok Pisin to become competent Qaqet and Tok Pisin speakers.

Although the prevalence of each of these speaker types was not able to be fully investigated, this study suggests that at present, the majority of the community are Speaker Types A-B, who prefer Qaqet, but will switch to Tok Pisin according to interlocutor, topic, or Instrumentality. There are also a range of other speaker types, one of whom, despite having been born and raised in inland Qaqet Baining areas like Speaker A-B, does not give Qaqet the same clear preference (Speaker Type C). Child language socialisation practices in the community have been offered as an explanation for the occurrence of Speaker Type C.

Speaker Type D, meanwhile, rarely shows a preference for Qaqet, only preferring it on the basis of their interlocutor. Their language use can also be attributed to language socialisation practices, but those of a non-inland Qaqet Baining community. Furthermore, their language use may also be influenced by the community's approach to adult language

socialisation and the primary custom of accommodation. The presence of Speaker Type D and that of Speaker Type E (whose presence can be explained by exogamy or in-migration), can be roughly gauged from the genealogies, which suggest that these speaker types are not uncommon and possibly increasing.

This leads us to the final question of whether or not Raunsepna is experiencing any signs of language shift. How the patterns described here combine to promote language shift or maintenance will form the main discussion in the next and final chapter.

6. Outlook

Thus far we have examined language use in Raunsepna but there has been little discussion on what these findings indicate as to the future of the Qaqet Baining language. As was mentioned in §2.1.4.1, assessing the vitality of language or ethnolinguistic community is an imperfect science, but there are some predictions that can be made from the findings.

In this final chapter, the focus will be on how the linguistic practices and principles in Raunsepna (as covered in Chapter 5) conspire to promote language maintenance or language shift. The roles of Speaker Types A-E in the process, will also be examined. This will lead to a tentative evaluation of the vitality of Qaqet, and conclude with a reflection on future research paths.

6.1 Language Shift

In discussing language shift it is difficult not to fall into the trap of casting communities as victims, portraying speakers and their language as pitted against a world that will not support them. Efforts to counter such depictions tend to emphasise either that language shift is a natural process, as history demonstrates, or that it is a community's choice whether to maintain or not maintain a language (Dobrin, 2008). The reality though is much more complex.

While the choice to maintain or not maintain a language may be open to migrant communities in western countries, with access to their language through Saturday schools and the internet, the absence of such institutional support leaves minority indigenous communities fewer such choices. Creating resources for themselves is also difficult without access to funding or support and training, and as such many minority communities may be marginalised further. Primary level education in Qaqet, for example, is a highly unlikely eventuality in Raunsepna and as such, the acquisition of Tok Pisin (and English) is important if speakers want an education and access to a lifestyle that such education can lead to. Even if there were access to the internet in Raunsepna, the community does not have the literacy skills in Qaqet to read any Qaqet texts if they did exist. Promoting Qaqet literacy cannot be achieved without institutional support (for teacher training and resources), and hence all

these objective factors combine to create a situation in which Qaqet is marginalised. The community's only rational choice it would seem, if they want to make money and succeed in Papua New Guinea, is to speak Tok Pisin. To provide such communities with alternative choices and to give support in the form of developing orthography and teaching resources, is a role that linguists are in a position to take.

Although Kulick (1992) does not believe that the macro-sociological factors have played a major role in the language shift in Gapun, Nidue (1990) and Romaine (1992), who have also focused on Papua New Guinea, highlight the import of such factors. In Nidue's (1990) study, he outlines the differences experienced by rural versus urban environments, noting that the more rural (and often more culturally homogeneous) environment fostered a triglossic situation, whereas in an urban environment (and more heterogeneous setting) this paradigm was substituted for a diglossic situation between English and Tok Pisin, and the vernacular was abandoned. Romaine (1992: 93) attributes this shift to the cosmopolitan nature of urban environments, commenting that in Papua New Guinean towns, 'Tok Pisin has become the ethnic vernacular for Melanesian in-group communication, particularly for the youngest generation, who often have no other language'. Many of these children are the result of mixed marriages and as the parents have no other language in common, the children's *tok ples* is Tok Pisin. So while children growing up in towns may learn Tok Pisin as a first language and not even acquire their parent's vernacular, children growing up in rural areas generally acquire Tok Pisin only after they begin their schooling. Nidue (1990) also attribute the discrepancies in Mountain Arapesh use between rural and urban settings to the ethnic homogeneity or heterogeneity of a community, and draws the conclusion that growing ethnolinguistic heterogeneity in a once homogeneous society may lead to language shift to accommodate the outsiders.

In examples provided by Kulick (1992), Nidue (1990), Romaine (1992) and Nekitel (1992), it is the vernacular giving way to Tok Pisin, and it is this impact that Tok Pisin is having on local languages in Papua New Guinea that Kulick and Stroud (1990) stress scholars should pay more attention to. Laycock's (1979) comparison of census results also shows a pattern in the growth of Tok Pisin and English, apparently expanding at the expense of multilingualism in local languages. Kulick's Gapun study concurs, providing empirical evidence of this (Kulick & Stroud, 1990). Kulick's study covers just one of the 800 or so languages of Papua New

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Guinea though, so there is clearly a need for further empirical work on language use in Papua New Guinean communities to substantiate this finding as a widespread phenomenon.

6.1.1 Identifying and explaining shift

Although language shift 'begins generations before the first monolingual speaker of the new language is produced by the community', there is very little empirical data from communities in the early stages of language shift (Kulick 1992: 248). Most studies on language shift have been on communities where the H language (i.e., that with higher prestige and used in formal and official capacities) has already encroached on many of the traditional domains of the L code (i.e., the variety that is attributed a lower status and used in informal and intimate settings). This study, by contrast, is on a community where the H language is only starting to encroach into domains of the L language. Given that each ethnolinguistic community is unique, it would seem that to arrive at a universal set of identifying features of language shift, there needs to be the analysis and comparison of a large number of empirical studies, of which this study is one. Kulick's case study of language shift in Gapun and Nekitel's (1990) examination of language use among the Abu' (also in the Sepik area) allowed them both to arrive at lists of factors that they believed contributed towards language shift in their respective communities.

