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# THE EMERGENCE OF DIALOGIC IDENTITIES:

# TRANSFORMING HETEROGLOSSIA IN THE MARQUESAS, F.P.

by

Kathleen C. Riley

VOLUME I

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the City University of New York

2001

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Sept. 7, 2001 — Date
Vincent Crapanzano — Chair of ~~Examining~~ Committee

Sept. 7, 2001 — Date
Louise D Lamphere — Executive Officer

Professor Vincent Crapanzano

Professor Shirley Lindenbaum

Professor Glenn Petersen

Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

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## Abstract

THE EMERGENCE OF DIALOGIC IDENTITIES:

TRANSFORMING HETEROGLOSSIA IN THE MARQUESAS, F.P.

by

Kathleen C. Riley

Adviser: Professor Vincent Crapanzano

**Te 'Enana** 'the people' of the Marquesas, French Polynesia, have been engaged for some time in the dialogic negotiation of their heteroglossic identity. Based on an ethnographic study of language socialization in the Marquesas, this dissertation examines how communicative forms are acquired within a changing socio-cultural matrix,

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as well as on how cultural habits and beliefs are produced and reproduced via verbal interaction.

My first two months of fieldwork were spent in Tahiti (the capital of French Polynesia), living and studying the language use and cultural patterns of an **'enana** family. Subsequently, I spent ten months in a village in the Marquesas, taping at regular intervals the everyday interactions of children and their caregivers within four families and transcribing these with the aid of the caregivers. The transcripts and the caregiver metalinguistic commentary were analyzed for the contexts and functions of code-switching between ***français*** (the local variety of French), **'enana** (including several dialects of the 'language' spoken in the Marquesas), and **sarapia** (a stigmatized 'mixed' code); the communicative genres laden with cultural expectations as to how people ought to think, feel, and act; and the socializing routines influencing these beliefs and practices. Via participant-observation and informal interviews, I also collected a wide range of information concerning everyday social interactions, routine verbal practices, and cultural notions concerning the value, use, learning, and potential loss of the language. My

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findings are as follows.

Despite the flowering of a cultural revival movement, a complex political economic situation (beginning with the establishment of the French nuclear testing facility in 1963) is responsible for an increase in code-switching and decrease in the acquisition and use of **'enana** by children. Nonetheless, the language continues to be learned and used by many as both medium and marker of an ethnolinguistic identity which is the syncretic product of indigenous reactions to two centuries of foreign influence and rule. Furthermore, while bearing the partial imprimatur of Western thought and practice, **'enana** ways of structuring verbal interaction and the acquisition of communicative resources reveal some deeper systemic commitments to pan-Pacific cultural and communicative practices.

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## Acknowledgements

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who continues to write and who fed me again upon my return.

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And to the many **'enana** who, with some mixture of respect, desire, and loathing, taught me to **keu** 'play', I can only say **kouta'u** for your **ka'oha** and ***Pardon!*** for my bumbling.

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## Conventions for Representing Language(s)

*Orthography and pronunciation:*

The orthographic system employed in this thesis is the one adopted by **Motu Haka** for **'enana**.
Vowels are pronounced as in Spanish, except when lengthened; lengthened vowels are written with a macron, as in **ue̅**.
Consonants are pronounced as in French (e.g., /p,t,h/ are not aspirated), except the glottal stop, which is represented as an apostraphe ', as in **'enana**.

*Transcription conventions:*

**Boldface** is used for transcribed utterances as well as token phrases in the text
**roman boldface** for utterances in **'enana** or **sarapia**
***italic boldface*** for utterances in ***français***
**[ ]** phonetic renderings are set in **boldface** within square brackets
**( )** elliptical information is set in **boldface** within parentheses

Plain type is used for all other information
( ) contextual information is placed in parentheses
' ' loose translations are placed in single quotes
roman type for utterances in **'enana** or **sarapia**
*italic type* for utterances in ***français***
[ ] direct (word for word) translations are placed in square brackets
'( )' or [( )] translations of elliptical information are placed in parentheses within the tranlations in single quotes or square brackets
'[ ]' or [[ ]] morphosyntactic information and etymological derivations are placed in square brackets within the translations in single quotes or square brackets
{ } pragmatic interpretations of utterances are set in curly brackets
* marks instances of non-standard usage under discussion

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*Morphosyntactic labels:*
sg = singular pronoun
dl = dual pronoun
pl = plural pronoun
exc = exclusive pronoun
inc = inclusive pronoun
A = alienable possessive
I = inalienable possessive
dur = durative
hab = habitual
imp = imperative
inc = inchoative
nom = nominative
pass = passive
res = resultative
perf = perfective

*Abbreviations for languages, dialects, and registers:*
CGR = caregiver register
ENG = English
FR = French
MQ = Marquesan
MQN = Northern dialect of Marquesan
MQS = Southern dialect of Marquesan
NH = Dialect spoken on the island of Nukuhiva
SAR = the emergent syncretic code (**sarapia**)
SP = Spanish
TAH = Tahitian
TP = Dialect spoken in the valley of Taipivai
UP = Dialect spoken on the island of Ua Pou

*Linguonyms for languages, dialects, and registers:*
**'enana** = Polynesian language of the Marquesas
***français*** = French (especially the variety spoken at present in French Polynesia)
**koekoe** = the dialect spoken in Ua Pou (distinguished from all other MQ dialects by the use of **koe** for 'you')
**ma'ohi** = [TAH] term for the Polynesian language(s) of Tahiti
**menike** = English
**sarapia** = the 'mixed-up' register
**tahiti** = neo-Tahitian (the French Polynesian koine)
**taipivai** = the dialect spoken in the valley of Taipivai

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*The missionaries asked us to look to*

*heaven. While we were looking*

*up, the land was taken*

*from beneath*

*our feet.*

-- Māori saying

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# Chapter I

## Discourse on a Not-so-silent Land

Greg Dening sub-titled his ethnohistory of the Marquesas *Discourse on a Silent Land* (1980), suggesting what is by now widely recognized among Pacific scholars: that this archipelago of French Polynesia represents an extreme case of the pan-Pacific consequences of contact with the West. By the 1920s, the population dropped dramatically (95% according to some estimates); in the nineteenth century, most of their distinctive cultural practices (such as tattooing, dancing, and singing) and their system of **tapu** were outlawed by the Catholic church; and in this century their society has been radically reconstituted by the French political and educational system and the world economy.

However, not unlike many other Pacific peoples, **te 'Enana** 'the people' as Marquesans refer to themselves, weathered the nineteenth-century threat of total extinction, only to be engaged more recently in a much subtler struggle over how to 'preserve' their unique Polynesian culture. In particular, many **'Enana** pay at least lip-service to the presently perceived need to defend their language, **te 'eo**

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**'enana**, against the encroachment of ***français*** and **sarapia**, the latter being a derogatory term (French in derivation) used to refer to the mixed-code speech engaged in by most youth.[1]

Such a historic moment provides an excellent opportunity to explore the ways in which verbal interactions operate as both context and substance in the construction and reproduction of personal and sociocultural identity. And an ethnographic study of language socialization is the perfect methodological tool for addressing such a problem.

Or so I told the funding agencies in proposing a plan and purpose for going to the Marquesas to conduct my doctoral research. Not surprisingly, the corpus resulting from my fieldwork was, as with most ethnographic studies, both less and more than I had anticipated.

## A. Emergence of a dissertation

Based on a brief visit to the archipelago in the mid-1970s, Dening depicted the landscape as filled with ancient stone structures but silent for lack of people capable of articulating the significance of these ruins or the bare

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outlines of their own past. My experience there in the early 1990s was different than Dening's, not simply because the cultural revival movement had had its impact, but also because of what I was paying attention to.

I was not particularly concerned with the past, with 'authentic' culture, or even with 'truthful' accounts. My focus was on talk, however and whenever it occurred, whatever the subject matter or truth value. I was interested in who the **'Enana** were becoming in the present moment and how they were expressing that process of becoming.

Since returning from the field and poring through the data I acquired, I have realized that what I was interested in was the dialectics of what I now call *dialogic identity*. This is the process by which humans develop and deploy ethnolinguistic forms in the service of negotiating their psychosocial identities and, conversely, how psychosocial interactions and dynamics shape the construction of ethnolinguistic identities. However, it has only been in the course of writing and rewriting this dissertation that I have discovered a crucible for melding theory and data (that is thought and experience) in a shapely and satisfying way.

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Part One is devoted to an investigation of the notion of *dialogic identity*, focusing first on its theoretical significance and secondly on how it may be explored in methodological practice. Thus, in Chapter II, steps are taken to outline a theory of *dialogic identity* and its relevance to the study of language shift and langauge socialization in heteroglossic speech economies.

In the first section, I examine the two terms that are central to the thesis: *dialogism* and *identity*. In the next two sections, the relationship between *ethnohistoric linguistics* and the *ethnography of heteroglossic discourse* is examined. The latter, being a variation on a familiar theme (*ethnography of speaking*), refers to the study of how any ethnographic present is semiotically constructed out of the multifunctional use of multiple codes, genres, and speech acts, all productive of multivalent effects. *Ethnohistoric linguistics* is the study of the dialogic processes by which heteroglossic speech economies are constantly under construction -- being produced, reproduced and transformed -- as a result of multiple structural forces: linguistic, sociocultural, translinguistic, and political-economic. Integral to this study is the notion of

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how the ethnolinguistic identities associated with speech economies are mediated by local *language ideologies*.

In the fourth section of Chapter II, I examine the *language socialization* approach to understanding how cultural values, identities, and ways of relating develop dialogically out of psychosocial interactions. Finally, I tie these theoretical threads together in a consideration of how heteroglossia dialogically transforms and is transformed by ethnolinguistic and psychosocial identities -- within every instance of interpersonal exchange as well as over large sweeps of ethnohistorical time.

By the end of this theoretical exercise, I hope to have provided the groundwork for explaining how my theoretical orientation informed the methodological approaches used in my research. My methods for collecting and analyzing data -- both those intended and those actually realized (before, during and after fieldwork) -- are discussed in Chapter III. In the process, I address the dialogism inherent in doing ethnographic research.

In subsequent chapters, data from the study are presented in two interrelated but heuristically distinguishable parts. The two questions addressed are 1)

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how have the present heteroglossic speech economy, discursive practices, and ethnolinguistic identities dialectically emerged in the Marquesas, particularly in the valley of Hatiheu; and 2) how are the forms, values, and practices associated with this speech economy being reproduced and transformed via everyday interactions? Both of these empirical parts follow from the theoretical line of understanding sketched out above that heteroglossic interactions influence and result from both macro and micro dialogic processes.

Thus, Part Two is devoted to analyzing the heteroglossic setting of this study and elucidating how the present-day ethnolinguistic identities and discursive practices of **'Enana** have been ethnohistorically constructed. First, in Chapter IV, I provide a history of the heteroglossic speech economy found in the Marquesas today, looking at how transformations in the political economy and translinguistic system have been intertwined. In particular, I take a closer look at the most recent period in which a cultural revival movement and language maintenance efforts have influenced the values and activities with which **'Enana** forge their identities.

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In Chapters V and VI, I focus on the village where research was conducted and examine the ways in which social structures and psychosocial categories are discussed and indexed using linguistic codes and emotional genres. And in Chapter VII, I explore how **'enana** (the ideologically identified linguistic entity) has been fetishized, how **Hao'e tivava** 'lying foreigners' are accused of stealing it, and what this can tell us about an ongoing power struggle with outsiders over who is going to change most in relationship to whom, who is going to learn from whom, and who is going to prove themselves most flexible in relationship to whom.

In Part Three, I examine at the micro level the language socialization processes by which ethnolinguistic and psychosocial identities develop. Discourse data are used to illustrate the ways in which individuals are imbibing and altering communicative practices, emotional valencies, relational dynamics, and cultural ideologies. Special attention is paid to the fact that certain socializing routines and ideologies reflect an amalgamation of French and Polynesian practices and values.

Thus, in Chapter VIII, I introduce the family-specific ethnolinguistic and psychosocial features of the socializing

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contexts within which the children in the study were acquiring varying commitments to the codes to which they were being exposed. In Chapter IX, I examine the process by which children are embedded in emotional discourse in Hatiheu: first, how communicative forms are taught and learned, and secondly, how communicative genres are used to socialize psychosocial identity. Finally, given that socialization is not a one-way, top-down process, I demonstrate in Chapter X how the children of Hatiheu negotiate the development of their identities through interactions with their caregivers and with each other.

By way of conclusion, Chapter XI presents an overarching look at the relationship between language socialization within everyday interactions and larger ethnohistorical shifts in the translinguistic system. I propose that the development of *dialogic identity* is the nexus of articulation between these micro and macro processes and that analysts must take both into account in order to understand either.

However, the real story of how this dissertation emerged must begin with an account of my experiences, beginning in mid-December 1992, of finding and settling into

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a field site. My eventual concerns (even obsessions) were foreshadowed by many early interactions whose import I could not begin to analyze at the time but which, given some temporal distance, have taken on a kind of luminescent clarity. Thus, I begin here by recounting how I, as an ethnographer, stumbled into the emergent discourse of a people.

B. Awash in the dialogic flow

So I set off for French Polynesia intending to undertake an ethnographic study of the relationship between everyday interactions among children and caregivers and the historic discourse over **'enana** cultural identity in the Marquesas. However, on arriving in Papeete, Tahiti, I discovered that I had just missed the December boat going out to the Marquesas and that the January boat had been cancelled -- there would not be another until the first of February. Thus began my abrupt immersion in the uncertainty principle that infuses life in the Marquesas. I began to learn how to be **kako** 'flexible'.

Not wanting to spend this six-week period in a

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guesthouse in the city, I set out to find a transplanted **'enana** family with whom to lodge. After a week, I made contact with a man who had worked as first mate for Phil DeVita on a yacht sailing from the Marquesas to Tahiti in the 1960s (back before Phil became an anthropologist). Vaha Teikitekahioho, now retired from both sailing and construction work, immediately insisted that I move into his three-bedroom apartment in a subsidized housing project overlooking the city and port, which he occupied along with his wife Tehina, two of their three children (aged 16-21), and intermittently, Tehina's brother, wife, and two young boys.

I was given a bedroom of my own and was adopted as Vaha's American daughter. In fact, to those outside the family, he intimated that I was his biological daughter by an American girlfriend from his days as a hired hand on an American's yacht housed in Hawaii in the 1950s. Thus began my experience of how the reporting of 'truth' is flexible as well.

In any case, I was not allowed to contribute any money to the household -- neither for the room nor for the food I ate. Much of what was bought in my honor -- imported soda,

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doughnuts, and potato chips -- I could only impolitely pick at. I also offended Papa Vaha with my few small gifts and my insistence on taking him out for a meal on our last day together.

Nonetheless, he quickly endeared himself to me. And given his diabetic condition and ailing heart, I watched his intake of sugar and salt and bit my tongue. He had reached that age where preaching would have been presumptuous and would have failed miserably in the face of certain elemental pleasures. One of the pleasures he took at that time was in talking to me.

So I reoriented toward collecting his tales of the Marquesas before World War II and his subsequent world travels, documenting his pidgin English, and only at odd moments snatching some training in **'enana**. I also kept notes on what turned out to be residually typical **'enana** behaviors (prayer groups and associated rituals, food preparation and styles of eating, age- and gender-based interactional patterns), as well as patterns of use of **'enana**, **tahiti**, and ***français*** in the home.[3] On the side, I met with linguists, educators, and others I imagined might take an interest in my project. I was befriended in

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particular by Robert and Denise Koenig, editors of ***Journal de la Société des Océanistes***. Denise was also a nurse who taught me the palliative effects of the **noni** fruit for centipede bites and helped me pull through a bout of dengue fever. Additionally, I was taken under wing by Heidy Baumgartner, an erstwhile archaeologist who was working at that time as a tour guide on the Aranui, the part-cargo, part-tour ship that normally sails to the Marquesas every three weeks.

During this period in Tahiti, I altered my choice of projected fieldwork site from a more remote island in the Marqueas to the large, administrative island of Nuku Hiva (see Appendix 1 for maps of the archipelago and the island of Nuku Hiva). This was due in part to Heidy's advice as she feared for my safety and sanity. But, additionally, Papa Vaha and Mama Tehina came from Taipivai, the large valley in Nuku Hiva where Melville had spent his three weeks a century and a half previously. Thus, I was beginning to feel I had familial ties to that village.

However, once I finally disembarked in Taiohae, the administrative center of the Marquesas, I was directed once again by several Westerners (including Heidy and the French

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administrator, Jean-Jacques Fort) to select the village of Hatiheu on the far side of the island (one high pass beyond Taipivai). They shepherded me there primarily because the mayor of Hatiheu, Yvonne Katupa, had experience dealing with foreign researchers, albeit mostly archaeologists. While Hatiheu is not one of the three large towns in the archipelago (where one finds the most obvious signs of language shift and French influence), neither is it one of the more remote villages in which children are still immersed in a primarily **'enana** environment. Instead, the village appeared to straddle the full range of factors affecting acquisition, choice, and use of language in the Marquesas today, and this, I decided, would perfectly suit my investigative purposes.

Once there, I intended to spend my first month settling into the community, sketching out local social networks, and locating four families willing to engage in my longitudinal study, which would involve taping 'natural discourse' at regular intervals for several months. Ideally, each family was to include at least one child, two to three years old, as well as several older siblings. I anticipated that the families would provide the study with some cross-sectional

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variation based on education, occupation, religious affiliation, region of origin, and linguistic commitment. Additionally, each family would need to include a bilingual, biliterate caregiver capable of aiding me in the transcription process.

Eventually, I did turn up subject families who matched to some degree these specifications (see Appendix 6 for family trees) and did manage to tape and transcribe their interactions at irregular intervals over the course of the next nine months (Appendix 8 provides a review of the taping sessions). However, a report of my initial settling-in period warrants further exegesis as it is both the saga of my socialization into **'enana** society as well as an illustration of how **'Enana** manage **Hao'e** who take up residence in their midst.

During my initial days in the Marquesas, the contradictions in **'Enana** consciousness concerning the loss and reconstruction of their cultural and linguistic identity were revealed to me. As I could still understand relatively little **'enana** I was politely told (in a variety of ***français*** far more 'correct' than my own) by the educated elite (that is, teachers, mayors, social workers, etc.) that my work

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would be appreciated as **te 'Enana** are eager to rediscover and revive their culture and language. Whether these cultural revival leaders were interested in their culture's monetary value on the world tourist market or its potential to fulfill the people's needs for identity was left undiscussed.

What quickly became clear was that they assumed I had come, like so many of the archaeologists, oral historians, and ethnomusicologists who have visited their shores in recent years, to research their 'original' culture and, in my case, the 'pure' version of their language. Although in fact more interested in the way people think, act, and speak today, less so in how they putatively did all that 200 or 2000 years ago, I was nonetheless momentarily comforted to have fallen in with such an apparently enlightened people.[3]

I was also at this juncture amazed to find them (like some natives of Brooklyn) capable of regaling me with analyses of their language: its semantic riches for punning, its valley to valley dialectal variations, both phonological and lexical; after which they would predictably go on to lament its degenerate state in the hands of the younger generation, its pure preservation only in the mouths of the

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old.

However, I also noticed a stereotypic quality to these remarks, the terminology, their tone of polite regret; I began to wonder who had fed them the lines. Was it all a kind of lore formulated by previous linguists, simplified by well-meaning schoolteachers, then passed along to the next generation of researchers, as well as to 'yachties' and other casual objectifiers, in order to please and entertain us? I began to lend an ear to the notions held by the French living there that the natives, in their effort to please 'us', will tell 'us' whatever 'we' want to hear. In particular, I was troubled to observe how even in the middle of bemoaning the loss of language, a mother would turn to give her children the simplest commands in ***français***. When I ventured a comment on the subject, she threw up her hands and exclaimed: "You see how bad it's become, they wouldn't understand if I said it in **'enana**."

I was also stymied by the fact that none of the cultural revival leaders took seriously my intention to work with children and mothers. As they had advised me to seek out the old people to record their lore, my failure to do so was interpreted as an inability to do so. The elite began

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to dismiss me with the head-shaking, hand-wiping explanation that the people -- the 'real' **'Enana** -- must be refusing to speak to me because they were fed up with the likes of me. That the children were already gaga over me and ingenuously willing to hang out with me and my tape recorder was irrelevant to these culture brokers. Within a week I realized that whatever aid I had imagined the elite would proffer in the way of helping me set up my study had mostly already evaporated.

Nonetheless, I had by then arrived in Hatiheu -- a French college teacher deposited me there so that only later did I discover that the bumpy three-hour jeep ride would have cost $150 by 'taxi' service, or else $10 by commune truck *if* I had established the 'in' with the mayor to reserve a place when it went -- once or twice a week. The French nurse invited me to a grilled goat party that first night before leaving herself for France for a month the next day. And the primary school teachers (a young 'married' couple from the **demi** 'half-Polynesian, half-European' class) temporarily provided me with a mattress in their three-room house. After that I began to work on figuring out how one procured permanent lodging, regular meals (beyond the Sao

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crackers, preserved New Zealand cheese, and tinned beef available at the mayor's store), and research subjects and assistants.

My second or third day there, I was headed over to invite myself in for coffee at the house of one of the Hatiheuans who makes a practice of 'befriending' **Hao'e** (the French school teacher who had dropped me off in Hatiheu had led me there on my first day in Hatiheu). However, a woman in a neighboring house pulled me up short by poking her head out of the hole in the wall that served as a window and inquiring by way of greeting: **Pehea 'oe?** 'Where are you going?' Taking her literally (not knowing the phatic nature of this query), I replied that I was going to visit her neighbor. She responded that all would 'go well' for me if I had enough **hoa** 'friends', using a tone and giving me a look I could not read, but I imagined disapproval and envy. What I did not recognize was what an all-encompassing, culturally loaded remark this is.

As it turns out, 'adoption', 'marriage', and 'friendship', are the only ways for incorporating **manihi'i** 'strangers' into **'enana** society. Traditionally all of these alliances operated not only between individuals but as

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bridges over the tense social space separating enemy groups. By contrast, most of the formal acquaintanceships found in complex societies (e.g., between teachers and students or between administrators and citizens) are at present still relegated to discrete, formal contexts, usually institutions in the larger towns, such as schools, churches, stores, banks, and post offices.

In Hatiheu, all of the potentially more formal settings (such as the school, the post office, or the mayor's store) are permeated by the tensions that arise when various levels of a multiplex relationship are triggered by various facets of a context (e.g., when the mayor/store owner's nephew asks for credit to buy rice, when the **demi** teacher takes in a young man to provide meat for the household, or when the postmistress keeps an eye on her three-year-old while drinking a beer with friends on the steps of her office as tourists come by looking for stamps). But even outside of these slightly more formal contexts, most interactions are still complexly affected by pulls of kinship, friendship, and enmity. In other words, an attempt to create a social niche in Hatiheu based solely on professional ties is nearly impossible (as the teachers and nurses who have worked there

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all attest).

And yet that is what I was looking for when I first arrived in Hatiheu. After my experience in Tahiti of being adopted by Papa Vaha and his family, I did not want to repeat this form of incorporation. Also, I was not interested in engaging in temporary marriages. In fact, I was hoping to use money to create clear (by my standards) and not-too-loaded relationships between myself and those who were going to feed and lodge me and work with me.

Within a few days I came to understand how this mode of operation would not be successful as there was little food for sale and initially no housing for rent, and I found it difficult to explain what I needed in the way of assistance with my project (as it was not what the archaeologists needed in the way of muscular men with a knowledge of the jungle). Instead, I came to realize that 'friendship' would be my only recourse.

'Friends' in the Marquesas are those who feel 'pity' and 'compassion' for each other and help provide for each other's 'needs' (whether for food, shelter, labor, talk, or sex). Thus, I heard from those who did eventually take me under wing that I was the object of their **ka'oha/*pitié***

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'pity, concern, compassion', correlative to which came a stream of gifts (shrimp, avocados, pineapples) and invitations to sit, talk, and party.

Over time I came to understand that one proof of friendship is an ability to exchange teases lightly,[4] or as one man repeatedly advised me: I must learn to treat his jokes as **metaki** 'wind', and he would make a sweeping motion past his head with his arm, hand flattened (reminiscent of the American expression about letting something slide like water off a duck's back).

At first, I was ill-equipped both linguistically and emotionally to **keu** 'play' in this way. Sexual innuendo either escaped me or became the only thing I heard. 'Light-hearted' accusations that I had been stealing tourists' bathing suits and drunken imprecations that I wanted to steal someone's husband brought me equally to tears. In a sober moment, the author of the latter remark suggested that I ought simply to avoid her when she was drinking. However, she and I never became 'friends' -- I had cried too freely with her and exposed too much of my **pe** 'bad' or 'rotten' feelings, i.e., my softness, too soon.

When one is without 'friends', one is **vivi'io**, a state

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of vulnerability that should not be glossed so simply as 'lonely' as it represents a threat both to oneself and to others. If you do not accept the companionship of others to pacify your 'loneliness', then they may turn on you, as your pain is interpreted as a rejection of them and becomes grounds for rejecting you. In short, a web of friendship is protection against community-wide expulsion, but it is also something of a trap.

Having arrived in the field, married but childless and with no spouse in sight, I sat on the **vivi'io** fence for quite some time before more than a couple of villagers extended their **ka'oha**. Until then, many asked if I was **vivi'io** in that prying way that made me feel I ought to be feeling lonely instead of enjoying my privacy. A couple of people commiserated by showing me their own sadness over the loss of someone through death or leave-taking, subtly proposing that I take the lost one's place (as daughter, in the one case, and lover, in the other[5]). Instead, I worked out a way to **ha'ahoa** 'make friends'. Of course, **te 'Enana** and I mean different things by this verb, but we did end up with an intersubjective amalgam.

That is, somehow I superimposed to my satisfaction a

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friendship pattern that has been my forte ever since I started school and had to deal with the fact that my family moved every few years. In each new community, I learned to construct best and near-best friendships with several other girls. These friendships were based on an ideology of honesty, equality, and cooperative dialogue. There were, in reality, tensions and fractures as a result of instances of back-biting, competition, and shifts in allegiances; and there were patterns of talk in which one friend dominated the conversation while the other (usually me) listened. Oddly, and yet perhaps predictably, I found my best friend and several other close friends in the Marquesas more than willing to engage in relationships that fit these patterns, both the ideal and the real, almost perfectly.

However, I now believe that these friendships would not have been forged if I had not been so quickly enmeshed in a sticky web of gossip, both as target and participant. In this way I discovered first hand how difficult it is to make friends without engaging in the kind of emotionally loaded discourse that frequently turns out to be hurtful to someone. This genre they refer to as **tekatekao**, and I translate it as 'gossip'.

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The subject of the gossip in this case was whether or not I had come to steal the language and/or to **'umihi** 'pry' into the darkest secrets (i.e., the **pe** 'rotten' and **hakana** 'hidden' spots) of the village, write down a bunch of **tivava** 'lies', and sell them as a book for a lot of money in America. For **'Enana** this was a normal instance of conflict discourse with a **Hao'e** and a means for 'playing' with and indexing their own ethnolinguistic identities vis-à-vis mine. However, on looking back I understand that, although extremely painful at the time, it was exactly these entanglements that captured for me the **ka'oha** of a large subset of the community and socialized me so quickly into some rudimentary competence in their interactive styles.

The gossip derived from a couple of sources. While **te 'Enana** have abiding fears of cultural theft, my research approach also promoted these fears. Thus, I had to wend my way through a minefield laid by both previous **Hao'e** and myself.

First of all, when I arrived, I thought I had to explain to everyone I met why I was there -- that I had come to record everyday dialogue, transcribe it, write about it, and publish it (quadrupally decontextualizing 'it'

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[Silverstein and Urban 1996]). At the time I found these explanations nearly impossible to accomplish for a variety of reasons, but looking back I realize that the largest obstruction was the simple fact that my stated goals were irrelevant to most of my prospective 'subjects'. Decontextualizing discourse in this way appeared not only unfamiliar and potentially threatening, but also, and perhaps most importantly, useless and insignificant.

Secondly, I requested their signatures on consent forms and asked bizarre questions about whether I should or should not use their names in the book. The former brought up issues concerning the indexical power of the 'signature', dating back to a time when signing land deeds they could not read had resulted in a loss of use rights and the proliferation into the present of litiginous conflict even within families. Similarly, my offer to hide their identities by giving them new names may have appeared as a syncretic variation on an old theme, the pre-colonial practice of exchanging names set in a new fun-house context. What would I require in exchange for the name? What would they be losing by giving up their names?[5]

As a result, I met immediate resistance to my project.

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I heard how my discourse was being transformed into rumors of theft and book profits. I spent my first few weeks tracking down various sticky threads of gossip, trying to uncover who was saying what about me, and attempting to set them straight about my **toitoi** 'true' intentions.

Along the way, I was offered lots of programmatic advice about how to survive as an outsider in the Marquesas: don't show my fear; don't be embarrassed when being treated as a fool; don't expect people to take pity on my tears; don't take anyone's joking too seriously, but respond with 'smiles' and project 'happiness' even if not feeling that way; don't expose my hungers, hopes, and expectations, or risk being called a **kaiape** 'beggar'.

But more importantly, this process provided me with on-the-spot training in what was and was not working with respect to **ha'ahoa** 'making friends'. In particular, I experienced how crying only brought out scorn, that my avowals of integrity seemed to intensify suspicion (as they were perceived as expressions of pride), that it was better to listen to ongoing gossip than to pry too much myself, and that posing as a childlike fool to be teased worked better than representing myself as any kind of authority on

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anything.

Once I was befriended in ways I felt I understood, I found it easier to hide my needs appropriately and **keu** 'play' along with those interested in testing me. Nonetheless, I still fell prey to hypersensitive reactions to accusations of language theft whenever I traveled outside the safe **ka'oha** of my own small circle of 'friends'. Unfortunately, this happened with some regularity.

Wherever I went, and despite my still limited **'enana**, I found myself engaged in discourse with a large cross-section of **te 'Enana** -- i.e., not only the elite, the wise elderly, the children and their parents, but also those who hung out in the road, the 'wanderers' as I refer to them in this study. Of all of these, the least educated **'Enana**, whom the elite **haka'iki** 'chiefs' call **po ke'eke'e**, meaning 'black as night' or 'benighted', I discovered were not particularly interested in issues of cultural revival or language obsolescence. Though they shared the elite's beliefs that the language is polysemic and ever-shifting, they did not transform this into anxiety over its fragility and corrosion, but reveled instead in what they regard as its trickster potential for punning, offending, and excluding.

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Nor were they particularly worried about the language being lost. They hold that their children will learn **te 'eo 'enana** because they are **'Enana**. As one woman informed me, **'Enana** have no need for dictionaries or grammars, in fact have no time to waste on books of any kind. By contrast, as a number of people were happy to inform me, **Hao'e** 'foreigners', for all their logic or perhaps because of it, never would acquire this elusive language (and in fact very few have).

Nonetheless, I inferred that the amount of time and money a number of **Hao'e** have spent on the process of trying to pin the language down in books has not gone unnoted or unridiculed. Instead, this segment of **te 'Enana** had apparently concluded (not unreasonably) that their language, like copra, must be of considerable worth on the open market, and as such one more target of cultural theft by foreigners.

However, the last laugh as far as they were concerned was how inevitably the stolen object would be a forgery because the **Hao'e**'s linguistic mastery was a hoax, based on decontextualized book-learning and lack of practice in actual verbal play. So the product would be worthless in

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another ten years anyway as the language would have changed so by then. At least, this was what I gathered from those who kept a sense of humor.

With others, at times, I found myself the object of (usually drunken) outbursts of angry invective about how my putting their language in a book to sell in **Menike** 'America' was no different than the missionaries who took the land in exchange for lies, or the archaeologists who ran off with all the stone **tiki**. No matter how often this happened, my response was emotional as I attempted to pick apart the elements of 'truth' from the elements of misapprehension in these attacks.

Of course, the truth was not immediately apparent to the idealistic doctoral student who turned away long ago from the materialism of the business world, opting instead to search out elemental 'truths' about human beings, culture, and the communicative process. Only after months of eking out a tenuous existence in this world where friendship is understood in terms of the give and take of food as well as the give and take of words (i.e., neither food nor gossip is exchanged with just anyone), did it dawn on the would-be do-gooder that her proclaimed lack of

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interest in material gain was a sign of either insanity or total hypocrisy, and therefore good cause to avoid her and her research questions.

At last, I began to recognize how I had stumbled into a predictable historic tangle of ideology and emotion the moment I had arrived, armed as I was with my ambivalent set of researcher's principles: to describe empathically while shunning romanticism, to analyze interactively while avoiding interference. As it turned out, my hidden agendas, both positive and negative, and theirs were mutually re-enforcing each other all along. For instance, at its most good-natured, their expectation that I was here to help them conserve their language, matched my own professionally hidden longing: SAVE THE LITTLE LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD BEFORE THEY PERISH. At its worst, what they said about my being here to make money had some validity: I was here to find data to put in my dissertation so I could find a job that would make more money a year than they make in five. Even their divided linguistic ideologies -- whether language is a commodifiable entity or permeable and in flux, more or less easily acquired, more or less easily lost -- are reminiscent of some of the elements at issue in

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metalinguistic debates in the West over language acquisition and obsolescence.

Nonetheless, eventually I did acquire enough **'enana**, or at least enough slang, to engage more fully in daily interaction. That is, I proved my adaptability to the language's contextual flux and flow, in particular as I demonstrated an ease with slinging back sexual puns when they were tossed in my direction. Thus, a certain acceptance of my presence and my stated goals seemed to surface among the **po ke'eke'e**.

The elite **haka'iki**, by contrast, who had most to gain (politically and economically) from decontextualizing and commodifying their culture and language became less and less interested in me and my project there. I had finally convinced them through my work with children and young mothers (those 'manglers' of the 'real' language) that I would be of little help in packaging and selling their 'authentic' culture. As it turned out, I appeared to share more with the benighted jokesters in my concern for the ongoing and interactive construction of language and culture.

But with regard to all **'Enana**, from **po ke'eke'e** to

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**haka'iki**, I had one more realization. My misreading of their accusations of me stealing and selling their language was based on my own belief that they, like I, see money as dirty, materialism as false motivation and proof of an acquisitive greed, and appropriation as an imperialist move. To the degree that I got caught up in the stated aims of the cultural revival movement (such as pledging myself to help prepare the much-discussed pedagogical materials), I was impelled at one level by my own romanticism about such matters, but was at another level simply trying to barter my professional linguistic skills for the right to take away bits of their language for my own good (whether for my spiritual edification or material betterment is irrelevant).

After all, the real basis for their complaint was that I like others before me would take my data and leave, at best sending back some disembodied tapes and publications, whereas the social relations I had forged for the sake of doing research, being housed, acquiring food, would fade, and all future transactions would eventually end as they had begun -- no past, no future, no connection, no continuity. As my friend Moi explained it, the foreigner riff-raff is swept up on the beach by the tide, then swept out again with

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the next tide. **'Enana**, I finally realized, have neither trust nor fear that **Hao'e** will stick around long enough to alter their lives in any way that will irreparably damage them or incontrovertibly aid them.

Thus, **te henua 'enana** 'the land of people' may feel silent to an archaeologist or historian who wanders among the huge rock platforms and carved **tiki** trying to imagine how the people of some past civilization sang and danced in their **tohua**, ate and drank on their **paepae**. But for a student of discourse, the land is still vibrant with the dialogic flow by which peoples and persons construct their identities, word by word, act by act, generation by generation.

If only I had been better prepared to plunge in and swim.... Why hadn't my anthropological training prepared me for this? Of course, I *had* been **hakako** 'taught', but one cannot learn to be **kako** 'flexible' from afar. As most of us learn eventually, one has to stumble into one's own reality; it is never as obvious as what has been codified in books or the tales of others. And finally my own process of immersion, emergence, and separation vis-à-vis the **'Enana** with whom I interacted is embedded within this dissertation.

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While there is nothing original in treating fieldwork as a rite of passage and analogizing the fieldworker's incorporation into the community with a child's process of enculturation, I have done so for two reasons. First, I hope here to reflexively lay bare the prolonged impact of this enculturation process on the production of my own research. Secondly, in the coming chapters, I apply insights I gained from this experience to the analysis of the dialogic socialization of **'enana** identity.

With respect to the latter, I now realize that, following my stuttering entry into **'enana** society, I was, as **'enana** children are, cared for, enjoyed, and **hakako** 'taught' and 'made flexible'. I learned to communicate strategically at risk of being mercilessly insulted. That is, I learned to bend with the **metaki** 'wind', dealing as children do with the ubiquitous **keu** 'teasing'. The gossip, accusations of wrong-doing, and lying I was immersed in turned out to be much like the practices used to socialize any child to report on all activities in the community and to tattle. Discussions and tensions over the give and take of goods I engaged in paralleled precisely the routines of claiming and blaming produced by and for the children all around me.

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Like an **'enana** child's, my independence was discouraged, and my resilience within dependent relationships was rewarded. Love was doled out for being able to take it, flex with it, like a coconut palm that does not uproot totally to expose its shallow roots and manifest the gale force of the winds being applied.

While I was, of course, more powerful than a child, I (typically American) felt my agency to be greatly constrained by obstacles to do with food, lodging, travel, and communication, by insufficient privacy, and by suspicion well-directed at my already well-developed guilt. As a result, I was, like a child, frequently immersed in a liminal state that left me dialogically vulnerable. I felt I had lost my 'self', the one I had so laboriously constructed through 35 years of interaction at 'home'. My own identity: mature, married, female, conditionally American, anthropologist-writer, was superseded by my interpretation of their (predictable enough) interpretations of me as young, childless, non-Catholic, **vahine menike** 'American woman' with no husband in sight.

As for my purpose there, once it was established that I would not soon leave like the average tourist, I was quite

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appropriately assigned the role of an **'umihi** 'digger': one who pries into the business of others. Thus, I joined a category shared by a number of other 'gossips' in town who were, however, not necessarily disliked as judgments of them varied depending on the speaker and context. In any case, over time I emerged into/merged with that identity and found it worked. What else was I to be? Who after all was in charge?

Not all anthropologists experience this vertiginous loss of self, but some do. Similarly, not all long-term **hao'e** visitors to the Marquesas go **koe'a** 'crazy' (although many do). Clearly it is some peculiar distillation of the setting into which one walks and something in the anthropologist that predisposes one to the experience of 'losing it'.

But whatever I 'lost' (by contrast with what I became) is now impossible for me to reconstruct. Both the phrasing and ethos of this is for me very like my return to consciousness following a car crash and head injury I experienced when I was nineteen. At that time I reawakened the next morning to who I was because I found myself asking a priest how he could possibly believe in God. Then, for

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months after, I attempted to recreate my identity, knowing only one thing for sure: I would never know if I were the same person I had been before the crash as no one would ever tell me if I were not. Then again all I could do was go on from there.

Similarly, all I know for sure concerning fieldwork is that when my husband did arrive in the Marquesas several months into my time there, he had some trouble recognizing and re-calling me (he claimed I had become 'Marquesanized'). Although integration -- the process of gaining 'acceptance' in the field -- had been wrenching, the postpartum period of self-extraction and 'return' took far longer. However, both involved liminality, and dialogic moments of clarity do emerge from liminal periods.

Thus, from this crucible of dialogic exchange has emerged my rendition of **te 'Enana** -- their cultural values, communicative practices, and processes of identity construction as they deal with their own experiences of ethnolinguistic 'loss' and transformation. That it won't be wholly 'true', I trust my **hoa** 'friends' will interpret not as **tivava** 'lies', but as **keu** 'play'. And though my own roots are shallow, I will await with flexibility the **metaki**

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'wind' of their retort.

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## Notes

1. A note is needed here at the start to explain my use of ethnonyms and linguonyms. Dening used the terms **Aoe** 'foreigners' and **Enata** 'Marquesans' as I do **Hao'e** and **'Enana**. These differences stem from the fact that he was not a speaker of **te 'eo 'enana** 'the Marquesan language' and relied on the linguistic knowledge of francophone observers who were insensitive to /h/ and the glottal stop and/or wrote words inconsistently in their records. Additionally, most of the terms Dening employed throughout the book are from the dialect of the southern islands (MQS), illustrated here by the /t/ v. /n/ in 'the people.' By contrast, I use **'Enana** because that is the MQN term employed by the people in the northern island where I worked.

However, I have struggled over whether to use this term for the people and their language in this study. First of all, the term **'Enana** only arises in the context of speaking **'enana**. That is, unlike, for instance, the Maori in New Zealand, for whom the ethnonym **Maori** is used by speakers of all languages, the word **'Enana** is not used by anyone speaking ***français*** or any other **hao'e** language. Secondly, the term **'Enana** is not pragmatically inclusive because the southern inhabitants of the archipelago refer to themselves as **'Enata** (a fact that became an issue in the naming of the recently created Marquesan Academy which used the term **'Enata**).

Dening's point was that the **'Enata** long ago lost their identity as 'the people', and therefore he only referred to them in this way because he was writing a historical account of how they became instead 'Marquesans'. As will become clear, I disagree, both because I think people's identities always are in the process of becoming and therefore can never be lost wholesale, but also because 'the people' themselves have been self-consciously attempting to reforge an identity based precisely on this inclusively imagined identity of all the people in the archipelago. However, in an odd but perfectly predictable paradox, ***Marquisiens***, the term they use for themselves when speaking ***français***, turns out to be more inclusive than **'Enana** or **'Enata** because it avoids marking any internal differentiation.

Nonetheless, I have decided to use **'Enana** for the 'people' out of respect for the particular community where I

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did my fieldwork and where they referred to themselves in this way (when speaking **'enana**), but also because highlighting the semiotically dynamic nature of ethnonyms is central to the project of this dissertation on dialogic identity.

With respect to linguonyms, I examine at length in Chapter VI the problems with treating ***français*** and **'enana** as clearly demarcated linguistic systems; I consider the formal properties of the 'mixed-up' code **sarapia**; and I examine the language ideologies governing the meanings and uses of these codes, as well as of **menike** 'English' (derived from 'America') and **tahiti** 'Tahitian'. For the moment, however, I want simply to clarify a couple of points about my usage.

First, I use boldface type for all linguonyms in order to index the ideologically loaded nature of these references. Secondly, most languages and dialects are referred to using the MQN term (e.g., **'enana**, **menike**, **tahiti**, and, for instance, **ua pou** -- the dialect spoken on the island of Ua Pou). However, following FR conventions I distinguish the language from the people by capitalizing the latter only (e.g., **'enana** the language v. **'Enana** the people). Also following FR conventions I retain the small letter when using the ethnonym or linguonym in its adjectival sense to describe a cultural or linguistic belief or practice. However, I have chosen to use the FR word for that language and mark this usage with italics as ***français***. Also, although **sarapia** derives from the FR term ***charabia*** for 'mixed-up language', I have chosen to use the form phonologically altered by MQ and thus write it without italics. These choices too will be explained at more length in the section on language ideology.

While all references to linguistic systems are shaped by some ideological system (if only that of the Western language ideology underlying the discipline of linguistics), for ease of delivery, I do at times, as in the preceding paragraph, rely on the linguistic convention of using capitalized initials to refer to linguistic systems (e.g., FR for 'French,' ENG for 'English,' and MQN for the dialect spoken in the northern Marquesas), but I only do this when *local* language ideologies concerning the codes are not particularly at issue.

Finally, I add here one general comment about how I use glosses in this dissertation. After an initial reference to a FR or MQ term in which I provide its ENG gloss, I

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fluctuate somewhat arbitrarily in my usage throughout the rest of the text, sometimes employing the boldfaced FR or MQ term, sometimes using the ENG gloss in quotation marks, sometimes using both again. As explained above, I have chosen to be consistent with ethnonyms and linguonyms and use only the boldfaced versions throughout and never the ENG glosses, but for the sake of flow I have preferred to resort here and there to the glosses for other terms. A full glossary of these terms can be found in Appendix 9. The orthographic conventions used in the transcriptions of dialogue found throughout the text and in the larger segments included in Appendix 10 are summarized on a page preceding this introduction. These transcription conventions are explained at more length in Chapter III.

2. Although I did not conduct transcription-based research here, according to their own self-reports, the members of this family, like other **'Enana** living in Tahiti, mixed **tahiti** and **'enana** far more regularly than do **'Enana** living in the Marquesas. This was where I first heard the self-reproaching term **sarapia** in reference to their own 'mixed-up' usage.

3. I had not anticipated prior to fieldwork what the mere number of curious foreigners coming to the Marquesas has meant to them. A few of these visitors manage to bring about some positive change through the implementation of health, education, or development projects -- though many of these fall by the wayside or prove to be ineffective or misguided. Other visitors write articles or books, but these are rarely accessible to **'Enana** due to minimal literacy, the price and limited distribution of books, and the use of academic registers and foreign languages. In the meantime, **'Enana** make their own observations and systems of classifying their visitors, which have for the most part gone unrecorded and unpublished.

First of all, they encounter French and Tahitian doctors, nurses, teachers, priests, administrators, and other civil servants who take an interest in them, their language and culture, to varying degrees and with varying effects. Secondly, a fair number of 'yachties' and backpackers of many nationalities arrive and stay for indefinite periods, ask questions and attempt to get involved in more informal but sometimes quite intrusive

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ways, and have little to offer besides rum and cheap jewelry in return. By comparison, regular tourists, brought in limited boatloads or on package tours for limited amounts of time are in the minority and have only a minimal impact aside from injecting a little money into the economy and providing a certain type of entertainment (as most **'Enana** observe and poke fun at them from a safe distance).

Against this backdrop, there have also been an impressive number of 'official' researchers who have visited and revisited for various periods of time, with various objectives and assorted impact. Within the firsthand experience of people I met during my fieldwork, there have been among the archaeologists: Suggs, Sinoto, Kellum-Ottino, Ottino, de Bergh, Rollett, Conte (and a number of their graduate students), Addison, Baumgarten, and Millstrom; among the ethnologists, ethnohistorians, ethnomusicologists, and art historians: Kirkpatrick, Martini, Dening, Thomas, Sears, Moulin, and Ivory; and among the linguists: Lavondès, Elbert, Tryon, Raapato, Zewen, and Dumont-Fillon; as well as several biologists, geologists, entomologists, and ornithologists. This invasion of researchers makes something of an impression on a population of under 8000. And yet we are harder for **'Enana** to classify in that we are not obviously employed by the French government, but we do attempt to make ourselves at home. Usually we are simply lumped in with **turisi** 'tourist', perhaps in hopes that we will move along more quickly.

But finally, all foreigners (even French employees) look somewhat alike to **'Enana** in being comparatively wealthy, haphazardly curious, presumptuously interfering, demanding but easily dissatisfied **manihi'i**, a term used interchangeably for 'strangers' and 'guests'. That is, we are made welcome to varying degrees, but we are definitely not being invited to stay for long. According to the mayor Yvonne, **Hao'e** seem to go crazy when they live too many years among **'Enana** (e.g., Gauguin). From what I witnessed, I would say she was not far off the mark, and I have yet to understand why. Yet the fact that **Hao'e** need to ask the question *why?* may be part of the problem.

4. This fact was key to Kirkpatrick's analysis of personhood on the neighboring island of Ua Pou as well (1985a:100).

5. Several men politely offered their services as substitute

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husbands till mine arrived -- perhaps a comedic transformation on the **pekio** or secondary husband tradition. In any case, I was not preferentially treated in this as I heard such proposals were made to every foreign woman from the age of puberty on past menopause to arrive during my stay. However, presumably younger and lighter-skinned was better as at least one of the overtly stated objectives by those who propositioned me was that of incorporating more light skin into the gene pool. This implied a form of reflexive racism I heard in a number of other statements concerning, for instance, the equation between dark skin and savagery. None of this ideologically loaded discourse, of course, should be taken at face-value.

6. In the end, I decided against normative ethnographic practice to name my primary participants. First of all, there is enough phonological play with the referential meanings of their names in the examples I use to make it worthwhile keeping them in the text (I would have trouble inventing anything comparable). Second, given the amount of everyday detail I explore in this study, there would be no way to disguise the participants' identities from those who know them. Finally (and most importantly), I believe that it will give those who chose to work with me great pleasure to be named.

7. According to Glenn Petersen, this metaphor is used for foreigners in Micronesia as well.

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# PART ONE

## Dialogic Identity

## in

## Theory and Practice

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# Chapter II:

## Steps toward a Theory of Dialogic Identity

The macro and micro processes shaping ethnolinguistic and psychosocial identities are both formally comparable and closely interrelated. I define ethnolinguistic identities as the heterogeneous and always-changing projections of non-bounded groups of people who use various communicative forms and practices to reference, index, and forge their identification with various sociocultural formations. By psychosocial identities, I mean those multiple and ever-fluctuating manifestations of self that are constructed and interpreted through interaction with other selves throughout a person's lifetime.

These two forms of identity are never static units located within 'the culture' or within 'the person'. Both are forged by the dialectic between structure and agency. Both are socially constructed out of the interplay between ideology, idiolect, and interaction. Both take form in the context of dialogic practice. And neither is constructed in isolation from the other. In forging the concept of *dialogic identity*, I am looking for a way to mutually

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contextualize the emergence of psychosocial and ethnolinguistic identities.

At the macro level, a people's ethnolinguistic identity is constructed by sociohistorical dialectics: in contact situations, cultural ways of thinking, acting, and speaking lap up against each other, creating oppositional systems which consume the old even as in their new manifestations they are shaped by the old systems. At the micro level, a person's psychosocial identities are similarly shaped by wave-like interactions between the social nexus and the forming person, all largely mediated by talk.

The processes by which these two forms of identity emerge and transform over time are intertwined in a number of ways. Psychosocial identities refer to and deploy ethnolinguistic identities, while ethnolinguistic identities are manifested through acts of psychosocial identity. Thus, to study the ways in which these identities are co-constructed, one must look at: 1) how structural forces (political-economic, sociocultural, and translinguistic) become embodied and personalized by ideologies of ethnolinguistic identity; 2) how processes of psychosocial development reflect, mediate, and transform these larger

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structural forces and ideologies; and 3) how ideologies and identities are generated, reproduced, and negotiated by the rituals and rebellions of everyday life.

## A. Sense and reference of the terms

In order to launch this theory of *dialogic identity*, I first batten down the hatches with a terminological discussion of *dialogism* and *identity*, expanding a bit on their separate semiotic riches through drawing on their etymologies, semantic fields, and heteroglossic resonances.

### 1. *Dialogism*

I have adopted the term *dialogism* from Bakhtin/Volosinov to refer to the nexus of interactive processes out of which ethnolinguistic and psychosocial identities emerge. As I use the term by contrast with the related term *dialectic*, I begin here with an etymologically inspired comparison of the two.

Both begin with *dia* which gives access to various meanings including 'across' and 'two'. Both are derived

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from Greek *logos* 'word' or 'thought'. Thus, at their most abstract, both terms may be said to entail an attempt to bridge two opposing positions, providing the grounds for compromise, if not total resolution, and at least partial communication if not wholesale identification and solidarity. As Crapanzano (1992:197) puts it:

> a dialogue is a speech across, between, through two people. It is a passing through and a going apart. Dialogue has a transformational as well as an oppositional dimension -- an agonistic one. It is a relationship of considerable tension.

However, these terms did not always entail antagonism and transformation. While both were used in classical Greece to refer to conversation, *dialectic* was the one that implied transformation through opposition, i.e., debate (OED 1971:715). And, indeed, such a contrast in meaning between the two words is retained by analysts such as Becker, who in a (constructed) dialogue with Mannheim stated:

> Isn't this where the "dialogic" comes in -- where it differs from dialectic? The problem with dialectic is that it is an antagonistic trope, oppositional, in which a synthesis comes out of opposition. But we can try to *sustain* each other, and that's the better option. (Becker and Mannheim 1995:246)

This is an instance of the idealistic use of the term to which Crapanzano (1992:188-9) objects:

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> For anthropologists "dialogue" seems at times to substitute for "participant observation." It evokes a sentimentality that is associated with the participational pole of anthropology's traditional oxymoronic badge of methodological uniqueness.... It suggests friendship, mutuality, authenticity -- an egalitarian relationship. I am not questioning the possibility of egalitarian relationships of friendship, mutuality, and authenticity in the field. I note simply that dialogue, so understood, not only describes such relations but can create the illusion of such relations where they do not exist.

In support of the relevance of a non-egalitarian, oppositional interpretation of *dialogic*, I offer Holquist's glossary entry for Bakhtin's usage of the term (1981:426-7):

> Dialogism is the characteristic epistemological mode of a world dominated by heteroglossia. Everything means, is understood, as a part of a greater whole -- there is a constant interaction between meanings, all of which have the potential of conditioning others. Which will affect the other, how it will do so and in what degree is what is actually settled at the moment of utterance....
>
> ...A word, discourse, language or culture undergoes "dialogization" when it becomes relativized, de-privileged, aware of competing definitions for the same things. Undialogized [monologic] language is authoritative or absolute.

In other words, according to Bakhtin, dialogism is the force by which forms, practices, and ideas are contrasted and sometimes de-privileged relative to one another as a result. This understanding of the term necessitates a further look at the contrastive term *dialectic*.

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Prior to the nineteenth century, a dialectic meant a form of dialogue or, more precisely, a debate. A posits a thesis; B's antithetical response emerges by contrast; and both A and B are consumed by a synthetic conclusion to the debate, which later breeds its own antithetical reaction.

But by the nineteenth century, this conception of dialectical debate was irrevocably tied as a personifying trope to social groups and identities. A dialectic movement as it is generally understood now involves three features: 1) the juxtaposition of two opposing social formations: thesis and antithesis; 2) unequal power relations between the two; and 3) a move toward some kind of revolutionary, synthetic social formation.

The paradigmatic example of this is Hegel's master-slave relation in which the master achieves 'consciousness' through dialogue with the slave. History, for Hegel, is the process of state-building: dependent on consciousness (which emerged as a consequence of master-slave society), citizens create the Spirit of a nation, drawing together the resources in a way earlier civilizations could not do for lack of consciousness (despite their elaboration of complex languages).

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Marx and Engels applied this model to their analysis of class relations. To put it simplistically, a clash between aristocracy and serfs produced the synthetic class of bourgeois who were in turn opposed by their antithesis, the working class. That the resulting synthesis has not turned out as Marx and Engels anticipated does not disprove their understanding of historical process.

Many an anthropologist has further applied the Marxian dialectic to the analysis of colonialism and neo-colonialism, but with a difference. Whereas the oppositions between aristocrats and serfs and between bourgeois and working class have been generated by internal structural faults, the conflicts between imperialists and geographically isolated indigenous others do not emanate from an autochthonous disjuncture between the two, but rather have been realized in 'first contact' scenarios. Nonetheless, the struggles that have unfolded since those initial moments are not unlike home-bred ethnic/class/gender tensions. In other words, a swift process of enmeshment makes up for the lack of initial cohabitation.[3]

By contrast with these more global developments, I now return to the small-scale interactional roots of the term as

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Hegel first utilized it in order to extend the dialectic of history to that of ontogeny. The parent gives birth to the child. There is inherent inequality. The child nonetheless grows, rebels, dialogically emerges into its own synthetic production, and breeds its own antithetical progeny. What this process shares with that of societal dialectics is a process of socially contextualized opposition and transformation involving dialogic interactions which can by no means be characterized as egalitarian. But this terminological move on my part demands some inspection of the term *dialogic*, especially as it differs from *dialectic*.

Thus, I now return to the oppositional meaning of *dialogism*, bearing in mind what is implicit in Bakhtin's use of the term, namely that meaning is subject to the practices and sentiments of talkers and listeners over time. Not that we can simply decide to change the meaning of a term, but our salient use of it in particular contexts may cause it to veer. Thus, just as Hegel's and subsequently Marx and Engel's use of *dialectic* ruined its applicability to the realm of talk forever, so has Bakhtin's usage of *dialogue* created a semantic quake whose sediment of value has filled for some a large semantic gap left by Hegel's application of

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*dialectic* to the historical dynamics of social formations. By contrast, *dialogic* can now be understood as an engine of transformation stemming from ideological relations of opposition and inequality as articulated in everyday semiotic exchanges.

Or perhaps not...perhaps the egalitarian, cooperative spirit underlying Becker and Mannheim's (1995) usage of *dialogue* will prevail in this particular paradigm shift. But Bakhtinian conceits do appeal to the post-Marxian imagination. More ubiquitous, chaotic, and idiosyncratic than the structural groundswells and era-by-era maneuvers of Marxian dialectics, dialogic oppositions allow for small-scale revolutions in our homes, between family members, every day before breakfast, within our own utterances, as well as out there among the 'great men' on the public stage of History.

Not that this proves anything, but a morphological contrast in the roots of *dialogic* and *dialectic* may also provide some rationale for tracing distinctions in their present-day deployments. Whereas *dialogue* arose out of the nominative form *logos*, *dialectics* (*dialect* as well, but that would be another aside) is derived from the verb form *legein*

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'to speak'. In addition, the suffix *-ics* means 'acts' or 'practices'. One might be tempted then to make an analogy based on Saussure: *dialectics* is to *parole* (i.e., the process, practice, activity of speaking) as *dialogue* is to *langue* (the decontextualized but socially constructed system of language and thought). Thus, the ideological values of the dialogic system are manifested through dialectic practice (what, following Peirce, I would call indexically laden use). That might fit the pre-nineteenth-century understanding of *dialectics*.

However, this etymologically derived contrast contradicts my intuition that *dialectics* should refer to systemic societal change and *dialogic* to concrete, contextualized exchanges. But as always, such semantic divisions can be tweaked to produce pragmatic riches. Perhaps, one may forget the Saussurean parallel and follow Volosinov in saying instead that beliefs and identities are embodied by words in opposition (dialogue) which then have a hand in transforming social structural practices (dialectics).

This fits with the distinction Hanks indicates in his chapter title *From Dialectic to Dialogue*. Under this

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heading, he begins with a discussion of the dialectic involved in any speech event "between the expressive projection of the speaker into the world and the simultaneous construction of the speaker according to the world" (1996:205) -- i.e., the struggle between an individual's desires and the structural and ideological constraints on how individuals of a given identity may use language in a given context. From this understanding of the dialectics involved in everyday dialogue, Hanks then moves on to a discussion of dialogism in the Bakhtinian sense in which the dialectic is contained within an individual's every utterance -- that is, in quoting or revoicing the words of others, or simply echoing alternative speech genres, every verbal construction "draws its values from the ideological horizons of the society" (1996:207). Through juxtaposing and contrasting voices, the speaker embodies thesis, antithesis, and the resulting synthesis which creates its own antithesis in others.

To my mind this very much resembles the movement by which theorists of the psyche have embedded a tripartite system within the individual: Hegel's passions, Spirit, and freedom; Freud's id, superego, and ego; Lacan's subject,

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object, and the name-of-the-father; and Crapanzano's self, other, and the Third (1992:88). That is, the self cannot construct itself without an 'other' to speak to and be seen by as well as an ideological system according to and against which to evaluate itself.

But whatever their histories of semiotic distinctions and parallels, at present, both dialogic and dialectic processes are inextricably linked to the notion of "speaking across a divide" in that they are both mediated by and constitutive of communicative systems at the levels of both ideology and action. As such, I rely heavily on the use of *dialectics* and *dialogism* in my discussion of the production of ethnolinguistic and psychosocial identities.

## 2. *Identity*

*Identity* contains an apparent etymological paradox. On the one hand, it is derived from Latin *idem* 'the same' and retains this significance within two of its dictionary definitions: 1) "The quality or condition of being the same as something else;" and 2) "The set of behavioral or personal characteristics by which an individual is

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recognizable as a member of a group" -- i.e., as being the 'same' as others in the group. On the other hand, it has also come to mean: 3) "The distinct personality of an individual regarded as a persisting entity; individuality" (Soukhanov 1992:896).

Possibly, this third dictionary meaning could be explained as a product and reflection of the discursive move in Western civilization toward individualism, replacing the sociocentrism of earlier social formations. However, too much is presumed by such an explanation: that societies may be characterized as homogeneously individualistic or sociocentric, that the community of Latin speakers did indeed take such a turn prior to the emergence of French, or that such ideological movements are ever encoded so simply in the semantic shifts of a lexeme.

I prefer a more synchronic interpretation. Upon reflection, similarity and individuality turn out to be two sides of the same semiotic coin. As we all learn in Phonology 101, what sounds the same (allophonic) within one linguistic system ([p] and [p'] to an English speaker) may appear distinctive (phonemic) within another (/p/ and /p'/ to a Thai speaker). Thus, a person who was socialized

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within an English framework has trouble learning to hear the different meanings marked by the /p/ v. /p'/ contrast in Thai.

By analogy, the appearance of sameness and distinction stems from one's ideological position. An individual may seem the same as others within a given group to an outsider looking in (even if not predisposed by stereotyped imaging processes -- simply due to a habituated insensitivity to certain sets of distinctive features), but feel quite distinctive to those within the group. However, ethnolinguistic groups are no more essential entities than are personal identities; they emerge diachronically and contextually and are mediated by semiotic systems. Where individuals may be recognized as distinctive members (i.e., differentiable but nonetheless identifiable as one of 'us') given one context, they may at another point in time (given differences in context or historical shifts in ideology) be considered featureless outsiders (i.e., one of 'them'), at best identifiable by stereotyping indices which may once have appeared to be interesting idiosyncrasies but now mark that person as simply beyond the pale (see, for example, Urciuoli 1998).

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To merge these two trains of analogy: sometimes certain allophonic features begin to function phonemically. That is, speakers begin to recognize as contrastive features those that once were considered similar, and new linguistic varieties branch off carried by their speakers. In similar ways, the negotiation of identity (both similarities and distinctions) is at the heart of the dynamic by which ethnolinguistic groups are formed. In other words, identity is an intensional affair: depending on context and vantage, a person's identity will by extension be variously interpreted as an idiosyncratic individual or an ethnolinguistic token.

To clarify this last statement, I turn Saussure's coin over and deal with semantic value. That is, having mined phonology for all its analogic riches, I now engage the logico-semantic contrast between *intension* and *extension* in my discussion of how identities -- both personal and ethnolinguistic -- develop. But to do so, I first briefly resume my etymological investigation of the term *identity* and examine its use in philosophical circles.

Another dictionary meaning of *identity* is equivalence, the idea that something may BE something else -- not just

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like it, but *it*.[3] Fodor (1977:13) outlines three identity theories of meaning and defines them in the following way:

> The meaning of an expression is said to BE what the expression refers to [referential], or the idea associated with it in a person's mind [ideational], or the stimuli which elicit utterances of it and/or the behavioral responses it evokes [behavioral].

While she is not of course speaking of *identity* in the sense I am here (i.e., as ethnolinguistic or personal identity), I begin with this quote in order to recover some of the logical underpinnings of the term: the accepted notion that identity is a relationship of equivalence between two entities, i.e., the proposition that something *is* something else, not simply looking like, standing for, or pointing to *it*.

Fodor goes on to demonstrate the inadequacy of these identity theories for explaining meaning. Referring to philosophers of language such as Wittgenstein, Austin, Grice, and Searle, she explains how meaning cannot be considered an object apart from its expression, but rather a value inherent in the sign that gains its significance through contextualized use (1977:19-27). Thus, the identity relationship between signifier and object, idea, or stimuli in the world is illusory; our sense that the meaning of the

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word *apple is* an apple is an instance of social collusion (nothing new to Saussure).[3]

Through use of the terms *intension* and *extension*, I hope to show not only that the process of cultural identification, whether of self or of some other, is socially constructed, but also that the impression that this is a case of identity in the philosophical sense is similarly a logical fallacy. In such a case, an individual is seen as neither an instance nor a token of a people, but is essentialistically equated with a people (for instance, I would simply *be* an Anglo-American rather than being a representative of or an example of the many people who mostly speak some variety of English and inhabit a political state referred to as America). But first I briefly review the etymology of these two terms.

*Extension*, once referred to as *reference*, is reserved for the connection between a word and its strict denotatum whereas *intension* or *sense*, means all the possible associations of a given word under differing sets of conditions. In Frege's classic example, "the morning star" and "the evening star" refer to the same object in the universe (Venus); however, they have different senses as one

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comes up in the morning; the other goes down in the evening. Thus, "The morning star is the morning star" and "The morning star is the evening star" are different propositions -- i.e., though they are denotatively equal (resulting in the same truth value of 1), they signify something different, the one being a tautology and the other a clarification about how two apparently different entities refer in the real world to one and the same object (Fodor 1977:14).

Carnap substituted *intension* for *sense* and *extension* for *reference* and proposed that intensional meaning be seen as the organized collection (i.e., a function) of all the extensional meanings possible under all conceivable sets of circumstances. By plugging a set of circumstances into an intensional meaning, one may retrieve the extensional reference in that instance (Dowty et al. 1981:145).

Like meanings, ethnolinguistic identities arise within and among people -- that is, they are both mental and social. As with most words, there is no thing in the world to which *Marquesan* existentially refers. In fact, the MQ words **te 'Enana** 'the (Marquesan) people' may connote very different things depending on who is speaking to whom, in

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what context, and by contrast with whom; the intensional meaning of the phrase is richly heterogeneous as well as endlessly fluctuating. So too is the identity associated with these words intensional: more or less descriptive, more or less inclusive, more or less valued.

Nonetheless, under one or another set of circumstances, both the words **te 'Enana** and their presumed reference will connote a precise set of denotata. Thus, the extensional value of **te 'Enana** may be 'savage', 'proud', 'compassionate', 'selfish', 'beautiful', or 'resourceful'. 'The people' may extensionally encompass all those who were born in the Marquesas to **'Enana** parents, live in the archipelago and speak the language, or it may include some who do not fit most of these criteria. Either they were born and live in Tahiti, one or both parents are not **'Enana**, or they do not speak much **'enana**, and yet they possess some attributes or display some signs by which they are accepted as **'Enana** within some one or more contexts. For instance, while I was in the Marquesas, one boy, the product of a French father and Italian mother who had moved to the Marquesas before his birth, was circumcised along with his peers at thirteen. I don't know how he fared thereafter,

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but I have no doubt that he was, in the midst of the ritual, a true **'Enana**. **'Enana** such as him have in the cultural idiom been **hakai** 'adopted' (literally 'made to eat'). But just as adoption occurs haphazardly and contingently, so does expulsion.

Ethnolinguistic identity is, then, a product of the ongoing dialogic process by which, first of all, intensional potentialities for identity are selected from and transformed within a given interaction to a single, transient, and co-constructed extensional denotata of identity: **titahi 'enana** 'this person'. Thereafter, this instance of extensional reference resonates back and expands the intensional meaning of **te 'Enana** to incorporate this new semiotic possibility of what an **'Enana** may be. I return later to Kirkpatrick's point that the **'enana** notion of personhood is similarly fluid.[4]

The dialogism involved here is based in part on the minimally two-party participant structure of any instance of ethnolinguistic identification (although a person may engage in acts of self- or other-identification while physically alone, this is simply a result of embodied dialogism -- that is, of two or more voices interacting 'within'). In

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addition, dialogism infuses the dialectic movement between intension and extension, as out of the tension between them some newly syncretic intension (syntension?) emerges.

Finally, the desire for a reinvention of intensional identity, the belief that cultural identity exists as identity in the philosophical sense of a person *being* the people, acts as the Third, in Crapanzano's usage (1992:89), in the development of psychosocial identity:

> The Third permits a certain freedom in any dual relationship.... Within certain limits prescribed by the Third, self and other are able to cast each other in order to cast themselves *as they each desire*. And this is most important: the Third affords the space of desire....
>
> ...To become a self, the individual must seek recognition by demanding the other to recognize him-self, or his desire....
>
> A possessive reflexivity, one mediated by desire, and not simply by a mechanical reflexivity, is required for the emergence of the self and indeed of self-awareness.

Thus, both psychosocial and ethnolinguistic identities are constructed by way of dialogic processes within the self (past and present) and between self and others. That is, identity (the characteristics by which a person is knowable) is produced by the interplay of meanings both personal and societal within an everchanging set of frames. That *identity* implies both uniqueness (what makes one person

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identifiable as him or herself) and equatability (what makes one just like everyone else) points to the dialogism of the term and suggests the inherent tension between psychosocial identity and ethnolinguistic identity. Psychosocial identity emerges out of interaction with others; ethnolinguistic identity emerges out of the dialogic interplay of discourses between sectors within society and between those within and without the society about who we are. As such, identity is always in flux; every utterance gives voice to what identity is at the moment, to the meanings that have coalesced.

In the following sections, I discuss how translinguistic systems and heteroglossic economies are produced out of sociohistoric dialectics and how ethnolinguistic and psychosocial identities dialogically emerge across a speaking divide. The study of such phenomena has been undertaken within a branch of linguistic anthropology that has been emerging over the past twenty years. Primarily concerned with the dynamic and systemic interpenetration of social and linguistic phenomena, this approach is referred to here as *ethnohistorical linguistics*.

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B. Ethnohistorical linguistics

This approach to language, ideology, and society focuses simultaneously not only on changes in the linguistic system (e.g., the emergence of syncretic codes) and the social system (e.g., the transformation of cultural values, practices, and identities), but also on the ways in which the translinguistic system mediates the other two (e.g., changing patterns of language use and the socialization of affect, identity, relationships, and communicative genres).

The diachronic interests of the approach are derived in certain respects from the work of nineteenth-century philologists such as Grimm, Herder, Humboldt, and the early Saussure, all of whom focused in large measure on issues of formal comparison and change. In order to do so, these early linguists borrowed evolutionary and teleological models from social theory and recognized, if in a fairly simplified and reified fashion, that there was some relationship between linguistic and social forms and values.

In a major paradigm shift (signaled by Saussure's shift in foci from diachronic to synchronic studies), social and linguistic thought in the twentieth century has been marked

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by a concern with analysis of the system in all its structural-functional stasis. Linguists (from Saussure to Chomsky) and sociologists (from Durkheim to Bourdieu) have assumed that systems are reproduced with little variation, and so have concentrated on explaining the causes and mechanisms of synchronic stability. In particular, research within formal linguistics has treated language as a static, bounded structure, a reflection of the mind which is particularly amenable to study.

Although much of the early work labeled as *sociolinguistics* correlated social and linguistic change, systemic transformations were not explained in any principled way. These researchers tended (and some still do) simply to describe formal change, recording and statistically analyzing linguistic variants over time as they do over space. Then, fairly simplistic models were theorized to account for the simultaneity of shifts in social and linguistic variables.

By contrast, linguistic anthropologists who proposed the notion of an *ethnography of speaking* (e.g., Bauman and Sherzer 1974) were committed by definition to a present tense analysis of the forms, functions, and meanings of

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social interactions within a particular community. Not that they rejected the importance of attempting to uncover the historical origins and causal factors underlying particular communicative systems, but their focus was not there. Nonetheless, their approach contributed much in the way of terminology and conceptualization to the trend which I refer to as *ethnohistorical linguistics*.

Proponents of this approach combine the diachronic focus of the last century with an attention to both the systematicity of language and its relationship to social factors. That is, although assuming that there is a necessary coherence to linguistic systems at any given moment, ethnohistorical linguists focus on the sources, forces, and consequences of systemic change. But unlike their nineteenth-century forbearers, they are less likely to look for purely nomothetic explanations as these scholars are more interested in the historical effects of particular events, interactions, and formations. In examining the systemic interaction between linguistic, social, and ideological phenomena, most of these scholars draw heavily on concepts and terminology from Peirce's semiotics (1985), Jakobson's functionalism (1960), Whorf's linguistic

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relativity (1956), and Bakhtin's dialogism (1981).

Typical of the school, Silverstein holds that discrete linguistic codes exist as systems of marked oppositions (in contradistinction to the view that languages are unbounded formations which fade along a cline, one into the next, such that each individual's competence is a distinct idiolect). These linguistic systems, however, do not emerge 'naturally' -- i.e., as the product of scientific laws governing the operations of languages, internal to the languages, and, that is, independent of the social beings using those languages. Instead, linguistic codes emerge as a consequence of communicative acts by speakers who develop within a social system, itself constructed out of economic, political, communicative, and ideological constraints and relationships.[5]

Irvine and Gal (2000) investigate three semiotic processes shaping the identification of linguistic systems. *Iconization* is the process by which linguistic signs are ideologically equated with the users of those signs -- that is, speakers' use of a particular set of signs is naturalized and essentialized, and so the relationship is not seen to be historically constructed or contingent on

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external variables. Secondly, *fractal recursivity* refers to the ongoing dynamics whereby communities and languages split up and regroup and the persons involved take on the identities and practices of sub- or supra-groups marked by particular linguistic forms at various times, for various purposes, and with various schismogenic effects. The final semiotic process they discuss, *erasure*, covers the ways in which linguistic contrasts are made invisible by ideological understandings of 'other' linguistic systems as homogenous.

Semiotic processes such as these form a part of the communicative or translinguistic system in which the resources of linguistic codes are used to create the semiotic contrasts and functions in terms of which the social system operates (Hill and Hill 1986). Speakers in a society are to varying degrees conscious of these three systems (linguistic, translinguistic, and social) and their interlocking components, and it is this awareness that plays a large part in how the social semiotic system is produced, reproduced, and transformed (Silverstein 1998).

The primary illustrations of this model of interacting systemic transformations are found in studies of the ways in which isolated components of a linguistic system (e.g.,

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phonological or morpho-syntactic) change in interaction with the political-economic and translinguistic systems.

As research within the discipline of sociolinguistics has demonstrated, within any speech community the use of certain linguistic forms can be correlated statistically with certain classes of speakers, with certain social contexts, and with certain social functions. The more complexly stratified a social formation, the more social distinctions are indexed by small formal variations. However, these statistical correlations are not accurate representations of everyday speech patterns. Nor should these social-language correlations be considered static relationships.

Parole-based (i.e., idiosyncratic) variations at the phonological, morphological, or syntactic level may catch on and have diachronic consequences for the linguistic system of contrasts as well as for the communicative system of social indexical contrasts. For instance, a phonetic innovation has the potential to cause a shift in the phonological system if it is structurally frequent and happens to merge with or destroy a previously clear phonemic distinction. By *analogy* (Kurylowicz 1945-49), this

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innovation may sweep the system, either saturating or evacuating all the other forms in that class. However, this structural potentiality will only be tapped insofar as the linguistic structure interacts in salient ways with the translinguistic system as constrained by the political-economic system. That is, the innovation will only spread demographically if it comes to communicate indexically some kind of social contrast or value which people find significant within the wider communicative economy.

This is not to say that speakers will have an analytic grasp of the precise nature of the phonological features and the way they operate within the linguistic system. But frequently they will have some awareness of the relationship between certain sounds and certain social meanings and will transform this awareness into shibboleths -- i.e., ideologically identified and codified *surface segmentables* (Silverstein 1981). As a result, they will overgeneralize and hypercorrect in ways that have far-reaching effects for linguistic, translinguistic, and even political-economic systems.

Labov's work on the diachronic shifts revolving around the use or lack of use of post-vocalic /r/ by members of the

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lower middle class in New York City (1972a) exemplifies the working out of these potentialities. In brief, given the association between an absence of post-vocalic /r/ and working-class status, individuals (especially women) have attempted to reintroduce /r/ after vowels and ended up with hyper-corrected forms that have once again marked their particular social status.

Silverstein's study of English pronomials (1985) is an example of ethnohistorically contextualized morphological shift. He compares the use of *thou* in nineteenth-century Quaker communities with the struggle over generic *he* in present-day feminist circles. In both cases, pronomial forms were invested with social meaning based on inequities in the political-economic system. However, in the case of the *thou*-using Quakers, these same structural inequalities created a backlash stigmatization of the group indexed by the use of this pronomial form. Although Silverstein does not directly address the issue, one might anticipate a similar fate for generic *she*-using feminists. At the level of linguistic change, just as the *thou* died out, so does he predict that use of generic *she* will be dropped; instead the ideological tension in the social semiotic system will

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result in the spread of the already vernacular common practice of using indefinite, singular *they*. In other words, change ripples across the linguistic system, driven by sociological and translinguistic pressures, but not in the ways that are ideologically prescribed.

In short, linguistic systems are transformed by 1) the constant production in performance of variant linguistic forms; 2) particular juxtapositions of feature spaces across which these variants can spread; 3) the contextualization of language use by a particular set of political-economic constraints and ideological justifications; and 4) a particular set of semiotic relationships between linguistic features, social functions, and people's metapragmatic awareness of these. Variation within a linguistic feature space can, through the system of linguistic oppositions (and their suppression), trigger readjustments of the entire linguistic code, but only in interaction with social functional parameters.

A number of sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists have investigated the diachronic interactions of linguistic, translinguistic, and political-economic systems in an attempt to describe and explain the

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alternating use of codes (i.e., *code-switching*), the fact that sometimes one code permanently supplants another (i.e., *language shift*), and the production of new codes within a zone of contact (i.e., *creoles*). A very short list of this work includes Gal (1979, 1987), Garrett (1999), Jourdan (1994), Rampton (1995), Sankoff (1980), Spitulnik (1998), and Woolard (1989, 1998).

However, fewer researchers have explicitly formulated a model of diachronic change in the translinguistic system to parallel that of change in components of the linguistic system as discussed above. One exception is the work of Hill and Hill (1986), in which sociolinguistic feature spaces are hypothesized to consist of differently valued linguistic codes across which changes in the translinguistic code can spread by analogy in response to tensions imposed by the political-economic system. Thus, the ideologically stigmatized mixed code called Mexicano has been constructed out of political-economic inequalities and the associated tensions between the social and political values assigned to Nahuatl and Spanish. Similarly, Errington (1998) explores how transformations in the values attached to Javanese and Indonesian have led to the muting of oppositions between

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these once presumably separate linguistic systems and allowed for their mixture in the interactions of Javanese Indonesians.

Finally, changes in the political-economic and social systems may affect both linguistic and translinguistic systems through transformations, for example, in the socializing forms and practices of caregivers. Kulick (1992) did not apply this model of structural transformation to an understanding of language acquisition and use among the Gapun. Nonetheless, with respect to his data, one might well analyze caregivers' new code choices and socializing routines as forms that swept the sociocultural feature space due to vacuums created by the loss of ideological support for traditional socializing forms, once again triggering unintended shifts at the translinguistic level.

In all of these modelings of translinguistic transformations, a key component is the theorizing of the relationship between language and ideology[5] and the role of *language ideology* (Silverstein 1979; Schieffelin, Woolard, Kroskrity 1998) in the dialectical formation of social groups and ethnolinguistic identities.

For many theorists, beginning perhaps with Volosinov

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(1973), language is inherently ideological and ideology would not exist without language. That is, on the one hand, people use language to create, communicate, and obfuscate information about the world (i.e., to construct ideology); on the other hand, it is only through social interaction and use of this communicative code that human beings have developed (both phylogenetically and ontogenetically) thoughts, culture, consciousness, social divisions, and power relations. For instance, Bloch (1975) analyzes how ritual language is a form of restricted code that operates as a means of social control in pre-capitalist societies.

