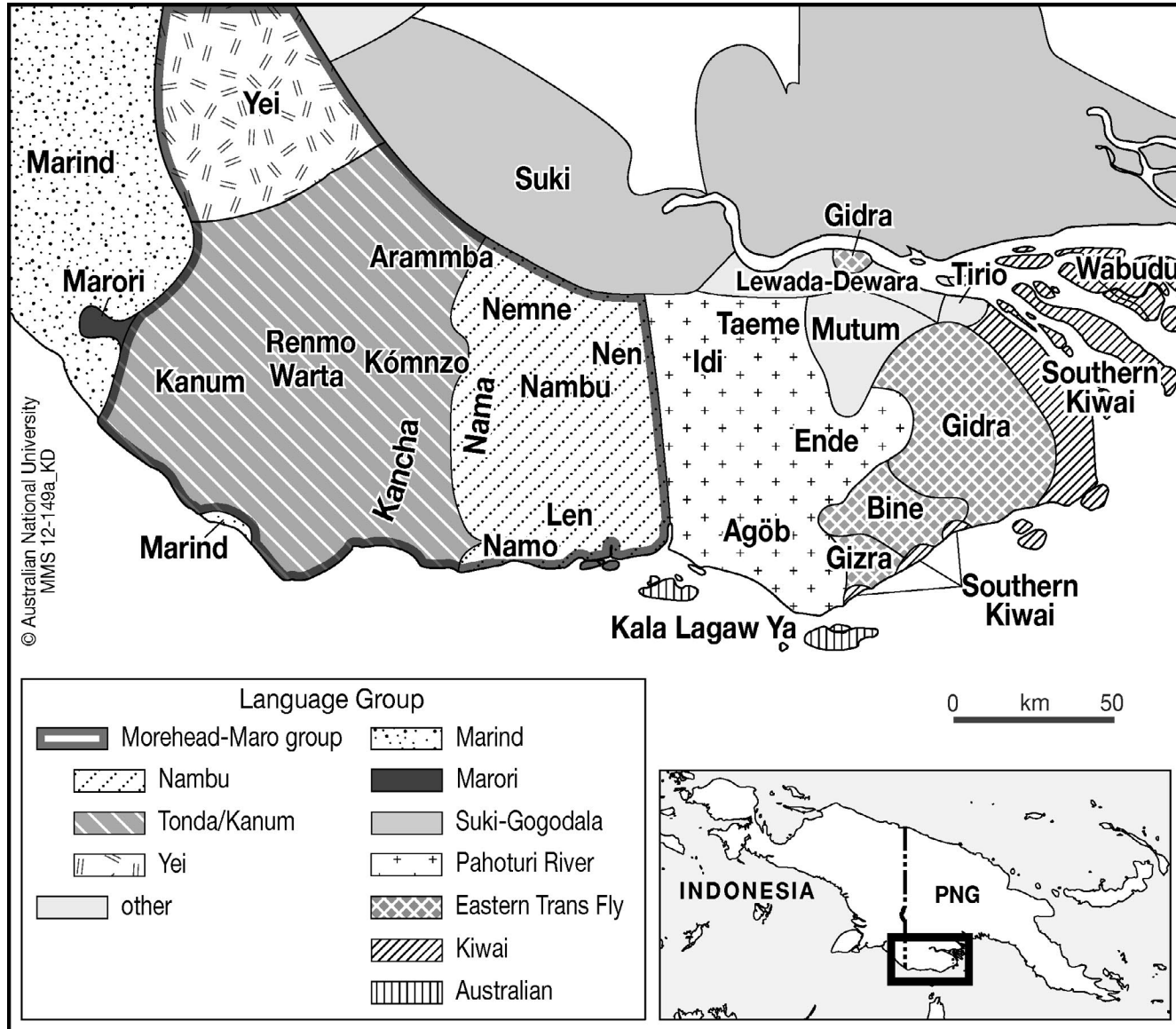
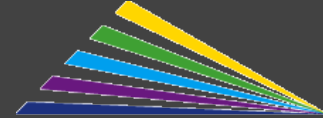
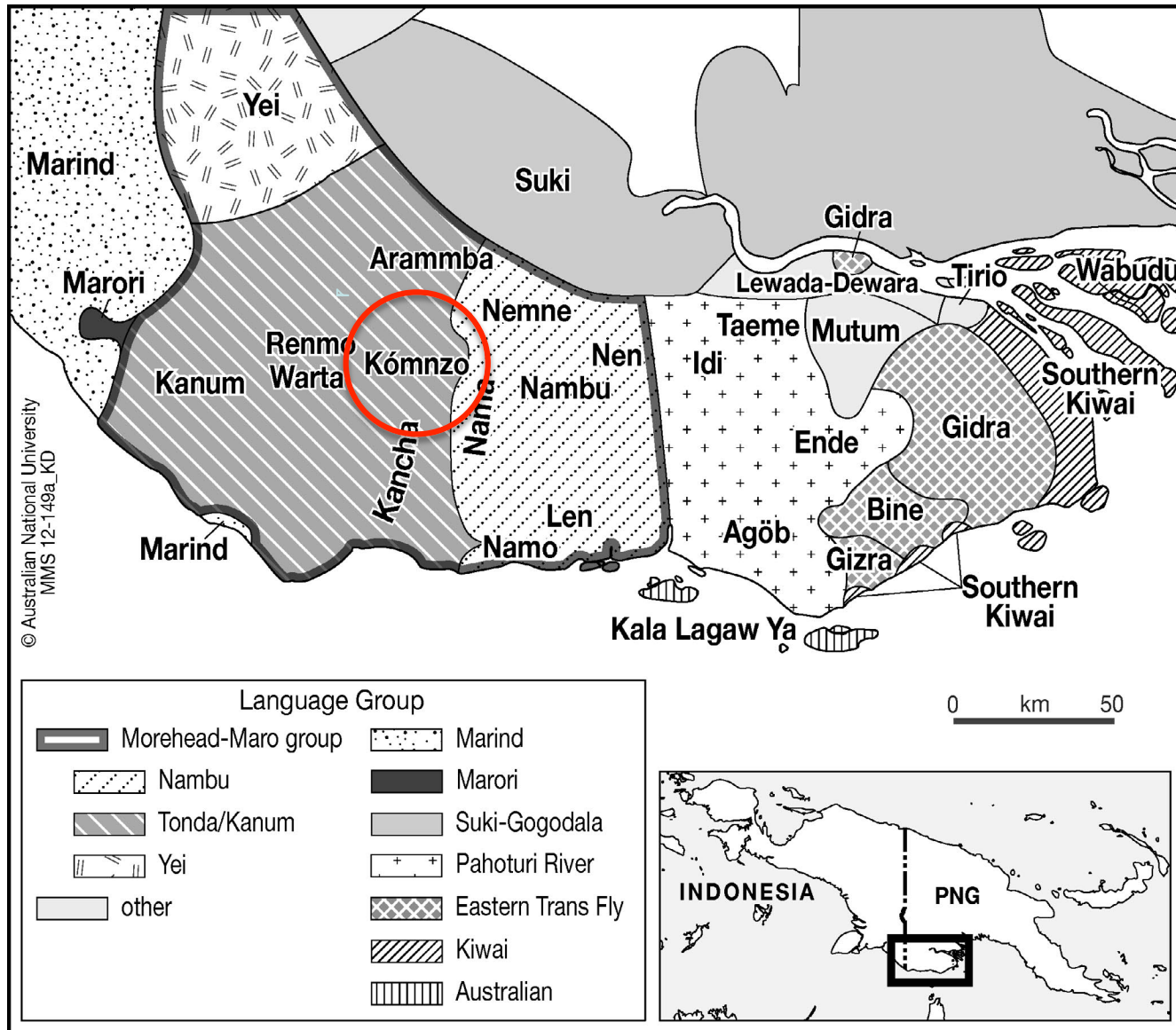
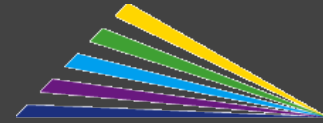