For Nekitel (1990: 50-51), the following forces were at the root of the shift:

1. Interethnic marriage
2. Insistent use of Tok Pisin by agents of change
3. The preferential use of Tok Pisin by labourers returning from plantations to show off their relative degree of sophistication
4. The varying degrees of decline in both passive and active knowledge of Abu' by Abu' children who attend schools outside the Abu' language area
5. The general movement of Abu' to and from towns or hospitals
6. The general paternal negligence in not encouraging children to learn and use their mother tongue.

Kulick (1992: 9) meanwhile focused on the question 'why and how do people come to interpret their lives in such a way that they abandon one of their languages?', which led him

to determine that the following points were the contributing factors of language shift or maintenance:

1. The type and predominance of code-switching practices in a community
2. The degree to which the socialisation of children is in the hands of other children
3. The degree of multilingualism
4. The degree to which children are considered able to be taught
5. The way in which the expression of positive and highly valued aspects of the self comes to be bound to expression through a particular language
6. The way change is conceptualised

(Kulick, 1992: 261-263)

Nekitel's position as a community member may have allowed him a perspective that Kulick's status as outsider did not allow him. Likewise though, Kulick's role as outsider observer may have provided him with perspectives not available to Nekitel as a community member. Regardless, both considered factors that are similar across the whole of Papua New Guinea (e.g., nature of contact with Tok Pisin, education policies) and which are thus relevant in identifying signs of language shift in Raunsepna. Of the first list, only points 1, 5 and 6 can really be commented on in regards to Raunsepna, as information on the remaining points is lacking. In exploring language shift in Raunsepna reference will be made to both Kulick and Nekitel's studies.

In Gapun, language shift from Taiap to Tok Pisin was well under way at the time of Kulick's research. Given that the children were no longer learning Taiap (the simplest indicator of the language's health (Kulick, 1992)) and were monolingual in Tok Pisin, it seemed that Kulick's field site was at the tail end of language shift. In this study on the early signs of language shift, we can consider Raunsepna as comparable to Gapun a few generations before the setting of Kulick's description. Together the two studies can represent separate stages of language shift, i.e., Raunsepna in the early stages and Gapun in the final stages. Before this conclusion though, let us briefly look at the similarities and differences between Gapun and Raunsepna.

Both villages are 'rural, fairly isolated… with little out-migration and still insignificant in-migration…economically self-supporting…far removed from process of industrialization and

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urbanization…where market economy penetration is negligible, where the majority of village parents both speak the vernacular' (Kulick, 1992:18). Some of the in-migration in Raunsepna is temporary, with non-Qaqet speaking teachers, nurses, nuns and priests staying only a few years at most. Other forms of in-migration seem to be more permanent, such as the in-migration of non-Qaqet spouses. Exogamy is not unusual in either village.

The Gapun village has had a much longer period of contact with Tok Pisin and Europeans than the inland Qaqet, and the quality of this contact must also be taken into account. Before World War I, the Gapun villagers' contact with Europeans had been negligible and been predominantly made by adventurous young village men journeying to coastal villages to see the white people for themselves. The establishment of plantations after the war led to whites entering the village to recruit labourers, starting a pattern of contract labour and thus a means of learning Tok Pisin. Kulick (1992) reports that by the late 1940's, Tok Pisin had infiltrated the language repertoires of the village women and children.

For the Qaqet of Raunsepna, contact with Tok Pisin occurred later as white contact with remote mountain communities did not begin until the 1940's with the arrival of missionaries. The introduction of Tok Pisin, then, is still in living memory and there are members of the community who have not learned Tok Pisin. In Raunsepna then, regular contact with Europeans occurred a full generation after that of the Gapun village and while most of the Gapun community, including children, could speak Tok Pisin by the 1950's, Raunsepna was only just being established as the site of a mission and school.

The manner of exposure differed too; where Gapuners' curiosity led them to seek out Europeans and end up labouring in plantations, the Qaqet's tendency was to shun the outside world (possibly due to their negative experiences of Tolai enslavement). Additionally, while the spiritual and cultural traditions that structured society in Gapun were completely and brutally shattered in one fell swoop by zealous missionaries, the missionaries arriving in Raunsepna were much less destructive in their approach, meaning that Catholicism merged with the existing culture rather than supplanting it entirely. While the remoteness and way of life in the villages are similar then, we see that they have disparate colonial histories, which are likely to have helped shape their ideologies. With this comparison in mind we can apply Kulick's (1992) six characteristics to help determine if Qaqet is on a similar path to Taiap.

1. *The type and predominance of code-switching practices in a community*: In Raunsepna, code-switching between Qaqet and Tok Pisin appears to be triggered by audience (e.g., elders, infants, strangers and school children), topic (e.g., government issues) or context (e.g., meetings) and we did not document many instances of intrasentential (i.e., within a sentence) code-switching in a corpus of around 600 minutes of transcribed texts of various genres (including narratives, procedural texts, descriptions and conversations). Even though Qaqet and Tok Pisin are rarely mixed intrasententially, they will be mixed in a single setting or with a single interlocutor. Accommodating one's audience is foremost in Raunsepna and appears to be a philosophy applied in many aspects of Qaqet life, not just language. Although accommodating non-Qaqet speakers by switching to Tok Pisin aids social integration, it does not facilitate the acquisition of Qaqet by non-Qaqet speaking spouses and migrants. Prior to the spread of Tok Pisin, non-Qaqet speaking spouses were expected to acquire Qaqet upon their relocation to the area. How successful these spouses were in the acquisition of Qaqet is difficult to say and likely to have varied greatly, but there was little choice if they wanted to communicate with the Qaqet community.

As regards the compartmentalisation of the codes, as was seen in Gapun, Tok Pisin encroached on domains traditionally the reserve of the vernacular, leading to the community becoming monolingual Tok Pisin speakers. Going from the data presented here, the Raunsepna community reported that in most scenarios both Tok Pisin and Qaqet are acceptable, suggesting that neither language is rigidly allocated to specific domains. Although this would suggest that Qaqet and Tok Pisin are in competition, thus destabilising the multilingualism in the community (Romaine, 2003), the fact that Qaqet is still used and acceptable in 'high' contexts (e.g., at church) indicates that Qaqet is still reasonably strong in Raunsepna. Conversely though, if we consider that Tok Pisin is frequently used in L contexts (e.g., at home) and is used by Speaker Type A in some domains (see §4.2.1.1), there do seem to be situations in which Tok Pisin may be beginning to compete in earnest such as addressing school children. The import of this will be discussed further in §6.1.2.