One type of ideology produced and communicated by language, which is of particular interest to research into the negotiation of affect, values, identities, and relationships, is metalinguistic or metapragmatic ideology. These forms of language ideology range from largely unconscious and pragmatically encoded significations about verbal intercourse to wholly conscious paradigms concerning the nature, structure, uses, and development of language (including, of course, Western linguistic theory). In between lie all of the stereotyping half-thoughts, feelings, and attitudes of people about the relative merits and

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appropriate uses of specific linguistic varieties and about the people who speak them.

Following again in Volosinov's steps (1973), some claim that all ideology is inherently a form of metalinguistic ideology in that there can be no ideology that does not refer to or depend upon semiosis. What is clear is that language never operates without language ideology; thus, an explicit theory of language ideology is essential to any exploration of communicative practice.

First, as was indicated above, language ideology plays an all-important role in the construction and differentiation of linguistic systems via various semiotic processes. Thus, languages owe their systemiticity to the immersion of speakers in ideology about what languages are, how they are acquired, who speaks them, and what their contrastive elements (if perceived) signify.

Secondly, ideology about language plays a key role in the production and transformation of ethnolinguistic identities. In the first half of the dialectic, language ideology is shaped and institutionalized by political-economic forces such that certain forms of discourse (e.g., legal, academic, and medical) are legitimated and official

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codes are selected, standardized, and promulgated as symbols of ethnolinguistic unity and identity, while other forms are stigmatized and/or transformed. In the other half of the same dialectic, individuals either accommodate to the dominant language ideology, developing communicative competence in prescribed ways, or else they construct covert or subversive language ideologies and develop the strategic capacity to code-switch, i.e., to speak out against the status quo or simply to communicate outside its bounds.

Third, ideology (both language ideology and all other forms of ideology) is expressed, presupposed, and constituted by the everyday dialogism of communicative practice. At the more obvious referential level, language is used to talk about ideology, that is, to articulate in relatively straightforward fashion various ideological principles. At more complex and reflexive metapragmatic levels, language functions indexically to instantiate ideological identities, relationships, contexts, and forces.

Finally, language ideology plays a key mediating role in the development of psychosocial identity. On the one hand, it governs our engagement in social interaction and acquisition of local communicative norms; on the other hand,

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it is in reaction to attitudes concerning appropriate usage that persons develop their unique repertoires and commitments. Thus, in the course of language socialization -- i.e., the dialogic process whereby we learn not only how to speak, but also how to think and act in the world -- language ideology is both reproduced and reproductive, both transformed and transformative.

Employing this concept of language ideology, ethnohistorical linguists are theoretically prepared to analyze dialectical changes in linguistic, translinguistic, and sociocultural systems. As such, their work has served as a springboard for my own research into two heuristically separate but interrelated areas: 1) the historical development of a heteroglossic economy in the Marquesas within which people are presently imagining their ethnolinguistic identities as **'Enana**; and 2) the socialization of affect, identities, relationships, and communicative practices. The next two sections are devoted to theory related to each of these agenda.

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C. Hegemony and heteroglossia

The title of this section is meant to be evocative, not merely of alliterative buzz-words, but also of the multiplex process by which speech economies and ethnolinguistic identities are formed and transformed. The term *hegemony*, first popularized by Gramsci, refers to the ideological ways in which one sociopolitical group is seduced into submission by merging its identity with that of another sociopolitically dominant group. *Heteroglossia* was coined (or at least introduced to the Anglophone world) by Bakhtin to mean the ways in which all discourse -- from single words to long texts -- speaks with the many voices (accents/languages/genres) that form within any society.

By juxtaposing *hegemony* and *heteroglossia*, I am intimating a theory about how hegemonic forces are perpetually and dialectically both served and subverted by the heteroglossic nature of discourse. While multiple voices may be, at least apparently and momentarily, unified into singular ethnolinguistic identities due to social, political-economic, and ideologic pressures, other voices inevitably emerge and crack the appearance of solidarity and

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group identity.

In an attempt to articulate such a comprehensive model of the dialectics by which heteroglossic economies and ethnolinguistic identities both emerge and disperse, I undertake in this section a discussion of the historical shifts that languages undergo (formally and ideologically) as well as the pragmatic shifts made by speakers between languages within any given conversation.

As Errington explains in reference to his book, *Shifting Languages*, the title's syntactic ambiguity was intended to signal his attempt "to develop a dynamic tension between these institutional and interactional perspectives" (1998:5), i.e., between what is referred to in the literature as, on the one hand, processes of *language shift* and, on the other, instances of *code-switching*. In this section, I follow his lead in outlining a theoretical approach to heteroglossia, considering how influences on translinguistic systems over historical time are manifested indexically within real-time interactions, and thus how heteroglossic discourse is related to the ongoing emergence of ethnolinguistic identities. Thus, the subtitle of my own study mimics the bivalent passive-active construction of his

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as I wish to show how heteroglossic translinguistic systems both transform and are transformed by the emergence of dialogic identities.

## 1. Heteroglossic economies and their transformations

*Communities* are popularly assumed to be, by definition, groups of people capable of *communicating* among themselves. By extension, the term *speech community* was developed as the unit of analysis for referring to a group of people whose verbal interactions are of interest from a number of disciplinary perspectives. However, linguistic anthropologists have grown increasingly uncomfortable with the connotations of homogeneity accruing to this moniker.

First is the presumption that speech community members all share the same codes, patterns of use, communicative practices, and language ideology. In fact, members of even the smallest of communities (e.g., a household) display differences (non-shared attributes) in various ways. For instance, while all members may comprehend various codes, they may not all share an ability to perform all of these. Similarly, members may differ in their ability to engage in

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various genres, and norms concerning the significance of various communicative forms in particular contexts may differ.[4]

Secondly, the term implies that speech communities are entities whose members all share, if not the same words, thoughts, and feelings, at least the same zeitgeist about communal solidarity. Although such an ideology of solidarity may exist, it is necessarily a fragile and polyvalent construction attached semiotically (not organically) to the socially constructed notion that the community has boundaries.

Finally, there is an inherent sense of stasis to the speech community concept which is untenable. As many (e.g., Duranti 1988a:217) have by now made clear, all speech community systems are emergent, i.e., heterogeneous over time. Thus, a synchronic description of variants, practices, and norms is not sufficient. To understand how all components of linguistic, translinguistic, and social systems are intertwined, their diachronic transformations must be evaluated as well.

Thus, linguistic anthropologists now mostly agree that all 'communities' are heteroglossic. First of all, a

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multiplicity of codes and communicative practices are used within almost any group's zones of interaction for a variety of social functions. Secondly, not all members of the group are equally prepared for and/or committed to acquiring and using all of these codes and practices in all applicable contexts. Third, the codes, practices, and norms concerning usage transform continuously over communicative time and space.

What I identify as the ethnohistoric linguistic approach to necessarily heteroglossic local groups has been reviewed in a recent article by Silverstein in which he explores

> the dynamic linguistic anthropology of what we might term "local language communities" investigated as dialectically constituted cultural forms.... It [this school of linguistic anthropology] takes literally the proposition that through social action, people participate in semiotic processes that produce their identities, beliefs, and their particular senses of agentive subjectivity. It considers culture to be a virtual -- and always emergent -- site in sociohistorical spacetime with respect to the essentialisms of which such agents experience their groupness.... Languages are only relatively stable -- hence, when perduring, classifiable -- outcomes of dialectical valorizing processes among populations of people.... [Thus] language communities are groups of people by degree evidencing allegiance to norms of denotational (aka "referential," "propositional," "semantic") language usage, however much or little such

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> allegiance also encompasses an indigenous cultural consciousness of variation and/or change, or is couched in terms of fixity and stasis.... The language community, and hence its language, can be seen as a precipitate of sociocultural process. (1998:401-402)

By my lights, this is to say that *language community* is a term that must be forever set in quotation marks as both the 'language' by which it is marked and mediated and the 'community' which language dialogically serves are both dialectically fluctuating constructions forged out of the confluence of ideology and practice. That is, ideological systems of linguistic valuation create speakers' identities as members of a given 'language community'.[3]

To better articulate this dialectical understanding of 'local language communities', I employ the concept of *speech (or communicative) economies*. As mentioned above, many early sociolinguists saw the practical and theoretical importance of analyzing the correlations between socioeconomic classes, linguistic varieties, and language attitudes. However, it was not until the mid-seventies that we find a fully articulated modeling of *speech communities* as something more like *speech economies* (Hymes 1974) or *economies of linguistic exchange* (Bourdieu 1991). In such a model, linguistic forms are raw resources; verbal practices

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become the means of production and reproduction; and ideologically valued linguistic varieties are the symbolic capital which, due to social relations of production, some acquire and some do not. Limited access to linguistic capital defines the division of verbal labor, limiting whole classes of individuals' means to produce and reproduce in the speech economy.

The early work of Volosinov (1973) in this vein has seeped into the work of even non-linguists interested in the global effects of ideology and discourse. Thus, in his final work on ideology and world sytems theory, Eric Wolf (1999) wrote that speakers act upon *language* as workers act upon the material world via various social modes of production. And putting this same line of thought (materialism turned discursive) to work, Foucault wrote:

> in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures, whose role is to avert its powers and its dangers, to cope with chance events, to evade its ponderous, awesome materiality. (1972:216)

The speech economy model has been elaborated by a number of ethnohistorical linguists (e.g., Gal 1987, 1989; Hill 1985; Irvine 1989; Woolard 1985) in their efforts to nuance our understanding of heteroglossic contexts. In

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these analyses, although ideologically valorized codes frequently exist in the form of *languages* and *dialects*, every interaction is rife also with more subtly distinguished *voices*, vying or collaborating, much of this outside the limits of participants' awareness. And as communicative norms are not fully shared by all players in the market, not all exchanges are evaluated similarly by all participants, nor can the rates of exchange be controlled by any one party. To the contrary, every interaction offers a locus in which to observe how political-economic forces structure and are structured by: 1) the distribution of heteroglossic resources within and between individuals; 2) individuals' negotiation within and between settings using the resources available to them; and 3) the production and reproduction of ideology concerning the workings of the heteroglossic economy.

Finally, just as world theorists hold that social modes of production are interlinked within a world system (economic, political, ideological), so would I propose that modes of producing talk are interlinked in a global communicative system and best understood via ethnohistorical analysis. First of all, different types of heteroglossic

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societies (marked by different kinds of codes and communicative practices, the patterns of their use, and the ideologies and identities associated with their usage) are generated and linked as the result of recurring structural processes. Secondly, the dialectical transformations from one sort of heteroglossia to the next cause shifts in the codes themselves, in the pragmatic use and ideological significance of the codes, and in the ethnolinguistic identities of their users.

While early sociolinguists interested in categorizing heteroglossic societies and their transformations did not conceptualize a global communicative economy as such, much of their thinking might well be reformulated in this light. Thus, Ferguson's analysis of diglossic societies and Fishman's classification of societies manifesting diglossia with or without individual bilingualism[16] were influential in my own ethnohistorical analysis of three interrelated forms of heteroglossia, their social causes and consequences, as well as the processes by which they change. I outline these structural formations here as all three have obtained at some point in the Marquesas: the first prior to colonialism, the second during the first century of

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colonialism, and the third as a result of the rapid social changes of the last fifty years.

a. From linguistic equality to lingua franca

According to a number of scholars, in places such as Papua New Guinea and the Amazon, the concept of linguistic inequality was, prior to colonialism, largely unknown (e.g., Sankoff 1980; Kulick 1992; Jackson 1974). Social groups did tend to produce linguistic variations in order to mark their intergroup boundaries, and sometimes assumptions were made about the superiority of one's own code. However, as the groups did not attempt to incorporate or dominate each other politically, neither did they ever attempt to impose their codes on one another. As a result, no one code associated with a given group gained in prestige over another. Instead, an individual's ability to speak a number of neighboring languages was considered a great resource and political asset, allowing for the achievement of interpersonal power and the instantiation of small-scale social inequalities.[11]

In many parts of the world, widespread patterns of

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linguistic inequality only arose as the result of long-distance trade networks and the production of regional power imbalances. These politically loaded economic networks were implemented and indexed by *lingua franca*.[12] Usually the lingua franca would be a somewhat simplified (pidginized or koinized) version of one of the interacting groups' languages. Thus, its acceptance and valorization as a trade language may indicate something about autochthonous political-economic dynamics (e.g., Swahili in East Africa). Following the advent of colonialism, lingua franca were also sometimes established as the result of external happenstance (e.g., missionaries chose to proselytize in the language of those among whom they happened to have settled -- for instance, Island Kiwai in coastal Western Province, P.N.G.).

For some peoples the lingua franca is a version of their own first language while for others it is a second language acquired with varying degrees of proficiency. Thus, the same lingua franca is not uniformly spoken throughout a region, the different varieties being the historical artifacts of the different ways in which the lingua franca has spread and been acquired by different networks of individuals. As a result, competence in

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dialectically valorized lingua franca itself becomes a form of symbolic capital possessed by individuals and associated with certain groups. The relative equality of codes and their speakers within non-local translinguistic systems is no longer a possibility.

b. Diglossia and state structures

Imperialism, from the creeping territorial encroachments of China or medieval France to the far-flung colonial enterprises of classical Rome or Victorian England, has engendered another widespread form of communicative economy marked by an uneasy, but sometimes long-term, cohabitation of more or less subordinated and dominating codes (not to imply that these codes are unchanging and unaffected by each other, but that they do persist as discrete systems).

Sometimes the codes are kept quite separate by class and ethnic boundaries (Fishman's diglossia without bilingualism), but they have also sometimes coexisted for generations within the minds and mouths of the encompassed peoples (i.e., diglossia with bilingualism). In either case

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the use of *High* and *Low* varieties echoes and mediates social structural domains and hierarchies. However, I would like to suggest that these two possibilities are generated by particular political-economic formations, the former tending to exist at the center and the latter at the periphery of empires.

Only at the center of an empire is the population of the elite sufficiently dense to provide a speech network capable of reproducing the *High* forms as a native monolingual language. That is, the long-term stability of this diglossic system is based on the existence of centralized courts and an endogamous (if international) elite, i.e., a venue for and active membership in the ongoing production of national standard languages via literature, education, and print media.

At the margins, the elite (e.g., provincial lords, New World colonists, Southern plantation-owners) are surrounded by the *Low*, indigenous, or creole varieties employed by the rest of the populace and thus tend to speak as a native language a variety largely influenced by the surrounding varieties. Although these isolated elites have access to standardized forms of the *High* language through education

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and other transient and displaced zones of socialization, they lose access to the everyday, informal use of the code and so create instead a new *vernacular*." In the archetypal example, Latin was transformed into the vulgate Romance languages. In this case, the ongoing acquisition of bilingual repertoires and the communicative codes by which varieties are associated with specific social contexts and functions formed the relatively stable kinds of diglossia which contributed to the imagining of the nation-states throughout Europe and South America (Anderson 1983).

c. Colonialism and creoles

Colonization and the social changes caused by incorporation into a capitalist world economy have bred much more rapid transformations in codes (pidgins, creoles, and other restructurations) and their use and obsolescence among colonized peoples, i.e., an unstable state of bilingualism without diglossia, according to Fishman's schemata (1971).

Radical restructuration of an indigenous language frequently results from the imposition of a dominant group language as a tool for political rule or for acculturation

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via education (e.g., English in India). In cases where the dominated people retain an indigenous language common to all, there is no need to forge a wholly new language with which to interact. The prestige and subordinated codes do affect one another -- sometimes the result of a community of children raised by second-language speakers (i.e., non-systemic input) -- leading to much simplified and reorganized codes.[14] However, this is different than the case in which no prior code-in-common exists and thus has to be created.

Pidgins and creoles usually develop in areas where speakers of more than one language are displaced, resituated, and dominated by speakers of another language (e.g., the tropical belt circumnavigated by European colonists and exploited through the capitalist transformation of indigenous trade routes and introduction of plantation slave labor). Generally the dominated people, being cut off from interaction in their indigenous languages and denied opportunities for acquiring the prestige language, depend upon the pidgin for everyday interactions. By contrast, the colonizers generally carry on domestic and long-distance relations in their native (now, the prestige)

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language. As mentioned above, the colonizers may no longer engage in daily intercourse with a large speech network, and their code is duly altered by contact with the pidgin. However, the vitality of their old code is buttressed by ideologically loaded socialization patterns at home and at school.

Thus, it is the laborers who speak the pidgin more proficiently and do the creative work of elaborating it: borrowing vocabulary, generating new forms, and expanding the old ones to cover more topics and contexts of usage. Generally under such conditions, the pidgin is used with children and thus becomes their first language (the process known as *nativization*); as a consequence the code begins to undergo natural language development.[15] In a few cases, the resulting creole has been further expanded, developed, and standardized for use as a national language in government and education (e.g., Tok Pisin in PNG). However, not all pidgins become stable languages or creolize; some pass away with the disappearance of the social circumstances of their creation.

In even the most socially egalitarian contexts, the

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production, acquisition, use, transformation, and loss of linguistic varieties (whether simplified or creolized, nativized or standardized) is the consequence of communicative economic processes which generally cross local 'community' boundaries. Using a global communicative framework, it is possible to analyze how linguistic varieties are worked into distinctive codes, juxtaposed in unequal relationships, and ideologically associated with social diacritica via the translinguistic system. This in turn allows for an analysis of the dialectical emergence and fragmentation of local heteroglossic 'communities' and ethnolinguistic identities within a global communicative economy. The patterns of heteroglossic usage resulting from and indexing such inegalitarian speech economies are the subject of the next section.

## 2. Heteroglossic practice

It has long been recognized that multilingual speakers draw on elements of more than one code in their repertoires within a particular speech economy, context, turn of talk, or phrase. For most of the first half of this century,

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linguists viewed these heteroglossic practices as epiphenomenal -- i.e, as the idiosyncratic fall-out from *performance*, or a part of *parole* in Saussure's terms, and therefore irrelevant to the paradigmatically approved project of understanding language structure.

Where instances of multilingual usage were noted they were interpreted via deficit-based theories of semilingualism (beginning with Bloomfield's Menomini example [1933]). Even Weinreich (1964), who was intensely concerned with language contact phenomena, assumed that the balanced bilingual only changed codes in response to a change in situation, topic, or interlocutor. In other words, *mixing* languages within a single utterance was considered conduct unbecoming a true bilingual, and was either judged as psychologically based *interference* or accounted for by reference to systemic change, usually in the form of lexical borrowing.

Since then, a wide array of linguists, psycholinguists, sociolinguists, conversation analysts, and linguistic anthropologists have concluded that this behavior is not only personally and/or culturally significant but also organized by linguistic rules and/or language ideologies.

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As a result, a lot of ink has been spent in an attempt to create and sort out terms and conceptual parameters for explaining exactly how these practices are organized and what they signify.[16]

Although somewhat uncomfortable myself with the term *code-switching* given the connotations of both *code* and *switching* (Alvarez-Cáccamo 1998, 1999), I have nonetheless adopted this moniker to refer in a generalized sense to the dance of heteroglossic discourse. That is, I use *code-switching* to refer inclusively to all types of alternation between linguistic varieties by members of heteroglossic populations, whether this occurs intra-, inter-, or extrasententially, within or across turns, by different speakers but within a single speech event or across situations, whether suddenly or through blends or not exactly at all, and whether intentionally or unthinkingly or something in between. This umbrella usage allows me to grip the subject while analyzing the various types of translinguistic transformations to be found in any human exchange and better illuminate the full creative range of heteroglossic practices.

Nor am I alone in this usage. Given the publication in

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the past two decades of numerous articles, monographs, at least five edited collections (Heller 1988; Eastman 1992; Milroy and Muysken 1995; Jacobson 1998; Auer 1998), as well as a forum on the web sporting *code-switching* in the title, it appears that this term (henceforth CS) has, for the moment at least, been generally accepted as the heuristic catch-all label for focusing on these phenomena.[17] But whatever the terms used, this plethora of publications also confirms the fact that the study of the interrelationship between formal, functional, and diachronic aspects of heteroglossic practices within multilingual populations has definitively come of age.

a. Code-switching research under review

Linguists interested in the formal aspects of CS have attended to language structure and focused, by way of data, on individual utterances abstracted from their social contexts. Agenda that result from this structural approach include: identifying universal grammatical constraints on CS, creating typologies and taxonomies of the forms of CS that occur, and writing CS grammars (Poplack 1980, Muysken

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1995, Myers-Scotton 1993a).

However, as evidenced by recent work collected by Jacobson (1998), much formal analysis is no longer attempted without reference to social contextual variables and the integration of functional analyses. For instance, even Myers-Scotton (1998), who insists that cross-cultural research proves CS is governed by innate controls on the extent to which humans may *mix* the codes in their repertoire, is attempting to account for community-specific variability in patterns of usage (given what is humanly possible) by examining the psycholinguistic and sociopolitical conditions that produce some types of CS and not others.

In a project complementary to the rule- and grammar-writing of formal linguistics, psycholinguists interested in bilingualism have focused on understanding the nature and kinds of bilingual competence and the abilities and dispositions underlying observable speech behavior. Thus, psycholinguistic studies of normal bilinguals, bilingual aphasics, and children have explored how grammatical rules and lexical items from more than one code are acquired, stored, accessed, and lost by individuals.

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From this psycholinguistic perspective, CS phenomena provide valuable clues to the organization of language found in the bilingual brain. Of particular interest to the present study is the research done with young children. For instance, some of the work done on infant bilingualism has taken the mixed utterances of children just beginning to talk as evidence of a hypothesized 'unitary language' that is only later differentiated into two codes by the child (e.g., Volterra and Tauschner 1978; Redlinger and Park 1980). Children's mixed utterances were taken as indicative of lack of internal differentiation, while the language mixing by adults in their environment as well as other contextual factors, went unnoted and unanalyzed.

Recently, more context-sensitive work by, for example, Lanza (1997) has shown that two-year-olds can alternate and mix languages in contextually sensitive and meaningful ways. Thus, the one-language hypothesis would only seem tenable for children younger than two, if that. Genessee (1989) and Schieffelin (1994) provide arguments and evidence questioning the validity of the hypothesis altogether.

A related focus has been on the *semilingualism* and *restricted codes* of youth exposed to two codes -- whether

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distinct languages or dialects (e.g., Bernstein 1964, 1971). This approach represents a sociological extension of the one-language/two-language debate. That is, the mixed speech of older children and young adults is attributed to a sort of stunted simultaneous development. Operating as an outward stigma of internal linguistic incompetence, CS, so the argument goes, creates social consequences for the semilingual speaker as s/he fails to succeed in school and the workplace. Of course, the fact that these youth were deemed linguistically and therefore cognitively impaired rather than competent in some other communicative domain has been to some degree discredited as a case of racist, sexist, and classist semiosis (e.g., Labov 1972b).

I turn now to explicitly functional approaches to CS which began with the work of sociolinguists such as Ervin-Tripp (1972) and Fishman (1972) on the social significance and situational variability of individual's usage of the codes in their repertoire. However, these researchers tended at this time to take a somewhat reified approach both to *code* and to social variables such as sex, class, age, ethnicity, and situation. That is, they treat codes as fixed systems and social variables as distinct categories,

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and they presume that the analytic correlation of systems and categories will yield straightforward answers about who speaks what, when, where, and why. While Labov (1972a) and Trudgill (1983) worked against the static nature of these models of heteroglossic usage, they did not analyze the relationship between context and such practices in any fine-grained detail either.

However, this research did lay the groundwork for more nuanced functional approaches to the study of heteroglossic practices. In Gumperz' pioneering work with Blom, he contrasted *situational CS* with *metaphorical CS*. *Situational CS* "involves clear changes in the participants' definition of each other's rights and obligations" (Blom and Gumperz 1972:424) in a particular situation. For example, along with altering other contextual cues such as posture, locals switch out of the local dialect into the standard when outsiders approach. By contrast, *metaphorical CS* does not alter "the definition of participants' mutual rights and obligations," but accompanying a change in topic, it permits "the enactment of two or more different relationships among the same set of individuals" while everything else about the social situation remains the same (ibid:425). For example,

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a post office patron uses the standard to conduct business but switches to the local code to initiate a private chat with the postal worker.

However, in later work, Gumperz (1982) retains *situational CS* for the kind of well-prescribed functional alternations found in Fishman's diglossic societies with bilingualism. Whereas in his earlier example of the teacher and students, the situation was transformed by the teacher's choice of code, Gumperz now appears to define *situational CS* as dependent upon the existence of stable societal norms governing the functions of codes in contexts in a presupposing code-to-situation fashion. Thus, a change in the situation calls forth a change in the code rather than the code being used to transform the participants' perceptions of the situation and therefore the situation.

Gumperz then introduces the contrastive term *conversational CS* for the switching engaged in by bilinguals in societies lacking diglossia. Here the association of context and code is not situationally entailed, and persons switch within conversations for both the metaphorical functions analyzed earlier as well as for a number of rhetorical functions -- e.g., quotes, addressee selection,

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interjections, reiterations, qualifications.

Following in Gumperz' footsteps, a host of researchers in the fields of linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics, social psychology, and conversational analysis are now studying the interactional functions served by CS and the degree to which it can be considered pragmatically meaningful. In this functional approach attention is paid not only to sentence level data, but also to evidence from contextually situated speech. Interlocutors, setting, topic, tone, previous utterances and turns, all matter. However, the approach is no longer characterized by the attempt to create simplistic schemata in which codes are correlated with social variables such as domain and participant identity (gender, class, ethnicity, etc). Nor are linguistic varieties unilaterally labeled as either *we* or *they* codes signaling intimacy/solidarity v. distance/authority. Instead, these researchers attempt a multivariant consideration of participants' strategies vis-à-vis the projection and construction of self, interlocutor, their relationship to each other and others not present. These analyses take into account both the effect of contextualization cues in the immediate interactional

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environment as well as structural influences disseminated by the larger social order (see, for example, Auer's edited volume 1998).

As Goffman laid out in his programmatic work on the theatrical nature of interaction, every utterance is embedded within a framework of ritualized gestures, a participant structure, and a displaced universe of other utterances, gestures, and participant structures metonymically evoked by the present one: "we can rely on our audience to take the part for the whole and cooperatively catch our meaning" (1981:2). No utterance can be said to be wholly 'owned' by the speaker as its sources are always elsewhere. Nonetheless, I would add that all utterances are pragmatically constructed acts in that they are being uttered by this speaker with this symbolic resonance for the first time here.

In his essay on *footing*, Goffman begins with an analysis of Gumperz' early work on dialect-switching, but shows how this model can be applied to more and more nuanced shifts in a "participant's alignment, or set, or stance, or posture, or projected self" marked not only by a switch in distinct codes but also sometimes by very fine-grained

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paralinguistic features. Goffman assigns a liminal function to some '"higher level" phase(s)' bracketed between longer stretches of interaction (ibid:128). He describes these shifts in footing as a process of keeping two feet solidly planted in the present alignment while hopping up and down on a third (ibid:155). I suggest that it is this third foot, hopping about in the liminal, that is the source of creative agency.

The intra- or inter-utterance use of ideologically distinct codes (i.e., CS) makes these points obvious. While on the referential level the use of distinct codes may function to detach the message from the speaker (by appearing to strain the proposition through a mesh of other linguistic vantages), the apparent lack of relevance of the code to the message -- a sort of see-through conceit -- may also emphasize the speaker's ownership of the meaning content. Similarly, at the metapragmatic level, the choice of codes may highlight the creativity of the speaker in indexing other venues and voices, while it may also obscure his or her agency in the case where the pattern of codes used is considered wholly appropriate and presupposed.

Taking a slightly different avenue (and working again

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off of Bourdieu's notion of the linguistic marketplace), a number of researchers explore how codes exist as symbolic resources to which speakers may or may not have equal access and which are differentially valued in a not necessarily unified symbolic marketplace (e.g., Duranti 1994; Gal 1987; Heller 1995; Hill and Hill 1986; Urciuoli 1998; Woolard 1989). While political-economic and sociocultural structures largely govern who acquires these linguistic resources and how they are valued, individual agents may nonetheless manipulate elements of the codes in interaction, i.e., they may employ heteroglossia in ways that counter the dominant hegemonic forces of others.

Many of these researchers integrate pragmatic and structural analyses in order to understand the diachronic role played by CS in sociocultural and translinguistic transformations. Thus, they look at how certain forms of CS function in particular contexts as diagnostics and instigators of systemic change (e.g., Gal 1979, Hill and Hill 1986, Heller 1994, Woolard 1989, Errington 1998). They ask how CS practices are mediated within a given context by local language ideologies and how those ideologies are in turn transformed by CS practices. Also, they examine the

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role particular CSing strategies play in indexing and contributing to struggles over political identity.

For this approach, the term coined by Zentella (1997) *anthropolitical linguistics* seems apt because, for the most part, these researchers all explicitly invoke a framework of power, ideology, and consciousness, as a metapragmatic superstructure. The anthropolitical linguistic lens is brought to focus not only on pragmatic moves within specific interactions, but also on the identification of phonemes, morphemes, and syntax as indicative of shifting codes and shifting awarenesses of 'codes'. Thus, an intelligent analysis of the nuances of systemic change is dependent on the notion that any piece of linguistic datum is multiply contextualized by other semiotic data, interactional agenda, interpersonal relationships, and social histories.

Some researchers working in this vein dialogically incorporate Bakhtin's *voice* (for a brief review, see Keene 1999) in their discussions of the double-voicedness of dialogic CS. This perspective is of particular importance to my own discussion (see below) of the dialogic incorporation of multiple voices, framed by and implementing a variety of metapragmatic variables, in order to express

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rebellious consciousness and other tensions of desire especially with respect to the usage of children.

Applying an anthropolitical linguistic lens to the CS of children and adolescents represents a doubly political move. First of all, this approach highlights questions of how ideology and identity intricately influence the form, function, and transformative effects of CS. Thus, the CS of youth is pragmatically analyzed like that of adults' as contextually significant and interpersonally strategic. Secondly, children are treated as agents in their own right rather than as manipulated pawns. Although it is recognized that children are 'in process' (i.e., developing competencies in a number of senses of that word), their 'development' is treated as a dialectical process. That is, it is understood that children's development is largely controlled by larger forces -- their caregivers, the community, the larger political economy; and yet the children are still seen to have some agency and to react even if they can not wholly counteract the practices, values, and structures that are shaping them.

In studies of this nature, researchers pay special attention to the impact of children's code choices -- to the

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consequences for the codes themselves and for power relations within both the immediate interactive contexts and the larger sociocultural worlds inhabited by both children and adults. Overall, research undertaken from this perspective (e.g., Augsburger 1998; Garrett 1998; Rampton 1995; Kulick 1992; Zentella 1997; Woolard 1997; Schieffelin 1994; McClure 1977; Fader 2000) has gone a long way toward deconstructing the theoretical underpinnings of the one-system/two-system dispute and up-ending the deficit paradigm. In the following section, I elucidate a semiotic model of CS that attempts to capture many of the insights derived from research undertaken in this vein.

b. Code-switching typology

According to early analyses of heteroglossic practices, CS was a consequence of either linguistic incompetence or communicative competence. That is, a speaker was either 'forced' to switch for lack of the linguistic equipment to continue in a given language or would 'choose' to switch in order to make some pragmatic point. However, these analyses were based on the faulty premise that *competence* -- whether

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linguistic or communicative -- is some sort of mental facility lodged in the minds of individual speakers in the form of Chomskyan structures and Parsonian norms.

First of all, the possession of *linguistic competence* (in the Chomskyan sense of mastery of the lexicon and syntactic structures which allow for the comprehension and production of utterances in a code) cannot be treated as a black-and-white affair. Instead, an individual's 'knowing' of a language is mediated by various levels of ideology and a number of contextual factors. Thus, in any analysis of a switch that appears at first glance to be driven by linguistic incompetence, one must assess how a number of factors are influencing the speaker's performance: 1) ideologies about the 'codes' (their contrastive boundaries and their relative merits) as these influence all participants, 2) the power relations among participants as constituted by the pragmatics of the setting, and 3) the identity frames being constructed by the participants. These issues become all the more salient in discussions of obviously strategic CS but cannot be totally ignored even when examining switches that appear to be the result of lack of fluency by the speaker or addressee.

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Similarly, as originally formulated by Hymes (1972), the notion of *communicative competence* was presumed to encompass speakers' tacit knowledge of the norms governing who is supposed to say what to whom and how. However, this notion needs reformulation as a dialogically constructed 'knowing' in which the performance of CS is seen less as a matter of schemata-driven motives and more as an interpersonal dance of influence and desire. Instead, I am proposing that an analysis of the strategic value of CS must assess 1) the different levels of contextual features constraining the switch, 2) the nested metapragmatic frames being creatively indexed and produced, and 3) the interacting effects of both immediate practice and mediating ideologies.

These analytic factors are not available in either of the older CS models -- one based on 'necessity' and the other based on 'choice' -- which rely on the role of the individual mind as the locus of intentionality, ignoring the co-constructed nature of all communicative practice.[13] To build a model of CS which reflects the reality of dialogically constrained practice, I have adapted Silverstein's paradigm of presupposing and creative first

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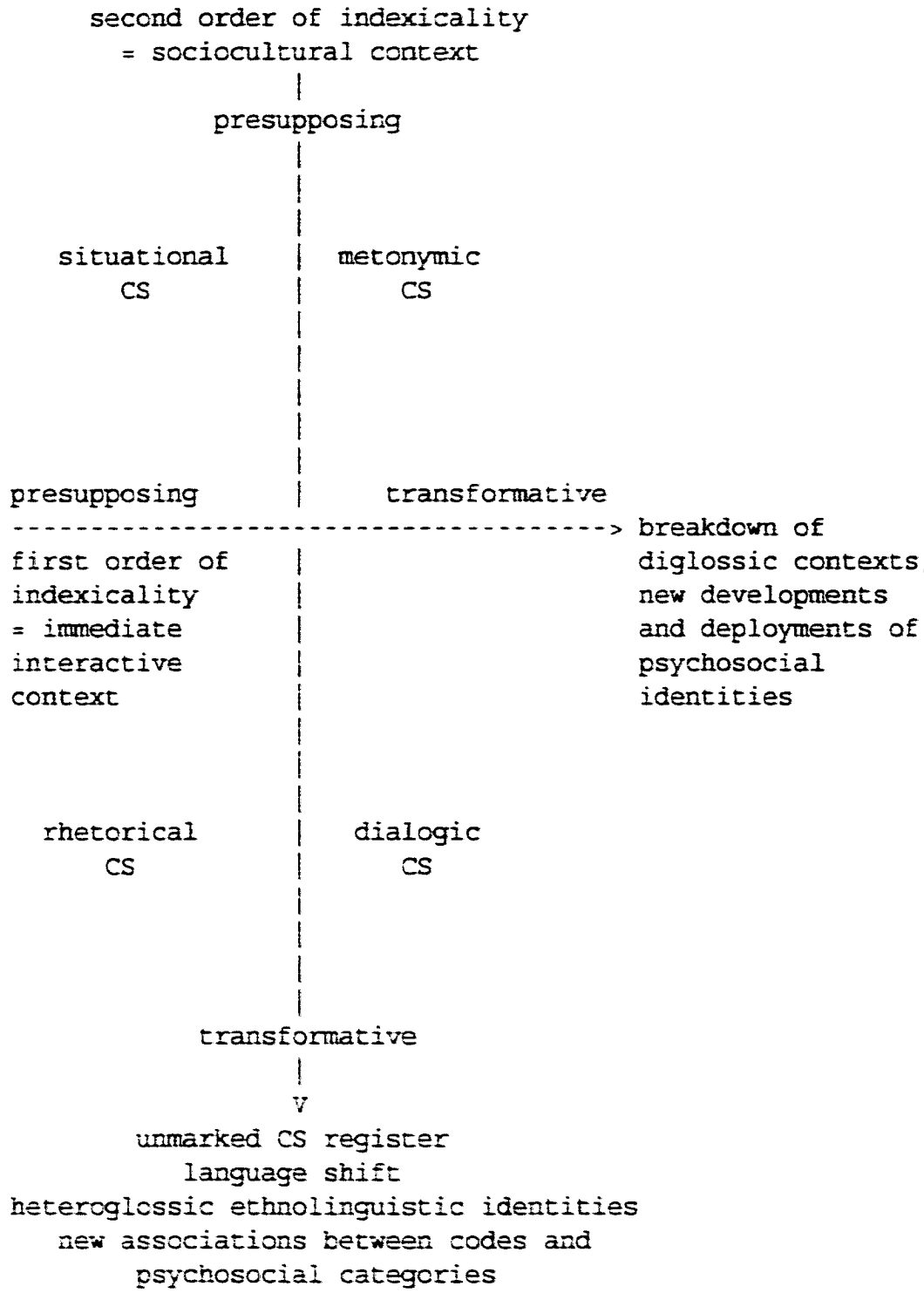
and second order indexicals (1976, 1992, 1996) in a way that allows me to trace the semiotic intricacies out of which strategic switching is produced.

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The semiotic CS model sketched above has two axes representing the two orders of indexicality in terms of which contexts are functionally signaled. First-order indexicality refers to "the capacity of signs to point to relevant aspects of the immediate context of their use" (Morford 1997:15-16). Second-order indexicality refers to the ways in which "signs are understood to reflect the status of those who use them, within a folk order of beliefs about who uses what kinds of forms in what particular ways" (Morford 1997:16). More than first-order indexicality, second order indexicality is mediated by local language ideologies concerning the social and emotional values of linguistic usage:

> if signs may be interpreted as pointing to the enduring attributes of those who use them, it is only because there are identifiable ideologies or definite sets of beliefs within a linguistic community that explain 'the indexical value of the forms in terms of schemata of social differentiation and classification that are independent of the usages at issue' (Silverstein 1992:316). [Morford 1997:16]

Thus, at the first order of indexicality, CS flags and co-constructs a range of features having to do with the interactive context (e.g., setting, activity, participants'

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identities and relationships). The significance of these indications are in turn strained and motivated at the second order of indexicality by ideologically and metapragmatically shaped understandings of associations between codes, connotations, and identities within some larger sociocultural, political-economic context. The 'meaning' of any semiotic CS may be more or less open to interpretation given the degree to which 'norms' are being actively co-constructed at the time of interaction. As a result, all indexicals may range in function from presupposing to creative.

A presupposing indexical "points to an aspect of the context that is already independently known" according to a relatively stable ideological framework, while a creative indexical "brings attention to or calls into being a particular dimension, then it *entails*, *creates*, or potentially *transforms* that context" (Morford 1997:15). In other words, presupposing switches are those which are deemed culturally appropriate to the context given a particular set of discourse variables (appearing more like the normative switching analyzed within the *communicative competence* paradigm). By contrast, creative CS involves

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shifts that contradict social assumptions and reconstruct the metapragmatic frame.

The fact that presupposing and transformative CS operate at both levels of indexicality is schematized in the model in the following way. At the left pole of the horizontal axis representing first order indexicality, presupposing switches correlate with other features of the immediate interactive context. By contrast, at the right pole of this axis, creative switches disrupt and change the interactive context. At the top pole of the vertical axis (second order indexicality), presupposing switches reconfirm features of the wider sociocultural assumptions about the relationship between codes, connotations, contexts, and identities. At the bottom of this axis, transformative switches disturb metapragmatic ideologies concerning how codes ought to be used to mean what.

When these two bipolar axes are placed on a grid, they define four quadrants which I identify with four types of CS ranging from presupposing to creative at first and second orders of indexicality. Whereas *situational CS* is wholly presupposing at both orders of indexicality, the other three types of CS are creative with respect to one order of

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indexicality or both. Nonetheless, I treat all four types as strategic in the sense that they are all performed with some pragmatic impact (whether conscious or not). That is, these switches contribute to the construction of psychosocial and/or ethnolinguistic meanings whether they substantially alter or simply reconfirm the existing contexts.

*Situational CS* is entailed by all features of the interactive context and by participants' metapragmatic acceptance of the salience of these correlated factors within a wider ethnolinguistic order. Thus, switches of this kind reconfirm features of the immediate interactive situation that are already in evidence (i.e., to do with setting, activity, and participant identities and relationships), and also reinforce structures and understandings of the wider society concerning such situations. Although *situational CS* introduces no new interpersonal or sociocultural nuance to the exchange, an ideological understanding of its appropriateness is conscious and available for commentary, and criticism may occur when norms are breached.

*Situational CS* looks in effect very much like the code

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alternation assigned by Fishman to bilingual-diglossic systems. But, while it is possible that diglossic societies exist or have existed in which *situational CS* was the only form of switching to have occurred, my intuition is that they may exist more as an ideal heuristic type and/or post hoc rationalization than as an actual mode in practice. In other words, I suspect that non-normative switches must occur with some regularity even in the most strictly diglossic of societies -- e.g., instances in which an individual uses the power code in the home as part of a quote, a joke, or an affront; or vice versa, official situations in which an individual not only appropriately whispers asides in the solidarity code, but also shouts them out at moments of disquietude or joy.

By contrast, *metonymic CS* is regularly transformative at the first order of indexicality, but presupposing at the second order. Entailment by second-order social realities means that switching of this kind relies upon some metapragmatic consensus concerning ideological identifications between codes and contexts of the kind exhibited in *situational CS*. In this way, use of another code projects like a holographic image some part of some

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other context (e.g., social actors, setting, tone) into the present frame. Thus, *metonymic CS* creatively transforms at the first order of indexicality the pragmatic meanings of the immediate interactions -- i.e., the identities of speakers, the topic, the degree of formality, etc.[19] *Metonymic CS* occurs in diglossic societies whose members are increasingly bilingual and manifest a growing respect for the power of codes to influence interactive contexts, interpersonal dynamics, and social relationships.

However, a growing number of bilingual participants in a speech economy may contribute to the use of more than one code in a given context for non-metonymic purposes as well. Instead, speakers' emerging commitment to more than one code may produce a kind of pragmatic leakage for the purposes of translating, quoting, joking, etc. In this case, referred to here as *rhetorical CS*,[20] the use of one code or another at any given instant indexes nothing new about the nature of the interactional context (e.g., the topic or the participants' identities), nor is switching of this kind presupposed by an ethnolinguistic order connecting codes, contexts, and identities. To the contrary, *rhetorical CS* is presupposed at the first order of indexicality by other

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rhetorical features which are affecting the interactional flow within the immediate social context. The efficacy of these transformations relies on local metapragmatic understandings that switches may function as and alongside other rhetorical devices.

A number of rhetorical functions associated with this type of CS have been identified as operating cross-culturally (Gumperz 1982, Hill and Hill 1986, Stroud (1992), and Zentella 1997). However, as Auer has pointed out, any list of such functions is inevitably incomplete as speakers find endlessly creative rhetorical uses for CS. He has also criticized these lists for mixing foci derived from different levels of discourse, primarily "conversational structures [such as 'reiteration'] and functions [such as 'emphasis']" (1995:120). Thus, the list I provide here includes only rhetorical 'functions' -- i.e., discursive moves made for interpersonal effect -- and should be taken as illustrative (rather than comprehensive).

*Rhetorical CS* may function to: 1) mark an aside; 2) indicate a new addressee; 3) provide emphasis through reiteration; 4) evaluate or qualify a point; 5) mitigate a request; 6) challenge a statement or command; 7) project

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reported speech; and 8) joke, tease, pretend, or otherwise adjust the truth-value of an utterance via tone and/or inference. Any switch of code made at such a juncture operates at the metapragmatic level to help reframe the discursive moment. In other words, *rhetorical CS* indicates a shift in interactional tack for pragmatic reasons which derive nothing from and imply nothing about the referential meaning of the utterance or the indexical meaning of the chosen code.

Nonetheless, *rhetorical CS* is transformative at the second order of indexicality in that switches which lack ethnolinguistic salience challenge normative links between codes and connotations within the wider sociocultural order. That is, *rhetorical CS* creatively contributes to the dissociation of codes, contexts, and ethnolinguistic identities.

Thus, over time, the routinized use of *rhetorical CS* may lead to a transformation in the metapragmatic understanding of interactive contexts (e.g., where and how formal and public, by contrast with intimate and domestic, interactions happen), and thus also change the ways in which psychosocial identities and relationships are developed and

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deployed within these contexts. For instance, schools may become less institutional settings for the formal inculcation of a foreign tongue and more playful extensions of the home, offering the possibility of forging identities and friendships using a syncretic code. By contrast, in-group identification and cross-generational solidarity, once developed in the home and the streets, may deteriorate as the socialization practices found in these spheres begin to resemble in both content and style those found in churches, schools, and other foreign institutions designed to 'form' the indigenous population. In short, these types of CS both index and contribute to the historical breakdown of classic diglossia associated with *situational CS* by transforming interactive contexts and the articulation of psychosocial identities within them.

Another possible consequence of the proliferation of *rhetorical CS* is the emergence of an unmarked CS register. Unmarked CS registers are found in a number of urban contexts -- e.g., in urban Africa (Myers-Scotton 1998; Spitulnik 1998) and among Puerto Ricans in New York (Zentella 1997). While there has been in these societies a real breakdown in the ideological identification of a

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particular code with a particular context or participant role, the CS register can be distinguished from a new syncretic code by the fact that the original codes are still held ideologically separate, usually by the continued existence of primarily monolingual zones and by the participants' at least theoretical access to these zones (e.g., Puerto Rico and mainstream America for Nuyoricans; Bemba villages and the English global economy for Zambians).

Myers-Scotton (1998) claims that unmarked CS registers exist when switches no longer mark rhetorical effects. Instead the use of the register merely signals the speaker's allegiance to all of the identities associated with the different codes. In such contexts where speakers are competent in this CS register, an absence of switching is then to be analyzed as a transformative index intended to change participants' interpretation of the situation.

While such a CS register may indeed be the unmarked norm in a given speech economy, I would not expect it to occur only in situations characterized by an even-handed valuation of all codes and ethnolinguistic identities. In fact, the codes may be valued hierarchically in more or less covert ways and in contextually sensitive ways within a

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wider heteroglossic market. Yet, I do agree that the 'mixed' register itself has acquired value (at least in certain contexts) in these speech economies and that its use as a dialectically produced and entextualizing mode is indicative of wider frame negotiations over identity, desire, and power (Spitulnik 1998).

Nonetheless, some speech economies may generate a marked CS register whose ideological value is more obviously ambiguous. This CS register is filled not only with *metonymic* and *rhetorical CS* but also with a fourth form of strategic CS, referred to here as *dialogic CS*. In a sense, *dialogic CS* represents a merger of *metonymic* and *rhetorical CS* in that its rhetorical effects hinge upon ethnolinguistic associations, and its metonymic impact gathers its force from the interactive dynamic. That is, one consequence of the ubiquitous juxtaposition of *metonymic* and *rhetorical CS* is that they may begin to occur simultaneously and work together dialogically not only to alter interpersonal dynamics and significations, but also to further uncouple ideological associations between ethnolinguistic identities and psychosocial powers.

Given the state of metapragmatic flux set in motion by

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*metonymic* and *rhetorical CS* and the ideological denigration of this much 'mixing' in certain communicative economies, *dialogic CS* cannot be said to be presupposed by any set of contextual factors as such presuppositions must rest on a more stable set of metapragmatic agreements about the ethnolinguistic and psychosocial significance of switches. Nonetheless, a stigmatizing awareness of 'impure' speech may fossilize rhetorical rules and ethnolinguistic norms, extracting from them a sort of vestigial power into which *dialogic CS* taps in order to negotiate psychosocial interactions and the interactive context while also further challenging the metapragmatic frameworks and the wider sociocultural context.

Thus, *dialogic CS* is transformative with respect to both orders of indexicality and presupposing with respect to neither. That is, unlike *rhetorical CS*, *dialogic CS* is never entailed by a metapragmatic understanding of the rhetorical rules governing the power dynamics of a given interaction. And unlike *metonymic CS*, *dialogic CS* is never presupposed by larger order ethnolinguistic norms (i.e., concerning what codes are appropriate to participants' identities or the interactive context). However, the

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emergence of *dialogic CS* further challenges and alters the first order discursive frame as well as the second order framework according to which such communicative projects are jointly constructed.

*Dialogic CS* is common in speech economies in which CS is ubiquitous, but the resulting CS register is not only marked but also explicitly sanctioned within dominant ideological discourse. Frequently, this occurs in settings where all of the most 'isolated' contexts of use of the 'pure' form of the threatened code (i.e., the indigenous villages) are being 'invaded' by the 'mixed' register. Such a situation is created in part by practical factors but also by ideologically constructed understandings (e.g., of 'pure' v. 'mixed' codes and of the nature of sociocultural 'isolation' v. 'invasion').

For instance, Hill and Hill elaborated the concept of *dialogic* CS with respect to the Malinche area of Mexico (1986). Here, *dialogic CS* is found when speakers discuss subjects that house the old colonial power struggle. While Spanish is the language of authority and formality due to its association with the state and the church, it also represents the language of corruption and lies due to the

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same associations; by contrast, Mexicano embodies the traditional value of *respeto*. Thus, the much-denigrated Spanish-Mexicano CS register provides the medium for what Bakhtin refers to as *double-voicedness*, in which the indigenous voice revolts against the voice of hegemony. As Hill and Hill explain, drunken talk is a perfect venue for this form of unconstrained *dialogic CS* to appear because both irony and open anger are expressed under these conditions.

While **'Enana** engage in plenty of drunken talk and/or politically loaded discourse which could be fruitfully analyzed for evidence of *dialogic CS*, I would hold that the discourse of children and their caregivers is another unconstrained site in which to look for this sort of pragmatic chaos and revolt. Traditionally theorized as the simplifications of the caregiver register and the developmental errors of children acquiring language in a multilingual context, these 'mixed' communicative practices may be better understood as forms of double-voicedness. Defying designation as either incompetence or borrowings, these switching practices demonstrate a real pragmatic salience that is only explicable through reference to what

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Bakhtin termed the translinguistic plane (i.e., wherein the 'word' is understood to be referentially permeable, bounded by interpersonal and larger social contexts, and unconstrained by any linguistic system). Thus, a translinguistic analysis of these 'double-voiced' phenomena must attend to the ideologies mediating the functions of the various forms involved.

To summarize briefly, all four types of CS can be considered strategic in the sense that they represent actions involving some degree of agency (if not conscious intentionality), either to accommodate or challenge normative discourse. However, *metonymic*, *rhetorical*, and *dialogic* switches are made for subtler, more idiosyncratic and multivalent purposes and have multifaceted transformative consequences. That is, because these three forms of creative CS cannot be presupposed from an analysis of the ideological interpretation of other contextual features by participants, the switch itself entails, redefines, or creates new entextualizations, i.e., interpretations of the text-in-context (Silverstein and Urban 1996).

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As indicated in the model, creative switching at the first order (whether *metonymic* or *dialogic*) can effect changes in the immediate interactive context, disrupting the diglossic frame and/or channeling new developments and deployments of psychosocial identities. Creative switching at the second order (whether *rhetorical* or *dialogic*) can instigate changes in the ethnolinguistic connotations of codes, their association with ethnolinguistic identities, and their overall patterns of use sometimes resulting in language obsolescence and/or the development of an unmarked CS register.

*Dialogic CS*, being creative at both orders of indexicality, promotes the most subtle transformations in metapragmatic understandings of how ethnolinguistic connotations and psychosocial dynamics are interpolated, which in turn influences not only the historical, but also the developmental emergence of ethnolinguistic and psychosocial identities. Thus, an analysis of the historical origins, means, and impact of these heteroglossic practices depends on and contributes to an understanding of the interactive processes by which persons develop ethnolinguistic commitments and psychosocial identities.

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## D. Language socialization and psychosocial identity

*Language socialization* is the study of how persons 'acquire' communicative resources, strategies, and ideologies within interactionally shaped contexts. Useful in the construction of the language socialization paradigm have been several interdisciplinary strands of analysis which shed light on the relationship between language and the expression of psychosocial values, identities, and relationships. On the one hand, language has played an important role as both model and mirror in studying the relationship between psyche and culture; on the other hand, social interactions have been analyzed as the nexus out of which language and self emerge.

### 1. Language and psyche in anthropology

Two linguistic models have influenced the strains of anthropology devoted to the relationship between culture and mind. One model is that derived from Saussure's structuralism and the other from Peirce's semiotics. Both approaches employ language as the best analytic model of

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culture, and both treat language and culture as isomorphic. But there the similarities end, as do the similarities between the strains of anthropology influenced by these two models.

To put it simply, the thesis of structuralism is that categorical relations inherent in the mind are responsible for all linguistic and cultural form-meaning patterns. While the cognitive hard-wiring aspect of the structural model of language was not elaborated by Saussure, but only later by Chomsky, its usefulness to psychology became apparent in the work of Piaget in the twenties and somewhat later in anthropology in the work of Levi-Strauss. In the case of Piaget, regular stages in the development of the psyche were attributed to the innate organization of the brain. For Levi-Strauss, cross-cultural similarities and differences in the forms of kinship and myth were attributed to the underlying regularities found in language as well. Although Levi-Strauss speaks of structural oppositions and transformations, his analyses can be represented by a lock-step schema: A v. B -> A' v. B' -> A" v. B" ...

The structural model largely underlies what I characterize as the symbolic approaches to psychological

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anthropology, including ethnoscience, cognitive anthropology, and ethnopsychology. In these branches of study, language is considered not only a 'model of' culture (for analytical purposes) but also a 'model for' culture (for participants in that language and culture). That is, individual cultures are viewed as social constructions composed of units like phonemes and morphemes (symbols, conceptual categories, etc.), which are organized by rules into higher syntactic structures (rituals, kinship rules, etc.), and that, like linguistic competence, these units and rules exist in the minds of cultural members. The researcher's job is that of dissecting the full multitude of etic components employed by cultural members in order to then decode how these are bunched into meaningful emic entities for purposes of communication. The assumption is that while the contents of these forms is culture-specific, the underlying structuring in terms of opposition and hierarchy is universal.

Several works of cognitive anthropology are devoted to the analysis of emotions via lexicon (e.g., Wellenkamp 1995), metaphors (e.g., Lakoff and Kovecses 1987; Holland and Kipnis 1995), and larger units of discourse (as in Lutz'

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[1990] consideration of how discourses of emotionalism are attached to women in the West). Additionally, notions of self and personhood are common subjects of ethnosemantic research. And as represented by White and Kirkpatrick's (1985) collection, a wide range of this ethnopsychological research has been undertaken in the Pacific.[21] Thus, Levy (1973) looks at words for emotions and categories of persons in Tahiti. Kirkpatrick (1983) does much the same for the Marquesas, as does Rosaldo (1980) for the Ilongot, E. Schieffelin (1976) and Feld (1983) for the Kaluli, and Lindenbaum (1979:52-54) for the Fore.

However, in the early eighties one sees a growing divide between those who assume that selves and emotions derive from biophysiological universals of the nervous system (as such these analysts remain attached to structural forms of modeling) and those who focus on relativistic models of cultural and linguistic structures. Many of the latter were enlisted in the symbolic anthropology of Geertz (1973) in which the transformation to a semiotic model was begun. Certain assumptions were left behind: that cultural categories and relations are transparently reflected in linguistic categories and relations and that they result

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from the same underlying and universal processes. And rarely do these researchers make simplistic claims that the linguistic units and rules, through their organization in the mind, wholly determine speakers' experiences of feeling, selfhood, and relationship. The understanding is that this shaping happens through semiotic interaction and thus, that little is presupposed -- i.e., a fair amount of creativity is involved as well.

According to the semiotic paradigm, all communications (human or chemical, conscious or not) occur as a function of the signifying system. To use Peirce's terminology: signifying movement is instigated by the difference between a thesis-like transmission and its interpretation by the interpretant, provoking the resultant which is itself a synthetic transmission to be interpreted and reacted to in chain-like fashion (1985). I have translated this notion into the schema: A -> A' => B -> B' => C -> C" =>.... Here no thesis (e.g., A) is ever repeated, even as a transform of itself. Instead, its interpretation (A') results in a new thesis (B). In this more genuine dialectic, each productive and interpretive context results in something demonstrably new. This is not to say that there is nothing retained from

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one act to the next -- that would be communicative chaos. But, simply put, each communicative act applies systemic regularities -- bundles of phonological features, morphosyntactic rules, metapragmatic presuppositions -- in order to generate never before realized forms of significance. As Jakobson (1960) articulated convincingly, a functional model of communication offers a far more dynamic depiction of how signifying creatures use symbols in creative ways.

The semiotic model of communication has been most fully realized in anthropology in the form of the language-as-action approach, which began with the work of Malinowski (1923) and Firth (1957). That is, with them arose the anthropological version of the idea that people do things with language -- magical things, for instance, but also political things, emotional things, and social things -- much of it via everyday talk. They expanded the meaning of *meaning* to include not only referential significance but also social and affective meaning.[22]

Recently, a large number of psychological, symbolic, and linguistic anthropologists have adopted this approach. One of the major differences between this trend and that of

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the cognitive anthropologists and ethnopsychologists is that in this the focus is less on the referential content of linguistic and cultural forms (whether these be notions or emotions), and more on the pragmatic process of their construction, their function in context, and the layers of intention, mediation, and interpretation.

Looking here only at the language's relation to emotion, one finds a plethora of work. For instance, Crapanzano turns the ethnosemantic project on its head in looking at the metapragmatics and miscommunications involved in the everyday glossing practices of 'love' and 'anger' (1989). Authors in Lutz and Abu-Lughod's (1990) collection explore political and discursive constructions and uses of emotion. For instance, Abu-Lughod (1986) addresses the issue of how sentiments contextualized by Bedouin poetry may be the medium for both ideological reproduction and resistance. Irvine has developed a sociolinguistic approach to the study of how Wolof persons' concepts and displays of emotion are tied to social structures and ethnolinguistic histories (1982, 1990, 1995). And in a review article, Besnier (1990) surveyed work that has looked at how affect is 'done' (created, transformed, expressed, hidden) through

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verbal interaction, as well as what semiotic effects affect has.

As a literature review by Watson-Gegeo (1986), two collections of articles (Brenneis and Myers 1984; Watson-Gegeo and White 1990), and several ethnographies (e.g., Lutz 1988) have made clear, the wider theme of how language is used for psychosocial purposes has generated a lot of research in the Pacific. For instance, Duranti traces human agency and 'intentionality' in political talk in Samoa (1994). And Besnier (1995) looks at how affect is indexed, entextualized, and juxtaposed to authority by gossip and literacy practices in Nukulaelae.

In work such as this, what is studied is how tone and emotion, intentions and resolutions, identities and relationships emerge out of verbal interactions in contextually specific ways. These psychosocial phenomena in turn influence both the immediate interactions and the wider sociopolitical networks. However, what is also needed is an understanding of how the communicative resources with which to articulate and negotiate affect, identity, and relationship are transmitted, developed, and transformed by persons within particular sociocultural contexts.

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## 2. Speech and social psychology

Two social psychologists from the early twentieth century, L. Vygotsky and G. H. Mead, engaged in seminal work on how the acquisition of language and the development of a psychosocial identity are inevitably intertwined. In the models of both these men, self and consciousness do not erupt out of an internal, biologically structured seed, only to be shaped later by social forces (as posited by Piaget and Freud). Rather, self and consciousness develop through dialogic engagement within a social context.

In his volume *Thought and Language* (1986), Vygotsky begins with a critique of Piaget's work on langauge and childhood development, specifically the theory that all children pass through innately structured phases, through autistic and egocentric to social, directed thought. For Vygotsky, this process was essentially reversed. He argued that conscious thought develops not out of an infant's biological predispositions, but out of a sociohistorically contextualized process of semiotic interaction.[23] In particular, Vygotsky rejected aspects of Piaget's theory that are influenced by Freud and psychoanalysis,

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specifically the assumptions that the ego is organized by the pleasure principle (v. the reality principle), that the syncretic thought of children is not capable of handling reality (resembling the imagistic logic of dreams rather than reason), and that egocentric thinking warps all social input into the child's development (ibid:17-19).

Most importantly for the present analysis, Vygotsky criticized Piaget's analysis of egocentric speech as being a 'non-communicative' (i.e., directed at no one and lacking any social, activating function) and senseless by-product of action by young children which disappears once they learn to engage in socialized speech. By contrast, Vygotsky suggested (and provided experimental evidence) that egocentric speech does not disappear, but is internalized, becoming inner speech (ibid:28-34). Thus, adult consciousness emerges out of internalized social speech rather than out of the egocentric thinking manifested by egocentric speech as posited by Piaget. In effect, this transformation in speech forms supports Vygotsky's larger point that individual consciousness is preceded by and dependent upon semiotically mediated social interaction.

For G. H. Mead, as for Vygotsky, the development of the

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self is an intrinsically dialogic process. First, the developing self engages with others and dialogically incorporates that engagement (1934:138). Secondly, self-development dialogically depends on the self-conscious construction and transmission of symbols. That is, the self-observation necessary to self-construction is only attained through reflexive communication, what is now referred to as *metacommunication*, i.e., interaction which refers back in some fashion (attentive or not) to its own processes -- to the code, channel, key, message, participatory roles, or context of the exchange. Thus, thought is the result of the self-observation that arises from social intercourse (ibid:141).

Mead focused on language, or the *vocal gesture*, as the all-important medium by which self arises through engagement with the *generalized other*. Speech creates immediate feedback -- one hears oneself speak as one cannot see one's visual gestures, smell one's odors, or experience one's other semiotic expressions. As such, one's speech doubly calls out the other's response and one's own response to oneself *as if* one were the other (i.e., evidencing the inherent reflexive, metalinguistic function of language).

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Mead used property as a trope in understanding the role of communication in the development of self. First of all, in play, a child demands money from herself and then pays herself -- i.e., a stage in taking the role of the other. Secondly, in saying, "This is my property," a person manifests to both self and other a social relationship as a dog does not in snarling over a bone (ibid:161-2). While Mead did not make this explicit, the riches of the latter are in the metapragmatic forms: *this* and *my* as paradigmatically juxtaposed to *that* and *your*, the presuppositions being: 1) 'property' exists as a socially constructed relationship to things which then indexes something about 'our' relationship -- you have something and I have something and these are not the same things because we are not incorporated; 2) our language marks the distinction between my property and yours (and, in **'enana**, alienable and inalienable possessives mark the differences in kinds of relationships to property as well -- as to whether the object is alienable or not, incorporating or not); and 3) we use language to argue over what is mine and what is yours, thereby negotiating who I am v. who you are and what our relationship is. I return to issues of

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language and possession at points throughout the dissertation.

Although working contemporaneously and in a similar vein, Mead and Vygotsky were unknown to each other, and their discovery by linguistic anthropologists was also forestalled by a number of decades. However, within the last thirty years, their shared understanding of the relationship between language and the dialogic production of self and consciousness has been taken up and developed in the language socialization paradigm.

## 3. Language socialization

As formulated by Schieffelin and Ochs in a series of jointly and independently authored and edited publications (Ochs 1988, 1999; Ochs and Schieffelin 1984, 1995; Schieffelin 1990, 1994; Schieffelin and Ochs 1986a, 1986b), *language socialization* encompasses "socialization through the use of language and socialization to use language" (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986a:163). "Socialization through the use of language" refers to the processes by which children acquire cultural knowledge and social competence

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through witnessing and participating in verbal activities and speech routines and through reacting to verbal commands and inferences. "Socialization to use language" is shorthand for the idea that through social interaction children acquire not only the sounds, words, and syntax of their linguistic code, but also many more subtle, pragmagtic resources for signaling who they are, how they feel, what they need or deserve, and who ought to give it to them. In other words, sociocultural beliefs, structures, and practices influence children's development of a communicative repertoire with which to negotiate affect, status, and social affiliation and thus forge their multi-faceted identities in culturally specific ways.

Having taken shape within the discipline of linguistic anthropology over the past thirty years, the study of language socialization shares with this larger framework a general commitment to analyzing the relationship between linguistic practice, cultural knowledge, and social structure within both Western and non-Western societies. Moreover, language socialization studies have borrowed a range of ethnography-of-speaking methods for exploring the ways in which speakers are shaped and constrained by

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sociocultural and political-economic structures and beliefs, while also acting as agents of structural transformation through the processes of everyday social interactions. Couched within this broader framework, the language socialization orientation has identified and developed the methodology for examining a key locus in the interaction between forces of linguistic and sociocultural reproduction and change: the nexus of everyday verbal interactions among children and their caregivers.

Language socialization studies also grew in part out of the foci, theoretical frameworks, and methodologies developed within psycholinguistics for the cross-linguistic study of language acquisition as well as what is called developmental pragmatics, now associated with the work of Ervin-Tripp, Dan Slobin, and the Max Planck Institute in Nijmegen (e.g., Ervin-Tripp and Mitchell-Kernan 1977; Ochs and Schieffelin 1979, 1983; Slobin 1997; Slobin, et al. 1996; Ervin-Tripp 1999; Brown 1998; see Bavin 1995 for a review). In studies of this kind, researchers attend to social context and linguistic particularities in order to understand variations in the ways children pick out phonological, morphological, syntactic, and pragmatic forms

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and learn to map them to the social identities, practices, and relationships to which they are exposed. Thus, these researchers demonstrate that the development of grammatical forms, which Chomskyans consider to be governed by Universal Grammar and other innate processes, is instead determined in large measure by cross-cultural variations in socialization practices and language ideology as well as by strictly linguistic differences.

As a result of this disciplinary history, some language socialization studies concentrate on the acquisition of grammatical forms (for example, Ochs examines how Samoan children develop the capacity to produce ergative markers [1988]). However, the real contribution of the language socialization paradigm to this project is the understanding that children develop communicative resources and cultural knowledge in an inextricably intertwined manner due to the fact that social interactions are organized by cultural semiotics. Thus, while the two processes of learning language and learning sociocultural knowledge may be heuristically separated for analytical purposes, in the process of psychosocial development they never are.

Studies of the ways in which cultural beliefs or

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practices are socialized by interactions may analyze not only the lexicon associated with the beliefs and practices but also the speech genres or narrative forms used and the ways in which children are given speaking parts in these. Thus in Briggs' (1995) analysis of how Inuit socialize discomfort with intimacy, she first examines the emotion words involved, discussing how her understanding of their meanings changed as she shifted her methodology from eliciting definitions (what does X mean?), to recording the words' use in context, and then to eliciting memory narratives of the emotion (tell me about a time when you felt X). The latter two methods revealed some apparent contradictions in Inuit understanding of these terms which Briggs resolves by drawing upon a theoretical understanding of how *definitions* differ metapragmatically from words-in-use. Finally, she unleashes the concept of *socialization drama* in order to examine the way a child is engaged in interacting and emoting (or not) in particular contexts, thus learning to understand psychosocial relationships and emotions in particular ways (e.g., that intimacy and dependency is dangerous because 1) you may lose the person you love, and 2) persons you love may hurt you).

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By contrast, analysis of the acquisition of communicative competence inevitably also addresses the cultural values, especially language ideology, that have fashioned the functions and appropriateness of these forms of speaking. Thus, in Clancy's (1986) analysis of Japanese communicative style (characterized as indirect and empathetic) and how it is learned, she examines the beliefs associated with the forms as well as the social structures and behaviors in terms of which these forms make sense. For instance, many communicative forms reproduce in everyday life *amae*, the feeling of dependence and empathetic concern represented by the archetypal relation between mother and child. Thus, one attempts to intuit what others need so they will not have to ask directly for it; and if asked directly, one avoids a direct refusal. These forms and the accompanying inferential schema needed to interpret the forms, which children are taught through a variety of routine interactions with caregivers, then inform adults' ability to operate in a largely homogenous, hierarchical society in which all relationships (e.g., between employers and employees, politicians and citizens) are supposed to replicate and reconfirm the original sentiment of *amae*.

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Schieffelin (1990) brings all of these pieces together in her analysis of Kaluli language socialization, demonstrating how local language ideology affects socialization practices which in turn affect the acquisition of both linguistic and communicative competence and the deployment of these in the fulfillment of sociocultural roles and the expression of affect. Kaluli language ideology claims that human language should be clear (not 'turned-over' like the language of spirits and birds) and that children need to be addressed in adult fashion (i.e., no caregiver register) and thus 'shown' how to speak in this way. However, children cannot be shown until they demonstrate their readiness by saying the words for 'breast' and 'mama'. Thus, before this point, although surrounded hourly by extended kin interactions, they are not directly addressed. Only once they are 'ready' are they engaged in multiparty exchanges via 'say-it' routines. That is, children are directed to say specific things to specific persons in specific ways -- the caregiver modeling not only the adult grammatical forms (never simplified caregiver forms), but also the content, style, and affect appropriate to a given interlocutor and social context. In this way,

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children learn not only the forms, meanings, and functions of language but also role-appropriate ways of enacting cultural ideology and engaging in emotionally charged and socially organized interactions.

Thus, the study of language socialization is the study of two interconnected processes. On the one hand, verbal interaction allows for the transmission and transformation of cultural beliefs. Simultaneously, cultural belief systems affect the ways in which communicative competence (i.e., the ability to interact verbally within a speech community) is acquired throughout the life cycle. But while it is taken as axiomatic that socialization contributes to a consensual understanding of a shared set of communicative values, it is also understood that 1) no unified community or body of values can be assumed; 2) consensus must be considered more of a temporary and contextually dependent state of affairs; and 3) rather than being imposed through socialization, agreement is always negotiated and jointly constructed.

Thus, as several studies indicate, commonality of forms and values may not be obvious, apparent miscommunications may be rife, and participants may not always intend to

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agree. For instance, Ochs (1991) has explored the ways in which ubiquitous misunderstandings between children and their caregivers in Samoa and elsewhere represent an arena for negotiating and constructing cultural values. Similarly, M. Goodwin (1990) has shown that children in Philadelphia are not especially interested in resolving their conflicts, but use disputes to accomplish a number of other interpersonal goals.

Also following from these riders to the axiomatic understanding of how language socialization operates is the idea that children do not merely mimic the speech of the adults in their vicinity, nor do they unswervingly adopt the ideas, values, and emotions expressed by their elders. First of all, in the developmental process, children have the capacity to alter dramatically, not only linguistic usage (as in the production of a creole language [Garrett 1999; Sankoff 1980]), but also the whole heteroglossic economy in the form of language shift and patterns of code-switching (Garrett 1998; Kulick 1992).

Secondly, through their playful constructions of new linguistic forms, communicative practices, and interactional contexts and relationships, children have the potential to

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transform 1) communicative forms and practices, 2) cultural concepts and emotional values expressed and indexed by communicative forms and practices in everyday speech, and 3) social processes enacted through linguistic exchanges. Thus, language socialization represents a dynamic link in the dialectical production and reproduction of language and culture. As Cook-Gumperz and Corsaro (1986) put it, socialization cannot be seen as a process of linear development by which children move lock-step through biological stages and are molded by conscious, prescriptive means to fit into adult social roles and to behave in socially appropriate ways. Instead, as these researchers recommend, an interpretivist and constructivist approach allows one to analyze children's everyday interactions for the active role played by children in the on-going production and reproduction of cultural knowledge, social structures, and communicative forms.

These points have been aptly demonstrated by several studies within highly heteroglossic contexts and areas undergoing rapid cultural transformation. For instance, in his study in PNG, Kulick (1992) found that in express contradiction of their bilingual parents' explicit desires,

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children are developing a monolingual commitment to the national lingua franca Tok Pisin at the expense of the local language Gapun. This is the result of socialization practices that are effectively communicating a shift in the association between linguistic codes and ethnosemantic values. The local language Gapun was once used both for the expression of male authority or *save* via (calm, considered) oratory as well as the display of selfish, female anger via the genre known as the *kros*. More recently, Tok Pisin as the language of business and education has become the medium for the former and Gapun has been relegated only to the latter. As a result, Kulick (1992, 1998) predicts that, like the Quaker indexical *thou* in Silverstein's (1985) analysis, the whole local language may be dropped before long.

Another excellent articulation of micro language socialization and macro language shift processes can be found in Zentella's (1997) analysis of Puerto Rican children in New York City. In this case, the children are developing and employing non-standard repertoires and code-switching registers that the parents discourage in principle but support via their own practices and covert ideologies. And

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in the process of their own psychocultural development, some children are also forging and embracing ethnolinguistic identities (e.g., as *Nuyoricans*) -- indexed and communicated by these communicative practices -- for which their parents feel stigmatized.

The discourse of children among themselves, i.e., peer socialization, also serves as an important site for examining the dialogic processes by which both psychosocial and ethnolinguistic identities emerge. An illustration of research in this vein is Rampton's (1995) analysis of the ways in which British youth from various ethnic/class backgrounds may acquire from each other the communicative resources with which to *cross* ethnic boundaries and psychosocially develop the ability to dialogically project various ethnolinguistic identities (in ways considered rebellious and counter-productive by the adult population).[3]

Finally, research within the language socialization paradigm has been undertaken in both Western (e.g., Miller 1982, Heath 1983, Cook-Gumperz and Corsaro 1986; Bamberg and Reilly 1996) and non-Western contexts (Boggs 1985; Schieffelin and Ochs 1986b; Smith-Hefner 1988; Reger and

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Gleason 1991; Briggs 1995; Crago, Annahatak, and Ningiuruvik 1993; Drapeau 1995; de León 1998; Haviland 1998; Garrett 1999; Fader 2000; Paugh 1999; Augsburger 1998), and as such has contributed to theoretical examination of the universals and cross-cultural differences involved in language acquisition, as well as the role of language in the development of psychosocial identity.

A particularly large number of language socialization studies have been conducted in the Pacific area, ranging from research among small-scale, non-hierarchical societies such as the Kaluli (Schieffelin 1990) and Gapun (Kulick 1992) of Papua New Guinea, who have only recently been affected by European contact and who live in regions noted for an extremely high degree of regional linguistic heterogeneity, to those studies done in Samoa (Ochs 1988; Platt 1986) and Hawaii (Boggs 1985) where present-day speech demonstrates a high degree of status-based variation as opposed to regional variation, a manifestation of both the indigenous development of highly stratified, state-like societies as well as the long-term effects of contact with Europeans. As has been shown in all of these studies, language socialization represents a dynamic link in the

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production and reproduction of specific languages and cultures.

E. Transforming heteroglossia and dialogic identities

Heteroglossic speech economies are historically transformed by identity discourse, and dialogic identities are influenced by these transformations. The dialogic idenities that emerge from everyday heteroglossic exchanges take two forms. On the one hand, psychosocial identities develop as a result of micro dialogic negotiations among individuals -- i.e., through thwarted desires, creative reactions, and the imaginings of contrasts between self and other. Ethnolinguistic identities result from the communicative practices of individuals writ large as the dialectical interplay of political-economic structures and language ideologies.

It bears emphasizing here that both types of *identity* are dialogic not only in their initial construction but also in their on-going 'nature'. They are never monovalent and fixed, but multivocal and shifting, finding their meaning through contrast and tension. Thus, they either tend toward

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some kind of accommodation to structural pressures while teetering on the verge of dispersal once again, or they are instances of intense creativity in the liminal interstices of structure. As a result, Crapanzano prefers to refer to this notion of identity as something closer to *disidentity*, flagging in this way the understanding that any identity is always only a 'momentary stop in the interplay of power and desire' (personal communication; see also Crapanzano 1990).

Similarly heteroglossic speech economies are always under construction and subject to the influence of the attendant ethnolinguistic and psychosocial identities of those who participate in the heteroglossic exchanges and contribute via acts of heteroglossic significance (e.g., code-switching). Thus, the meanings and functions of heteroglossic forms and practices can be analyzed as both symptoms and facilitators of sociohistorical shifts in the cultural and translinguistic systems of a given population and as manifestations and instantiations of particular ethnolinguistic and psychosocial identities.

The articulation of macro and micro processes is especially marked when the negotiation and co-construction of heteroglossic identities is taking place within a rapidly

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transforming communicative economy. Thus, an ethnographic study of language socialization within a neo-colonial context allows for a focus on how the sometimes routinized, sometimes highly creative exchanges of children and caregivers contribute to the emergence of transformed identities and what role identity discourses play in larger systemic exchanges.

At an abstract level, the goal of such a study is that of investigating the dialectics by which dialogue is turned into discourse, practice into structure, ideas into ideology, and idiosyncrasies into identities, and how these forceful generalities disperse once again into particularities. At a more concrete level, these theoretical dynamics are traced in the historical and personal narratives discovered in ethnographic settings around the world.

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## Notes

1. Indeed the assumptions underlying the concept that one dialectic is bred from within while the other is imposed from without may be questioned. *Within* and *without*, *us* and *them*, are constructs of a given moment, whereas given a more distant vantage, all are contained within some larger scope of semiotic interaction. For example, both Polynesians and Europeans were driven by some not dissimilar political-economic needs on opposite coasts of the same land mass such that it is not surprising that they met again two millennia later in the Pacific.

2. *Id* comes from Latin 'it'; perhaps this is the source of Freud's coinage of the *id* as one's essential, unreflexive identity.

3. This assumption in formal linguistics that people mistake *apple* for the thing in the world is based on the ideology of homogenous speech communities; i.e., linguists conscious of the fact that most of the world is heteroglossic would never be caught in the web of thinking that people assume *apple* is an apple, as most have been known to call it something else as well, e.g., ***pomme***, in other contexts.

4. Sahlins also utilizes the concepts of intension and extension to discuss the ways in which Cook's identity was differentially constructed by Europeans and by variously ranked Hawaiians, also as a consequence of pragmatic variations in his comings and goings given the Hawaiian universe of values into which these were plugged. That is, like Venus, he was a god-like morning star for most of his visits, but an alien and vulnerable evening star with his final return. Consequently, his visits transformed the intensional function through which foreigner gods would henceforth be interpreted by Hawaiians (1985:ix-x, 104-135).

5. This presentation of Silverstein's thinking is derived not only from his writings (Silverstein 1976, 1979, 1981, 1985, 1996, 1998), but also from his course in sociohistorical linguistics which I attended at the Summer Linguistic Institute in 1989.

6. The term *ideology* connotes a range of meanings and

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perspectives. At one extreme are those (e.g., Geertz 1973) who equate ideology with world view, i.e., all the ideas, beliefs, and operating assumptions of a people. From this perspective, ideology is a mental phenomenon, neutral in value, and neither true nor false. At the other extreme are those (e.g., Bloch 1975) who understand the term as necessarily pejorative and generated by political-economic realities -- i.e., a wholly interested and illusory depiction of the world put across by people in power to hoodwink the rest. Woolard has suggested that these two extensional poles are indexed in English academese by a phonetic contrast: /ay/deology for the former and /I/deology for the latter (1998:8).

The most nuanced understandings of /I/deology do not ignore the issue of power, but neither is power reified as a conscious force of mythic proportions, whereby most people are rendered powerless victims in the maw of the all-powerful few. Instead, given a more heteroglossic conception of /I/deology, most culturally patterned beliefs can be examined as meaningful forms which allow for the interplay of power and desire. As an ever-fluctuating set of interested and socially positioned attitudes, /I/deology casts light on objects, relationships, and practices in such a way as to make them appear at least for the moment and from a certain perspective, desirable, inhabitable, and practicable. Thus, /I/deological beliefs provide people who have developed a particular set of identities a vantage from which to feel powerful, to feel as if they may attain what they desire, even if that feeling of advantage appears to be obviously contradicted by other evidence.