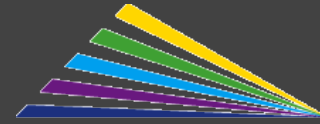
**“Don’t talk to him! His family speaks a bit mixed.”
Multilingualism from the perspective of the
documenter**

Christian Döhler

Australian National University - School of Culture, History and Language
christian.doehler@anu.edu.au







1. cultural background

2. problem & solutions

1st field trip: 'initial confusion'

2nd field trip: 'gathering data'

3rd field trip: 'solving the puzzle'

3. conclusion

1st field trip 2010 – “initial confusion”

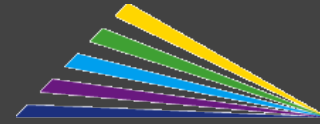
- dealing with multilingualism & contradicting evidence
- assessing language ideology and village internal politics

2nd field trip 2011 – “gathering data”

- understanding the social structure
- gathering comparative data

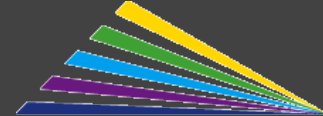
3rd field trip 2012 – “solving the puzzle”

- getting fine grained sociolinguistic data
- answering the why question



1. cultural background

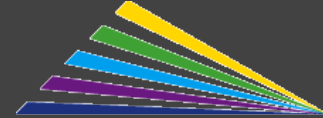
- Ayres, Mary. 1983. *This side, that side: locality and exogamous group definition in Morehead Area, Southwestern Papua*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago.
- Williams, F.E. 1936. *Papuans of the Trans-Fly*. Oxford: Clarendon.



Farem:

- “one center-place”, “origin place”
- one speech variety (Kómnzo)
- exogamous group