2. *The degree to which the socialisation of children is in the hands of other children*: As is the case with many Pacific communities, infants and toddlers in Raunsepna and Gapun are frequently left in the care of older children. Socialisation practices, as we saw in Chapter 2, play an integral role in the transmission and maintenance of not just languages but language

attitudes and ideologies. Kulick (1992) found that such a pattern speeds up language shift as the teenage and child caregivers of the next generation are less competent in the vernacular than the generation preceding them, leading them to speak only Tok Pisin with the children and infants in their care. This is reiterated by Bradley and Bradley (2002: 5): 'In societies where children are largely socialised and cared for by their elder siblings, minority language ability may begin by being restricted to the eldest children, with gradual or abrupt decline in knowledge among younger sibling within each family.'

Our findings showed that in general, adults in Raunsepna prefer to use Qaqet with small children. Even type E Speakers, who have very little command over Qaqet, may attempt to use the vernacular. However, a trend emerged amongst Speaker Type C (young unmarried adults), who will have a large hand in the care and raising of their younger relatives as well as representing the next generation of parents. This group reported using more Tok Pisin in a wider range of contexts and with a wider range of interlocutors than other Qaqet Baining born and raised in the community, particularly when talking to infants and children.

While the pattern of bilingualism of the Qaqet Baining is, for now, the sequential acquisition of Qaqet and then Tok Pisin, this presence of Speaker Type C may indicate that future generations of Qaqet Baining will simultaneously acquire Qaqet and Tok Pisin. This, as with all the points discussed here, is not solely responsible for language shift; all conspire to make shift more or less likely.

3. *The degree of multilingualism*: Given the dearth of information we have on the degree of multilingualism in Papua New Guinea in general prior to the European contact and the spread of Tok Pisin, it is difficult to assess how drastic the changes in linguistic repertoires has been in a community like Raunsepna. Reports of monolingualism in older community members (particularly women) and the accounts of migrants to Walmetki still needing to learn Qaqet, suggest that bilingualism was not widespread in the area.

Language testing was not a component of this study and so even though villagers in Raunsepna indicated they spoke Qaqet, Tok Pisin, English and Kuanua, we do not know the extent of their competency. Testing language competency and looking more closely at the true trilinguals in the community may be a point for future research. Evidence suggests though that the majority are fluent in Tok Pisin and Qaqet, while knowledge in others is

more limited. As was discussed above in point 1, the state of bilingualism in Raunsepna may not be stable as Qaqet and Tok Pisin may be in competition.

4. *The degree to which children are considered able to be taught*: Kulick reports that in Gapun, the acquisition of knowledge is generally regarded as a personal process with caregivers not viewing themselves as teachers. This ideology has meant that the Gapuners do not see themselves as having the power to influence children's language behaviour. By contrast, in Raunsepna, the general consensus from our contacts was that parents are responsible for raising children and the transmission of language, and we recorded instances of parents correcting their children (§5.2.2) How the two communities differ though is in their beliefs as to their role in children's socialisation and education.

For the Gapun, this means that even if they so desired to attempt to 'make' the children in the community speak Taiap, they do not see themselves as having the agency to do this. While in Raunsepna, although children have a large amount of autonomy, caregivers do not see themselves as powerless figures in the development of children. If Raunsepna is in the same situation as the Gapun community, it is difficult to say whether or not the Raunsepna community could actually effect change in terms of the direction of language shift. This also relates to Nekitel's (1990) sixth observation that negligence in transmission was one of the primary factors of language shift amongst the Abu'.

5. *The way in which the expression of positive and highly valued aspects of the self comes to be bound to expression through a particular language*: Without extensive anthropological research into the ideologies of the Qaqet Baining, it is not really possible here to establish the links between Qaqet ethnic identity and Qaqet language. Based on the responses from the interview groups though we can gain some preliminary conceptions about language and identity; it would seem that no negative emotions or behaviour were directly linked to Qaqet. When asked about using Qaqet in Kokopo, responses were undoubtedly in favour of Qaqet, and there were repeated links made between Qaqet identity and the transmission of the language. These responses suggest that at present, the Qaqet language does not have negative connotations for the Qaqet identity.

In Gapun meanwhile, Kulick (1992) suggests that in the mind of its speakers, the Taiap language came to negatively represent their identity, and as a means of attaining a positive self-identity, the Gapuners began to employ Tok Pisin more and more to align themselves

with the positive traits they associated with that language. That is not to say that speaking Taiap was discouraged; Kulick notes that adults were firm in their wishes that children speak the vernacular.

6. *The way change is conceptualised*: When asked about changes in Qaqet or the future of the language, interviewees indicated that they had perceived little change in the Qaqet language (in Raunsepna at least) and nor do they appear to fear for the future of the language, predicting that Qaqet would still be the dominant language of the community in next generation. This is not to say that the community is unaware of changes, as interview Group 1's discussion on new Qaqet words demonstrated. Change, therefore, is not necessarily something that the community resists or encourages, rather adopting the approach of going with the flow.

The language shift occurring in Gapun, according to Kulick (1992), is not talked about or much dwelled upon by the community. This is in part, he adds, due to the numerous languages spoken by adults in the village and that the linguistic situation in general is rarely conceptualised as it is so varied. Change in general though is also not culturally interpreted as negative, as they view life as an evolutionary process and change signals progress and steps towards a more positive self and society. With this ideology, language shift away from Taiap and towards Tok Pisin is viewed as an example of how the Gapun community is undergoing this transformation process. Attempts to stop language shift would be interpreted as an attempt to hold back progress, a difficult and incongruous notion for the community to conceive.