There is also ongoing dispute among linguists over the degree to which sociocultural meaning (or /ay/deology) is reflected and/or determined by linguistic forms (i.e., the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis). Largely unconcerned with the social power dimension of ideology (i.e., /I/deology), Whorf (1956) posited his theory of linguistic determinism in order to explore the notion that languages (or, more precisely, habitual patterns of linguistic usage) not only reflect the world as culturally constructed by a group, but also shape members' perceptions and experiences, thinking and functioning within that world. This extreme version of the hypothesis (by contrast with a more transparently true and less loaded conception of *linguistic relativity* in which languages *reflect* a culture's lived realities) was largely

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discredited for a couple of decades as too simplistically leaving the door open to linguistic chauvinism of the kind found in Bernstein's early work (1964) on *restricted* v. *elaborated* codes. Nonetheless, as reviewed by Lucy (1997), a number of scholars have been revisiting linguistic determinism recently, attempting to test it with more precision with respect to specific domains (such as spatial cognition) and linguistic forms (such as numeral classifiers), with some convincing results. However, they are notably uninterested in engaging in any /I/deological readings of their work (i.e., of the idea that language-determined cognition will filter reality in materially consequential ways, of the possibility that the theory represents an interested stance, or of the potentiality for using the theory to rationalize a power position).

It is the intersection between *linguistic determinism* (i.e., the impact of discursive forms on thinking) and a nuanced understanding of /I/deology (i.e., socially generated and interested forms of thinking which promote hegemony) that I adopt in my discussion of the relationship between language and ideology and its impact on the constitution of ethnolinguistic and psychosocial identities in everyday interactions.

7. Bakhtin believed *heteroglossia* existed primarily in complex societies, but in this he proved himself a product of his anthropologically naive times.

8. The difficulties of defining what exactly is shared by members of a 'speech community' can be seen in the inconsistencies found in Gumperz' various attempts to define the term (e.g., 1972, 1982).

9. Milroy (1980) has proposed an alternative to the *speech community* unit of analysis. By attaching linguistic features to the *social network* model of social organization, she dispenses with the notion of a static, bounded entity which merely reproduces itself. Instead social communication is seen to operate more like a cybernetic system consisting of ever-changing nodes and lines of interaction -- connecting some anew, then breaking others, intensifying some, while simplifying others. Thus, *social network* theory provides a framework of infinite articulation between more or less densely interactive nodal centers

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(rather than communities). Additionally, the model is particularly sensitive to individual agency and idiosyncrasy as each of the webs originates from particular people who form particular relationships with others.

However, the networks so elaborated appear to operate somewhat two-dimensionally, leaving issues of power and ideology unintegrated. By contrast, I prefer to incorporate aspects of the social network model into a larger political-economic understanding of how people communicate through time, space, and sociality.

10. Ferguson (1972 [1959]) coined the term *diglossia* to describe a particular type of sociolinguistic situation in which two quite divergent varieties of the same language are used for very different functions. The *High* or socially valued and standardized variety is used for religious or other special occasions and in writing, generally by an elite class of individuals who learn this variety in school. By contrast, the *Low* variety is used for everyday conversation by the elite and by everyone else all of the time. A variety of regional and social dialects and registers may co-exist in addition to but in functional contrast with the *superposed* prestige variety. His four examples for this phenomenon are French (H) and Haitian Creole (L), Arabic (H) and Egyptian (L), Standard German (H) and Swiss German (L), and Ancient Greek (H) and Modern Greek (L).

Ferguson's restriction of *diglossia* to populations which use not only a diverse repertoire of registers or closely related varieties but also two or more quite distinct *languages* is a heuristic some researchers find useful, because they are interested in either the sociolinguistic (e.g., Gal 1979), the psycholinguistic (e.g., Adler 1977) or the purely linguistic (e.g., Vildomec 1963) effects of the interaction between languages. However, for others the definition of *diglossia* has been broadened to apply to almost any situation in which different languages or their varieties are associated with different social functions or significations.

Fishman employed the diglossia concept in formulating a typology of societies given the four possible combinations of societal diglossia and individual bilingualism: diglossia with bilingualism, diglossia without bilingualism, bilingualism without diglossia, and neither bilingualism nor

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diglossia (1971:286-99). This last he considered to be a nearly impossible situation given his definition of a diglossic society as one in which different social contexts are marked by the speech varieties used. Only the most isolated and completely unstratified society could give rise to a social situation that was so homogeneous individuals would never vary their speech in any manner. However, for the other three possibilities he could provide examples.

Paraguay is an instance of *diglossia with bilingualism*, where through social structural delineation of the two languages (Spanish and Guarani in this case), the majority of people have access to all of the codes but learn them in association with functionally different roles -- i.e., the codes serve different functions in different contexts -- and thus almost everyone is bilingual.

European elites of the last century formed a case of *diglossia without bilingualism*. In this case, different codes were used by members of distinct social strata in societies so highly stratified that there was little interclass contact; thus, few people needed to be bilingual to any great degree. What communication did take place between lords and servants could be effected via a pidgin-like variety.

According to Fishman, these two types of societies (diglossia with and without bilingualism) tend to produce instances of stable diglossia -- that is the varieties spoken, their social functions, and their correlation with social contexts remain relatively untransformed for long periods of time. The third combination, *bilingualism without diglossia*, Fishman analyzes as a product of rapid social change, which in turn produces rapid linguistic change. In this case, the social functions of the different varieties are no longer clear to the bilingual population, and individuals begin to switch codes at conventionally inappropriate times, such as mid-sentence. Most modern industrial urban centers provide illustrations of this combinatory possibility.

Later sociolinguists (e.g., Fasold 1984), while agreeing with Fishman's basic argument concerning the functionalism of speech varieties and the diversity of an individual's linguistic repertoire, disagree with his attempt to correlate so neatly situations, roles, and language varieties, especially with respect to this third combination of bilingualism without diglossia. As language

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use in the Marquesas at present can be characterized as falling into this category, much of the section on *code-switching* is devoted to discussing the best ways to theorize and analyze this sort of speaking.

11. A certain amount of ascribed sociopolitical inequality between individuals within these communities did commonly exist. Based on age and gender, these inequalities may well have been marked by linguistic variation as they were among the Vaupés for whom the lower status of an in-marrying wife was highlighted by the ways in which she was scolded for inappropriately mixing bits of her 'father tongue' into her husband's tongue, thus mangling their children's opportunity for acquiring the pure version of their own father tongue (Jackson 1974:62-3).

12. The term *lingua franca* was coined in reference to the trading language used in the Mediterranean during the Middle Ages. Derived from the Italian term *Frankish* (meaning 'European'), this 'European language' was based on Italian, with influences from Provençal, French, Spanish, Arabic, Greek, and Turkish (Soukhanov 1992:1047). The term has since been extended to any language that serves in contact situations as a means to communicate, whether for political, economic, religious or other social reasons.

13. The term *vernacular* is itself derived from Latin 'native' and possibly Etruscan 'native slave'.

14. Technically speaking, these restructured codes do not constitute pidgins and creoles. For example, most present-day creolists now reject the nineteenth-century claim that Middle English was essentially the creolized result of the Norman Conquest insofar as English, although much simplified and reorganized, was nonetheless retained for purposes of everyday communication among the masses (Holm 1988:15).

15. Both pidgins and creoles are popularly conceived of as 'broken' forms of the associated standard language (e.g., Haitian Creole vis-à-vis French), that is, as child-like, irrational, and restricted means of expression. This ethnocentric bias has shown up in scholarly neglect of the phenomenon until fairly recently when a renewed interest in linguistic universals led to analysis of pidgins and creoles

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as languages in their own right with historical origins, structural characteristics, and developmental processes worthy of study and valuable to the analysis of language in general. In the present work, I do not engage in the ongoing debate over when and where a creole begins and a pidgin ends or when a language has been sufficiently transformed to be considered a creole (but see Holm 1988). Instead, I simply refer to the **'enana** and ***français*** spoken in the Marquesas as *restructured varieties*.

16. A host of terms for heteroglossic phenomena have been bandied about and variably defined and redefined by contrast with each other: e.g., *code-switching, code-choice, code-mixing, code-alternation, style-shifting, transfer, borrowing*, and *polyvalence*. While each of these deals with the linguistic and communicative consequences of speakers having some access to two or more varieties, controversies over which ones work best in application to which kinds of phenomena are shaped by the theoretical orientations of the researchers, which in turn constrain the data they identify, collect, and analyze.

Some terms are derived from the types of heteroglossia that are considered especially salient in the speech economies being studied. For instance, scholars propose contrastive terms that represent the codes' genetic relationships. Thus, *code* is sometimes replaced by *language* (i.e., *language-switching*) to indicate that a distinctly bilingual v. bidialectal situation is the subject of analysis. Also, the term *style-shifting* is sometimes used in cases where speakers alternate between two dialects or registers which index different keys or tones in an interaction. These terminological concerns arise out of sociolinguistic controversies over the boundaries between typological units such as *language, dialect*, and *register*.

One issue of particular relevance to linguists interested in formal issues, has been that of assigning terminology that spells out the size and level of the linguistic constituents being juxtaposed -- whether these be morphemes, phrases, clauses, turns, or larger discourse chunks -- and the boundaries between them. Such a focus results in debates over whether the transfer of single lexemes or bits of morphosyntactic material constitutes switches at all.

A contingent issue has to do with whether a return to

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the original language is entailed or predicted following a given switch. Thus, Auer (1984) contrasts *transfer* and *code-switching*, the former referring to brief injections of one code into another, and the latter to instances in which one code is left behind for the other. This is akin to Myers-Scotton's matrix language model (1993a) in which one language serves as matrix for chunks of talk in an embedded language. The identification of which language is matrix and which embedded is dependent on when and how a return to the matrix language is effected (her elaboration of this model, using the concept of *embedded language islands*, is based upon theories of universal grammar entailments).

But as the chunks of discourse between switches become larger, the issue of units and boundaries becomes more relevant for sociolinguists who are interested in the social construction of heteroglossic practices and their significance for and impact on social actors and systems. For instance, a lot of sociolinguistic research deals with what Gumperz (1982) labeled *conversational code-switching* -- i.e., not only intrasentential switching, but also switches between speakers and turns. Although Heller reserves the term *code-switching* for the use of more than one code within a particular interaction, she holds that all *code choices*, whether made inside or outside of a given interactive context, are best analyzed within a larger politico-discursive frame which takes into account differential access to and symbolism of linguistic resources within a sociolinguistic marketplace (1982, 1988, 1992, 1995). By contrast, as an interpretive sociolinguist, Auer delimits the study of *alternation*, which according to him encompasses both *code-switching* and *transfer* (1984), to those phenomena which involve the "contiguous juxtaposition of semiotic systems, such that the appropriate recipients of the resulting complex sign are in a position to interpret this juxtaposition as such" (1995:116).

A diachronic interest also generates different questions by linguists with varying orientations. An instance of a formal concern would be: when can a lexical code-switch or nonce borrowing be considered a permanent loan? Sociolinguists and psycholinguists dispute the following question: when does calquing or phonological impact no longer indicate *interference* in the repertoire of several individuals but count as a case of community-wide systemic transformation? Sociolinguists study changing

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patterns of CS and hypothesize when and whether one language is giving way to the other (i.e., language shift).

One question related to both synchronic and diachronic issues is how completely the shift occurs, i.e., whether the two systems are in evidence simultaneously or have already converged to such a degree that no boundary can be said to have been crossed at all (Gardner-Chloros 1995). Woolard (1998) has proposed the term *bivalency* for instances in which a constituent cannot be absolutely assigned to either system and appears to index both -- that is, to pull in both directions at once.

A concern with the possible pejorative connotations of terms has arisen out of the historical tendency to approach the CS practices of bilinguals with suspicion, usually expecting inadequacy and deficiency of the codes, the speakers, or the communities involved in these practices. Attempts to rectify terminology on these grounds dates back to the work of Haugen (1958), who objected to *borrowing* because it implies a deficiency in the recipient language -- i.e., that the speakers were forced by a lexical gap to import a valuable commodity. He suggested *transfer* as an alternative as it implies a more egalitarian exchange.

Similarly, many psycholinguistic researchers have applied *code-mixing* to the heteroglossic practices of infants, aphasics, and second-language learners, because these practices are presumed to indicate an unconscious confusion of systems within the bilingual brain. By contrast, researchers of a similar ilk have reserved *code-switching* for the presumably intentional usage of fluent bilinguals of different codes in different contexts. Research of this kind has contributed to deficit models of linguistic competence and adversely affected policy decisions. More recently, some sociolinguists have objected to the pejorative connotations of *mixing* as an act that indicates "laziness or ignorance" (Wardhaugh 1986:104); thus, *switching* has been preferred because it sounds as if a conscious agent is in control of his or her own linguistic choices.

Issues of consciousness and intentionality have also figured prominently in the terminological struggles of sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists. In one form or another the question asked is: to what degree can CS be considered *strategic*, and to what degree is it governed by psychosocial and ideological forces that operate beyond the

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language users' awareness or control (e.g., Gal 1987; Hill 1985)? This and other questions that arise out of such debates over terminology are broached in various ways in the discussion of heteroglossic practices found in the main text.

17. Whether the term is spelled as two words, one word, or hyphenated is still unresolved, and while a discussion of this diacritical point might be vaguely interesting, I do not broach it here. Personally, I choose to use a hyphen to mark iconically the idea that two once separate systems are being significantly juxtaposed.

18. I attempt to eschew using the connotation-laden rubrics *choice* and *strategy*, *intentionality* and *individuality*, but I cannot always avoid doing so. Nor can I here go into any real discussion of their epistemological roots or the problems with using them (but see Silverstein 1981 and Duranti 1988b). Instead I have simply attempted here to banish them from my CS model.

19. I have rather obviously modeled *metonymic switching* on Gumperz' *metaphoric switching* (although I have attached some of the creative force he assigns to *situational switching* in assigning *metonymic switching* an ability to shift the normative rights and obligations set and therefore the roles of participants). However, in choosing a different figure (metonym over metaphor), I am trying to highlight a different set of relations -- syntagmatic v. paradigmatic and indexical v. symbolic. That is, the use of *metaphor* implies that switching of this kind is creating the wholesale replacement of paradigmatically equivalent pragmatic values, while the use of *metonym* indicates that switching of this kind is part of a historical process in which one set of contiguous pragmatic values may be beginning to displace another set. An example of approaching the same set of indexicals metaphorically v. metonymically can be found in the contrast between Friedrich's (1972) analysis of *ty* and *vy* which was used by Gumperz as a model for metaphoric switching and Morford's (1997) sociohistorically and contextually sensitized analysis of *tu* and *vous*.

20. Kinds of CS not unlike what I refer to as *rhetorical*

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have been discussed by Gumperz as *conversational* (1982), by Bailey as *discourse contextualization* (1999).

21. The Pacific was also the locus of many early ethnographic studies of psychology, e.g., by M. Mead (1928, 1935), Fortune (1963), Bateson (1958), and Maurice Leenhardt (1979).

22. On this side of the Atlantic, Sapir took up the study of the multifunctionality of talk and of how connotations shift depending on the context. For instance, he examines how a performance of etiquette may at one level express care and concern for another, while at another level it may operate as a class marker and thus be used to index social distance (1994:234-7). Another early application of the systemic model is found in the work of Bateson, both in his work on ritual in PNG (1958) and in his anthropology of psychiatry and cybernetics (1972). For him, metacommunication -- specifically the ability to use multiple channels in forming multiple, sometimes contradictory messages -- is key to understanding the evolution of consciousness (1985) as well as the semiotic processes by which individuals learn (*deuterolearning*), by which groups co-construct meaning, and by which societies change (*schismogenesis*).

23. See Wertsch (1985:46-7) for an attempt at synthesizing the thinking of Piaget and Vygotsky on this point.

24. Another instance of research in this vein is Woolard's (1997) work in Catalonia among groups of teen-age friends who code-switch to represent and negotiate their identities.

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# Chapter III

## Dialogic Methodology in a Heteroglossic Field

The fieldwork methodology outlined in my research proposal was grounded in the understanding that the process by which talk mediates the emergence of psychosocial and ethnolinguistic identities can be fruitfully examined through an ethnographic study of language socialization. In such a study, the social interactions of children and their caregivers are analyzed for evidence not only of how verbal routines and speech acts socialize children to act and think in culturally appropriate ways, but also of how children acquire and co-construct new ethnolinguistic resources for the negotiation of affect, identity, and relationship within a given community.

However, as was discussed in the introduction, my research quickly took on an agenda of its own quite beyond my expectations and control. I characterize this form of ethnographic research as *dialogic* because of the role played by the studied 'other' in transforming the nature, procedures, and results of the study. I use this term in all self-conscious awareness that in doing so I may be

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adding little to the panoply of voices now attempting to end anthropology's monologic hegemony over the 'other' (e.g., Tedlock and Mannheim 1995 as critiqued by Shore 1997:212). Nonetheless, I elaborate here several reasons for calling my methods *dialogic*.

First of all, the data I collected are dialogic in the simplest sense of the term in that many voices 'speak' -- in my memory, on my tapes, in my transcripts, and in the excerpts included in this dissertation. However, I do not mean merely that many individuals were recorded in the act of speaking, i.e., that I collected and transcribed 'dialogue'. I also mean that, within each of their utterances, a number of shifting sensibilities, persuasions, and ideologies are given voice in the Bakhtinian sense. Ongoing interactions of this kind are the stuff of ethnolinguistic and psychosocial emergence in the senses discussed in the previous chapter.

Secondly, my exegesis of these voices and the emergent identities they articulate represents a far more political level of dialogism: the process by which 'cultures' and 'languages' emerge into intellectual history as a consequence of anthropological endeavor. That is, my

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representation of **'enana** discourse is also based on a dialogic process contextualized by larger dialectical processes. Much of what I know and say about **te 'Enana** is the product of 'dialogue', or talk, between myself and other individuals, but this talk was shaped and contextualized by much larger if specific historical situations. In other words, I am far from envisioning this as a see-through process by which 'they' provided information for 'me' to analyze as the result of an egalitarian relationship forged between us (really not much of an improvement over the old 'objective' and clearly inegalitarian methodology modeled by ethologists, or the 'scientific' toy in which ants tunnel through sand between two plates of plastic for the edification of children).

Instead, I would like, as Crapanzano (1992:70-90) has suggested, to incorporate the notion of 'desire' into this understanding of dialogism. That is, I conceive of every exchange between myself and others in the field as, on the one hand, framed by a particular set of metapragmatic conditions and, on the other hand, invested with a set of desires -- mine, theirs, ours -- that could not possibly be met, or only partially so by stand-ins for what we would in

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fact have liked. The tension of 'the third' (i.e., not myself, not themselves, but some clashing cultural perceptions of ourselves as others for each other) not only dialectically informed our mutual (in)comprehensions at any given moment, but also shaped any future interactions -- both the ideology of our relations and the form our mismatched desires took.

However, both the dialogism of the voices on tape and the dialogism of my interpretations are inevitable dialogisms -- i.e., really nothing more than what any anthropologist collects or does. Only my attempt to be self-conscious about the process is part of the contemporary movement of reflexive anthropology (e.g., Clifford and Marcus 1986). In this sense, my method is dialogic because I accept that my depictions of **te 'Enana** identities in this study are largely shaped by the development of my own dialogic identity in relationship to a number of particular **'Enana**.

I introduced this dissertation with a narrative of that dialogic process. Nonetheless, the emergence of myself as researcher and **te 'Enana** as researched representata is also the result of some specific methodological practices which I

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define under the rubrics of *participant observation* and *discourse interpretation*. Both of these have disciplinary histories that bear some rehearsing, but I also here explain my own variations on these methodological themes.

A. *Participant observation*

*Participant observation* -- while still the ethnographer's claim to methodological fame -- has come increasingly under fire in the past few decades. A major complaint is that early ethnographers rarely analyzed (at least in print) their relationships to their informants, tending to represent both their own observations and their informants' statements as straightforward facts, rather than 'made' data. However, the influences affecting the validity of these data are various: the limits on awareness of any individual concerning one's own or another's culture, the interests an informant may have in conversing with (confessing to, lying to...) the anthropologist, the problems of interpretation by the fieldworker, etc.

An example of this sort of critique can be found in Briggs' deconstruction of the social-scientific genre known

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as the *interview* (1986). In this extended essay, he illustrates not only the need to illuminate the actual context and process of data 'collection', but also the value of analyzing these data-collecting interactions as themselves examples of metapragmatically loaded discourse, packed with information about how both sides construct knowledge, sociality, and discourse. This agenda is at the heart of recent trends in reflexive anthropology to lay bare the process by which ethnographic facts are made out of lived relationships.

A further cautionary note has arisen from within the ranks of reflexive anthropology. As mentioned in my earlier discussion of *dialogism*, Crapanzano (1992) castigates the self-rationalizing tendency in much of this work to sentimentalize the 'dialogic' nature of the fieldwork experience. First of all, he criticizes anthropologists' failure to acknowledge their authorial power in conducting interviews with informants, dismissing the impact of the participants' inequality and the unconventionality of the genre on the facts that emerge. Secondly, he contends that some anthropologists romanticize their friendships with informants, underscoring the sense of communication and

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mutual comprehension that emerges from reaching across the intersubjective divide. Finally, he questions whether participant observation can be anything but oxymoronic. Although claiming to provide the perfect vantage from which to know the other, does it not in fact involve one in an impossible dance between being blindly immersed and being objectively ignorant? For him the problem is not how to become involved but how to reassert the distance from which to see.

Although knowledgeable about these practical and epistemological issues before beginning fieldwork, I nonetheless created my own private quagmire out of the interaction between my own idiosyncratic personality and those with whom I worked. And the aftermath, my journey 'back home' -- i.e., to a place from which I could see again -- took nearly seven years. Nonetheless, here are the steps I took at the time.

Once I traversed the initial obstacles to fieldwork and was permitted a situation within which to live and work, I learned to engage in a wide spectrum of unfamiliar interactions involving the give and take of goods, words, and information (e.g., name exchanges, gossip, Catholic

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rituals, insults, fictive kin relations, teases) in order both to fulfill my ethnographic objectives and to have food. This level of integration in village life allowed me a vantage from which to observe, participate, and take notes on not only everyday social interactions, but also local and national politics, religious practice and discourse, and associational activity, particularly that devoted to the cultural revival movement. In this way, I was able to identify differences and similarities between the domestic interactions I was recording and other discourse events, identifying a wide variety of recurring verbal routines, speech acts and genres, and ethnolinguistic markers.

Additionally, I conducted 'interviews' throughout the year with community members as well as **'Enana** from other valleys and islands concerning their language attitudes: their evaluation of the essential worth of **'enana**, their beliefs about how it is learned and used, and their predictions as to its future transformation or demise. None of these interviews were formal in the normative social-scientific sense of organizing an unconventional participant structure and context in order to control the agenda and genre of talk. The only ones of this kind that I did

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conduct were with other researchers or teachers, professionals like myself, who, being accustomed to the format, actually helped me construct it. Instead, for the most part, my 'interviews' took the form of writing down post-conversation notes about what I remembered my interlocutors to have said. Many of these interactions were not even initiated by me. And only by happenstance and indirection did I ever manage to channel these exchanges towards topics I had decided were worthy of inquiry.

A large exception to this unstructured interview schedule was the quizzing process I entangled my assistants in while we transcribed (described at more length below). However, even in this context, I was self-consciously aware of the fact that my interests in linguistic minutiae were irrelevant to them, and so I tended to hedge what was clearly tedious with bits of self-mockery. Also, aware that many of my questions about meaning, form, function, or intentionality were totally foreign, I tried to take into account that many of their answers were creative responses to basically unthinkable constructions. Finally, even here our conversation followed a meandering path between what I thought I was supposed to be doing there and what they

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thought worth talking about. True, I was to some degree the power broker: it was I who had initiated the larger frame of the project of recording and transcribing talk; I defined what was worth writing down as I held the pen (though they sometimes took it to correct my written ***français***); and I paid their wages. Even so, I frequently found myself scribbling notes based on their gossip (whether of the moment or to do with some previous generation) which I managed later to label as theories of kinship, ownership, responsibility, credibility, etc.

Yet, despite this image of a relatively powerless, out-of-control researcher I am projecting here, I am also conscious that I imposed in my own passive-aggressive fashion a particular set of friendship constraints which very much affected both my relationships and the understandings I gleaned from dialogue with my **hoa** 'friends'. As I discussed in the introduction, I managed in this way to reproduce my own personal friendship schema in the field.

Was this proof of universal personality and relationship types? Or does it instead demonstrate what a hegemonic collusion in mutual incomprehension is capable of?

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Or is it some mixture of both: a kind of 'doing being crosscultural friends' -- all parties interested in speaking across an incommensurable divide being equipped (both innately and through socialization) to co-construct the appropriate cues that will allow each other the illusion that they are having what they desire in the way of friendship? Or perhaps, as Crapanzano intimates, the crosscultural aspect is just gravy as this is what goes on in any 'friendship' and in any dialogue.

But however these relationships were constructed, they were the stuff out of which I forged my understandings of **te 'Enana**, and in particular, how **titahi 'enana** 'these (particular) people' living in Hatiheu at this juncture in history were becoming **te 'Enana**. That is, I based my understandings on my interpretations of our discursive interactions at that period.

B. *Discourse interpretation*

Although obviously influenced by the work of Sacks (1984), Schegloff (1972), Goodwin (1990), Moerman (1988) and Auer (1984, 1995), my approach to recording, transcribing,

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and interpreting discourse should not be confused with the methodological practice known as *conversational analysis* (CA). First of all, given the brevity of my fieldwork period, I was unable to arrange anything close to laboratory-like uniformity in the contexts of taping or capture as much talk as would be needed to create a properly scientific sampling of data. Secondly, I have not attempted to represent all of the discursive minutiae captured by CA notational systems, in large part because I make no claims to the communicative competence needed to engage in that sort of detailed transcription. Finally, although I look at some of the same forms of discourse analyzed by these CA practitioners (e.g., routine exchanges, code-switching, and disputes), I do not focus solely on any one of these, but attempt to bring them all in as aspects of the language socialization process within a heteroglossic society.

Instead, the methodological model I adopted and adapted for my research is that formulated by Ochs and Schieffelin for analysing how discourse operates as both context and tool in the socialization of language and identity (Schieffelin 1979, 1990; Ochs 1979, 1988). As in CA, three basic steps are taken: recording, transcribing, and

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interpreting talk; however, the language socialization methodology as I employed it differs in several respects.

First of all, the researcher accepts and acknowledges his or her role as a participant in the recorded segment of discourse. Secondly, the role of the transcription assistant is emphasized, and thus one analyzes with the assistant's aid the talk recorded, but also the assistant's commentary on that talk. Third, the transcript itself is understood to be a theoretically engraved text; that is, different research agendas entail different notational systems and the effects of these differing theoretical perspectives are acknowledged. Finally, the focus on cross-cultural difference (by contrast with a search for interactional universals found in a lot of CA work) is indicated in this study by the use of the term *interpretation* over *analysis*. That is, the act of analysing the decontextualized texts resulting from such research is understood to be a dialogic process emerging out of the presence of the researcher during the recording stage, the agency of the assistant as informed cultural practitioner, and the theoretical orientations of the researcher.

Generally speaking, language socialization researchers

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attempt to understand not only how particular exchanges illustrate the social meaning-making project engaged in by all humans, but also how these interactions reflect the process by which cultural actors learn to use ethnolinguistic resources to negotiate meanings, affect, identities, and relationships in culturally specific ways. Thus, the methods used to record, transcribe, and interpret talk among children and their caregivers highlight these emphases.

1. *Recording*

My longitudinal research design called for the periodic audiotaping of interactions among children aged two to three years and their caregivers (e.g., older siblings and parents) in 'natural' settings. However, a number of problems arose in trying to corral the appropriate subjects into 'natural' contexts for taping.

First of all, I urged the participants (usually the mothers) to name the best times and places for me to arrive and turn on the tape recorder. I was hoping in this way to alleviate some of the sense of intrusion I assumed they

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would feel.[1] However, I was also in this way seeking out information as to what kinds of interactions they considered important and/or appropriate for me to witness and tape.

This stage was very informative, but finally practical limitations and my own methodological objectives determined when we would record. Meals at home turned out to be the primary occasions when most children were all together with their caregivers, far enough away from the noise of the ocean, and engaged enough in what they were doing to ignore my presence to some degree.

Secondly, I learned (what I should have predicted given the underlying Polynesian social structure) that the 'family unit' is a particularly porous formation in the Marquesas. Despite the imposition of French Catholic dogma and practice, the apparent partitioning and housing of kin into nuclear families, one per roof, does not provide a very good blueprint for on-the-ground living and interacting.[2]

This affected my methodology as my taping tended to follow the children from their kitchens and/or eating areas (one or the other of these being at least partially outside), rarely but sometimes into the couple of bedrooms usually found in any house, out to their bathing areas and

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gardening areas, and even to other houses -- i.e., those of adjunct caregivers, including mine (as my wanting to tape the children was seen as an opportunity to engage me as a caregiver).

Finally, and of most significance for the redirection of my research, I realized after several months that I would not be collecting the data necessary for a longitudinal study of language and psychosocial development by a few children under the age of five. This was because these young participants tended to speak little and in low voices so that what they did say was generally drowned out by their older siblings, parents, and grandparents. Additionally, I was unable to work with most of the children for as long a period as would be necessary for a longitudinal study (one of the families dropped out of the study after four months and another did not join until half-way through the study). Instead I found myself collecting cross-sectional data that would allow me to focus on the variables affecting the use of ethnolinguistic resources and psychosocial discourse strategies by a larger number of children of all ages.

Thus, in total, I engaged for nine months in audiotaping with some regularity the everyday interactions

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of 22 Hatiheuan children (aged 0-13) among themselves and with a variety of attendant adults (older siblings, aunts and uncles, parents and grandparents, and other visitors such as the researcher). Appendix 8 provides details as to when the samples of talk were collected, the settings, the participants, and the ages of the focal children. And in Appendix 10, I provide a series of transcribed interactions taken from these taping sessions with which to illustrate my analyses of discourse.

2. *Interpretive transcription*

During this nine-month period I also spent 15-20 hours a week transcribing the tapes with the aid of the mothers in three of the families and an aunt in the fourth. Each of these women had participated to some degree in the taping sessions and was bilingual and biliterate in ***français*** and **'enana**. The transcription process required 20-25 hours per hour of tape, entailing as it did the complicated task of transforming speech into writing. First of all, we needed to unravel individual threads of talk, sometimes from a cacophony of five or six voices, establishing the identity

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of the speaker and any basic referential meanings. Secondly, we had to trace the interwoven threads of discourse (who was responding to whom and with what pragmatic significance), using my notes taken at the time and our best memories of the unfolding scene.

While transcribing, I elicited my assistants' judgments with an eye toward identifying and exploring the cultural meanings of a set of features indexing the social identities and relationships between participants: 1) the use of terms and stereotyping remarks to refer to social categories based on culturally significant characteristics (e.g., age, gender, kinship, religion, education, occupation, regional origin); 2) the use of particular linguistic forms, registers, and verbal routines to signal acts of personal identification, status construction, and social affiliation (including code-switching into ***français***, **tahiti**, or regional **'enana** dialects); 3) the explicit expression of affect and attitudes concerning how language should and should not be used by certain people in certain social contexts; 4) the verbal routines, speech acts, and linguistic play used by caregivers to teach children appropriate and effective social and communicative behavior, special attention being

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paid to differences in the social identities of the caregivers and therefore to the different kinds of verbal activities they engaged in (e.g., the fact that the oldest grandmother involved in the study was the one most apt to use a calling-out and repeating routine that has widespread currency throughout the Pacific); and 5) the children's variable acquisition and use of socially salient linguistic resources, including their degree of lexical, phonological and syntactic familiarity with the various codes; their ability to use aspects of these languages for strategic effect; and their repertoire of verbal performance techniques.

However, this transcription and elicitation process allowed me to do far more than tap my assistants' culturally informed intuitions as to the referential, social, and emotional meanings of particular interactions in particular contexts. First of all, these sessions also provided me with intensive tutoring sessions in the local varieties of ***français*** and **'enana** and how to use them appropriately. Secondly, I gained insight into **'enana** language socialization practices from my assistants' narratives of learning to use one language or the other at home and their

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memories of and attitudes toward the French-style education they had received. Finally, our conversations also inevitably took on the form and content of 'gossip', teaching me much about how one does this genre '**enana**-style, as well as providing me with lots of pertinent psychosocial information concerning individuals and relationships within the community.

Clearly, not only *transcription* but also *interpretation* began in the field as I was translating my assistants' metalinguistic commentary, which was a form of exegesis on the transcribed text, that being itself the result of writing down what we imagined we were hearing on the tapes (i.e., already multiply framed interpretations). Thus, I refer to this stage of interpretation and transcription as *interpretive transcription*. However, these levels of interpretation have since been encompassed within a larger frame as I sat at a computer in Vermont attempting to reinterpret the hand-written transcriptions constructed in Hatiheu, a process I refer to here as *transcription interpretation*.

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3. *Transcription interpretation*

Any research which uses natural discourse as data includes a short summary of the so-called *transcription conventions*. This list of equivalencies represents a code for the concerns and problems the analyst faced in attempting to transform the audio or video recordings she collected into typed data. Sometimes this code hides the real difficulties faced, the choices made, and the reasons why they were made. As Ochs (1979) has made seminally clear, such a code ought to be read and explicated as the theoretical construction it is.

Although I began to type out and interpret my field transcripts as soon as I returned home, it took several years of false starts to develop the categories appropriate to my eventual foci and the conventions applicable to the relevant forms. This is because this stage of *transcription interpretion* involved two intertwined processes: 1) the codification of various facets of the transcribed talk into representative data and, 2) the creation of orthographic and transcription conventions that highlight these facets. Doing both of these is a time-consuming, back-and-forth

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process because, just as some foci do not become apparent until they are given proper form, so must the conventions be updated as new 'facts' appear.

The orthographic and transcription conventions I settled on and employed in the representation of discourse throughout the text is provided in a list following the table of contents.[3] However, this summary does not make explicit my theoretical rationale for these notational devices. Thus, I provide here a fuller explication of my representational schema as well as an overview of how this helped highlight my eventual findings.

First, I have taken some rather standard measures to number and label turns by speaker and to note addressee where this is ambiguous. Additionally, I have used standard prose punctuation to signal my interpretation of speakers' referential and rhetorical intentions. No attempt is made to mark unusual syllabic emphasis or intonation in the utterances. Instead, generalized references to pitch and volume may be rendered as parenthetical contextual information (e.g., whisper or sing-song).

In representing utterances that are spoken as if they were already said or intended to be said by someone else or

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in some other context, I have chosen not to use quotation marks because of the wide grey area found between direct quotation and indirect reported (or preported) speech. That is, I want to retain the sense of continuum implicit in Bakhtin's notion of *dialogic speech* or speech that resonates with another voice (without necessarily being an intentional or direct quote). If, however, a speaker is clearly representing an utterance as that of another person or if the speaker wants someone else to repeat an utterance word-for-word, I do launch this utterance with a colon.

Internal to the turns, I have chunked speech into lines based on some sense of the coherence of an utterance and used ellipses to note an interval between utterances. Assigning times to these pauses was not important for my present concerns. And as I was unable to undertake an analysis of the significance of overlaps and interruptions in these interactions, I have not indicated these.

I have also used a number of typographic methods for making apparent several levels of information. Boldfaced type is used to represent utterances whereas roman type is used for everything else from contextual information to translations.

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Italics are used to distinguish between ***français*** and **'enana** (as well as **tahiti** and **sarapia**) in both the boldfaced utterances and the roman-type translations. On theoretical grounds, I would have preferred not to use orthographic features to distinguish between ***français*** and **'enana** as it is not always possible to draw the line between these two and some emergent amalgam of codes. However, the goals of this study include analyzing the possible or probable sources and functions of code-switches. Thus, for purposes of presenting this material to non-speakers of these languages, it seemed advisable to index the identity of lexemes according to some rough calculations of how **'Enana** themselves might classify them.

Parentheses enclose all superficially obvious and relevant contextual data about what the participants are doing and reacting to, as well as bits of information within utterances and translations that are tacitly assumed. Thus, within the boldfaced utterances, dropped but grammatically entailed phonemes and morphemes are sometimes provided in parentheses. And within the roman-type translations, elliptical but pragmatically understood referential elements are provided in parentheses.

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Square brackets are employed for translations as well as within utterances and translations to provide more linguistic detail where needed. For instance, when a speaker uses a phonetic variation that is significant to my analysis, the idealized transcription is followed by one phonetically rendered in square brackets. Similarly, in the few instances in which I discuss an utterance in any real syntactic detail, I provide two translations both in square brackets -- the morpheme-by-morpheme transliteration first, followed on the next line by the loose translation. In cases in which morphosyntactic features are under discussion, I insert this information in square brackets in the translation (e.g., verbal aspect, inclusive v. exclusive pronouns, inalienable v. alienable possessives).

Additionally, the translations of material (usually single lexemes) from other languages are followed by a notation of the source language in square brackets (e.g., [TAH] or [ENG]). Material associated with a caregiver register is similarly marked [CGR].

Finally, curly-q brackets are used to signal my metapragmatic interpretations of utterances where I deemed this necessary as well as to describe other metapragmatic

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features of an utterance, for instance the key and/or genre being used (e.g., {whining}, {teasing}, or {scolding}).

As several remarks so far indicate, I struggled at length with the issue of the degree to which I would attempt to capture objectively accurate (i.e., phonetically and syntactically precise) realizations of the talk, and how much I would resort to idealized renderings (i.e., phonemic and grammatical generalizations).[4] This question is relevant in that much of my project revolves around an ability to analyze several types of variations -- those based on dialect, social context, developmental stage, and diachronic restructuring. However, I finally resolved that, given that different levels of analysis depend on highlighting different features, the transcript data used to illustrate various points would similarly differ in the degree of detail provided.

Also, with respect to representation, it is worth noting here that, although both missionaries and **'Enana** have been writing **'enana** for over a century, there are two fully conceptualized orthographic systems in use. The one designed originally by Catholic missionaries in the nineteenth century employs the diacritics of ***français***

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(specifically the ***accent aigu*** and the ***accent circonflexe***) to define the glottal stops and vowel lengthening found in Polynesian languages. The other system uses the conventions designed by linguists to apply to all Polynesian languages (the apostraphe for the glottal stop and the macron for long vowels). The latter system has been officially adopted in most of anglophone Polynesia (e.g., Māori, Hawai'i, Samoa, and the Cook Islands) whereas the former is employed far less frequently but usually in non-anglophone areas (e.g., Rapanui).

Adherents to these two systems within French Polynesia have heated opinions about which is superior (this conflict is discussed at more length in Chapter IV). However, the lack of agreement has probably contributed to the fact that most **'Enana** employ a totally non-standardized manner of writing that either avoids diacritics altogether or else uses a mix of French and Polynesian diacritics haphazardly without reference to phonemic accuracy.

My decision to use the linguist-designed pan-Polynesian system was a political choice in two senses. First, I tend to agree with those who favor indexing the common roots of all Polynesians over the **'Enana**'s colonial history and

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present-day affiliation to France. Secondly, my choice of orthography signals my intention to direct my writings towards an academic audience. However, I have grown somewhat unhappy with this choice as, having now spent over a decade reading and writing the language, I have come to appreciate the critique voiced by Georges Teikiehuupoko, an **'Enana** with some training in linguistics, who insisted that words appear to be broken up by apostrophe glottal stops and that this hinders one's sense of flow when reading.

In any case, I have decided to respect local orthographic conventions in writing personal and place names: no diacritics, French or pan-Polynesian, are used to indicate vowel length or glottal stops in the body of the dissertation. However, in the family trees in Appendix 6, I have indicated the glottals in the names with apostrophes in order to clarify their pronunciation.[5]

The key question that follows from having interpreted these transcripts using the conventions outlined here is: how did I then interpret what I learned from transcribing talk in this way? In brief, I focused on coding, classifying, and comprehending three areas of discourse: code-switching, socializing routines, and negotiative

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strategies.

First, I flagged the simplified and convergent forms of ***français*** and **'enana** being used, as well as the types, contexts, and functions of code-switching. Specifically, I distinguished loans from switches, and coded these by speaker and addressee, subject matter, speech act type, affective load, and/or social indexical effect.

Secondly, I analyzed the transcripts for verbal activities laden with cultural expectations as to how people ought to act, think, and feel. In particular, I noted the usage of caregiver register, socializing routines, and instances of explicit socializing messages.

Third, I dissected children's negotiative strategies into speech forms, acts, and genres that are used to appeal or confront. In the process, I noted how some of these are learned and adopted via socializing routines whereas others are creatively generated as part of 'games' and other interactive modes.

Finally, the longitudinal data collected in my study are insufficient to do more than make some suggestive stabs at a developmental analysis of language acquisition. Nonetheless, any evidence of phonological, lexical,

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syntactic, or pragmatic regularities was duly noted for future reference in case I have the chance to conduct a follow-up study on this subject.

However, all of these attempts to represent, code, and comprehend discursive types exemplify some of the more profound difficulties encountered when trying to interpret meanings, interpolate intentions, and assign functions. For example, with respect to CS, how can one know whether a speaker has chosen to switch due to incompetency or to some strategic intention concerning interlocutor or rhetorical exigency? Or, with respect to caregiver discourse, how can one decide whether a mother is teasing a child in order to make him or her more flexible or is simply 'acting out' as a result of some immediate tension in her own life? Generally speaking, such analyses beg the larger epistemological question: how can I possibly know what others intend to mean and do with their speech acts?

However, if we start from the premise that intentions are never unidirectional and unambiguous even to the most conscious of speakers and focus instead on triangulating utterances, distinguishing all possible facets of sense (both referential and pragmatic) from various viewpoints

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and noting their co-constructed dependence and impact on other speakers, patterns begin to emerge. Repetitive practices accumulate indicating significant personal and cultural tendencies, while many unique acts stand out as suggestive exceptions. Such dialogic hunches and indefinite 'proofs' form the foundation of most of the 'findings' discussed in this study rich with dialogisms.

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## Notes

1. In three out of four of the families I sensed some degree of resistance to having their interactions recorded. On the surface, the parents were open to the project -- having invited me in, they generally also offered to feed me during the taping sessions (a genuine sign of **ka'oha** 'welcome'). However, when it came time to turn on the tape, some participants registered their ambivalences (instances of this are provided in Part III in the discussion of the four families). As for the children, most were initially excited by my presence and the exotic equipment I brought with me -- wanting to hear themselves on tape and get to know me -- however, as the novelty wore off, even some of the children manifested some impatience with the taping process. However, most continued to evince real pride and pleasure in having me as an oddly exotic **hoa** 'friend'.

2. I elaborate on this subject in Chapter V, in the section devoted to transformed social forms and practices.

3. The bits of discourse used to illustrate points take one of several forms. Sometimes I paraphrase an exchange, sometimes I provide a short passage and translation in the body of the dissertation, and sometimes I refer the reader to one of the example transcripts in Appendix 10. In all cases, references to the original transcriptions are given following this format: the first letter refers to the first name of the mother in three of the families and to the two-year-old Siki in the fourth family, followed by the date of the session, followed by a period and the number(s) of the turn(s) to which I refer. For example, T3/11.144 refers to turn #144 of the March 11 session with Tapu's family.

4. Thus, I considered marking all instances of variant syntax and word choice with an asterix in the utterance and the translation. Unlike the meaning of the asterix in formal linguistics, these would not signal ungrammaticality, but would identify examples of the emergent ways in which the two systems are influencing each other. For example, I would asterix the calquing of ***français*** onto **'enana** structures (e.g., ***vous deux avec Siki,*** which retains the **'enana** significance of 'you two including Siki', rather than what most francophones would understand to mean: 'you two

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and also Siki'). Also where applicable, the pound sign # could be used to mark instances of a tendency to resolve certain grammatical choices in favor of the ones allowable in both languages (e.g., S-V word order -- this was always possible in **'enana** but may be increasing in prevalence due to the influence of ***français***). However, I concluded that marking up the transcripts in this way would have been distracting given the other foci of my study.

5. I have also deleted the apostrophes (and even, following their usage, elided whole syllables) in kin terms used for direct address. Thus **ko'oua** 'grandfather' becomes **Koua** in direct address and **pakahio** 'grandmother' is **Pahio**. I am modeling this use of apostrophes on the English orthographic convention of capitalizing kin terms when used in direct address (Mommy, Uncle John), but using small letters for when these are used referentially (my mommy, your uncle John). However, I have also extended this usage to other terms which are used by **'Enana** more or less like names but which would not be capitalized by English speakers (e.g., **Mo'i keu, Pahoe** = 'Don't play, little girl' **v. 'Ite au te paho'e** 'I see the little girl'). My rationalization for this is that these terms are used for address in much the same way more official 'names' are (in fact, many **'enana** names stem from referential terms -- for example, **vehine** 'woman,' **mo'i** daughter,' **hina** 'princess') -- only the contexts and rules of use differ. Put another way, for any individual, one could probably draw a spectrum of address terms ranging from ***français***/formal/official to **'enana**/informal/impromptu with degrees of formality and improvisation overlapping and grading into each other in fuzzy ways (more about **'enana** naming practices is found in Chapter VI).

If followed to its logical conclusion, questions might well arise over whether or not to use glottal apostrophes with personal pronouns used for address. In fact, I found a lot of variation in the occurrence of glottals in many personal pronouns (e.g., **'o'ua** [2nd person dual]) as well as demonstrative deictics (e.g., **'inei** 'this') which seemed to have nothing to do with dialectal, developmental, or contextual variation. Indeed, a careful study of address and reference phenomena (which I have not as yet undertaken) would need to include an investigation of shifters in both ***français*** and **'enana** that carry a heavy semiotic load (e.g.,

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**tu** [intimate 2nd person] v. ***vous*** [formal 2nd person] in ***français,*** and **matou** [exclusive plural 1st person] v. tatou [inc. pl. 1st person] in **'enana**) and how these two deictic systems are interacting within the wider translinguistic system (shift and interference between the languages and the ideological systems indexed in verbal interaction). For present purposes, I have chosen to write these deictic terms as they were represented to me in transcription sessions by my assistants (as I was not always able to decide for myself whether a glottal was being produced).

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# PART TWO

## Vini Vidi Vici ... Vindicatus?

## Dialectics of a Heteroglossic Speech Economy

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# Chapter IV

## Identity Lost, Identity Regained

The Marquesas consist of six inhabited islands located at the northeast corner of the partially autonomous ***Territoire de la Polynésie française*** (see maps in Appendix 1). According to the census of 1996 the population of approximately 7700 consists mostly of indigenous **'Enana** along with a small proportion of Tahitians, Chinese, European, and those of mixed race. In fact, much of the 'indigenous' population appears to be and many **'Enana** claim to be of mixed heritage. The majority of these are bilingual speakers of both ***français*** and **'enana** and consider themselves to have a foot in both of the social worlds connoted by those codes. An ethnohistorical examination of how such a population came to exist on this spot on the map is a necessary preliminary to an investigation of how they organize their heteroglossic existence and negotiate their identity as a people in the world at this time.

The political economy, culture, and language of the indigenous **'Enana** were thrown into a state of disarray by the colonial impositions of the **Hao'e**. This impact appeared

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to produce a typically oppressed people, lacking in a cultural identity or political-economic force of their own. In order to trace the dialectical transformations in identity produced by this silencing impact, I employ throughout the first section a parallel between the arboricultural economy and the communicative economy which is based on a metaphor between trees and language.[1] However, as is examined in the second half of this chapter, **te 'Enana** 'the people' did not wholly die off, nor did their culture and language. Instead, at present, their ethnolinguistic identity is being revived and alternately imagined in a new revolution of the dialectical wheel.

A. Thesis: Rotting breadfruit and a dwindling language

The archipelago was first settled over 2000 years ago by waves of immigrants from Samoa and/or Tonga (see Appendix 1 for a map of Polynesian migration routes). These explorers traveled in their double-hulled canoes with all the necessities of life: breadfruit, taro, and pigs; a variety of pan-Polynesian beliefs concerning such things as **mana** and **tapu**; and their proto-East Polynesian dialect

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(Suggs 1960; Kirch 1989; Irwin 1992; Finney 1994; Lynch 1998; and see Appendix 2 for an Austronesian language tree).

The volcanic islands' topography -- steep, narrow valleys separated by high ridges, with no connecting beaches and limited tracts of arable land -- did not lend themselves to the centralized political structures found elsewhere in Polynesia. While **haka'iki** (the term whose cognate throughout Polynesia is translated as 'chief' or 'king') existed and tended to be the oldest sons of land-rich lineages, their power was partly achieved (not simply inherited) by their capacity to marshall **toa** 'warriors' in the perennial battles between tribal groups, and was cross-cut by the spiritual leadership of the **tau'a** 'shaman' on whom the productivity of the breadfruit crop depended (Thomas 1987b, 1990). In other words the roles of political and spiritual leader were not fused as in the kingdoms of Samoa, Tonga, and Hawai'i.

Inter-island and inter-valley alliances between chiefdoms were formed, based on trade and marriage, but were by no means permanent (Thomas 1990). Although the people referred to themselves as **'Enana** 'people' (**'Enata** in the south), there was no apparent perception of the islands as a

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single political entity in need of a name (Dening 1980). Instead, ethnopolitical identity was at the level of the tribe, but as the encompassing boundaries of these kept shifting, so presumably did persons' ethnic identities.

The economy was primarily arboricultural, supplemented by pig husbandry and fishing. Orchards of trees bearing staple crops (primarily breadfruit, but also many others) were owned, planted (from seed, root, or graft), tended, and harvested, and the produce was processed by the members of lineages and by their landless servants. Surplus could be stored in the form of **mā** (fermented breadfruit paste) in family storage **'ua** 'pits'. Particularly large **'ua** overseen by the valley's **haka'iki** were tended and opened to stave off famine during the peaks in the cyclically recurring periods of drought. Membership by blood, marriage, adoption, or service within lineages provided one with access to fresh produce and stored **mā**.

Some division and specialization of labor existed. For instance, all the fishing was done by a small sector of the population living without land along the beach. **Tuhuka** 'artisans' of various sorts represented a social grouping responsible for specialized crafts such as carving, canoe-

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building, and tattooing. However, more rigid economic strata never developed as the lines between these groupings, like the boundaries between tribal groups, were somewhat fluid. Depending in part on birth, but also on strategic coalition building and skill, an individual even of the lowest birth-rank could with luck become a powerful **toa**, **tuhuka**, or **tau'a**.

With an eye toward understanding gender relations in the Marquesas prior to contact, Thomas (1987a, 1989, 1990) first deconstructs the nineteenth-century European understanding of the **'enana** system of **tapu** as being a set of arbitrary interdictions intended to constrain when and how women could go where, what and with whom they could eat, and generally labeling them as unclean and therefore dangerous to men of power. Thomas analyzes the system of **tapu** instead as an attempt to control the power of night and death that presented a threat to the power of humans living in this **aoma'ama** 'bright world' and that traveled by way of human orifices, especially the vagina (as babies emerge there from the other world of darkness). However, the restrictions about not being able to ride in canoes, eat pork, enter sacred places, walk over a chief's head, and eat food or

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wear clothes prepared by men did not apply to all women at all times nor in all places. In fact, women from chiefly lineages ended up less restricted than many men of the commoner class who were employed to do the domestic work in these households, and sometimes served as **pekio** 'secondary husbands', who provided sexual services as well in the absence of the primary husband (thus the common designation of this society as 'polyandrous'). These women wielded a good deal of influence; one was known to fight in battle; some had the power to remove **tapu** and at other times to use it to harm others. Some women became quite powerful **tau'a** in their own right. This is to say that power relations were not rigidly fixed by gender either, but cross-cut by aspects of economic, political, and religious hierarchy.

Given this state of tribal, class, and gender fluidity, it is not surprising to find that kinship and household membership was less rigid than in the more stratified Polynesian societies, with friendship and adoption playing important roles in the creation of lineage and affiliation.

Also, unlike Samoa and Tonga where distinctive social registers index the contours of those more stratified forms of social organization (Lynch 1998), the most obvious signs

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of dialectal differentiation in the Marquesas developed along regional lines. As in Papua New Guinea, these regional dialects tended to correspond to mountainous obstructions and conflictual relations with neighbors. That is, **'Enana** used language to signal the ever-fluctuating boundaries and relations between tribal groups (Thomas 1990; Dordillon 1931, 1932, 1999; Lavondès 1972; Le Cléac'h 1997).

Lineages also developed variations on the geneologies, legends, and chants of 'the people'. The education of adolescents in the singing, dancing, and lore necessary for ritual practice within their tribal groupings was overseen by the **tuhuka o'oko** 'sacred chant specialists' (Thomas 1990; Sears 1992).

Thus, to follow the tree-language metaphor, one could say that **'enana**, the language, was processed, stored, and reproduced much as was the staple breadfruit: one had access to the language -- its dialectal valley-to-valley variations and various culturally significant genres and lineage-specific songs and stories -- as a function of one's socialization within a tribal group and lineage. However, these methods of transmitting and transforming economic power and communicative resources over the generations were

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drastically altered by the coming of the **Hao'e**.

In 1595 the Spanish explorer Alvaro de Mendana 'discovered' the islands and named them after his patron, the Marquis de Canete and Viceroy of Peru. His visitation was brief but bloody as he mistook the Marquesas for the Solomon Islands where he was headed in quest of gold and land for colonists. But while put on the map in the sixteenth century, the Marquesas' incorporation into the world political economy did not begin in earnest until the late eighteenth century when they became a port of call for explorers, missionaries, sandalwood traders, whalers, and imperial contenders, many of whom made their mark on its people and resources.

A number of **Hao'e** also left interesting accounts of their encounters with **'Enana**, influenced in all cases by their variable goals: scientific discovery (Forster and Forster, Langsdorff, Dumont D'urville), the extension and administration of empire (Porter, Dupetit-Thouars, Radiguet, Tautain), pure economic gain (Marchand, Ingraham, Fanning), or the reclamation of heathen souls (Crook, Thomson, Graçia). Excellent ethnohistorical accounts of this early period and the interactions between **Hao'e** and **'Enana** have

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been written by Dening (1980) and Thomas (1990), the latter providing an exhaustive bibliography of the published and unpublished texts left by these visitors (see also Ferdon 1993).

During the nineteenth century, however, there was a gradual shift to include not only explorations in search of concrete knowledge and material impact but also quests guided by more egocentric and/or abstract aspirations (Daws 1980). Thus, the desire for freedom from ship-board oppression expressed in the accounts of the first beachcombers (Robarts and Cabri) set a precedent for more aesthetically minded, self-discovery tours to the South Pacific which provided grist for a rash of self-consciously artistic, soul-searching, and sometimes romanticized renditions of the Marquesas. In 1842, Herman Melville escaped his whaler, spent one month in Nuku Hiva and transformed the experience into his best-selling novel *Typee* (1847). Fifty years later, Robert Louis Stevenson, upon landing in lovely Anaho Bay, decided to live out the rest of his years somewhere *In the South Seas* (1987[1896]). Based on a brief visit in 1872, Loti fantasized his *Mariage of Loti* (1976[1880]). Paul Gauguin fled the already too

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civilized Tahiti for his final paradise in Hiva Oa where he died of syphilis in 1903, leaving a legacy of not only paintings, but also letters and journals of life in the South Seas (e.g., *Oviri: Ecrits d'un Sauvage* [1974]). And beside him in the cemetery lies Jacques Brel, the French folksinger who retreated to the Marquesas to die of cancer in the 1970s; his song *Les Isles Marquises* continues to inspire Parisians with dreams of idylls in a land without time or worries.

Several other twentieth-century adventurer/researchers have given us popularized versions (meaning accounts directed toward a stay-at-home audience in search of vicarious adventure) of their sojourns in these islands (O'Brien 1919, Handy 1965, Heyerdahl 1974, Suggs 1962). The earliest of these was transformed into a movie, filmed in Tahiti, in 1928. Given this history of representation and publication, is it any wonder that **'Enana** believe **Hao'e** come to encapsulate their lives in best-selling literature?

A preoccupation with sex and the roles and relative status of men and women runs throughout all of these accounts from beachcombers to artists, from missionaries to researchers. As Daws (1980) explains, sexuality lay at the

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heart of Europeans' love/hate relationship with savagery. While one segment of society was righteously attempting to repress themselves and impose the same on others, another segment was trying to shed these repressive tendencies and learn from and/or lose themselves among 'others'.

The first extreme was preached by Christian missionaries: attempts began with the Protestant London Missionary Society (Crook and Thomson), but the conversion work was taken over in the 1830's by the ***Sacré Coeur***, the Catholic Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary (Gracia, Dordillon, and Chaulet). Along with their attempts to wipe out inter-tribal warfare, cannibalism (or at least any signs of its presumed existence), and the worship of false idols, these missionaries eventually succeeded in prohibiting or sending underground every cultural practice connected with the '**Enana**'s hell-bound libido: their extensive extramarital activities and polyandrous marriages, their singing (full of sexual imagery), dancing (marked by obviously sexual gestures), festivals (composed of singing, dancing, and ritual sexual intercourse), tattoos (performed during rites of passage into sexual maturity), clothing (or rather their lack of it), and cosmetics (intended to incite

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sexual energy).

At the other extreme were the escaped mariners who 'went native'. They not only slept with the available women, but also married into the indigenous kinship network, had themselves tattooed, excelled in the role of **toa** 'warrior', and through their skill with guns helped escalate the '**Enana**'s already ubiquitous involvement in warfare (e.g., Robarts and Cabri).

Representing within himself the transformation from pure adventurer/storyteller into novelist, Melville provides in a classic passage a vivid description of the archetypal vision lusted after by so many romantic wanderers and condemned by missionaries (1847:11-13):

> ...At that time I was ignorant of the fact that by the operation of the "taboo," the use of canoes in all parts of the island is rigorously prohibited to the entire sex...; consequently, whenever a Marquesan lady voyages by water, she puts in requisition the paddles of her own fair body.
>
> ...our savage friends assured us that it was...a shoal of "whihenies" (young girls), who in this manner were coming off from the shore to welcome us. As they drew nearer, and I watched the rising and sinking of their forms, and beheld the uplifted right arm bearing above the water the girdle of tappa, and their long dark hair trailing beside them as they swam, I almost fancied they could be nothing else than so many mermaids....
>
> ...All of them at length succeeded in getting up the ship's side, where they clung dripping with

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> the brine and glowing from the bath, their jet-black tresses streaming over their shoulders, and half enveloping their otherwise naked forms....
>
> Their appearance perfectly amazed me; their extreme youth, the light clear brown of their complexions, their delicate features, and inexpressibly graceful figures, their softly moulded limbs, and free unstudied action, seemed as strange as beautiful.
>
> The "Dolly" was fairly captured...and for the whole period that she remained in the bay, the "Dolly," as well as her crew, were completely in the hands of the mermaids.
>
> In the evening after we had come to an anchor the deck was illuminated with lanterns, and this picturesque band of sylphs, tricked out with flowers, and dressed in robes of variegated tappa, got up a ball in great style. These females are passionately fond of dancing, and in the wild grace and spirit of their style excel everything that I have ever seen. The varied dances of the Marquesan girls are beautiful in the extreme, but there is an abandoned voluptuousness in their character which I dare not attempt to describe.
>
> Our ship was now wholly given up to every species of riot and debauchery. The grossest licentiousness and the most shameful inebriety prevailed, with occasional and but short-lived interruptions, through the whole period of her stay. Alas for the poor savages when exposed to the influence of these polluting examples! Unsophisticated and confiding, they are easily led into every vice, and humanity weeps over the ruin thus remorselessly inflicted upon them by their European civilizers. Thrice happy are they who, inhabiting some yet undiscovered island in the midst of the ocean, have never been brought into contaminating contact with the white man.

This passage is evocative of the **Hao'e**'s conflicted obsession with the sexual desire and noble/naive savagery these **vehine** 'women' were seen to represent, ending as it

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does with a lament typical of the romantic philosophers' (e.g., Rousseau) judgment of civilization and its effects on the 'native'.

Meanwhile, how were the **'Enana** dealing with and making sense of the **Hao'e**? What dialectic of ethnolinguistic identity was spawned by ongoing contact between individuals and groups of these two peoples? Although the **'Enana** found themselves in much the same quandary as did many others in Oceania and the Americas who happened to stand in the path of European progress, they also took some synthetic turns unique to themselves.

In 1842, despite some bloody resistance, the French took possession of the Marquesas as part of their ***Etablissements français de l'Océanie*** (which the territory was called until 1957). Although Tahiti some 1400 km to the southwest came under French 'protection' this same year, it was not officially incorporated as the administrative center of the French Polynesian territory until 1880.

From this period on through the early twentieth century, the indigenous population dropped from possibly more than 200,000 inhabitants to fewer than 2000 as a result of intensified intertribal warfare and disease --

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tuberculosis, influenza, venereal disease, filariasis, smallpox from a period of plantation work in Peru, and leprosy imported along with Chinese laborers (Dening 1980:239-40). Many valleys of the Marquesas were left empty, and remnant communities regrouped in fewer sites and around new foci relevant to foreign trade and colonial settlement. Much in the way of traditional forms of social hierarchy and relationship disintegrated; however, as the birth rate dropped, the principle of extending family by means of adoption and other forms of 'fictive kinship' intensified.

The consequence for the arboricultural economy was that at first there was suddenly plenty of produce to go around without any need to replant or care for the trees; but in the process, much of the related agricultural know-how was no longer being passed on (even where a direct line of transmission from living elder to younger person was possible). Simultaneously, due to colonial pressure, orchards of food crop trees began to be destroyed and replanted with experiments in cash cropping: vanilla, coffee, cotton, and coconuts for copra.

Within this context, the Catholic missionaries, now

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supported by the French government's political and judicial system, were able not only to repress many of the most distinctive cultural practices (tattooing and carving, dance and song, and the system of **tapu**), but also to begin reforming the youth via the imposition of new educational and ritual institutions and practices. The first school was created by Monseigneur Dordillon in 1858, and ***Les Ecoles des Soeurs***, the influential boarding school for girls, was established by French nuns (***Soeurs Saint-Joseph de Cluny***) in Taiohae in 1863 and then moved in 1886 to Hiva 'Oa (along with the administrative center of the archipelago). The express intent of this school was the guarding of pubescent girls from 'harm', that is from the clutches of men in their home communities (Lamaison 1993).[2] By the end of the nineteenth century, most of the surviving **'Enana** had been converted, at least nominally, to Catholicism.

However, throughout the nineteenth century, **te 'eo 'enana**, the language itself, was under no real pressure. For the most part missionaries made some attempt to employ **'enana** in church, and schooling in ***français*** was still erratic and based primarily on rote learning. Thus, minimal influence was exerted on the linguistic repertoires of most

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individuals or on the speech community as a whole. However, one interesting (if unintended) by-product of the ***Ecole des Soeurs*** was the initiation of the tendency for women to be better educated and more fluent in ***français*** than men (as well as more attached to ***politesse*** and prudery).

A number of loans from ***français*** as well as **menike** 'English' and **ma'ohi** 'Tahitian' were already recorded in Dordillon's mid-nineteenth-century dictionary (1904 [1999], 1931, 1932), testifying to a rich period of cultural and semantic exchange. And accounts by early long-term residents document the kinds of complex heteroglossic situations that routinely arose. A number of **'Enana** -- culture brokers -- attained a degree of competency in and/or contributed to the production of various Pacific English pidgins for use with whalers, sandalwood traders, and London Missionary Society missionaries (some of them Hawaiian). By the mid-nineteenth century some kind of simplified ***français*** may have been used to articulate the administration of the colony and the various attempts at coffee, cotton, and copra plantations, but this code apparently had no staying power, i.e., did not develop into a creole in the islands.[3] However, by the late nineteenth century many **vahana** 'men',

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at least, were probably capable of bantering in **tahiti**, the koinizing form of **ma'ohi** which was emerging out of inter-island commerce.[4]

Nonetheless, the specialized genres and lineage-owned oral materials in **'enana** began to be lost around this period as they were no longer being openly performed or taught to the youth by their elders. Also, regional dialects of **'enana** may have become less fixed to specific valleys and islands at this time as a consequence of the regrouping of settlements (reenforced later by patterns of schooling and intermarriage). For instance, the use of elements from the southern dialect (MQS) on the northern island of Ua Huka has been explained as the effect of a small migration from the south to Ua Huka in recent history.[5]

Then, in the 1920s, due in large measure to the medical attention of the administrator/doctor/ethnographer Louis Rollin (1974), the birth rate began to rise again and the death rate decline. The need for food was met increasingly by a French-subsidized economy based on the production and exportation of copra and the importation of rice, flour, sugar, oil, and canned meats. This was supplemented by the harvesting of tree crops and the production of root crops as

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well as fishing, hunting, and pig husbandry. However, given the growing population and falling levels of tree productivity, these subsistence activities could no longer make for a self-sufficient economy.

Concurrently, primary schooling was made available to a growing number of **'Enana** who, as a result, acquired some knowledge of schoolbook ***français***. It is from this period on that accounts of being severely punished for speaking **'enana** at school begin. The ubiquity of these reports (not only in the Marquesas but also in colonial contexts throughout the world) have made some scholars question their accuracy. But whether or not they are exaggerated or even apocryphal, these stories clearly encode the symbolic force with which the colonial language was being imposed.

Another pattern, which may have been initiated around this time, was the incorporation of simplified ***français*** into a caregiver code used with very young children. One possible explanation for this usage is that many young **vehine** may have been exposed to French-style caregiving when they served in French homes as nurses and maids. Although only one young woman in Hatiheu was working in this capacity while I was there, all colonials living in the Marquesas in

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the nineteenth century and in the first half at least of the twentieth century would have engaged one or more servants. Presumably the women so employed would have appropriated a French-style caregiving register along with ***français*** as part of their 'civilized' repertoire. Possibly an ideology was developed at this time, not unlike that found by Kulick to be the case in PNG for Tok Pisin (1992), that the simple and polite ***français*** learned in such settings was the perfect socializing medium -- i.e., both accessible and expressive of the right values -- for ***la formation*** of children.[6]

Also as a result of this period, **'Enana** began to develop a reputation in French Polynesia for speaking ***français*** far more correctly than did Tahitians. Nonetheless, only a small elite actually acquired sufficient mastery to operate at more than simple conversational levels. The rest still lacked any real means or incentive to acquire more than a functional fluency in the language, and much of the use of ***français*** with babies would have remained essentially 'baby talk'. As a result, only a minority of speakers were bilingual in ***français*** and **'enana** to any great extent.

But while **'enana** was retained for use among **'Enana** both

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at home and for all public functions that did not include French personnel, a knowledge of ***français*** was advantageous in a growing number of institutional settings: from schools and clinics, to courts and most ceremonial and political contexts run by French officials. Those few bilinguals would then have functioned (and of course derived real influence from their roles) as translators for the rest when any sort of administrative news, rulings, opportunities, or orders were to be disseminated. Additionally, an undercurrent of interpretation, commentary, and asides in **'enana** would have been either formally or informally a part of all such official French contexts.

By contrast, the Catholic church has always been a mixed-language sphere and as such has been primarily responsible for legitimizing the language through its production of an orthography, dictionary and grammar, several hymnals and prayer books, and through making a point of integrating prayers and songs in **'enana** into services, appointing **'Enana** as low-level church officials, and establishing local prayer groups. However, the Bible in its entirety has not yet been translated into **'enana**, making literal a feature of Catholic doctrine that gives

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individuals no direct access to God, i.e., **'Enana** have been unable to read the word of God in their own tongue but have needed it translated by priests or secondary texts. By contrast, in Tahiti the London Missionary Society dominated, and a bible in **ma'ohi** 'Tahitian' was made available early on. Possibly this dependence on God's francophone mediators is in part responsible for the fact that **'Enana** are said to speak ***français*** better than Tahitians.

Thus, for several decades a diglossic society existed in which most inhabitants of the Marquesas were primarily committed to either **français** or **'enana** and most contexts were for the most part reserved for the use of one code or the other. This separation of languages, both socially and cognitively, prevented much language-contact style transformation of the formal linguistic systems. On the one hand, first-language proficiency in **'enana** influenced the way ***français*** was learned as a second language, but the phonological and morphosyntactic interference that resulted was not reproduced and regularized by children acquiring this code from second-language speaking adults. On the other hand, neither was **'enana** heavily affected by loans or calques from ***français*** due to the lack of intra-sentential

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code-switching by adults and subsequent transformation of these creative constructions into syncretic forms by children.

However, a lot changed socioeconomically and translinguistically beginning in 1963 when the French moved their nuclear testing program from north Africa to the island of Moruroa in the Tuomotu archipelago. Creating this installation, ***Le Centre d'Expérimentation du Pacifique*** (***CEP***), necessitated a huge and ongoing investment in the Territory's infrastructure. Along with other major construction projects for housing and servicing the enlarged military presence, an international airport was constructed, making tourism a viable economic strategy at least in Tahiti. At the administrative center, employment opportunities in construction, civil service, military, education, health, and service industries sky-rocketed. And in more rural regions of the territory, the economy was increasingly underwritten by the French, taking the form of social welfare supplements, subsidized copra production, and public works projects. The new availability of cash propelled a rising interest in trade and entrepreneurial projects. However, **'Enana**'s involvement in this cash

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economy has remained largely lopsided toward the import and consumption end of the spectrum as they have engaged only minimally in the export of raw (or minimally processed) resources (mostly copra) and craft goods.

Although a lot of trade throughout the Territory was and continues to be conducted in and depends upon a mastery of **tahiti**, it is generally now recognized that most salaried employment requires ***français***. As of the early 1990s all education except in the most remote valleys was conducted primarily in ***français***, many children were going on for a year or two of secondary education (as of 1994, all children were obliged to remain in school until age 16), and some of this education was undertaken in preparation for the baccalaureate and further university study. These changes entirely transformed the patterns of stable diglossia and the effective separation of codes. The death knell for the indigenous language and culture and their arboricultural economy appeared to be definitively sounding.

However, following in the wake of cultural-political events elsewhere in the Pacific and stirred paradoxically by the increase in education and global awareness, a cultural revival movement began in the 1970s to instigate a

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remarkable renaissance of traditional song, dance, tattooing, and crafts. In the Marquesas, this movement has not been accompanied by a push for political independence as it has in Tahiti where cultural revival efforts have been underscored by and added momentum to political attempts to attain more and more territorial autonomy. Due to this and a number of other global pressures and national interests, France has been slowly withdrawing its colonial grasp as well as support in the region.

In recognition of these political-economic realities and inspired by the ethic of the cultural revival movement, recent attempts have been made in the Marquesas to reinvent an economy bloated by French subsidies into one sustained by traditional techniques and the marketing of **'enana** cultural capital. For instance, some individuals have made concerted efforts to plant new trees and tend old ones, cooperative associations have been formed to provide incentive and infrastructural support for the raising and distribution of root crops (taro, manioc, and sweet potato), and entrepreneurs have gardens devoted to the production and sale of 'salad' (cucumbers, tomatoes, and cabbage) in order to meet the demands of the expatriate community. However,

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far more time and energy is put into the generation of income via tourist-oriented endeavors, only some of which have proven so far to be reasonably fruitful. Some of these include marketing their traditional cuisine to tourists -- both the processing of the **kaikai** 'food' (in particular the **umu** 'earth oven' is a popular event) as well as serving it up in the form of large **kaikai** 'feasts.'

And because **'enana**, the language, retains its load of symbolic capital, a variety of communicative forms (such as song, dance, and oratory) have been bolstered by a number of measures associated with the cultural revival movement. However, the economic motives of the movement have also re-enforced **'Enana**'s growing orientation toward acquiring not only ***français*** but also other international languages in order to make the connections with which to enter into the global economy. Viewed in this light, everyday fluency in **'enana** offers little in the way of practical value. And policies alone will not be able to halt the process of language upheaval begun more than a century ago nor prevent the total loss of even a much transformed variety of the language if the people see in it a degraded commodity, lacking in any use or exchange value.

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As the cultural revival movement has forged the more immediate context for **'Enana**'s present-day understanding and representation of their culture, language, and ethnolinguistic identity, I now examine at length the sources, ideological contradictions, and practical misfirings of the movement and its impact on efforts to maintain **'enana** in the face of encroachments by ***français***.

B. Antithetical struggles: Renaissance or invention?

The schismogenic emergence and expression of ethnolinguistic identity in the Marquesas is due not only to the contingencies of colonial imposition, but also to **'Enana**'s own ongoing efforts at self-identification. Since the mid-seventies, **'Enana** have engaged in antithetical attempts to reclaim and revive their ethnolinguistic identity out of the ashes of acculturation. In this section, the cultural revival and language maintenance movements are contextualized by research done in other parts of the Pacific on the subject.

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## 1. Cultural revival: What culture? whose culture? why 'culture'?

From reading about the wave-like momentum of cultural revival movements elsewhere in the Pacific (Keesing and Tonkinson 1982; Linnekin 1983, 1990, 1991, 1992; Borofsky 1987; Hanson 1989; Keesing 1989, 1992; Linnekin and Poyer 1990; Thomas 1992), I was not upon my arrival in the Marquesas wholly unprepared for some degree of at least covert tension concerning issues of authenticity, representation, and access -- that is, about issues to do with who knew what about their pure past, true traditions and 'genuine' culture; about how they were telling whom about it all; and about who would reap what sorts of benefits in the process. But before analyzing the specific ways in which **'Enana** address these concerns, I briefly review the last three decades of anthropological discussion concerning the (re)construction and politicization of cultural identity.

The paradigm shift in our discipline whereby cultures are no longer considered bounded, homogenous, static units for analysis is near to complete. Nonetheless, the debate

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continues as to *how* exactly to define and describe the entities we do study, especially when in interaction with the human beings being studied. A resolution by 'us' to consider all culture to be continuously under construction (à la Wagner 1981 or Borofsky 1987) does not sit well with 'them', i.e., those who have received our wisdom in trickle-down fashion and created movements based on the concept that 'culture' can be specified and repossessed as an identifying set of features. Nor does it necessarily do any good for 'us' to go back now and try to deconstruct 'their' understandings of 'themselves' as in good measure products of 'our' influence on 'them'. Clearly they ought and will continue to move in the directions they are engaged in moving in the ongoing inventions of their futures.[3]

However, for my purposes three issues seem worth taking up here: 1) the ways in which indigenous understandings of themselves may have differed from the ones our discipline has helped construct, 2) the historical processes by which those understandings have been reshaped by contact with Europeans, and 3) the political ways in which these understandings have been mobilized by interested parties in a number of ways.

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Without reifying culture yet again, it seems possible to speak of somewhat generalizable differences between indigenous Oceanic peoples' and Westerners' ethnotheories of the person and of the group and of how these continue to influence discussions of cultural identity. As explored in a number of the essays in the Linnekin and Poyer (1990) volume on ethnicity and cultural identity in the Pacific, the Western notion of ethnic groups can be characterized as Mendelian, that is as determined by genetic relationship and thus heavily relying upon racialist (and thereby essentialist) criteria. By contrast the Oceanic notion is Lamarckian in the sense that environmental influences such as food, land, and social interaction are more important than biological kinship in determining group membership and identity. As Howard (1990) elaborates the point, this is in part a function of the Oceanic understanding of persons as much more fluid entities, defined and transformed through relationship and context.

To take this one step further, I would suggest that for Pacific peoples, neither persons nor cultures are understood to have essential, bounded identities which encompass a set of inherent attributes. Instead, idenities are understood

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to be encompassed or shaped by both alienable and inalienable 'possessions' (the former include exchangeable items such as breadfruit, pigs, tools, and children whereas the latter include non-exchangeable items such as land, clothes, body parts, and parents).' That is, in the absence of any notion of commodification (i.e., the idea that objects can be not only exchanged but also decontextualized from the social relations out of which they were forged), 'possessions' are inevitably linked to fluctuating social interactions rather than 'possessed' by static individuals or groups. Thus, rather than peoples possessing 'culture', a people's cultural identity emerges out of the negotiation of 'possessions'.

In short, I am suggesting not that indigenous Pacific peoples had no sense of group identity prior to European contact; indeed they clearly and actively distinguished themselves from their neighbors via language and other diacritics. But, due in large measure perhaps to the lack of the inequalities created by large-scale conquering polities, identity was not essentialized. That is, the boundaries between groups were permeable and flexibly defined over time and interaction, and their consciousness

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of otherness was not fixed and objectified through their positional engagement in unequal political and economic structures.

As Keesing (1989) and Thomas (1992) clarify, contact with Europeans has transformed Pacific peoples' identities, both structurally and ideologically. Plantation labor and other forms of migration have removed individuals from their home contexts, sometimes separating them from their own cultural kin, and brought them into contact with cultural 'others' both Oceanic and European. Thus decontextualized, individuals have come to experience themselves as embodied representatives of their distinctive groups such that certain diacritics distinguishing them from other Pacific peoples have been selectively foregrounded to become markers of their now objectified cultural identity, while other cross-culturally shared characteristics have been discovered in the process of forging pan-Pacific alliances in opposition to their European bosses.

In addition, colonial rule has instigated a couple of non-indigenous forms of structural inequality: first, class-like stratification has resulted from wage labor, education, and political brokerage; and second, center-v-periphery

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regionalism has arisen out of the imposition of bureaucratic systems and the unequal distribution of infrastructural resources. These inequalities have further encouraged consciousness of difference at various levels and the construction of objectified identities based on these differences.

As mentioned above, some anthropologists lament that local elites have blindly adopted Western forms of *essentialism* in their bids for ethnic self-determinism. That is, following from the processes of stratification and commodification introduced by colonialism in the Pacific, a newly emergent elite does appear to have begun to employ Western ideologies in the representation and commodification of their cultures. Nonetheless, it is necessary to distinguish these practices from those of the rest of the indigenous population who may not be buying into these ideologies at all, guided instead by a more profoundly deconstructed sense of non-essential identity than Westerners can begin to fathom.

The combined effect of this regional, national, and class segmentation is that heterogeneous identities sometimes co-exist nested within individuals and communities

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causing both psychic dissonance and community tension. Nonetheless, conflicted discourse over identity is the negotiative nexus out of which new identities emerge.

In the Pacific (as in Africa and Asia), the trend since the end of World War II has been towards the politicization of indigenous identity movements[13] and, in those cases where colonists were still largely in the minority, the creation of independent states. In most cases, these movements have succeeded insofar as they were met by willingness on the part of their colonial overseers to decolonize, even an eagerness to cast off the responsibilities due to the fading usefulness of the Pacific colonies following from post-war changes in both the world economy and global military strategies (e.g., New Zealand in Western Samoa and the Cook Islands, Australia in Papua New Guinea, the United States in much of Micronesia). With more reluctance France and Britain left Vanuatu, and more recently the United States left Pelau. In those territories (i.e., New Zealand, Australia, Hawaii), where the indigenous people have been reduced to a minority, politicized cultural movements frequently find outlets via legal disputes over land rights and the negotiation of language and education, speaking

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sometimes from the position of disadvantaged ethnics (see, for instance, Robie 1989; White and Lindstrom 1993; Chapman and Dupon 1989).