Farem = kómnzo zókwasi
just/only speech

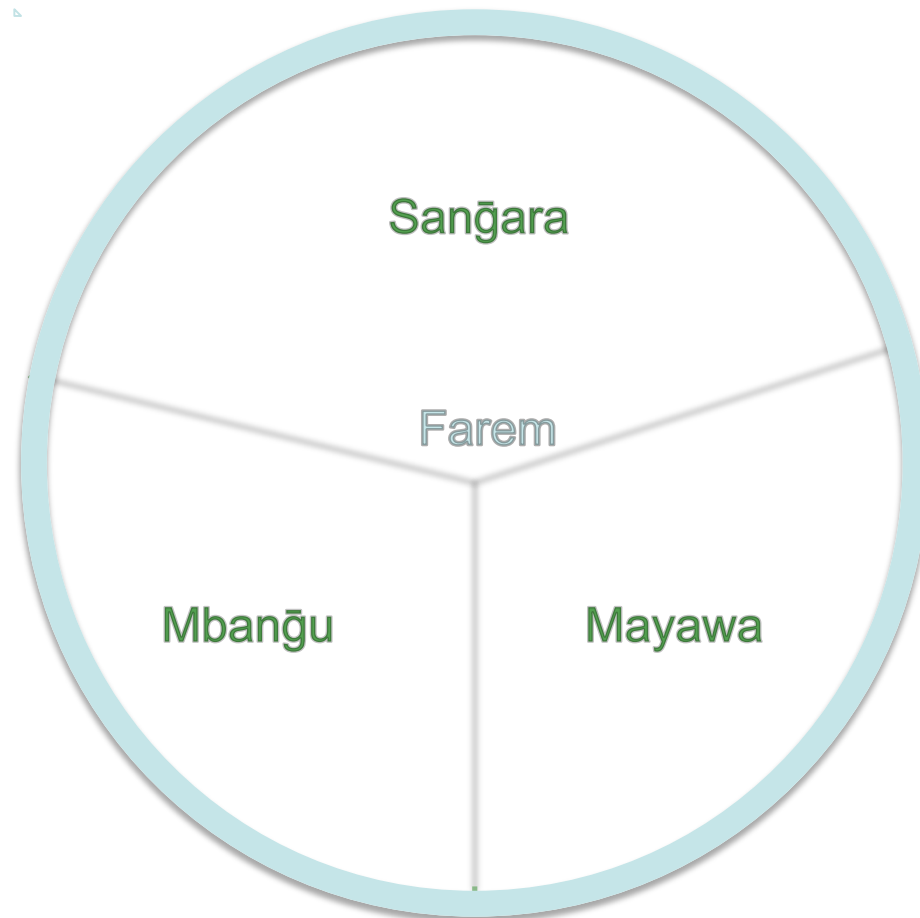


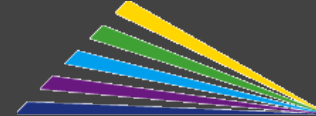
Farem:

- “one center-place”, “origin place”
- one speech variety (Kómnzo)
- exogamous group

Sanḡara, Mbanḡu, Mayawa:

- non-local sections
- exogamous groups





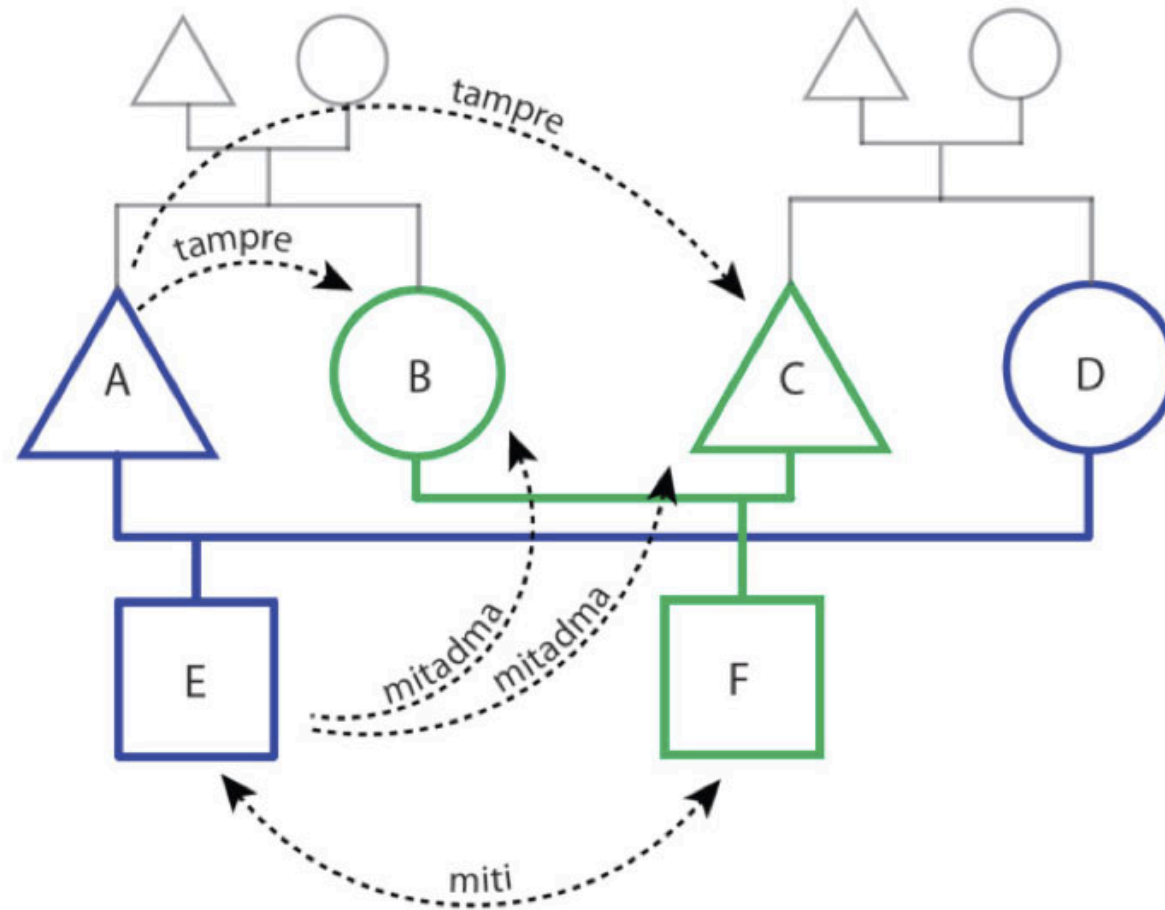
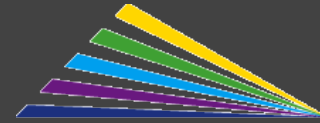
Thamn̄ga = anta tokwe