6.1.2 Shift in Raunsepna?

On a day to day basis, Qaqet is the primary language of discourse amongst Qaqet speakers, with code-switching to Tok Pisin occurring as a result of situational factors (e.g., topic), accommodation practices (e.g., talking to non-Qaqet speaker), or socialisation purposes (e.g., talking to school child). Increased in-migration of non-Qaqet speakers appears to be the main threat to Qaqet, as has been hinted at in Kamanakam, a Qaqet Baining coastal village that has seen an influx of non-Qaqet speakers into the area. This site was identified by interview Group 1 when asked about changes in the language of the Qaqet. Although they at first refuted the idea that Qaqet was changing, upon further discussion, they revealed that there are considerable changes occurring in the village of Kamanakam. Here,

they said, the Qaqet spoken by Qaqet children was being influenced by Tok Pisin. In the example they provided below, the first sentence is what would be said in Raunsepna and the second sentence is what Kamanakam children would say. Qaqet has an extraordinary large set of prepositions and Tok Pisin by contrast has very few- *long* will be used in almost all cases, and the Qaqet in Kamanakam are using *gel* as an all-purpose preposition:

1.

nya	tit		sa	mr	ama	kainaqi
I.PAST	go.NON.CONTINUOUS		to	inside	DEF	water

I went to the water

2.

*nya	tit		sa	gel	ama	kainaqi
I.PAST	go.NON.CONTINUOUS		to	near	DEF	water

I went to the water

For interview Group 1, the explanation behind this was straightforward; the strong presence of Tok Pisin there as a result of many non-Qaqet migrants to the area, has meant that children, particularly of mixed marriages, are acquiring Qaqet imperfectly. This is compounded, interview group 1 suggested, by parents not correcting children when they make mistakes in Qaqet, allowing forms like example 2 above to exist.

The influence of Tok Pisin on Qaqet is not unfelt in Raunsepna either. Although code-switching was restricted to the sequential reiteration of what was stated in the previously used code, there were some examples of Qaqet words loaned from Tok Pisin. The Tok Pisin words for chair and plate, *sia* and *pilet*, for example, have provided the Qaqet forms *asiaqi* and *apilitki*. There have been efforts to create new Qaqet words for these new items and concepts, (e.g., *mu^{n}gunmetki* as an alternative to *asiaqi*), but in the corpus of natural data, none of these newly coined words are used; people simply use borrowed words (albeit with Qaqet morphology and phonology).

Exogamy and in-migration of non-Qaqet speakers to Raunsepna is not unusual. An increase though in the number of non-Qaqet speakers in the community may see similar linguistic patterns occurring in Qaqet as is reported in Kamanakam due to the community's practice of accommodating non-Qaqet speakers, effectively allowing incomers to live in Raunsepna without acquiring Qaqet. The implication of this is that children of Speaker Type E (non-Qaqet speaking community members), may grow up with weaker Qaqet proficiency than

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the offspring of endogamous Qaqet unions, and because of the practice of accommodating to the stronger language of one's interlocutor, Tok Pisin will be preferred in ever more contexts. The rise in non-Qaqet speakers in the community is therefore a definite concern for the vitality of Qaqet and supports Nekitel's first factor of interethnic marriage (listed in §6.1.1).

Non-Qaqet migrants (including spouses) in Raunsepna tend to be unhappy though, with nurses and teachers often requesting for transfers due to the remoteness and lack of infrastructure. The perceived temporary nature of their position in Raunsepna and their discontent may make it even less likely that they will learn Qaqet. In terms of Qaqet leaving Raunsepna, emigration tended to be towards the coastal areas or to non-Baining regions than further inland: Of the nine children of AJL, three couples with their spouses and children on the coast and one on the main island of Papua New Guinea. These families do keep in contact with their relatives back in Raunsepna, coming to visit regularly, bringing their language habits with them. Nekitel's observation about villagers' migration and general movement of peoples (in §6.1.1), appears to also be relevant to Raunsepna.

The increase in Speaker Type E to the community can be correlated to the objective variables as listed in §2.1.4.1.1, such as infrastructure. With Raunsepna mostly inaccessible by car and also out of mobile phone coverage, the remoteness of Raunsepna may have kept migration into the area low. Development of the area is a key plan for local political candidates though, and such progress seems inevitable; the logging industry has been petitioning to have access to the area, a move that will speed up the process of language shift markedly as well as cause irreversible environmental and social changes to the village. Improvement of accessibility to the area may also improve educational facilities in Raunsepna, leading to a rise in the number of children that graduate and go on to higher education outside of the village, and if they return, possibly bringing back non-Qaqet speaking spouses. The language socialisation of these children is therefore of particular pertinence to the maintenance of Qaqet.

A propos of language socialisation, these practices present themselves as a likely explanation for Speaker Type C, who demonstrated a possibly disturbing trend for the future of Qaqet. As described in §4.2.2, Speaker Type C (often young unmarried adults) reported a marked rise in their Tok Pisin use, particularly with children and infants. This

group of speakers also indicated much more Tok Pisin use with their parents, which goes against the general pattern of speaking Qaqet with older community members.

I suggested in §5.1.3.2 that this group's reported language use may be a result of the community's language socialisation practice of increasing the usage of Tok Pisin once children begin school. Speaker Type C's presence may therefore be indicative of the beginning of a generational shift towards Tok Pisin. Compounding this is that child socialisation is largely in the hands of young community members, and so this group are likely to be influencing the language practices of the children in their care, leading to Tok Pisin being spoken more frequently and creating more Speaker Type Cs than Speaker Type A-B.

Regardless of whether or not children are beginning to learn Tok Pisin simultaneously with Qaqet (as is the case in Kamanakam), it is the relationship between Qaqet and Tok Pisin that is of importance. From the reports of language use in Chapter 4, Tok Pisin and Qaqet are not strictly compartmentalised, which suggests, according to Romaine (2006) that the two languages compete for use in the same domains. The primary trigger for preference of a code was interlocutor, with infant and elderly community members eliciting strong preferences for Qaqet. If, however, the number of monolingual Qaqet speakers is diminishing, accommodating these speakers by using Qaqet exclusively will become less frequently necessary and Tok Pisin may begin to gain traction in the number of scenarios in which it is in competition with Qaqet.

While this prediction stands for Raunsepna, the comparative reports of language use in Kamanakam and Walmetki indicates that there are probably (at least) three distinct scenarios, although we only have empirical data from one of these (Raunsepna). The first, Walmetki- a Qaqet village even more remotely situated than Raunsepna- indicates that there are areas in which Qaqet is probably as strong as it was a generation ago and where outsiders still learn Qaqet. Raunsepna is representative of the inland villages that connected in various ways to the outside world (e.g., through building schools etc.) and where there appear to be early signs of language shift. Kamanakam, a coastal village, stands for those areas that have had a longer history of contact with Tok Pisin and the outside world, where the shift away from Qaqet is well underway and possibly even completed.