In these and other cases where the colonial governments are not willing to let go due to the economic and/or strategic value of the colonies, the colonizers have had to employ a variety of tactics, including military force, economic incentives, and ideological persuasion, to hold on to 'their' colonies. The most extreme case of armed resolve is that of the French in New Caledonia. By contrast, the United States has relied on financial investment and educational indoctrination in Guam (Underwood 1989).[11]

Until recently France held on to French Polynesia so dearly because of the nuclear testing program initiated there in the early sixties. And although military control and arrests have played a role in France's continued colonial authority[12], the political intent of the French Polynesian independence movement has been largely assuaged via several alternaltive measures.

First of all, the economy was hugely bolstered by France beginning with the construction of the French nuclear installation, and continued financial injections have been

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at least partly designed to hush the growing tide of anti-testing sentiment. Secondly, beginning in the seventies, the Territory has attained in several stages increasing political self-determination. The French National Assembly voted in 1977 to grant the Territory autonomous status and in 1984 legislated the formation of a territorial government consisting of a president and a Territorial Assembly which hold extensive governance over the Territory's internal workings (Robie 1989; Henningham 1992; Toullelan and Gille 1992; Elliston 1997).

Last but not least, there is a fairly long history of the French underwriting and overseeing the growth and institutionalization of the **ma'ohi** cultural revival movement. For instance, since the mid-nineteenth century, the French have allowed an increasingly **ma'ohi**-ized interpretation of the Bastille Day festival -- incorporating songs, dances, costumes, and games into the usual panoply of parades and speeches, until now the July **heiva** festival makes little reference to the Bastille (Stevenson 1990a). Beginning in 1954 with the **Marae Arahurahu**, the French started providing funding and research assistance for the reconstruction of such ritual arenas (large areas marked out

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with rectangular stone walls, standing stones, and platforms) and the revival of the kinds of song and dance ceremonies once performed in such places (Stevenson 1990b).

Beginning in the mid-sixties several projects were launched: an institute for standardizing and teaching the language (**Te Fare Vana'a** or ***L'Académie Tahitienne***); a center for the study of the human sciences in Polynesia (**Te Ana Vaha Rau** or ***Le Centre Polynésien de Science Humaine***), which includes a museum (***Le Musée de Tahiti et des Iles***) and two research departments -- archaeology and oral history; a center for cultural arts (**Te Fare Tahiti Nui** or ***Office Territoriale d'Action Culturelle***), which includes a library, a theatre, gallery space, artisanal workshops, and the organizational office for many of the large-scale festivals and performances; and most recently (1987) the ***Université Française du Pacifique*** with two campuses, one in New Caledonia and one in Tahiti, the latter offering degrees in **ma'ohi** language and civilization (Peltzer 1999).

However, most of what has been said so far of French Polynesia applies primarily to Tahiti where all of the above institutions are housed, where the Territorial Assembly sits, and through which all goods and monies pass before

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being redistributed to the outer island groups, much diminished and/or heavily taxed. Three of the archipelagos outside Tahiti's ***Isles du Vent*** 'Windward Group' of the Society Islands -- the ***Isles sous-Le-Vent*** 'Leeward Group' of the Society Islands, the Tuomotus, and the Australs (see map B in Appendix 1) seem to have shared Tahiti's political-economic wave and so have expressed little sense of sociopolitical or cultural division from their center. One indication of this is that Victoria Lockwood's book about rural development in one of the most isolated islands of the Australs is entitled: *Tahitian Transformation (1993)*. Apparently, the people of that island understand themselves to be part of a larger sociopolitical entity spearheaded by Tahiti and thus do not reject the 'Tahitian' ethnonym (at least in some contexts).[13]

By contrast, **te 'Enana** would never accept the ethnonym of 'Tahitians'. Very apparent is, first of all, a heavily anti-independence desire to retain a direct territorial link to France that would bypass Tahiti (see Henningham 1992) and secondly, a strong but internally fragmented movement to revive and mobilize their own distinct culture, removed from the fray in Tahiti. These two impulses are driven by 1)

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**'Enana**'s understanding of their economic dependence and reliance on France for financially supporting their own cultural revival movement (in this they are no different than the anti-independence Tahitians); 2) their suspicions concerning Tahiti's political, economic, and demographic dominance within the Territory; and 3) their perception of cultural and linguistic distinctions between themselves and Tahitians, both traditional and colonial (historically symbolized by their primarily Catholic affiliation v. the dominance of the Protestant churches elsewhere in French Polynesia, but more recently by a sense of their quite distinctive Polynesian culture embodied in song, dance, language, wood-carving, and tatooing). Henningham (1992:162-3) chronicles several interesting displays of this pro-French, anti-Tahitian spirit during the seventies and eighties. The most dramatic was an invitation by **'enana** politicians to relocate the nuclear testing site to the Marquesas in case of a rupture between France and the rest of the Territory.

Overall, the **'enana** cultural revival movement has, like that in Tahiti, faithfully reproduced Western norms and structures in their efforts to create institutionalized

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forms of their culture. For instance, an association named **Motu Haka** was formed in 1978, and a journal was initiated to disseminate news of the association's activities and findings.[14] A large museum was proposed and several small museums actually realized. A library of books, videos, and collected lore was inaugurated in 1993 (called **Pa'evi'i** or ***Centre de Documentations des Marquises***).[15] There is much talk and some action with regard to teaching **'enana** prehistory in school. Several large **tohua** (stone-walled and platformed centers for non-religious, public ceremonies) have been reconstructed and many stone sculptures have been carved for the celebration of five large music and dance festivals since the mid-eighties (1987 and 1995 in Ua Pou, 1989 and 1999 in Nuku Hiva, and 1991 in Hiva Oa).[16] A variety of schools, associations, and expositions for the teaching and selling of crafts have come into existence.

It is also clear that the movement has been both a signpost of and support for a more general revival of various cultural activities. For instance, traditional **'enana** music and dance is featured at all annual festivals (some of them religious), especially the July festival, in the form of either shows or contests. Troupes dance to

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welcome dignitaries and as part of tourist shows. The dance group in the valley where I worked, which danced for the tourist boat that came through every three weeks, had been to Hawaii to perform in 1991.

Similarly, artisanal work of all kinds is widespread and sells well either to shops in Tahiti or to the regular boatload of tourists.[17] Fatu Hiva is known once again for its **tapa** and finely carved coconuts. In the valley where I worked there was a veritable cottage industry of **pareu** makers (admittedly using imported cotton sheets and dyes). Almost every valley boasts at least one wood-carver who specializes in bowls, **'u'u** 'war clubs', **tiki**, or ukuleles (most do their rough work with chain saws). And in the last decade the art of tattooing has been revived and intricate tattoos are reappearing on young men's shoulders, chests, legs and faces as indices of both masculinity and **'enana** identity.

If so inclined, one could easily criticize this cultural revival movement for having constructed in these ways a culture that is, using Keesing's terms (1989), decontextualized, partial, metonymic, fetischized, commoditizable, and non-representative of the genuine

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traditions which they claim to want to preserve in an undegraded form. Indeed, not everyone is content with the results, [fn] though for reasons that do not immediately occur to the ethnographer. The problems have to do, as originally suggested, with issues of representation.

In my experience and that of other researchers (e.g., Kirkpatrick [personal communication]), **'Enana** are more than willing to make explicit pronouncements about their people (**te po'i 'enana**), their culture (**te pohu'e 'enana**), and their language (**te 'eo 'enana**). Either they have been well-trained by two centuries of exposure to the data-gathering genres of **Hao'e**, or they are indeed a people interested in reflecting upon and judging the media and meanings of their identity. As with so much in the Marquesas, it appears to be a syncretic mix of the two. Nonetheless, all such attempts at representation are often ambivalently judged by others. Key to these critiques are issues to do with authenticity and rights of access.

The authenticity issue is indexed by the term **kakiu** which is used to signify all that is genuinely old and traditional. **Te 'Enana** are definitely concerned with representing their cultural products (whether songs, dances,

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tales, tattoos, or tapa and pareu designs, not to mention words and whole dialects) as being genuinely **kakiu**. A lot of energy is devoted to tracing the geneologies of these forms or practices through grandparents who were educated by grandparents who had not lost the cultural knowledge, but only hidden it. Laments are voiced that so much has been lost. Implicit in various song and dance competitions and in the competitive spirit at work in so many of their craft enterprises is the idea that some people have a greater store of **kakiu** knowledge than others and are doing a better job of teaching the youth. Traditionally conceived of as specialists and wise teachers, the role of the **tuhuka** has been resurrected and elaborated, and people are once again being informally awarded this title.[18]

When living sources are unavailable, **'Enana** go to great lengths to acquire century-old books in order to garner information about how things were done. All of the artisans -- wood-carvers, tattooers, **tapa**-makers, and **pareu**-painters -- rely heavily on motifs taken directly from the drawings of von den Steinen[19] and other nineteenth-century texts. In addition, anxiety is sometimes expressed when artisans or dancers transform traditional motifs.

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The second large source of anxiety involves issues of access and ownership. A lot of breath was spent in worry that **'enana** cultural capital would be taken by outsiders and made available to others who should not know of it and/or that the outsiders would make money far in excess of what they had paid for whatever it was: a stone **tiki**, a legend, or videos of a dance. Not all of this suspicion is unfounded: for two centuries **'enana** carvings and other artifacts have been removed to adorn museums around the world and little enough was paid for them; **'enana** motifs are used in tattoos throughout the Pacific and the provenance is usually forgotten; musical recordings have been published under a Tahitian label and no credit given; oral histories rot on tape or in transcript in researchers' closets and the oral historians have never seen a copy.

That the **Hao'e** involved in such transactions may be making no actual money as a result of these transactions (for example, museum exhibits, oral history archives, and arts festivals usually require heavy subsidies) is perhaps less well-understood by **te 'Enana**. Nonetheless, what is being denied them in these instances is a value less concrete than money -- i.e., the credit for and involvement

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with such projects.

The ambivalence about these matters is complex and includes obvious tensions between Europeans and Polynesians and between **'Enana** and Tahitians, but also between **'Enana**.[23] In particular, anxiety was expressed over **'Enana** from other valleys or islands, those with money, or those who had lived away from the Marquesas too long. For instance, at one point an elite **'Enana** from the southern island of Fatu Hiva, but now living in Tahiti and working for the oral history department of the Tahitian museum, arrived to do some recording. Fears were expressed when people heard of her mission and the idea that their personal stories or songs might be put in a public place and made available to people in other valleys.

In another instance, one family in the village where I worked was upset when my friend Moi, one of the richer persons in the valley, invited me into their compound to tape a chant by their grandmother. As an active participant in many cultural revival activities, Moi had suggested making this tape as part of her own cultural preservation agenda. Finally, the family acquiesced, but only under the condition that I leave the sole copy of the tape with Moi.

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This concern with ownership extends to names as well. Thus, with respect to name-exchange, it is still a matter of some concern that people not give names to outsiders that are not properly theirs to give away -- i.e., the given names ought to come from their own lineage (in fact, of the four names I was given, three were made up).

Similarly, **haka'iki** 'mayors' are accused of capitalizing on their positions and appropriating much of the small tourist industry that trickles through their valleys by means of their organization of dances, feasts, and artisanal exhibits in their stores. Whole festivals have been called off or boycotted due to the rivalries between valleys or islands, as **'Enana** are unable to accept that one island or valley only should benefit from an occasion.

In examining their fears that Tahitians would steal their dances if they performed them in their true forms during the 1989 Arts Festival, Moulin (1995) describes the difficulty **'Enana** now find themselves in: how can they gain the benefits of showing their cultural capital off if they are afraid it can be stolen from them? If they change the motifs slightly, or a few words of a song, will this protect

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them from the appropriation they fear? Though some believe this spiritual side of the matter, most entertain the more materialist's view -- stuff can be stolen and sold at an advantage no matter how it is camouflaged.

That leaders of the cultural revival movement are not immune from these anxieties is made amply clear in their dealings with researchers. They have seen too many of us, and they have not always seen the rewards in helping us, nor do they appreciate that official clearance for our research goes through French and Tahitian channels but not through them.[11]

In principle, the cultural revival movement in the Marquesas, like its counterpart in Tahiti, is intended to safeguard the 'pure' ancestral language as well. However, as is demonstrated in the next section, this goal may be being undermined by a variety of cross-cutting forces outside the peoples' control, resulting in language shift at various levels.

## 2. Transformations on language 'loss'

Speaking generally, language occupies an extremely

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sensitive position in the pragmatic construction of identity, whether as symbol, medium, or acquired resource. As such, the fate of a language is thought to be key in efforts to revive or (re)invent a people's cultural identity. Thus, it is worthwhile looking in detail at a people's conscious attempts at controlling the processes of language loss and maintenance.

Language loss can be understood in a couple of ways: either as a language's loss of speakers or as the loss of a language by a 'community'. In the former case, a language is generally understood to be dead when the last semi-speakers (Dorian 1989) die. The latter case is harder to define in that speakers may disagree with linguists as to whether a language has changed so much as to have been already lost to its 'community'.

Sometimes speakers determine that the language presently used by their 'community' does not live up to their standards. Generally this judgment arises out of the recognition that a large number of loan words have been imported from other languages and/or that a large number of indigenous words have become obsolete and are no longer understood by most presumed members of the 'community'.

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This perception is heightened if young people have difficulty understanding the older people and/or speak in ways deemed 'degenerate' or 'incorrect' by their elders. Thus, discussions and rants against the English spoken by today's youth can be found in most newspapers (e.g., Zernike 1999). However, often enough this kind of loss turns into the former sort of loss, that is, a case in which fewer and fewer children acquire the language their grandparents speak (whether because it has been ideologically debased, or so purified as to be beyond actual acquisition, or an odd mixture of both), committing themselves instead to some other tongue to which they have access.

Throughout the Pacific, cultural groups are dealing with the threat of language loss in both senses, and struggling with attempts at language maintenance. At one end of the spectrum are those such as Hawaii, New Zealand, and Australia, in which colonists (beginning with Europeans and followed by immigrants from Asia and other parts of the Pacific) now heavily outnumber the indigenous population, such that schooling and media in the dominant language and culture represent an overwhelming pressure on the indigenous languages. At the other end of the spectrum are the nations

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and/or isolates that have avoided the influence of colonial control and education to such a degree that most public and private intercourse continues to take place in the indigenous language, as in Pohnpei, Tonga, and Western Samoa. In the middle are the peoples who have been exposed to a variety of pidgin lingua franca spread via plantation labor, oceanic trade, and governmental control; who have been educated by church or state in one or more of the colonial languages, such as English or French; and who have been influenced by a variety of economically or politically driven linguistic attitudes concerning the relative values of the various codes at their command.

Within this general spectrum of exposure to and pressure from dominant languages, a number of variables affect the probability of a Pacific language dying. One is the size and state of the speech community (whether there are less than 100 speakers and these dispersed between city and countryside as are many Australian Aborigine groups, or whether there are 100,000 people living cohesively on a still somewhat isolated plateau or island as are some of the Melanesian and Polynesian groups). Another key variable is the history of colonial control: how many different Western

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states have been involved, for what periods, and in what ways. Of particular concern are the kinds of language policies imposed by the churches, schools, and businesses that accompanied the colonial regimes. For instance, many missionaries were actively involved in creating orthographies, dictionaries, and grammars for vernacular languages, and translating religious texts into the vernacular. In some schools the vernacular was used for teaching or was even taught in its own right, while in other schools children were punished for speaking in their home language. In many work settings, members of the same linguistic groups were separated and those individuals more proficient in the lingua franca or colonial language received better treatment. Perhaps the most difficult variable to assess, however, is the degree to which consciousness always existed or has been recently raised as to the value of a group's vernacular (as a medium and/or symbol of ethnolinguistic identity), and the degree to which programs have been devised and effected in time to counteract the forces of obsolescence.

The conscious understanding of a growing intelligentsia as expressed by PNG linguist Nekitel is that:

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> Languages or vernaculars are the mediums through which the varied feelings, philosophies, and other cultural beliefs of Pacific consciousness can be expressed. They are the mediums through which our authentic cultures are preserved and safeguarded. (1989:18)

Although this statement is probably influenced by Western metalinguistic conceptions espoused by thinkers such as Whorf, we cannot assume that it is a wholly alien ideology having no impact on the thinking of most locals. As Kulick (1992) discovered in doing research in Gapun, not far from Nekitel's home community in Papua New Guinea, locals appeared to take linguistic identity seriously, had noticed that their children spoke only Tok Pisin, and expressed concern at the prospect of losing their language. And yet, as discussed above with reference to cultural revival ideology, the espoused ideology does not necessarily coincide with practices that perfectly reflect this ideology. To the contrary, apparently contradictory speech strategies may appear to be driven by covert ideologies about what language means and how it functions.

Nonetheless, a variety of language engineering programs have been attempted in the Pacific, as elsewhere in the world, based on received wisdom about the need to preserve pristine codes. These initiatives take a number of forms.

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Orthographies are established and dictionaries and grammars written. A corpus of texts (whether Christian, traditional, or modern) are translated or freshly created. Institutions for studying and standardizing the language are formed, and pedagogical materials are made and used in primary and secondary schools. University study of and in the language is made possible. The language is used for mass media, especially radio and TV programming. Parents are advised to use the language with their children.

However, languages cannot be preserved like bees in amber, nor even were this possible would people agree as to what the language preserved ought to look like. Variant pronunciation and variant syntactic rules are used and understood as social and regional indices. The meanings of words everywhere are polysemous, connotative, and subjective.[22] As Nekitel recognizes:

> it is difficult to specify hard and fast rules regarding language usage, for languages are dynamic systems and hence subject to forces of social and cultural fluidity. They change and grow to meet the demands of the altered social political, economic, and educational conditions that are a feature of Pacific societies. (1989:22)

Given the heterogeneities of linguistic practice and ideology, the implementation of such language maintenance

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programs has been beset with obstacles having to do with money, power, and consciousness. First of all, most programs require funding for salaries, materials, printing, and transmission costs. Secondly, most involve administrative mechanisms and decision-making processes that become mired in traditional, colonial, and/or neo-colonial structures. Finally, any effort to preserve a language calls for heightened awareness as to how people use and acquire languages, but sometimes this self-consciousness can work against the intended application of that awareness. As a result, language planning frequently ends in under-funded, overly bureaucratized, and hyper-academic projects that remove language from its human context.

Thus, for example, efforts to create a dictionary are fraught with political difficulties as Lindstrom makes clear in an article on such a project attempted in Vanuatu:

> Dictionaries...are folk attempts to standardize a society's classifications and definitions. They are part of the apparatus by which cultural knowledge is codified and transmitted.... Codification and transmission of standardized cultural definitions [however] are not apolitical processes. Instead, they forward the interests of some people and groups and challenge those of others. (Lindstrom 1985:329)

The realities of dictionary-making in a Polynesian society

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is made humorously clear by Borofsky's description of an attempt by a group of Pukapukan authorities to reach consensus on the meanings of various words. In the end, they preferred that he make the final decisions (even though, or perhaps because, they thought him ignorant) rather than appear to one-up each other (1987:147-8).

Perhaps the Māori have come closest to a success story in reviving their language from imminent extinction (Armstrong 1990, Benton 1989). In general, awareness of language loss went hand-in-hand with the general cultural revival movement. Programs that have been primarily responsible for the successful reclamation have been educational and based on early socialization in the language. Language nests, or early-child-care centers run exclusively in Māori, have been successful in laying the groundwork. Bilingual primary and secondary schooling have been made available. Māori speech competitions have grown in popularity. University degrees in Māori language and culture have been made possible by the development of Maori Studies departments and a separate Māori University. As a result, extensive linguistic research has been conducted on the grammar and vocabulary, and a project devoted to

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expanding the lexicon to encompass technical Western subjects has resulted in a dictionary of *Contemporary Māori Words* (Māori Language Commission 1996; Harlow 1993). Nonetheless, it is doubtful that Māori will ever be used across the full spectrum of political, economic and religious contexts it occupied prior to European settlement.

Against this backdrop of language loss and maintenance in the Pacific, French Polynesia appears to rest somewhere in the middle of the sociolinguistic spectrum. As approximately 85% of the population claims indigenous status at present, **Ma'ohi** 'Tahitians' (or more generally 'Polynesians') are by no means outnumbered by colonists (Rallu 1991). Nonetheless, the communicative economies of even the most remote islands and valleys have been disrupted by government and missionary policies and activities. A brief look at the history of schooling in Tahiti is telling of the degree to which 'traditional' structures have been disrupted.

Schools run by LMS missionaries were first opened in Tahiti in the early nineteenth century, but **ma'ohi** was the primary medium, and the Bible was translated into **ma'ohi** early on by this anglophone group. However, when Tahiti

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became a protectorate of the French in 1842, ***français*** began to be emphasized in both state and missionary schools. In 1857, the French governor outlawed the use of **ma'ohi** on school grounds in Papeete, and in 1862 a decree was passed making the teaching of ***français*** mandatory in all district schools as well. In 1932, the French government suppressed the publication of texts in any language but ***français***, a law which stayed on the books until 1977 (Peltzer 1999).

However, the last three decades of challenges mounted by the **ma'ohi** cultural revival movement in Tahiti have made some difference. When in 1974 the **Fare Vana'a** (or Tahitian Academy) was established for the purpose of studying and standardizing the language, projects included the publication of an official dictionary and grammar, the creation of pedagogical materials, and the expansion of the lexicon to handle modern concepts (Ward 1985; LeMaitre 1990). In 1980, **ma'ohi** was accorded the status of an official language along with ***français***, and exams for civil service jobs began to include a component testing for some degree of proficiency in **ma'ohi**. In 1982, the teaching of **ma'ohi** was mandated for two hours a week in primary and secondary schools, and in 1983 the ***Centre de la Recherche et***

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***de la Documentation Pedagogique*** was created for the purposes of developing pedagogical materials and curricula for the teaching of the language. And from 1984 to 1993, the ***Centre de Formation et de Recherche sur Les Language et Civilisations Océaniennes*** contributed to research and teaching methods for these subjects.

Nonetheless, while the ability to make articulate speeches in **ma'ohi** is lauded, both for its symbolic value and because this gives older people direct access to the rhetoric of the politician, it is clear that political position and authority rest upon politicians' capacities to negotiate fluently with the French administration. In addition, although engagement in territorial trade entails some fluency in **ma'ohi** or at least **tahiti** 'neo-Tahitian', ***français*** is a prerequisite for most salaried employment (e.g., jobs in civil service or within the lucrative tourist and nuclear industries).

With regard to media, the two weekly newspapers (***La Dépêche*** and ***Les Nouvelles***) and one monthly magazine (***Tahiti Pacifique***) are in ***français***. All TV programming is under the direction of RFO (***Réseau Français Outre-mer***), much of it coming directly from France, including American sitcoms and

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movies dubbed into ***français***. However, nightly news now also appears in **ma'ohi**. The radio also broadcasts a fair amount of programs in this language.

Nonetheless, as mentioned above with respect to the cultural revival movement, a discussion of the problems facing **ma'ohi** and efforts to bolster that language only partially addresses issues at stake for **'enana**. The outlying islands' overall peripheral status vis-à-vis Tahiti applies to language issues as well. In fact, some **'Enana** believe they have been detrimentally affected by some of the very measures designed to protect **ma'ohi** culture and language, and in this way have been doubly oppressed with respect to their linguistic heritage.

First of all, at an ideological level, a number of **'Enana** with whom I spoke said they have always felt and still feel that **'enana** is stigmatized by Tahitians and refrain from speaking it in public in Tahiti for fear of being ridiculed as ***sauvage***. This paranoia about how the languages have been ranked was confirmed for many by the fact that **'enana** was not recognized alongside **ma'ohi** as an official language. Some of the educated elite object to the apparent way in which **'enana** has been lumped in (along with

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the other Polynesian languages spoken elsewhere in the territory) under the umbrella language of **ma'ohi**, thus assigning it the belittling status of a mere dialect.[23] In the early eighties, several **'enana** representatives used **'enana** in the Territorial Assembly in order to make the point that this language was not only distinctive (i.e., incomprehensible to the rest of the audience) but also worthy of equal representation in official forums.[24]

At a practical level too, **'Enana** feel unfairly disadvantaged by the **ma'ohi** language requirement for employment as civil servants and teachers because this tests for **ma'ohi**, not **'enana** -- i.e., adding on for **'Enana** the extra burden of becoming trilingual. The initiative to teach **ma'ohi** in school put their children and teachers under an additional onus, while providing no support for their own language.

Thus, **Motu Haka** developed in part out of a reaction to efforts to impose a curriculum for teaching **ma'ohi** in the schools. But although **'Enana** won the right to replace the teaching of **ma'ohi** with **'enana**, twenty years later its instruction is still left to the ingenuity of individual teachers as there are still no published pedagogical

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materials. In addition, those teachers who are French or Tahitian do not know **'enana**, and even some teachers of **'enana** background consider their language skills inadequate given that their success in school, leading to their having become teachers, was due to their orientation toward ***français***.

On the airwaves, **'Enana** have been bombarded with ***français*** and **tahiti** via radio for over 40 years and via TV and videos over the last decade and a half. Although they have recently acquired local radio stations in the two largest towns, cultural programming in **'enana** depends on the whim of local DJs and the state of repair of the transmission equipment. A recent attempt to produce an **'enana**-language newspaper failed after the first issue. Nonetheless, **'enana** is now used at least ceremonially in many official contexts, such as for political speeches and church sermons. And in 1995 an **'enana** translation of the New Testament was finally published by Mgr. Le Cléac'h.

Finally, the perception of **'enana**'s vulnerability is manifested in expressions of concern that, like other aspects of culture, language is being appropriated by outsiders. Thus, any attempt by **Hao'e** to collect (whether

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for publication or not) geneologies, legends, songs, or lexical material is viewed with suspicion. And any **'Enana** who 'gives' or 'sells' linguistic material to **Hao'e** (e.g., through exchanging names or working as a linguist's assistant) is subject to community censure.

However, the development of a program for language maintenance has been hampered not only by tensions with 'foreign experts', but also by rivalries between individuals, between valleys and islands, and between **'Enana** and Tahitians. This shows up in critical sniping at the local level as well as in debates over orthography and in the disorganized efforts to produce pedagogical materials, a dictionary and grammar, and other publications.

First of all, derisive references to foreign linguists' errors in their **'enana** pronunciation and grammar are commonplace, as are critiques of their patronizing intellectual understanding of the language. Even Dordillon and Le Cléac'h, much loved priests of this and the last century, who both learned the language and wrote much about and in it, were accused of errors (e.g., Le Cléac'h's confusion of inclusive and exclusive second person pronouns when preaching, and Dordillon's difficulty with /h/ and the

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glottal as evidenced by errors in his dictionary).

Secondly, the on-going debate over orthography (discussed in Chapter III) has been thrown a curve ball by Mgr. Le Cléac'h, who has decided in his new dictionary (1997) to follow the system employed by most other Polynesian groups in Oceania.[25] This choice represents a major shift for the church as most religious texts are written in the orthography created by Dordillon in the nineteenth century. This French-based orthography was officially adopted by the Tahitian Academy as well as Motu Haka, and is strongly endorsed by Georges Teikiehuupoko, the long-time head of education in the Marquesas who is responsible for teaching the primary and secondary teachers how to teach **'enana**.[26] For the moment this rift between church and school seems irreconcilable and is apt to cause a high degree of confusion among the people since these are the primary contexts in which the people are taught to read and write the language. Also, until this division is reconciled, a lot of interested parties hesitate to help produce pedagogical materials.

Third, efforts to produce a modern dictionary were stymied for many years by debates over, not only which

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orthography to use, but also which dialect group would serve as the standard, and over whether to include borrowed words, obsolete words, words found in old chants and songs which cannot be found in Dordillon's dictionary, or words particular to secret languages, all of which strike disharmonious chords having to do with issues of authenticity, representation, and ownership.

In particular, the amount of phonological and lexical variation between valleys and islands posed real problems because if one variety were chosen over another as the base, this would be understood as an attempt to promote one variety as the standard. One European linguist-priest went ahead and published a grammar and lexicon based on the Nuku Hiva dialect and using the pan-Polynesian orthography preferred by linguists (Zewen 1987), but this text has not received a lot of approbation from **'Enana**. More recently, Le Cléac'h attempted in his dictionary (1997) to represent dialectal variants of all words. Moreover, he addressed the dialectal tensions head-on with a 'rational' appeal to creating the kind of standardized literacy-based variety associated with global languages such as ***français*** and English despite the regional variation found in the spoken

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versions of these codes (1997:6). Possibly his articulation of this view will help sooth the inter-dialectal tensions; however, all standards in other languages have rested on the political-economic ascendancy of certain regions and classes within some larger polity. One wonders how such an ethnolinguistic process can be avoided.

But whatever institutional support is drummed up for **'enana** in all its variety, it nonetheless faces constant erosion by the ideological and economic power of ***français***. This code retains a high degree of symbolic capital in the Marquesas, not only because it is believed that fluency in this world language will provide access to political, economic and social success, but also for more affective reasons. That is, at some level, many **'Enana** seem emotionally attached to their benevolent French overlords and to the language which has allowed them to feel ***civilisé*** (as distinct from their more immediately dominating **ma'ohi** neighbors).

The overall effect of these policies, structural realities, and ideological shifts is that over the last three decades, the contexts in which **'enana** is used and the subjects to which it is applied have diminished by contrast

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with a growing number of contexts in which ***français*** (and even **tahiti**) are perceived to be more versatile and effective in the discussion of a growing number of subjects which did not even exist in the Marquesas until recent years (exams, elections, health care, business, tourism, television, etc.).

Due to this erosion of diglossia, indexed most obviously by the extensive use of ***français*** in many homes, a substantial minority of children (most of those living in Tahiti, many under the age of 15 living in the three largest towns in the Marquesas, and some under the age of 10 living in the smaller valleys -- i.e., populations under 400) do not speak **'enana** and have at best a passive understanding of the language; and many children who do speak **'enana** are accused of speaking only the 'mixed-up' code, the reviled **sarapia**.

Certainly, such evidence of language-use trends in the Marquesas could be marshalled to conclude that **'enana** will be wholly replaced by some variety of ***français*** within the next half century. That is, if over time **'enana** as the primary code of choice is driven from most social spheres (especially the home), then chances are good that at some

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point a large majority of children will no longer have any performative mastery of **'enana**. This means that by the following generation their children will have had little exposure to the spoken language and thus will not even acquire a passive understanding of the language. At that point, **'Enana** will be in the situation of Bretons, for example, among whom it is primarily a more privileged class of the intelligentsia attempting to revive the language by standardizing and studying it as a second language at university. By contrast, a small minority of the less privileged class, who still have direct access to learning the code in natural contexts from their fluent grandparents, have little interest in the issue of language preservation and learn or are directed toward learning and using some variety of ***français*** that is considered sub-standard instead.[5]

However, as recent studies in language shift (Gal 1979, Hill and Hill 1986, Dorian 1989, Kulick 1992, Schmidt 1985) demonstrate, political- economic and ideological forces do not effect language shift from on high like tornadoes, but in very particularistic ways -- infiltrating local structures, transforming everyday practices, incrementally

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influencing the way people think and interact. When speech economies -- due to colonization, immigration, or any other set of social forces -- show signs of transforming codes, abandoning one code for another, or changing the translinguistic system by which repertoires are diglossically arranged and used, these shifts can quite effectively be analyzed in terms of language socialization processes. That is, a study of the ways in which social life is dialogically produced and reproduced via talk and the socially organized ways in which communicative competence is acquired and ethnolinguistic and psychosocial identities developed reveals a more dynamic underpinning to the simple appearance of language shift.

Results from my language socialization study in the Marquesas indicate that a complex of interwoven factors is influencing the ongoing acquisition and use of **'enana**, not all of which confirm a bleak presentiment of loss, at least not in the technical sense of a community on its way to losing all the speakers of a distinctive code. On the one hand, at least 2000 Marquesans continue to live in small communities in which **'enana** continues to be used among most adults for most daily interactions. Thus, many children are

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still receiving adequate input as well as sufficient socialization into the appropriate ways and contexts for choosing to use **'enana** to give this code another century's half-life at the least. Moreover, while stable diglossia has dissolved such that there are no longer clear ideological boundaries designating the contexts in which ***français*** or **'enana** is to be used, there are still many well-defined niches of use for **sarapia**, the 'mixed-up' yet fully semiotic code now emergent in the Marquesas. What I am suggesting is that 'language loss', if understood instead as 'transformation', may offer less of a threat to ethnolinguistic identity.

However, at present, **'Enana**'s ongoing multivocalic (and conflicted) response to **hao'e** persons, practices, ideologies, and institutions has resulted in an interesting synthesis of social, ideological, and translinguistic structures. In the following chapter, I look at how the synthetic results of these historical dynamics are manifested in the village of Hatiheu, the site of my ethnographic research.

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# Notes

1. Whether this metaphor is merely a suggestive heuristic I have created or an underlying cultural model of some validity in the Marquesas is still unclear. I return to the parallel again in Chapter VII and provide there some analysis of its possible cultural weight. For the present chapter, I find it works well as a narrative device.

2. There are two sides to this story. On the one hand, the French Catholics clearly read ubiquitous licentiousness into all forms of 'savage' behavior; on the other hand, there may well have been a dramatic increase in the prevalence of violent rape due to depopulation and societal disruptions. It is hard from this distance to gauge which is the more accurate depiction.

3. It can be assumed that, typical of most colonial situations of this period, few French colonists learned much **'enana** despite the bishop Dordillon's well-organized mission to codify and capture the language on paper (in a dictionary, grammar, and hymnals). This linguistic incompetence must, in turn, have contributed to the ideology shared by both Polynesians and **Hao'e** that the language is very difficult for non-**'Enana**, including Tahitians, to acquire, such that a mythology quickly develops around any individual who does manage to master some degree of fluency.

4. This koine was later known as 'neo-Tahitian' in scholarly texts and is called **tahiti** in this study because that is how **'Enana** refer to it. Discussion of the code and its linguonym can be found in Chapter VI.

5. Thomas (1986) questions whether the boundaries between regional dialects were ever as clear-cut as has been represented in most sociolinguistic portraits of the area. By his interpretation, linguistic variation accompanied (i.e., indexed and helped produce) social, political, and economic fluidity). But see the language tree in Appendix 2 for the conventional conceptualization of MQ regional dialects and the acronyms used for each.

6. I am grateful to Jacqueline Lindenfeld for helping me

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develop this hypothesis. It has helped explain the ubiquity of so much simple ***français*** being used with children under the age of four in Hatiheu today. From this vantage, it is impossible to determine whether any simplified **'enana** was used for caregiving functions prior to the adoption of ***français***, but it seems unlikely given the general lack of such a practice elsewhere in the Pacific. The caregiver register employed in Hatiheu is discussed at length in Chapter IX.

7. Because Moruroa means 'big lies' [TAH], the name was changed officially to Mururoa (as on map B, Appendix 1), but not in the mouths of those who prefer not to lie about such things (Kahn 2000:14). As is discussed later, for **'Enana**, **tivava** 'lying' appears to be a syncretic speech act type loaded with ambivalence concerning historical tensions and miscommunications between **Hao'e** and **'Enana**. A common epithet launched at disliked outsiders is **Hao'e tivava**.

8. Keesing (1989) and Linnekin (1991, 1992) discuss at some length the dilemmas we face in our attempts to play indigenous advocate. First of all, we sometimes dispute the 'facts' indigenous peoples use in their reconstructions of their own traditions (sometimes facts constructed by earlier practitioners in our discipline), and are made uncomfortable when their representations of their identities are clearly influenced by Western idealism as they emphasize their ancestors' communalism and respect for the earth and forget about hierarchy and cannibalism. One consequence of this thinking is a tendency to reify and romanticize the past, seeing all change as degradation. Second, they tend to select commodifiable aspects of their culture -- crafts, songs, dances, etc. -- because they can capitalize on these through Western tourism and consumerism of the exotic. Third, sometimes elite sub-groups or regions use a call to a unified 'identity' to dominate other sub-groups (as in Fiji, PNG, Kwaio in the Solomons [Keesing 1992]). In reflexively experiencing this objectified version of themselves, the dominated rest then show signs of split consciousness, ambivalence toward their constructed cultural identity, a reactive result anyway of inversion (Thomas 1992). Finally, it is sometimes clear that we as researchers have become part of the problem in our objectifying analyses, directive questioning, commodified intellectual products, and liberal

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side-taking attempts at activism, both from within and without the system as we both help to create policy and turn around to fight it as expert witnesses.

Interestingly, this relationship between Western researchers and Pacific peoples has produced a two-way dialogue. On the one hand, the ethnotheories of person and group which are derived from European received wisdom and shaped the early 'culture' concept are reproduced in the versions of cultural identity espoused by more Westernized Pacific leaders. On the other hand, recent anthropological analyses of the person and the group and the relationship between the two look suspicicusly similar to ethnographers' interpretation of indigenous Oceanic ethnotheories of the person and the group.

9. Austronesian possessives and their influence on conceptualizations of identity are taken up at more length in Chapter VII.

10. Many cultural revival movements have taken the form of political independence movements. As analyzed by Hobsbawm (1983) and Anderson (1983), cultural traditions have been rediscovered and/or invented, then mobilized in the interests of nationalist politics, both in the original formation of most European and American nation-states and more recently in ethnoregionalist movements (from Québec to Chechnya). In most cases, the appeal to a 'common cultural tradition' includes historical claims concerning shared blood, land, religion, language, folklore and/or various customs, such as music, dance, costume, and cuisine. In many cases, not only can the historical veracity of these claims be disputed, but also, using post-modern rhetoric, the essentialist authenticity of bounded race-culture-language units are epistemologically questionable. However, as Anderson (1983) makes clear, the ongoing course of political history is largely influenced by whether or not people actively and emotionally buy into the patriotic ideology which defines their rights, obligations, and identities as citizens of what he refers to as these 'imagined communities'.

However, not all cultural revival movements take the independence route (e.g., Brittany), and many of those that do are split into factions based on the fact that some would prefer to remain politically and economically a part of the

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larger political units, while retaining or gaining support for their cultural and linguistic autonomy. Frequently, the rationale for this is financial: they understand that their economic well-being is dependent on their infrastructural ties to the larger state. Other times, they find the state willing to bend to their demands for cultural autonomy (frequently supported by trends in the dominant society towards idealized aspects of the cultural tradition of the minority -- communalism, respect for the land, etc.). Sometimes it is a complex situation in which the elite has something to gain from leading a cultural movement while remaining part of the larger state structure. For example, in Brittany, Québec, and the Marquesas, the Catholic church has led the cultural movement and in this way retained a good measure of control over the people. In Brittany and Québec those movements turned Marxist in the sixties, sloughing off the church's political conservatism (Badone 1992:813). In the Marquesas for the moment, the church has remained strongly in charge of the movement in clear reaction against the non-Catholic Tahitian independence movement. Finally, as Gramsci analyzed for class movements, most ethnoregionalist movements borrow the techniques of the nationalist power they are rejecting -- i.e., they attempt to homogenize and standardize the culture and language, creating a hegemonic folklore and history which angers the marginalized minorities (Badone 1992:812) who resent having their distinct languages called dialects, their own cultural characteristics conflated, and their unique songs and dances appropriated.

11. However, a similar strategy by the United States in the rest of Micronesia did not lead to the same results but to the eventual creation of the Federated States of Micronesia (Petersen, personal communication). However, this may have been the result of the American grip being weaker elsewhere, one strategic holding in the area being thought sufficient for the world order of that period.

12. Although a moratorium on testing had been declared by President Mitterand in late 1992 in acquiescence to international pressures, President Chirac resumed the tests in 1995. The resulting protests and rioting in Tahiti as well as unfavorable media coverage and condemnation worldwide sent a clear signal (which was too-well publicized

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for the French government's comfort) that all was not well in the **Hao'e**'s version of a paradise run semi-autonomously by educated noble savages (Kahn 2000). Due to the final cessation of testing in January 1996, deconstruction of the installation and withdrawal of the huge military presence is now almost complete. As a result, France's continued colonial presence has been undergoing drastic revision (e.g., the territory's name, the amount of funding accorded it, and the new areas of jurisdiction being handed over to the autonomous territory's government). However, it is as yet unclear how completely the French will let go of their 'autonomous territory'.

13. As noted by Lockwood (1993), one possible reason for this lack of any real sense of marginalization or envy vis à vis the central capital is that France has spent a lot on rural development and return migration, creating good ties between the outer islands and Tahiti. Also, these islands all share an involvement in many cross-island associations (religious, economic, and political). Another reason I would suggest (though perhaps a consequence of the former) is that there appear to be fewer glaring cultural and linguistic differences between these outer islands and Tahiti, including quite importantly that the majority of the people on all of these islands are Protestant rather than Catholic.

14. The first and so far only ***Bulletin de l'Association* Motu Haka** was published in May 1987. On the inside front cover is found a list of the ***Bulletin***'s primary goals: 1) "To inform the Marquesan population about everything to do with their language, their cultural heritage, and their natural, physical, and human environment," 2) "To assure a link between all the members of **Motu-Haka** and an accounting of the association's life," and 3) "to furnish documentation for all persons interested in getting to know the archipelago better." On the same page, it is stated that the contributions of anyone interested in these objectives are welcome (although responsibility for their views is eschewed by the association). It is also stated that the ***Bulletin*** prohibits ads as well as "religious and political polemics" (all quotes used in this footnote represent my translations from ***français***).

The resulting first ***Bulletin*** is a collection of

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articles by French scholars or others interested in the Marquesas all in ***français***, as well as several poems by two **'Enana** -- only these are printed in a bilingual format. At the back is provided a brief history of the association written by Georges Teikehuupoko, an **'Enana**, and J.L. Candelot, a **demi**-Tahitian living in the Marquesas. According to them, **Motu Haka** was "born" when **'Enana** from the whole archipelago were "reunited" by a Catholic synod and a ***prise de conscience*** "emerged" concerning "the fear that their local cultural heritage would soon disappear". The association's goals are outlined here as: 1) the creation of a museum in, of, and for the Marquesas; and 2) the establishment of a curriculum for teaching **'enana** within the schools (Motu Haka 1987:45).

The preface to the ***Bulletin*** is written by the now retired bishop of the Marquesas, Mgr. Le Cléac'h, who is the one **Hao'e** I believe to be genuinely revered by most **'Enana** for his warmth, wisdom, and concern for **'enana** culture, and many credit him with having served as spiritual leader for the revival movement. As he told me, the Marquesas remind him of the Brittany of his youth, and clearly he was hoping to avoid a rehearsal of that scenario of linguistic and cultural loss (in an interesting parallel, Spanish priests in Pohnpei tended to be from Catalan, another ethnolinguistic region under imperial siege for centuries [Glenn Petersen, personal communication]).

In his preface, Le Cléac'h writes about what has already been lost (although he questions whether **te 'Enana**'s silence as to their past is a result of ignorance or a respect for tradition), but also of the possibilities for rediscovering this knowledge (through archaeology and historical linguistics), and of the need for making it accessible to all. In particular, he speaks of the need to educate the youth, first that their lives will be made useful to society, but more importantly so that they can "achieve personal equilibrium through the coming to consciousness of their identity. History and art are the two avenues which give access to the secret of a people's soul" (Motu Haka 1987:5).
This familiar Western sentiment is echoed in the next piece, "Why a Bulletin?" authored by ***Le Bureau Directeur*** (composed of five **'Enana**): "A people without a past is a people without a future; a people without a language is a people without a soul" (ibid:7).

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In other words, it is clear that Westerners and their ideology have had some role to play in the development of this movement -- in its formulation of rhetoric, media, institutions, and goals. The movement was also inspired by Tahiti's successes in this regard.

15. The use of the orthography recognized by foreign linguists instead of that sanctioned by Motu Haka for the Centre's name (not to mention its very nature as a decontextualizing forum for the storage of recorded and transcribed dance, music, legends, and other data) indicates the Western orientation of this latest expression of the revival movement.

16. As documented by Jane Moulin (1991) in her study of music and dance in the Marquesas, twentieth-century ethnographers were mistaken in claiming that all traditional forms had disappeared along with their contexts. In fact, the practices were sent underground as a result of first religious repression and later Tahitian ridicule, and so the performance knowledge was only transmitted in private and in abbreviated forms. However, given a more permissive climate, these forms and practices began to re-emerge. Thus, there are records of public performances in the forties, and **'Enana** gave their first public performance outside of the Marquesas in 1976 at the **heiva** celebration in Tahiti. Although taunted for their performance at that time, a troupe was widely acclaimed for their performance in the Pacific Arts Festival held in Tahiti in 1985. This acclaim spurred them to host their own Arts Festival in 1987 at Ua Pou (1991:42-52; 1995). The Nuku Hiva festival in 1989 attracted international film coverage. The festival scheduled for 1993 in Fatu Hiva was cancelled and the large-scale celebration of the 400th anniversary of first contact between **Hao'e** and **'Enana** in 1995 was drastically scaled down. However, the Nuku Hiva festival in 1999 was hugely impressive as two new **tohua** were reconstructed, dance troupes from throughout the Pacific came to take part in the three-day, three-site event, and RFO provided an hour of coverage every night (Yieng-kow 2000). Moulin claims that although the context and purposes of present-day song and dance festivals have clearly changed, much symbolic meaning has been retained so that at some deeper structural level these artistic forms function much as they always did to

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signal and construct cultural identity.

17. The first annual exposition of **'enana** carving held in Tahiti in 1993 was sold out after the first day, and others since then have been similarly successful.

18. The resurrection and reformulation of the role of the **tuhuka** or specialist has been researched by Sears (1992). Traditionally (i.e., pre-European contact), a **tuhuka** was a person who had achieved a level of expertise in some area of knowledge that fused technological skill with ritual power, who exercised this craft and/or lore for the well-being of his or her community, and who was capable of educating apprentices in that discipline. According to Sears, this role has been resurrected within the context of the cultural revival movement. However, unlike the crafts people of the recent past who kept techniques and motifs alive in the form of tourist art, the new **tuhuka** may also be honored for their capacity to forge new forms out of the old (1992:116). In addition, the real **tuhuka** of the present are known for the extensiveness of their knowledge about the past -- names of archaeological sites, chants and their meanings, ancient dance movements and their choreography, legends and the recipes for traditional medicines and cuisine (ibid:117). Generally, modern **tuhuka** have access to this knowledge as a result of their membership in royal or **tuhuka** families that did not let the knowledge die, but they also tend to have had access to French education and occupy positions within the French Polynesian administration. In fact, part of their present power stems from an ability to articulate traditional knowledge within modern national and international contexts (ibid:118). "The modern specialist is necessary to a harmonious society in that he mediates between the past and the present; he is economically active and useful in the present and at the same time reproduces through his individuality as professional a prestigious slice of past society. Thus, it rests largely with the Tuhuka to preserve the Marquesan national identity" (ibid:120-121 [my translation]).

As such, modern **tuhuka** have begun to take on a more political role as spokespersons for **te 'Enana**, usurping the traditional role of the **haka'iki** 'chief', or even merging the two roles as in the case of Lucien Ro'o Kimitete, a **tuhuka** of song and dance who was elected mayor of Nuku Hiva

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in 1990 (ibid:241-242). Their expertise is still needed to provision the community per se (both practically and symbolically); their wisdom, charisma, and oratorical skills are still directed towards the socialization of the next generation; but now, these powers are brought into play in both local and international contexts within the game of ethnic representation. That is, in the forging of an **'enana** identity that will carry political and economic weight within the Territory, throughout the Pacific region, in France, and within a larger world market.

In an article about one of the best known of this new breed of **tuhuka**, the now deceased (and much mourned) René Uki Haiti, a master sculptor who organized the reconstruction of the tohua for the 1989 Arts Festival in Taiohae, Moulin writes that Uki was honored for his perseverance in organizing a lasting stone monument to **'enana** culture, for his ability to use old styles and motifs to create new works laden with **'enana** symbology of the mythic past and the historic present, and finally because "by his own example and gentle encouragement he inspired others and assumed the role of respected teacher and cultural leader" (1990:37). On opening day the mayor honored him as a "'guardian of the cultural memory,' as 'father of the tohua,' and as a mentor for young people interested in the arts" (ibid:47).

19. The three volume set of myths collected by von den Steinen was recently translated into French and published (1997-99); however, the original volumes with the many drawings are still a scarce and prized resource (1925-28).

20. Anxieties of this nature are common throughout the Pacific and, as such, may represent vestiges of a very 'old' concern, which in Micronesia, for instance, is directed toward issues of "Pohnpeian controls over the dissemination of knowledge" (Petersen, personal communication).

21. That those **'Enana** involved in Motu Haka harbor some ambivalence towards the role of foreigners in the recovery of their heritage is indicated in this passage by ***Le bureau directeur***: "Who among us has not met, at least once, these people, usually nice enough if a little bizarre? They ask questions, take photographs, record all that goes on, collect all that they can.... Some measure, others dig in

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the earth, analyze, compare...almost all write.... Many forget us" (Motu Haka 1987: 6 [my translation]). Further hints of this show up in the acknowledgements, thanking those who have sent back books and articles recording the work they undertook in the islands, "by contrast with so many people we see coming through" (ibid:42). Perhaps the most significant clue to the delicate line well-meaning foreigners are expected to walk is the bureau's use of a prefatory quote from the work of a French educator, Charles Gardou: "The Marquesan people are looking for partners, not tutors" (ibid:1).

I might have been tempted to read this bulletin with all its reservations as the production of Europeans bending over backwards to disavow their own colonial connections and roots. However, I spoke to many **'Enana** who admonished me repeatedly in much the same terms that I should not think myself the first researcher to reach their shores, that I should not talk down to them as others had, and that I must not simply take, but give back. Having, thus, met with the strong **'Enana** personalities involved in the cultural revival movement, I am completely convinced both of their capacities to manage and educate the foreigners who have landed on their shores, as well as of their by now exaggerated ennui and disappointment concerning our type.

22. It is my hypothesis that non-literate individuals and societies exaggerate this characteristic once they become conscious of the existence of standardized languages in which the denotative meanings of words appear to be fixed in print in dictionaries by contrast with the words of their own language which seem still to be swimming around without a compass.

23. More recently some efforts at political correctness along these lines have been made. For instance, when 2000 was declared by the French Polynesian government to be ***L'Année du* reo ma'ohi** '*The year of the* **ma'ohi** language[TAH]' (du Prel 2000:23), they also publicized the fact that this was meant to honor the seven ***langues*** 'languages' in French Polynesia: **te reo ma'ohi** (Society Islands), **te 'eo 'enata** (Marquesas), **te reo o te kaiga** (Tuamotus), **te reo vavitu** (Raivavae and Rimatara), **te kaero 'oparo** (Rapa Iti), **te reo 'eteroa** (Tubuai and Rurutu), and **te reo magareva** (Mangareva). Meanwhile, the influential Tahitian linguist

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Peltzer has made an impassioned plea for opening the doors to the other languages in French Polynesia that have been opened to **ma'ohi** (1999:70-1). However, from the research available to me at this time, it would appear that **'Enana** are the only islanders outside Tahiti to be as concerned as they are with maintaining their language by contrast with **ma'ohi**. This, I suspect, has at least as much to do with the sense of cultural distance they feel as with technical linguistic difference. As evidenced by the classic examples in sociolinguistics concerning Chinese 'dialects' and Scandinavian 'languages', interlingual distance or proximity is never simply a quantifiable linguistic fact, but rather in part a perceptual artifact derived from political and economic forces (Irvine and Gal 2000).

Thus, in the case of the Polynesian languages, there is linguistic evidence to support the argument that MQ shares with HAW a different branch of the East Polynesian family tree than does TAH and the other 'languages' spoken in French Polynesia (see Proto-Polynesian family tree in Appendix 2; Finney 1994:261; Schooling 1981). However, those 'facts' alone cannot account for the perception by **'Enana** and Tahitians that their languages are mutually comprehensible only in one direction (i.e., **'Enana** can understand **ma'ohi** (or at least the simplified version, **tahiti**) but not the reverse. Nor does it explain why language has been adopted as a loaded symbol of sociopolitical distinction for **te 'Enana** and less so by other marginalized archipelagos of the Territory. As I am at some pains to explain in this dissertation, the ideological construction of ethnolinguistic difference is a complex function of psychosocial, cultural, linguistic, political, and economic factors.

24. According to my CS typology, this represents a dialogic code-switch as it was used creatively for both metonymic and rhetorical functions -- i.e., both to highlight the significance of their ethnolinguistic identities within the wider sociopolitical context and to rebel against the discursive dominance of **ma'ohi** in that particular setting.

25. At least, he writes that he has made this decision (Le Cléac'h 1997:8). And yet, perhaps for reasons to do with available typefaces, he employs a French circumflex instead of the macron found in the other Polynesian orthographies.

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Unfortunately, this is the sort of irregularity that has contributed to the general orthographic confusion.

26. Teikiehuupoko criticized the Australian linguist Tryon for his inability to understand that the difference between /a/ and /'a/ is not the difference between a vowel alone and one with a glottal stop before it, but the difference between two vowel values -- i.e., a phonemic distinction that, he asserts, Europeans are incapable of hearing. Teikiehuupoko feels this difference is represented more accurately by 'a' and 'á'.

27. One larger structural uncertainty looming over this picture of language shift is the question of how long France will remain as a paternalistic, (neo-)colonial force in Polynesia now that all nuclear testing there has been curtailed. In 2000, France renewed its financial commitment for the next five years at the same levels as they were just prior to the halt in testing. On the other hand, the ***CEP*** facilities are all closed or in the process of being closed and much of the military personnel has been withdrawn.

If France pulls out a large measure of its financial support, French Polynesia's heavily subsidized economy (everything from copra production to tourism, construction, and service industries related to the nuclear testing installation, and employment in the armed forces) could flounder, as would its educational system. Thus, several primary motivations for and contexts within which ***français*** is acquired would be removed or diluted. Chances are good that France would retain a neo-colonial connection as the primary, first-world funding source for the new nation-state (as the United States, New Zealand, and Australia have remained elsewhere among their late colonies) and so continue to provide some impetus and occasions for the learning of ***français***. Nonetheless, given the present state of the global communicative economy, many **'Enana** might drift along with the rest of the world towards the acquisition of English rather than ***français*** as a second language.

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# Chapter V

## Hatiheu's **Keke**:

## A Synthetic Setting in the Ethnographic Present

Ethnographic research conducted in the twentieth century by Handy (1923), Linton (1939), Rollin (1974), Suggs (1966), Martini and Kirkpatrick (1981), and Kirkpatrick (1981a, b, 1983, 1985a, b, c, 1987) reveals that, despite obvious signs of dependence and incorporation into a global political economy, the present-day system of social structures and identities in the Marquesas has not resulted from the simple imposition of a colonial social system. That is, although indigenous categories for organizing self and community have been drastically altered by contact, Western classification and articulation of social categories based on age, gender, kinship, religion, and class, have not been adopted wholesale by **'Enana**.

For instance, in the village of Hatiheu where I did my fieldwork, inhabitants referred frequently to a division within the valley between eastern and western **keke** 'sides', roughly corresponding to the dwellings on either side of the

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central river (see map E in Appendix 1). Given a long history of intravalley tribal feuding here and in all **'enana** valleys (usually centered on dwelling clusters around sub-valley rivers), this belief is not at all surprising.

However, I never had a clear sense that the two 'sides' lined up squarely against each other on any given issue. That is, there seemed to be cross-cutting divisions based on arguments over participation within a number of apparently Western social formations: political party membership at election time, disputes over the composition of prayer groups during religious festivals, and competition over influence within various village-wide associations. Bonds based on friendship, kinship, and other less institutionalized relationships seemed to affect individuals' feelings of affiliation or lack thereof in highly fluid (and perhaps more indigenous) ways. And all of these tensions in turn contributed to general ill-feelings about who was more or less civilized or savage (i.e., more or less attached to **'enana** v. **hao'e** categories of identity and relationship).

In the following analysis of these social structural categories, I rely heavily on Kirkpatrick's findings

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concerning notions of personhood, affect, stages of development, and forms of relationship in the Marquesas (1981a, b, 1983, 1985a, b, c, 1987). Even though my research was undertaken twenty years later and on a neighboring island, I am in agreement with much of his representation of **te 'Enana**. Thus, I rehearse and expand upon only those aspects of his study that are of particular relevance to understanding the syncretic social formations to do with politics, religion, employment, associations, households, origins, age, and gender I discovered in Hatiheu at the time of my fieldwork.[1]

A. Political parties

While the ***Territoire de la polynésie française*** was granted partial internal autonomy and a budget to implement a territorial government in 1984, **'Enana** continue to be citizens of France. This means that they take part in electoral politics at national, territorial, and local levels (see Henningham 1992 for a fuller discussion of politics in French Polynesia).

At the local level, there are elections for the ***maire***

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of their ***commune*** and ***maire associé*** of the ***commune associée.*** For example, the island of Nuku Hiva represents a ***commune*** governed by a single ***maire*** (Lucien Roo Kimitete at present as well as at the time of my fieldwork) while the northern valleys of Nuku Hiva (Hatiheu, Anaho, Aakapa, and Pua) are considered a ***commune associée*** administered by a ***maire associé*** (Yvonne Katupa then as now). However, the occupants of both of these posts are in casual conversation simply referred to as ***maire*** 'mayor' or **haka'iki** 'chief' (the latter used frequently even in talk that is otherwise ***français***).

At the territorial level, **'Enana** send three representatives from the Marquesas to the ***Assemblée Territoriale*** (at the time of my fieldwork Kimitete occupied one of these positions as well as that of ***maire*** of Nuku Hiva). This body is responsible for the legislative branch of the Territorial government, and for electing the ***Président du Conseil***, who is the head of the executive branch. At the national level, **'Enana** vote for one ***sénateur*** to represent the whole territory and one ***député*** from the eastern ***circonscription*** (one half of the territory) to sit in the ***Assemblée Nationale*** in Paris.

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Local and territorial candidates are members of a number of territorial parties, the two most important at that time being **Tahoeraa Huiraatira**, the conservative party of the long-time president Gaston Flosse (associated with the Gaulist ***Rassemblement pour la République*** [RPR] in France), and **Tavini Huiraatira**, the independence party of Oscar Temaru. In the election held while I was in Hatiheu, the **Tahoeraa** ticket won by a good margin in the Marquesas. Primarily this was because Flosse was good at getting financial support from the French government for infrastructural aid (the muddy, rutted roads being a primary sore point at that time). In general, however, **'Enana** have tended to vote conservatively and pro-French.

I was told that party member affiliation caused some of the strongest rifts in the valley as a promise to vote one way or another was grounds for receiving more financial support both personally and as a commune from governmental sources higher up in the political hierarchy. People did not casually reveal their party affiliations or voting choices, and so it was rather late in my fieldwork period that one of the mothers involved in my project discussed the party membership of herself and others with me. A member of

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the **Tahoeraa** party herself, Noella informed me that Yvonne (Hatiheu's **haka'iki**) had for a long time been a member of the **Tahoeraa** party too, but had recently shifted her support along with Edwin Vernandon (formerly more of a cross-over centrist-**ma'ohi** leader himself) to the independence party **Tavini**. Others, such as Tapu and Poea in my study, had similarly switched their allegiance as a consequence. This is just one example of the shifty nature of party affiliation in Hatiheu and French Polynesia generally.[2]

Additionally, another friend of mine, herself a member of the **Tahoeraa** party, complained to me that because Yvonne's brother was running on the ticket of the ***Union Marquisienne*** (a minuscule and token-only **'enana** party) for the National Assembly positions, the **haka'iki** was giving her constituency a mixed message as to whom she wanted them to vote for. It was just one of many instances when Yvonne (like other politicians) was called a ***hypocrite***. Given the frequent shifts in and rationales for party affiliation, it seems that lobbying for political support and votes would be inevitably an ambiguously loaded practice in Hatiheu.

Nonetheless, Yvonne was also renowned for (and owed some of her power to) her ability to befriend the French

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***administrateurs civils*** of the archipelago who resided in Taiohae on the other side of the island and came to Hatiheu for their weekend getaways. Administrators were appointed by the French government usually for two-year posts and most important among their tasks was that of apportioning French funding to the archipelago and overseeing the French judicial system in the islands. Due to Yvonne's almost inevitably good relationships with these men (and they have always been men), a good deal of funding tended to find its way into the valley of Hatiheu.

As in pre-European times, the power of political leaders in French Polynesia tends to rest on a mixture of elite connections and personal charisma, but most importantly on the ability to use both of these assets to orchestrate and redistribute economic resources in ways that appear somewhat equitable. This is exemplified by Flosse's career (see Henningham 1992) as well as by Yvonne's, as is discussed at more length in the next section.

B. Economic status

Most Hatiheuans are engaged in a mix of subsistence and

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money-making activities. While most subsistence work was practiced in some form prior to contact, many of the foodstuffs and methods have been imported.

For instance, Hatiheuans now regularly 'hunt' imported goats and cattle, as well as indigenous pigs and chickens, with a variety of implements ranging from guns and machetes to traditional bird traps. While some herds of goats are 'owned' (and others considered 'wild'), only pigs are husbanded to any degree. For deep-sea fishing, **'Enana** now mostly use speedboats (rather than **vaka** 'canoes'), fishing poles, and harpoons, while they use nets for off-shore fishing, simple fishing lines for fishing from the shore, metal pokes for catching octopus on the reef, and small spears for catching shrimp in the rivers. All of these resemble traditional techniques to some degree although most of the materials used are imported. The women and children still collect shellfish along the rocky coastline.

Women are also primarily involved in planting and harvesting a variety of produce. Root crops include taro, manioc, and sweet potatoes. A few imported vegetables are grown in home gardens -- primarily cucumbers, tomatoes, and cabbage. However, the most significant types of produce are

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arboricultural, including some that arrived with Europeans: breadfruit, coconuts, mangos, papaya, limes, grapefruit, oranges, avocados, and chestnuts. Additionally, a few 'wild' plantings are noted and collected, such as hot peppers and watercress.

There are few salaried jobs in town, but most households have a member who is employed by the state at least part-time in public works projects or at the post office or school. Additionally, at least one member from each household brings in cash in a number of other ways, primarily 'doing copra' (cutting and shelling the coconuts, transporting and drying the meat, and selling it to the cargo ships).[3] Also, a few people in town fish for tuna and sell these to others in town or are engaged in tourist trade activities such as threading flower necklaces, printing pareu wraps and t-shirts, and carving tourist art (sculptures, bowls, ukuleles, hair sticks, war clubs, and oars).[4]

Housekeeping and food-processing (e.g., cleaning shellfish, carving meat, preparing earth ovens, digging and filling **mā** pits, and cooking/preparing raw fish and breadfruit dishes) are mostly unpaid (aside from one baker

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and those who work for the mayor's restaurant and hotel), but time-consuming occupations.

However, to understand what engagement in this list of economic occupations means to Hatiheuans takes some analysis of Hatiheu's place within a wider web of economic activity and symbolic capital.

Hatiheu is visited every three weeks by a shipload of tourists, houses a number of weekend visitors (French teachers and administrators as well as elite **'Enana**) from the provincial capital of Taiohae on the other side of the island, and has hosted a number of researchers in recent years, mostly archaeologists. As a result, the valley sees more **Hao'e** more regularly than do many of the other small villages in the Marquesas. Also, there is a larger influx of cash as at least half the town owes some of its monetary income to this foreign traffic due to craft sales, the provision of food and services to visitors, and research assistance. While distinctions based on material wealth are barely noticeable to an outsider first arriving in Hatiheu, the village is riven by the perception among locals of vast inequalities.

At the apex of the economic pyramid, and thus the

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primary focal point of envy, is the ***maire associé*** Yvonne. As mentioned above, although now an elected post, this position represents a structural transformation of the pre-European role of **haka'iki** in that a mandate from the populace depends upon both the projection of aristocratic status and the capacity to access and channel wealth somewhat democratically. Yvonne's career and status in the village perfectly exemplify the inherent tensions involved in such a trajectory.

On the one hand, she was born into one of the chiefly lines and married into one of the more wealthy lineages. Her husband was **haka'iki** for over twenty years, and their manicured compound, encompassing a stone house, store, restaurant, and artisanal studio, sits squarely in the middle of Hatiheu, right next to the church, and provides one of the few public gathering places in the village. At her husband's death in the mid-eighties, Yvonne took over the position and has been re-elected every five years since. It is hard to imagine how any other individual in town could compete with her for the job, given the location, style, and function of her compound.

However, her power is also a function of both her

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aristocratic connections and her reputation among **Hao'e** as intelligent, hard-working, and hospitable. As a result, she is highly successful at channeling funds into the village for public works projects -- everything from putting in street lamps along the one road in town to reconstructing the ancient **tohua** and **me'ae** (ritual spaces and platforms constructed out of stone). Also, she has managed to attract a fair amount of the limited tourism trickling into the Marquesas into her village -- she has five bungalows to rent, runs a 'restaurant' (she is renowned for her cooking, but this can only be had through special arrangement, not by walking in, sitting down, and looking at a menu), and is the main mover behind the village's 'traditional' dance troupe and much of its artisanal activity. While many Hatiheuans are employed at least marginally as a result, she has a number of more or less vocal detractors in the village who claim that a good deal of the wealth she brings in is funneled back into her own purse.

However, Yvonne is not the only 'wealthy' member of the village -- i.e., those envied by others as being richer and/or better connected, and therefore somewhat stingy and/or exclusionary. The numbering on the map of the

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village (Appendix 1E) creates a spiral, beginning along the ocean road and moving into the heart of the valley, in order to emphasize economic status -- that is, the inhabitants' perceptions of relative wealth.

First of all, Hatiheuans noted the desirability of beachfront property, but not primarily because of the view or access to the beach as Western developers would. This aspect has not gone wholly unnoticed as two sets of bungalows have been created along here -- Yvonne's (#3) and another set (#1) -- abandoned for internecine problems unclear to me (although one obvious difficulty was the lack of tourist clientele in these expensive-to-visit islands). However, what was discussed most in my hearing was the access this property gave to tourists from the cargo/tour boat who wandered along this main road one day every three weeks with money in their pockets to spend. Additionally, the road provided access to other Hatiheuans looking to buy food, alcohol, clothes, and other imported commodities -- although this aspect was not explicitly mentioned. That is, those with beachfront property were able to (and all except one did) take advantage of this position to have small businesses centered around the selling of food, crafts, and

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lodging.

Thus, along the beachfront road, one finds Yvonne's restaurant, store, and bungalows (#3 and #4), Moi's beer and wine store (#5), Kokohu's operation (#6) as a middleman for woodcarvings (many of them from other islands in the archipelago) as well as watches and jewelry from New Zealand, and Maryanne's house and 'bakery' (#9) -- she produced and sold **firifiri** 'fried bread' and loaves of coconut bread. While others set up tables along the road with ***casse-croûte*** 'snacks' and crafts on the days the tourists came through, there was sniping about how Yvonne, Moi, Kokohu, and Maryanne were so much better situated to ***profiter*** from this influx. By contrast, Noella and Mimi (#2) at the other end of town exhibited what I can only label as a sort of ***noblesse oblige*** attitude toward their position on the beachfront, loudly denying their need to take advantage of this potential. Nonetheless, Noella made money as a seamstress for the village, and their large, walled-in landholding with many fruit trees clearly signified opulence.

By contrast with the landholders along the waterfront was a group of households clustered in the central valley

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that had been ceded land by the church (#19, #20, #22-29). On the accompanying list, I have marked households established in this way with an O (for outsider) as these households retain to varying degrees a certain stigma as a result. In fact, their position in the village seemed ambiguous. While, on the one hand, they were considered landless, insecure interlopers, they also appeared to have the moral backing of the church as members from three of these households served important religious functions in the village -- **tumu pure** 'prayer leader', **toko tumu pure** 'assistant prayer leader', and **mutoi no te toiki** 'children's guardian'. That one of these households turned out to be a hotbed of incest, arson, and murder and that another housed a rape and an attempted suicide does not contradict the spiritual security these families enjoyed as such happenings have in recent years at least been overlooked and/or forgiven by the church (whereas the state finally did come in and imprison some of the perpetrators).

Despite this apparent spread in wealth between Yvonne and some of the smallest landholders, all Hatiheuans relied on some mixture of subsistence fishing, hunting, and agriculture and most families were still involved in the

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'traditional' form of cash-labor: cutting copra. That is, no one but the non-local teachers depended solely on non-traditional forms of salaried labor for the food that they bought.

One obviously modern (non-indigenous) correlate of economic status was education -- not only for the linguistic and cultural indices of French civilization it imparted, but also because of the sorts of jobs and money to which education presumably provided access.

The education available to **'enana** was meant to be equal to that provided in France. The ***système scolaire*** 'educational system' begins with ***Ecole maternelle***, a preschool beginning with two-year-olds. ***L'école primaire*** encompasses five levels and is followed by six levels of secondary schooling at ***collège*** (like junior high school) and ***lycée*** (like senior high). In secondary school, children are sent along one of two tracks -- academic or professional. Like American technical high schools, professional schools, called ***CETAD***, provide training in a number of trades (e.g., cooking, carpentry, plumbing, and childcare) as well as various **'enana** artisanal activities such as woodcarving. Appendix 5 summarizes information about the French school

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system, the numbers of Hatiheu students in the different grades, and their levels of performance.

Children's performance at school was a frequent topic of discussion and worry among Hatiheuan parents: whether their children would pass to the next level of primary school, whether they would succeed at the standardized entrance exams in order to continue their education at one of the ***colléges*** or ***CETAD*** in the larger towns, and whether once there, these children were doing well enough to justify the enormous expense this secondary education was costing the parents. Finally, parents of older adolescents spent a lot of money and energy investigating the possibilities for promoting their children's success in schooling by sending them on to ***lycée*** in Tahiti. None of the parents or children in Hatiheu at the time I was there had had the opportunity to consider university education either in Tahiti or France.

As if returning from the wars, the students then enrolled in ***collège*** and ***lycée*** were fêted when they came home for holidays. Their parents had marked the days on the calendar like religious events and lobbied hard to collect the scarce boats and trucks needed to transport the children between islands and valleys at these times.

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Nonetheless, these parents had real cause for anxiety on a couple of fronts. First, the record for passing successfully through the system was not exactly stellar (see Appendix 5). Out of the 34 children in primary school in the spring of 1993, half (17) had been left back at least once, and three of these had been left back twice. Also, two of the six students in ***collège*** in 1993, dropped out during that year. Despite these lackluster statistics, all five of the children in the graduating class of '93 headed off to ***collège*** that fall (one of them having already skipped a grade at some point in his career). On the other hand, the village was home to a fairly large number (15) of adolescents who had tried ***collége*** and failed or those who had never tried at all. The aimless activities of these 'wandering' ***jeunes*** 'youth' (involving drugs, sex, theft, etc.) gave the village adults much fodder for complaint.

Secondly, aside from the worries about success at school, neither was it altogether clear that a French education would lead to gainful employment after school. The opportunities for finding employment dependent on this expensive educational process seemed to be limited and perhaps worsening. And not all adults were convinced that

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French education necessarily provided children with the skills and values needed for the evolving syncretic lifestyle. Indeed, some questioned the wisdom of mandatory schooling to age fourteen (sixteen as of 1994) as the children could be better utilizing that time to learn to do copra, hunt, fish, and make woodcarvings and other tourist crafts at home in the village.

But though parents complained about the costs (both economic and emotional), most continued to push their young children to succeed within the ***système scolaire*** with hopes of transforming the economic status of the whole family. The thinking was (and reality bore this out to some extent) that children employed in Tahiti and elsewhere would send home gifts and money, thus contributing to the village economy.

C. Religious affiliation

One highly important aspect of identity and focal point for social activity for most **'Enana** concerns religious affiliation. While there have always been **'Enana** who rejected Christianity and were classified as **païens**

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'heathens' by the missionaries, most **'Enana** consider themselves Christian. To index this identity, they engage in numerous Christian activities -- church services, prayer group meetings, catechism classes for children, catechism teacher-training sessions for adults, and special annual pilgrimages. However, here too affiliation is not a straightforward matter as **'Enana** are very aware of the different flavors of Christianity and shifts in affiliation are highly salient.

Although a schism between the majority Catholics and members of a number of smaller Protestant congregations on the islands appears to be the consequence of a history of vying missionary movements, these divisions may have more traditional roots than a casual observer might assume upon witnessing **'Enana** church-going behavior. Old patterns of rivalry and tension between families, valleys, and islands are aroused and aggravated by religious differences. This can be seen at present in conflicts over the newer Protestant sects, such as Mormons and Jehovah's Witnesses, who have made some converts within traditionally Catholic sectors, as well as with respect to a new charismatic movement, which is Catholic but somewhat outside the

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church's ***Sacré Coeur***.

In Hatiheu, the Catholic church and its grounds occupy the center of the valley. Church activities include mass on Sunday morning and frequently two or three other afternoons of the week as well (depending on the church calendar and other church events such as weddings, funerals, and baptisms). Thursday evening service is reserved for ***les jeunes*** 'the youth'. Smaller children attend catechism classes on Wednesday afternoons.

Although the valley has been visited by missionaries from other denominations, there were no practicing Protestants in the valley at the time of my fieldwork. Instead, almost everyone in the valley, except for a few avowed ***paiens*** (meaning only that they are 'sinners' -- hard-drinking, non-church-going, etc. -- not that they practice any sort of indigenous religion), belonged to one prayer group or another. However, membership in these created some contention, and the **tumu pure** had to rearrange membership now and again in order to cross-cut some of the destructive sentiments that arose within these cliques.

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D. Associations

Also remarkable in the articulation of identity is **'Enana**'s enthusiasm over creating associations devoted to one purpose or another (e.g., economic development, traditional medicine, volleyball, and artisanal activities). These associations involve them in seemingly endless official meetings and unofficial talk devoted to planning events, assessing them, and jockeying for leadership roles and influence within them.

Appendix 4 provides a breakdown of the voluntary associations in which many Hatiheuans were involved. Some of these associations were official branches of larger institutions (i.e., the ***système scolaire*** and the ***Sacré-Coeur*** of the Catholic church), but even those that were local were usually inspired by other similar organizations from Taiohae (dance and artisanal), Tahiti (traditional medicine and massage), or pan-Pacific (in the case of the horticultural association which arose out of the three-day visit and talk by a representative from a Protestant economic development organization based in Australia).

Some represented long-term associations for the

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organization of regular activities, while others were short-lived groups dedicated to the achievement of specific projects or events (e.g., for building the church meeting house or for organizing the dance troupes of ***les Mamas*** and **te toiki** 'the children' for the ***juillet*** competitions that year). Some were fully realized associations, others were just under discussion (e.g., the horticultural association and a co-op to launch a new helicopter line).

Finally, while all of these associations were voluntary and paid no wages to their participants, most involved real economic incentives. For instance, **'Enana** were primarily interested in bettering their children's education (and thus were involved in the ***Association des Parents d'Elèves***), less for knowledge's sake and more for their later employment and economic betterment. Also, while one might presume the church-run associations to have primarily spiritual aims, church involvements tended to promise not only the security of the soul in the afterlife, but also some form of social betterment in this world.

Similarly, all of the **kakiu** associations for the revival of ancient cultural practices (dance, crafts, medicines, horticulture) were designed for the dual purpose

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of re-empowering community members through their joint engagement in the resurrection of their proper culture, while also providing participants with the chance to sell their products or profit from the activities. For instance, the dancers could win money prizes at festivals and were paid for their tourist performances. The artisans were able to sell their wares to tourists and also displayed their finest works in craft shows in Tahiti with the possibility of sales and prizes.

As for traditional medicines and massages, the potential for selling these products and services to their fellow **'Enana** and/or tourists was just beginning to be explored as traditional medicine still occupies only a semi-legal status in French Polynesia (Henry 1999). The horticultural association had a primarily economic incentive, but even here some of the discourse around it had to do with providing older women with a sense of purpose and vitality in the community.

E. Households

Present-day **'enana** households are comprised of a social

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unit which appears to resemble the Western ideal of the nuclear family (preached by missionaries) -- consisting of a male provider, a female caretaker of the domestic sphere, and their biological children -- far more than did the extended, polyandrous, landholding families of two hundred years ago, which included secondary husbands, servants, and adopted children. However several aspects of indigenous Polynesian kinship and household structure have been only minimally transformed by contact with Europeans. Moreover, old habits of 'wandering' have been syncretized with new patterns in ways that influence not only the composition of households, but also the nature of their sitings -- i.e., the degree to which a household unit can be said to correspond with a fixed and bounded house site. The most salient aspects of these transformed dwelling patterns became apparent to me as I tried to map households and idenitify their membership.

In the sketch of the village (Appendix 1E), I have numbered the locations of (somewhat) discrete dwellings for each (approximate) nuclear family (i.e., those composed of either parents or grandparents involved in raising young children). The accompanying list provides a rough count of

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individuals living in each numbered household for some period during my stay there. They are identified as: grandparents (over 50 years old and living with their children and/or grandchildren), adult householders (18-50 years old and living in their own dwellings), 'wanderers' (18- to 50-year-old males living with a family other than their biological or adopted parents -- most of these moved at least once during my stay there, but I count them with only one household, arbitrarily chosen to some degree), youth (14-18 years, including those away at school), and children (under 14 years and living with their biological or adopted families). The difficulties I encountered in constructing such a semiotic text can be explained by looking at the amoebic nature of the family unit as well as at the relationship between dwelling forms and patterns of 'wandering'.

The tradition of 'wandering' has deep Austronesian roots as is evidenced by the early voyages of these peoples throughout Oceania, the mythic emphasis on the voyaging hero, and the recent revival of indigenous navigational techniques throughout the Pacific (Finney 1994). Even after the settlement of the Marquesas, voyaging and exchanges

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within the archipelago and beyond continued. And since the arrival of Europeans, these older traditions have mingled with migratory patterns to do with employment on sailing vessels and the educational system established in the islands. More recently, military sevice and employment opportunities within and outside French Polynesia have led to new trends in emigration, return-migration, and vacationing (e.g., the use of Hatiheu as a second-home location by elite **'Enana** in Taiohae and Tahiti). Additionally, **'Enana** not only express envy of **Hao'e**'s abilities to travel as tourists and researchers to the Marquesas, they also apportion large chunks of their own earnings toward opportunities to travel as 'tourists' themselves -- trips to Hawaii, Los Angeles, New Zealand, as well as France are not uncommon in this presumably 'underdeveloped' population.

The relevance of this 'wandering' tradition can be understood through an examination of dwelling sites and their present forms and functions. The map indicates all the dwellings that were used continuously throughout my fieldwork. However, this makes up only about two-thirds of the dwellings still standing in the village and only a tiny

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fraction of all of the dwelling foundations in evidence throughout the valley.