Mát = wára zókwe

Farem = kómnzo zókwasi

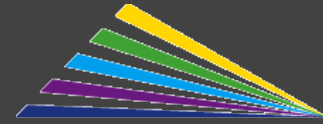
post-colonial history:

- people used to live traditionally in small hamlets
- outside influence led to several waves of consolidating hamlets into larger villages



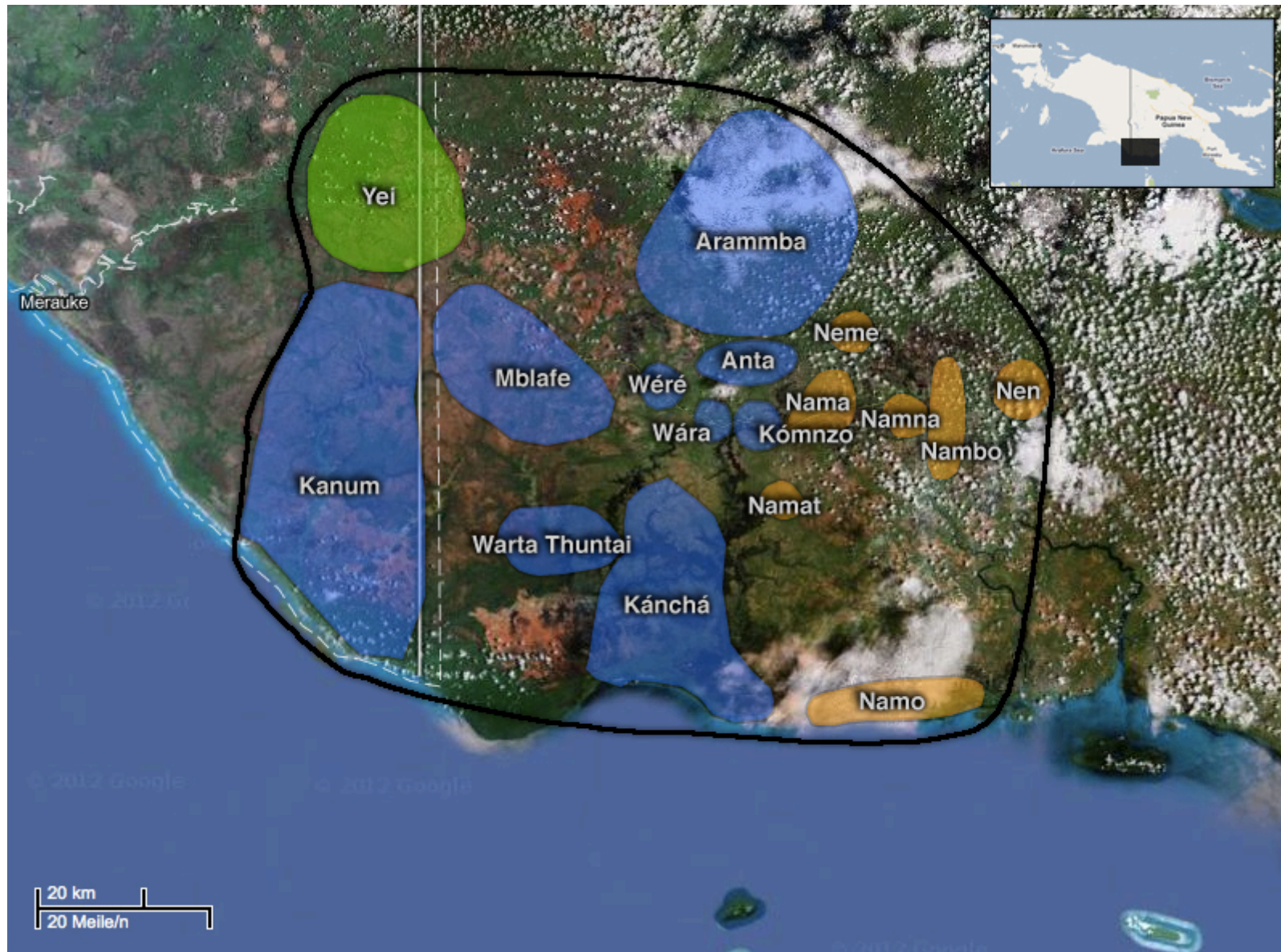
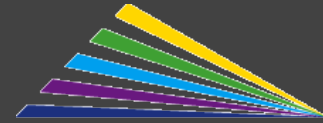
symmetrical sister exchange with the Nen kinterms (adopted from Evans 2012)

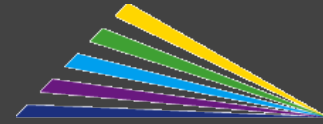
- residence is virilocal
- facilitates high degree of multilingualism
 - women marry in from villages that speak a different variety
 - ‘short marriage cycle’: daughters marry back in to the village of their mothers
- expectation: men speak the local variety, married women speak a different variety



1st field trip – 2010 (6 weeks)

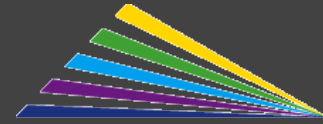
- dealing with multilingualism & contradicting evidence
- assessing language ideology and village internal politics





1st field trip – 2010 (6 weeks)

- Mayawa people warned me not to work with some families in village (Mban̄gu and some San̄garas):
“they speak mixed”, “they speak mother’s language”
- this led to a stream of contradicting evidence and much confusion:
Which variety does a particular lexical item belong to?