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Looking superficially at Raunsepna, the language appears to be healthy; speaking Qaqet does not have any negative connotations in the community, and people believe Qaqet will continue to be spoken in the future and do not perceive their language to be threatened. However, as was reiterated in the literature (c.f. Schmidt, 1990), people only become aware of the threat to their language's vitality once it is too late. From an academic point of view, it is studies on the early signs of language shift that are needed, as once a language community has already shifted, it is impossible to go back and study the initial signs of the trend. This study of Raunsepna attempted to do exactly this. Of course, we cannot be certain that a shift will definitely occur in Raunsepna, but such studies will have the potential to help us understand what factors are indicative of language shift long before it is happening. For now, all we can do is examine the available synchronic and comparative evidence and make predictions on this basis. A return to Raunsepna in five to ten years' time to reanalyse language use would allow us to evaluate the usefulness of this model as an approach to detecting shift.

6.2 Suggested further research

As Mkilifi (1972: 198) writes, 'factors affecting language maintenance and code-switching are multi-dimensional and vary from situation to situation (not to mention individual to individual). That is why it is essential to study as many different situations as possible if only to test the present hypotheses as to what phenomena are likely to be present when certain situational factors obtain'. While Kulick's in depth case study provided a list of situational factors that were responsible for language shift in the Gapun community, understandably they may not be the same factors that influence maintenance and shift in other communities. Raunsepna's similarities to Gapun allowed for the application of these factors, however, it is likely that further penetration into the ideologies and attitudes of the Raunsepna community would reveal the presence of other factors or differences in the relative importance of these factors. As a pilot study though, these factors provide a good starting point for exploring shift in Raunsepna.

Although studies into language shift, maintenance and vitality are not uncommon, the majority of them focus on minority languages of migrant communities rather than on autochthonous ethnolinguistic minorities (Fishman, 2006). Of particularly important

difference is a migrant community's opportunity to draw on external and independent linguistic resources (e.g., via the internet) available to them through the presence or maintenance of their language elsewhere (e.g., in their country of origin). An indigenous community, however, cannot draw upon external cultural resources and linguistic reserves in this way. They may also have no literary culture or have limited support to develop or maintain any resources they do have.

The main recommendation then is for more studies that investigate language use and language maintenance in minority indigenous ethnolinguistic communities. I have focussed on some of the aspects that affect language choice in one such community by looking at some of the SPEAKING factors. The next step would be to explore some of the SPEAKING factors that were not able to be covered in this study such as Ends and Act Sequence to broaden our understanding of the ethnography of communication of the Qaqet Baining

Further investigation into language ideologies and language attitudes (including a matched-guise test) would also be constructive, with particular attention paid to attitudes and ideologies of the younger community members versus those of older community members to examine generational shift. With these different speaker types now identified, the focus could turn to collecting ethnographic data and recording actual language use of a representative of each speaker type then compare the data across the speaker types. Data on actual language use of children (rather than as reported by adults) and on language socialisation practices, would also be included. An in-depth study of ethnolinguistic identity and the possibility open to Qaqet speakers for changing their group's status is another line of inquiry that can be investigated. Furthermore, a comparative study of language use in Kamanakam and Walmetki will help provide a more accurate picture as to the status of Qaqet Baining in addition to exploring variation within the language.

Predicting and accounting for language shift has been shown to be a formidable task, however the accumulation of data on languages in various stages of shift may help paint a larger picture of the overall phenomenon, helping linguists pinpoint key components that influence language change.

This is the original English version of the questionnaire that was later translated into Tok Pisin and used to survey 43 Raunsepna households. See section §3.2 for a discussion of this methodological approach.

SOCIOLINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Community:_____

Questionnaire No._____   Date:_____

SECTION A: Demographic Information

1. Age: _____
2. Gender: **M**   **F**
3. Place of Birth: _____
4. Occupation/Role in the community: _____
5. Years of education: _____
6. Primary school attended: _____
7. Language of instruction: _____
8. Marital Status: _____
9. Place of birth of spouse: _____
10. How many people live in your house? _____

SECTION B: Adult language use

1.

	Qaqet	Tok Pisin	Other (please specify)
Languages you speak:			
Languages you understand:			
Languages you read:			

2. How well do you speak Qaqet?

Fluent	**Proficient**	**Basic**	**Not at all**
(I can talk on any topic)	(I can follow most conversations)	(I can hold simple conversations)	(I cannot speak this language)

3. How well do you speak Tok Pisin?

Fluent	**Proficient**	**Basic**	**Not at all**

4. When did you learn Qaqet? _____

   Whom did you learn it from? _____

   Why did you learn it? _____

5. When did you learn Tok Pisin? _____

Whom did you learn it from? _____

Why did you learn it? _____

6.

	Qaqet	**Tok Pisin**	**Other (please specify)**
Languages your father can speak:			
Languages your mother can speak:			
Languages your siblings can speak:			
Languages your spouse can speak:			

7.

Rarely/Never	**Sometimes**	**Always/Almost always**
1	**2**	**3**

Language(s) you speak/spoke…	**Qaqet**	**Tok Pisin**	**Other (please specify)**
with your spouse:			
with your mother:			
with your father:			
with your siblings:			
with your in-laws:			
with your children:			
with old people/elders:			
with your friends/neighbours:			
to animals:			
to a stranger:			
to a baby:			
to a child who does not go to school:			
with a child who does go to school:			
at church/praying:			
at the market:			
at traditional celebrations:			
at government/business meetings:			
when writing a text-message/letter:			
when counting/adding:			

when swearing/cursing:			
when telling a joke:			

SECTION C: Child language use

1. How well do your children speak and understand Qaqet?

       Fluent   **Proficient**   **Basic**   **Not at all**

2. How well do your children speak and understand Tok Pisin?

       Fluent   **Proficient**   **Basic**   **Not at all**

3.