First of all, a large number of **paepae**, the large stone platforms that supported pre-colonial dwellings, are found throughout the valley (see Suggs 1962 for a discussion of these). While modern dwellings have been built beside these and stones pilfered from them are used for modern walls, no one builds their homes directly on top of **paepae**.

Also scattered throughout the village are the cement block foundations of several recently occupied house sites whose houses were razed by arson (at least two of these families moved away to Tahiti, while another is rebuilding its home to one side of the old foundation). In another case, a family had begun to build a new house some distance from their old home, which they still inhabit, but construction was discontinued because an absent landowner showed up to dispute the boundary line -- according to him they were building on his land.

Additionally, the map does not include the eight or so abandoned or seasonally inhabited dwellings in Hatiheu, which belong to families primarily living in the neighboring valley of Anaho, in the capital town of Taiohae 3 hours

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drive away, or in Tahiti.[5] Some are occupied fairly regularly as weekend getaways. Others are totally dilapidated (a couple having never been completed to begin with), and their ownership is under dispute. These latter in particular appear to be used as crash pads and party sites for 'wandering' youth.

Of the inhabited 'homes' that are mapped, many should not be indicated by a single rectangle as most dwellings do not incorporate all of their living functions within a given set of walls. That is, most Hatiheuans designate at least some of the following to exterior patios, lean-tos, or houses: toilet facilities, shower and bath houses, cook houses, adjunct sleeping areas, and 'shops' (for the making of fishing lines and boats, sculpture and other tourist arts). The degree to which the few more Westernized homes have been closed in by walls and lockable doors and windows is an indication, on the one hand, of actual wealth as well as, attendant upon that wealth and lifestyle, a sense of vulnerability to theft.[6]

The inhabitants of these living spaces also varied over time and as a result of changing social relations, practices associated with education and employment, and exchanges

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based on labor, food, and sex. That is, even within the village, patterns of 'wandering' were ubiquitous in that both children and adults wandered by day and night from one structure to another for the purposes of eating, sleeping, and socializing, becoming more or less a part of other households for longer or shorter amounts of time. In effect, Hatiheuans did not treat their households as bounded, fixed, or nucleated entities, and part of their wandering was predicated on the vestigial extistence of extended family compounds.

First of all, compounds housing an extended family consisting of elderly parents, some of their married and unmarried children, and grandchildren are still in evidence throughout the archipelago. These compounds consist of several sleeping structures and more or less communal facilities for cooking, eating, working, and bathing. One such compound (#9, 10, and 11 on the map) in Hatiheu was composed of the grandparents, an unmarried daughter and her two sons, another daughter with her husband and two children (as well as the husband's mother), and a son with his wife and two sons. This, as well as several other more attenuated 'semi-compounds' to be found in Hatiheu, are

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indicated on the map by dotted lines encircling the households.

In addition to the continued existence of extended family compounds, the marriages on which nuclear families might be based tend to be very loose arrangements in the Marquesas. Despite their Catholicism, **'Enana** use the term ***marriage*** to refer to a number of forms of cohabitation. In fact, the lingo found in **'enana** seems more applicable to actual practice as men and women may **noho** 'rest' together for anywhere from several days to many years without civil or church legitimation. Usually several children are born before a couple finds the means to marry in the church (a purportedly much-desired act). Yet many couples dissolve before this wedded state is reached, and some divorce even after they marry in church although this is never official in the eyes of the church (divorcés who **noho** with others after a divorce are left in a marginal position vis-à-vis their belief system and their congregation as they are allowed to attend services but cannot take communion).

Normatively, households follow patrilineal and patrilocal patterns (i.e., the children take their father's name, and women move onto their husband's father's

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landholding). However, to highlight the frequency with which this norm is broken, I have marked with an X those households in which the man has moved into the home of the woman or the couple has built a home on the land of her father. I use X for 'external' because, given the patrilocal norm, the 'hold' these men have on their houses feels a bit tenuous. This is part of the general pattern by which those who originate from outside Hatiheu may be excluded socially and politically, even when they are valued for their labor.

Also, while it should be noted that women may not in fact be officially married to, nor have taken the name of the man they live with, in most cases the children bear the name of the man the mother was living with when the baby was born (in other words, in several cases, this is not the same as the man the mother is presently living with, nor is it necessarily that of the biological father). Sometimes, but not necessarily, 'adopted' children bear the name of their adopted parents.

Patriarchal marital norms (imposed in part by French law) are also contradicted by the old **pekio** forms in which households included one or more unrelated adult males who

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provided both labor and sexual services. This polyandrous model seems to have been retained, if in covert form, throughout the Marquesas. First of all, the sexual nature of the relationship is hidden, and secondly, many of the relationships are quite transitory.

Thus, in Hatiheu, the composition of any given dwelling varied sometimes from week to week as the unmarried men who attached themselves to a given home were allowed to remain, depending in part on their abilities to supply the family freezer with fish or meat. Also, some contributed financially by doing copra on the family's land (although I never fully investigated this, I suspect that the worker and the owner split the proceeds for the copra in some semi-formalized fashion). Their sexual activities (not always directed toward the female head of the family) were the subject of gossip and sometimes appeared to be the reason for their moving on. But while some of these habitation patterns became semi-permanent, unmarried men also spent a lot of time (from single nights to several weeks) visiting friends and family in other valleys, squatting in unfinished, deserted houses on other people's land, or living in lean-tos by the beach in underpopulated valleys.[3]

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I generally reserve the term 'wanderers' to refer to this category of post-school-age males who have taken up a lifestyle of wandering without a wife, children, or dwelling. However, 'wandering' in search of food, sex, and social interaction begins at puberty for most boys (Suggs 1966), and discussion of the attractions and dangers of the **va'anui** 'road' abound.

Similarly, young women could also be said to 'wander' into the homes of men (usually already with children) in need of their housekeeping, caregiving, and/or sexual services. Thus, in Hatiheu, three young women left their fathers' households to live with men while I was there. One simply crossed town to **noho** 'stay' with a father of three young children -- this relationship may eventually be consummated with a church wedding. However, two other young women moved in with **Hao'e** in Taiohae, which instigated a lot of gossip about what the families would receive by way of exchange for the women's services as housekeepers and sexual partners. One of the women was sent back to Hatiheu by the **Hao'e** after a couple of months (in fact, right after her two young children joined her in his house). The other woman spent the next several years going back and forth between

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the much older **Hao'e** she 'married' (I am unclear as to whether the bond was ever official) and her much younger **vahana** 'man, boyfriend, husband' living in Hatiheu (two children came of this wandering between the two).

This pattern of wandering from household to household is foreshadowed by the fact that children do not always remain in the households into which they were born. While undermined by a number of European forces, the practice of **hakai** 'adoption' (literally 'cause to eat') either by grandparents or others, more or less permanently, was still apparent in Hatiheu. At least five children were living in this way with their grandparents. In addition, I heard unconfirmed rumors of at least two other children who had been given up for adoption, one to a French family (both of these rumors were laced with reproach). One five-year-old daughter of a family with scant means had been given to live with one of the French-named families in town. However, this five-year-old apparently 'chose' to return to her biological mother and father for a few weeks during my residency in the valley, before returning once again to her adopted household for reasons I was never clear about (the word was that this adoption had not been formalized, and the

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mother expressed a lot of ambivalence about the arrangement).

Additionally, I heard of several of the grandmothers in town angling to adopt some new-born grandchild. Not only did these grandmothers themselves display no 'shame' in expressing clearly and poignantly their desire for a new baby, other villagers also discussed the fact that having a baby to care for might help stabilize these two particularly alcoholic women who were considered a bit **koe'a** 'crazy' for lack of such a focus. Indeed, one baby did appear for a while in the arms of one of them, but was reclaimed after several weeks. Another grandmother may have been having trouble acquiring another grandchild because, not long before my arrival, a three-year-old grandson left in her care had drowned.[3]

While such attempts to adopt by grandparents do sometimes end in success, adoption is not necessarily the end of a child's wanderings. For instance, in the Pahuatini family, the two-year-old Siki had been living with his grandparents since he was less than one, but after taping him there for some time, I realized that he spent a lot of time, sometimes sleeping over, at the house of his aunt

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Teresi and uncle Iku (who had been unable to have children of their own).

Also, instances of partial adoption are common. For instance, in the Hokaupoko-Teikikaine compound, the seven-year-old son was away much of the summer because he was staying with his grandparents in the next valley (and not long after I left, he went to live there more permanently -- this although the mother had claimed she did not want to **hakai** her children). Similarly, the four-year-old daughter from this family spent a lot of time next door at her grandmother's house.

By contrast, the two more Europeanized families (Teikivaeoho and Poihipapu) with whom I worked did not to my knowledge allow their children to spend even single nights away from home (except at the hospital or for very well-organized school trips). While I thought this may have been because all of their older children were daughters (by long-standing ideology daughters are kept in greater check), the mother from this family (Tapu) criticized a neighbor for letting her twelve-year-old son 'wander' in the road after dark, this being by Tapu's standards too young even for a boy.

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At the level of ideology, Noella (the mother from the Teikivaeoho family) claimed that she had learned from television that adoption inevitably leaves the children feeling sad. She discussed this in the course of explaining that her husband Mimi had been given to his grandparents and had not been treated very well. Evidence of the degree to which this ideology has been ingested by her children (over more traditional Polynesian beliefs concerning adoption) can be seen in the fact that her children were confused when they were first introduced to Mimi's 'parents' (i.e., his biological parents) as the children had understood his 'parents' (i.e., his grandparents) to be dead. According to Noella, once it was understood who these people actually were, the eldest daughter began and continues to be 'mean' to them for having given him up for adoption.[12]

More or less 'traditional' patterns of wandering have also been in some ways re-enforced by Western schooling and employment opportunities. As mentioned elsewhere, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, many children were taken out of their communities and put into schools run by nuns and priests. Even after the state took over the schooling of the population post-World War II,[13] many children only had

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access to education if they went to stay with friends or relatives in adjoining valleys.

At present all valleys with a population of at least 100, have a primary school, but a few families continue to send children away to the religious schools in the two larger towns on the island, even before they have finished what is available in their home valleys. Additionally, as was discussed earlier, many families have aspirations of sending their children on to one of the secondary schools in the three large towns, or even afterwards to those in Tahiti. Tuition costs for the state schools are not prohibitive, but families must arrange room and board for their children. This is usually managed by placing the child with kin-related households in the larger towns or in Tahiti.

Finally, opportunities for finding paid employment have until fairly recently usually entailed a form of 'wandering', either on board merchant boats or to Tahiti, Moruroa, or France, and have instigated a number of migration and settlement patterns which I cannot explore at length here. It is only worth mentioning with respect to the present study that a number of those who once left

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Hatiheu to study or work have since returned to stay, and this population of return migrants has had an interesting influence on village life. Additionally, other emigrants make more or less long-term and/or regular visits back to visit Hatiheu.

Thus, the annual school cycle of departure and return for vacation is not only laced with its own anxiety but also prefigures later decisions about employment and settlement -- where to live and what to do. The several-year period in which children and parents are arranging education and employment possibilities, making choices between coming home for good or staying out in the world, is a time of great tension and contradictory impulses, fraught by the ambivalent desires of children (to be home in Hatiheu where life is good and comfortable or out in the wide, exciting world) as well as of parents (their wish for their children's success in modern terms, countered by their desire to have them close by). The costs and uncertainties of transportation make all of this all the harder.

In short, Hatiheuans do not appear to be prone to long-term 'settlement' in the sense of a fixed affiliation with a particular locale, household, academic track, form of

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employment, class, or ethnolinguistic identity. Individuals use identification with a particular household and/or thread of lineage as a resource to be drawn upon for pragmatic purposes -- contextually variable and fluid -- rather than committing themselves to any sort of fixed allegiance. Additionally, family heads often transform the composition of households for both practical and affective reasons by the practices of **hakai** 'adoption' of children and the fostering of 'wandering' youth.

Generally speaking, this supports Kirkpatrick's (1983) understanding of **'Enana**'s tendency toward a flexible manifestation of their individuality -- i.e., as the actualization of unmarked agency within the fluctuating flow of 'living', rather than as the embodiment of an identity derived from some marked form of activity which then fixes one's identity for 'life' (the latter being the **hao'e** way as analyzed by both **'Enana** and many Western scholars).

For Kirkpatrick, the trajectory from being **hakai** 'fed' within a household to generating as a mature adult one's own household is the unmarked life cycle. The household is the one unmarked form of **'enana** organization, and domesticity is the normative mode of agency around which 'life' is

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pressumed to revolve. Nonetheless, 'wandering' is the unmarked activity of the immature, and this agentive identity may continue for a good portion of one's life.

However, when kinship and fosterage is not providing one with the needed means of support (economic or social), another form of relationship that may take precedence is that of **hoa** 'friendship'. Almost by definition, this relationship takes place between those from distinct households.

F. Friendship

Friendship is an important if unclear and changing relationship in the Marquesas. Traditionally, non-kin alliances were constructed and indexed via name-exchange -- i.e., the practice by which a relationship of mutual aid was forged (in giving each other their names, two persons also acquired each other's responsibilities, possessions, and kin relationships). However, **hoa** 'friends' no longer have such a simply defined relationship in which everything of mine becomes yours.

Most of my **hoa** discussed the issue of friendship with

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me, usually in the context of explaining how things have changed since the old days and of how friendships between **'Enana** and **Hao'e** differ from those among **'Enana**. An example of present-day Hatiheuans' metacommunicative problems concerning friendship was provided by the constant efforts of my 'best friend' Moi to be clear with me about what we were expecting to give and take from each other.

Moi kept a good account of the wine and beer I drank as that is what she sold out of her store, along with tourist crafts. She was willing to be paid for the time she put in helping me transcribe (as I had already set this up with my other assistants prior to requesting her aid). She allowed me to pay her for using her phone, and at the end of my stay she accepted a large gift of money which had been apportioned by my grant to office space rental.[12] But she never would accept money for food, even when it had cost her money (I ate at her house at least half the days I stayed in the village) although she would allow me to pay when we went to town and ate at a restaurant.

And all of this she wanted to discuss,[13] saying that she wanted everything to be **toitoi** 'straight' and clear between us. Throughout our negotiations, she impressed upon

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me the fact that this was by contrast with how most **'Enana** would create such relationships. Frequently, she referred to the fact that traditional notions of reciprocity and cooperation have become totally confused by the introduction of money and private property as these have created asymmetries of possession and resulted in patterns of hording, envy, and suspicion (apparently more and different than prior to the influx of monetary relations). As a consequence, she explained, real friendships between **'Enana** are a thing of the past, and she finds friendships with **Hao'e** work out better as things can be discussed and clarified.

As it turned out, these sentiments were much like those expressed by my other **hoa** who felt that inserting distance between themselves and their neighbors was the only way to keep relations relatively easy. Of course, most of my friendships and, therefore, my talk about friendship with them was inevitably influenced by my **hao'e** status and the fact that money was exchanged between us in the form of payments for their work. However, most of my **hoa** also multiply repaid me in more traditional ways, i.e., with food and hospitality. Whether this was out of a genuine sense of

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**ka'oha** 'concern' or out of anxiety over the appearance of a power imbalance between us was never entirely clear to me -- probably it was a mix.

Additionally, several of my female **hoa** engaged with me in a form of tête-à-tête talk for trying to work out our interpersonal problems in a way that was quite familiar to me but was apparently not the norm for them. For instance, two women told me things they said they only ever confided to their outsider 'friends' because only these could they trust not to shame them through gossip. Another woman said she could confide her deepest pain to no one; these issues -- her husband's beatings and her childlessness -- I knew about through gossip, but she never actually mentioned them to me.

These women also reported to me (i.e., gossiped with me about the fact) that close friendships between **vehine** (i.e., those based on emotional dyadic talk and usually formed while away at boarding school) were rarely maintained over long periods of time. A number of break-ups of such friendships had occurred in the recent past or were thought to be imminent. However, one close friendship between two of the mothers involved in my study was surviving all of the

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gossip to the contrary.

What I infer from my experience of these friendships is that 'traditionally' (that is, ideally) 'friendships' are meant to be long-lasting relationships involving the give and take of food, services, and talk. However, I would hypothesize that the intimacy of these friendships was disrupted not only by the introduction of money into the system but also by a shift in the cultural understanding of how discursive 'intimacy' is accomplished. In other words, money had complicated the exchange of goods and services in much the same way that new forms of 'talk' between friends had begun to transform the effects of 'talk' on friendships.

Traditionally, 'talk' between 'friends' was not supposed to be private (i.e., dyadic) or openly emotional (i.e., intimacy was not based on the sharing/exposing of **pe** 'bad, rotten' feelings with/to one another), nor did 'friends' discuss their difficulties with each other through direct referential discourse about the problems. Instead, 'friendship' was discursively forged via expressions of **ka'oha** and the exchange of gossip and light-hearted teasing. And strains and ruptures in the friendship were negotiated pragmatically (using less referentially transparent forms).

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By contrast, the **hao'e**-style of **ha'ahoa** 'making friends' was probably introduced through contacts with **Hao'e** and elaborated upon in school settings. New forms of 'intimate talk' were used to consolidate these friendships clearly in a way that excluded others. As a result, these new-fangled friendships now occupy a sort of liminal bubble and continue to be discouraged by teasing and gossiping.

I would further hypothesize that these discursive transformations in the construction and negotiation of friendship have contributed to a newly dichotomized conception of privacy -- i.e., the development of the notion that there is a private inside space to persons and relationships as opposed to the outside public space. Additionally, a new understanding about what can and should be hidden from those on the inside and outside has arisen out of a different conceptualization of how 'friendship' bonds forge the boundaries between the inside and the outside of persons and relationships. The pragmatic construction of these spaces and relationships is developed at more length in the next chapter.

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G. Age and gender

While the two psychosocial categories of age and gender prove to be somewhat fluid in both their definition and application in Hatiheu (as elsewhere in the Marquesas), they nonetheless form the bases on which a lot of characterizing and side-taking occurs. I provide here an extended discussion of both because they are of considerable interest to a language socialization study.

While **'Enana**'s present-day beliefs concerning age-grades do not follow the same contours as Western notions of developmental life stages, neither do these age-grades carry the same set of behavioral expectations or responsibilities as were once attached to the indigenous categories of **taure'are'a** 'youth' and **ko'oua** 'elder' (Kirkpatrick 1983, 1985c, 1987).

Pre-contact, **taure'are'a** (ranging in age from puberty into their twenties) were expected to be 'wanderers' -- sexually promiscuous, domestically unsettled, and at play. However, some of this energy was channeled into public performance and the learning of ancient lore from their **ko'oua** 'elders'. Thus, elders were respected by youth, as

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was the wisdom they had to impart as well as the society they regulated.

At present, when Hatiheuans speak of ***les jeunes*** 'young people', this group still appears to include everyone from early adolescents into young parenthood. Regularly, sports events, church services, and artisanal and musical groups are organized for or composed of ***les jeunes*** -- i.e., youthful energy is still directed via community education and public activity. But while the community rests its hopes for the future on the cultivation of ***les jeunes***, the youth are also accused of a host of social degeneracies -- a predilection toward theft and violence, alcohol and drugs, sexual depravity, general carousing, and the use of **sarapia**. In other words, at the official level, the wild 'wanderings' of the **taure'are'a** are no longer considered acceptable, and yet they are still practiced and enjoy some covert ideological support.[14]

On the other hand, **ko'oua/*les vieux*** 'the elderly' are no longer held in high regard for their knowledge of the cosmos, their political authority, or their practical expertise in making a living, as most of this now depends on worldly experiences, technological know-how, and linguistic

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competencies the elderly do not possess. For instance, fluency in ***français*** is very rare among persons over fifty. At best, ***les vieux*** are considered repositories of **kakiu** wisdom and skills (e.g., carving, dancing, and story-telling), but at worst they are despised as ignorant half-savages (Kirkpatrick 1985a).

Two contrastive age categories of modern significance are **toiki/*enfants*** 'children' and ***parents*** 'parents.' The former coincide approximately with primary school-aged children (two to fourteen years of age) and the latter would, one assumes, be their parents. However, this European role makes only a tentative claim in Hatiheu to the stance of maturity and authority it has in the West.

As Kirkpatrick discusses at some length, for **'Enana** the 'mature adult' is an unmarked category for which there is no easy label -- more **mau** 'firm' and **toitoi** 'straight' than the **taure'are'a** but not yet **ko'oua**, many adults spend most of their lives struggling to prove their domestic peacefulness, while continually sliding back into 'wandering', before ending up biologically **ko'oua** (1983:147). Only somewhat recently the category of ***parents*** has been created out of French ideals concerning the role of parents as guardians of

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their children's health, education, and well-being; and this role is institutionalized, for instance, by the ***Association des Parents d'Elèves***. Thus, although the category exists, public opinion still hampers most parents in Hatiheu from fully and effectively imagining their way into this identity for themselves. That is, most seem to be on the defensive as to whether they are successfully fulfilling the 'maturity' requirements of the role.

Gender is another salient psychosocial category that demonstrates a syncretic mix of pre-colonial notions and those imposed by French Catholics. However, the roles and status of **vehine** 'women' and **vahana** 'men' in **'enana** society today are not inflexibly fixed anymore than they were in aboriginal times.

While the **tapu** system which once restricted the movements and consumption patterns of **vehine** has been largely eradicated, certain similarities between past and present have been retained. Although aboriginally women's movements were presumably restricted by the fear of supernatural powers inherent in the **tapu**, it was clearly also fear of men's violence that provided the effective constraint: women who disobeyed a **tapu** might be killed. In

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more recent times it has been fear of rape that has kept women indoors at night. Stories of the olden days when women did not go out after six alone on a village road still abound as they did twenty-five years ago when Kirkpatrick was there or twenty years before that when Suggs did his work. Indeed, I rarely saw any but men out when I wandered after dusk.[15]

A related point is that the mythology concerning **vehine ha'e** 'wild women', shape-shifting seductresses who steal men away from normal human relationships and deprive them of human offspring, persists. One man in Hatiheu was said to be afraid of having sex with his wife because he always saw a **vehine ha'e** in her stead (this woman had, nonetheless, conceived six children by some means). In a sense, this belief appears to be retained as an inversion or rationalization of male dominance in the political-economic realm through its representation of male powerlessness and fear vis-à-vis women in the realm of biological reproduction (see Kardiner 1939 for a more Freudian interpretation).

Ideology concerning the present-day gender division of labor is largely an imposition of Christian teachings concerning the duties appropriate to women and men within

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the nuclear family. Thus, **vehine** have come to be primarily associated with the domestic sphere: washing clothes and beautifying the house, caring for children and tending the garden (though not while menstruating -- a vestige of past **tapu**), and visiting each other at home to gossip. By contrast, **vahana** are expected to 'wander', ideally in fruitful ways: inland to work in the copra groves, out to sea to fish at night, up on the high ridges to hunt goat, pig, or wild cattle, or across the ocean to work in Moruroa or Tahiti. However, to some degree, it is accepted that this 'wandering' may also take less 'constructive' forms, i.e., going out on the **va'anui** 'road' in the night to drink and find companionship or sex elsewhere than within their homes.

Nonetheless, even among the least privileged the actual division of labor belies the ideology: women do sometimes fish (if rarely in boats, another **tapu** relic), hunt, and do copra. Additionally, they 'wander' (at least the women of Hatiheu did) in many of the ways men do -- i.e., they drink, have extramarital sex, and voyage to Tahiti and beyond, both to work and visit. On the other hand, men too do a lot of work in and around the house -- cooking and caring for small

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children quite extensively.

Another aspect of the aboriginal situation that is mirrored by present-day structures and practices is the way in which gender inequalities intersected political-economic hierarchies such that women of the highest rank had access to the role of **tau'a** 'shaman'. Similarly, for over a century, women from elite families have had the opportunity to become nuns as a result of their education at the ***Ecole des Soeurs*** in Hiva Oa. Also, as women of chiefly lineages once enjoyed a certain kind of power, so do educated women from elite families now have access to a variety of high-paying jobs. In fact, overall women have come to enjoy almost as much access to wage labor as have men, but of a different kind. Men are more often engaged in manual labor for which no formal education is needed whereas women tend to be employed as teachers or nurses or in low-level administrative posts requiring literacy skills (there are also a fair number of male teachers).

Unlike Thomas and Kirkpatrick who were there fifteen and twenty-five years ago respectively, I did not find that women were leaving their paid jobs for maternal duties (Martini and Kirkpatrick 1981). One factor is that the

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French educational system has changed in recent years such that children can now be sent to the state-paid ***Ecole maternelle*** by the age of two, thus freeing women to work. Additionally, the Polynesian pattern of older children acting as caregivers for younger children has been sustained although somewhat transformed by the time constraints imposed by the French educational system. Women are also frequently aided by grandparents, a factor resulting from other maintained cultural forms: the traditional extended family and adoption.

But perhaps the most dramatic change is that young women are tending now to have fewer children than did the last few generations who produced ten or more children with some regularity as a result of better health care, Catholic proscriptions against contraceptives, and financial support provided by the government for additional children. By contrast, women now assiduously attend health workers' seminars on contraception, claim that they have their own traditional methods for avoiding conception, say that even the priests are in disagreement on the topic of contraception, and, as proof, many young women have succeeded in stopping after only two children, while others

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appear ready to end after six or seven. However, they also admit that the monthly state stipend for each child is an incentive to go on having more.

Men's and women's interactional styles also reflect and implement gender differentiation in the Marquesas. First of all, a history of differential access to education, begun in the nineteenth century by the ***Ecole des Soeurs*** in Hiva 'Oa, has meant that, for over a hundred years, girls have been corralled and schooled more thoroughly in ***français*** and ***politesse***. This has led to a symbolic association of women with ***français*** such that even women who have had more limited schooling may attempt to speak ***français*** as an index of status and cultivation. Thus, especially among older women, this usage occurs, even if only in token fashion or as part of a simplified caregiver register.

However, in Hatiheu, the majority of women under 40 have not only completed primary school but also attended at least a year or two at the ***Ecole des Soeurs*** where they were immersed in ***français*** and were punished for speaking **'enana** even in the yard. As a consequence, they use a good deal of fairly fluent ***français*** in their daily lives. Additionally, it is from this generation of nun-educated speakers of

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***français*** that the three female primary school teachers teaching in Hatiheu during my stay were drawn.

By contrast, only in the last 50 years have men had any chance to acquire much education in ***français***. A small segment of elite men -- the present 40- to 50-year-old age-set who are mayors, teachers, etc. -- have had some secondary education and tend to be quite eloquent in both languages. However, all but one of the men over thirty in Hatiheu had completed no more than a primary education -- sometimes as few as four years -- all in village schools, and thus had a more minimal command of ***français***. As a result, identity as a **vahana** and solidarity among **vahana** is marked by extensive use of **'enana** (as well as **sarapia**), which is acknowledged even by the elite men, who say they feel pressure to perform in **'enana** at those times when they hang out with other men outside of official contexts.

Educational trends have changed markedly over the last generation such that now a more equal number of men and women under 30 have had access to public or private secondary education, and thus all are relatively fluent in ***français***. Nonetheless, the symbolic association between **vehine** and ***français*** and between **vahana** and **'enana** lingers.

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Thus, by stark contrast with their eighteenth-century reputation for being loose and lascivious, present-day **vehine** project to the outside world an image of demure, Christian propriety. That is, to **Hao'e** they are polite, hospitable, and speak ***français*** in order both to index their civilized status and/or to be inclusive of the foreigner. However, among themselves, over bingo at the village meeting house or in each other's kitchens, they use **'enana** to discuss the **tekao hou** 'new talk' or news, sometimes creating the stories, sometimes merely elaborating on what they have heard, avoiding little and exploring sexual topics both explicitly and through innuendo. It also appears that women have traditionally used their greater competence in ***français*** (as well as **menike** 'English' more recently) to attempt some leveling of power differences between themselves and their **vahana**. That is, not unlike lower-middle-class women elsewhere in the world, the **vehine** of Hatiheu seem to have bought the ideology that speaking the dominant code well may bring them some degree of power (Labov 1972a, Trudgill 1983).

Many **vahana**, by contrast, present an outward image, either regularly (as immature 'youth') or at least

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intermittently (as they mature), of irresponsibility, impropriety, a kind of pseudo-savagery intended for shock value. Though no longer killing and eating their neighbors, they enjoy references to this cannibal past, take pride in their prowess with guns and machetes in hunting pigs, goats, and 'wild' steer, and engage in aggressive behaviors while drinking as if to reinvent their warrior spirit and retaliate for their colonized status in this way. They engage in leering laughter that leads to (usually harmless) fist-fights and illicit sex or at least sexual innuendo.

Even when not drinking, their interactive style, which they refer to as **keu** 'play', consists of teasing, joking, and veiled insults. They use **'enana** and **tahiti** to exclude and mock foreigners and other 'outsiders' of the moment. While they laughingly confess to speaking **sarapia** and refer to it as a degenerate, mixed-up code lacking a lot of the vocabulary they remember their grandparents used, they also express pride in their ability to compete at generating expressions (puns, metaphors, and other figures of speech) that will be out on the edge of anyone else's comprehension, i.e., their individualized argot is meant to leave all but their insider buddies in the dust. With this interactional

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style, men signal and construct their **vahana** (both male and **'Enana**) identity. Not all men behave in this way, even among the uneducated, but those who do contribute heavily to the local notion of the **po'i po ke'eke'e** 'unenlightened savages', being the image that I refer to as the 'wanderers'.

Finally, the existence and expression of homosexuality and transvestism in the Marquesas offers further information about gender as a psychosocial category. Most of my data on this score are anecdotal, but a few tidbits bear saying. On the one hand, there is clearly a difference between the traditional category of the **mahu** -- the third gender found throughout much of Polynesia -- and the **raerae** -- now found in French Polynesia. For one thing, I never heard the former term used whereas **raerae** was frequently used with extensional meanings ranging from neutral 'gay' to derogatory 'faggot'. In other words, the conceptualization of **raerae** identity seemed to reflect a lot of Western ideological input regarding homosexuality, and those who identified as **raerae** appeared to be orienting themselves toward an international gay community, both in terms of self-commodification for the sex trade in Tahiti and in

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modes of semiotic self-identification.

However, in the Marquesas, one still finds some interesting slippage between homosexual activity and cross-gender identification. A number of biological men and women dress and act like Polynesian persons of the other gender. **Raerae** wear **pareu** and long hair, keep house, and play bingo; by contrast, ***garçons manqués*** 'tomboys' wear only T-shirts and pants, keep their hair short, and regularly do copra and hunting. However, cross-gender identification does not always correlate with exclusively homosexual activity. For instance, a number of middle-aged **raerae** (spoken of as such) have apparently fathered children and/or cohabited with female wives. Similarly, there is a fair amount of gossip about men (and some, though less, about women) who engage regularly in homosexual activity without necessarily identifying as homosexual.

Moreover, young children's gender identification is a subject of some interest and/or concern, with aspects of behavior, dress, and speech patterns being issues of inspection and discussion. This is made possible by the fact that **raerae** and ***garçons manqués*** tend to exaggerate normative characteristics found in the behavior of

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mainstream **vehine** and **vahana**. For instance, **raerae** frequently speak a hypercorrect variety of ***français***.

H. Ethnicity

The division that permeates all other 'sides' in Hatiheu -- from political-economic to psychosocial -- is that between **Hao'e** and **'Enana**. This split is underwritten by a rhetorical vocabulary, partially expressed in both languages, which can be summed up in the following ethnoparadigm:

| | |
|---|---|
| **po ke'eke'e** = 'black night' | **aoma'ama** = 'bright world' |
| **po'i po ke'eke'e** | **po'i ma'ama** |
| 'benighted people' | 'enlightened people' |
| **koekoe po ke'eke'e** = | **koekoe ma'ama** = |
| 'benighted/ignorant character' | 'enlightened character' |
| ***fermé*** = 'closed' | ***ouvert*** = 'open' |
| ***sauvage*** = 'savage' | ***civilisé*** = 'civilized' |
| **pe/*pourri*** = 'bad, spoiled, soft' | **kako/*supple*** = 'elastic' |
| **ha'ape/*gâter*** = 'spoil (a child)' | **hakako/*instruire*** = 'teach' |
| **kakiu** = | |
| 'old, backwards' | 'traditional, authentic' |

This dichotomy (something similar to it is found throughout the Christianized Pacific) separates night/black/ignorance/savagery from day/light/educated/civilization and postulates the necessity of working and learning one's way out of the former into the latter. As

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such, it is clearly influenced by Catholic teleology concerning sin and salvation and Western hierarchies of progress, from savagery to civilization and from blinkered ignorance to educated open-mindedness. However, the paradigm also manifests elements from pre-European traditions.

First, notions of benighted and enlightened characters are transformations on traditional **'enana** beliefs concerning the threat of darkness -- night, womb, death -- by contrast with the bright world of day in which we live free from the evil wrought by sorcerers (as discussed in Chapter IV).

Secondly, Western Catholic notions about spoiling or educating a child into the proper understanding of good and bad are translated into breadfruit-centric notions to do with **hakako** 'teaching' (a term composed of **ha('a)** 'make' and **kako** 'elastic'). The latter descriptor is used for good **popo'i**, a dish made of mashed fresh and fermented breadfruit, which is highly valued in **'enana** cuisine. **Hakako** 'teaching, making elastic' contrasts with **ha'ape** 'spoiling' -- more literally **ha'a** 'making' someone **pe** 'bad' or 'soft' like rotten breadfruit.[16]

**'Enana** (whether **ma'ama** or **po ke'eke'e**[17]) are quick to

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engage in judgmental discourse (at least in speaking with **Hao'e**) about how **'Enana** are weighted down by their past savagery, ignorance, and benighted status much as missionaries a century ago must have done. There was also talk about who continued to be **po ke'eke'e** or ***fermé***, both individuals and whole valleys, by contrast with those individuals and valleys that were 'advancing' -- educationally, economically, and socially.

However, one word that cannot be easily placed on one side of the dichotomy or the other is **kakiu**. Once used to mean 'ancient' or 'old' like dried-up coconuts[13] (Dordillon 1931:206), the word is presently also applied to people and ways of life and speaking that are now considered 'backward' and 'savage'. Although resurrected by the cultural revival movement as a descriptor of knowledge, practices, and people which are considered authentically traditional (as discussed in Chapter IV), the word retains its potential for negative connotation. Thus, people, things, behaviors, ideas, and words can be described as **kakiu**, sometimes as a compliment and sometimes not, depending on both the particular referent and the context. The people so characterized are sometimes considered great resources for their knowledge of ancient

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ways and words (i.e., **tuhuka**) and sometimes considered almost crippled by their lack of ***français*** and other civilized attributes.

For example, one man in Hatiheu expressed concern over being called **kakiu**, saying that he was not respected for what he knew of the past. And clearly he was stigmatized for living in a half-built 'native' shack, reached only by a footpath and carved out of the jungle at the far edge of the land given by the church to its parishioners -- i.e., both **uka** 'high up' and **uta** 'deep in' where the wild animals and **nono** 'biting flies' live. The **haka'iki** explained to me that though it was true he had knowledge, he was unable to articulate what he knew, was unable to teach it. As such he fell into the dark side of their split consciousness concerning what is **kakiu** -- i.e., savage, uncivilized, inarticulate, embarrassing.

The overall tensions represented by the use of the term **kakiu** are central to the contradictions that have so far stymied some of the cultural revival movement's efforts. That is, can one be both **kakiu** and ***civilisé***? Is it possible to integrate these two stances and forge a new/old identity? Or do **'Enana** feel doomed to either fall back into savagery

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or become **Ferani** 'French'?

By way of summarizing this section, I want to emphasize that my portrayal of the ways in which **'Enana** take sides in Hatiheu -- politically, economically, religiously, associationally, domestically, psychosocially, and ethnically -- markedly resembles other researchers' understanding to date of **'Enana** social formations and conceptualizations. That is, most previous analysts of **'Enana** society have been fascinated by the fluidity of **'enana** categories both past and present, from political-economic to psychosocial.

Thus, Thomas (1990), analyzes the historical effects of shifting political alliances and the unfixed nature of traditional gender and class categories. Dening, who is fascinated by symbolic activities such as name-exchange and **tapu**, writes:

> Who Enata were was fragile and particular, easily changed, shifting with the relationships against which they established their definitions. Union -- their comings together -- and category -- the ways in which they saw themselves -- seemed easily dissolved. Associations were loosened by their very multiplicity. (1980:50)

And as Kirkpatrick (1983) takes some pains to explain,

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the **'enana** notion of personhood continues to differ from Western individualism in being particularistic yet contextually changeable. For **'Enana**, individuals exist as discrete persons (unidentifiable at some level with others and non-unifiable into any hierarchical social unit), and yet their identities undergo transformations throughout the life cycle due to the agency of others.

As I elaborate upon in the next chapter, the concept of **kako** 'elasticity' is key to **'Enana**'s understanding of self and universe. This fluidity of social structural affiliation and psychosocial identification (i.e., the flexible ways in which they construct and index their **keke** 'sides') is realized by and articulated through their everyday engagement in a variety of affect-laden communicative activities. That is, **'Enana** use speech acts, genres, and codes as salient markers and media of ongoing differentiation and transformation, processes of 'side'-negotiation that are almost never free of emotional connotation.

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## Notes

1. Tense throughout the dissertation has posed a problem -- as I think it must for any ethnographer (i.e., 'writer' about human life) who ricochets between describing a lived experiential past and analyzing an imagined ethnographic present. While I want to make generalizations in the present tense (believing that I have my finger on the pulse of something true about **'Enana** of this era), I am also attached to providing narrative detail in the past tense, especially as much of this happened at least seven years ago now. Thus, I attempt to glide between tenses and hope that the seams are not too disruptive to the reader.

2. See Kirkpatrick's analysis of the difficulties of political 'unity' on the island of Ua Pou in the mid-seventies (1981a).

3. Upon returning to the Marquesas in 2000, I found that much of the long-standing investment in coconut groves for copra was being replaced by the cultivation and collection of **noni** fruit (once considered a fast-growing weed tree useful only for the production of indigenous medicines). Juice from the fruit is pressed in the village and stored in large, blue, plastic barrels for sale to the cargo boats. This trade has been orchestrated by Mormons who are marketing the juice as one more New Age panacea in the United States. And in only seven years, it has already heavily restructured the work habits of **'Enana** in many villages as **noni** collection is far less labor-intensive than copra, allowing for workers' increased involvement in other subsistence and/or money-making activities. However, it also provides a few individuals with an opportunity for capitalizing on the process of extracting the juice. For instance, in Hatiheu Yvonne had set herself up as the one central processing station in town, and others were already complaining about the increased access to power and money this allowed her.

4. Appendix 3 provides a breakdown of the sorts of employment engaged in by the inhabitants. Many adults had their fingers in a lot of pots so these figures do not add up to match the total adult population.

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5. A fair number of individuals and families claim to be from Hatiheu, still own land there as well as perhaps some sort of dwelling on the land, and yet no longer live there on a regular basis. In addition, a large number of people may appear to be living there stably for a number of months and then disappear for long stretches of time. While some of these people have kin relations in the valley, they are referred to using 'outsider' labels (e.g., **Hao'e**, **Kira** 'Chinese', and Tahitians) based on their racial origins, names, or phenotypic characteristics.

6. For instance, my friend Moi (in house #5) left her house and store empty for periods of time while she traveled because she only intermittently had trustworthy cohabitants. As a result, most of her domestic activities were enclosed by walls, doors, and windows, and she spent time and energy trying to figure out how to secure these even when she was sleeping at home. By contrast, most **Hao'e** in Taiohae leave large recreational porch spaces unlocked but retain fully lockable interiors where their valuables are stored.

7. Two of the families in my study (Hokaupoko-Teikikaine and Pahuatini) were instances of semi-compounds in which a set of grandparents lived in a home next door to a married child with children. Although they had separate facilities for cooking and bathing, these two households were enmeshed through patterns of caregiving and food exchange. One other semi-compound consisted of a daughter's family (#18) and her parents (#17) in two dwellings separated by a road and several hundred yards. Another living situation which mirrored this traditional arrangement to some degree was that of two brothers and their separate families living next door to each other (#12 and 13). There also existed in the valley one extended family (consisting of an older couple and three children, including a daughter and her husband and baby) living under a single roof. However, they had begun to build a separate residence for the young family up behind the main home by the time I was leaving.

8. Only one unmarried and childless man in town had his own 'house' -- what he considered a 'traditional' dwelling of floor planks laid out on coconut trunk stilts with a tin roof supported by 2 X 4's. In fact, it was not at all like pre-European sleeping quarters, but may well have been the

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style of his childhood, prior to the appearance of concrete block houses with sliding glass doors.

9. The story that this child had been molested and killed by an older boy -- the one also apparently responsible for all of the arson in town -- contributed to my conclusion that this village had been in a state of social upheaval and disarray for a while prior to my arrival. In other words, some of the extreme emotional and social dis-ease I sensed (and analyze at more length in the next chapter) may not have been entirely the status quo for this village, but the consequence of some unusual events and idiosyncratic personalities.

10. Upon my return last year, I happened to hear from several new sources that adoption is disapproved by children for reasons other than its non-Catholic derivation. The concensus was that grandparents adopt children for their labor and may be quite abusive in extracting work -- for example, one man had as a child been forced to do copra at gunpoint by his grandfather. However, this was not the story I collected from grandmothers during my fieldwork, nor was it the kind of behavior I observed in Hatiheu. Adopted children were expected to contribute their labor to the household in ways comparable to all other children of a certain age and gender.

11. The state made a stab at taking over schooling at the turn-of-the-century period when church and state were first officially separated in France. However, church-run schools were reinstated by the 1920s (Peltzer 1999).

12. This seemed officially justifiable due to the fact that I frequently used her house as a sort of office for meeting with informants, writing my notes, and discussing with her my latest hypotheses. In fact, my husband located this sense of her house when he coined the term: "Moi Central" and used it, for instance, when inquiring as to where I'd been for the last indefinite, unquantifiable period of time: "You've been hanging out at Moi Central?"

13. This I found very comforting as my initiation into **'enana** economic relations had been so trying -- never knowing when to pay excruciatingly high tourist prices for

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what I needed and when to accept food, lodging, and transportation as Polynesian hospitality -- proof either of my adoption as fictive kin or of some ineffable barter system I was sure I would never figure out.

14. Most of these complaints are made *soto voce* as villagers tried to keep these problems out of the hands of the French judicial system, attempting instead to redirect their lost youth themselves via activities organized by the church and other associations.

15. I continued to do this despite repeated hints to desist. Of course, the fact that I was never harmed proves nothing given my very different status in the town.

16. That language is explicitly **hakako** 'taught' provides further evidence for my breadfruit-language parallel. I return to issues of 'teaching elasticity' v. 'spoiling' or 'making bad' in the next chapter.

17. The elision possible between **po ke'eke'e** 'black night' and **po'i ke'eke'e** 'black people' led to some confusion on my part when people would joke about dark skin at their own or others' expense. The notion that light skin is preferable apparently predates the arrival of Europeans as skin-lightening practices were already practiced by the elite at the time of contact. However, this ideology has clearly been re-enforced by contact with Europeans as is evidenced both by present-day racist attitudes toward Africans, African-Americans, and Afro-Caribbeans as well as self-critique when comparing themselves to pale-skinned **Hao'e**. My analysis of the elision possible between these two terms is then that I did not mishear the contrast so much as I correctly interpreted a punning conflation of skin color chauvinism with the social evolutionary hierarchies of Christianity -- as is also, of course, common in the European ideology imposed in these islands.

One other resonant aspect of this term is that some of the alleged savagery of pre-European times was based on sexuality, and those who continue to partake in officially disapproved sexual behavior tend to do so in the 'dark' of the night (thanks to David Addison for helping me think through this one).

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18. Note again this metaphoric spread from tree products to culture/language.

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A

# THE EMERGENCE OF DIALOGIC IDENTITIES:

# TRANSFORMING HETEROGLOSSIA IN THE MARQUESAS, F.P.

by

Kathleen C. Riley

VOLUME II

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2001

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# Chapter VI

## Taking Sides:

## An Affect-Laden, Indexical Process

The translinguistic system operating within a given communicative economy is not only composed of linguistic codes -- their contrastive connotations and practical efficacy -- but also a rich repertoire of psychosocial communicative practices. These communicative resources are made possible by a range of metapragmatic ideologies and are used to index and negotiate identity and relationship, frequently via processes that are emotionally marked.

In Hatiheu, social life is mediated by discourse strategies ranging from name-exchanges to phatic forms of **ka'oha** 'welcome', from verbal **keu** 'play' to religious **himene** 'songs', and from standard ***français*** to 'mixed-up' **sarapia**. Thus, Hatiheuans use codes and their connotations in context-sensitive and affect-laden ways to mark the boundaries between 'sides', articulate relationships and affiliations within and across these boundaries, and flexibly formulate their own and others' identities in terms

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of these boundaries.

Discursive practices vary with the interactive context. For instance, a somewhat more formal style is generally reserved for political meetings, school rooms, and church forums (e.g., prayer groups, church services, pilgrimages, and catechism classes). Additionally, the music and dance performances organized for tourists and festivals involve some set performances and scripted oratory. However, the stylistics marking these contexts as 'formal' do not appear to be pragmatically well-defined nor available for metalinguistic commentary (by contrast, for instance, with the 'good' and 'bad' speech styles found in Samoa [Duranti 1994]). Even the preferential use of ***français*** to mark formal contexts is presently undergoing transformation.[1]

Interestingly, most formal events and the communicative acts (songs, speeches, prayers, etc.) associated with them appear to be available for constant revisioning by participants at various levels of the social hierarchy. For instance, small groups of otherwise unaffiliated individuals come together to remember, recreate, or invent new words to songs for upcoming festivals. However, the production and transformation of these more formal genres is touched on

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only lightly in this dissertation. By contrast, the informal genres that pervade all sorts of settings are addressed in detail.

First of all, even so-called 'formal' meetings (i.e., those convened by the mayor, teachers, health workers, or association heads) involve a mixture of both formal speeches and discussion, as well as gossiping, joking, and insulting in the social, spatial, or temporal interstices. At present, much of this talk may still be marked as informal by the fact that it takes place in **'enana** or **sarapia** (or, if Tahitians are present, some **tahiti**).

However, lots of more obviously informal settings for talk abound. These are organized around work or recreation; however, these two functions are rarely kept distinct in the Marquesas. That is, work activities generally involve a lot of recreational talk. Similarly, recreational activities are sometimes orchestrated as complex activities requiring a good deal of hard work and business-like talk.

The term *work* tends to encompass both paid and unpaid forms of production and maintenance in a number of contexts -- whether around the house (from sweeping and washing clothes to preparing food and building a boat) or around the

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village (from hacking back the brush along the road to raising a new church meeting house). Copra production and hunting tend to take place **uta**, i.e., up and inland away from the valley mouths. Fishing and shellfishing take place at the mouths of the rivers, along the coasts, or out in boats in the bay or open ocean.

Recreational activities include festivals, bingo games, and sports such as volleyball and soccer, all of which take place at or around the churchyard, the school canteen, or the mayor's restaurant. Socializing happens before and after church, at prayer meetings, and at any meal or **koika** 'party' (involving drinking, singing, and dancing). All of these can happen at individual homes or in more public spaces including not only the church and school, but also the two stores and the post office.

Both formal and informal activities may be organized ritualistically in heterogeneous and syncretic ways, running the gamut from civilized to savage, Catholic to **kakiu**. On the one hand, mass at church, pilgrimages, prayer meetings, catechism classes, celebrations of Holy days (e.g., All Souls' Day, Lent, and Ascension), weddings, and baptisms, have integrated many symbols and practices of **kakiu** culture

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from **himene** 'song' and **haka** 'dance' (set to drums and deep-throated chants) to **tiki**-style pulpits and Polynesian flower arrangements. On the other hand, **koika** 'parties' include both traditional Tahitian forms of **ori** 'dance' (e.g., the **tamure**) and Western dance styles (e.g., the two-step), both performed to a pan-Pacific form of musical group that may include guitar, ukulele, washtub bass, spoons, and singing (see Moulin 1991 for an analysis of these new, old, and syncretic music and dance forms).

While some activities are purposely constructed to index members' affiliation to particular 'sides', both these and other communal activities provide liminal contexts in which individuals interact pragmatically across the presumed boundaries of their sides. To be discussed in this chapter are a range of psychosocial discursive forms and practices used in everyday interactions to signal fluctuations within this sociopersonal space.

First of all, names, terms of address, and other deictics are important sociopersonal indices used to reference psychosocial and ethnolinguistic identity and relationship between interlocutors and subjects. Secondly, a variety of phatic routines are expressive of degree of

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relationship, ranging from intimate concern to distanced or even hostile awareness. Third, communicative genres are used to negotiate affect and relationship engendering an emotional feedback loop that serves to mark insider/outsider status in a number of ways. Finally, varying linguistic codes and their metapragmatic connotations are used throughout these interactions to negotiate ethnolinguistic identity and rhetorical stance. All of these -- **ikoa** 'names', phatic formulae, affect-laden genres, and linguistic codes -- illustrate the synthetic convergence of colonial forms and ideologies with indigenous practices and understandings.

A. **Ikoa**: Names and forms of address

All **'Enana** are required by French law to have a 'French' first name as well as a family name. While some family names are European (due to the marriage practices of colonial men), the majority derive from **'enana**. Most of these are fairly long and some seem to be phrases with possible referential interpretations.

In addition to these names, most **'Enana** also have an

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**ikoa**, i.e., a first name in **'enana**. Like the family name, these are long, phrase-like, and to some degree referential (i.e., sometimes multivalent and sometimes only vaguely valent, particularly those that are archaic). Traditionally the **ikoa** name is 'given' by a grandparent with whom that grandchild is supposed to have a privileged relationship. This then works as a domestic example of the larger ritual tradition of forging alliances between individuals, families, and tribes by exchanging names.

In principle (that is, according to self-report), these first names are kept situationally separate: the French name is used when speaking ***français*** in French settings whereas the **ikoa** is used when speaking **'enana** in **'enana** settings. However, this along with all functional rules of code use (see below) is in transition. A variety of names are used for children in the home, corresponding only to some degree with the language being spoken. By contrast, their French names are used quite consistently at school and when in interaction with foreigners, especially as most of this is performed in ***français***.[1]

One of my assistants discussed this 'public' usage of French names as a consequence of the need to identify

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persons more precisely. First of all, she explained that, as **'enana** names are always shortened for use, a very few **ikoa** are recycled in all families, resulting in an abundance of Teikis and Tehinas in any village. Thus, she claimed that the use of the **ikoa** outside the home contributes to confusion in public discourse, even allowing the speaker to 'hide' the identity of the person being discussed or addressed.

In addition, nicknames are regularly doled out to individuals throughout their lives. Some of these are transient or context-specific whereas certain ones may become the primary monikers by which persons are known. These nicknames are frequently of a teasing nature in that they note some kind of physical flaw or other unsavory attribute of the nicknamed individual.[3]

**'Enana** also engage in Catholic naming rituals at both baptism and confirmation. The French name is officially 'given' at baptism (sometimes not until the child is two years old although the name was already put on the books at birth in the hospital), and an additional French Catholic name is chosen at confirmation. Sometimes this name (or a MQ'd version of it) becomes the preferred handle for the

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child in daily life.

More than half of the children in the study were regularly referred to in the home by shortened versions of their **'enana** names (for transcriptions of the children's full names, see the family trees provided in Appendix 6). However, even in the home, these children were sometimes called by their French names. Other children were rarely if ever called by their **'enana** names, but by their nicknames many of which were MQ'd versions of their French names (e.g., Judicael was transformed to Tikare). The un-MQ'd French names were primarily reserved for speaking ***français*** whereas both **'enana** names and the MQ'd versions of French names could be incorporated into discourse in either code.

In Appendix 7, I list all of the names commonly used for the children at home. However, I also include in parentheses those French names that were rarely used by family members within the home as these were nonetheless used when speaking to me for at least the first half of the year I was there.[4]

As with the language systems themselves, the labeling of the names as ***français*** or **'enana** may well raise some eyebrows. For instance, in the Poihipapu family, one child

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was universally called Vaite, which her mother claimed was a French name, but the other children wondered as I did about its Frenchness (see example #6 for a transcribed discussion of this issue). And, of course, names like Lorenzo, Leticia, and Ludovica are not of precisely French origin. On the other hand, Maria was considered an **'enana** name (despite or perhaps because of its deep association with Catholicism and clearly adopted in its Latin form).

Not included in Appendix 7 are the age-and-gender labels used to address children in all of the families (e.g., **Pepe** or ***Bébé*** 'baby', **Poiti** 'little boy', and **Paho'e** 'little girl'). One or more of these could be used in address or reference to one or more children within a family at any given instant. For instance, a two-year-old boy might be ***Bébé*** one minute and **Poiti** the next. The mother of the Poihipapu family tended to call all of her children, even her older girls, **Pepe** sometimes (which irritated them, she told me). The only boy in the Teikivaeoho family (three to four years old during the study) was often called **Poiti**, and the four and five-year-old girls in two other families were frequently **Paho'e**.

Terms for biological parents and grandparents fluctuate

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somewhat between **'enana** and ***français***. Parents are universally referred to as **Mama** and **Papa** (i.e., the MQ'd version of ***Maman*** and ***Papa*** with the stress put MQ-style on the first syllable). However, grandparents are almost universally referred to as **Koua** (from **ko'oua** 'grandfather') and **Pahio** (from **pakahio** 'grandmother').

Christian protocol determines the use of FR-derived address terminology for indexing respect. Nonetheless, **'enana** has made its mark on this terminology, too. For example, older men and women are frequently referred to and addressed as **Papa** and **Mama** (no italics are used because the stress falls on the first syllable in each case, MQ-style) plus their **ikoa** -- whether this is an **'enana** name, a MQ'd French name, or a nickname.[5] However, **Koua** without any added name is still sometimes used as a respect term (instead of, for example, **Papa Teii**) for older men. Increasingly, middle-aged men and women are addressed as **Tati** (MQ'd FR address term for aunt) and **Tonton** (FR CGR address term for 'uncle') plus their **ikoa**. However, some confusion is evinced (even by adults) over whether these terms ought to be used with adults who do not stand in that biological or adoptive kin relationship to the speaker.

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The children of Hatiheu do sometimes employ this respect terminology appropriately but are also sometimes scolded for not addressing their elders correctly. This misuse of address terms was offered by my assistants as further evidence of the general decadence of this generation as compared to the last (along with their use of **sarapia** and drugs and their tendency to steal).

One other issue of address is that ***Madame*** and ***Monsieur*** were and continue to be used to address foreigners. By extension, even though now most teachers at the primary level are not French, they are still called by ***Madame*** or ***Monsieur*** followed by their first, usually French, names. However, even this is changing, depending in part on the teachers and their relationships to the students. Thus, a **demi** (half-Tahitian/half-Italian) teacher was referred to by either ***Monsieur*** or his Tahitian first name, depending on the pragmatic context -- who was speaking, whether the teacher was an addressee or referent, and whether or not the school was operating as the immediate frame for the talk or for the topic of talk. Several **'enana** teachers were variously referred to as ***Madame***, ***Madame*** plus their **'enana** first names, or simply their **'enana** first names.

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Interestingly, the social hierarchy signaled by the FR tu/vous distinction has been largely leveled in the Marquesas where the singular ***vous*** is rarely used except in formal settings with an unfamiliar **Hao'e** or with someone (either French or French-identified) with whom a real power differential is sustained (as between a villager and the French administrator). Although I did not track this with any regularity, my memory is that although children addressed their teachers as ***Monsieur*** or ***Madame***, reciprocal ***tu*** was used by them without any repercussions. Similarly, the children started out addressing me as ***Madame***, but switched with ease to 'Kate' at my request, and they never used ***vous*** with me. Only one of the mothers (Teikivaeoho family) ever addressed me as ***vous***, but she had dropped it by our second taping session.

Throughout this discussion it should be clear that names and address forms do not simply index a person's identity so much as they evocatively reflect and/or constitute specifically contextualized relationships between speaker and addressee or person under discussion. Given this understanding, the idea of 'name-exchanges' takes on an interesting twist. Not only does a name-exchange transform

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the relationship between the persons exchanging their names (i.e., henceforth, all that is mine is yours...), but also transforms the relationships between these persons and others who may henceforth use these names with reference to the original name-exchangers. In the next section, I consider a number of phatic routines used in Hatiheu to further define relationships and articulate degrees of intimacy.

B. ***Politesse*** and **ka'oha**: Relationship-defining routines

The standard phatic formulae to be found in Hatiheu today show signs of being, on the one hand, vestiges of traditional **ka'oha** and, on the other hand, evidence of an imposed or imported ***politesse***. For **'Enana**, **ka'oha** traditionally refers to the compassion, love, or care tendered to intimates, which may also be extended to appropriate outsiders (although not necessarily in the same way). By contrast, for the French, ***politesse*** is a system of etiquette that marks relationships generally between non-intimates. At present, a range of phatic formulae (from greetings to pleas) operate as part of a syncretic pragmatic

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system for signaling transformations in social relations, both among insiders and between insiders and outsiders. That is, syncretic forms and meanings are being used to constitute newly syncretic relationships.

First, the standard greeting **Ka'oha!**, like its HAW and TAH reflexes **'Aloha!** and **'Ia orana!**, stands in an almost iconic relationship to **'Enana** and their perception of themselves as a compassionate, welcoming people. It appropriately includes the /k/ and glottal stop, both of which are considered to be so special to their language. The resonant and deeply curving intonation creates a kind of open-armed welcome and mirrors the denotation of the term which is something like 'love'. Finally, it is used ubiquitously even (or especially) with **Hao'e** who are assumed to know no **'enana** but who are taught, if nothing else, at least this one word.

When calling out to someone in the immediate vicinity, one uses the vocative **e**, as in: **E Tahia!**. She in turn responds: **Ooo**. There is a distinctive edge of authority to the former and a touch of deference in the response. One mother (Tapu Poihipapu) reported that her parents had taught her that responding **E aha?** 'What?' to being called was

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impolite (perhaps influenced by Western ideology concerning this response), and yet this practice was common.

When calling out to someone walking by, **'Enana** use a number of formulae that seem to have real indigenous roots. Thus, someone walking by will be called over with the invitation: **Memai! Kaikai!** 'Come! Eat!'. Widespread concern with food, its potential for scarcity and its value in creating relationships, makes this a particularly evocative call. Informants told me that in the past this call was always heard no matter where you went and that its relative scarcity now is a barometer of changes driven by privatization, class divisions, and a growing concern with the acquisition of money.[5] However, this **'enana** formula is still to be heard as **Viens! Kafe!** -- i.e., translated into **sarapia**.

An additional incentive for asking someone to stop and eat is that of initiating gossip. This function is implicit in another query commonly addressed to any passer-by: **Pehea 'oe?** 'Where are you going?' Similar to the American greeting: 'What're you up to?', this query is sometimes purely rhetorical as one may expect (or at least receive) only the vaguest of replies, such as: **'I tai** 'Down to the

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sea' (like our: 'Not much'). However, if one does receive substantive information (such as an explanation of both where and why), the significance is not only referential but also largely social and emotional. That is one is 'doing sociality' (to borrow Sacks' phrasing [1984]).

'Doing sociality' spans everything from making small talk in order to feel a momentary phatic buzz of connection to the much more complex business of creating relationship and a sense of community via the co-construction of stories, explanations, and descriptions of sociocultural realities. For instance, people may sit down and, over a bowl of Nescafe and stale baguette, discuss the readiness of certain wild pepper plants for transplanting, complain about the damage done by a neighbor's pig's to one's own taro plants, or inquire collectively into the mayor's latest injustice.

Another way of inviting gossip in this way is through the greeting: **E aha te tekao hou?** 'What's the news?' This too is indicative of **'enana** concerns with the doings of others -- not only their actual comings and goings, but also at a metalinguistic level, what is being said about what people are up to. By contrast, courteous questions such as **E aha to 'oe hakātu?** ('How is your health/state of being?')

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and **'O ai to 'oe ikoa?** ('What is your name?) appear to be calqued constructions stemming from **hao'e** concerns that are found only in talk between non-intimates (and not always between these).

An interesting source of information on the difference between **ka'oha** and ***politesse***, i.e., on the difference in relational distance implied by these two genres, can be found in the sorts of questions I was asked by the adults and older children in the first month (that is, while I was still more or less a **hao'e** stranger), and those they asked later on after I had been taken 'inside', as well as those asked by the younger children (under 8) right from the start (these younger ones understood my having been invited into their homes as cause to treat me immediately with the **ka'oha** of their other intimates and so did not attempt any French-style delicacy).

***Politesse*** from the older members of the household came at first in the form of courteous inquiries about the weather, the **nono** 'biting flies', and the food. The **ka'oha** inquiries of the children immediately focused on my family relations, my doings (whether I'd gone to church, who I was living with...), and my belongings (where they came from,

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how much they cost, and how they worked). Finally, the questions from the adults, especially in the Poihipapu household, eventually became much less 'polite' and routinized as they began to ask about my feelings about seeing my husband again (T5/13.283) and about how he would feel about my having gotten so thin (T5/13.398).[3]

Several other common speech acts indicate a mixed French-**'enana** heritage and function as both ***politesse*** and **ka'oha**. For instance, **Kaikai meita'i!** 'Eat well!' directed at someone about to eat a meal is probably a calque on ***Bon appétit!*** rather than a coincidence, the latter being also used often enough (e.g., M8/5.223). I am unsure whether **Kaikai meita'i!** was ever used without a **Hao'e** present.

Apology for having hurt someone else is expressed often enough through the lightly used formula: ***Pardon!*** Probably taught as a speech act by French teachers for several generations, it speaks at some deeper level to **'Enana**'s historical indoctrination into the Catholic practice of asking God's forgiveness for wrong-doing. Indeed, its equivalent in **'enana**: **Umoi e pekē!** 'Don't get mad!' would seem to indicate that the emphasis is less on contrition for having hurt the other and more on an attempt to shield

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oneself from retaliation. Also, while compassion for someone else's pain or sorrow is demonstrated through various traditional communicative forms of **ka'oha**, this too has been synthesized with the Catholic notion of ***pitié***. The idea is that one is wholly dependent on God's mercy (as one was once on the **ka'oha** of one's community). That ***merci***, the term for 'thank you' in ***français***, is derived from this concept of God's mercy or pity also apparently fits with **'enana** notions of how **ka'oha** works.

Traditional relationships of exchange continue to affect the use of polite expressions in the context of the everyday give-and-take of food, clothes, or other goods. There are no straightforward lexical analogues of Western formulae for politely requesting ('please') and politely expressing gratitude for something given ('thank you'). However, several pragmatic expressions along these lines exist in **'enana** and are used by both adults and young children, but these are only rarely acknowledged as such[3] and are never explicitly taught. By contrast, explicit socializing instruction in the use of ***français*** for these expressions is in plenty of evidence in my data (as is discussed in Part III).

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The lexeme **aia** was used especially by younger children when pleading for something in much the same way as they might use 'Please!' In fact, not only did one mother (Manu Teikikaine) translate **aia** this way, but also, at one point, her four-year-old daughter used this form (to plead for a marble from her older sister) and then in her next utterance reiterated the plea using the FR version ***s'il te plaît*** (M4/14.796-8).

In Zewen's dictionary, **aia** is translated as meaning 'Let's go!' or as the presentative meaning ***Voilà!*** *'There!'* Thus, it is understandable that this term would be used pragmatically to request an object. In reciprocal fashion, the presentative **eia** meaning ***Voici!*** *'Here!'* is used in presenting an object to someone. Additionally, these are also both used as expressions of exasperation, for instance, either when one is trying to get something or is having something stolen away from one. In both instances, it is the tone of voice that makes the speech act polite or not. Thus, **aia** can sound like either a respectful plea or a pissed-off demand, and **eia** can accompany a proper offer or an outraged accusation.

Another pragmatic resource used in **'enana** for polite

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interactions is the expression **a'e**. Translated as ***un peu*** 'a bit' by my assistants, **a'e** is used to qualify or soften requests. **'Enana**'s parallel usage of ***un peu*** in ***français*** is not standard, i.e., a calque.

As for expressing thanks, reciprocal use of **Koakoa au!** 'I am happy!' by both parties in an exchange operates much like the gratitude formulae of European languages, and is far more prevalent in use than is the neologism **kouta'u** created by Mgr. Le Cléac'h. First of all, people object to the need for an invented term, and secondly they find its literal meaning 'my desire' objectionable because it sounds too selfish. Besides, as they explain, "In the old days you gave from your heart and no thanks was needed" (David Addison, personal communication). This metalinguistic commentary articulates the ideal of reciprocity that is manifested by the formulae already practiced of telling each other you are happy about the giving.

The reciprocity of these verbal practices further highlights the way in which name-exchanges create relationships in which asking and thanking are supposedly unnecessary. However, as was discussed in the section above on friendship, the general perception is that things have

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indeed changed since the days when one gave from the heart and had no need to say thank you.

Another transformation that is metalinguistically lamented these days is that ***Bonjour***!, the French equivalent of the **'enana** greeting **Ka'oha!**, is used even among **hoa** 'friends' in the streets of Hatiheu. That is, it is no longer reserved for polite interactions with **Hao'e** -- whether **turisi** 'tourists', the ***Madame*** at school, or the French administrator. In other words, distress that the intimacy of **ka'oha** is giving way to the formal distance of ***politesse*** speaks not simply to the perceived loss of a language, but to the loss of an imagined communitas.

In other words, **ka'oha** is the psychosocial stance that Hatiheuans would like to adopt toward their intimates as well as outsiders, the **'enana** counterpart to French ***politesse***. However, actual interactive practices belie another more covert system of affect-laden genres as I explore in the next section.

C. **Pe** and **kako**: Emotional discourse strategies

Kirkpatrick has undertaken an ethnosemantic analysis of

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the distinctive features and cognitive modeling of several affect-laden *personal processes* -- i.e., a set of categories that **'Enana** use to explain their own and others' "whims, tastes, feelings and actions" (1983:106). Glossed as 'concern,' 'envy,' 'shame,' 'need,' 'fear,' and 'loneliness,' **ka'oha**, **keitani**, **hakaika**, **kaki**, **ha'ametau**, and **vivi'io** are also the concepts that crop up in much of the affect-laden discourse I analyze. But while Kirkpatrick is interested in how these personal processes inform **'enana** ethnopsychological understandings of personhood and agency, I focus on unraveling the discursive processes by which **'Enana** use these emotional understandings to index the various 'sides' of Hatiheu and negotiate their variable identifications with these 'sides'. However, before proceeding, I must articulate one major caveat.

In the observations that follow, I freely use MQ terms for a number of affect-laden personal processes, as well as some loose ENG glosses for those terms. However, I do not presume to know if or what 'actual' feelings are experienced by **'Enana**. Nor do I attempt to locate their exact ethnosemantic coordinates on the map of **'enana** ethnopsychology. What I do elaborate upon with some degree

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of certainty is how **'Enana** use certain discursive forms, both about emotion and expressive of emotion, to negotiate their sense of community and to control both membership and appropriate behavior within it.[10]

This portrait is based on evidence taken from both metadiscursive representations made by various **'Enana** about how to 'be' in the Marquesas, as well as affect-laden discursive events in which I was involved. Specifically, I examine how overt (referential) and implicit (pragmatic) resources are used to insinuate, rebel, exclude, and socialize, and how these pragmatic processes continue to influence psychosocial identity throughout the life cycle.

To generalize broadly, **'Enana** acknowledge via various verbal genres and activities that they feel a variety of **pe** 'bad' feelings.[11] And yet they **hakana** 'hide' those feelings from all but proven intimates, **keu** 'play' with the **pe** feelings of others, and prove themselves **kako** 'flexible' in the face of others who **keu** with their own **pe** feelings.

Initially, I (in typical **hao'e** fashion) equated this psychosocial stance with a shell of 'toughness' developed in order to protect one's internal 'softness'. However, I eventually realized that what **'Enana** are **hakako** 'taught' is

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how to be **ha'a** 'made' **kako** 'elastic, flexible' (i.e., not hard, but a particular kind of softness). And traditionally, such a conceptualization of personal flexibility probably applied not to any 'outside' facade or 'inside' substance but to some complexly integrated person, i.e., one who was pliable yet strong through and through.

At a concrete level, **kako** is used to refer to the physical development of children: **Ena 'a kako te paho'e nei.** 'This young girl will be big' (Dordillon 1931:206). But I find the descriptive application of **kako** to good **popo'i** 'breadfruit paste' very revealing at a figurative level. This concoction, eaten traditionally from a communal bowl, must be of just the right elasticity for eaters to scoop up a dab with two fingers and have it attach to the fingertips in just the right amount. By analogy, when **'Enana** come up against difficulties, those who have learned to be **kako** stretch and readjust without snapping, curling instead as perfect **popo'i** ought, back up and around the intrusive force.

By contrast, **ha'ape** 'spoil' (literally 'make bad') is the process by which **'Enana** are made 'bad' or 'soft' like rotten breadfruit. Interestingly, the softening that occurs

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through the rotting process is not necessarily bad. One never eats fruit that has fallen to the ground -- this softness is **pe**. However, **popo'i** is made out of fresh cooked breadfruit mixed with **mā**, the slimy, foul-smelling (by **hao'e** standards) substance which results from placing breadfruit in a hole in the ground to ferment. In other words, for **'Enana** this softness is a necessary step in the creation of the **kako** state.

While some of my consultants claimed that this fear of revealing **pe** feelings is a recent phenomenon brought on by the inequalities and distrust which a monetary economy has wrought, the origins of the ideology might also be sought in an analysis of the pre-colonial state of affairs in the Marquesas.

As was discussed in Chapter IV, **'Enana** experienced regular cycles of drought and starvation (the effects of which were differentially exaggerated by issues of rank and gender). On the one hand, this extreme island environment meant they learned at a practical level to 'make do' or be 'flexible' in a way that is still very much in play in the archipelago given present-day boom-and-bust cycles in the accessibility of money and resources. It is also reflected

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in their easy adoption of the FR term and concept ***débrouiller*** (transformed in **sarapia** into **tepurie**) meaning to 'make do' or 'get by,' which is indicative of a whole system, referred to in France as ***le système D***, by which people manage to make do with limited resources -- e.g., fixing and using imported machinery long after its planned obsolescence would warrant its demise.

On the other hand, these pre-colonial periods of adversity also promoted chronic intra-valley rivalries and inter-valley **toua** 'wars', which were only temporarily smoothed by marriages that placed women in the heart of enemy territory. Captives were regularly tortured, sacrificed and eaten. Tattooing[12] and superincision were (and remain) two of the painful rites of passage used to construct and signify virility, prowess, and status (Dening 1980, Thomas 1990, Suggs 1966, Gell 1993).

The ethnohistoric record cannot conclusively inform us as to **'Enana**'s 'true' or 'inner' feelings concerning this array of physically and psychologically challenging experiences (that is, cannot even if we accept that consistent and identifiable emotional attitudes exist 'within' an 'individual', a presumption which recent

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explorations of ethnopsychology in the Pacific advise against [Lutz 1988, Petersen 1993]). However, it is possible to deduce from the record of physical, linguistic, and affective reactions to particular events, that although **'Enana** tended, even in the early colonial period, to lexicalize and discuss somewhat hyperbolically emotions of pain and fear,[13] the expression of these emotions in certain contexts (i.e., by strangers, scapegoats, or enemies, or outside of ritualistically appropriate settings) earned one the contemptuous treatment of a weakling, to be discarded like a piece of rotten fruit.

For this reason, I propose that the present-day system devoted to hiding 'fear', 'need', 'loneliness', and other forms of feeling **pe**, is based on and perpetuated by the long-standing ideology that persons do have such 'bad' feelings, but that these are contained and mediated for the sake of the community as a whole (like **mā** in large communal pits). Thus, it is not that no one feels them, nor when felt are the feelings invisible to others. Rather, on the one hand, community members work together to prevent these **pe** feelings from interfering in the social fabric until such time as they can be appropriately managed through ritualized

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expressions of fear or loss (these days this happens at church). On the other hand, **pe** feelings form the basis of **ka'oha** (just as **mā** forms the basis of **popo'i**); that is, compassion for the difficulties of one's intimates is made possible by the experiencing of one's own difficult feelings.

At least, that is my interpretation of the indigenous ideal. In the present reality, **pe** feelings are constantly being pragmatically 'aroused' (constructed) and 'mollified' (mediated) via a feedback loop of communicative acts and genres. Before analyzing this discursively constructed emotional feedback loop, I provide here a brief summary of a number of the speech acts and genres used in this way.[34]

**Ūē/*crier*** 'crying' and **katakata/*rigoler*** 'laughing' are communicative acts engaged in by both children and adults, males and females. 'Laughing' in particular is acceptable and encouraged in most informal contexts. 'Crying', on the other hand, is only acceptable in private or at public ritual events (such as funerals) for older children and adults.

Young children **ape/*supplier*** 'beg' and **haki/*raconter*** 'tattle' to their caregivers. 'Begging' is discouraged from

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the time children are little, polite transformations of this being taught by contrast (**kaiape/*mendier*** 'begging for food,' in particular, is mocked). 'Tattling' by children, however, is an encouraged act in that it is a transformation of a behavior requested by caregivers, that of reporting events, which I refer to as 'report requests'.[15] Moreover, these 'tattles' or 'reports' are essentially what transforms into **tekatekao/*bavarder*** 'gossip' among adults.

Aside from violent gestures, such as slaps and earpulls, caregivers use a number of communicative genres to control children. First, they may **pe'au/*commander*** 'command' certain behaviors. If no satisfactory results are forthcoming, caregivers **pekē/*gronder*** 'scold/get angry.' They also **ha'aha'ameta'u/*faire peur à*** 'scare/threaten' children (by threatening to **ta** or **pehi/*taper*** 'hit', 'get angry', or 'tattle' on them to some higher authority). Additionally, caregivers **ha'ahakaika/*faire honte à*** 'shame,' **maio/*moquer*** 'mock,' and **keu/*taquiner*** 'tease' children in an effort to gain their acquiescence.

Both **tekatekao/*bavarder*** 'gossip' and **keu/*jouer*** 'teases' are used extensively for conflict management by adults. These communicative genres represent ways of acting **kako**

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'flexibly' in the face of interpersonal difficulties. In this way, adults generally avoid direct conflict. However, they do sometimes **totoua/*bagarrer*** 'fight' (i.e., they 'threaten,' **ha'aka'i'e/*se vanter*** 'brag,' **paha/*insulter*** 'insult,' and **kere/*boxer*** 'box'), but usually only when drinking heavily (a not uncommon event). These interactions resemble the kind of outright 'fighting' found more frequently among children. As children have not yet learned to 'gossip' and 'tease' with any subtlety, their attempts at these genres are interpreted as 'insulting', 'bragging', 'threatening', and 'tattling', and thus frequently end in 'boxing'.[15]

These communicative acts and genres are all employed by children and adults in the construction of emotions, identities, and relationships. The resulting feedback loop can be roughly schematized in the following way:

**ha'ahakaika** (via **tekatekao** and **keu**) ->
arouse **pe** feelings (**ha'ameta'u**, **keitani**, **vivi'io**) ->
1) displayed as
a) **ue**, **ape** ->
produces **hakaika**
b) **totoua**, **peke**, **paha**, **haka'i'e** ->
interpreted as **ka'i'e** ->
produces **hakaika**
2) hidden as
a) **tekatekao** ->
i) may be interpreted as **keitani** ->
ii) may arouse **ha'ameta'u** ->

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both produce **hakaika**

b) **keu** ->
may be interpreted as **paha** and so **ka'i'e** ->
produces **hakaika**

To elaborate, **pe** 'bad, soft, weak' feelings take the form of **ha'ametau** 'fear' and 'distrust' or **keitani** 'envy' concerning one's unmet **kaki** 'needs', particularly for food or companionship, the latter resulting in **vivi'io** 'loneliness'. The exposure of one's **pe** feelings, especially through **uē** 'crying', 'whining', and 'complaining', or through **ape** 'begging' (though neediness can be read into one's gestures, postures, actions, and confessions as well), produces **hakaika** 'shame' for oneself as well as for those with whom one is intimate. In other words, your family and **hoa** 'friends' -- those who feel **ka'oha** 'concern' for you (i.e., have taken it upon themselves to **hakai** 'feed, adopt' you) -- are also implicated by your shameful expressions of 'softness'.

To avoid being caught in a state of rottenness oneself or to disentangle oneself from implication in an intimate's shame, one may display **pekē** 'anger' directly in the form of **paha** 'insults' and **totoua** 'disputes'. Face-to-face insults may be generated in order to test for the 'rotten' spots in others, to hide one's own, and to distance oneself from the

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intimacy that would implicate one in another's shame.

However, both **pekē** and **paha** may be interpreted by others as an attempt to impose an adult-child structure on a peer relation via 'scolding' and 'shaming' respectively. Both of these then are interpreted as **ka'i'e** 'pride' or **huhua** 'conceit', which, along with other displays of **ka'i'e**, such as **ha'aka'i'e** 'bragging', as well as outright hostility in the form of **totoua**, are thought of as being characteristic of immature youth, that is, of having not yet learned to be **kako** 'flexible'. In older persons, such behavior is indicative of having become **pe** 'rotten', and is considered as 'shameful' as if one were being too obviously 'needy' and 'sad'.

**Tekatekao** 'gossiping' represents another more indirect or **hakana** 'hidden' means of venting one's ill-feelings toward someone while also releasing one's responsibility for his or her 'shame' in others' eyes. This method may protect one from the possibility of exposing one's own weaknesses or destroying one's presumed intimacy with the shamed person if one were to confront him or her directly. However, neither of these objectives are guaranteed as, on the one hand, gossiping too much may be interpreted as a revelation of

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one's **pe** feelings in the form of 'envy'. On the other hand, those who are the subject of gossip generally hear about the interaction, the critique, the participants, and their attitudes (if never exactly as it took place) -- that after all is part of the function of gossip. Thus, as anonymity is rarely preserved, gossip may disrupt mutual **ka'oha** anyway by feeding 'distrust'.

Another indirect or veiled ploy used instead of 'anger', is that of **keu** 'play', i.e., teasing forms which do not make the interlocutor as vulnerable to reverse accusations of either 'softness' or 'pride'. 'Teases' may resemble 'insults' in their referential content, but differ formally in that they employ metapragmatic tools such as punning and laughter which deflect the message (as in Bateson's 'I'm just playing' metamessage [1985]). Additionally, teasing may take the form of overt gossip in that the referential message of critique is addressed to another interlocutor but within the hearing of the object of the critique -- thus allowing the latter to experience the shaming impact of the gossip firsthand while the teaser can claim that the tone was playful not serious. However, teasing with skill takes practice, and interactive jousting

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of this kind may backfire and be interpreted by some interlocutors or overhearers as immature **totoua**, thus catching the player up in a new cycle of **pe** feelings.