1st field trip – 2010 (6 weeks)

strategies

- I focused on working with a very small number of speakers
- I kept a tally in my notes on differences (but no systematic data collection)
- language use (church, school, public discussions), and attitude (“bad mother’s language”)

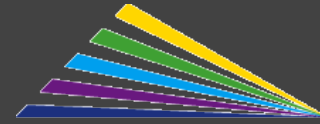
1st field trip – 2010 (6 weeks)

school (year 1-3)

- two individuals had been chosen a couple of years before as teachers on the grounds of speaking “pure” Kómnzó – but school largely dysfunctional

public discussions

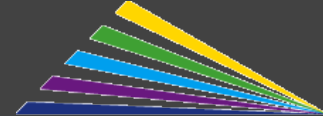
- the topic of language was always brought up
- mothers were blamed for not teaching children “properly”



zókwasi zane kómno zókwasi mane rä, faremane zókwasi fefe ane fof rä kómno. fi mbäne zéfethen, ngameyé zmba mane änémnza zmba aramba zmba wära, thraya, mäta. watik, zókwasi ane naf mbäne wäfiyokwa kómno zókwasi wéthénḡunza. ngamyé keke kwot kwanaféréméth kómno zókwasi fefe. zókwasi kómno théfthafakwéréméth. watik zena féthé zamar zókwasi, faremóf zane zókwasi kómno wéthorakwér. nä zókwasi ténz kwa nganafér nä mbunma. nä zókwasi ténz kwa nganafér nä zókwasi. mbänema fof zókwasi mane rera keke kwot ngamyé nfanme zókwasi mewä thwasäminzéréméth.

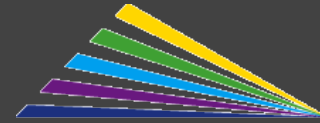
The Kómno language is the true language of the Farem people. But because the mothers that got married to this place, come from Aramma, from Wära, from Daraya or from Mata. They brought their languages and this is why the Kómno language is fading away today. They do not speak Kómno properly. They mix the Kómno language. When you look at it today, the Farem people are searching for their language. What is the real language? Some people mix with this language. Other mix with that language. That is because the mothers did not teach the children in the proper way.

Abraham Maambu (2012-09-24)



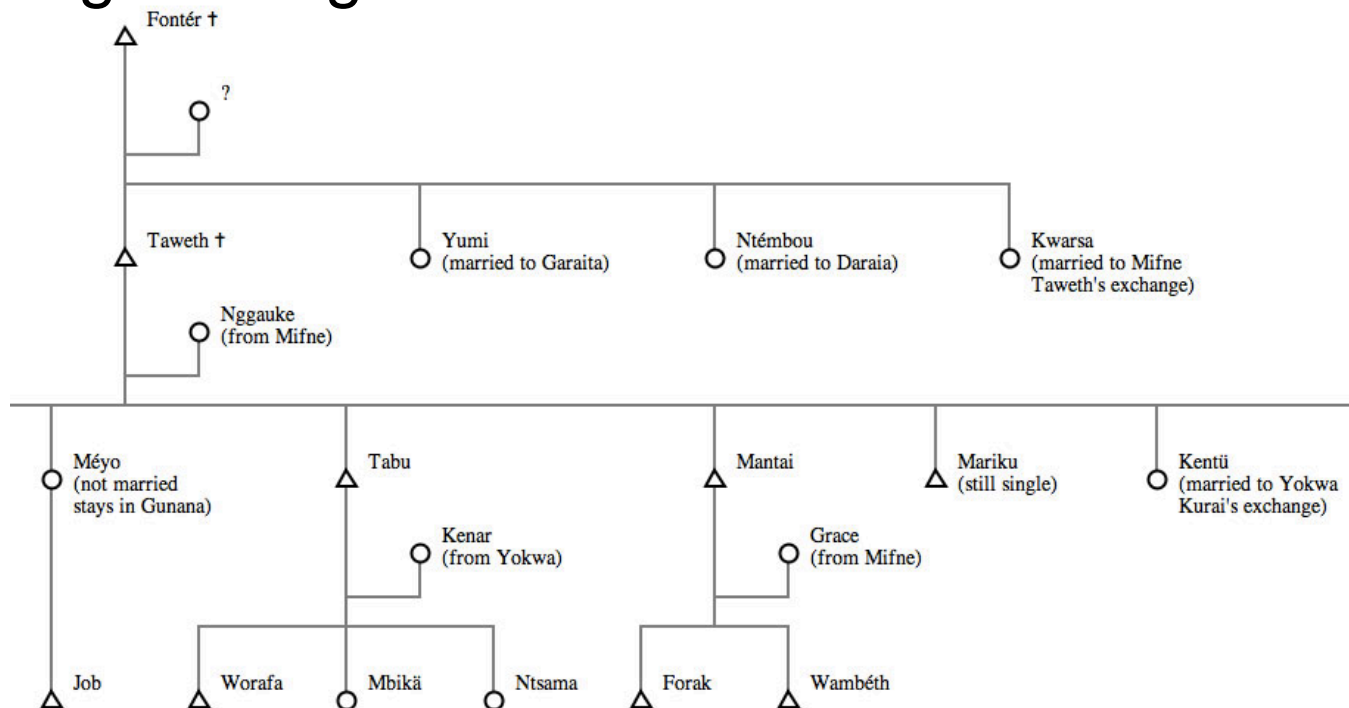
2nd field trip – 2011 (5 months)