Rarely/Never	**Sometimes**	**Always/Almost always**
1	**2**	**3**

Language(s) children speak...	**Qaqet**	**Tok Pisin**	**Other (please specify)**
to you:			
to your spouse:			
to your parents:			
to your spouse's parents:			
to old people/elders:			
to friends/playing:			
to animals:			
at church:			
at traditional ceremonies:			
when playing by themselves:			
when counting:			
to a baby:			

4. How many children do you have? _____

	Boys	**Girls**
Number:		
Ages:		
Can speak Qaqet:		
Can speak Tok Pisin:		
Go to school:		

Comments: _____

Appendix B: Tok Pisin Survey Sample

This is a sample of the Tok Pisin survey actually used.

Komuniti: KADEL

Kwestene namba: 9   Deit: 5-06-012.

Eksam A

1.   25 PELA KRISMAS
2. MAN*   MERI
3.   RAUNSEPNA PLES.
4.   WOK GADEN
5.   10·PELA
6. RAUNSEPNA SKUL NA UTMEI SEKENDERI
7. TOK PISIN NA TOR ENGLISH
8. MARIT
9. VUNAPOPE
10. 3 PEPIA MAN MERI

Eksan B

1.

	QAQET	TOK PISIN	OL NARAPELA
a. -	*	*	* ENGLISH
b. -	*	*	* KUANUA
c. -			* ENGLISH

2. INAP TRU *   INAP   I ORAIT   NOGAT OLGETA

(MI INAP TRU LONG TOKTOK LONG OLGETA SAMTING.) (MI INAP BIHAINIM PLANTI TOKTOK.) (MI INAP LONG HOLIM SIMPEL TOKTOK.) (MI NOINAP LONG TOKTOK LONG DISPELA TOKPLES.)

3. INAP TRU *   INAP   I ORAIT   NOGAT OLGETA

4. TAIM MI liklik
- PAPA MAMA
- BIKOS MI BON WANTIM

5. TIME MI SKUL
- TISA
- MI KEN TOKTOK WANTAIM OL MAN BLONG LONGWE AP.

6.

	QAQET	TOK PISIN	OL NARAPELA
a. -	*	*	* LAN
b. -	*	*	LAN
c. -	*	*	* ENGLISH
d. -	*	*	* ENGLISH

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	NOGAT OLGETA	INO TUMAS	SAMPELA TAIM	OLGETA TAIM
	0	1	2	3

7.

	QARET	TOK PISIN	OL NARAPELA
a. -	3	2	0
b. -	3	2	1 LAN
c. -	3	2	1 LAN
d. -	3	2	0
e. -	3	2	0
f. -	3	0	0
g. -	3	2	0
h. -	3	2	0
i. -	3	2	0
j. -	2	3	1 ENGLISH
k. -	3	2	0 ENGLISH
l. -	3	1	0
m. -	3	2	1 ENGLISH
n. -	2	3	0
o. -	3	2	0
p. -	3	2	0
q. -	3	2	2 ENGLISH
r. -	2	3	1 ENGLISH
s. -	3	1	2 ENGLISH
t. -	3	2	0
u. -	3	2	0

Seksan C

1. INAP TRU ✳ INAP 1 ORAIT NOGAT OLGETA

2. INAP TRU INAP 1 ORAIT NOGAT OLGETA ✳

NOGAT OLGETA	INO TUMAS	SAMPELA TAIM	OLGETA TAIM
0	1	2	3.

3.

	QARET	TOK PISIN	OL NARA PELA
a. –	3	0	0
b. –	3	0	0
c. –	3	0	0
d. –	3	0	0
e. –	3	0	0
f. –	3	0	0
g. –	3	0	0
h. –	3	0	0
i. –	3	0	0
j. –	3	0	0
k. –	3	0	0
l. –	3	0	0

4. a. ___1 PELA PIKININI_____

	man	meri
b. –	0	1
c. –	0	3
d. –	0	1
e. –	0	0
	0	0

LONG DISPELA PEMELI EM OL NIUPELA MARIT, SO
BAI YU LUKIM OSEM OL IGAT WANPEL PIKININI
MERI IGAT 3PELA IYA EM INO INAP SKUL YET.

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Appendix C: Interview Questions

This is an English version of the group interview questions. See §3.3 for methodology.

Interview No. _____   Community: _____ Date: _____

----

1. What are the languages used here in the village?
2. What languages are important for communicating with people?

   How important?

Not important	Somewhat important	Very important

3. What languages are important for getting money/cargo?

   How important?

Not important	Somewhat important	Very important

4. What languages are important if you want to be important/ have a lot of prestige?

   How important?

Not important	Somewhat important	Very important

5. What languages are important if you want to be one of the community/group/family?

   How important?

Not important	Somewhat important	Very important

6. What languages are important if you want to please God/spirits?

   How important?

Not important	Somewhat important	Very important

7. What words would you use to describe

   Qaqet:

   Tok Pisin:

   English:

8. Which language do you prefer...
   a. to speak: **Qaqet   Tok Pisin   Other:**
      Why?
   b. to learn to read and write: **Qaqet   Tok Pisin   Other:**
      Why?
   c. children to speak: **Qaqet   Tok Pisin   Other:**
      Why?
   d. children learn to read and write: **Qaqet   Tok Pisin   Other:**
      Why?

9. What do you think of people who switch languages when they talk?
10. Do people use a different language to talk to babies?   **YES   NO**

    If yes, can you describe it, give an example? What do you think of it?

11. Does Tok Pisin adequately convey everything you want to say? **YES** **NO**

   If no, why not?

12. Does Qaqet adequately convey everything you want to say? **YES** **NO**

   If no, why not?

13. Is Qaqet changing? **YES NO**

   If yes, how? In what ways?

14. Who speaks the best Qaqet?

   Why? What is it about how they speak that makes them the best?

15. Who speaks the worst Qaqet?

   Why? What is it about how they speak that makes them the worst?

16. Who speaks the best Tok Pisin in the community?

   Why? What is it about how they speak that makes them the best?

17. Who speaks the worst Tok Pisin in the community?

   Why? What is it about how they speak that makes them the worst?

18. Are there any people/children here who can't speak Qaqet?

   If yes, what do you think of this?

19. Are there any people/children here who can't speak Tok Pisin?

   If yes, what do you think of this?

20. Do you encourage your children to speak Qaqet? **YES** **NO**

   Why?

21. Do you encourage your children to speak Tok Pisin? **YES** **NO**

   Why?

22. What do you do when your child makes a mistake in Qaqet?

   Why?