The preferred way to manage one's own 'soft' feelings is to **keu** 'play' along -- i.e., to **hakana** 'hide' (literally 'make missing') one's soft feelings behind **katakata** 'smiles' and the appearance of being **koakoa** 'happy'. In other words, rather than expressing one's **pe** feelings as pain (e.g., breaking down and crying) or prideful 'anger' at others (e.g., calling a tease an insult when the context is loaded against one), one learns to transform these feelings, like good **popo'i**, into something of communal benefit. The ability to manage one's 'soft' feelings and interact in this key is proof that one has been **hakako** 'taught' well to be **kako** 'flexible'.

However, the term **hakana** is polyvalent in contradictory ways (contravalent?) and deserves an aside here of its own.[11] On the one hand, certain forms of hiding seem always to be interpreted as **pe**. That is, many accusations in the form of insults, gossip, or teases, tend to dwell on the idea that the accused is hiding information or material resources. Thus, my transcriptions are liberally sprinkled

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with epithets in both **'enana** and ***français*** concerning the withholding of stuff (e.g., **kaikino *avare*** 'stinginess') as well as dishonesty or the cloaking of information (e.g., **tivava *menteur*** 'liar,' **koekoe 'ua *hypocrite*** 'hypocrite,' **petu'e *trompeur*** 'cheater,' and hakana ***cacheur***, the latter having the overarching negative meaning of someone who 'hides' stuff). Possibly these negative connotations are due to the impact of French ideology concerning the dichotomization of social space into inner, private and outer, public spheres.

In effect, however, this ideology that the worst interpersonal sins (lying and stinginess) involve forms of **hakana** contradicts the fact that some of the best ploys for getting along in the community (**keu** 'playing' and **tekatekao** 'gossip') also involve this trait. Similarly, the act of **'umihi** 'digging' (i.e., into what is hidden) is ambivalently assessed at best, and when used as an epithet it is definitely not a compliment (as I learned through personal experience). This contradiction, I would suggest, creates a double bind which keeps many in a state of emotional, or at least affective, chaos (i.e., at the level of interpersonal relations rather than 'deep' feeling).

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What is clear is that at this point acts of 'hiding' are metapragmatically loaded depending on the context. Kirkpatrick posits that **keu**, like bragging, insults, and quarreling, are forms of behavior normatively relegated to and humored when part of the immature developmental stages of **toiki** 'children' and **taure'are'a** 'youth.' By contrast, my understanding as already explained is that 'play' of a certain kind is actually the antidote to a too rigid or prideful personality.

Recently, the leaders of the cultural revival movement have added another contradictory twist to this dialectic through their attempt to resurrect traditional forms of integrity characterized as **toitoi** 'straight' and 'true', and postures of dignity embodied by roles such as **haka'iki** 'chief', **tuhuka** 'ritual and artisanal expert', **tumu pure** 'prayer leader', and **tumu hamani** 'teacher'. In a sense, this move has helped relegate **keu** to its association with the immature **po'i po ke'eke'e** who actively engage in teasing and relish the mixed-up form of language **sarapia**. Nonetheless, cultural revival leaders are not themselves above this jokester behavior in certain contexts, sometimes working a party crowd with particular efficacy in this mode.

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In effect, this is part of their leadership charisma and they take some covert pride in their skills. On the other hand, they appear to cloak themselves in properly mature and **toitoi** 'straight' and 'true' personae on formal occasions and in front of **Hao'e** -- paradoxically 'hiding' behind a cloak of 'honesty'.

Finally, both hiding genres, **keu** and **tekatekao**, are implemented in the interests of social control as both have the effect of **ha'ahakaika** 'shaming' vulnerable individuals. In this way, scapegoats are co-constructed within families, peer groups, and the village. **Manihi'i** 'strangers' (whether **Hao'e**, Tahitians, or **'Enana** from other valleys or islands), too, are vulnerable to these tactics if they stay long enough (short-time visitors are usually blissfully unaware of the teases and never get wind of the gossip). However, targeted individuals who develop the 'flexibility' to handle the 'play' and 'gossip', with a veneer of 'happiness' -- taking it all lightly with 'smiles' and so proving themselves capable of serving it back in like kind -- earn the **ka'oha** 'compassion' of at least some subset within the community.

Once the object of **ka'oha**, one finds that a good many

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of one's needs are addressed by one's **hoa** 'friends'. For instance, **hoa** 'friends' listen to and bear with one's fears, shameful desires, and acts -- but only up to a point. Sometimes, as was discussed in the last chapter, friendships have been ruptured by overstepping these ill-defined limits.

However, being 'inside' a circle of friendship does not protect one from all further 'teasing' and 'gossip', anymore than it makes one immune to **pe** feelings. To the contrary, these practices and feelings continue as even friends frequently gossip about each other to others and certainly construct their intimacy via the liberty to tease each other. Also, even elders slide in their capacities to behave maturely and flexibly, especially when drunk, and most persons are caught at times in displays of **pe** feelings and are forced to deal with the consequences.

In other words, being enmeshed in the emotional feedback loop means that, although one understands how to work the release valves with some predictability, there always remains the underlying 'fear' or anxiety of transgressing -- that is, of tearing the fabric of the community and losing one's footing (one's identity and membership) within it -- if not irreparably, at least in a

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way that further feeds the cycle of **pe** feelings.

These data from the Marquesas may be contextualized by reference to research into emotion and its relationship to the formulation and formation of personhood elsewhere in Oceania (e.g., Besnier 1995; Levy 1973; Lutz 1988; Rosaldo 1980; Shweder and LeVine 1984; Watson-Gegeo and White 1990; White and Kirkpatrick 1985). One common theory concerning ethnopsychology in the Pacific is that the peoples of these cultures believe people do not and should not talk about the feelings or thoughts of others and that, in a sense, these feelings and thoughts do not even exist until they are communicated, acknowledged and managed.

True, **'Enana** do not engage in the common Western 'intimacy' genre of asking 'How do you feel?' or 'What are you thinking about?' And clearly they prefer not to expose their own feelings, especially of weakness, to most others. Nonetheless, they do spend a lot of time discussing the affective behavior of others, hypothesizing hidden motives in terms of presumed weaknesses such as fear, need, and pain. They also accuse others point-blank of secretive behavior such as hiding material wealth or valuable information (i.e., stealing and lying). Thus, **'Enana** may

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not fully conceptualize an inner space within the so-called 'individual' (and if they do, this may well be the result of the impact of Western ideology). However, through their discursive activities they do co-construct this hypothetical hidden terrain within each person, out of which much that is shameful and/or enraging emerges. In this way, they also attempt to contain the behaviors and corral or excommunicate the individuals engaging in them.

Once I entered inside the web of friendship myself, I discovered that few **'Enana** (or 'outsiders' incorporated into **'enana** society) were untouched by this system -- not the **haka'iki** 'mayor', the **mutoi** 'local police', the **tumu pure** 'prayer leader', the **tumu hamani** 'teachers', the pot dealers, nor the local **vehine mako** 'shark woman' (i.e., sexually active woman of the town). The more they drank to put themselves outside the web, the more fiercely re-entangled they became as their rude talk and sins while drunk fed the gossip line and the shame of those closest to them, sparking whole reactive chains of rage and tears, attempted suicides and death threats.

**'Enana** who have left the Marquesas actively criticize the discursive system of shame and anger that constrains

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people there. And yet they appear to suffer from a sense of **vivi'io**, of feeling cut off through living on the outside. And a large number of those who have returned to the archipelago discuss the gauntlet they had to run in order to reintegrate.[13]

As one 'outsider' who made my way 'inside' with difficulty, then made my way out again, I too can vouch for the fact that the transitions both in and out bring up intense fear and pain. However, once inside, the sense of belonging seems worth the ongoing cycle of fear and anger.

D. Heteroglossic practice in Hatiheu

Much of the foregoing discussion of context-sensitive communicative practices in Hatiheu has rested on an implicit understanding that all interactions in the Marquesas are heteroglossic and that these heteroglossic practices have a wide array of pragmatic effects. In this section, I undertake an explicit analysis of this statement, looking in particular at how the various linguistic varieties are used in affect-laden ways to index ethnolinguistic identification and relationship. First, I focus on the linguistic

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varieties as 'codes' -- i.e., as ideologically distinguished ways of speaking. Secondly, I look at the various ways in which speakers strategically switch between these 'codes'.

1. The codes and their connotations

**'Enana** operate in a metalinguistic environment rife with contradiction. That is, the linguistic varieties employed and recognized as codes are differentially valued depending on how, when, where, and in what form they are being used and discussed by whom. Thus, generalizing first about who tends to speak what, how, and why will better allow me to examine how strategic CS is used in the negotiation of ethnolinguistic identities. However, a few caveats about this endeavor, which assumes that clear boundaries between 'codes' can be drawn, are in order.

As has already been related, the primary codes used in the Marquesas are ***français*** and **'enana**. **Tahiti** 'neo-Tahitian' and **menike** 'English' are less-used but potent resources, while the salience of the upstart fashion of speaking **sarapia** is expanding rapidly. However, these boldfaced linguonyms must be read as metalabels. That is,

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although metalinguistically salient to **'Enana**, these terms have no exact referents in the Marquesas today. Instead, they refer only very generally to rapidly changing and variable versions of linguistic codes which may (have) constitute(d) coherent systems in use at other times or places (e.g., various valleys of the Marquesas 200 years ago or France at present). And, as is discussed at more length below, the case of **sarapia** is altogether more complex.

Thus, as was initially mentioned in a footnote, my use of boldfacing is meant to disrupt the received notion that language systems are discrete and static. Even more importantly, the typeface is meant to draw attention to the fact that in much of this study I am discussing the social and ideological impact of locally understood notions about these codes as they are employed in the islands rather than on the genetic relationships between linguistic codes and their diachronic effects on each other.[13] In effect, I am trying to index orthographically the need to investigate how linguonyms themselves contribute to the codification process. For instance, in the Marquesas, one or more of the codes-under-construction to which these boldfaced linguonyms allude may in the future emerge as more fully systematized

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codes, based in part on a more fully realized ideology of ethnolinguistic identities and on the rhetorical use of the associated linguonyms.

But for the moment, these codes are suspended within the larger translinguistic system as variable and fluctuating forms and structures. Thus, the following analyses of the formal boundaries, conventional usages, and normative significations of these emergent codes should be read as merely suggestive. More accurate is my depiction of how the language ideologies have helped shape the formal characteristics of the codes spoken and of how the symbolism and identities associated with those codes are influencing normative code choices in particular contexts.

a. Languages of neo-colonial force: **tahiti** and **menike**

While not prevalent in everyday interactions, both **tahiti** and **menike** are languages of real power in the Marquesas, both because of what they presently represent and because of what they offer by way of potential.

Spoken as a lingua franca throughout French Polynesia, **tahiti** is the koinized variety of **ma'ohi** (as Tahitians refer

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to their own language). The koine, referred to as *neo-Tahitian* by linguists, began to emerge in the nineteenth century as a result of trade and administrative interaction within the colonial territory constructed by the French with the island of Tahiti as its political and economic center. The code is a somewhat simplified version of **ma'ohi** and restructured to some degree by the influences of other closely related languages and dialects spoken on other islands in the territory.[20]

A number of people in Hatiheu are relatively fluent in **tahiti**. Men in particular have had the opportunity to learn the lingua franca as a result of their military service and periods of employment in Tahiti, Moruroa, or on the cargo boats. But a few women, too, have learned it, either as a result of living in Tahiti for some period of time or through sufficient business relations or political contacts with Tahitians. For instance, the two most powerful women in town -- the **haka'iki** Yvonne and Moi, the owner of the other store in town -- are relatively fluent.

Generally, **tahiti** is used in Hatiheu with Tahitians who come through on the cargo boats or for political, religious, and assorted associational activities. However, this

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happens often enough for its presence to be felt. In addition, an increasingly standardized form of **ma'ohi** is heard daily on TV and radio. In part a result of all this input, many **'Enana** consider **tahiti** easy to acquire (also perhaps because, as a koine, it is somewhat simpler in form than **'enana**). However, some who have actually lived in Tahiti for any length of time report that they had trouble picking it up at first (perhaps because they were actually dealing with **ma'ohi**, i.e., the less simplified mother of the koine and in more vernacular settings). Nonetheless, given this daily exposure to **tahiti** and the bilingual capacities of some of the community, loans from **tahiti** pop out of almost all Hatiheuans' mouths with some real regularity, and this despite the fact that they decry the trend towards mixing the two languages.

On the one hand, the language is despised as the code of the **'Enana**'s immediate overlords.[22] On the other hand, **tahiti** bears testimony to a person's access to the wider political and economic networks presently in place and out of which some future nation-state may be imagined. Practically speaking, fluency in **tahiti** marks one as having lived in the capital, provides extra currency in dealing

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with traders, and gives one an advantage in applying for civil service jobs.

But while the power associated with **tahiti** is traditionally more male than female, it is not a form of legitimated authority. Rather, its power resides in its association with the process of acquiring knowledge and abilities as a ***débrouilleur*** 'one who makes do' -- i.e., a kind of symbolic form of knowing one's way around. Thus, even the use of individual words carries in Hatiheu the connotation that their wielder is free-wheeling, savvy, and sharp-witted (if not necessarily educated or cosmopolitan).

By contrast, although only a very few Hatiheuans speak **menike** with any fluency at all, many possess a smattering of words, expressions, and lyrics. The infiltration of **menike** here is not unlike its ubiquity elsewhere in the world -- evidence of the United State's power in world politics, economics, and mass media. That is, phrases and songs may be picked up from the radio or TV or from imported product labels.

However, the only two ways by which Hatiheuans acquire any real competence in **menike** is at secondary school or through relations with tourists in the service industry or

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with 'yachties' who turn up in the bay. Neither of these methods has so far yielded much in the way of fluency, but the belief in the opportunity yields a lot in the way of claims to knowledge. Thus, tiny chunks of **menike** are displayed by those with even the most minimal competence as a sign of both education and worldliness.

However, its use does not necessarily connote 'cultivation' in the French sense. Speaking at the level of stereotype: **'Enana** anticipate that **Menike** will be rich, generous, and friendly (by contrast with the presumed uptight snobbery of **Ferani** 'French'), but **'Enana** seem also to have adopted the French view of **Menike** as being a bit stupid, uncouth, and inconsiderate in the way they handle their power.

Only those Hatiheuans who have actually travelled to the United States, New Zealand, or Australia admit to the real difficulties of operating in the language (and its regional varieties). And while those who learned it at school (mostly women) are shy about practicing it with visitors, a few of the women I worked with used it among themselves as a secret language to mark their friendships and exclude other Hatiheuans.

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Not surprisingly, the best, and least inhibited, speaker was the young **raerae** in Hatiheu who, after finishing his/her BAC in Tahiti, was heading out to Australia in the summer of 2000 to begin a two-year training program for tourist agents. Being **raerae**, especially after coming out in Tahiti, seems to orient one's interests toward the world outside French Polynesia. However, s/he had initially developed **menike** as part of his/her gender training in Hatiheu -- i.e., as a female social skill.

b. Arch rivals: ***français*** and **'enana**

Far more noticeable than the pragmatic use of **tahiti** and **menike** in Hatiheu is the contrastive friction that has arisen between ***français*** and **'enana**. As was discussed in Chapter IV, formal elements of the two codes have been influencing each other ever since they first came in contact over two centuries ago. More recently, the ideologies connoted by the two codes are also in collision. As a result, the boundaries concerning when, where, and by whom the codes are to be spoken have grown blurry, which has, in turn, affected the communicative commitments acquired by

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children.

The emergent variety of ***français*** spoken in Hatiheu is formally similar to that spoken in Tahiti with both showing ample evidence of phonological and syntactic influence from the Polynesian languages spoken in these islands. Whether to call this proof of a creole developing or simply one more metamorphosis of varieties into new varieties is beyond the theoretical purview of the present dissertation. For the moment, I simply point to several indices of the restructuring process and suggest that the linguistic system is undergoing change as a consequence of a couple of factors (see also Dumont-Fillon 1993).

First, the ***français*** of most adults is influenced by the fact that their first language was **'enana**. Secondly, most young children in Hatiheu are learning ***français*** (some as their first language) from these bilingual adults (whether parents or teachers) who acquired ***français*** as a second language. Finally, the ***français*** being used in Tahiti (O'Reilly 1962, Corne 1979) and, therefore, throughout French Polynesia by less-educated laborers as well as elites and the media is affecting the acquisition of the system by the present generation of parents and their children. That

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is, in Hatiheu, everyone listens to radio and TV broadcasts (from Tahiti as well as France); all have had contact with Tahitian merchants, health professionals, and administrative officials; many men have done military service and/or been employed in Tahiti; many adults were educated by Tahitian teachers; and now the **'enana** teachers tend to be Tahitian-trained as well. Although Hatiheuans have some exposure to the (approximately) standard ***français*** of French administrators, priests, secondary school teachers, health workers, and tourists, the ***français*** with which Hatiheuans primarily interact is a variety heavily influenced by Polynesian structures.

Although this is not the focus of the present study, a few of the resulting phonological and morphosyntactic regularities are addressed below in the section on **sarapia**. Also, while I am unable to offer a diachronic assessment of how the **'enana** spoken today differs from that spoken 200 years ago, I do sketch out a few of the formal transformations of this variety in the **sarapia** section.[22] For now I turn to an examination of how the ideological clash between the two peoples and ways of life associated with ***français*** and **'enana** is manifested in Hatiheu.

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***Français*** has for a long time represented a mixture of civilized regret and polite hypocrisy (i.e., the result of a century of benign neglect, followed by forty years of nuclear-powered benevolence and most recently by France's generous threat to set French Polynesia 'free'). In Hatiheu, the code is clearly apprehended as both a symbol and medium of money and modernity, and yet this association brings up some ambivalence.

On the one hand, the ***système scolaire*** is successfully imparting the language ideology for which France is famous -- i.e., representing ***français*** as the most rational and cultivated of world languages, (demonstrated most notoriously by the project of the ***Académie française*** to excise English loans and create neologisms to handle all modern concepts and technological breakthroughs). Due perhaps in part to the dubbing of American TV programming, most Hatiheuan children appeared to believe that Americans speak ***français*** and were shocked when any did not or did so less 'correctly' than they did.

Additionally, both parents and children discussed their appreciation of the 'fact' that the acquisition of 'correct' ***français*** would allow them the opportunity to land a salaried

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job and represent themselves as civilized to **Hao'e**. Moreover, incompetence in the language was taken not only as a sign that a child would be unsuccessful in school and therefore in any form of white-collar employment, but also that they were to some degree mentally deficient.[23]

However, real fluency in standard ***français*** is also associated with being **huhua**/***gonflé*** 'prideful' and with social-climbing (a form of 'marked agency' according to Kirkpatrick's formulation). It signals that one has tried to leave the village and exposes one's **pe** 'soft' desire for a **hao'e** lifestyle. However, stigma is attached not only to the attempt to cross over, but also to the failure to do so. While the French system is criticized for failing to deliver on the expectations it has raised, individual **'Enana** too are blamed for not having learned **'enana**-style to be **kako** 'flexible' about hiding their desires and working the system (i.e., ***débrouiller***). Upon returning to the village, one's fluency in standard ***français*** becomes a stigma symbolizing that one has failed by both **ferani** and **'enana** standards (as a result, some of these 'wanderers' turned to perfecting their drunken **sarapia**).

By contrast, **'enana** carries its own ambiguous symbolic

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load -- primitive yet strong, noble yet insufficient. On the one hand, it is derided for its inherent savagery, evidenced by its limited vocabulary (compared to standardized French) and, in particular, its (perceived) lack of polite lexemes, terms of respect, and other phatic formulae deemed necessary to civilized life.[24] Similarly, despite a complex aspectual system, the absence of tense is interpreted as evidence that **'Enana** 'live in the here and now'. In other words, at one level, **'Enana** appear to have accepted the dogma about their savage past inculcated by the French and use the linguistic evidence analyzed by **Hao'e** to prove the savage status of their language.

On the other hand, long-buried resentments have more recently been unearthed and given form by the empowerment rhetoric of the cultural revival movement. For instance, the presumed barbarity of the past is now sometimes transformed into nobility through explanations about how **te kakiu** 'the ancient ones' had no need for terms of ***politesse*** as they gave out of genuine **ka'oha** 'compassion'. Additionally, the language is lauded as being impressive as the rugged **'enana** coastline (due to those guttural vowels and deeply contoured intonations) and as inaccessible to

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foreigners (due to those glottal stops and backwards syntax -- meaning VSO word order). Hatiheuans evince real pride that **Hao'e** and Tahitians usually fail to learn **'enana**. In other words, alongside other **kakiu** symbols of cultural identity, **'enana** has been set on an unstable pedestal, which (like Western woman's pedestal) can become more constraining and undermining than sustaining.

Thus, both ***français*** and **'enana** embody as codes a high degree of ideological ambiguity. As a result, their contexts of use -- when, where and who -- is exponentially more complex than it once was. As discussed earlier, ***français*** was once reserved for the infrequent, formal settings where **Hao'e** were present whereas **'enana** was used in most other contexts as these included only **'Enana**. However, these conventions have been breaking down such that, in Hatiheu, use of ***français*** no longer indexes a formal setting or interaction. And, whether or not **Hao'e** are present, **'enana** is no longer the only medium for communicating intimacy.

Also, as historical distinctions between men and women's access to education and learning ***français*** have evened out, the more salient difference in competence has

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become that between old and young. In Hatiheu, the association of ***français*** with female civility and of **'enana** with male rebelliousness is losing its hold in the younger generation. Instead, use of ***français*** now connotes something closer to youth, education, and wealth, while an inability to use something close to standard ***français*** marks one as old, savage, benighted, and poor (of humble beginnings and destined for continued poverty).

However, as a result of the cultural revival movement and other more covert processes to do with returned 'wanderers', the use of **'enana** does not necessarily correspond with an inability to speak ***français***. Instead it may simply demonstrate one's access to **kakiu** cultural capital and indicate one's commitment to **'enana** identity. Correlatively, an inability to use **'enana** is interpreted as cultural deracination and/or lack of identification with **te henua 'enana** 'the land of persons'.

In other words, ideally one needs to be a perfect **'enana-*français*** bilingual with an astute pragmatic sense for when to use which for best effect. However, whether one conceptualizes heteroglossia as the art of switching between highly valued resources or the slovenly act of debasing both

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languages through 'mixing' is a debate charged by ideology. I now explore how these formal, pragmatic, and ideological contradictions are manifesting in the guise of **sarapia** and analyze what it is or is becoming.

c. Synthetic **sarapia**

The term **sarapia** is the MQ'd version of ***charabia***, a FR term translated as 'gibberish' by the Oxford French Dictionary (Janes et al. 1993:40) and defined as 'confused, unintelligible, and incorrect speech' in Hachette's ***Dictionnaire du français*** (Moingeon 1992:269, my translation). Of uncertain derivation, ***charabia*** was eventually applied by Parisians to the speech of coal-sellers from Auvergne[25] and later to other forms of speech deemed substandard. For instance, it is presently applied to the speech of Portuguese immigrants in the suburbs of Paris (M. Koven, personal communication).

In other words, the term is clearly a by-product of France's long political-economic investment in linguistic chauvinism, and no doubt it was introduced into the Marquesas by teachers, priests, and administrators from

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France who were dissatisfied with their subjects' proficiency in the colonial language. However, more recently the term has been adopted, refashioned, and applied by cultural revivalists to the ways in which **'enana** is being corrupted by ***les jeunes*** 'the youth' who are said to have forgotten much of the ancient language and are mixing into it words and sentence structures from other languages.

Given this etymological history, one might expect to find a semantic distinction being made between **sarapia** and ***charabia***. The former would be reserved for utterances that have a MQ matrix but incorporate a lot of FR characteristics whereas the latter would refer to FR-matrix utterances with MQ characteristics. If such a distinction were to exist, one would expect to find the term ***charabia*** in the mouths of those invested in the purity of ***français***, and the MQ'd **sarapia** being used more by those concerned with preserving **'enana**.

However, in point of fact, I did not notice that **'Enana** are using these two terms with reference to one emergent variety or the other. Rather, I suspect that usage of one term or the other depends more on speakers' linguistic repertoires and/or the pragmatic context than on the

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referent or the speakers' ethnolinguistic commitments.

First of all, it is doubtful that most **'Enana** cognize a distinction between two emergent 'languages'. That is, in local ideological terms, these fashions of speaking (whether leaning more toward FR or MQ) are lumped together and certainly not conceptualized as 'languages' deserving discrete linguonyms as ***français*** and **'enana** have. In other words, the lack of distinctive terms for the emergent codes simply reflects the fact that an ideological understanding of ***charabia*/sarapia** as one or more linguistic varieties does not exist in the Marquesas.

Nonetheless, the derogatory use of a term (whether ***charabia*** or **sarapia**) to describe the 'confused' and 'decadent' forms of speaking (whether perceived as more FR or more MQ) indicates that a metalinguistic awareness of linguistic variation does exist. Moreover, the lack of metalinguistic precision about these variant ways of speaking has not prevented a generalized prescriptive consciousness from significantly shaping the emergent systems (linguistic and translinguistic). In other words, my two hypothesized forms of linguistic purism are also probably as 'mixed-up' (i.e., non-salient) in the minds of

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most **'Enana** as are the ways of speaking.

However, this analysis should not be interpreted as condescending. The shifty nature of these metalinguistic labels and their referents has made it difficult for me too to decide whether and how to distinguish between the emergent, syncretic code(s) and the ideologically recognized set of 'mixed-up' communicative practices. In addition, I have had to make some touchy labeling choices: first, which term to apply to the local notion of the 'mixed-up' practices and, second, what acronym to create for the emergent linguistic code(s).[26]

Let me begin with the labeling issue. For the sake of the present analyses, I have decided to use **sarapia** as the ideologically enriched metalabel referring very generally and inclusively to all of the 'mixed-up' ways of speaking pointed out by any **'Enana** I heard discussing this issue. My choice of the MQ'd pronunciation is meant to index an **'enana**-centric stance based on the romantic belief that this term may someday emerge as one of those ethnolinguistic tags that, like 'Nuyorican' (see Zentella 1997), begins as a pejorative but is finally appropriated by rebellious forces to signify empowerment.

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As for linguistic acronyms, I considered labeling them MQ' and FR'. However, such a labeling act would imply that one could cleanly distinguish between the two. The latter would refer to an even more radically restructured variety of ***français*** than is presently in use. By contrast, the former would refer to a transforming variety of **'enana** -- i.e., intimating that this latest shift is simply a continuation of the way in which MQ has been changing for the last two centuries, loading up with loans and neologisms and transforming morphologically and syntactically via calques and internally driven simplifications and elaborations.

However, first of all, neither the data I collected nor my training permit me to disentangle the present processes of restructuring and shift nor their emergent products; thus, using two separate acronyms would be misleading. Secondly, the use of either of these acronyms would fail to index the metapragmatic input that is clearly of importance to the formation of the code(s) stemming from local ideology about **sarapia** in all of its hazy signification. As a result I have chosen SAR as the label to be used when writing about the code(s) without immediate reference to local language

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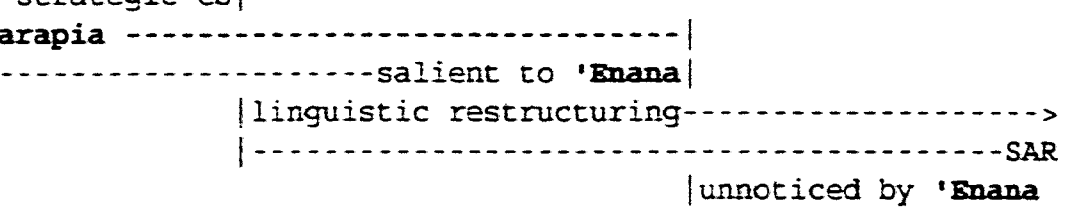
ideologies.

However, all of these labeling decisions have rested on the resolution of the overarching linguistic boundary question: *what* is being labeled? A simple diagram helps articulate my notion of the overlap between **sarapia** and SAR and how they refer to two distinct levels of analysis:




Essentially, for the purposes of this study, I allow **sarapia** to refer to the 'mixed-up' ways of speaking that are readily apparent to many **'Enana**. This includes both strategic CS and certain kinds of linguistic restructuring -- the kinds salient to **'Enana**. By contrast, SAR refers to all forms of linguistic restructuring (i.e., excluding strategic CS). However, some of the latter exist beyond the normal limits of **'Enana**'ss metalinguistic awareness -- e.g., many older restructured forms that have resulted from language contact.[2]

In this section, I provide my analysis of SAR (some of which is also categorizable as **sarapia** and some not) -- its ethnohistorical origins and formal characteristics, as well

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as the metapragmatic effects of **sarapia** on the emergence of SAR. In the next section, I analyze those aspects of **sarapia** which I analytically refer to as *strategic CS*.

i. Ethnohistorical origins

**'Enana** began borrowing words and expressions from **hao'e** languages over two hundred years ago, but an exchange of linguistic material from other Polynesian languages and certainly between valleys and islands within the archipelago presumably began much earlier. While older loans lost their ethnolinguistic connotations long ago, more recent appropriations retain the ring of otherness. At present, a number of shibboleth terms are in currency in Hatiheu and function as markers of various denotative, affective, and social meanings.

For instance, **koe** and **koua**, the terms from Ua Pou for singular and dual second person (by contrast with **'oe** and **'oua** found elsewhere), while identified as a distinctive marker for characterizing someone as being from that island, are now also scattered throughout the speech of Hatiheuans and appear to have nothing to do with the speaker's Ua Pou

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identity. Similarly, 'find' is variously produced in Hatiheu as **ko'aka** (UP), **'o'aka** (MQN), and **ko'ana** (MQS), with perhaps some difference in semantic nuance, but nothing that my assistants could articulate. By contrast, one assistant offered me a pragmatic distinction between **ati'i** (MQN) and **ani'i** (MQS), both of which she used seemingly interchangeably to mean 'like that' -- the former was 'angrier', she said, the latter being 'softer'.[28] Several Hatiheuans were also quick to identify the retained /ŋ/ phoneme in the Taipivai dialect (produced as /k/ elsewhere -- e.g., **mango** for **mako**) as evidence of their neighbors' tendency towards being **kakiu** and/or savage.

Additionally, a few ethnolinguistic connotations were ascribed by my transcription assistants to the usage of certain regional dialect terms. Usually the implementation of what often amounted to a single phonemic switch (e.g., **'oe** to **koe**[UP], **mako** to **mango**[TP]) was explained as the result of some lineage connection between that speaker and the region associated with the variant form or else the effect of recent time spent in the company of speakers of that regional dialect -- the implication being that kids in particular tend to pick up variants by osmosis. That is,

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there was a sense, if poorly formulated, that such usage did reflect some sense of affiliation with people from other valleys and islands. This matches my own intuitions about one reason why such switches would be taking place, another reason having to do with **'Enana**'s more generalized love of playing phonemically with language, especially in pig-latin fashion with sound reversals. Unfortunately, I do not have sufficient transcribed instances of such switches to create any fuller hypothesis at this time.

However, none of this inter-dialectal borrowing is labeled **sarapia**. Though some of the use of these pragmatic indices is noticed, commented upon, and even discouraged (as when a child is mocked for using **mango** 'mango'[TP] over **mako** 'mango'[MQN]), the practice as a whole is not considered evidence of a decadent ethnolinguistic identity, i.e., such a speaker is still talking **'enana** and being **'Enana**.

Problematic mixing (by local standards) begins with the influx of **tahiti**. Not that the insertion of an individual TAH word here or there is necessarily criticized. Indeed, some speakers identify TAH loans as such and are open to attempting an analysis of the pragmatic use of certain terms for which there are clearly MQ equivalents. For example,

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one mother explained that her oldest daughter uses TAH **aita** 'no' because it is more ***souple*** 'supple' (M4/14.38-189[note]) -- notice the interest in a characteristic that could be translated as **kako** 'flexible'. Instead, it is the usage of **tahiti** by **'Enana** who have spent a long time in Tahiti, have returned to the Marquesas, and are attempting to reintegrate that is critiqued. Here the amount of mixing by the returnee is interpreted as an inability to keep to **'enana** and a need to resort to **tahiti** because s/he cannot find the words in **'enana**. And when complaining of **sarapia**, critics mentioned that the throwing in of **tahiti** is part of the problem.

By contrast, the incorporation of individual **menike** words rarely occurs at present and usually only, as mentioned above, when speaking to English-speakers purposely to signal one's awareness of (if not fluency in) this powerful code. And although some speakers are aware of the **menike** origins of some of the words they use, the present-day incorporation of some small bits of **menike** (e.g., ***okay*** or ***speedboat***) is not considered an aspect of **sarapia**.

The most pronounced form of linguistic purism in Hatiheu is applied to the 'mixing' of **'enana** and ***français***,

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which is the product of emigration and/or education, combined with the recent deterioration of Hatiheuans' opportunities to transform these experiences into salaried employment outside the village. This is where **sarapia** truly begins. But before discussing the ideological functioning of this synthetic way of speaking, I need to identify some of its formal characteristics.

ii. Formal characteristics

Clearly MQ has been influencing the sound system of the FR spoken in the Marquesas for some time now. For instance, when incorporating FR loans, **'Enana** conflate a number of FR phonemes: /b/ into /p/; /d/ into /t/; /g/ into /k/; /l/ into /r/; and /š/, /ž/, and /z/ into /s/. However, while systemic phonological change is apparent to a linguist, and although **'Enana** themselves are aware of differences in the sounds of languages (note their sensitivity to **Hao'e**'s difficulties with the MQ /h/ and glottal), they do not seem to cite 'mispronunciation' as evidence of the mixing up of languages. That is, phonological shift is not considered a feature of **sarapia**. Thus, I do not go into these phenomena

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in any detail. Much more salient to **'Enana** are the lexical and to some degree the syntactic forms of 'interference'.

Loans run the gamut from wholly phonologically incorporated terms borrowed to fill a lexical gap in the matrix language to those terms which are conventionally used for some connotational import but without phonological alteration. Sometimes a semantic equivalent existed in the matrix language but has been wholly replaced; sometimes it remains but with semantic shift.

Thus, when speaking **'enana**, children consistently use French numbers (not only those high ones for which none existed in **'enana**, but even those under ten) and colors (even when asked, children who were otherwise fairly fluent could not provide the terms for common colors such as 'green' in **'enana**). Aside from these highly conventional and predictable loans, young speakers also interject a wide variety of French nouns (***couillon***, ***touriste***), verbs (***promener***, ***profiter***), and interjections (***bien***, ***allez!***) which are not 'necessary' in the sense of being needed to fill some denotative hole in **'enana**. They do, however, provide some culturally shared connotative, social, or affective meanings (often enough these cultural meanings are newly

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syncretic as well).

However, there are also a number of loans motivated by a lexical lacuna -- i.e., Western objects or concepts for which an **'enana** neologism would otherwise have had to be invented. Many are derived from **menike** as well as ***français***, or from **menike** via ***français*** (or vice versa if we go back a thousand years) -- e.g., **ihepe** from *ship*, **hovare** from ***cheval*** 'horse', and **tele** from ***télévision***. Many older loans are phonologically incorporated into **'enana** whereas newer loans tend not to be. However, this is not a foolproof rule, and sometimes both variants are used seemingly interchangeably. Instances in which a single speaker uses both the loan and its indigenous equivalent (without evincing any semantic distinction between them) or both the phonologically altered and unaltered form of a term demand some utterance-specific explanation. This is sought in the next section on strategic CS.

Young **'Enana** also use a large number of **'enana** terms when speaking ***français*** for some of the same reasons they use ***français*** loans in **'enana**. Many of the common objects in their immediate world: flora, fauna, and foodstuffs, as well as cultural concepts for which the FR terms are little known

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or awkward, are borrowed out of a kind of 'necessity' (e.g., **'u'a** 'lobster', **mei** 'breadfruit', **piha** 'beef' or 'cow'[29]).

One example of a term needed for a distinctly **'enana** concept is **'ua**, a particle prefixed to a head of household's name to indicate the whole family or to a child's name to signify both that child and the one with whom s/he is presently partnered.[30] Though I cannot be sure of this etymology, I think it suggestive that **'ua** is also the word for communal and family **mā** pits.

Perhaps the **'enana** word most frequently used in ***français*** is **mea**. Both verb and noun, this generic word meaning 'thing' or 'do' can stand in for any name or action for which a more precise term is not immediately forthcoming. It is also used like 'ummm' -- a turn-holder while searching for a word or phrasing. Both practices are highly useful when attempting to use a language one is not terribly fluent in, and therefore the importation of the pragmatic resource from one language into the other is significant. In fact, this ubiquitous use of **mea** is salient enough to everyone that one informant told me a story of her teacher in secondary school scolding the kids for using the term because it was not ***français***. In fact, the usage doubly

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indexed their non-fluency but in ways that were probably not apparent to the francophone teacher's consciousness.

There are also many cases of semantic spread in which the meaning of a French term shifts to match the semantic boundaries of a similar term in **'enana** -- e.g., ***boeuf*** spreading to cover both the meat and the animal as the two are never distinguished in **'enana** for animals eaten prior to contact (e.g., **puaka** means both 'pig' and 'pork'). Similarly some **'enana** terms have been semantically altered by contact with ***français*** -- e.g., loans such as **pora** 'bowl' have relegated the all-encompassing **ipu** to much larger vessels.

Several calques from **'enana** appear to be permanently incorporated into the local ***français***. For example, **maua me Tahia** 'we two[exc] including Tahia' (meaning only two people) has become in the ***français*** spoken by **'Enana**: ***nous deux avec Tahia*** 'we two and Tahia too'. To a speaker of standard ***français***, this would mean three people, not two, producing real confusion in certain contexts -- e.g., if ordering bowls of food or seats in a truck.

Additionally, young speakers produce utterances in both ***français*** and **'enana** which bear the syntactic stamp of the

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other language (e.g., V-S sentences in ***français***). This is most true of children under five, bespeaking issues of developmental mixing that might be expected to sort themselves out given sufficient input from both languages. However, such syntactic mixing occurs in the speech of older children as well, providing evidence of systemic transformations at the level of the code (see Dumond Fillon 1993).

Based on some accidental morphosyntactic overlap between the two languages, there are a few utterances which are now indistinguishable and which appear to be much used because they occur and function similarly in both languages. For example, **enā** [MQ] and ***(il y) en a*** [FR] both mean 'there is/are' -- e.g., **Enā te nono 'īo 'oe?** = ***(il y) en a les nono chez toi?*** 'Are there biting gnats at your place?' (note how in this variety of ***français*** the object pronoun **en** is inserted even though the object is expressed, an object which in standard ***français*** would require the partitive ***des***).

Also, based on the similarity of the possessive prepositions **'a** (as in **te hamani 'a Tahia** 'Tahia's book') and **à** (as in ***c'est à Tahia*** 'it's Tahia's'), **'Enana** tend to produce: ***le livre à Tahia*** (whereas in standard ***français*** it

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is ***le livre de Tahia***), and only rarely, even where applicable, do they produce: ***son livre*** or ***le sien***. On the other hand, in **'enana** the form: **te hamani 'a Tahia** 'the book of Tahia' is now used more than the other possible form: **ta Tahia hamani** 'Tahia's book', for which no precise analogue exists in ***français***.

There are other parallels in structure which have led to a favoring of one FR form over another. Given the construction **e kanahau tenei pua** 'is pretty, this flower', **'Enana** transform the structure available in ***français*** in which the subject is post-positioned (***c'est joli, cette fleur*** 'it's pretty, this flower'), but abbreviate the demonstrative to a simple attention-getting interjection: ***eh, joli cette fleur*** 'hey, pretty, this flower'. And they avoid altogether the other possible FR construction: ***cette fleur-ci est jolie*** 'this flower is pretty'.

Another example of such a parallel can be found in **'Enana**'s preferred use of ***aller*** for constructing the future tense, as in ***il va descendre*** ('*he goes to descend* (to town)'). On the one hand, one avoids in this way the difficulties of learning the future conjugations for a host of FR verbs (as all one needs to know are the present tense

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conjugations for **aller**). But, in addition, these forms more closely mimic the tenseless, aspect-marking forms in MQ. In MQ it is possible to indicate that one is going to descend either with the aspectual particle **'a** marking the inchoative as in **'a heke ia** '[inc] descend he', or through a construction like that in FR involving 'go' preceded by the aspectual particle **e** marking the durative: **e he'e heke ia** '[dur] go descend he'.

Semantic and syntactic phenomena of this kind are particularly salient examples of the ways in which ***français*** and **'enana** are transforming. But when usage of this kind is present, it is not always clear which code is in use, whether a switch has taken place between them, or whether some new code is under development, the use of which may in its turn represent a switch from one of the older codes. For many young **'Enana**, the ubiquitous use of such syncretic forms can be understood to be a consequence of systemic change -- that is, children exposed to such forms use them and continue to contribute to their dissemination and transformation without any intent. However, this mixed code is also sometimes used by both young and old for strategic effects as well. Its functions vary but all are framed by

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language ideologies that reflect the need for an emerging medium to index an emerging identity.

iii. Ideology and functions of **sarapia**

The local anxiety about **sarapia** is that it is producing both a substandard ***français*** and a broken-down **'enana**. The term was used repeatedly in discussions I had with mayors, teachers, and parents who were critical of loans, calques, and phonological interference showing up in both the **'enana** and ***français*** being spoken by children and youth. Though unable to analyze the problem in linguistic terms, these critics were quick to offer a few illustrations of egregious (by their standards) faults.

For instance, the **haka'iki** Yvonne repeatedly offered the example of how children would come to her store and use a mixed phrase to ask for a **ka'uo'o *chocolat*** 'big chocolate'. Teachers discussed how children from more 'benighted' families could not pronounce /j/ in ***français***. One of my transcription assistants caustically explained to me that the conjunction ***que*** has been incorporated into **'enana** as **ke** because it is 'simpler' (M4/14.38-189 note).

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And another assistant pointed out several instances of how when speaking ***français*** her children were using the grammar of **'enana**. For instance, she deemed the first half of the following utterance by her five-year-old daughter **sarapia** and the second half 'good': ***Papa, voilà ici à moi assiette*** **pao.** ***Papa, voilà ici mon assiette.*** *'Papa, here's to me plate* finished. *Papa, here's my plate'* (N9/10.F.2). Many people offered the explanation that 'the people' were still 'thinking in **'enana**' even though they were speaking ***français***, and vice versa that children were simply using the **'enana** words they knew to translate phrases from ***français***.

Ideology about **sarapia** is also illustrated in the standardizing efforts of pedagogues who no longer berate **'Enana** merely for bastardizing ***français***, but also for barbarizing **'enana**. An example of this is taken from a recently published grammar and dictionary:

> Two superfluous barbarisms are in evidence: **hora tisea** [a phonologically altered version of ***dix heures***] and **hora osea** [from ***onze heures***] for ten o'clock and eleven o'clock. Leave these expressions to the lazy people and say **hora 'onohu'u** et **hora 'onohu'u ma tahi**. (Zewen 1987:109, my translation)

The argument here is that if notions such as time marked in hours do not already exist, the words for them may

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justifiably be borrowed, but not if an adequate word already exists. Thus, one ought to use the 'real' **'enana** forms for the numbers 'ten' and 'eleven'. A failure to spend time and tongue on these longer words is the immediate reason for the 'lazy' epithet (but of course this label tends to accompany tropical 'barbarians' around the colonial world). The main difference here is a simple reversal in that the ancestors are now being revered as noble, not savage, while it is the present-day speakers of **sarapia**, the **po ke'eke'e**, who are barbarous and lazy.

These standardizing efforts by well-meaning **Hao'e** as well as the criticisms by elite **'enana** and average parents do not necessarily make things easier for young **'Enana** who grow up acquiring these forms. On the one hand, these regulating measures encourage hypercorrections based on the rules learned at school.[31] Additionally, such efforts re-enforce a long history of linguistic self-devaluation which, if wholeheartedly embraced, could undermine any real feelings of empowerment now being enjoined by the cultural revival movement.[32]

One potential answer to all the criticism is to quit speaking **'enana** altogether -- a choice several children in

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Hatiheu were already making. This move seems to be a manifestation of the fact that, despite the movement's rhetoric about saving **'enana**, at some level many may prefer that something close to standard ***français*** replace **'enana** altogether rather than that the people be left with impure versions of both.

However, another potential response to all the criticism is that of embracing the mixed-up code and employing it to make more or less humorous and/or rebellious statements about their own emergent identity. And this I hold is what many are doing. That is, while **'Enana** may say they are perturbed by the idea that they and their children are creating a syncretic system made up of FR, MQ, and other elements, in practice many **'Enana** are actively engaged in doing precisely this, and covert support for this emergent code is provided by young and old in a number of ways.

One ubiquitous function of **sarapia** was that of comedically 'aiding' (as well as poking fun at) someone who lacked competence in **'enana**. This function was displayed frequently and noticeably with me as illustrated by this construction from one of the grandmothers: **Are vahi le 'ehi**. '(He's) gone to chop *the* copra,' in explaining to me that

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her grandson had gone to fetch a horse in order to do copra (M8/5.144). The MQ'd **are** for FR ***allez*** is used where the MQ aspect marker **e** would have done the trick, as well as the FR article ***le*** where no article is required in the MQ formulaic phrase for doing copra: **vahi 'ehi**. Something similar can be seen in her discussion of **ki'ipiha** (literally 'cow skin', a kind of crude crêpe) with me: **Tuku'īa te *sel*. *Un peu de sel*. *C'est mis*.** 'The *salt* was (already) put on. *A little salt*. *It's put* (already)' (M8/5.349). In this also she employed a mid-NP switch from MQ into FR (**te *sel***) followed by a 'translation' of the MQ element **tuku'īa** into FR ***c'est mis*** '(the salt) was (already) applied.'

**Sarapia** in this vein was also employed with young children who were presupposed (and critically so) to lack sufficient skill in **'enana** proper. An example of this is found in the same grandmother's teasing critique of her four-year-old granddaughter directed bivalently at both me and the child who was sitting next to me: **Tenā...*si* te paho'e *Leticia*...*si n'a pas de sa'o, n'a pas de* kaikai** 'That (girl next to you)...*if* the little girl *Leticia*...*if* (there's) *no sao* (crackers), (there's) *no* food' (M8/5.165). While one might explain some of this as a function of this

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**pakahio**'s limited ***français***, her **'enana** was normally very fluent (she produced the longest and most complex utterances I have on tape), i.e., she had no need, for example, to 'break' NPs.

This comedic function of **sarapia** for signaling mixed-up identities was most marked, however, in association with a newly evolving identity which was emerging out of the combination of several other categories: ***les jeunes mal élevés*** 'the badly brought up youth', the ***sauvage* po'i po ke'eke'e** 'savage, benighted people', and particularly the people I refer to as 'wanderers'.

The identities characterized as youthful rebelliousness and uneducated savagery have been brought together through a new stage in the political economy of the islands. While employment opportunities outside the Marquesas or in the civil service sector first opened up in the sixties, more recently the opportunies for advancement have been closing back down, or at least have turned out to be finite. Thus, discouraged youth who have never had a chance to leave (but have had sufficient education in ***français*** and developed hopes attached to this code) are joining forces with and learning from those who went away earlier and have now

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returned.

On the other hand, these returned 'wanderers' have re-embraced the partially subsistence economy based on hunting, fishing, and horticulture (with some cash income derived from copra harvesting and intermittent employment on public works projects) and speak ideologically of having returned to nature, to a world where money is unnecessary. None of these activities require ***français*** even in the form of loans as the **'enana** lexicon is aptly suited to most tasks. Besides, to negotiate their re-entry into Hatiheu, these 'wanderers' were forced to demonstrate their competence in **'enana.**

Nonetheless, having spent time out in the wider world, many of them signal their worldliness through 'mixed-up' speech. Thus, **sarapia** enjoys covert prestige as the code used to ***débrouiller*** -- i.e., as a marker for **'Enana** who have left, seen the world, returned, and are now making do without money, thus creating an allure for ***les jeunes*** of a certain 'savage' lifestyle on these remote islands (for which a Western education is deemed wholly superfluous).

**Sarapia** has already become for these returnees and their young followers a clear marker of and medium through

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which to negotiate their identities as **'Enana**. Indeed, **sarapia** is now associated with the **keu** 'teasing' communicative style with which **'Enana** compete over status and relationship. And while the contexts of use -- adult community activities such as bingo-playing and local associational meetings; male-defined activities such as fishing, hunting, doing copra and drinking; as well as household activities -- do allow for some use of ***français***, genuine participation in the totality of such social spheres depends on an ability to engage in both **'enana** and **sarapia**. Such competence allows one to interact in all niches of these spheres, that is with all other participants and in all genres of speech from praying to joking.

However, the **sarapia** being markedly used in this way partakes not only of some of the newly emergent synthetic code, SAR, but also of strategic CS. That is, to the degree that ***français*** and **'enana** are still held metapragmatically distinct, speakers do at times switch between them in ways that are, whether consciously or not, strategic. Sometimes only a fuzzy line separates a lot of restructured forms of **sarapia** from strategic CS. Nonetheless, I treat these as analytically distinguishable and turn now to examining some

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of the forms and functioning of the latter. In particular, I focus on strategic CS as a salient site of Hatiheuans' emotionally charged micro negotiations of ethnolinguistic identity.

## 2. Strategic code-switching

The model of strategic CS outlined in Chapter II was developed for the purposes of analyzing the heteroglossic practices of **te 'Enana** (the schemata of the model can be found on p. 117). Derived in part from the work of Gumperz (1982), Auer (1984, 1995, 1998), Myers-Scotton (1993b), Hill and Hill (1986), and Woolard (1998), the model is also heavily influenced by Silverstein's semiotic paradigm (1976, 1996). To clarify the applicability of this semiotic model to CS, I examine here a single event that involved several strategic switches -- namely, an informational meeting on birth control held at the Hatiheu primary school, led by a French nurse, and attended by approximately twenty adults from the village.

To reiterate briefly first: Silverstein proposes analyzing semiosis as a function of two orders of

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indexicality which range from presupposing to transformative. Presupposing CS, whether at the first or second indexical order, indexes in a reconfirming fashion some features of an interaction that are being simultaneously established by other contextual cues. Transformative CS, by contrast, not only signals but also helps instigate a shift in the context -- the immediate interactive context and/or the wider sociocultural context.

Thus, for example, in the meeting on birth control, the choice by most participants of ***français*** for asking questions was *presupposed* by the official, Western nature of the meeting, its topic, and location, and the nurse's presumed lack of knowledge of **'enana**. Nothing new was being indexed by this choice of ***français***. However, when an **'enana** father of six with a real need to know this information asked a question in **'enana**, he was strategically indexing the fact that he was not happy with the dissemination of this important information in ***français***. That this was not an instance of communicative incompetence on his part takes some explication.

First of all, I knew Teiki (I call him here) well enough to know that he was minimally competent in ***français***.

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That is, he would have been capable of framing his question in ***français***, but he was not sufficiently fluent to have understood much of the French nurse's discourse (she spoke very rapidly either without cognizance of or concern for potential communication barriers). Many an **'Enana** have simply shut up under similar conditions in the past.[33] Teiki, however, chose to interrupt the flow of ***français*** by using an 'inappropriate' code, i.e., being uncooperative by Grice's standards in that his addressee was correctly presumed to be incapable of understanding the referential meaning of the question. Nonetheless, she clearly understood the speech act: while superficially a question, it was underlyingly a complaint whose affective import (anger and exasperation) was directed at her.

Teiki's transformative CS triggered a new speech event: a discussion in **'enana** among several adults in the room about whether or not everyone was capable of comprehending the French nurse and what if anything could be done about the fact that one or two were having trouble. As a result, the original context was temporarily transformed: it was decided that one 47-year-old woman -- a worldly but not highly fluent bilingual I will call Hina -- would translate

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into **'enana** whatever the nurse said.

I was not privy to the whole decision-making process because it took place at a rate too quick for me to follow, but I can guess, knowing the characters involved, that while other younger and better-educated individuals might have been better-equipped to provide translations,[24] they would not have offered themselves because: 1) they were in need of concentrating on the flow of information for their own needs, 2) they were not sympathetic to Teiki nor his needs as the only older (and therefore less fluent) man there, and/or 3) they were not self-consciously invested in issues of linguistic and cultural empowerment as Hina was. However, Hina abandoned her difficult task after several turns; Teiki then left, and the meeting returned to its original modus operandi -- at least on the surface.

Speakers may or may not be explicitly conscious of their use of presupposing and transformative indexicals; however, an indexical's force rests upon elements of a community's language ideology mediating its use and meaning. That is, for a sign to index something, interlocutors must share (even if outside their own 'limits of awareness') an understanding of what is being indexed. If interlocutors do

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not share this ideology, then the speakers' presuppositions are irrelevant and the strategy is simply not ratified. If, on the other hand, metapragmatic frameworks are shared, then indexicals can be used both to confirm and contradict presuppositions. However, the strategic effect of indexicals may be negotiated through a series of exchanges as can be illustrated through reference again to the birth control case.

The use of ***français*** by most participants at the meeting was probably not initially a conscious choice since in many ways the content and context resembled a conventional diglossic situation in which this language 'choice' would be triggered. However, the choice became intentional once Teiki broke the implicit interactional flow. Whether conscious or not, the use of ***français*** both before and after ratified the general metapragmatic understanding that this was an official/Western style meeting for which ***français*** is the appropriate medium. Hina's difficulties in translating (while in part a consequence of her lack of fluency) only further confirmed for the audience that this topic would be best handled in ***français***.

Teiki, on the other hand, was probably attuned to the

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strategic nature of his code choice right from the start. That is, at some level, he must have been aware that although begun as a **pekē** 'angry' protest, the pragmatic import of his using **'enana** then and there might be read as an admission that he could not keep up with the ***français*** being spoken, and that this in turn could be perceived by other **'Enana** as a display of being **pe** 'bad, soft, rotten', something that an **'Enana** of either sex but especially a **vahana** is not expected to publicly acknowledge (and this even though men are not supposed to speak ***français*** as well as women). In fact, such an admission undertaken in this rather belligerent way (i.e., through contradicting other presupposed aspects of the context and indirectly confronting his French female addressee) was exactly the sort of **pekē** act which is frequently interpreted by the community as **pe** 'bad, rotten'. Alternatively, he could have used a **keu** 'teasing' tone, i.e., he could have played and displayed his **kako** 'flexibility'. Given that he did not choose this method for expressing his critique, it is not surprising that the episode ended with his walking out, but only after his indexical strategy had been negotiated at some level of referential clarity and then pragmatically

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annulled. To fully understand these metapragmatic processes, one must examine the first and second orders of indexicality on which the semiotic schemata rests.

Signs operating at the first order of indexicality pick out features of the present interactional context; thus, much of what has been discussed so far exemplifies this indexical order as the relevant features include the identity and linguistic competence of the main interlocutors and the public/Western nature of the setting and topic. By contrast, signs operating at the second order of indexicality refer to the identities of the users and their relationships to others as implicated within a metapragmatic framework shaped by language ideologies concerning what the use of certain codes by certain people within certain contexts means.

Second order indexicality can be seen to operate in the above example with reference to conventional notions concerning, on the one hand, the authority derived from western knowledge and French ***politesse*** (associated with women) and, on the other, the strength and/or benighted aspects of **'enana** identity (associated with men). For example, when ***français*** is not presupposed by other aspects

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of the context, **'Enana** use ***français*** as a strategic index of their enlightened and refined status. In the case above, the use of ***français*** *was* presupposed by the linguistic (in)competence of the nurse; nonetheless, individual speakers *returned* as quickly as they did to ***français*** to display by contrast with Teiki their mastery of the language and to signal iconically the knowledge and ***politesse*** embodied by that language, all resting, of course, on the communally ratified notion that an ability to speak ***français*** has those pragmatic meanings.

However, Teiki (at some level of awareness) was appealing to the growing sentiment among **'Enana**, fed by the cultural revival movement, that ***'enana*** is as viable a medium as ***français*** (or **ma'ohi** for that matter) for transmitting any kind of information and that **'Enana** have the right to use it in all official settings, even with French or Tahitian officials present (as had the **'Enana** representatives at the Territorial Assembly in the early 80s). That is, the use of **'enana** should not be considered metaphorically a form of **pe** 'bad, soft' speech (like rotten breadfruit). Instead, at the covert level, **'enana** can be used like a **koi** 'sharp' machete on the hard husk of a coconut (an operation made

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possible and necessary by the introduction of metal and the transformation of this fruit into a cash crop by **Hao'e**). That is, in such a **Hao'e**-constructed situation, **'enana** can be used dialogically to index confrontation and rebellion against external authority (and this despite the fact that at the practical level it might make actual communication between **'Enana** and French or Tahitians impossible).

To spell this out more clearly, at the first order of indexicality, Teiki was attempting through his use of **'enana** to transform the immediate French/Western setting into one open to bilingual interactions. However, such a transformation could only be effected if at the second order of indexicality Teiki's choice of **'enana** had mounted a successful challenge to normative understandings of such **Hao'e** settings and begun to construct the larger metapragmatic framework by which local syncretic **'enana** settings could be understood and engaged in. However, this task is something still only approached with any aplomb by elite and fully bilingual **'Enana** (such as the Assembly representatives).

Although not poor by local standards, Teiki was by no means a member of this elite, having completed very little

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formal schooling. Instead, again at the first level of indexicality, his choice of **'enana** was an attempt to promote his status as a strong **vahana** capable of confronting foreign authority figures as well as of understanding Western notions (in **'enana**), and if not actually attempting to usurp an elite status for himself then at least that of a rebel capable of challenging the hierarchical status quo. If such a change in the interactive context had been possible (i.e., a change in the perception of the identity of the speaker), he might then have been more effective at the second order of indexicality at claiming dignity for the **'enana** masses as well as the elite and at demanding that a mix of **'enana** and ***français*** be acceptable not only symbolically at public forums at the level of the Territory, but also for practical purposes at village-level meetings.

However, to achieve this end, Teiki had to defeat or reframe several deeply rooted notions concerning **'enana** and **te 'Enana**, which have not yet been overturned by the revival movement. First was the belief that **'Enana** and their language are inherently ***sauvage*** and impolite. That is, they are thought to still be so depite the fact that French Catholic missionaries banished idolatry, cannibalism,

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incest, etc. This assumption was 'proven' true at the second order of indexicality by Teiki's **pekē** 'angry' speech act.

Secondly, those incapable of engaging in fluent ***français*** conversation are thought to be recursively benighted. That is, they lack fluency because they are ignorant, and they will remain ignorant because they do not have access to the knowledge which is and can only be transmitted via ***français***. The uneducated Teiki appeared to evidence the truth of this dictum as he left the meeting still unenlightened.

And third is the perception that **'Enana** ought not to be confrontative for fear of showing themselves to be **pe** 'soft'. That is, they should ***débrouiller*** or **keu** 'play' with the ongoing discourse rather than admit that they have not understood something, especially in front of outsiders, this being a form of flexibility before authority that they are versed in from French schooling and other contexts. But this failing is exactly what Teiki had manifested despite himself.

Thus, the metapragmatic force of these three beliefs undermined Teiki's strategic attempt to transform both the

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speech event and the underlying metapragmatic framework by which it was interpreted. Instead of constructing his own status as that of a strong **vahana** capable of shifting discourse to his own language for the purpose of discussing important information he as a **vahana** should be capable of controlling (i.e., his own reproductive capacities), he had enacted the 'fact' that he was benighted, impolite, inflexible, and incapable of understanding ***français*** or the complex ideas best transmitted via that language, and as a result would be relegated to the uncontrolled reproduction of children who would be likewise crippled in status and capabilities.

At least, that is, simplistically put, the underlying logical conclusion the entirety of which no one present at the time would have been likely to articulate. Teiki himself drank any trace of it in his own mind away into total unconsciousness by early that evening. But further confirmation of this reading of the situation was later provided by Teiki's wife who told me that assessments of his failures at public discourse were not an uncommon topic of gossip in the village-at-large.

This extended example has been used to clarify the two

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bipolar axes out of which my semiotic CS model is constructed. As outlined in Chapter II, four types of strategic CS -- situational, metonymic, rhetorical, and dialogic -- are defined by the four quadrants. I now use this typology to analyze the heteroglossic discourse of Hatiheuan children and their caregivers.

a. *Situational code-switching*

*Situational CS* is organized by societal norms of appropriate language usage and is triggered by specific contextual cues to do with setting, activities, and perceptions of the linguistic competencies, identities, and relationships of participants. Thus, with *situational CS* the particular choice of code in a given situation is unmarked as it is presupposed by other independently verifiable factors. There is metapragmatic agreement about who you and your addressee are, how you are relating, where you are, what you are talking about, and therefore what language you should be speaking. As such it indexes confirmation of first and second order social realities, that is of the immediate interpersonal conditions as well as

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of wider social structural relations.

*Situational CS* may never have existed in a wholly clear-cut form in the Marquesas (if anywhere); what is certain is that this arrangement has been disintegrating over the past thirty years. Nonetheless, it is worth delineating the contextual cues that once held sway at least to some degree, first, because they are still responsible for some unmarked switches and, secondly, insofar as they represent at an ideological level the figures against which metonymic switching presently operates.

Thus, certain choices are still made as a function of *setting*. Primarily ***français*** is the appropriate choice for schools, hospitals, post offices, and banks (i.e., settings that were until recently and still are to some degree dominated by French and French-identified Tahitian personnel). **'Enana**, on the other hand, tends to be used more in the majority of homes and at play, while fishing, hunting, or doing copra, while gossiping in the road or playing bingo, and to some degree at church (as discussed above, this institution has always made use of **'enana** personnel and been relatively supportive of **'enana**).

Similarly, sometimes an *activity* in which participants

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are involved may trigger the use of one language or the other. Activity-based choices include ***français*** for literacy training interactions and **'enana** for the direction of household duties. For example, during one taping session (T3/11), the mother and her two older girls switched back and forth between **'enana** and ***français***, frequently within a single turn, the former being used to give orders about washing and dressing, and the being latter used to discuss various reading and writing activities that engaged several of the children throughout the tape. In another case, while taping the family of children who were most committed to ***français*** engaged in helping their father do copra in the coconut grove, I garnered more expressions in **'enana** than during any other session with these particular children (N8/2).

Finally, code choices are sometimes conventionally presupposed by the ethnolinguistic identities and linguistic commitments of participants within a situation. In the following paragraphs, I treat the identities and commitments of speakers first, followed by those of addressees.

A speaker's linguistic commitments drive *situational* CS in a couple of difficult to analyze ways. First, a

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speaker's greater fluency in one language creates a context which presupposes the use of that code. Secondly, a speaker's covert or explicit preference for one language (based on metapragmatic associations with that language) may predispose a speaker's choice in favor of that code. However, identifying the actual state of either of these factors and disentangling them from one another is rarely easy.

First of all, even assuming it is possible to measure linguistic competence in a laboratory or classroom setting (an assumption I do not make), it is still more difficult for a researcher in the field to judge with any great accuracy the levels of fluency of all subjects in a broad study. However, observations of speakers' abilities evidenced in everyday practice and elicited via informal testing, as well as self-reports and the judgments of others, provide some grounds for making gross assessments.

But even once these assessments are established, it is impossible to know for sure whether a switch has been accomplished because of the speaker's actual incompetence, insecurity over competence, perception of the addressee's competence, or for some other reason. Nonetheless,

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indicators such as hesitation, self-repair, and rephrasing in translation provide some justification for analyzing the switch as grounded in the speaker's incompetence (whether 'actual' or 'perceived').

Based on these assessments, two generalizations about the presupposing nature of competency-driven switching are possible. First, the many people over fifty who are unable to carry on a conversation for long in ***français*** either switch to **'enana** or withdraw from the conversation altogether. The same is true for a number of children in Hatiheu vis-à-vis **'enana**; they switch in mid-sentence into ***français*** because they apparently cannot find a word or complete their sentence in **'enana**. In addition, most of the little children aged two to five and all but the eldest child in the Teikivaeoho family very predictably responded to **'enana** queries in ***français*** -- this 'choice' is presupposed by their sense of competence. Nothing about the metapragmatic context or framework is transformed by these 'choices'.

On the other hand, speakers also frequently prefer to use one code over another as a more or less conscious index of their ethnolinguistic identity. To the degree that a

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speaker's preference for one code supersedes his or her competence in that code, the code-choice can no longer be said to be presupposed and usually has a transformative effect. These choices are dealt with as instances of metonymic and dialogic switching.

But where attitude and ability are matched, the choice of code is conventionalized and presupposed as when adult **'Enana** speak **'enana** among themselves to index in an uncreative way their in-group solidarity and sense of intimacy, integrity, and common orientation when gossiping about village matters (e.g., illicit sexual relations, local politics, success at fishing or hunting, the readiness of certain trees or roots for harvesting, the whereabouts or doings of anyone). However, this was more true in the past when fewer **'Enana** had the capacity to speak much ***français***. At this point in time, **sarapia** has begun to serve as the unmarked choice for such discourse despite the fact that at the overt ideological level, this code is despised (ambivalently representing, as was explained above, two centuries of mixed messages concerning their noble savagery).

Another previously unmarked code choice made to confirm

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(rather than to construct or negotiate) identity is the use of **'enana** by men in particular. That is, as was discussed earlier, speaking **'enana** used to be a definitive part of 'doing being male' in the Marquesas. And using **tahiti** was the non-presupposed choice, i.e., a self-conscious practice by which men marked their male worldliness -- a sort of hyper-macho image.[35] However, more recently, as more men are educated, even the choice of **'enana** has become less presupposed. The fact that elite **vahana** 'feel' pressure to affirm their identity through switching to **'enana** when hanging out with other **vahana** means that this choice is no longer simply a conventionally obvious one. From observation, my analysis is that at present any mix of **'enana**, **tahiti**, and/or **sarapia** will do to project a macho image.

By contrast, women's conscious use of ***français*** in order to adopt a polite, civilized, classy, or authoritative persona must once have represented a more marked choice than it does now when the long-term association of women and ***français*** has created the metapragmatic framework for understanding the choice (especially in public contexts) as conventional and therefore unmarked. In the past, this

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choice was both a product and an index of their access to and faith in Western schooling (i.e., an incipient class marker). Now that access and faith is signaled by their use of **menike** because the non-standard ***français*** most speak no longer fully serves this purpose.

In other words, at present a choice of language is never wholly presupposed by a speaker's identity and linguistic commitments in the Marquesas. Nonetheless, past conventions do play a role in the more transformative switches discussed in the next few sections. Similarly, there are residual effects of an audience's choices, competencies, and identities, which I now consider.

*Situational CS* is still to some degree presupposed by the linguistic commitment and/or psychosocial identity of an addressee and/or other members of the audience. However, analysis of these factors is at least as complex as that concerning the speaker's identity and commitments. First of all, speakers are never simply reacting to some objective knowledge of the other's competence. Rather a choice of code is based on the speaker's perceptions of an audience member's linguistic competencies and attitudes, which are in turn interwoven with the speaker's ideological assumptions

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about the addressee's social identities. Finally, the concept of *audience* is problematic as a speaker may be attempting to signal separate messages to separate members of the audience simultaneously and/or may be intending to constitute audience and non-audience through code-choice in ways that may or may not succeed.

Nonetheless, to begin, I present certain choices as being constrained by certain conventional assumptions and then discuss some of the complications while bracketing others off for discussion as instances of *rhetorical CS* -- i.e., instances in which a real reversal of situational usage can be interpreted as having a discourse-specific meaning.

Two presupposing rules concerning one's audience applied by speakers when choosing a code may be delineated as: 1) accommodating the choice of code made by the addressee, and 2) taking into consideration his or her apparent competency in the chosen code.

Thus, choice of code may be presupposed by the language choice of one's addressee. For instance, the two-year-old grandson in the Pahuatini family, the youngest speaker in my study, tended to switch into the code being used by his

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interlocutor, even when that person was clearly not as fluent in the code chosen (e.g., me using **'enana** with him). And sometimes a parent, even someone as committed to **'enana** as the father in the Teikivaeoho family, would responsively switch to ***français*** when addressed that way by his children. Even two relatively bilingual persons sometimes led each other into one language or the other depending on other factors (e.g., the mother and father in the Poihipapu family).

A rejection of this felicity principle is usually a marker of discourse discontent and is intended to make some rhetorical point as is discussed below. However, some children consistently responded in ***français*** even when addressed in **'enana** because, through experience, they correctly anticipated that their interlocutors would comprehend a response in ***français*** (an interactional practice common in situations of language shift and referred to as *non-reciprocal switching* [Zentella 1997]). This leads into the second rule about choices which are predicated on interlocutor's linguistic competence.

As a speaker's expectations concerning an interlocutor's linguistic competence are inevitably mediated

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by ideology concerning identity, code choice can rarely be said to be presupposed by this factor. Instead the code choice is almost inevitably used to transform the interactive context. Nonetheless, a few conventional expectations do result in presupposed switches. To generalize heavily: ***français*** is used with **Hao'e** (as 'we' are not smart enough to learn **'enana**); ***français*** is used with small children (as they are not learning **'enana** anymore); and **'enana** is used with all ***'Enana*** over five (as **'Enana** know **'enana**).

One would presume that this last is based on the most easily of ascertained criteria, i.e., who is an **'Enana** would seem to be self-evident. Yet it is not. A person's classification as **'Enana** (and subsequent assumptions about his or her linguistic commitments) are influenced by issues of class, heredity, education, and periods of living in France, Tahiti, or even the larger towns in the Marquesas. There are a fair number of **'Enana** with **Hao'e** family names, lighter skin, secondary educations, and salaried jobs (or some combination of these), who return to their villages of origin after several years away and have to prove their ability to speak **'enana** well. Thus, use of **'enana** with such

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persons is not a presupposed choice.

The use of ***français*** with small children is another instance of situational usage based on the perception of the identity and commitments of the addressee. Adults and older children said they use ***français*** with little children in part because young children are now presupposed to be incompetent in **'enana**. However, this ideology is false in a couple of ways. First, no child was addressed only and consistently in ***français*** by all persons; and secondly, many children are still capable of responding in **'enana** under the proper conditions. I spell this out with one extended example.

'Proof' of children's inability to speak **'enana** was offered to me one day early on in my study by the **'enana** teacher of the ***Ecole maternelle***. At the school canteen, she addressed a simple question in **'enana** to every child at the table: **'I hea to 'oe papa?** 'Where is your father?' Every child answered in ***français*** even though the teacher would have understood a reply in **'enana** and even though their fathers' whereabouts was an activity that would tend to trigger **'enana** (e.g., doing copra, fishing, hunting or other male/**'enana**/away-from-civilization activities).

Despite the teacher's negativity on this score, I heard

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many of these same children speaking **'enana** on other occasions. Even the three-year-old daughter in the Teikikaine family, one of the ones I rarely taped speaking in **'enana**, was heard responding in **'enana** while hanging out with the women playing bingo -- there the context, activity, and interlocutor's code choice would all have been operative in calling forth her **'enana** resources.

In the case of the teacher's pop-quiz, the school context and the question-and-answer activity directed by the teacher -- a French-identified authority role associated with the teaching of ***français*** and French culture -- would both have contributed to the children's responding in ***français***. More importantly, this teacher, in particular, would very rarely have addressed them in anything but ***français*** and would usually have required or at least encouraged them to respond in that code. Not unrelated to this immediate interactive context is the fact that her identity was somewhat blurred in the ways discussed above: although **'Enana**, she was not of the village, being in fact from a neighboring island, was 'rich' (by local standards) and married to a man who lived in the administrative capital of Taiohae on the other side of the island. As such, she

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rarely joined in village activities -- recreational or associational -- aside from official meetings to do with school or village business at which her presence was required. Thus, in this example of situational code choice, the children's responses were dictated not by their interlocutor's immediate choice of code, but by several contextual factors -- the setting, the activity, and her ethnolinguistic identity -- all of which would surely have been inextricably intertwined in their consciousnesses.

Although the use of ***français*** with children is not a necessary condition driven by their incompetence in **'enana** (i.e., they are not incompetent *and* ***français*** is not always used with them), the increased use of ***français*** turns out to be an unfortunately transformative choice in that it creates the conditions by which the ideology will be self-fulfilling (i.e., children will become less and less competent in **'enana** the less they are engaged in that code -- as Kulick [1992] found for the Gapun). Thus, this form of switching (unlike the other interlocutor-based switches discussed here) may become over time more, rather than less, presupposed by contextual factors to do with interlocutor identity.

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Finally, there is the situational use of ***français*** with **Hao'e** because it is presupposed that this is the code the speaker shares with his/her interlocutor. Usually this assumption is well-founded and the choice is confirmed by the **Hao'e**'s response in and continued use of that code. I would hold that these choices are grounded in the local culture's positive valuation of hospitality (rather than in some universal principle of communicative cooperativeness as proposed by Grice).

However, as was discussed above in the extended example involving the French nurse, the local hospitality principle has been giving way to a more obvious application of what Myers-Scotton (1993b) terms the 'negotiation principle' and the resurfacing of overtly confrontative communicative practices. That is, although the use of ***français*** may still be presupposed by the **Hao'e**, this choice is no longer the unmarked choice for **'Enana** speaking to an outsider. Instead, the long-time functions of using **'enana** to translate and carry on private conversations in the presence of an outsider have been transformed for the purposes of direct address. The functions which once operated more covertly are now elaborated and foregrounded, i.e., to

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exclude, insult, slyly slur, or tease the outsider. Set against this transformed background, the use of ***français*** is no longer presupposed, but carries a new set of ambiguous and transformative signals (e.g., supercilious respect and compassionate put-down). Thus, code choices with **Hao'e** now inevitably involve issues of confrontation and the negotiation of identity, all of which play a much larger role in the three forms of transformative CS discussed below.

b. *Metonymic code-switching*

*Metonymic CS* rests in large measure on residual categories derived from *situational CS*. Here, however, the choice of code is not motivated by the context already inhabited so much as it creatively imposes another context through a metonymic process: the code that would have been spoken in that other context now injects features of that other context into the present one. Thus, in *metonymic CS* the choice of code is marked because it cannot be presupposed by other contextual cues. The switch is transformative at the first order of indexicality as it

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entails a change in the nature of the setting, in the identities and relationships between participants, or in their attitudes toward the topic. Nonetheless, these transformations are mediated by second-order metapragmatic understandings of how participant identities and relationships, settings, and activities may be indexed by code choice.

A simple and very common example is that in which topic-based code choices override setting cues. For instance, as explained above, **'enana** is still conventionally associated with the domestic sphere and with activities and roles associated with domesticity. Thus, in the home most older children and caregivers use **'enana** for directives and explanations to do with household chores. However, they metonymically switch to ***français*** to discuss school-related events. Thus, in transcript example #6, mostly ***français*** was employed in the Poihipapu family by the mother and her two girls to debate a naming episode that occurred at school and involved teachers and classmates. In turn 210, however, the mother switched back to **'enana** to reprimand her three-year-old son for playing with my cassette recorder. This not unusual usage marks both a rhetorical switch of addressee

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and a change of topic from school affairs to domestic matters.

But while this switch demonstrates two functions, metonymic and rhetorical, the two functions operate coincidentally. That is, the rhetorical work of switching from a debate with one set of interlocutors to scolding another is not dependent on the metonymic association of ***français*** with school and **'enana** with home. To put it another way, the change in flow of the immediate interaction was not entailed by some shared knowledge of larger social power dynamics.[16] How such strategic switches function without metonymic significance is the subject of the next section.

c. *Rhetorical code-switching*

Unlike *metonymic CS*, *rhetorical CS* depends not at all on second order metapragmatic associations between codes, contexts, and identities formulated above under *situational CS*. Instead, *rhetorical CS* breaks these ethnolinguistic norms in ways that appear at first glance quite haphazard, but in fact turn out to be presupposed at the first order of

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indexicality by other rhetorical features. That is, while the choice of a particular code is without consequence at any given instant (i.e., does not metonymically index larger order social meanings), a switch in whichever direction contributes to some rhetorical move that affects the flow of discourse and the dynamics between participants. Thus, *rhetorical CS* is similar to and sometimes accompanied by parallel shifts in tone and style (humorous, emphatic, scolding, etc.).

However, at the second order of indexicality, *rhetorical CS* is transformative in that it contributes at a metacommunicative level to ongoing debate over ethnolinguistic identities and their contextual deployment. That is, use of this form of CS represents a challenge to prescriptive ideology about when and where codes ought to be used, constructing instead new metapragmatic frameworks for the interpretation of the interactive function and effect of switching on the immediate flow of conversation. As a result, some speech economies marked by so much *rhetorical CS* ultimately generate an unmarked CS register (i.e., one in which switches lack any rhetorical effect, much less metonymic projections, and the register itself becomes a

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highly valued code). Given the degree of negative evaluation of the mixed code in Hatiheu, it is unlikely that **'Enana** are moving in this direction. And especially at this time, much of their switching still functions at least rhetorically (if not also metonymically).

In analyzing CS in Hatiheu, I have found it useful to divide *rhetorical CS* into two types based on its occurrence within or between speakers: response switches and internal switches. Response switches are those which occur between speakers -- i.e., a switch away from the code chosen by one's interlocutor. Internal switches are those which occur somewhere within the same thread of discourse of a single speaker, whether mid-utterance, mid-turn, or even separated by several turns so long as the topic and some of the interlocutors remain constant.

Frequently, speakers switch from the code used by other interlocutors for reasons related to the roles and power moves of participants within the immediate conversation. In a kind of pragmatic jousting, they use rhetorical response switching to resist or undermine the authority of someone ordering them around or to challenge the integrity of someone claiming to possess or know something under dispute.

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As an instance of rhetorical switching, **non** and **'a'o'e** (FR and MQ for 'no') and **si** and **'o ia** (FR and MQ for 'but yes' -- i.e., to positively contradict a negative statement) carry a lot of emotive force as terms for staking and rebutting claims (as in example #6 T3/11.203-209). Response switches of this sort are as salient as intonation in the monolingual version of such a dispute made up of one-word retorts: 'No.' 'Yes.' 'No!' 'Yes!' 'Noooo...' 'Yeeeeees.' Which language is being used for affirmation and negation is inconsequential; it's the switch that matters.

The eleven-year-old Rafa Pahuatini provided an interesting metapragmatic commentary on this sort of rhetorical CS while teasing his two-year-old nephew Siki concerning a ***pamplemousse*** 'grapefruit' (see example #20). Rafa was trying to convince Siki that he ought to go back to the house, and they went back and forth using ***non*** and ***si*** for a while (for some reason Siki definitely preferred to use **non** over **'a'o'e**). When Rafa suddenly switched to **'o ia** (as opposed to ***si***), Siki, perhaps confused, responded: **'O ia. *Non*.** Rafa mocked him: **'O ia *non*? E, 'a'o'e, *si*?** 'But yes no? Yes (or Hey), no, but yes?' (S8/19.269-95). Rafa was amused no doubt by the superficial contradiction of saying

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'yes-no'. But even more salient to his humorous put-down is the way he rhetorically highlights the juxtaposition of codes.