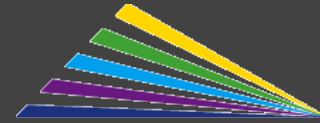
- understanding the social structure
- gathering comparative data



2nd field trip – 2011 (5 months)

- understanding the social structure
- genealogies





2nd field trip – 2011 (5 months)

- gathering comparative data on the surrounding varieties
- wordlist (350 items)

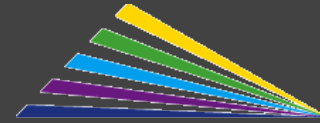
	Kómnzo
Anta	90%
Wára	88%
Kánchá	70%
Nama	29%

2nd field trip – 2011 (5 months)

– gathering comparative data on the surrounding varieties

– pronouns ²¹

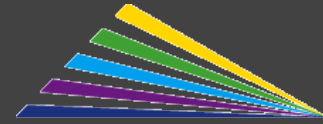
	Wára / Anta	Kómnzo
1 Sg ABS	ze	nzä
1 Sg ERG	zn	nze
2 Sg ABS	fe	mbä
2 Sg ERG	fn	mbe
1 Sg POSS	nzone	nzone
1 nSg POSS	nzane	nzenme
2 Sg POSS	mbone	mbone
2 nSg POSS	mbane	mbenme



2nd field trip – 2011 (5 months)

- gathering comparative data on the surrounding varieties
- morphology

	Wára / Anta	Kómno
allative 'to Rouku'	<i>rouku-f</i>	<i>rouku-fo</i>
ergative 'woman'	<i>ngari-o</i>	<i>ngare-f</i>



2nd field trip – 2011 (5 months)

strategies

- this longer fieldtrip allowed me to learn the language and to be able to hear the differences between the varieties
- gathering genealogical data allowed me then to place and connect the individuals who I perceived to speak another variety
- Wára, Anta and Nama were all spoken in the village

3rd field trip – 2012 (3 months)

- getting fine grained sociolinguistic data
- answering the why question

previous SIL survey:

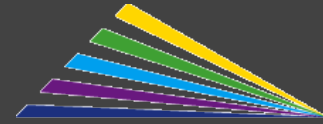
Grummitt, John and Janell Masters. 2012. *A Survey of the Tonda Sub-Group of Languages*. SIL Electronic Survey Report 2012-018

3rd field trip – 2012 (3 months)

sociolinguistic questionnaire:

basic personal information

- What's your name, age, section?
- Who is your father (mother, or spouse)? Where is your father (etc.) from?
- Did you go to school? When? For how long?

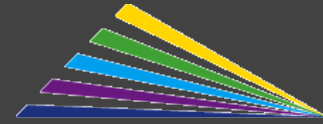


3rd field trip – 2012 (3 months)

sociolinguistic questionnaire:

language proficiency / use

- Which language do you speak vs understand?
- Which language do you speak to person X?
- Which language do use when you meet a person village X (or a stranger)?

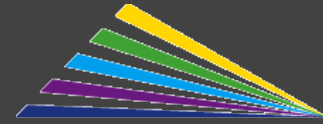


3rd field trip – 2012 (3 months)

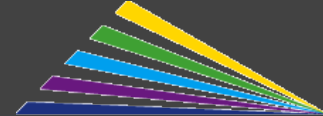
sociolinguistic questionnaire:

language identity, language attitude

- What is ‘your’ language?
- What language should your children learn / speak?
- What is your opinion on ‘mixing languages’?

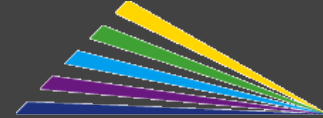


- interview style
- carried out within a period of one month
 - to minimize third-person influence
- 41 participants
 - 21 male / 20 female
 - ages between 20 and 70 (average: 40)
 - all residents of Rouku village