23. What do you do when your child makes a mistake in Tok Pisin?

   Why?

24. Which languages are important for children to learn? **Qaqet** **Tok Pisin**

   Other:

   Why?

25. Do you think that Qaqet should be taught at school? **YES** **NO**

   Why?

26. Do you think that Tok Pisin should be taught at school? **YES** **NO**

   Why?

27. When the children here are grown up, what will be the main language spoken here?

   Qaqet **Tok Pisin** **Other:**

   Why?

28. Who is responsible for teaching children Qaqet?

   Why?

29. Who is responsible for teaching children Tok Pisin?

   Why?

30. What reading materials available here?

   Who can read them? Are there any in Qaqet? Who can read Qaqet?

31. Do you know any (traditional) songs/poems/stories in Qaqet? **YES** **NO**

What is the significance of this story? When would this story/song/poem usually be performed?

Do you tell/sing these to the children?   **YES   NO**

Why?

Are the children learning them? **YES   NO**

Why?

32. Do you know any songs/poems/stories in Tok Pisin? **YES   NO**

What is the significance of this story? When would this story/song/poem usually be performed?

Do you tell/sing these to the children?   **YES   NO**

Why?

Are the children learning them? **YES   NO**

Why?

Appendix D: Transcript from Interview Group 2

Below is a transcript from question 22 of the interview by group 2 (see §3.3.2.2).

I12AANACLADNSocio
Recorded: 17/05/12, Raunsepna (convent)
Participants:

>AAN = Anna Nguinganan
>ACL = Clara Langmetki
>ADN = Dorothy Naremetki
>LAM = Alex Marley
>LBH = Birgit Hellwig

ADN **yu save mekim wanem, taim, pikinini bilong yu, i no tok, pisin gut?** what do you do when your child makes a mistake in Tok Pisin?

ADN **bilong wanem?** why?

ACL **ee, de ip kuasik nguimgi qi taqa drlem ama--** when my daughter doesn't really understand--

ACL **ama tok pisin** Tok Pisin

ACL **de dip ngu taqa suqi** I will teach her properly

ACL **i ngu taqa suqi ip nana?** why should I teach her properly?

ACL **i ngu taqa mraqen praqi ip nana s ama tok pisin?** why should I talk properly to her in Tok Pisin?

ACL **aqi tika qui laina iv ip nani qia tir imanu** because when she goes across (and talks to others)

ACL **dap saqika iv arari biari ra--, ta taqen praqi ne luqa ama lengiqa ama--** when they (her friends) speak to her in the language that is--

ACL **ama tok pisin, dap dip kia--, ki gurltik** Tok Pisin, so that she can reply

LAM **I might just pause there again** I might just pause there again

LBH **orait** ok

ADN **sa vet--, sa vet laina** about that one

ADN **ip taquarl lira guaik ma langmetki qia sil** like my friend ACL said

ACL **mh** mh

ADN **i qa tika qia--, nani qi seserl vrini** she has to correct a child

ADN **iv ini ngere raqa drlem, ip nani qukun de--** so that the child will know (it) well, so that later for--

ADN **barek--, ip nani--** for--

ADN **nga--** they--

ADN **de parlen mera ini ngengenga ngera--, a ngeraqi** (so that) between them, (between) him (the child) and his friends (they will understand each other)

ADN **de tika ina** and that's it

ADN **de ngu--, ngu seserl verini, de nani qukun--, bareq ini ngerana, nger--, nangeraqi** I must correct him, so that later (it is beneficial) for him and his friends

ADN **dap kua be ngeniaq i--, i qa lu savrini de ngena--** and they may also be with someone, someone who meets him

ADN **de qa taqen prini** and talks to him

ADN **dap ka tika magr iv ini de i ama ngilka** and so he should be able to understand him

ACL **taquarl a** like this

ACL **mh** mh

ACL **taquarl a** like this

ADN **i qerl** because

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ADN **bup nara de nani ngene snanbet nura rluimirang d ama--** a lot of other (people) will be asking the children

ADN **ama quvangirang** for things

ACL **mh** mh

ADN **ip sa qui qalu nyimin, de qa taqen prini** when he meets your child and talks to him (for example)

ACL **mh** mh

ADN **gimam gua** (saying) where is your father?

ADN **ginan gua** (saying) where is your mother?

ADN **a tika nani ini ngere tl iv ini ngere gurltik** and he must make sure/see to it that he replies

ADN **i qerl** and so

ADN **i luqa de qa drlem ai, i qerl ka laina de ini nga drlem luqa ama lengiqa** that guy knows that this child knows that language

ADN **de--, dap dip ngu sema dlek nini, i ngua tat na vrini** so then I will encourage him (give confidence; lit. strengthen him) by helping him

ADN **i ngu taqa sini** because I teach him properly

ADN **ip kui--, kui t ama tok pisin, nani qukun de barek** (I teach him) Tok Pisin, and later

ADN **kuasiqi [xxxxxx]** it's not for the benefit of his friends alone

ADN **dap ka tika barek ngena** but also for some others

ADN **i--, iaqi ama barlta i qui re na darlik** who are adults from outside (and don't speak Qaqet)

ADN **ip nani i raneng sa vet laina i sa laina nga drlem** because they trust that this child will really know (Tok Pisin)

ACL **ee** yes

ADN **taquarl a** like this

ADN **de ma--** and

Summary for Question 22 as provided by translators:

22. What do you do when your child makes a mistake in Tok Pisin? Why?

Yes, they have responsibility to correct a child's Tok Pisin so that when a Tok Pisin speaker comes he/she will be able to talk/play/communicate to him/her in Tok Pisin. It will happen that children here will play with non-Qaqet speakers and Tok Pisin is a lingua franca so they need to speak it well.

Sample day in the life of report from our contact ABD. See §3.4.1 for methodological notes.

A day in the life of…   [ABD]

Woke up and began making breakfast for family. Told children not to play near fire in QAQET.

Church bell rand so all went to bathe at Kalambit creek. Came back told them to get dressed in their best. All in QAQET.

Went to church with husband and children. A little bit late. TOK PISIN and QAQET used in church and sang a little in Tolai (KUANUA) too.

After mass, spoke to ARS (sister-in-law) in QAQET. Chatted about *kago* (imported goods) and gave her some oil (which somebody later stole!)