In another type of instance, an older child with bilingual commitments, who normally responds to a parent in the language chosen by that parent, will switch the code if the parent's remark takes the form of an unwanted command or accusation. For example, to her mother's command: **Kamai 'oto nei.** 'Bring (the baby) inside,' the oldest daughter of the Poihipapu family switched to ***français***, thus rejecting the implication that the baby's exodus was her fault and/or responsibility: ***Il veut aller dehors.*** *'He wants to go outside.'* Following her daughter's train of reasoning, the mother concluded in ***français***: ***Si tu ne fermes pas, lui il va aller dehors***. *'If you don't close (the door), he will go outside'* (T5/13.540-1).

As this example also illustrates, whether or not the parent chooses to follow the child's lead into the other language generally correlates with the parent's overall management of the child's pragmatic resistance. That is, a return to the original language indicates that the parent is striking an oppositional stance to resolve the issue. By

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contrast, a switch that follows the child's choice signals that the parent is amenable to some aspect of the child's articulation or is willing to find a more conciliatory approach to dealing with the disagreement. In this case, the mother was corroborating her daughter's sense that she had been blamed while also insisting (in a gently mocking fashion) that the daughter was indeed the one responsible (i.e., a proper caregiver can gauge a baby's willfulness and act accordingly).

Contrast this with the situational accommodation displayed in example #6 by the mother who, in turns 196 and 200, switched to **'enana** in response to her nine-year-old daughter's mentioning a couple of meaningful **'enana** names. This daughter's switch back to ***français*** on turn 201 represents a rhetorical attempt to grab the floor before her seven-year-old sister can reply, and even before the older sister is in fact in charge of what she wants to say.

Related to the authority-challenging function of response switches, some internal switches represent a kind of gearing up in tone when a command in one language is not being obeyed. For instance, a CS reiteration, which Gumperz identified as a form of emphasis, may have the illocutionary

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force of a finger-snap in the face. For example, the following exasperated CS directive came from a mother who had already tried for several turns to get her four-year-old son not to waste the orange he was eating: **Poiti, *ne faut pas jeter. Tu vas laisser dans l'assiette pour toute à l'heure, e?* Kave avai ma 'uka he mereiti.** 'Little Boy, *don't throw out* (the orange). *You go leave* (it) *in the plate for later,* yes? Bring (and) leave (the orange) up (in) the plate' (N3/6.557).

Some analysts argue that switches such as this stem from the habitual translation that begins to occur in contexts where speakers no longer trust their addressees to be sufficiently fluent in one of the codes and as a result follow each command with an echo command in the other code. I call this *translation CS*. It does occur in the Marquesas (though I do not treat it in this study) and can be performed by one or more speakers 'translating' their own or each other's utterances (whether declaratives, imperatives, or other speech acts). However, if the case above were an example of *translation CS*, the mother would have switched from **'enana** (the code presumed to be less well understood by children) to ***français*** (the one that her son used more), not

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the reverse.

It is possible for *rhetorical* and *translation CS* to function simultaneously. First of all, *translation CS* may be accompanied by the sorts of indices of anger (e.g., raised tone or physical threat) which mark the emphatic reiterations of *rhetorical CS*. In the case of *translation CS*, the frustration may be caused in part by the belief that one's addressee is not comprehending one's utterance. However, this manifestation of 'frustration' may also be part of a show of 'superior competence' indexed by the translation which the speaker is using to construct an authoritative stance not unlike that accompanying the emphatic reiterations of *rhetorical CS*. However, *translation CS* is not necessarily emphatic any more than, as illustrated above, a reiterating switch is necessarily a translation.

Another common form of internal *rhetorical CS* is that used to set off an instance of reported speech from the reporter's voice. As has been noted by others, the fact that speakers sometimes represent the speech of someone else using a code that that person would have been unlikely to use is evidence of the fact that this sort of switching has

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primarily rhetorical significance (although switching to mark quotes can have richer dialogic functions, see Alvarez-Cáccamo 1996). That is, the switch simply marks the projection of another's voice rather than providing any information (interpretable via the metapragmatic parameters of the speech economy) as to the ethnolinguistic identity of the person being quoted. For instance, one mother represented the French nurse as speaking in **'enana**, something this francophone would have been incapable of doing: ***Barbara a dit:* Ha'aoke te pepe. *Elle est trop grosse.*** *'Barbara said:* Put the baby on a diet. *She's too big'* (N9/10.F40). Similarly, in example #9 a father represented the possible utterance of an older man in ***français,*** a code this older man would have been very unlikely to use in almost any context: **'A'i pe'au ia: *On a plus beaucoup?*** 'He didn't say: *There isn't much anymore (tobacco papers)?'* (T7/27.89).

Frequently, switching in the Marquesas accompanies a shift in addressee. However, I do not consider this an instance of *rhetorical CS* if the switched-to code is already conventionally associated with individuals of the type being addressed (based on second order assumptions about

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identities and competencies as discussed above in the section on *situational CS*) or are accompanied (and entailed) by a shift in activity by the speaker (also a situational factor). For example, one mother switched back and forth between giving orders and scolding her two older girls in **'enana** and discussing the writing of her three-year-old son in ***français*** (T3/11.91-3, 163-83). Both the identities of the addressees and the activities spurred the switches. So although the switches contributed to the rhetorical impact of the immediate communicative project, they did not in any way undermine the second order metapragmatic rules by which speakers were at that time organizing conversation.

None of the rhetorical choices discussed so far -- internal nor response, switches nor accommodations -- hold any metonymic significance. That is, they do not index second level social order meanings. However, in the Marquesas, many instances of CS occur in which the language chosen has specific ethnolinguistic connotations that support the rhetorical functions. Where rhetorical and metonymic functions are intertwined, one finds *dialogic CS*.

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d. *Dialogic code-switching*

In the case of *dialogic CS*, the switch metonymically transposes some other setting, activity, or set of participant identities onto the present context in a way that contributes to the efficacy of a rhetorical shift. Such a switch is creative at the first order of indexicality in that its use and direction cannot be presupposed by other rhetorical variables, being instead transformative of the immediate interactive context. In addition, with respect to the second order of indexicality, the switching is not predictably determined by wider sociocultural values concerning participants, activities, or settings, being instead transformative of those values. That is, this marked CS register goes unmediated by any metapragmatic agreement about what forms of CS are appropriate to participants' identities, the interactive context, or the subject matter.

Given an ideological context in which valuation of both codes and the mixed code is full of contradiction and paradox, *dialogic CS* signals and articulates disagreements with the wider social order as enacted in immediate

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interactions. That is, speakers struggle to use code choices whose indexical functions are themselves open to debate, to challenge that wider ideological order. As with *rhetorical CS*, I separate this type into response and internal switches, the latter including two additional types: calcified dialogism and bivalent forms.

Speakers sometimes switch in response to interlocutors in ways that are not only rhetorically challenging but also metonymically transformative. *Dialogic CS* picks out the social identities of speaker and other interlocutors in order to reinterpret the exchange or affect the nature of the context. The use of **'enana** by Teiki with the French nurse is an example of such a switch, done seriously but ineffectually. However, the dialogic functions of switching with **Hao'e** are now various and can be quite effective.

With foreigners who have shown no signs of knowing **'enana**, the code is used to exclude them, obviously or not (i.e., through direct address or simply in their presence), from the discussion of certain subjects, including their own suspect natures. This rhetorically transformative usage serves to both signal and construct linguistic and ideological boundaries between **'Enana** and outsiders.

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Similarly, **'enana** can be used in a double-edged, bivalent way to test, distance, and isolate those outsiders who are known to be trying to learn the language in order to get to 'really know' **'Enana** (an ideologically informed agenda peculiar to **Hao'e**). On the surface, the use of **'enana** in such a circumstance is interpreted as a hospitable willingness to help educate the **Hao'e**; however, more covertly, until the **Hao'e** is sufficiently fluent, the circumstance is perfect for simultaneously proving and remarking upon his or her dim-wittedness.

A switch back to ***français*** in this situation can then be interpreted as politely accommodating, as an index of good breeding, and/or as supercilious and damning of the **Hao'e**'s best attempts. Nonetheless, once sufficiently **hakako'ĩa** 'taught' (made flexible) by a community of **'Enana**, a **Hao'e**'s competence is supremely lauded and **'enana** is then consciously used to index the **ka'oha** with which this new intimate is now included.

Another more humorous illustration of *dialogic response* CS demonstrates how the situational language choice presupposed by one context and activity may give way to a metonymic choice of **'enana** for the rhetorical purposes of

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identifying with some and mocking other participants -- albeit in an imaginary social universe as is found in example #7.

Here, several members of the Poihipapu family were sitting together watching "Millionaire" on TV. On this Wheel-of-Fortune type program, the contestants are French Polynesian and the game show host and other personnel are French; thus, all talk on the set is in ***français***. However, the family members did not exhibit any form of situational accommodation to this code for their responses to the program. First of all, all extra-TV interactions (e.g., scolds, teases, pleas, reports, and commands) were primarily conducted in the mix of **'enana** and ***français*** conventionally used by this family for such purposes (408-12, 416-29). **Sarapia** (mostly MQ with FR terms for numbers and colors) was used to discuss aspects of the game unfolding on TV and to urge the contestants on. But most interesting, family members predictably employed **'enana** to mock the French persons on the show (e.g., 373, 376-9) and to discuss the possible identity and kin-relations of several Tahitians and one **'enana** contestant (372, 452-9).

In other words, the issue of identity and relationship

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triggered the use of **'enana**, in this case because it metapragmatically reframed the context from one in which the family members were using a FR-laden **sarapia** to articulate with the figurative TV land (a French Polynesian space) to one in which the family related as **'enana** observers hooking into this world via their connection to the Polynesians on screen, while orienting away from the **Hao'e** depicted there.

Another extended illustration of *dialogic CS* is provided in the ***pamplemousse*** incident (I provide only an abbreviated version of this exchange in example #20). This fascinating metapragmatic dispute carried on at heated length between the two-year-old Siki and his eleven-year-old uncle Rafa involved only two words, one ***français***, one **'enana**, for the same referent: 'grapefruit'. On this day, the two boys and I had wandered across the churchyard to where two of Siki's adult uncles were working on the plumbing for the priest's house. Everyone stopped working to engage us, and Siki was set on top of a canvas bag full of grapefruit that was apparently intended as a gift for someone. However, Siki saw the sack as more than a bench and indicated that he wanted a grapefruit by saying: **'Ani!** (an abbreviated form of **'anani** , MQ for 'orange', the more

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recently imported 'grapefruit' being sometimes expressed as **'anani hao'e**). To distract him from this end, Rafa said: ***Pamplemousse!*** (FR for 'grapefruit'), meaning 'This thing you want is a ***pamplemousse*** not an **'anani**,' to which Siki countered: **'Anani!** meaning, 'No, it's **'anani** and I want it.' And so it continued with Siki becoming frustrated, uncertain, and infuriated by turns, and Rafa becoming more and more pointed in his tactics. At one point, Rafa succeeded in eliciting the required word from Siki, but then mocked him for his partially MQ'd pronunciation: **popelushi**.

Without knowledge of local language ideologies, one might assume first of all that this was simply a case of an older child correcting (if teasingly) a younger child's word choice based on his own lexicon (for which 'grapefruit' could be expressed only by the term ***pamplemousse***). However, given that most Hatiheuans use **'anani** interchangeably for 'grapefruit' and 'orange', one might take this exchange instead as an instance of purely *rhetorical cs* in which the choice of code and associations with its speakers and contexts were not at issue. In effect, one might presume that the older child was simply using the distinction between the codes to tease the younger child with his

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helplessness and incompetence. Clearly this teasing was part of the point.

However, I would argue that the rhetorical switching was cloaked in metonymic significance. That is, Rafa was appropriating a French pedagogic style and tone of authority along with the code to instruct, correct, and castigate the two-year-old concerning the proper (and phonologically complex, from the perspective of **'enana**) label for the fruit. This is a wonderful illustration of the salience of such disputes over knowledge and possession and how they can be employed in more or less covert disputes over linguistic competence, and I return to this and similar examples in later chapters.

A speaker may also perform dialogic switches, internal to his or her own discourse turn, that metonymically pick out the social identities of the speaker, interlocutors, and persons being discussed, in order to reinterpret the exchange as part of a rhetorical move. In this they rely on the second order of indexicality to transform the first order context, while relying on the first order to challenge the second order.

Thus, in a dispute, internal switches may be used to

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project one's stature as mediated by ideologies of ethnic identity. For instance, in example #11 the use of the TAH words for 'one', 'two', and 'three' when claiming one's points during a game of marbles carried on in **'enana** carries the rhetorical threat in metonymic terms that one is crafty and unbeatable and therefore ought not to be crossed (M4/14.76).

Similarly a mix of codes may be used within an utterance for comic effect in the middle of a tease or self-mocking moment. For instance, the mother of the Poihipapu family constructed an interesting dialogically switched utterance to transform a potentially shameful circumstance (the fact that she was wearing shorts with holes -- an index of poverty/savagery -- in the presence of a **Hao'e**) into a humorous moment shared with her children (T5/13.53):

***Le puta dans le keo pa'aro à Maman. Après Kate va voir le keo. C'est puta mon keo pa'aro.***
*The* hole *in the* butt (of the) shorts *of Mama. Afterwards, Kate will see the* butt. *It's* holey *my* butt (of the) shorts.

In this constituent-breaking construction, **puta** 'hole' and **keo** 'butt' (both of which are laden with sexual innuendo) were in **'enana** to press everyone's **'enana** funny bones and the matrix words were in ***français*** to show whose framework of ***politesse*** (and prudery about hiding genitalia) is in

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tatters. This joke at her own expense, performed for her kids' entertainment and to deflect my disapproval, was expressive of the ambivalence toward European norms to be found even among well-schooled Catholic women like this mother.[17]

Finally, in example #8, this same mother switched dialogically between **'enana**, ***français***, and **tahiti** to index her ambivalent attitude toward the ***demi*** school teacher (i.e., half-Tahitian, half-**Hao'e**) and her frustration over his attempt to put together a school field trip which would be not only expensive but also potentially unsafe for her girls, whom she did not normally let 'wander' out of her house without proper supervision. First, she sarcastically instructed her children to **terere**[TAH] 'beg' for money from the ***Monsieur*** (365, 367). A few turns later (379), she continued to criticize the teacher's thoughtlessness in planning the trip and expecting the people to pay, using **feruri** -- though derived from FR, ***réfléchir*** 'think about', was identified by my consultants as a **tahiti** word: **Na ia e feruri...** 'His (responsibility) to think about[TAH]...' how the people would find it expensive to send their children to the provincial capital for a trip like that.

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In this way, she was expressing her anger with him (typical of elite ***demi***) for having set up a situation in which she was made to feel poor and dependant like the archetypal colonized beggar (ironically, such 'begging' is exactly the skill that some of the best **'Enana** politicians have perfected). Furthermore, her frustration was made all the more pointed by her dialogic use of the FR authority title ***Monsieur*** throughout the judgmental gossip session. With her husband she normally referred to the teacher by his Tahitian first name as they were supposedly all friends. Her **tumu pure** 'assistant priest' huband's sermon in response (411-417) also included lots of what I now discuss as *calcified dialogism*.

Some internal *dialogic CS* is so common and so standardized in usage as to be systemically incorporated into the emerging SAR. Nonetheless, these insertions, many of them discourse markers,[38] I refer to as *calcified dialogism*, as they appear to be vestiges of past *dialogic CS* and as such retain (in almost connotative form) some of the indexical force they once had.

The most obvious examples of *calcified dialogism* are what I call negotiative loans. Even the oldest **'Enana** at

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this time use many authority-laden and syllogistic framing terms from ***français***: ***il faut*** 'it must be that', ***besoin*** 'need', ***en plus*** 'furthermore', ***ça depend*** 'that depends', ***pas vrai*** 'not true', ***voilà*** 'there', ***mais*** 'but', ***ou*** 'or', ***si*** 'if', and ***parce que*** 'because'. While these look like wholly integrated borrowings pure and simple (especially as some are to some degree phonologically transformed, e.g., ***besoin*** -> **pesua**), they still carry some of the metonymic and rhetorical force of French authority they did for previous generations. That is, present-day grandmothers probably began as children appropriating authority-laden discourse markers from ***français*** in order to frame their complex clauses in order to project more rhetorical force. Now one finds people, such as the **tumu pure** Poea in the example just cited, resorting to these forms particularly when he wants to buttress his arguments with authority framings (e.g., ***mais oui*** [T5/13.411] and ***il faut*** T5/13.417]).

Finally, one other form of language contact phenomena regularly displayed by **'Enana**, once treated only as messy psychological *interference*, can be better analyzed as what Woolard has termed socially significant *bivalence* in her discussion of the double-voiced *simultaneity* of Catalan

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comedians (1997). In the comedians' parodic performances, *bivalent* segments are those which can be read phonologically and syntactically as belonging to either code and which therefore represent double-voiced ambiguity rather than choice. In Rampton's terminology, they are *double-visioned* in that they 'look' both ways, producing a split or double-identity for the audience as well as for that of the speaker, and thus a multivalent message (with multiple readings).

Although ***français*** and **'enana**, unlike Catalan and Castilian, are genetically unrelated, there are several commonly occurring instances of overlap (e.g., the tags **e** and ***hein***, the possessive particles **'a** and **à**, and the presentatives **enā** and ***(il) y en a***), which have converged phonologically, syntactically, and pragmatically, and thus cannot be analyzed as belonging to one language or the other. While the use of these forms by children must be read as a sign of systemic convergence, their use by older speakers may at times be semiconscious.

Comprising another type of potentially bivalent form are those long-integrated borrowings from ***français*** into **'enana** which are then frequently re-introduced into a FR

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matrix, constituting a sort of two-way loan (e.g., the MQ'd term **pataro** from **pantalon** 'shorts' is commonly used by children and caregivers in the midst of speaking household ***français***). Such two-way loans may then be deployed in a bivalent fashion especially by adults for real comedic effect as in the mother's use of **pataro** (T5/13.53) in the example of the 'holey shorts' discussed above.

Finally, dialogic switching may rely for its rhetorical force on a disruption of normative ethnolinguistic associations. That is, the rebellious quality of the switch is apparent not because one draws on the usual connotations of a code in a particular context (e.g., ***français*** as the voice of authority with children engaged in literacy activities), but because one metapragmatically rejects those norms.

For example, the use of ***français*** with the French nurse during the birth-control meeting represented a normative choice, i.e., a case of *situational CS*, in that it was presupposed at both orders of indexicality and changed nothing through its use. However, Teiki's dialogic switch into **'enana** was a transformative challenge with respect to both contextual orders. At the metonymic level, he was

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contradicting the assumption that **'enana** was not suitable for the discussion of procreation and its technological control in the presence of French professionals. This challenge then fed into his pragmatic interruption, which was intended at the rhetorical level to lobby that his linguistic needs be met. Thus, his metonymic attempt to transform the footing of the immediate context was simultaneously contributing to the rebellion against wider sociocultural assumptions about the appropriateness of this code in such a context.

Neither of Teiki's metapragmatic motions was ratified (at least not for long) at the meeting. By contrast, the use of **'enana** in the Assembly in the early eighties not only disrupted the flow of interaction that day, but helped transform the larger understandings of **'enana**'s value in the French Polynesian speech economy, according to which it was granted validity (if not equality with **ma'ohi**) as a code of public address and a subject of pedagogy.

In short, the dialogic construction of ethnolinguistic and psychosocial identities is actively and emotionally mediated by the creative use of codes in the Marquesas. But as has been demonstrated in this chapter, strategic CS is

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only one of various metapragmatic means of indexing and constituting identities, affiliations, and relationships with respect to the various sociocultural 'sides' of Hatiheu. Naming and addressing people, phatically engaging them through acts of ***politesse*** and **ka'oha**, testing their emotional flexibility through verbal **keu** 'play' and **tekatekao** 'gossip' are all (ever-evolving) ways of articulating social 'sides' in Hatiheu.

In the final chapter of this part of the study, I look more closely at one salient example of how **'Enana** metapragmatically manage 'sides', in this case the ethnolinguistic boundaries constructed through engagement with **Hao'e**. In particular, I examine the evolving tensions over a shifting speech economy and the negotiation of the emotionally laden issue of language 'loss'.

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## Notes

1. As is discussed elsewhere at more length, ***français*** was once used to conduct all business with or in the presence of French government officials, teachers, health personnel, and most priests, and **tahiti** or ***français*** was used with Tahitians. Nonetheless, both the church and the cultural revival movement have supported the use of **'enana** for a variety of educational, religious, and political purposes. Thus, many songs and prayers are delivered in **'enana** only, and now many political speeches as well as sermons are translated from ***français*** into **'enana** or vice versa.

2. This is evident with adults as well, as I discovered when my expatriate friends ('yachties', doctors, nurses, and other researchers) never knew whom I was talking about when I used Hatiheuans **'enana** names.

3. For example, the father of the Teikivaeoho family was ubiquitously called Mimi, a diminutive transformation of his French name Emile, but also in MQ the word for 'piss'. This referential meaning was pointed out to me in no uncertain terms, but no one went on to clarify exactly what about his urination practices had initiated the name. In fact, this pragmatic ambiguity is inherent in much of the punning **keu** 'teases' practiced in Hatiheu.

4. Within the one family whose children spoke the least **'enana** (Teikivaeoho), one child was called Julia by everyone except her father, who used the MQ'd form, Turia. Oddly enough, within this same family, I learned to call one of the children by her **'enana** name, Kua, right from the start (perhaps simply because I liked the sound of it) although the others did sometimes call her Ludovica. In other words, the application of names, even in the home, is difficult to predict, especially given a variety of changing factors in the wider sociocultural context.

5. Similar usage is found in Protestant Hawaii, and I suspect that the practice began with the LMS at work in both Hawaii and Tahiti, being subsequently passed along to the Marquesas from Tahiti.

6. This is probably part of a wider pan-Pacific phenomenon

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resulting from the encroachments of Western capitalism on reciprocity and its attendant interactional styles. For instance, the title of Paul Dahlquist's 1972 dissertation, much of which was devoted to the falling away of food-sharing practices in Pohnpei, included the phrase, **Kohdo mwenge**, this being the traditional Pohnpeian greeting meaning 'Come eat' (Glenn Petersen, personal communication).

7. I assign this phrase the status of **sarapia** because the second person singular informal conjugation of the FR verb ***venir*** 'come' is used even when addressing French administrators and teachers, as well as with more than one addressee. Also, the FR noun ***café*** is transformed into a verb MQ-style meaning 'have some coffee/food' (see Cablitz [2000] on the relationship between noun and verb in MQ) -- hence, my MQ'd spelling **kafe**.

8. I was never emaciated or even 'skinny' by Western standards; however, Hatiheuans' concern with fat is a schizmogenic issue, highlighting another source of contradiction between **hao'e** and **'enana** ideologies. On the one hand, being slim is considered good (i.e., the image consumed in Western movies and magazines), and young women fight off the seemingly inevitable obesity of their mothers. For instance, one friend asked me to send her some of the slimming drugs she'd heard exist in Menike. On the other hand, by Polynesian standards, being ***maigre*** 'thin' is revolting, being labeled **pororo** 'dried up', like coconut meat that has been left out in the sun too long.

9. In addition, no **'Enana** I spoke to ever credited themselves with a host of polite behaviors whose roots are probably more Oceanic than French -- such as the fact that when food is served at a **koika** 'party', no one dives right in, but hangs back for what seems an agonizingly long time to a hungry American.

10. In much of the recent literature on language and emotion, analysts focus on some combination of the following: 1) how presumed biological feeling states are culturally and conceptually organized (e.g., Lakoff and Kovecses 1987), 2) how culturally specific expressions of emotions fit into local ethnopsychological systems (e.g., Levy 1973), 3) how affect is indexed by linguistic markers

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(e.g., Ochs and Schieffelin 1989), 4) how emotional discourse is used to mediate community norms, membership, and relationships (e.g., Besnier 1995), and 5) how affect-laden interactions serve as important loci for the socialization of both discursive competence and cultural values (e.g., Schieffelin and Ochs 1986). Throughout this literature runs a growing thread of interest in defining the distinction between discourse about emotions and discourse expressive of emotions, or between the apparent meaning of glosses and their pragmatic deployment (e.g., Crapanzano 1989).

Thus, Besnier (1990:421) chooses to use *affect* as a heuristic umbrella term in order to avoid the ethnocentric assumptions about personhood and society implicit in earlier researchers' (e.g., Levy 1973) distinctions between *feelings*, "a broad category of psychophysiological sensations," *emotions*, "a subset of particularly 'visible' and 'identifiable' feelings," and *affect*, "the subjective states that observers ascribe to a person on the basis of the person's conduct" (Besnier 1990:421). In subsuming the others under the one and (by my lights) most clinical term of *affect*, Besnier is attempting to refute the 'truth', 'essentiality', 'interiority', 'irrationality', and 'autonomy' of these psychosocial constructs. This critique was shared early on by those such as Lutz (1988), Abu-Lughod (1986), and White and Kirkpatrick (1985), who were also attempting to rid their ethnopsychological studies of Western psychological biases. And in principle I agree as well.

However, my answer to the paradox -- how does one think about the other without imposing one's own ways of thinking and feeling? -- is to use *feeling*, *emotion*, and *affect* interchangeably to cover the same ground for which Besnier uses *affect*. This I do because I believe the present analysis is not harmed by the fuzziness of the Western folk taxonomic connotations reflected in these terms so long as my thinking about them as ever-fluctuating, dialogic constructions remains clear. And what is gained is the capacity to figure some sort of notion of passion back into the equation. That is, even if we cannot grasp exactly how others are *feeling*, we can attempt to take the dialogic force of *emotions* into account -- i.e., the fact that a kind of psychosocial power originates in and emanates from (co-constructed) displays of *affect* and that these in turn have

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an impact on persons, events, and systems.

11. Frequently translated as 'bad', **pe** is also applied to rotten fruit, spoiled children, and dishonest adults, and acts as the stem for a set of related words: **ha'ape** 'spoil', **pepe** 'old, in a bad state', **pepe'e** 'weak, easy to beat', **pe'epe'e** 'tender, soft', **penepene**, the taunt engaged in when one wins which means 'you're bad'. As a result, I tend to gloss these feelings interchangeably as 'bad', 'soft', or 'weak'.

12. That women were tattooed more extensively than elsewhere in Polynesia is taken as evidence of their relatively equal status in Marquesan society (Gell 1993:217) and speaks as well to their role in the system of emotional obfuscation. Ferdon hypothesizes, "Perhaps because of the pain associated with such tattooing [on the feet -- reserved for high-ranking women], women bearing such decorations were greatly esteemed" (ibid:14-15).

13. In Dordillon's (1931) nineteenth-century dictionary, the one generalized term for ***émotion*** is **emi'e'e**, which also means 'fear, frightened, shaking with fright'. 'Feeling', in the sense of physical sensation, is equated with **'oko** 'hear' or 'touch'.

14. The discussion in this section does not pretend to provide an exhaustive list of all of the lexicalized speech acts and genres to be found in **'enana** or ***français*** (nor does it cover all of the non-lexicalized communicative behaviors to be found in the Marquesas). Instead, it is an accounting of the lexicalized communicative genres that were of most pertinence to my research. Additionally, they were of sufficient import to **'Enana** that they served as the subject of metalinguistic discussion both in casual discourse among themselves and for analytic purposes with me. I provide terms in both **'enana** and ***français*** where these were used in much the same way and with much the same connotations.

15. Although I can provide no adequate term in **'enana** or ***français*** for the 'report requests', it was an activity of real significance in the socializing interactions discussed in Part III.

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16. The parts played by these communicative genres in socializing and negotiating identity among children and caregivers as well as the ways in which the genres themselves are acquired are discussed at length in Part III.

17. The concept of 'hiding' appears to be culturally significant in a couple of suggestive ways. First of all, the all-important breadfruit is **hakana** 'covered' in its **mā** pit when left to rot. Secondly, the long-term and pan-Pacific relevance of the term can be seen in the fact that **hakana** appears to be a cognate of the Pohnpeian term **kanengamah** which refers to the form of dissembling practiced in most social interactions and which allows for the simultaneous operation of 'hierarchical' and 'egalitarian' relationships in Pohnpei (Petersen 1993).

18. For instance, they recall being tested on their ability to speak pure **'enana**, that is unmixed with **tahiti** and ***français***. While this metalinguistic focus is in part an artifact of my usual line of questioning having to do with language use and ideology, it also accurately reflects the metadiscursive nature of the testing they were subjected to.

19. However, when discussing more 'purely' linguistic aspects of a code (e.g., tracing the impact of one linguistic system on the lexicon, phonology, morphology, or syntax of another), I do employ the abbreviations: FR, MQ, TAH, ENG, and SAR. Although no linguistic process can be said to operate in a social or ideological vacuum, a discussion of the linguistic facts does not always necessitate such a complex focus, and at those times I have chosen to simplify my discussion somewhat.

20. In this study I use the acronym TAH to correspond to **ma'ohi** (as do most linguists). As I have almost no occasion to contrast **ma'ohi** and **tahiti** in purely linguistic terms, I have not assigned the latter an acronym, using TAH to refer to any loans from either 'code'.

21. As mentioned in Chapter IV, the increasingly autonomous territory is being run increasingly by **demi**, the class of half-French, half-Tahitians who are increasingly embracing their **ma'ohi** ethnolinguistic identity.

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22. I reserve my discussion of the formal features of ***français*** and **'enana** to that section because it has become difficult to discuss one without reference to the other. Not only are the boundaries between them under ideological dispute, but the linguistic effects are clearly interrelated. And both the ideological dispute and the linguistic effects are contributing to the syncretic way of speaking referred to as **sarapia**.

23. This is related to the equating of 'mixed-up' speaking (**sarapia**) with 'mixed-up' thinking. This metalinguistic tendency is discussed at more length in Part III.

24. As was discussed above, critics have ignored indigenous pragmatic frames for indexing gratitude and marking polite requests.

25. Hachette states that ***charabia*** is immediately derived from ***charabiat*** 'Auvergne emigrant' but may have originated with the Arabic ***al harabiya*** 'Western language (Berber)' and arrived in France via SP ***algarabia***.

26. I am self-conscious about this labeling act because linguists have been known to play more or less fortunate roles in the dramas revolving around ethnolinguistic politics.

27. To clarify this further, **'Enana** 'mix' codes in many ways (not all of which are predictable) such that words, sounds, meanings, and syntactic structures originating from one code show up in the middle of speaking the other. Clearly a large, fuzzy, and shifting field of 'mixing' exists, extending from linguistic transformations to strategic CS. At the former extreme, one finds the melding of formal elements from disparate systems as a function of language contact and multilingualism. At the latter extreme, one finds the marked juxtaposition of formal elements from disparate systems for pragmatic effect. While the former are never classified by linguists as CS, they do bear some relationship to the latter phenomenon. Thus, apart from the fact that **'Enana** themselves tend to lump many disparate forms of 'mixing' together under the rubric of **sarapia**, I give here my theoretical justifications for allowing the term to encompass much of the spectrum of 'mixing'.

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First of all, **'Enana**, too, acknowledge the distinction between systemic transformations and strategic switching, if covertly, through mocking children and other 'incompetents' for gobbledy-gook speech while lauding certain adults for expertise in various forms of linguistic play characterized here as strategic CS. However, at the level of overt ideology, 'mixing' of either sort is considered chaotic, is thought to reflect confused thought processes, and is feared as an evil influence on the cognitive development of children. This language ideology, both overt and covert, has a real impact on both the unconscious 'mixing' and pragmatic switching of caregivers, children, and everyone else.

Secondly, it is not always easy, even for the analyst, to assign lexemes and whole utterances to one code or another, nor is it always possible to distinguish between strategy and necessity (i.e., degree of intentionality and/or incompetence). For instance, when is the interjection of a foreign term or idiomatic phrase no longer a strategic nonce switch into another code but a conventional loan now so integrated into the matrix code as to be used unconsciously and without indexical effect? When an utterance uses words from one code but is otherwise an exact calque on the morpho-syntactic rules in the other code, which code has been 'chosen'? When some syntactically convergent utterance is produced, is this because no alternative form exists for the speaker or because she is effecting a strategic switch between one of the two older codes and some new emergent syncretic code? As indicated in Chapter II, these apparently technical questions beg a deeper examination of the terms 'code' and 'switch' (see Alvarez-Cáccamo 1998 for a historiographic analysis of the terms).

Finally, there is a causal relationship between linguistic transformation and strategic CS. That is, children growing up with strategic CS of necessity learn from instances of switching, regularize them, produce new ones based on underlying regularities, and thus contribute to the creation eventually of new syncretic codes (e.g., SAR in the Marquesas). But practice alone does not make a language; the ideology surrounding and connoted by these CS practices is what over time constructs the systemiticity and boundaries of a linguistic code (e.g., ideological awareness of **sarapia** also influences the emergence of SAR).

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28. I wonder if this explanation was not the product of her having gone to the ***Ecole des Soeurs*** in the south. Perhaps the southern dialectal turns she had acquired at this time were tinged with the more cultivated air she had also been acquiring there.

29. Although the term **piha** is derived from ***boeuf***, phonologically altered and semantically enlarged to cover the meat and the animal, its referents -- both an animal (gone wild and hunted in the highlands) and its canned variety -- are such a part of the **'enana** cultural landscape as to be necessarily re-imported back into ***français***.

30. Children are frequently paired up: at table to eat out of a single bowl or in caregiving dyads as each of the elder children will be left in charge of one of the younger ones.

31. Zewen's grammar (1987) is the standard text at the ***collège*** in Taiohae and classroom pedagogy takes the form of first memorizing and then applying the rules by constructing decontextualized phrases. However, one mother, Noella Teikivaeoho, recalled that, even before Zewen's text was created, she became aware at school that she was losing her **'enana**. So she attempted to create a table of demonstrative particles in **'enana** modeled on the conjugation litany in ***français*** and practiced this in an effort to revive her knowledge of the language.

32. This is another unfortunate manifestation of the imported nature of the ideology underpinning the cultural pride movement as discussed in Chapter IV.

33. For example, even in 2000, a forty-year-old **vahana** reported to me that he was sometimes unable to understand discussions in ***français*** about his children's schooling at meetings of the ***Association des Parents d'Elèves*** in Taiohae, but chose not to speak up about it out of 'shame'.

34. In fact, even much more fluent bilinguals have trouble providing the sort of translations needed in such situations. This was evidenced, for instance, by the attempts of a very intelligent, multilingual **tumu pure** to provide ongoing translations for the sermons of a ***français***-speaking Tahitian leader of a charismatic movement who spent

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three days in Hatiheu.

35. In the contest with Tahitians over the marginalized position of the Marquesas vis-à-vis their French overlords, part of what could be won by **'Enana** was the ability to learn **tahiti** and thus avoid being cheated and back-stabbed by the obviously richer and more influential Tahitians.

36. It is cross-culturally common for caregivers to switch into their mother tongue for reprimands. But although sometimes true of Tapu Poihipapu, this was not necessarily the norm in Hatiheu as is demonstrated in Part III.

37. Switches which break constituent boundaries (e.g., article from noun, modifier from modified, and subject and verb from object) are a linguistic feature displayed by younger speakers who are freely borrowing the nouns and verbs they need at the moment. By contrast, I did not find adults employing such breakage except for comic and/or ironic effect, especially in the midst of teasing, mocking, and insulting (as in this example and that of the grandmother quoted earlier in the section on the functions of **sarapia**). When used by children over the age of five, I analyze these breaks as markers of real systemic shift in process. That is, this difference in the form of internal switching used by adults and older children supports my theory that linguistic shift is occurring in the Marquesas both in the production of distinct varieties of ***français*** and **'enana** and in the construction of **sarapia**.

38. See Auer (1998:17-20) for a further discussion of this phenomenon.

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# Chapter VII

## Words and Fruit:

## Mediating the **Hao'e-'Enana** Divide

The communicative practices and ethnolinguistic identities found in Hatiheu today are continually developing out of both dialectic (historical) and dialogical (interactive) processes. I conclude this part of the study by revisiting the issue that caused me such consternation working in such a situation of split and shifting consciousness: the fact that I was, in more or less blunt fashion, accused by some **'Enana** of being there to 'steal' the language in order to make lots of money in **Menike**, a land whose denizens are known through Santa Barbara-style TV shows to be rich and have very odd values. This confrontation proved to be very illuminating with respect to language ideology and the processes by which **te 'Enana** are negotiating their ethnolinguistic identities in relationship to the outside world as represented in part by the **Hao'e** who visit them.

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Beginning at the level of language ideology, I elaborate on the analogy between trees and language I used in Chapter IV to ethnohistorically trace the rise and demise of both the arboricultural economy and the speech economy. First, I consider how such an analogy may illuminate local ideology concerning how language is acquired, lost, sold or stolen. Secondly, I seek out ethnosemantic and ethnomorphosyntactic bases for such a parallel.

I then analyze the exchange in which I was entangled as a metapragmatic example of the conflictual discourse engaged in by **'Enana** attempting to negotiate their sense of ethnolinguistic loss in relationship to **Hao'e**. The episode is contextualized by looking at other forms of **Hao'e-'Enana** discourse, especially the teasing strategies used within the context of **koika** 'drinking parties'.

A. How language is acquired, lost, sold, or stolen

A product of Western language ideology, I was not only upset by the accusation but also puzzled by the concept of trying to steal and sell **'enana**. Foreign to me was the idea that an 'abstract' system such as language could be disposed

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of (like other types of cultural products) as a commodity through monetary exchange or theft. It was odd not only to think of languages as objects, but also to think of them as amenable to alienable exchange -- i.e., as objects that are alienated when exchanged. However, since returning I have deconstructed my own thinking on the subject and find the contrasts between **'enana** and **hao'e** thinking to be less profound than I had thought.

First of all, Westerners have for centuries treated languages as naturally bounded units, each identifiable with a single culture or nation-state, whose boundaries and origin myths nonetheless need guarding, whether by militaristic or academic means. We fear the loss and destruction of these reified markers of our identities. But do we conceptualize the threat to our 'mother tongues' in terms of their being sold or stolen away -- i.e., of their being alienated and their possession transferred, with or without recompense?

Certainly, Westerners are habituated to buying and selling linguistic products such as books and songs. We have also commercialized the teaching of languages in the form of Berlitz tapes and college credits. But do we

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conceptualize this process as trading in the abstract systems themselves (except more recently in the form of computer languages)? Surely we do not believe that language itself can be packaged and consumed so easily (slipped into us like a CD-ROM). At most what is commodified is access to the knowledge whereas the knowledge itself must be earned -- i.e., 'learned', a process we imagine to take considerable intellectual labor and personal initiative. Nor once it has been learned can it be 'unlearned' or stolen by anyone else's act.

Nonetheless, most Westerners recognize that children 'acquire' languages with astonishing rapidity. We assign the same term 'acquisition' to a purchase. Also, Westerners understand that people of almost any age may lose a language they once 'possessed', sometimes as a result of political-economic processes beyond their control. As in thievery, the language loser's agency is open to question.

My understanding of the **'enana** formulation of the language-theft issue was greatly aided by my construction of an analogy between trees and language, based in part on Thomas' analysis (1991) of material exchange in the Pacific. It came as an intuition that, in fact, the idea of language

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theft is itself a synthetic mix of indigenous and Western notions about how language may be acquired, lost, sold, or stolen.

Stated briefly, I propose that prior to contact, **te 'Enana** considered languages to be complex resources like trees and linguistic acts and units to be objects like fruit. With the introduction of capitalist exchange, language came to be considered commodifiable much as land and trees had become. Stretching the analogy for all it is worth, I suggest using trees and fruit, planting and plucking, sharing and stealing, rotting and burning as metaphors for **'Enana**'s perceptions concerning the ways in which languages can degenerate or be destroyed, be created, taught, or learned, be sold or stolen. The following is the result of my syllogistic leap of the imagination: if language is like trees, what then?

*One is born with the capacity to speak a certain language because one was born in the land, like a tree drawing sustenance through its roots from the land. Language sprouts from children as new trees sprout from roots, nuts, and limbs. Children learn words as they learn*

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*to collect fruit from trees cultivated on their family's land. They learn to play with language, punning and alluding, the way they learn to process fruit, for everyone's pleasure and consumption. They learn to plant new trees the way they learn to create pig-latin languages. They are taught to nurture trees on their own land as they are taught to speak their language correctly. They are taught to store the produce in* **mā** *pits the way they were taken aside as adolescents and taught songs and legends. They may as a community cook huge quantities of fruit for festivals just as they may arbitrarily change a phoneme throughout the dialect simply to distinguish themselves from their neighbors. As fruit when neglected will rot, so can elements of language be lost.*

*Normally, the fruit of one's trees belongs to the members of one's lineage as do particular names, geneologies, songs and stories. However, as in the balanced reciprocal exchange of produce, these linguistic entities can be considered partially alienable insofar as they can be traded but with strings attached (for instance, name exchanges entail that everything of mine is yours and vice versa). Fruit can be plucked as needed or harvested en*

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*masse, and it can be given away as a gift or stolen piecemeal. By analogy, people may acquire words, phrases, lyrics from another language, or steal names and legends from another lineage. Even seedlings and plantable branches may be exchanged in this way (as young* **tumu** *'trees' are planted at the birth of a child). And in the wars between valleys, enemies may destroy each other's trees as they may destroy each other -- threatening their livelihood and their language. But both the trees and the language may flourish again so long as some* **tumu** *'source' is safeguarded -- a few mature trees whose seeds and limbs may be replanted and a few older persons who can* **bakako** *'teach' the language to their grandchildren.*

*Thus, if languages are like trees -- i.e., complex systems that grow and change and sometimes die -- then while alive they represent a sustainable resource: of nuts and fruit in the case of trees and of linguistic bits such as words, names, jokes, songs, and legends in the case of languages. The fate of the trees in an arboricultural community carries consequences for the community as a whole, in much the same way as an indigenous language, when maintained, transmits cultural values across generations.*

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*And the linguistic bits like fruit, which come in easily alienable packages, can be collected, processed and consumed, exchanged or stolen, effecting significant changes in the relationships between individuals. Or the produce can be forgotten, allowed to rot, as can particular songs or myths. Even whole trees grow old and die, but so long as new ones are planted, the species and its fruit are not lost. And this is true of language as well.*

*However, with the introduction of money by Europeans, a number of objects were transformed into alienable commodities that could be exchanged without the creation of social ties between buyer and seller. For instance, land was bought by absentee foreigners, artifacts were taken by archaeclogists to be put in museums, and later still, songs and dances were recorded and televised in international settings. Just as these were not considered alienable commodities prior to contact with Europeans but became so after contact, it was not irrational to think language was much the same. What linguists see as rational attempts to preserve the language via an orthography, dictionary, and grammar and through collecting legends and creating school texts,* **'Enana** *possibly perceive as more of the alienating*

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*process that transformed their land, labor, and produce.*

*Worse than the elite whose pits of preserved* **mā** *existed as a resource for social control, Westerners are observed putting speech into writing, stories into tape recorders, and this without engaging in any true social relations, i.e., without learning to use the language in context, without committing to any long-term relationship with the community. If, simultaneously the language has been losing its fluency and complexity, its capacity to deal with the world as it is becoming, could there be some causal connection? Their land was taken away through a similarly mysterious process of signing documents. If names could be traded such that everything of mine became yours and then you left taking my stuff with you, might not the acquisition of each other's languages work as easily and with the same import? What if you leave taking my language in your books, and I am left with only a few stale words of yours stuck away in my head and no one to talk them with?*

*Prior to European contact,* **'Enana** *did not try to appropriate each other's land; they just destroyed their enemies' trees. Perhaps they see attempts to 'take' their language as more threatening than mere destruction.*

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*Although they see their language as being degenerate, truncated, the trunks burned to the ground or rotting, they prefer this to thinking the language can be removed -- fruit and trunk entire. So long as the language in all its impurity is still rooted into their system, a dynamic thing with flexible vocabulary and metaphoric shifts, not commodifiable, uncontainable in books,* **'Enana** *may feel some strength in their resistance. Perhaps they, too, see 'shift' as preferable to 'loss'.*

However, having proceded so far with this analogy between trees and language, I have had to ask whether this is mere fantasy on my part, or whether this language-tree parallel and its implications for understanding language theft is indeed integral to local **'enana** language ideology. In order to answer that question I began to look for evidence that the tree-language metaphor exists in some fashion in the minds of **'Enana**. What I found was that, while the ethnosemantic and ethnomorphosyntactic (or more generally, the ethnopragmatic) bases for proposing such a metaphor are not conclusive, they are suggestive.

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B. Ethnopragmatic bases for the tree-language parallel

In **'enana**, the word for 'tree', **tumu**, also means more specifically the 'trunk' of a tree, as well as 'principle', 'cause', or 'source' (Dordillon 1931). Related to this, are the terms **tu** for 'stand' and **tupu** for 'grow', **puna** for 'source', **tupuna** for 'ancestor' (literally, standing source), and **po'opuna** for 'grandchildren' (literally, **po'o** 'bits' of the source, like leaves). Finally, **tumu** also connotes 'penis', especially in joking contexts, and thus the fruit and seeds from **tumu** would analogously be 'sperm'.

The expression **Meita'i te tumu, meita'i te hiku**. 'Good trunk, good tree top,' means in figurative terms: 'When the parents are good, so are the children' (Dordillon 1931, my translation). The term for 'school teacher', **tumu hamani**, literally means 'tree of books', while the term for 'prayer leader', **tumu pure**, means 'tree of prayers.'

The Hawaiian reflex **kumu** means, in addition to many of the meanings cited for **tumu**: 'basic' or 'hereditary' as well as 'an article bought, sold, or exchanged' (Pukui and Elbert 1975:71). Following this mercenary line, **kumupa'a** means 'principle or capital' (by contrast with interest), and **kumu**

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**waiwai** means 'source of wealth' (Pukui and Elbert 1975:72).

Thus, I interpret the Polynesian term for 'tree' to include within its valence allusions to biological heredity, financial growth, and the transmission of morality and knowledge. That is, generally speaking, a **tumu** can be considered a transmission media for fruit, children, wealth, language, and culture. For my analysis here, I am particularly interested in the apparent understanding that wealth grows like, if not on, trees in the form of both breadfruit and money as does linguistic stuff such as books and prayers.

More impetus for this evolving formulation concerning trees, language, and money emerged from the challenge of understanding the semantic underpinning to the MQ classificatory system of possessive particles.

**'Enana**, like most Polynesian languages, classifies possession into two kinds: **-o** possession and **-a** possession. However, the semantic content of this morphological distinction is less than clear.

For a long time linguists proposed that the use of **-o** or **-a** particles indicated a distinction between alienable and inalienable objects. This definition has been revisited

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by a number of researchers, stretching and narrowing it to accommodate consultants' intuitions and judgments as well as data taken from natural discourse. Synthesizing these with my own understanding of the semantic difference gives the following analysis.

On the one hand, there appears to be a spatial aspect such that when **-o** is used, the possessor is located in some sense within or closely contingent upon the possessed, such as 'house', 'clothes', 'vehicles', and 'land'. In addition, the **-o** particle is used when the possessor is not fully in control of beginning or ending the relationship: for instance, with parents, ancestors, names, body parts, thoughts, emotions, health, and language. On the other hand, **-a** is used when the possessed is at the disposal of the possessor -- to be consumed, given away, or used like a tool. The following tend to take **-a**: 'money', 'food', 'fruit', 'pencil', 'child', 'book', 'song,' and 'talk'. Note what might be read as a Saussurrean dichotomy between 'language' which is inalienable (in the head) and 'talk' which is alienable (out there to be shared).

However, one significant aspect of this analysis bears stating clearly: it is not the possessed objects that are

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classified in terms of these possessive particles but the kind of relationship obtaining between possessor and possessed. Thus, the same phrase can have two different meanings depending on the particle used. I explain this notion using Carnap's terminology of intension and extension. Intensional meaning is a semiotic ideology (socially embedded but always shifting) that offers an array of potential meanings which, given particular metapragmatic constituents, crystallize into specific extensional references (i.e., the meanings are metapragmatically constituted). My application of this to the MQ pronominal system is that certain relationships of possession become alienable or inalienable depending on the situation, and the markers of these categories may be differently interpreted given sociohistorical shifts. That is, different forms refer to the 'same' extensional relationship but entail different intensional connotations.

For instance, **-o** with **vai** would mean the water you take a bath in, but **-a** with **vai** would mean the water you drink. A book written about you would take **-o**, whereas the book you own takes **-a**. The **hei** 'flower garland' you wear is **-o**, whereas the one you make is **-a**.

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Particularly intriguing to me is the way in which, unlike clothes which only take the inalienable whether I am wearing them or not, possession of a photo, for instance, is realized as two discrete forms referring to two quite different extensional relationships. Thus, a photo in my possession is indicated by the alienable form whereas a photo of me takes the inalienable form. Only the latter represents a relationship of envelopment: I am contained by the photo, this being more like clothes or **hei**.

Nonetheless, an apparently contradictory sense of envelopment may be applied as when I refer to your cigarette papers using the inalienable form. I am asking you to give me your papers in order to envelope my tobacco. Given that mostly men smoke, cigarettes possess clear phallic symbolism (the papers are like clothes for enveloping the penis). Possibly the use of the inalienable possessive for this imported item contributes to the construction of an enveloping intimacy between those who share their cigarette papers, i.e., indexing the relationship as inalienable or unalienatable? In other words, the intensional deployment of possessive forms for relationships between objects and humans extensionally refers to qualities of the

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interpersonal relationships.

In addition, possessive relationships are not fixed either, but shift with the context, affecting the ways in which they are indexed. An instance of this involves an additional form of first person possessive: **tu 'u**. Inalienable like **to 'u**, it implies an additional degree of intimacy between speaker and possessed. For instance, **tu 'u vahana** and **to 'u vahana** both mean 'my [inalienable] husband,' but according to one of my assistants, she would only use **tu 'u** in the house, not in public.

Similarly, the intensional sense of the formal contrast between alienable and inalienable may be extended over historical time to cover new potential references. For example, where **ta 'oe** and **to 'oe** once referred to the contrast between the **hei** you are making and the **hei** you are wearing, it may now refer to the **hei** you are making for sale to the tourists (**ta 'oe**) v. the **hei** you are making for everyone to wear at a festival (**to 'oe**).

Finally, it is worth recalling what we know from the gender system in many Indo-European languages: that morphological classification does not have to be semantically motivated with any consistency. In fact, as

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Whorf explored at length, the overt gender system in a language such as ***français*** may have significantly less of an impact on the cognition of speakers than the covert system in a language such as English (1956).

I would like to propose the related hypothesis that a morphological system may have more significance for speakers when it demands context-sensitive usage. That is, the form may take on more salience when speakers must at some level of consciousness choose between one form or the other depending on their referential intent, but also particularly when that usage is no longer fixed, having become unstuck due to historical shifts in sociocultural understandings of the universe.

For example, since the introduction of capitalist commodified exchange in Hatiheu, many relationships between possessors and possessed have been rearranged. This has caused more speakers to become aware of the system of possessives in their language as they ponder how to index these new relationships and notice discrepancies in how others are doing so. The resulting uncertainty and critical atmosphere, contextualized as it is by a general awareness of change and possible loss in the system, has brought its

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load of anxiety.

Finally, given my interest in the alienability of language and its parallel with trees, I have been investigating patterns of indexing possession for linguistic words and trees. According to the archaeologist David Addison (who is a near-fluent speaker of **'enana**), a breadfruit tree in my yard would probably be **ta 'u tumu** because **to 'u tumu** would be read as an extensional reference to 'my penis' (he was speaking from his perspective, of course -- I presume this usage might not pose the same problem for female landowners). David also suspected that the special tree planted at the birth of a child might nonetheless be called **to 'u tumu**.

By contrast, language is definitely possessed as an inalienable: **to 'u 'eo**, but so are names: **to 'u ikoa**, even though the latter have been exchanged for centuries. However, this form of exchange is clearly different from capitalist exchange in which the relationship of the buyer and seller may be totally impersonal and transient. Exchanging names does not alienate the names; instead the names enfold the exchangers within a common cloak of identity. My question is whether, traditionally speaking,

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languages ought only to have been exchanged (acquired and taught) in the same spirit that names were -- creating channels of communication with which to bind alliances. On the other hand, songs and myths have always been alienable (**ta 'u himene**, **ta 'u ha'akakai**). Perhaps **'Enana** now treat language and names as equally commodifiable and therefore available for theft.

I began this project in search of ethnolinguistic evidence to support my notion that **'Enana** see language and linguistic bits as having been, like land, trees, and fruit, historically transformed through contact with **Hao'e** from inalienable to alienable in the possessive system and thus into commodifiable and appropriable goods. But in the process of analyzing this data, I have come up with a related and not necessarily contradictory hypothesis. Perhaps the anxiety for **'Enana** is less that their language will be bought or stolen exactly -- this they imagine to be upsetting but understandable -- and more that their possessive relationship to it will be turned from alienable to inalienable. That is, they fear that they will become the subjects of talk, books, and legends rather than the owners and wielders of these linguistic units. Rather than

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having an intimate and enveloping relationship with their language, it will become like ***français*** (or **menike**) just another alienable (and alien) skill to be acquired or not for more or less practical reasons. At that point, **te 'Enana** 'the people' would no longer be in inalienable control of beginning or ending their relationship to the **tumu** 'trunk' and 'source' of their own **'eo** 'voice'. Such a state might remind them of drought years in which their trees did not yield. If all **'Enana** had quit storing **mā**, what then? Or as now, if the French quit subsidizing rice and flour, and the people have forgotten how to plant new breadfruit trees...?

But whether or not this metaphor between language and trees can be proven to 'exist' in the minds of **'Enana** using ethnosemantic or ethnomorphosyntactic evidence, it does provide heuristic grounds for understanding their sense of threat in the face of the ethnolinguistic imposition presented by **Hao'e**. However, so far I have only sketched a referential analysis of the ethnopragmatic potential of the language-tree parallel. Given **'Enana**'s capacities as ***debrouilleurs***, I now examine the language-theft accusation as a metapragmatic instance of managing the **Hao'e** via **keu**

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'play'.

C. **Keu** and **koika**: genres and contexts of dialogic mediation

Displaying a mixture of anxiety and hilarity, **'Enana** employ a variety of heteroglossic signs and practices to construct their dialogic identities, especially in relationship to **Hao'e** and the outer world they represent. For instance, the **Hao'e-'Enana** divide is mediated by a number of rich arboricultural metaphors. Many of these crop up within liminal 'ritualized' contexts, whether these be Catholic services, reinvented festivals, or **koika** 'parties'. Some embody the symbolic synthesis of French Catholic and **kakiu** cultural beliefs and practices. Others crop up in loaded ways in the interactions between **Hao'e** and **'Enana**, illuminating the friction between the dancers as they dance the dance of identity and relationship.

First of all, the syncretic tree symbols of note are that of the cross on which Christ is said to have hung, not unlike the manner in which **'Enana** once hung their dead out on tree limbs to rot. During Lent a life-sized cross is carried every Friday evening along every road in the village

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by a large group of villagers as they stop at the stages of the cross to read in **'enana** from the prayer book.

Secondly, the Christian notion of the tree of knowledge -- the idea that stealing both fruit and knowledge is a sin -- must have resonated powerfully for **'Enana** for whom the term **tumu** 'tree' was already rich and polyvalent. Implicit then in the ideology that their language is now 'decadent' is the Christian notion of a fall from grace, by contrast with the teleological ascent to 'civilization' and heaven.

Third, communion -- i.e., eating broken wafers and drinking wine from a single cup -- mimics the traditional daily ritual of eating from a communal bowl of **popo'i** (in itself both liquid and substance). However, typical of **hao'e** culture in general, the wafers are far more brittle than the perfectly **kako** 'elastic' **popo'i**.

In addition, one wonders at what level of consciousness the eating of Christ's **hao'e** body must resonate with the concept of eating one's enemy -- in both cases, one derives power from this act of consumption. However, cannibalism in its **kakiu** form is one of the chief icons of **'Enana**'s previous 'savagery'; thus, I surmise that this must serve as a further source of ideological contradiction.

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While breadfruit is still the staple preferred by older people, the carbohydrates of choice for children include rice, baguettes, spaghetti, 'Russian' (potato) salad, and Sao crackers. And while breadfruit continues to be prepared in a number of ways during feasts associated with all ritual celebrations, the tree of real significance has become the money-bearing **'ehi** 'coconut'. It is the symbol of both the cash crop copra and the macho activity of cutting copra, as well as the resource needed for the production of local alcohol and the macho activity of consuming it. Thus, **'ehi** indexically melds the power of **hao'e moni** 'money' and the **'Enana** phallus in a number of ways.

One man graphically demonstrated this relationship between **pia** 'penis' and **pia** 'beer'[1] during a **koika** at Yvonne's one alcohol-soaked afternoon. To make **pia**, the coconut pod is tied tight at one end for a week or more -- until the sap collects and ferments. My informant held his forearm out, gripping his wrist with his fingers. When ready, the tip is **tehe** 'cut' (this term is also used for 'superincision', a traditional rite of passage that pubescent boys continue to undergo with or without medical supervision). The hand holding his wrist sliced down like a

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machete to chop off the dangling hand. And the alcohol spurts out. He let his arm fall and pumped up with his groin.

Every three weeks the symbols of **'ehi**, **pia**, and **moni** are deployed in Hatiheu during the liminal period after the **'ehi** has been loaded onto the ship, the **moni** doled out, and the new stock of Tahitian **pia** delivered to the two drinking establishments in the village. Thus, by noon, the men are already vying to see how much they can hold and still sing, play, and after nightfall make good to some degree on their sexual propositions. This is the time also that from beneath the shade of a mango or chestnut tree, the **po'i po ke'eke'e** 'benighted people' **maio** 'mock' the unaware **karaihi**[2] tourists walking along the sun-drenched road.

While practiced on a regular basis throughout the year, these ritual practices reach a feverish pitch during July. Officially a celebration of Bastille Day, the goal presumably being that of building allegiance to France and its ideals, the fête in the Marquesas is referred to as **Rere** 'juillet' as it lasts the whole month and deals relatively little in French symbols to do with ***egalité***, ***liberté***, ***fraternité***. In fact, I never heard anyone make mention of

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the revolutionary event supposedly being commemorated.

Instead, much smaller, more local, and/or subversive expressions of identity are enacted during this carnival period. Coconut frond huts are thatched and **'enana** crafts displayed; traditional dance competitions and copra-chopping contests are organized; horse and canoe races are held; parades are unleashed and speeches delivered in (or translated into) both ***français*** and **'enana**.

This has been going on for over a century in French Polynesia in one form or another (Stevenson 1990a; Suggs 1962). But it is in the parts to do with drinking, whether of home-brewed or imported alcohol, that the boundary between comedy and anger, between hilarity and anxiety, is walked and negotiated, sometimes resolved, sometimes redrawn, by way of many small exchanges, whether public or intimate, conscious or unintentional, referentially full or empty (i.e., 'about' something or not).

In both taunts and teases, double entendres abound and indirection is pointed. People play at the edges of what is acceptable to themselves and others. What is at stake is their identities as 'French Polynesians,' as **'Enana**, as Hatiheuans, as family members, or as individuals. These

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come into play in their use of exclusive or inclusive first person dual or plural pronouns in everyday situations. For example: 'We two (not you) are going to the party,' or 'That is ours (not yours).'

One day I was party to an event involving the owner of a small, largely deserted valley. He was throwing a **koika** for me and some friends, both **Hao'e** and **'Enana**. A couple of naive 'yachties' who had come in to anchor in the bay that day were invited to eat as well. Unacquainted with local rules of etiquette, they brought out a couple of grapefruit they had collected in the interior that afternoon, thinking to offer them as part of the repast. In fact, these grapefruit already belonged to our host who owned most of the land in the valley. By all local standards, this is considered theft (whereas of course the hapless yachties thought themselves to be simply adapting to the hunter-gatherer lifestyle of island peoples). In seconds, our archetypally hospitable host transformed into an enraged victim.

This man was one of the **'enana** elite, possessing a good deal of **hao'e** 'blood' (i.e., fairness of skin), an advanced academic degree, and a lot of land and other assets; he had

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recently run in the national elections. Clearly the loss of two grapefruit was not what was at issue. At one level it was the history of presumption by **Hao'e** that he was reviling: for how many centuries had they been stopping by and helping themselves, assuming that the natives had no 'laws' governing the possession of property of their own. At another level, I believe the snatching of fruit hit him -- an elite who had spent years in France -- as it did any octogenarian monolingual **'Enana** who chides a child for stealing an orange. The taking of arboricultural stuffs goes deep, crosses boundaries, and raises contradictions.

Though the concept of possession did not arrive with Captain Cook, the notion of 'theft' may have. While fruit has always been alienable (as trees were not), enemies did not take each other's fruit (instead they destroyed each other's trees). The alienability of fruit was for forging alliances: friends were those with whom one exchanged fruit; they did not 'steal' from each other. That is what has changed. While **hoa** 'friends' are still made through the give and take of everyday fruit and words, and alliances as always shift with the winds, it is some more ephemeral substance that can now in the process be alienated that

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makes the difference. Somehow, something closer to one's **tumu** 'tree trunk' can now be taken; some 'source' or essence can now be appropriated (and perhaps already had been in the case of this westernized **'enana**).

But this, I believe, is at the heart of the meaning of 'theft' that **'Enana** are in the process of constructing. The intensional meaning of fruit theft is culturally and historically complex, and its extensional reference changes depending on the context. In the context of that party, I would hold that the grapefruit meant something more like cultural identity to our host. And the **hao'e** yachties were stealing what under other conditions this elite **'Enana** was in the practice of giving away (or selling).

While rebellious discontent over this sort of 'theft' may long have been brewing in the Marquesas, at this time some **'Enana** are openly reconstruing French-style **politesse** as indexical of weakness and dependence and symptomatic of all that was given up in the way of traditional culture to the French sense of prudery and religiosity. By contrast, 'savagery' and confrontational exclusionary practices are being reinvested with a sense of cultural strength and socioeconomic self-reliance.

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The elite (such as our host on the day of the grapefruit party) tend to promote melding the two more gracefully. Neologisms such as **kouta'u** 'thank you' are coined, and traditional forms of hospitality marked by **ka'oha** are recreated to vie with French forms of ***politesse***. For instance, conventional Polynesian performatives of welcome are now regularly enacted, and official dances to celebrate the arrival of honored guests -- particularly French or Tahitian -- begin with the **mave mai** 'come here' invitational chants in **'enana**, while the visitor is wreathed with **hei** 'flower necklaces' and names are exchanged.[3]

Nonetheless, a number of more obviously non-negotiable and intra-referential (i.e., of primary significance to **'Enana** only) semiotic practices such as the reinvention of full-body, irreversible tattooing are indicative of the rising ideological tide that rejects conventional French values. Similarly, **sarapia** is strategically used by those in the know (especially 20- to 40-year-old male 'wanderers') to embody historical transformations in **Hao'e-'Enana** relations and to challenge traditional evaluations of **'Enana** culture, character, and interactional style as ***sauvage***, by contrast with dominant ideology about French ***civilisation***.

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**Maio** 'mockery' of **Hao'e** also plays a large role as insults are no longer whispered or otherwise hidden. Thus, **'enana** is used not only in its exclusionary function in the presence of **Hao'e** (i.e., to block their comprehension and sense of social inclusion), but also confrontationally in direct address. While generally cloaked in laughter, these jibes re-enact an old technique of aggression between valleys wherein interactions were marked by dialectal differences by which participants identified and co-constructed hostile 'others'.

As a result, any **Hao'e**'s attempt to learn **'enana** is fraught with ambivalence and thus becomes particularly salient in cross-ethnic confrontations. That is, given **'enana**'s usefulness as an exclusionary code, its infiltration is unwelcome. Given this fact, the assumption that **Hao'e** are incapable of learning the language becomes in itself a pragmatic tactic for guarding the code.

Indeed, **'enana** does pose a couple of phonological problems for many foreigners, most of whom are deaf to the glottal stop. In addition, francophones are phonemically insensitive to /h/ and as a consequence conflate another huge set of minimal pairs dependent on this phoneme

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(although **'Enana** expect all foreigners to be similarly handicapped). As a result, **'Enana** also consider multivalency to be one of the major stumbling blocks for **Hao'e** attempting to learn the language. The pointed use of puns and sexual innuendo both re-enforce these understandings that the language is impossible to learn and help obstruct its acquistion.[4]

For example, wherever I joined a party of beer-drinkers, inevitably a man would offer me a beer, the bottle wielded in a phallic gesture of proposition: **Kaki 'oe titahi pia?** 'Do you want this beer/penis?' and enjoin me in a discussion of whether I could successfully distinguish between **pia** and **piha**, the latter meaning 'beef' or 'steer'.[5]

Even when not targeting a foreigner, **'Enana** (like many Polynesians) love to engage in sexual banter and it is doubtful that the arrival of (phonologically impaired) **Hao'e** much more than rechanneled **'Enana**'s already skillful use of phonological play. But what is evident from such examples is the application of sexual **keu** to the negotiation of cross-ethnic relationships.

Given an understanding of the interplay between **keu** and **ka'oha** at **koika** 'parties', it should be clear that the

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language-theft accusation was just one highly suggestive and instructive (if harrowing for me) incident in **'Enana**'s historical negotiation of ethnolinguistic identity and relationship to **Hao'e**.

On one level, this episode of conflictual metadiscourse did express **'Enana**'s fears of losing their ethnolinguistic identity to the **Hao'e**. On another level, it operated as an attempt to **keu** 'play' with one particular **Hao'e** -- to discover whose side I was on and to manifest who they in all their flexibility were.

Thus, their accusations were not simply one big **keu** 'tease' as their anxiety over ethnolinguistic loss is pragmatically palpable. Any **Hao'e** who arrives wanting to put language down in books and take these away is mocked (if not actually loathed). By contrast, any **Hao'e** who learns to use the language in context with any fluidity may be taken in (if not actually loved).

However, **'Enana**'s 'fear' of loss must be understood within the frame of their understanding that **pe** feelings must be hidden, managed, or transformed via **kako** 'flexibility' and an ability to ***débrouiller*** 'make do' and **keu** 'play'. To simplify this drastically into a mechanism

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of self-defense, they believe that no **Hao'e** can do them harm if they do not show us their fear.

However, these forms of dialogic conflict function not only as a negotiation of the identity of the speaker, but also as a test of the outsider, mediating his or her incorporation into the community. Thus, the language-theft conflict serves also as an example of how strangers (especially **Hao'e**) are metapragmatically socialized.

In accusing me of tampering with their **'eo** 'language, voice' and their personal stories, **te 'Enana** were engaging me in a form of **keu** which I interpreted as **totoua**, i.e., a form of immature fighting. My inappropriate responses (i.e., taking them seriously and crying) demonstrated that I had failed this test of my **kako** 'flexibility', and therefore of my potential for entering inside the **'enana** space. Fortunately for me, some of the **pekē** 'anger' I encountered from some was tempered and balanced by **ka'oha** from others, and eventually I did learn to **keu** and so managed to wend my way 'inside'.[5]

In other words, at the referential level the language-theft conflict forced a discussion of ethnolinguistic identity in a way that not only displayed their cultural

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commitments and resources but also probed my anthropolitical intentions. Simultaneously, it functioned pragmatically as a negotiation of my psychosocial identity. That is, by embroiling me in conflict discourse, they tapped into my own reserves of fear and shame, as well as my resources for play and flexibility. Thus, whether I passed with flying colors or simply passed into being minimally accepted by a few, I did manage as a result to construct my own dialogic identity within **'Enana** society.

In Hatiheu, techniques not unlike these are also used to **hakako** 'teach' children to be **'Enana** as they learn not only what to communicate but also how to do so. In Part III of this study, I examine the micro processes of language socialization by which the children of Hatiheu are dialogically embedded in emotional discourse (expressive of both **ka'oha** and **hakaika** 'shame'), and thus learn to speak, behave, and negotiate within the psychosocial universe of **te 'Enana**. In doing so, I discuss and illustrate various socializing features, forms, and strategies which reflect both the historic impact of French ideology and practices as well as the continuity of indigenous values and routines in Hatiheu today.

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As is demonstrated, **'Enana** children do not immediately learn all of the sexually punning, teasing, and mocking forms of **sarapia** engaged in by adult men at the expense of, for example, female **hao'e** researchers such as myself.[7] However, strategic CS by **'enana** children and their caregivers is rife with the expression of rebellious and confrontational 'strengths' presently sought by many **'Enana**. Moreover, given a shifting metapragmatic frame for assigning meaning to communicative practices, the present generation of **toiki** 'children' is clearly developing and transforming multilingual resources for strategically addressing power dynamics within their immediate contexts in ways which will have a real impact on the translinguistic system and cultural values of French Polynesia over the next few decades. Thus, children, too, have a voice in the management of **'Enana-Hao'e** relations and in the emotional negotiation of ethnolinguistic 'loss'.

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## Notes

1. Although based on the loan ***biére***, this term also refers to the homemade alcohol.

2. **Karaihi**, meaning both 'rice' and 'uncut penis', is a common pejorative applied to **Hao'e** (whether male or female, but if the former, the penis is presumed to be improperly cut or uncut). Perhaps this usage is due merely to some kind of iconic resemblance between these two objects or between rice water and the **pi'au 'ota** 'stinking smegma' that is thought to accumulate under an uncut foreskin (and serves as another evocative epithet). One other possibility is that 'rice' was one of the early staples imported and eaten by Chinese, a particularly disliked variety of **Hao'e** who began to arrive in small numbers in the nineteenth century and made money as store owners and opium sellers.

3. This latter ritual was performed between a French naval commandant and the mayor of Nuku Hiva while I was there and was taken to mean that the commandant's ship would now 'belong' to Nuku Hiva in some way left unspecified (it was already assigned to making regular rounds of the Marquesas).

4. Metalinguistic consciousness is displayed by many **'Enana** through their awareness of homonyms and facility with double entendre. Thus, most **'Enana** over the age of ten, if engaged in a conversation about their language, will bring up as problematic the overabundance of homonyms, or words that sound like homonyms to the foreigner and will use as an example the **ua/u'a/'ua** complex, meaning 'rain', 'lobster', and both 'two' and 'hole', respectively. They see this as both an asset and liability of their language. On the one hand, they imagine that **'enana** has fewer words than other languages, which is why so many end up having more than one meaning; on the other hand, they think other languages lack this resource for punning.

5. Even before I arrived in the Marquesas, Papa Vaha, my 71-year-old host in Tahiti, expressed real concern while teaching me the language that I correctly pronounce the glottal stop in **tikau'e** 'fly', but avoid saying **u'e** 'penis'. He was anticipating the problems I would encounter along these lines.

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6. I can provide one example of how with time and distance I lost my place within the inner circles of intimacy. A year after I left, my best friend Moi wrote to tell me something bad had happened to her sister Manu but that it was not the sort of thing she could reveal 'even' to me. A few days later I received a letter from Manu revealing the ***histoire*** 'gossip' because she said she assumed Moi had already told me. In other words, while one sister treated me as no longer inside, the other assumed I was still intimate enough with the first for the second to treat me that way herself.

7. I was rather grateful that the children were not yet fully competent practitioners of many of the adult genres of verbal jousting, having been socialized instead into genres of hospitality, both French and **'enana**.

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# PART THREE

## Syncretic Socialization:

## Shifting Codes, Practices, Ideologies, and Identities

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# Chapter VIII

## Socializing Heteroglossic Commitments within Four Families

As has been shown in Part II of this study, verbal interactions in Hatiheu (whether in **'enana**, ***français,*** and/or **sarapia**) encode in semantic, morphosyntactic, and pragmatic forms a rich array of information about how **'Enana** conceptualize, index, and negotiate emotions, identities, and relationships. The children of Hatiheu are socialized through their emotional engagement in this discourse. This socialization process results in the emergence of transformed psychosocial and ethnolinguistic identities, which then contribute to historical shifts in the sociopolitical and translinguistic systems.

My own incipient understanding of socialization was forged by M. Mead's early (if now seemingly simplistic) insights into the relationship between culture change and the socialization process in the Pacific (1956). With this work, she convincingly illustrated the idea that larger institutional changes resulting from culture contact influence the way children are brought up and that as a result children, as they grow up, have a transformative

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effect on cultural institutions.

In a much transformed version of this thesis, Toren has explored the intersection of historical and developmental time in Fiji (1999). Replacing the term *socialization* with *autopoeisis*, Toren proposes that children constitute individualized meanings and psychosocial identities as the result of interactions with others within their households, villages, and nation-state. As Elliston (1997) has explored in her study of the Society Islands in the mid-1990s, psychosocial identities and inequalities can also be engendered by such processes in semi-autonomous territories such as French Polynesia.

However, neither Elliston nor Toren have managed to focalize and document the interactive contexts and processes of socialization as proposed by language socialization theorists. Despite Toren's theoretical alignment with Vygotsky's notion that children learn within specific historical contexts and through linguistic interactions with specific cultural others (Toren 1999:16-18), her methodology (based solely on participant observation) does not allow for the fine-grained analysis of these contextualized interactions.

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By contrast, in the methodology formulated by Ochs and Schieffelin, sufficient interactional data are collected such that the contextualized use of specific forms and routines can be analyzed in detail, looking both at how socialization is effected through verbal interaction and at how communicative resources (codes, speech genres, and the knowledge of how to use them) are acquired in culturally specific ways. Thus, by my lights, the language socialization approach encompasses all forms of socialization in that it offers researchers a means to analyze the everyday processes by which historical and developmental change are hinged together through everyday, emotionally charged interactions among children and their caregivers.

But while a number of researchers working with the language socialization paradigm (e.g., Schieffelin and Ochs 1986b) have researched the relationship between language socialization processes and various cultural contexts, Kulick's research in PNG (1992) was the first to fully address the historical dimension of change and its impact on child-caregiver discourse. He and others, such as Garrett (1999), have explored in particular shifts in language and

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language ideology resulting from and influencing socialization contexts. In these studies, language socialization can be seen to operate as the linchpin between local language use patterns and language shift in the national speech economy. That is, the acquisition of ethnolinguistic resources by children is influenced by the ideological and use values of certain languages and ethnolinguistic identities.

However, what is still missing is a longitudinal study of how language acquisition and psychosocial development is framed by and instatiates historical shifts in language and culture. As the following chapters testify, the present study does not pretend to fill that gap. However, intending to take us one step closer to such a goal, I collected in the field a range of cross-sectional data concerning the interactive contexts and discursive acts of a number of children differing by age, gender, and household membership in Hatiheu. These data have allowed me to analyze how the psychosocial communicative styles of **te 'Enana** are forged out of ethnolinguistic resources and how their ethnolinguistic commitments are dialogically developed as a result of specific psychosocial dynamics.

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In the following chapters I present in detail my findings from the study. This first chapter focuses on how larger ethnolinguistic frameworks and household-level psychosocial dynamics affect the differential acquisition of **'enana**, ***français***, and **sarapia** and development of idiosyncratic ethnolinguistic commitments by the children of Hatiheu. In the next chapter, I look at some of the culturally syncretic socializing routines affecting children's development of interactional competence (both cultural knowledge and communicative habitus). And in Chapter X, I explore the dialogic processes by which peers negotiate their feelings, identities, and relationships using developmentally acquired communicative resources. Throughout these chapters, I build on the understanding forged by researchers of language socialization that socialization is not a one-way, top-down process.

The data on which these findings are based include normative statements about the character and interactive style of **'Enana** extracted from informal interviews I conducted throughout the six inhabited islands of the archipelago. Additionally, examples of the everyday discourse intended to display or test flexibility are taken

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both from my fieldnotes and from transcripts of child and caregiver discourse in Hatiheu. Finally, such forms of emotional discourse among children and their caregivers within four families are analyzed for how children acquire communicative resources and learn to deploy them in order to manage their 'weak' feelings in culturally appropriate ways, and negotiate their identities and community affiliations.

A. Socializing contexts and psychosocial factors

This study focuses on how children are embedded in emotional discourse in the four families with whom I worked most closely. Nonetheless, certain generalities can be made concerning psychosocial factors affecting child-caregiver interactions in Hatiheu. These include the multiplex nature of participant structures found within a variety of communicative contexts and the metapragmatic effects of age, gender, and sibling position on the strategies of caregivers.

A number of institutional contexts house socializing activities of real consequence for the children of Hatiheu. Most obviously, the primary school, which most of the

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children in my study began attending at the age of two or three, engages the children in a host of multifunctional routines and genres, including reading aloud, by-rote recitations, oral question-and-answer sessions, written test-taking, front-of-the-classroom reports, and sing-alongs. In addition, the church organizes several religious activities that entail a large number of speech genres (prayers, songs, sermons, lectures, and organizational discussions) into which children are socialized from an early age (through church-going, prayer groups, and catechism classes). While I did not tape these more formal socializing speech contexts and activities, I did have a chance to attend and take notes during a number of such events and thus recognized some of the influences as they arose.

By contrast, the majority of my data comes from taping the everyday talk among children and caregivers working and playing around the home (the taping sessions are summarized in Appendix 8). Ideally I would have liked to have followed the children into a number of other informal contexts, particularly situations in which they were working with their fathers (e.g., out fishing) or playing bingo with

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their mothers on Sunday afternoons. In practice, I only had one occasion to tape the Teikivaeoho family in a coconut grove doing copra. Nonetheless, I did participate in a lot of such activities and so again my observations of these inform my analyses.

Talk in all of these contexts (except for the most formal Westernized ones) was organized by a few basic psychosocial principles to do with participant structure and the effect of participants' age and gender. First of all, village life in the Marquesas is inherently multiplex, i.e., most informal settings and conversations involve more than two parties. Thus, speakers frequently address more than one person at the same time and receive responses from more than one. And even if a person directs an utterance toward one particular interlocutor, one or more others may jump into the middle of the interaction, helping shape the interactive context.

However, interactions are multiplex in other, less obvious ways as well, and this is definitely true of intercourse among children and their caregivers. To begin with, many apparently simple exchanges involve more than the two persons most immediately indexed, i.e., speaker and

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addressee. Multiplex interactions are those in which other parties mediate (physically or psychically) between the speaker and the object of his or her attentions.

Several types of interactions involve an obviously indexed third party. In one type, reported speech, one party reports to a second party some utterance first (allegedly) performed by a third party. In another type, a first party directs a second party to say something to a third party (these are referred to in the language socialization literature as *triadic interactions*). A third example is that of bivalent utterances in which one party addresses a single utterance toward two other parties -- the utterance carries one meaning to the second party (the more obviously indexed addressee and frequently the more naive party) and another meaning to a third party (usually in fairly implicit fashion, this party being the more savvy or mature participant). For example, a mother yells at a baby in order to signal to an older child to stop the baby from crawling out the door. In one final type of multiplex interaction, other persons may be brought in as potential interlocutors as when one party attempts to stop the behavior of a second party by telling or threatening to tell

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a third party.