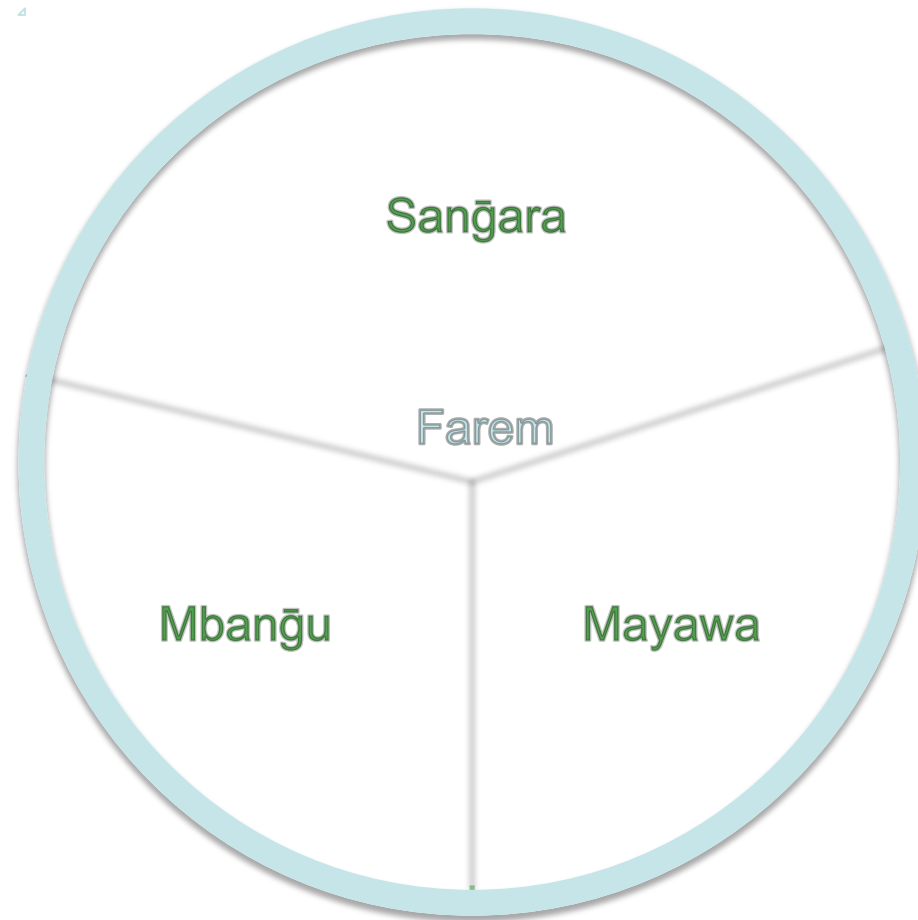
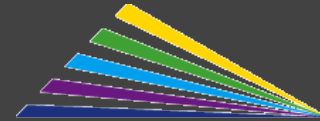
outcome

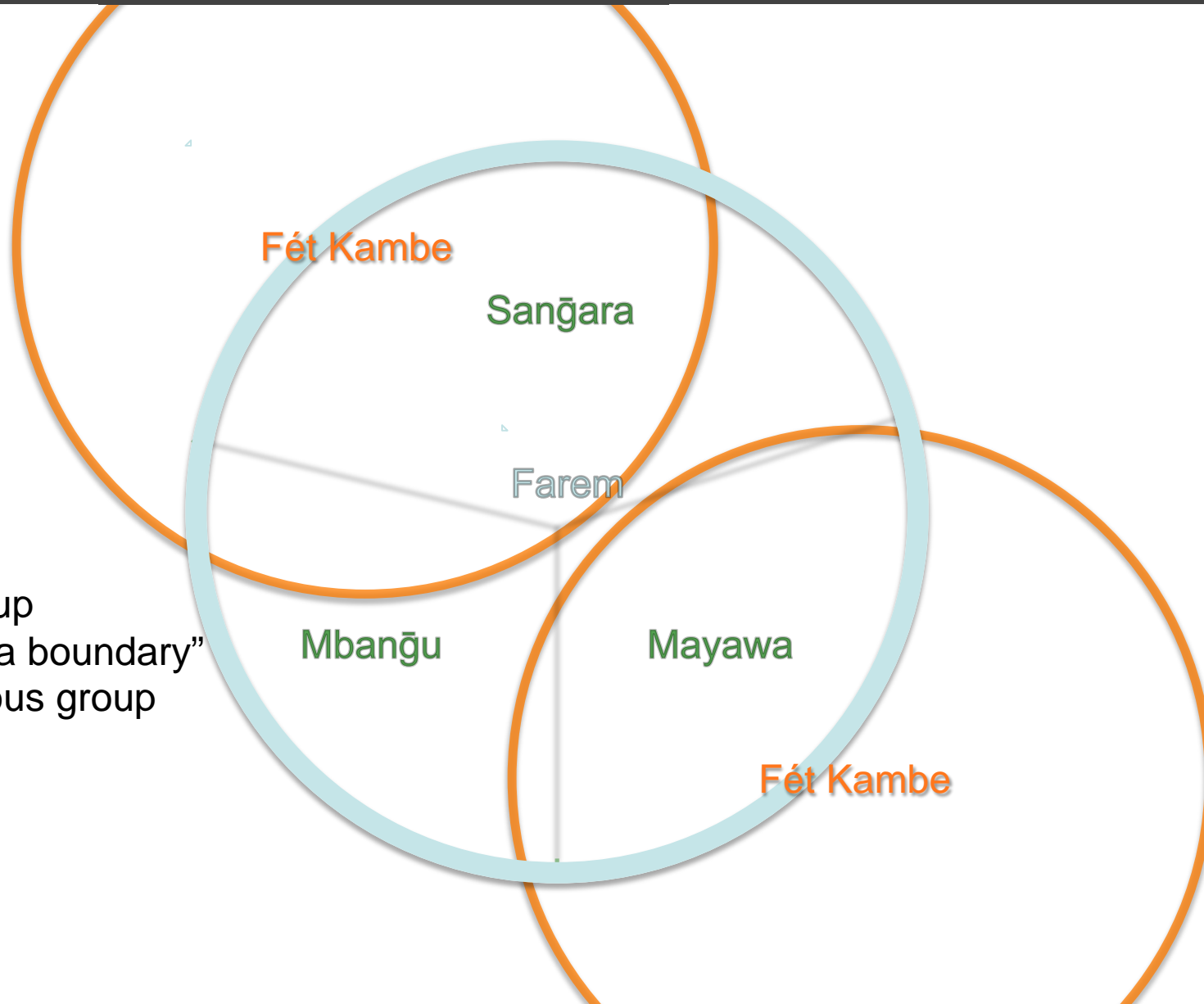
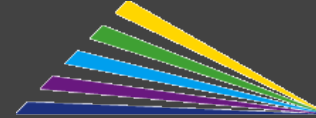
- self-ascribed language identity is basically “father’s language”
- “language of the father’s origin place”
- ‘language mixing’ is portrayed as something negative, but everybody is multilingual
 - ‘language mixing’ really means ‘speaking the wrong language in a particular context’



left with:

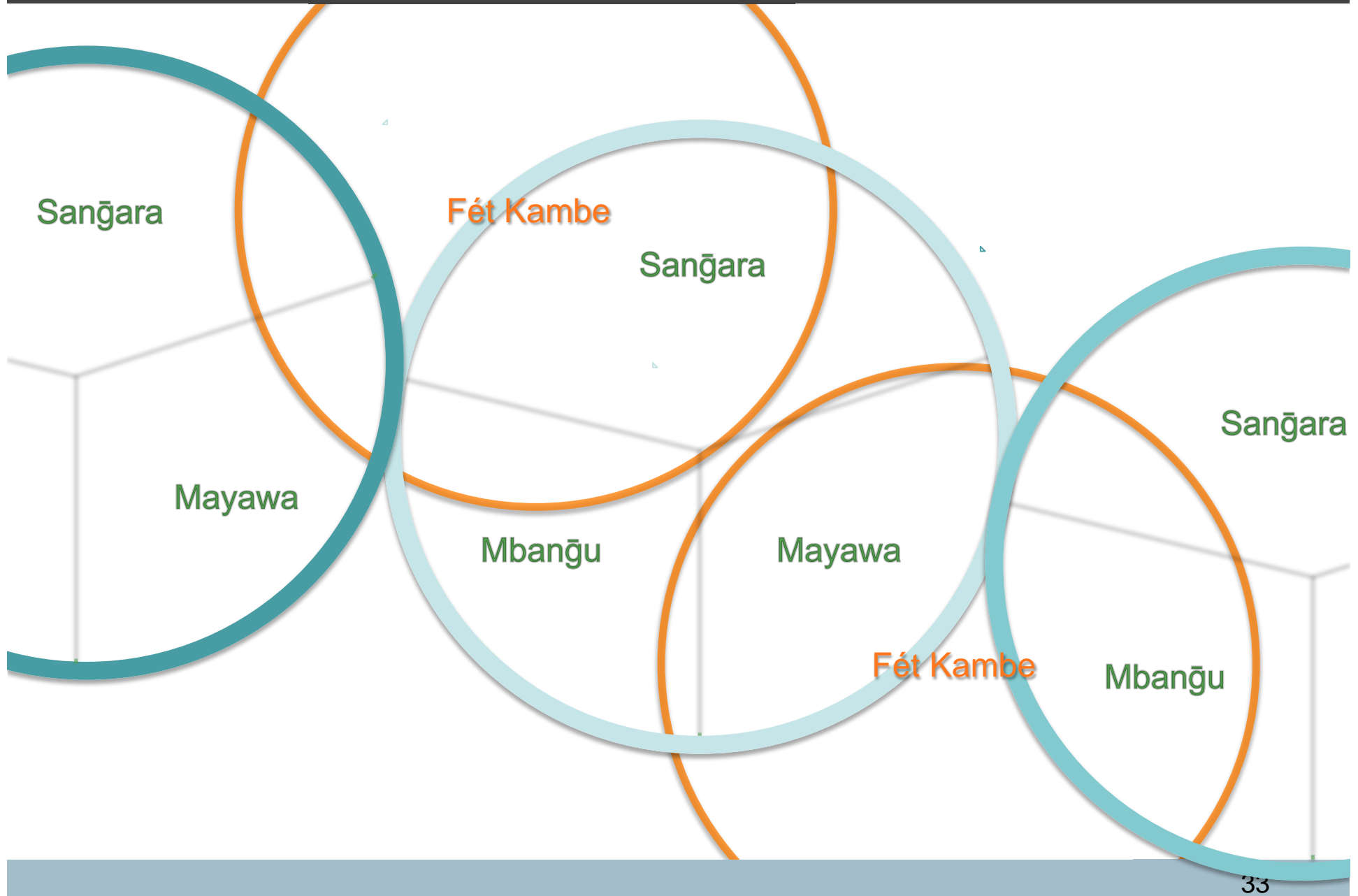
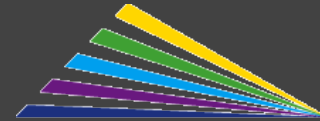
Why do certain families speak Wára or Anta?





Fét Kambe:

- local group
- “sharing a boundary”
- exogamous group

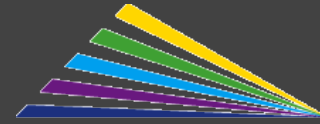


(part of) the solution:

- village consolidation in the past has not followed the borders layed out by “origin-place/speech variety”
- some people had lived for a long time with their *fét kambe* and hence their children grew up speaking a different variety

3. conclusions

- calm down and keep on documenting!
- socio-linguistic questionnaires matter
(if carried out in the right way)
- rehabilitate the mothers!



Thank you!

I would like to thank the following institutions and individuals:

- Volkswagen Stiftung - DoBeS Program
- Australian National University
- Tina Marusch, Nick Evans, Jeff Siegel, Bethwyn Evans, Julia Colleen Miller, Kyla Quinn