Spoke to LBH in TOK PISIN and confirmed appointment. Also spoke to LAM in TOK PISIN. Then went home.

Two teachers came to visit. Chatted in TOK PISIN while children played. Discussed planting peanut and about the new airline company- *mangi bilong ples.*
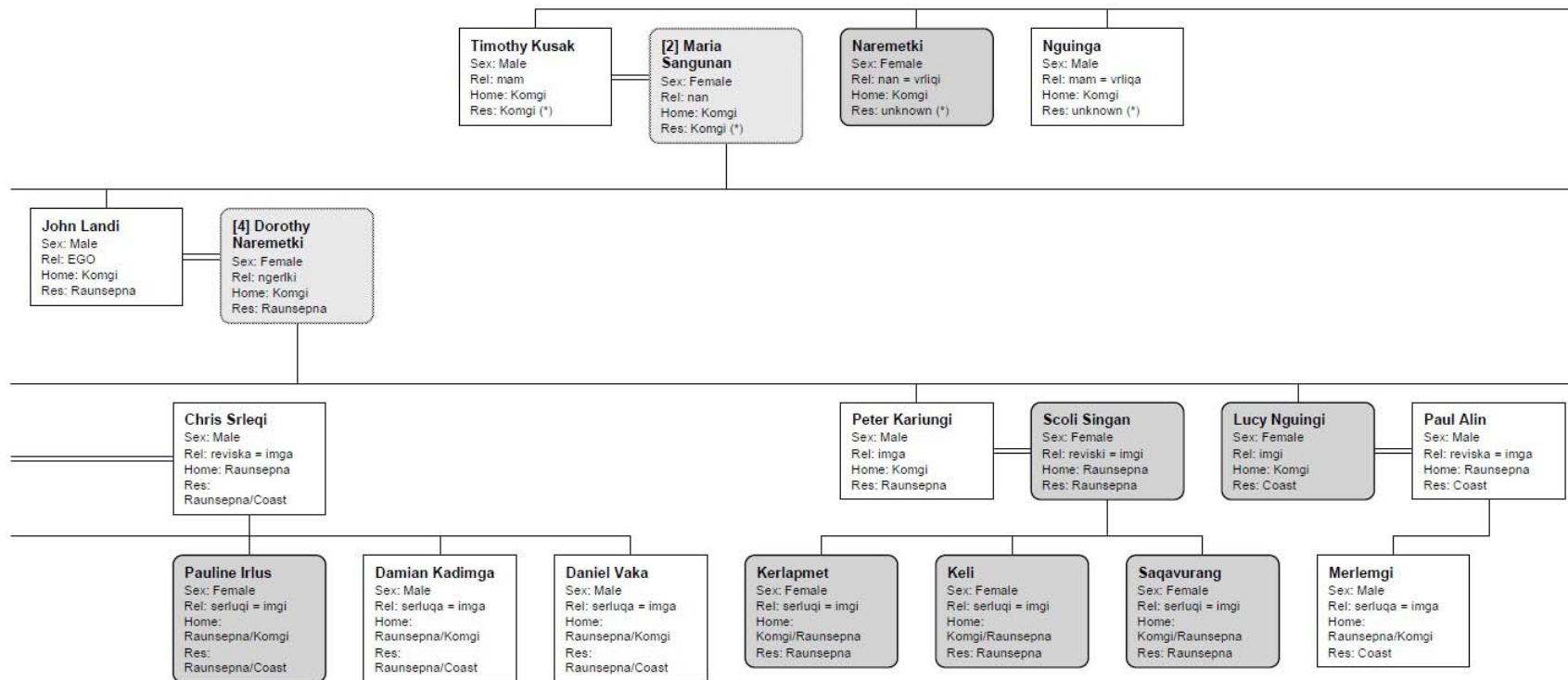
Said goodbye to visitors then sent out daughter to find *buai* (betel) and *daka* (mustard stick) (QAQET)

Uncle came by for a chat. Spoke in QAQET

Chatted to husband in QAQET before going to bed.

Appendix F: Genealogy

Family tree of AJL. Note that 'Res' stands for place of residence. See §3.4.2 for methodological notes.

Timothy Kusak
Sex: Male
Rel: mam
Home: Komgi
Res: Komgi (*)

[2] Maria Sangunan
Sex: Female
Rel: nan
Home: Komgi
Res: Komgi (*)

Naremetki
Sex: Female
Rel: nan = vrliqi
Home: Komgi
Res: unknown (*)

Nguinga
Sex: Male
Rel: mam = vrliqa
Home: Komgi
Res: unknown (*)

John Landi
Sex: Male
Rel: EGO
Home: Komgi
Res: Raunsepna

[4] Dorothy Naremetki
Sex: Female
Rel: ngerlki
Home: Komgi
Res: Raunsepna

Chris Srleqi
Sex: Male
Rel: reviska = imga
Home: Raunsepna
Res: Raunsepna/Coast

Peter Kariungi
Sex: Male
Rel: imga
Home: Komgi
Res: Raunsepna

Scoli Singan
Sex: Female
Rel: reviski = imgi
Home: Raunsepna
Res: Raunsepna

Lucy Nguingi
Sex: Female
Rel: imgi
Home: Komgi
Res: Coast

Paul Alin
Sex: Male
Rel: reviska = imga
Home: Raunsepna
Res: Coast

Pauline Irlus
Sex: Female
Rel: serluqi = imgi
Home: Raunsepna/Komgi
Res: Raunsepna/Coast

Damian Kadimga
Sex: Male
Rel: serluqa = imga
Home: Raunsepna/Komgi
Res: Raunsepna/Coast

Daniel Vaka
Sex: Male
Rel: serluqa = imga
Home: Raunsepna/Komgi
Res: Raunsepna/Coast

Kerlapmet
Sex: Female
Rel: serluqi = imgi
Home: Komgi/Raunsepna
Res: Raunsepna

Keli
Sex: Female
Rel: serluqi = imgi
Home: Komgi/Raunsepna
Res: Raunsepna

Saqavurang
Sex: Female
Rel: serluqi = imgi
Home: Komgi/Raunsepna
Res: Raunsepna

Merlemgi
Sex: Male
Rel: serluqa = imga
Home: Raunsepna/Komgi
Res: Coast

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