Additionally, many interactions may appear on the surface to be dyadic, i.e., involving only the two parties as they are for the moment engaged either in talk about something or in some form of verbal or non-verbal negotiation over doing or not doing something. However, many of these apparently dyadic interactions upon careful inspection rely on the implicit presence of imaginary or shadow overhearers. For example, when a caregiver **ha'ahakaika** 'shames' a child (whether playfully or angrily), the child is made to feel **hakaika** 'shame' not only before the immediate party but also before imagined others or society-at-large. **Ka'oha** 'compassion' talk, too, while seeming fairly immediate -- a manifestation of concern by a more powerful interlocutor for one who is in need -- relies also on some imaginary communal presence whose compassion the immediate interlocutor is representing. Direct commands, as well, may be loaded with the weight of community pressure: do this because it will be better for others and you will be well-thought of as a consequence. In each of these cases, the addressee adapts his or her behavior to win the compassion and approval not so much of

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the immediate caregiver as of all the others in response to whom the person's psychosocial identity is dialogically developing.[1]

However, socializing interactions within these multiplex contexts vary depending on the age and gender of the child as well as his or her position in the sibling group. These factors play a role in caregivers' normative interactions with the child, with expectations of how the child ought to be responding, and with the communicative strategies and psychosocial attributes displayed by the children in their negotiation of their needs and stances.

Given my limited data, I am reluctant to assign rigid age-grades or gender categories to these socialization strategies and their effects in Hatiheu (seeing more of a gradation from youngest to eldest and some variation between families dependent on sibling order and psychosocial style of the particular family). Nonetheless, I did observe tendencies which are worthy of note, especially as they demonstrate similarities with other Polynesian groups (e.g., the Samoans studied by Ochs [1988] and the part-Hawaiians studied by Boggs [1978, 1985]). These similarities speak to a number of underlying cultural factors which have not been

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disrupted by colonialism: e.g., sibling caregiving patterns, an ideology of **ka'oha/'aloha/alofa**, and the macho ideal of hiding **pe** 'soft' feelings.

For instance, in all three cultures small children (0-3 years) are treated with great **'aloha**[HAW]/**alofa**[SAM]/**ka'oha**[MQ] 'love, compassion, concern'. Not long after this, children especially girls are taught and expected to take on caregiving duties themselves. Also, young boys are hazed by older boys to hide their fear. According to Ochs, children are expected to be 'naturally' willful, bad, and bold, and so must be taught **fa'aaloalo** 'respect' (1988:156-61).

In Hatiheu, children are expected to be **putu'i/têtu** 'stubborn' and 'willful' when young, and thus must be **hakako** 'taught' to turn this hard-headedness into **kako** 'flexibility,' i.e., a mixture of toughness and elasticity, as they mature. Nonetheless, in the very young (under three years), this attribute of **putu'i** is accepted and even encouraged, as they are treated with great **ka'oha** and only a teasing form of **hakaika** 'shaming'.[2]

As children grow past the adorable toddler stage, obvious demonstrations of **ka'oha** are dropped and the gentle

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admonitions and teasing style of shaming give way to more angry scolding. Although my data are not conclusive on this point, it appears that this happens more and sooner with girls than with boys, as the latter are expected to stay immature longer and to hide their fears more completely behind a show of warrior-like strength and bravado (which is then supposed to be dropped again as they mature).

Girls, by contrast, are expected to adopt (at least on the surface) the French ideals of propriety far sooner, learning to keep house and take care of their younger siblings, the latter at least being in keeping with traditional caregiving patterns. However, all of the older children in my sample were girls; thus, I cannot say with any certainty whether the differences in how they were being socialized were due to age and/or gender.

The composition of the sibling group also appears to influence the sorts of caregiver attention the children received. Of the four families, three consisted of groups of five or six children ranging in age from newborn to twelve years. Individual children within these packs received less one-on-one attention from adults than did the two-year-old Siki Pahuatini, who was being raised

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essentially as an only child by his grandparents with only his eleven-year-old uncle Rafa even in the running for the attentions of all of the older caregivers in the household.

However, the youngest children in each of the other families (the new-born Hina in the Teikivaeoho family, the one-year-old Aere in the Poihipapu family, and the three-year-old Tahia in the Teikikaine family) did receive much the same sort of attention from the adults as did Siki. Interesting to watch in this regard was the process by which the four-year-old Tava lost the position of **pepe** 'baby' to the new-born Hina over the course of the ten months I worked with the Teikivaeoho family.[3]

Generally speaking, access to grandparents, godparents, and other relations also has an impact on the amount of attention children receive from adult caregivers in the Marquesas, as usually one or two children in a family may be more or less favored by a special grandparent, godparent, or other relative, who lives close by. Several relationships like this were of some significance to the present study: that between four-year-old Teani Teikikaine and her grandmother next door, between Tehina Teikivaeoho and her fictive 'grandfather' down the road, between Vaite Poihipapu

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and her grandmother in Anaho, between Puhe Teikikaine and his grandmother in Hooumi, and between Siki Pahuatini and his aunt Teresi and uncle Iku. Several of these relationships are of some interest to the present study.

However, in all of the families, the older children (eleven-year-old Rafa and sixteen-year-old Tahia in the Pahuatini family and the two older girls in each of the other families) received attention from adults who were training these older children in their roles as assistant caregivers. The younger children, as a result, in all the families were the recipients of both ventriloquized and direct attention from these young caregivers. However, all of the young children, apart from Siki, were also engaged in a lot of co-socialization with their close-in-age siblings. All of these socializing factors contribute to the psychosocial framework within which children acquire their ethnolinguistic commitments in variable ways.

B. Developing ethnolinguistic commitments

The acquisition of ethnolinguistic resources and attitudes by children is influenced by dialogic input,

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language ideology, and psychosocial context. That is, both the amount and forms of linguistic resources, as well as the contexts of interaction and the cultural beliefs about these contexts and interactions, influence the abilities and preferences children develop.

Most of the children in my study shared several commonalities with respect to the amount of **'enana**, ***français***, and **sarapia** to which they were exposed and the ways in which they were engaged in the use of these codes. The children also received some of the same ideological messages concerning the cultural capital associated with each code and its appropriate usage. Both of these influences stem in part from a number of wide-scale ideological, political-economic, and social structural realities. As these were analyzed at length in Part II, I only allude to them here in order to indicate their influence on the use and aquisition of linguistic resources within all four of the households studied.

As the dominant colonial language, ***français*** has long had the upper hand as the language of formal, public discourse. It has probably also played a minor role in the domestic sphere for some time, primarily in the form of a

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simplified caregiver code used for addressing infants and toddlers. However, over the last few decades, due in large measure to the increase in governmental spending occasioned by France's use of the Territory for a nuclear testing ground, a number of forces have coalesced to promote the use of ***français*** not only in public spheres but also more dramatically within the domestic zones of Hatiheu.

First of all, ***français*** began to infiltrate households via radio and more recently television with increasing regularity. Secondly, primary education in ***français*** became universal and access to both secondary education and wage employment dependent on a knowledge of ***français*** increased. This provided not only access to acquiring the language, but also the incentive to do so.

As a result, in three of the families in my study, the mothers had had one or two years of secondary education at the influential Catholic boarding school for girls in Hiva Oa (***L'Ecole des Soeurs***) and thus were competent speakers of ***français***. In response to the growth in the market value of ***français***, all expressed some faith that an education in ***français*** would lift their children out of the copra grind and into the job market. Nor is this belief totally

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unfounded as a few of their classmates were making $30,000 a year as primary school teachers and driving shiny pick-up trucks as a result.

Thus, all of these mothers had begun in the few years prior to my study to use ***français*** more extensively in the home, especially in reference to literacy activities (appropriating the voices of their own French teachers), and all used it as the primary medium with infants and young children. That is, the practice of using ***français*** as the caregiver code had been brought to the level of awareness and supported by an explicit metalinguistic ideology (i.e., that children will get ahead if given ***français*** at home as well as at school). Thus, what had once been merely a symbolic use of the language with babies was transformed into a more ubiquitous and utilitarian usage in the home with school-aged children as well as in hopes of promoting their opportunities for education and employment.

The two substantially older grandmothers most involved in the study (Meama Pahuatini acting as Siki's adopted **mama** and Maria Hokaupoko as Maria's) present some contrast to these younger mothers in that they had had considerably less education. Nonetheless, Mama Meama had attended the ***Ecole***

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***des Soeurs*** for a couple of years of primary school education, and Mama Maria had attended some years at the village elementary school, living with and keeping house for the Tahitian school teacher at that time. Thus, neither of these grandmothers were completely unschooled in ***français*** and did use it sometimes with their youngest grandchildren, although usually in the simplified caregiver form. In other words, they appeared to share some of the orientation toward ***français*** with the younger mothers, if not their fluency in it.

Although the fathers in all of the families were less educated than their wives and though none were fluent speakers of ***français,*** all were capable of comprehending the household interactions in that language and sometimes spoke it themselves with the youngest children (again providing evidence of the role of ***français*** as a simplified caregiver code). They, too, apparently shared in the ideology that children should be exposed to ***français*** very early in order to do well at school, to succeed in some salaried venue, and to leave behind the life they themselves were leading.

Additionally, while the traditional pan-Polynesian pattern in which older siblings, especially girls, take care

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of younger siblings was still much in effect, these young caregivers tended to express themselves in ***français***. The girls, in particular, were not surprisingly modeling themselves on their mothers' orientation toward school and ***français***. However, both boys and girls, when taking on the caregiver role with younger siblings, used ***français*** more of the time even than did their mothers, perhaps appropriating in this fashion the authority voice of their school teachers as well.

Unlike their parents, all of the children in the study had begun schooling in ***français*** at two or three years of age and would be obliged by the state to continue through at least to the age of sixteen. Thus, many days of the year they were immersed in only ***français*** for four to six hours.

Additionally, Western schooling has disrupted traditional age-grades and created a new locale for the formation of peer groups in the form of school mates. To the degree that these relationships are formed at school, they now take place in ***français***; in other words, that has begun to be the code for constructing friendship.

To the degree that siblings are close enough in age to be peers, this school and peer code is displaced into the

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home. While not as big as families in the past few generations, families in Hatiheu are still tending to produce six or seven children in close age succession (i.e., only one or two years apart). Thus, all of the children were members of multiple sibling groups in which most members were within a year or two of a couple of others in the group (except in the Pahuatini family in which the two-year-old Siki was instead part of a set of children who were his uncles, aunts, and cousins and who were all at least six years older than he). These sibling groups tended to bring home the ***français*** used at school for use at least part of the time as the language of peer interaction.

This growing use of ***français*** by school-aged children along with the fact that children now begin school at an earlier age have together had an impact on adults' use of ***français*** with children of all ages. That is, to complete the cycle, mothers now justify their use of ***français*** by citing their perception that the children are more competent in that code.

As a result of all these factors, traditional patterns of functional diglossia have been destabilized in Hatiheu such that many speakers in the study used some ***français*** in

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various contexts and to fulfill various functions that were once reserved for **'enana**. Altogether, this means that much of the early cognitive structuration of these children was taking place through engagement in and exposure to ***français***.

Nonetheless, **'enana** is still valued for use in public contexts. First of all, the Catholic church continues to provide printed materials in and a respectful milieu for **'enana**. Approximately 95% of the population of Hatiheu (this figure being perhaps slightly higher than for the Marquesas as a whole) engaged in religious activities on a regular basis, including catechism classes, mass three or four times a week, and morning and nightly prayers at home or in community prayer groups, all of which involve a mix of texts in ***français*** and **'enana**. In addition, a number of annual religious celebrations incorporated **'enana** songs and legends in the form of plays and dances, and a number of people (not just the elite) were actively engaged in revising old texts or writing new songs, speeches, and dramas in **'enana** for these occasions.

In addition, the cultural revival movement has bolstered respect for the language through its renovation of ritual sites, use of these for song and dance festivals, and

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use of **'enana** for political and ritual purposes, in mass media, and as a required subject in school. All of the influential people in the movement (most of them men, although Yvonne, Hatiheu's **haka'iki**, is also a respected member) are known for their eloquence in **'enana**, but all are also fluent in ***français***. These contexts, functions, and values provide substantial ideological and pragmatic support for the language.

As a result, all of the children in my study were exposed to the notion (if not the well-realized practice) that **'enana** is now to be taught in school. They all had the experience of hearing it used in ritualistic ways in church and for political deliveries, as well as on radio or TV. They had seen it used in print and been asked to read it (if haltingly) in old hymnals and some limited pedagogical materials. They heard it in songs both in local 'traditional' dance performances and on CDs produced in Tahiti and played on the radio and TV.

In addition, there are traditional social structural forms and habits that support in less overt fashion the use of not only 'pure' **'enana** but also its poor cousin **sarapia**. As was mentioned elsewhere, both of these codes are now

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associated with the savage, resourceful **'Enana**, especially so for men, and acquisition of the ability to use them is a consequence of exposure to adults in informal contexts in which the indexing of ethnolinguistic identity is key.

Thus, all of the children were still exposed to some amount of direct address and surrounding conversation in **'enana** in the home and elsewhere in the community. First of all, this code was retained even by younger women for the discussion of food, childcare, or household chores, and caregivers continued to address most household imperatives to older children in this language.

Also, due to still-strong traditional caregiving patterns, most of the children in the study enjoyed access to a father who spoke far more **'enana** than ***français***, in all kinds of keys and for all sorts of activities. Boys in particular (but also some of the ***garçon manqués*** 'tomboys') were still spending a lot of time with their fathers, uncles, older brothers and cousins -- fishing, hunting, and doing copra -- from around the age of five on (on weekends, during vacation, or skipping school sometimes). Unfortunately, I was unable to tape boys occupied in any of these activities, but assume that **'enana** was the language

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preferred by men in these contexts. These socializing experiences would then be responsible at least in part for the greater linguistic fluency in (if not actual commitment to) **'enana** and/or **sarapia** displayed by boys relative to girls of comparable ages.[4]

In other words, at the time of my study, gender-based differences in linguistic fluency were still trickling down through these gender-based patterns of language socialization to affect the linguistic commitments of various children. However, given the steadily increasing number of hours a day, months per year, and overall years children are required to be in school, boys were spending far less time in the company of men, learning to work and talk 'like men', than had their fathers, thus perhaps weakening the association between boys and **'enana**.

One other significant traditional factor influencing the socialization of particular codes was the maintenance of extended family which manifested itself in compound housing, visitation patterns, and adoption, and which affected the amount of access children had to their grandparents (most of whom speak very little ***français***). Three out of four of the families enjoyed some contact with at least one grandparent

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who was committed to **'enana**. And overall, there was a clear correlation between children's commitment to **'enana** and their degree of experience with a primary caregiver of the grandparent's generation who spoke to them primarily in **'enana**. If these household forms give way more completely to nuclear families living in isolation from grandparents, or if grandparents are no longer committed to **'enana**, then this social structural support to that language will begin to collapse too.

Despite this long list of similarities in the socializing factors, the children showed marked differences in their knowledge and use of the codes as well as in their attitudes toward them. Some of this variation can be ascribed to generic differences based on age and gender of the children, and some to idiolectic differences. However, some of the variation can also be analyzed as a function of the psychosocial dynamics contextualizing the particular patterns of linguistic usage and attitudes demonstrated by caregivers in each household.

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C. The four households

All four of the households with which I worked manifested a lot of the social variability to be found throughout Hatiheu vis-à-vis education, occupation and income level, religion, and region of origin. Thus, the adults ranged from those who had only two to three years of village primary school to some who had completed the equivalent of junior high in Hiva Oa. Most adults were involved in horticulture, fishing, and hunting for subsistence and cash, as well as copra production; but some also made handicrafts sold to both villagers and tourists, engaged in wage-labor on administrative projects, and one worked as a postmistress. There were no Protestants in the valley, but within the four families adults ranged from being active Catholics engaged as prayer leaders and catechism teachers to being suspected ***païens*** 'heathens' -- i.e., those who avoided public involvement in church activities. Some family members were born in Hatiheu, but a number came from one of the other inhabited valleys of Nuku Hiva. A number also claimed to have some degree of European and/or royal Polynesian ancestry.

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Despite a fairly even scattering of these variables throughout the four families, they showed some fairly distinct differences in patterns of code choice, in the production of various forms of discourse for purposes of socialization and negotiation, and in the generation of ethnolinguistic and psychosocial identities. Thus, against my expectations, I discovered that I was able to align them along a fairly clear-cut social continuum ranging from what I heuristically characterize as being more or less assimilated, culturally and linguistically. This continuum is reflected in the order in which I arrange the family trees in Appendix 6 with the Teikivaeoho family being most ***francisée*** and the Pahuatini being least.

Also, the families manifested some similarities and variation in terms of psychosocial style. To generalize, all four of the families with whom I worked were concerned with possessing material stuff, manifesting knowledge and ability, and displaying interpersonal and emotional power. However, each of the families organized these interests differently and so presented varying psychosocial dynamics, stemming in part from the families' present circumstances and the different backgrounds and personalities of some of

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the members.

In particular, it is worth noting that all but the Pahuatini family were dealing with a similar set of difficulties -- their homes had been burned by a particularly 'wild' youth within the two years prior to my study (the youth had burned six houses in total, but the owners of the others had since moved away). Thus, the Teikivaeoho, Poihipapu, and Teikikaine families were all still in the process of rebuilding with more or less concentration on the task.

Although all three homes consisted of three rooms (two bedrooms and a larger living room, kitchen included), the Teikivaeoho home was considerably larger than the other two (apparently in part because they had more and flatter land to work with, but also because they appeared to have more money). They also had an eating patio off the living room and a half-built bathroom attached in back for which they were still pouring the concrete while I was there. The Poihipapu home also had a concrete floor and concrete block walls, but I saw no evidence there of ongoing construction -- instead the father Poea was involved in building a speedboat. The Teikikaine house was the most modest, being

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built of plywood, including the floor, and raised up on low pylons. While I was there, the mother was improving the interior by laying down linoleum and making curtains for doors and cabinets with pareu material.

By contrast, the Pahuatini family seemed much more stably fixed in the landscape of Hatiheu. As one of the first families to have been loaned land by the church, the compound was situated next to the gathering house for the church and in front of the volleyball and soccer field. Its origins and setting gave the compound a public and powerful feel although the family was in fact only insecurely lodged there (when I visited in 2000, they were on the verge of being forced to move out). Additionally, the house was no more elaborate than any of the other non-Western homes in town -- concrete floor, plywood walls, tin roof, and three ill-defined living/sleeping/storage rooms in addition to the eat-in kitchen.

These differences in the physical homes and settings were matched by differences in the concerns and interactive dynamics of the four families as well as their general patterns of code usage.[5] In order to describe these differences, I offer a set of snapshots of the four

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families, focusing on the psychosocial dynamics within which the children were developing their particularistic ethnolinguistic commitments.

1. The Teikivaeoho household

This family consisted of a father (Mimi), a mother (Noella), six children (the oldest eleven and the youngest born half-way through my fieldwork), and one 'wanderer' (a man in his mid-thirties who worked as a gardener for the mayor and spent most of his time away from the household).

In his late forties, Mimi did copra, raised pigs, fished, worked on his house, and made a small salary reading meters for the electric company. He had been adopted by his grandparents and both these and his biological parents were dead. Though he had attended the village school until he was fourteen, his ***français*** was limited, and he clearly preferred to speak **'enana**.

His wife Noella, about thirty years old, had grown up in the neighboring valley of Aakapa, and her mother lived in Tahiti (her father deceased). She worked hard on her flower and vegetable gardens, housekeeping and childcare, and as a

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seamstress making clothes by commision from others in the village. She was also a talented artist and created a wonderful set of drawings of plants, animals, and cultural scenes and artifacts for the pedagogical materials I hoped to develop. She had attended the ***Ecole des Soeurs*** for a couple of years and was quite fluent and literate in both ***français*** and **'enana**. However, she claimed to have forgotten many **'enana** words, and would turn to Mimi when she needed them (for example, to label the pedagogical drawings).

An outward orientation toward Tahiti, France, and the world was marked in this family. First of all, Mimi was a staunch supporter of Flosse's conservative political party and thus appeared to enjoy some insider access to the territorial power structure (as was indexed by his salaried job with the electric company). Additionally, Noella's family apparently had some external connections to the larger world given that her parents had moved to Tahiti some time ago and one of her sisters was a nun living in France. The family watched a lot of TV and Mimi was the only one in the village to discuss news from Menike with me -- e.g., the election of our too young (by Mimi's standards) President Clinton, the bombing of the World Trade Center, and the

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hurricanes in Florida. That is, he took a real interest in events out there despite the fact that he imparted this **tekao hou** 'news' to me in **'enana**.

Another index of this Western orientation was the way in which they welcomed me in. Noella discussed this as being a traditional form of **ka'oha** demonstrated as well by her father's invitations to any **mata hou** 'new face' who arrived in their valley when she was a child. However, I recognized in it a syncretic type of **ka'oha** reserved primarily for **Hao'e** or other outsiders presumed to be powerful, i.e., a form of cultural brokerage. Their interest in this form of cultural exchange was evidenced as well by the way they celebrated their five-year-old daughter Julia's gregarious warmth and linguistic skills displayed when befriending francophone nurses and doctors at the hospital in Taiohae (where she spent several weeks after a head injury).

Additionally, of all the parents I worked with, only Mimi and Noella seemed to be totally unfazed by the experience of being taped. In fact, Noella had trouble remembering that I did not particularly want to tape the two of us talking. However, Mimi appeared to become a bit less

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receptive (and is heard less on tape) as he realized that his children were exhibiting almost no ability to speak **'enana**.

Perhaps their worldly interests were a function of being better off economically than the other young families, which in turn isolated them somewhat in the village. Or perhaps these interests were a consequence of their social isolation which was caused by other factors. Whatever the causality, Noella and Mimi seemed at ease with being what I characterize as 'unhip' and exhibited even a kind of ***noblesse oblige*** as a result. Although they discussed the negative attitudes of others toward them and noted when and how material stuff was taken from them, they seemed relatively nonplussed by these attacks and comfortable within their own nuclear unit.

As a result their involvement in village-level activities was moderate. They were involved in normal ways with the Catholic Church, as the whole family attended Sunday services regularly and other services during holidays. They also helped out in all the expected ways with decorating the church and mounting special religious events. However, neither functioned in any specialized

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religious roles.

In addition, Mimi 'wandered' in predictable ways (mainly getting drunk for a day or so with other men at the store after the cargo boat provided the village with box wine and him with the cash to buy it). And Noella was an avid bingo player after church on Sundays. Nonetheless, the family tended to stay home the rest of the week and entertained fewer visitors than did some households. Mainly their guests consisted of Noella's sister living on the other side of Hatiheu and a few relatives from other valleys when they passed through. In particular, the children did not 'wander' to other houses very much, playing with each other at home rather than being allowed to go off and play with other children. Otherwise, they sometimes visited their cousins in Taiohae.

Of all the parents, Noella's interest in her children's health and development seemed to be the most influenced by information provided by the French staff at the clinic in Hatiheu and the hospital in Taiohae. She also avidly watched and quoted (and her children sang songs from) ***"Allo Mama, Ici Bébé"*** -- a TV show produced for the purpose of educating mothers in prenatal and postnatal care. For

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instance, one program demonstrated how the sperm enters the ovum and the foetus grows. From watching this, her second eldest daughter (9 years old) concluded that babies talk in the womb. Noella told her this was not so, but that babies do have needs. In addition, Noella told me that she had learned at school that children must be taught and that a good mother is one who 'slaps' her kids (by contrast with her parents who used a belt or coconut frond).

Noella not only enjoyed discussing the health and development of her children with me, she also demonstrated her **ka'oha** 'concern' for their well-being -- attending to their unstated needs, responding readily to their pleas for help, praising their developmental accomplishments, and encouraging them to show off their creations and talents, especially in the realm of drawing and reading. Thus, the children were directed to read for me and also spontaneously produced written materials to show me or to read together (e.g., a Tahitian myth written for children and a pamphlet on household dangers). Noella's concern with their acquisition of numeracy was also illustrated during a game of bingo.

This concern, however, was balanced by a good measure

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of **ha'ahakaika** 'shaming' or censuring their acts of stupidity, laziness, and/or wastefulness. And her methods of control ranged from cajoling and distracting to **pekē** 'angry' threats to hit. Unlike the other mothers, she rarely relied on saying she would tell their father.

Noella also manifested some other unusual psychosocial tendencies some of which appear to be influenced by French ideology, while others are creative syncretic constructions on her part. First of all, she tended to rationalize her reprimands and directives, i.e., explaining why her children should or should not do certain things. This explanatory and rationalizing style is also displayed in her **tekatekao** 'gossip'. That is, her stories generally had morals attached -- e.g., how the children ate the birthday cake they had made for Mimi because they were 'angry' at him for getting drunk and returning late (N10/22.321-6). This example demonstrates how, perhaps also modeled on Western communicative norms, Noella not only attributed lexicalized emotion states to people, but also explained the causes and consequences of these emotions.

Also related to this rationalizing style was the fact that when the children were in conflict, Noella frequently

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intervened: ***Qu'est-ce qu'il y a?*** 'What's going on?' (e.g., N5/10.641) and used a number of techniques to mediate and resolve conflict which I characterize as anti-**ka'oha**. Altogether, this complex of psychosocial communicative strategies -- her expressions of **ka'oha**, her rationalizing techniques, and her mediating anti-**ka'oha** stances -- stand in fairly marked contrast to the other mothers' styles.

My impression was that, perhaps as a result of this interferring and explanation-seeking style, Noella was considered to be the type who **'umihi** 'digs' too much -- i.e., someone who pries into others' affairs and talks about them more than she ought (labeled, in other words, a bit like I was). Certainly she was not engaged in any of the more 'intimate' friendships that I witnessed between women in her age cohort (most of whom had attended the ***Ecole des Soeurs*** around the same time). An index and medium of her exclusion was the fact that she had not learned any **menike** at school and thus could not use it as the others in this group did to construct their young-educated-female identity. However, because of all this, Noella served as an excellent source of general information about village life for me.

Noella also self-consciously represented herself as an

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unusual **vehine** in her strengths and stubbornness. Because her father did not like her much, he tried to marry her off at seventeen to Mimi, but she successfully put it off for a year by insisting that she was too young. Once married, Mimi tried bringing his drinking buddies home with him one night, and she floored him with a punch, which put an end to that behavior (he went out to drink instead although not as much as some husbands). When other women mocked him for being ugly, she would laugh it off saying, 'Well, he has a penis like any other, doesn't he?'

Noella explained (8/2.10 note) her own method of learning as being like her father's, something which he disliked in her, that she learned through persistence, which he called being **putu'i** 'stubborn, disobedient'. He would not teach her to sew so, mad at him, she taught herself by watching her mother and learning to ***débrouiller*** (i.e., by trial and error). For instance, when the machine broke, she talked to it, wasn't afraid of it, insisted that it work: ***Il faut toucher à tout.*** 'It is necessary to touch everything' (i.e., take it to pieces), despite the fact that, as is seen below, ***Touche à tout!*** is one of the favorite reprimands for **putu'i** children who are getting into things they shouldn't.

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In other words, Noella herself embodied the **'enana** ideal of transforming **putu'i** 'hard-headedness' into **kako** 'flexibility'. And yet that this ideal is perhaps more readily accepted in boys than girls may explain her father's unwillingness to **hakako** 'teach' her (i.e., make her flexible).

Her children, however, did not strike me as being in the process of learning this style of learning. To the contrary, they seemed to be rather dependent on their mother's hard-headed methods of conflict resolution and on Western rational modes of clarifying matters. And this Western-orientation was apparent in their linguistic commitments as well.

The six children (not including the baby born while I was there) had attended the village primary school since they were two or three years of age. And all of them spoke ***français*** most of the time. The rough turn count wholly confirmed my on-site impression of the children's greater proficiency in and preference for ***français*** over **'enana**. While all of them demonstrated some comprehension of the latter, only the eldest ever spontaneously produced multi-word utterances in **'enana**, and even she used this code

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in only about a fifth of her turns. And none of the others provided even this degree of performative competence. Also, their **sarapia** (unlike hers) consisted primarily of ***français*** with a smattering of lexical inserts from **'enana**.

The factors productive of this primary commitment to ***français*** are various and not at first apparent given the fact that both parents and especially Mimi (being male, older, and less well educated) addressed the children in **'enana** a good deal of the time. Also, at an attitudinal level, both parents expressed concern about the vitality of **'enana**. However, the potentially positive effects of their ideological commitment to the language appeared to be partially undermined by their anxiety which, I conjecture, was largely a result of their overall orientation toward French culture (education, economic opportunities, and sociopolitical structures).

On the one hand, Mimi displayed his commitment by taking every opportunity to 'teach' me **'enana**: speaking it to me and offering me 'pure' **kakiu** words and their meanings. He also seemed to interpret my presence in Hatiheu as a positive sign for the language and culture as he gave me the name: **Tahia vehe te pua kaka'a Nuku Hiva** 'Princess who makes

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a path among the good-smelling flowers of Nuku Hiva'. However, as my study progressed, he became painfully aware of something he had apparently not noticed before (his previous non-awareness being an interesting phenomenon in its own right) -- the fact that his children seemed not to be learning to use **'enana**. By the September session he was expressing his distress by 'angrily' criticizing his children and pointedly engaging me in **'enana** discourse (making small talk, telling me stories), not only to teach me more, but also to **hakaika** 'shame' his children for the fact that I spoke their language better than they did.[6]

Noella's mixed ideological message came through in other ways. She demonstrated her support of the language when, at my suggestion, she began creating the colorful pedagogical drawings of typical **'enana** scenes all labeled in **'enana**. However, in the process, it became clear that she was insecure about the state of her own **'enana** as she admitted to having to ask Mimi for help in remembering all of the 'correct' labels for things (i.e., those that existed before they were displaced by loans from ***français*** or **tahiti**). She blamed the ***Ecole des Soeurs*** for her loss of **'enana** as at the time she was attending the nuns were being

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very strict about enforcing the use of only ***français*** in and out of the classroom.

In addition to this ideological anxiety (which pervaded the consciousness of all the children in this family), there were a number of other factors supporting the children's acquisition of ***français*** and undermining their acquisition of **'enana**. First of all, the children had no access to **'enana**-speaking grandparents, the only one still alive being Noella's mother in Tahiti, and she like other older **'Enana** in Tahiti probably spoke some mixture of ***français***, **tahiti**, and **'enana** to her grandchildren when she did see them. Additionally, the TV was centrally located in the home and was turned on for most of the hours that programming was available (from early in the afternoon till late at night). Due in part to this attraction in the home, but also to parental interdiction and the lack of extended family in the village (the children's one maternal aunt lived on the other **keke** 'side' of the valley and **uta** 'back in the jungle'), the children did not wander to other homes or in the road very much and so mostly fed on each other's company.

Also, the fact that all but the second to youngest child were girls, tilted the gender balance toward ***français***,

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and the correlation between this code and the female gender was re-enforced by the fact that the three oldest had already reached the age at which some engagement in caregiving is expected. Additionally, the home was stocked with several books in ***français*** (more than were found in the other homes), and Noella actively engaged her children in literacy activities (e.g., reading out loud to each other and helping each other with writing and drawing); they readily took these activities up on their own sometimes.

Undergirding this general constellation of factors lay the general orientation toward French culture discussed above. This resulted in actual code choices of caregivers in the home (thus affecting the children's linguistic input) which contradicted their reported commitments to **'enana**.

Noella used **'enana** most of the time with Mimi and some with all of her children, except the baby and me. However, overall her usage tended toward ***français***, and sometimes she addressed even Mimi in this code. However, she used ***français*** considerably less with her older children (less than half the time) than with her younger children (most of the time). Probably this was due to the cross-family tendency to use **'enana** for household commands given to older

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children, but ***français*** as the caregiver register. Nonetheless, even when giving household orders to the three oldest girls, Noella frequently switched to ***français*** for rhetorical effect, i.e., to provide emphasis and imperative force.

Additionally, Noella contradicted the norm in her use of ***français*** for most scolds (many of which were longer rationalized forms rather than the kinds of brief, routinized, and non-rationalized scolds used, for instance, by Manu). However, even with the four-year-old boy, Noella sometimes switched back and forth between **'enana** and ***français***, but usually for the pragmatic reason that the scold was not proving effective (see the example discussed in the rhetorical CS section, N3/6.557, in which switches for several turns prior to this had re-enforced the shifts in tone as Noella moved between pleas and scathing scolds).

Mimi, by contrast, usually initiated all interactions with his wife and children (and myself) in **'enana**, but he was sometimes led into ***français*** by our replies in that language. Also, with the youngest children he would at times begin an interaction in ***français***. However, the majority of Mimi's recorded comments in ***français*** were

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addressed to me. Unlike their parents, the three older girls in their roles as caregivers never commanded, scolded, or teased the younger children in **'enana**.

As a result of the mixed usage and ideologies of caregivers in the household all contextualized by a particular psychosocial dynamic, the children manifested an interesting range of aptitudes in and attitudes toward language.

Perena (11-12 years old) was the best speaker of **'enana** but used it primarily with her father and sometimes in response to her mother's **'enana** commands. In this way, she marked her closer-to-adult status and more intimate relationship to her parents. This usage also indexed her identification with outdoor work of the kind done by her father, as well as the subject matter of their interactions (e.g., she asked about his activities when working with a cement mixer and about a goat that was missing from their yard). As the first-born, Perena seemed to have accepted the son's place in the family because Tava (3-4 years old) was not yet old enough to fulfill a son's functions.[8] As a result, she had adopted some of the code commitments that that male-identified status entails.

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Although the second daughter Tehina (9-10 years old) occasionally demonstrated her capacity to utter contextually appropriate multi-word utterances in **'enana**, she rarely did. By contrast, her commitment to and fluency in ***français*** were recorded with some frequency on tape (this despite her reticence, relative to the other children in this family, in front of the tape recorder) as well as being observed by me at other times during our interactions. A couple of factors appear to be related to these code commitments. First, by contrast with the male-idenitified Perena, Tehina had clearly adopted the little mama role. Additionally, she (along with Kua) seemed to be by far the most scholarly minded of all the children I worked with in Hatiheu, i.e., the most oriented toward Western modes of learning and interacting.

The third daughter Kua (aged 8-9) never spoke **'enana** (and perhaps used the fewest loans as well) except in the form of very simple sentences to prove to me that she could speak it (especially the morning we spent in the coconut grove). She also made some of the most telling remarks about her fears of speaking the language incorrectly. On the other hand, she went out of her way to translate **'enana**

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into ***français*** for me when I did not understand Mimi's or Perena's statements or questions (e.g., N4/12.67, 162, 188; N8/2.79, 85), thus demonstrating her considerable passive 'knowledge' of the language.

The fourth daughter Julia (5-6 years old) rarely produced **'enana** except in the form of common household loans, usually nouns (e.g., **kaka** 'sack,' **keo** 'butt,' **tiaki** 'score' for bingo), but also a couple of demonstratives (e.g., **inei** 'here' and **'a'a** 'there') which existed in her lexicon either alongside or instead of their equivalents in ***français***. Once, during the session in the coconut grove,[3] Julia produced a two-word utterance: **E piki!** '(Perena's) climbing (the palm to get us coconuts)!' (N8/2.130). Nonetheless, she manifested, but without making a point of it, her ability to understand the **'enana** spoken in her presence numerous times (N4/12.709; N3/6.714).

The only son Tava (3-4 years old) provided the one real question mark in this family. He did not produce lots of multi-word utterances on tape, and all of these were in ***français***. However, he of all the children appeared to be dealing with his father's growing critique by producing more, not less, **'enana** over the course of my study, as well

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as evincing a real interest in learning to speak more of it. Also, as was expected of a boy, he seemed to be acquiring an interest in many of the topics and activities for which **'enana** was considered appropriate (fishing, copra, pig-raising, and hunting). Finally, he was being socialized differently than were the girls, i.e., with more mocking and teasing and less rationalizing talk, all of which would prepare him for the ability to interact in Hatiheu in the mix of codes deemed appropriate for real **vahana** 'men'.

As for their attitudes, my concerns with **te 'eo 'enana** elicited some interesting metalinguistic discussion from the children in this family in ways that highlighted their parent's anxious purism. For instance, they talked with some frequency about who did or did not ***sais*** 'know' **enana**, with older children claiming that younger children did not know it. For example, one day eight-year-old Kua claimed that five-year-old Julia did not 'know' it (N4/12.704), and later that same morning eleven-year-old Perena claimed that neither Kua nor Julia 'knew' it (N4/12.916, 999).

'Knowing' the language entailed for them the ability to produce lexical items, particularly nouns and even names. Thus, they took my capacity to pronounce their family name

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as evidence of the fact that I would soon 'know' the language ('**Enana** family names tend to be long and 'hard' for most **Hao'e** to render accurately).

Additionally, they had purist standards of what is and what is not '**enana**. For instance, one day when I asked the children to tell the stories of the pictures they had drawn, preferably in '**enana**, eleven-year-old Perena apologized for having no word for the dinosaurs she had drawn. I offered the phonologically logical loan **tinaso**, but she refused to use it, going on with her story in ***français*** (N4/12.737-738). Later she corrected the four-year-old boy Tava for using the term: **E, *c'est pas marquisien!*** *'That's not Marquesan!'* (N4/12.830). Finally, she suggested that she had better draw a different picture with the sun and the moon if I wanted to hear a story in '**enana** (N4/12.835-8).

Later that day, the nine-year-old Tehina claimed that ***biquette*** 'young female goat' was the '**enana** term for ***chèvre*** 'goat'. In response, Perena announced in that critical voice of purism that became very familiar to me: ***On mélange le français et le marquisien.*** *'We mix up French and Marquesan,'* and went on to provide her younger sister with the 'true' '**enana** term for 'goat': **Mene. Mene.**

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(N4/12.991).[39]

But 'knowing' the language also appeared to be the consequence of being 'told'. For example, one conversation began with my questioning five-year-old Julia about the words in **'enana** for several objects she had drawn -- some of which she knew and some of which she did not. This then was transformed into a hunt by all of the children for the word for 'cloud'. Only the eldest Perena 'knew' the word **ao**. Even though nine-year-old Tehina had specifically appealed to Perena's superior knowledge, she countered her sister's response by asking: ***Qui t'a dit ça?*** *'Who told you that?'* (N4/12.720), as if this knowledge of the word was some kind of secret information Perena had been let in on and the others excluded from.

While it was clear to me that the children in this family were manifesting some agency in their disuse of **'enana**, it was also clear that their avoidance of the language stemmed from a feeling of insecurity that no one had properly taught them how to speak it correctly. Thus, despite the fact that their ***français***, like that of all the children in Hatiheu, was marked by phonological and syntactic interference from **'enana**, their acquisition of the

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dominant code was being structured and supported by a system of rules learned via practice and testing, reward and punishment, both at school and at home. And this system was, as well, being supported by a wider commitment to French socializing genres and ideals of social interaction.

By contrast, these children distrusted their attempts to speak **'enana**, first of all because of the lack of a French-style pedagogical system for acquiring it, second because of their parents' purist attitudes toward **sarapia**, and third because of the children's minimal practice at learning and defending themselves **'enana**-style. As a result, a relatively monolingual commitment to ***français*** had come to offer a more secure route to the dialogic development of identity for these children, i.e., one less easily ambushed by the playful and gossipy **'enana**-style modes of engendering **hakaika** 'shame'. The one possible exception to this pattern of dialogic development in this family was Tava, and it was as yet too early to judge his ethnolinguistic commitments.

Thus, Noella and Mimi's ideological support for **'enana** and their actual practice of using it a fair amount with each other and with the children could not override several

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other factors which had decisively tipped the balance in favor of the children's monolingual commitment to ***français***: Noella and Mimi's anxiety over the language, Noella's preponderance of utterances in ***français***, the absence of grandparents, the female constituency of the sibling (and young caregiver) group, their isolation from other children, their investment in TV, and their reproduction at the house of a school-like environment (with books, writing, and drawing). As a result most of the children in this family were developing a French-style manner of learning and interacting, a mostly monolingual linguistic commitment to ***français***, and a less syncretic dialogic identity.

2. The Poihipapu household

This household was composed of the father Poea, the mother Tapu, five children (aged one to ten), and intermittently one 'wanderer', the mother's 20-something brother.[11]

Poea (in his late thirties) had been raised by the same grandparents as was Mimi, and his biological parents too were nowhere in evidence. He worked at copra and fishing

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and was in the process of building a speedboat out of plywood in his backyard. He was also the village **tumu pure** 'prayer leader' (meaning that he held services and gave communion for the community when the priest was not in residence). He was one of only two men of this age in town who demonstrated any literacy in ***français*** and **'enana,** and spoke as well a bit of **menike** (which he claimed to have learned through working for many years as a waiter in Moruroa).

Like Noella, Tapu (about 28 years old) had also attended the Catholic school for girls in Hiva Oa for a couple of years of secondary schooling and so was fluent and literate in both ***français*** and **'enana**, and also spoke a little **menike** 'English'. Her mother and father were separated -- her mother lived in the neighboring valley of Anaho and her father lived with a younger wife on a compound in Hatiheu with a second set of children and their children. Tapu engaged in housekeeping and childrearing, and helped with copra sometimes. She also served as a catechism teacher and as president of the ***Association des Parents d'Elèves*** (the French equivalent of the PTA).

The fact that they occupied positions of some leverage

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in the community (he as **tumu pure** and she as president of the ***Association des Parents d'Elèves***) both evidenced and fueled their interests not so much in international as in territorial political and economic affairs. Thus, they seemed especially concerned with status based on degree of education, overall savvy, and political connections and expertise. This was evidenced, for instance, by Tapu's quickness in explaining to me that Poea had been chosen **tumu pure** because he was the only man in the village mature enough for the position -- meaning that he did not drink much, worked hard, and had sufficient education to be able to read in both ***français*** and **'enana**.

Tapu was castigated by older women in the community for being **huhua/*gonflé*** 'conceited'. For instance, she was blamed for her attempt to make public speeches in ***français*** and then switching mid-sentence to **'enana** -- unable to complete a thought in either language, it was said, and yet having the presumption to speak at all. Poea, too, struck me at first as slightly arrogant -- both in his attempts to show-off his ***français*** and **menike** and in his stories about being descended from the **haka'iki** of Rurutu. However, talking about royal heredity was not an unusual form of

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bragging in the Marquesas, and in a sense he may simply have been the closest contact I made with an elite male. Certainly both, in public, struck ultra-proper poses. However, once I knew them better, these stances appeared to be an odd cloak of Christian humility and prudishness with which they attempted to hide their otherwise playful personae.

Both were open and eager to learn from others more powerful or knowledgeable than they were. For instance, they seemed to go out of their way to befriend the primary school teachers who were treated with great suspicion by the rest of the town. Also, I believe they may have initially invited me and my project into their home in hopes of expanding their network of connections and information. Indeed, Tapu seemed at first very happy at the thought that she was learning about language from me. Unfortunately for me, this interest did not last, and I was only able to work with this family for six months.[12] Nonetheless, I learned a lot from them and their children in this limited period.

Of all the parents, these two spent the most time talking to each other in my presence. She definitely used him as a gossiping partner, e.g., in discussing her problems

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as the president of the ***Association des Parents d'Elèves*** (T4/18.248-254), in castigating the teachers for making a mess of planning a school trip (T5/13.356-386), or in reporting on my own odd activities -- e.g., that all I had to eat at my bungalow were crackers and cheese (T5/13.244, 351-3).

They also openly negotiated issues in front of me. For instance, with a minimum of tense talk, they divvied up the food preparation jobs one morning (T4/18.6-45) and arranged which children would stay at the house and which would go to do copra with Poea while Tapu worked with me one afternoon (T5/13.426-450). Sometimes, Tapu made explicit and rationalized demands (e.g., she said the kids would be company for Poea doing copra), and he tended to bend to her wishes. But frequently she resorted to more subtle manipulations, including sarcasm, bivalent scolds, and ventriloquism through the children to attain her goals. For instance, she told me that her tirade about her oldest daughter Vaetui learning housework (example #8) was intended for both Vaetui's and Poea's ears since he tended to want to take Vaetui out with him to help do copra, both his sons being as yet too young to help much (T5/13.547-51).

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Both Poea and Tapu encouraged an atmosphere in the home marked, on the one hand, by playful one-upmanship and, on the other, by a form of **ka'oha** that seemed to circle around their children's social and cognitive development. While Poea retained a bit more of his stiff public persona (at least in my presence), they both engaged in teasing and mockery to pique their children's curiosity and to rouse them emotionally. Tapu especially used these forms, denigrating both herself and the children (and even sometimes Poea, though she tended to be respectful of him at least in my presence), both to incite and to resolve conflicts. A teasing tone pervaded even the most obviously loving exchanges lavished on the baby, while a tone of concern imbued even the sharpest sermons directed at the oldest girl.

However, both parents also engaged in a number of serious interactional routines designed to teach the children their proper roles. They supported their children's curiosity and elicited their observational and reporting skills[12] (although they also used the children's imprecise attention to details and inaccurate articulations of these details as fodder for mockery).

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Also, like Noella, Tapu encouraged, directed, and corrected literacy activities in the home. Recorded episodes involve attempts by the children to spell their names out loud for me and then write them in a notebook and an attempt by the oldest girl to read the participant consent form I had brought for Tapu to sign that day. In the first example, Tapu oversaw Pio's writing exercise (T3/11.47), and in the other she corrected Vaetui's reading (T3/11.649, 657). The French television show ***"Allo Mama, Ici Bébé"*** clearly also had an impact on this household, evidenced by the fact that the children were recorded singing the theme song: ***Bonjour! Bonjour! Tous Les mamans!*** (T3/11.623)

Strategies to control their children's immediate behavior took both direct and indirect forms. On the one hand, Tapu dealt out chronic peremptory reprimands and threats to punish or tell Papa (who would be angry or mete out the punishment). On the other hand, she also tried to elicit obedience by distracting, teasing, and shaming. While playful teasing would bleed into sarcastic shaming, only once did this transform into angry criticism (T5/13.549). As in Noella's family (though perhaps not

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quite as much), commands and reprimands were sometimes explained and rationalized.

Also like Noella, Tapu claimed to believe in learning through **tepurie** (the MQ'd version of ***débrouiller***), i.e., figuring it out by hook or crook. For instance, when Poea asked why the previous president of the ***Association des Parents d'Elèves*** had not taken care of something to do with the new refrigerator before leaving office, she rationalized that this way she would learn to be president by muddling on her own through the problems she was encountering: ***D'un côté, mea kanahau. Comme ça, e ite 'ia au tepurie.*** *'On the one hand,* it's good. *Like that,* (I) understand when I disentangle (it for myself)' (T4/18.249). And yet her style of **tepurie** struck me as being less hard-headed, and more **kako** 'flexible' than Noella's, meaning that Tapu was more like the ideal **'enana** learner in that she had learned to be flexible and to learn through being flexible. Given the obstacle course of teases she ran her children through, she seemed to be training them to learn in much the same way.

Overall, of the four families I worked with, I would characterize this one as being most interested in linguistic **keu** 'play' as a means to acquiring and exhibiting knowledge,

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skill, and interpersonal power. Although the two girls appeared to be on their way to acquiring their mother's teasing attitudes and style, they were still, at the ages of eight and ten, proving themselves to be more gullible straightmen to her manipulations. By contrast, the three young boys (including the baby) did not yet appear to be caught up in these machinations, being more interested in straightforward attempts to get stuff.

Tapu's family also demonstrated some very interesting patterns of language use despite the limited number of sessions I was able to tape and transcribe with her. The four children old enough to speak[24] were all manifesting a greater proficiency in and preference for the ***français*** in their repertoires, and yet none were proving themselves to be without **'enana** resources.

But while they showed some of the propensities for ***français*** found in Noella's family, I would also contrast Tapu's family as being more prone to **sarapia**. Unlike Noella's family, they engaged in **sarapia** as part of their communicative play on a regular basis, despite the fact that the dominant ideology had branded such talk shameful. This mix of orientation toward ***français*** and a ***français***-weighted

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**sarapia** is the consequence of some of the ideological messages and larger contextual influences and practices of this family.

***Français*** and French ideology entered this household via the centrally located TV, which was on with some regularity (though not as much, it seemed, as that in Noella's home). However, the one time I taped them watching the television as a family, I was struck by their irreverent attitudes toward the French and Tahitian personalities on the show (example #7), by their sarcastic analyses of the way the show was run, and by the fact that they used a playful mix of **'enana** and ***français*** to do all of this (see the analysis in the CS section of Chapter VI).

Additionally, given Tapu and Poea's educational backgrounds and present official roles associated with the church and school, both were clearly invested in the formal genres and pedagogical styles used to teach these genres in institutional settings. For instance, during one session, Poea was in the background reading at a mumble from a prayer book (in ***français***), apparently in preparation for a service he was going to hold at church that evening (T5/13.52-122). And the children were versed in literacy activities which

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with Tapu's aid they practiced in notebooks scattered around the living room.

On the other hand, the family spent long week-ends and vacation time with Tapu's primarily **'enana**-speaking mother in a small house in the neighboring valley of Anaho. The children were all attached to this grandmother and enjoyed these visits because of the wilder setting and less-fettered holiday routines.[15] And although I never witnessed their interactions in Anaho, I assume that the setting, topics, activities, and presence of their grandmother must have channeled conversation more into **'enana** and toward the associated communicative genres than happened at home in Hatiheu.

To me, Tapu and Poea expressed an interest in the cultural revivalist's mission to maintain **'enana**. However, I never heard them voice these sentiments to their children. In general, Tapu's orientation in practice seemed to be that of mocking her children for any form of imprecision in articulation. That is, she was less concerned with which code they chose and focused instead on how their imprecise and 'mixed-up' speech (**sarapia**) manifested their confused thinking. In this way, she was apparently a proponent of

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the anti-**sarapia** ideology, and yet she herself was adept in this emergent code.

With respect to the linguistic input they provided for their children, Tapu and Poea showed only a slight tendency to use more **'enana** than ***français*** in the home. Although they definitely showed a preference for using **'enana** (or **sarapia**) with each other, they also sometimes used ***français***. This is a real contrast with the communicative habits of other couples in the study as no other man of this generation used ***français*** with his wife, and women only very rarely used it with their husbands.

In general, Poea's competence in ***français*** was playing an unusual part in the socialization of the children in this family as he used it not simply as a polite facade with or for me, but also with his children in ways the other three fathers would not have been capable of or interested in doing. The relationship between this usage and his work as **tumu pure** was intimated on the day when he was practicing for service that night -- after putting down the book, he took up conversation in ***français*** (T5/13.122).

Thus, while nothing statistically conclusive can be said about the amounts of ***français*** and **'enana** Tapu and Poea

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used with their children, another unusual pattern is suggested by the fact that Poea used a bit more ***français*** with the littler children than did Tapu. In particular, he never in these transcripts addressed the baby in **'enana**, and more than half of his utterances to the two boys a bit older were in ***français***, whereas more than half of Tapu's utterances to the baby and the little boys were in **'enana**. In this, Poea may have been evidencing male elites' investment in French power structures and its effect on the acquisition patterns of their own boys, thus increasing the language-marked divide between ideally bilingual elite male leaders and the wandering **po'i po ke'eke'e** who were manifesting a commitment to **sarapia**. However, both parents shared a decided tendency toward using **'enana** with the two older girls (over two-thirds of the time).

Tapu used both ***français*** and **'enana** with her children, mixing them more than did other parents. However, the majority of her **'enana** was either for household commands or scolds whereas most of her utterances in ***français*** to the children involved reports from the world outside her home (e.g., church or school) or for **ka'oha** with the baby. She also sometimes used ***français*** to scold the baby. And she

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regularly followed the children into ***français*** if that was what they were using, so long as nothing was under dispute and she was not trying to assert her authority by scolding or commanding.

Tapu reported that she thought she had spoken **'enana** more with her two older girls when they were young than she was doing with the littler boys at this time. And she claimed that her use of ***français*** with the youngest boy (not the baby) was a consequence of his understanding this better than **'enana**.

An interesting feature of the usage in this family was the predilection of the parents for **sarapia** in the form of switches inspired by rhetorical factors such as a shift in addressee or by other more dialogic factors. In particular, Tapu's speech was rich with metapragmatic sensitivity which took the form of double-voiced teases, insults, and pokes at the linguistic 'errors' of others. All of these involved the introduction of elements from **tahiti**, **menike**, and variant **'enana** elements.

These patterns of code-choice in caregiving were influencing the children's acquisition and use of codes in a number of ways. While only the oldest daughter Vaetui (9-10

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years) was showing herself to be actively engaging in the code, the second daughter Vaite (7-8 years) also used **'enana** if only intermittently in significant ways. Both produced a number of multiple-word utterances in **'enana**, with Vaetui even attempting to relate a whole story to her mother in **'enana** (see Ex. #6, T3/11.145-157). Also Vaite constructed several long utterances in **sarapia** (with either **'enana** or ***français*** serving as matrix, or with a complete switch in the middle of an utterance) similar to those produced by her mother on a regular basis. However, most of their utterances in **'enana** or **sarapia** came in interaction with their parents whereas their discussion with each other was in ***français***.

Thus, the two older girls appeared to be following in their parents' footsteps in their usage of all three codes -- ***français***, **'enana**, and **sarapia** -- albeit with a different ratio weighted more toward the first. Their regular use of **sarapia** (e.g., in example #6, T3/11.201, 213) is in significant contrast with Noella's children who produced very little of this mixed-up code (with many of the instances I counted being in fact artifacts of their attempts to test my **'enana**). However, unlike their parents,

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Vaetui and Vaite used only ***français*** for their caregiving commands and scolds directed at the boys.

The performance and comprehension of the two younger boys, Pio (5 years) and Poutini (3 years), appeared closer in pattern to that of most of the children in Noella's family -- i.e., they demonstrated minimal productive competence in **'enana** though they understood what was said to them in this code. First of all, most of their turns in **'enana** involved one-word utterances, and of those involving more than one word, three were from songs, only two were actual spontaneous two-word constituents (both by Pio), and the only two longer utterances (again by Pio) were rehearsals of a request for cigarette papers his parents instructed him in making. By contrast, many of their turns in ***français*** involved utterances of two or more words.

Nonetheless, as with Tava, it would have been premature to classify their practice and attitudes in terms of a monolingual commitment to ***français***. Moreover, they inserted a wider array of words from **'enana** than did Noella's children (not just common loans such as **mea**, **menike**, and **ko'oua**, but also a fair amount of 'unnecessary' nonce imports: e.g **poro** 'marble', **ha'ahauhau** 'ruin', **pa'ipa'i**

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'wet', **ko'e** 'drowned', as well as several expressive particles: **mai**, **aia**, and **ho'i**). They also used **sarapia** derived from both ***français*** and **menike** (e.g., **poriki** 'ass,' **pere** 'play').

Tapu claimed that the older Pio spoke **'enana** more than Poutini perhaps because he hung out with Faio, a neighboring child who was being raised by his grandparents. Similarly, she thought that, despite being older and further along in school, Pio spoke ***français*** less well than Poutini. However, this was not evidenced by my limited data.

Generally speaking, Tapu's family's superficial orientation toward ***français*** and French culture appeared to be tempered by and/or integrated into a dialogic appreciation for **sarapia** and a syncretic psychosocial interactional style. This was manifested not only in the children's developmental trajectory of ethnolinguistic commitments and identities, but also in their acquisition and deployment of communicative strategies for negotiating those identities.

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3. The Hokaupoko-Teikikaine household

This compound consisted of a father Ava, mother Manu, and six children (aged 2 to 12 years) living next door to Manu's parents (Mama Maria and Papa Petero) and their twelve-year-old granddaughter Maria, who had been adopted by them when she was small. Given the amount of interaction between these two households and the fact that I have the children on tape at the grandparents' house almost as often as at home, I treat them as members of a single extended family.

The houses were situated about 100 feet away from each other on a ridge above the church, the land having been ceded to them by the church as none of the adults originated from Hatiheu. These were the only houses in the valley unreachable by truck as the only way up was by a meandering path through the cemetery.

Having come from a valley on the other side of the island, Papa Petero was now in his seventies and ailing so that I rarely heard him speak. Mama Maria came from and still owned land in the neighboring valley of Anaho, and her older children were born there. But as Anaho had never had

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a school, she came to live and work as a housekeeper for Hatiheu's Tahitian primary school teacher for a period when she was young. Thus, she could speak some ***français*** and **tahiti**; however, she clearly preferred **'enana**.

They had 14 children (including both Manu and my friend and assistant Moi), and so had moved to Hatiheu in the 1950s, when the oldest children were old enough to begin school. Most of these children now live either in Tahiti or elsewhere in the Marquesas, and some have good (i.e., salaried and prestigious) jobs as teachers, nurses, etc.

Despite the impetus these parents had obviously provided for their children to be educated and employed outside the valley, their lives at present provided more of a model for **kakiu** values. Their house was simple (two small enclosed rooms for sleeping, dressing, praying, and watching TV, and a lean-to style kitchen and eating area), and they relied primarily on the food Mama Maria grew in the surrounding trees and gardens, on meat provided by her two daughters in the village, and on the few staples she could buy using limited subsidies from the government and money sent by her children working in Tahiti.

Manu (aged about 28) had, like the other two mothers,

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attended the ***Ecole des Soeurs*** for a couple of years of secondary schooling, was fluent and literate in **'enana** and ***français***, spoke some **menike**, and worked as the postmistress of the village. As her husband Ava (aged 36) was from the neighboring valley of Hooumi and had no land to cultivate for copra, he provisioned his family by hunting and fishing. His ***français*** was quite limited, but he occasionally used it with the little children and me.

This family seemed greatly affected by Ava's outsider status and by his lack of easy access to land to work or hunt or any other resources, such as a boat with which to fish. When not drunk, he seemed to me fairly quiet, kind, and gentle with the children. Yet, he drank a lot and with apparently damaging consequences. In fact, of all of the fathers in this study his behaviors were perhaps the most markedly those of the **po'i po ke'eke'e**. That is, he showed few signs of having been educated, demonstrated no interest in 'improving' himself via religion (or pretending such an interest as he never attended church and pronounced himself a ***païen***), had found no opportunities for legitimate employment, and engaged in a number of acts considered illegal by French standards.[15] Though I cannot discuss

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these behaviors in this study, it is necessary to note that they appeared to bring 'shame' on Manu as well.

Throughout my work with Manu, I sensed in her a lot of insecurity and vulnerability and noted in the household a great deal of furtive activity and a pronounced aura of secrecy (unusual even by **'enana** standards where hiding 'shameful' behaviors and feelings is the norm). Moreover, I rarely witnessed Ava and Manu interacting with each other, and I taped whole sessions in which they occupied the same room without exchanging a word. Finally, the couple broke up a few years after my fieldwork period, and Ava returned to his valley of birth, leaving Manu with the house and children. She has since replaced him with one of the younger 'wanderers' in town, who seems for the moment to have settled into his duties as step-father and provider.

However, at the time friendship seemed to be more important in this household than in any of the others as both Manu and Ava entertained friends at home with some frequency, visited their friends' homes, and socialized in public places such as the store owned by Manu's sister Moi (where Ava drank a lot) and at the post office and the school canteen across the street (where Manu had a chance to

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gossip with her female peers who cooked there and anyone else who walked by). Only through friendship did Ava gain access to fishing time on others' boats or to hunting rights on others' land.

In return, Manu and Ava were generous with those within their inner circle of friends and family (the hipness of this circle was indexed by Manu's concern with fashion magazines, new clothes, and jewelry). By contrast, they responded quite suspiciously to others outside the circle. The difference in their treatment of me before and after I was taken in was marked -- the doubt in Manu's eyes was replaced by real curiosity and affection, and Ava began providing me with specialty foods such as river shrimp and illegally hunted beef.

Manu was active in church activities (especially decorating the church) and was privy to a lot of the village's contact with the outside world in her role as postmistress -- i.e., she sorted the incoming and outgoing mail, overheard phone calls people made and received, and although Yvonne rarely appeared to use the ***maire*** office located in the same small building with the post office, whatever use she did make of it was apparent to Manu next

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door. As a result, Manu displayed an ear-to-the-wall engagement with affairs of the church and community that manifested a deeper investment in traditional communicative forms of gossiping and shaming than with modern, 'rational', **bao'e** forms of interest in politics beyond the local (by contrast with Tapu, for instance, who displayed a real interest in accessing power via these extra-local channels). However, Manu's main interest in the world outside the village took the form of engaging in the imaginary worlds of soap operas and romance magazines (the latter a genre of soap-opera-style stories told in photos with characters speaking to each other via comic book bubbles). She expressed a dislike of even visiting Ava's valley.

Manu's priorities seemed to be, first of all, with her clothes and self-presentation in the village, second with decorating her home, and third with the health and development of her children. Although she did worry about the latter with me, I had the impression that for her this was an issue of how her parenting would be judged -- by me, by the social worker who sometimes came through, or by the community at large. She seemed always to be guarding herself against negative judgments (by contrast with Tapu

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who, while also interested in the community's assessments, tended instead to be working toward engendering positive judgments, or by contrast with Noella who seemed to be unconcerned by the negative judgments she did encounter). These concerns and stylistics were definitely being transmitted to her children who were very concerned with owning, hiding, and controlling the transmission of stories.

With the children, Manu engaged in relatively few of what I consider expressions of **ka'oha** in my presence (even with the two littlest girls, though more with them than with the others) and much more in the **pekē** 'angry' range of expression as she attempted to contain behaviors that would cause her shame. She demonstrated none of Noella's propensity for explaining things to her children and little of Tapu's capacity for teasing or eliciting playful responses. However, the latter style was effectively modeled by both their grandmother and Tati Moi. Nonetheless, Manu is an appealing person in ways difficult to analyze (due in part to her looks, but also to her reserved yet inquisitive intelligence).

These parental traits in Manu and Ava were apparently producing among the boys, at least, a feisty love of

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conflict and outspoken self-defense. Two of the girls (Teata the eldest and Teani the older of the two little ones) appeared to be reproducing their mothers' fears and furtiveness, while the other two younger members (Tehina and Tahia) of each pair seemed to be responding by opening up and displaying a lot of **ka'oha** for others. I found the latter most surprising, given the lack of **ka'oha** they appeared to be receiving. However, it is possible that each of these younger girls received more **ka'oha** than their older sisters who received only a year of their mother's warmth before being displaced by the younger ones. These two, by contrast, enjoyed a stretch of two to three years before being displaced by the birth of the next child (in fact, Tahia at the age of three was still enjoying the status of **pepe**). This birth pattern was also true for the two boys (Puhe was only one when Tikare was born whereas Tikare was two and a half before the next child Teani was born); and I might be able to make a case that Tikare was demonstrating a bit more **ka'oha** for others than did Puhe, but mostly these two shared predictably boyish **putu'i** natures. Another possibility is that Manu expressed more concern for her children in private than on tape. However, the children

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mostly exhibited awareness of their parents as forces for reprimanding and punishing rather than looking to them as sources of **ka'oha**.

With respect to the taping, Manu repeatedly attempted to arrange the sessions in such a way as not to be present, and Ava tended to slip away soon after the tape recorder was turned on. Given their inhibitions and Mama Maria's openness to the whole taping operation, I drifted more and more toward taping around her house. However, the children too in this family appeared to tire of what came to seem like a job to them and showed signs of feeling themselves to be unnaturally corralled into the taping sessions (this by contrast with most of the children in the first two families who manifested no signs of being constrained against their wills).

In large part, this was because the adults continually and explicitly enjoined them to **tekao** 'talk' for me in order to 'fill' my tapes. For instance, Pahio called to Puhe one morning: **Tekao, tekao veve, ha'api tenā mea...e?** 'Speak, speak quickly, make full that thing' (M10/23.286).[7] That is, they were commanded to talk (even paid small sums for their 'work', I believe), berated for being quiet, and

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threatened that if they did not talk they would not be permitted to get away and do whatever it was they wanted to be doing at that moment (e.g., bathing, playing outside, or going to school). Thus, only in Manu's family did my presence continue to have an obvious impact on the children's discourse habits. After the first session (in which they were left alone with me and produced a lot of ***français*** in an attempt to ferret out who I was, what I wanted, and what I knew of them and of **'enana**), they appeared to take their caregivers' commands to mean that they should speak to me in **'enana**, and this despite overt instructions from Manu to talk about anything in whatever language and *not* to talk to me (M4/14.41). Thus, all subsequent sessions included a good deal of talk addressed to me in both ***français*** and **'enana**. Although these interactions included some spontaneous talk -- a mix of polite attention to a guest and curiosity about me and the progress I was making in the language -- many were clearly inspired by the pressure they were under to fill the tape.

While the members of other families engaged in this kind of talk with me too, only in Manu's family did this sort of talk appear to sway the utterance count

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significantly, indicating a less substantial commitment to **'enana** than I would have otherwise estimated (the older children demonstrated such a commitment anyway, but I suspect the numbers would have been considerably higher without me there).[18]

But despite the fact that utterances directed to me were outside normal domestic discourse patterns, these code choices were as important markers of linguistic commitments (that is, both the potential to speak in certain ways and the willingness to do so) as were those manifested in usage with other interlocutors. Thus, I analyze talk with me as I do all other talk. Taking this all into account, I found that the sessions with Manu's family were filled with sufficient talk of all kinds to give me ample data to discuss here.

Support in Manu's family for **'enana** and the **kakiu** principles underlying this code was much stronger than in Noella's or Tapu's households due to the presence of Ava and their grandparents. By contrast, influences supportive of ***français*** and French values were less pronounced than in the first two families.

Mama Maria (**Pahio** in the tapes), in particular, was an

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active socializing force for **'enana** and for the syncretic lifestyle practiced by **'Enana** over the last hundred years or so, including various teasing and gossiping communicative genres. Of Manu's six children, she watched over her four-year-old granddaughter Teani the most but had clearly put in a lot of time with all of them. Ava, in slightly different ways, was a force for **'enana** and some of the accompanying values. He was not terribly articulate in any language, but clearly he preferred **'enana** and when drunk showed some capacity to **keu** using **sarapia**.

Additionally, Manu's family had no television in the home although the children displayed their awareness of some programs and the hours they were shown because they had access to watching at their grandparents' and Tati Moi's houses. Also, the influence of popular **hao'e** culture was marked in this household by Manu's attention to her own clothing and her reading of fashion magazines. And her children seemed to have picked up her concern with clothes and house decor. However, this is a syncretic interest as the colorful use of cloth and flowers to decorate self and living space are also very much a part of traditional **'enana** values.

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Nonetheless, Manu's education at the ***Ecole des Soeurs*** had left her with the most standard ***français*** and best **menike** of the three mothers (if little in the way of math or logical relations skills as I discovered in watching her attempts to make change when tourists were buying stamps). Also, her style of parenting clearly bore the mark of the discipline she had received at the Catholic school (relying primarily on physical punishment or threats of it for acts of disobedience having to do with quarreling, noise-making, prying, stealing, swearing, and lying). However, I did not note that these disciplinary measures were having much of an effect on the children's behavior as they were the least 'well-behaved' by French standards. And although I witnessed Manu engaged in some literacy training activities with the two little girls, her attitude was critical and desultory compared to Noella's encouraging style and Tapu's teasing methods.

Overall, at the level of language ideology, it appeared to me that Manu herself was primarily conscious of the importance of her children acquiring ***français*** and was not at all concerned with the potential problem of language loss (i.e., by contrast with Noella and Mimi's anxiety and

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criticism concerning their children's incompetence in **'enana** and Tapu's understated appreciation of her linguistic heritage which she offered the children through action rather than prescription). Thus, although Manu was willing to discuss with me how and why her two youngest children seemed mostly to speak in ***français***, she never expressed any distress over the fact.

By contrast, Pahio expressed confidence that the children knew more than I thought they did. For instance, one day she was talking to me about how her four-year-old granddaughter Teani knew all kinds of **'enana**: ***Oh, non. Titahi paho'e pao te 'ite te nui'īa 'o te memau...himene, te aha oti, tekao.*** *'Oh, no. This little girl knows lots of things...songs, whatever, talk.'* However, a couple of turns later Teani made an appeal to her twelve-year-old cousin in ***français***: ***Maria, donne un peu l'eau***. *'Maria, give a little water.'* Pahio responded by using a say-it routine to elicit a translation into **'enana**: **Tuku mai te vai. Pe'au: Tuku mai te vai.** 'Give here the water. Say: give here the water.'

This routine went unheeded as Teani carried on in ***français*** to explain why she needed the water: **Mes pieds, c'est sale.** *'My feet are dirty.'* Instead of insisting on

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hearing the utterance in **'enana**, Pahio was initially led into responding in ***français*** herself before switching back to **'enana** to address the problem Teani was pointing out, the fact that her hands were covered in black nail polish: **Ai! *Parce que n'as pas*...no te mea 'a'i kaukau atu ana 'oe 'i te vai.** 'Eek! *Because you didn't*...because you did not wash yourself (at home) in the water' (M10/23.2-12). This 'slip' into ***français*** was typical of the usage of most caregivers in speaking with ***français***-oriented children, even those caregivers who were most consciously and pragmatically committed to **'enana**.

However, at the level of practice, the language in-put by the adults in this family demonstrated an overwhelming commitment (if largely unconscious) toward **'enana** and **sarapia**, with some variation due to age and gender of speaker and addressee.

First of all, the two men, Ava and Papa Petero (**Koua** in the transcripts), had little to say on tape, though what they did say followed a predictable male pattern in that Koua's one uttered statement (a scold) was in **'enana**, while Ava used almost all **'enana** and no **sarapia** at home with his children, and he directed his only three utterances in

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***français*** to the two little girls.

Of the women, Pahio used almost all **'enana** with her few utterances in ***français*** or **sarapia** being addressed mostly to me or the two little girls. Tati Moi (only present at one of the tapings) used **'enana** and **sarapia** most of the time. But unlike her mother, she directed most of her few on-tape utterances in ***français*** toward the children and none toward me. Manu (fifteen or so years younger than Moi) used **'enana** and **sarapia** more than half the time and spread her use of ***français*** out more evenly among her addressees with the two little girls receiving close to half of it, followed by me and the other children splitting the rest (she never addressed her mother or Ava in ***français***).

These numbers coincide with my everyday observations of how women in general used ***français*** and **sarapia** with me and with all children to some extent. Moi's lack of ***français*** and **sarapia** addressed to me on tape was simply an artifact of her understanding of her self-assigned role in this context -- that of eliciting talk from the children and keeping them from interacting much with me. Given how much she and I had discussed my desire to record the kids talking **'enana** as much as possible, the amount of ***français*** she used

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with them on tape is testament to how strong her inclination to do so was.

Manu reported that she started using more ***français*** in the home with the two littlest girls, but unlike Tapu she claimed she did this intentionally because she saw other mothers doing it and began to understand that the children might do better in school if they were exposed to the dominant code before they reached school (this in contradiction to the messages then being transmitted by both education specialists and cultural revivalists that it was better for the sake of language maintenance and of children's cognitive and linguistic development for parents to stick to their first language, i.e., '**enana**, in the home).

This self-report concerning her usage appears to be borne out by the statistics (i.e., she used ***français*** more with the little ones than with the older children). However, her reason does not explain why not only she but all of the caregivers (the grandparents, Ava, and the older children) were using more ***français*** and **sarapia** with the little girls and why there was some slippage into ***français*** and **sarapia** with all of the children, with usage decreasing

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as age increased (for instance, the majority of Manu's utterances in ***français*** that were not directed to me or the little girls were directed to Tikare the next youngest). In fact, these patterns may be better explained by the possibility that ***français*** was introduced as the caregiver code earlier in the century and that this was having a trickle-down effect even on those who were more **'enana**-oriented.

Overall this mixed input was having an interesting impact on the acquisition and deployment of codes by the children. Their patterns of code use demonstrated a couple of aspects of their linguistic capabilities and preferences at the time of my study pretty conclusively. While the two little girls were manifesting some of the same linguistic tendencies as were found among the younger children in the first two families, the four older children (two older girls and two younger boys) used a good mix of codes, but overall manifested more competence in **'enana** than did any of the children in the Teikivaeoho or Poihipapu families. Moreover, their twelve-year-old cousin Maria was perhaps the most fluent speaker of **'enana** in my sample of children. A few more details will flesh this out more clearly.

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The two little girls Tahia (2-3 years old) and Teani (4 years old) were too young for me to speak of linguistic commitments, but their capabilities and preferences were leaning heavily toward ***français*** at this time. Few of Tahia's utterances included any MQ elements at all, and of those only a couple involved two-word utterances in **'enana**, and sometimes these were repetitions of someone else's remark. Nowhere did she demonstrate an ability to produce strings of more than two words in **'enana**. By contrast, her abilities in ***français*** by the second taping (2.9 years) already included three four-word utterances and one complex sentence of ten words (a tattle): ***Maman, tu as vu Teani prendre le stylo à Puhe?*** *'Mama, did you see Teani take Puhe's pen?'* (M4/14.314).[39]

Teani included MQ elements in more of her utterances, but showed only a negligibly higher rate of two- or more-word constructions. However, unlike Tahia and perhaps befitting her four-year-old status, a number of these constructions consisted of three- or four-word strings e.g., **Tahia, enā 'ua topa.** 'Tahia, (she's) going to fall' (M3/19.1052). However, she too demonstrated a greater ability to produce more complex utterances in ***français***.

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Nonetheless, overall both girls manifested through performance that a large number of MQ words existed at that time in their lexicon. In addition, their already strong passive comprehension of **'enana** was confirmed by the fact that they had no trouble responding appropriately whenever addressed in **'enana** or simply through their interjections into the ongoing interactions of others in **'enana**. This level of engagement demonstrated that they were acquiring at least the potential to unearth the linguistic resources for activating a fuller commitment to **'enana** and/or **sarapia** at some later date.

By contrast, the five older children (the cousin and oldest girl Maria, the two older girls Teata and Tehina, and the two middle boys Puhe and Tikare) manifested a real if not overwhelming predilection for **'enana** and/or **sarapia** in the home (even taking into account the large amount of their remarks addressed to me in ***français***). For instance, even in the case of the youngest boy Tikare (6-7 years old), well over half of his utterances were in **'enana** or **sarapia**, while a lot of his utterances in ***français*** were directed to me. However, one interesting phenomenon was that a good deal of Tikare's ***français*** came in dialogue with Manu (for tattling,

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complaining, pleading), perhaps operating as the voice of intimacy with ***Maman*** and/or a vestige of the ***français***-marked relationship between caregivers and younger children.

Utterance counts for the older children indicated an even stronger commitment to **'enana**. Thus, the next youngest boy Puhe (7-8 years) used a lot more **'enana** or **sarapia** than ***français*** and over half of his utterances in the latter code were directed toward me. Tehina (10-11 years), the younger of the two older daughters, also used **'enana** or **sarapia** most of the time, and a lot of her utterances in ***français*** were directed toward me as well.

The overall usage of **'enana** and **sarapia** by the oldest daughter, Teata (11-12 years), though still over half, was slightly lower than Puhe's and Tehina's, but her use of ***français*** with me was higher than that of Tikare's and Puhe's. I can account for this slight (and perhaps statistically irrelevant) discrepancy intuitively by saying that Teata seemed to be a more high-strung and reserved personality (like her mother), sensitive to contextual features and shifts. In particular, she seemed very aware of my presence (and therefore oriented toward ***français***) at all times, even when she was apparently talking to someone

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else. By contrast, the others would be focused on me some of the time, but seemingly unaware of my presence while talking to others at other times. Also, as the eldest daughter, she seemed to have picked up her mother's sense of stricture about expressing ***politesse*** toward a **Hao'e** through the use of ***français***, if not through the kind of warm **ka'oha** shown by Tehina and Tahia.

Finally, their cousin Maria (12 years old) spoke relatively little on tape but demonstrated a high degree of fluency and commitment to **'enana** in the limited utterances of hers I did collect on tape. On the other hand, she demonstrated a fairly insubstantial interest in using ***français*** in particular with me.[29] These usage patterns matched my own intuitions about her strong bilingual competencies. Also, according to Moi, Maria was the most biliterate child in the village, by which I understood Moi to mean that not only was Maria able to read in both languages more lucidly than other children, but probably according to local standards she spoke more articulately in both ***français*** and **'enana**, i.e., keeping them separate in the appropriate contexts and not engaging in **sarapia** except by choice. Indeed, in my experience of her, she was adept at

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using **sarapia** with real strategic force.

Thus, the older children in this family manifested their commitment to **'enana** through their use of it not only with adults (as did their counterparts in Noella and Tapu's families) but also among themselves. Additionally, a lot of their ***français*** was directed at the little girls or me, and almost none at Pahio.

Nonetheless, a couple of extended exchanges between the older children demonstrated their ability and proclivity for using ***français*** with each other as well. I can assign no simple causality to this variability -- i.e., nothing in content or context to explain the choices. Rather, I see this as possible evidence of the emergence of a CS register -- i.e., a stylistic format in which the switches between languages mark nothing rhetorically or metonymically. However, unlike the unmarked and positively valued mixed codes found in urban Africa (see Spitulnik 1998), the CS register in Hatiheu is marked by the dominant ideology as being unsavory. Thus, the register itself is transformative in many contexts, being used by 'youth', along with **sarapia**, as a covertly salient lightning rod in the dialogic production of their new syncretic identity.

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In summary, the older children in Manu's family demonstrated far more commitment to **'enana** than any of the children in the other two families. However, both older and younger children showed some real commitment to ***français*** as well. These bilingual commitments are not surprising given the input patterns of their caregivers which were shaped by a psychosocial framework marked on the one hand by a submissive acceptance of the dominant ideology about the power of ***français*** and on the other hand by a more subversive attachment to **'enana**.

4. The Pahuatini household

The fourth family with whom I worked represented an even more pronounced example of an **'enana**-oriented, extended family compound. The household was composed of an older couple (both over 55), four older children (aged 10 to 18) still living at home, an adopted two-year-old grandson, and an adult son with three children living next door. One older son had married a French woman and lived in France, another son had married a Tahitian woman and was living in Bora Bora, one daughter was married to an **'enana**

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entrepreneur engaged in growing 'salad' for the expatriate community in Taiohae and running a B and B (which also catered to the ex-pats in Taiohae) in the neighboring valley of Anaho, and another daughter was living with a well-connected man from Taiohae.

Like Papa Petero, Papa Siki (referred to as **Koua** 'grandfather' in the transcripts) had moved to Hatiheu from a valley on the other side of Nuku Hiva, and his home was situated on church land just below the cemetery. Although showing his age, Koua was still actively engaged in 'traditional' forms of employment, primarily copra and pig-raising, and spoke very little ***français*** in my hearing.

His wife, Mama Meama (referred to as **Pahio** 'grandmother' in the transcripts), was the oldest woman in the village to have been educated at ***L'Ecole des Soeurs*** in Hiva Oa and worked as the **toko tumu pure**, or **tumu pure**'s aide (she could lead the congregation in prayer, but not give communion). While she could and did speak some ***français***, she clearly preferred to express herself in **'enana**.

The family appeared to entertain a steady stream of visitors (friends, children, and grandchildren -- some in

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search of frozen meat from the freezer or grapefruit from the trees, and others there just for talk and coffee). And Koua and his many sons seemed always busy with various projects (e.g., killing pigs, saddling horses to go off to copra, and making shrimp spears).

Two of the three daughters of the son next door spent time in this household and spoke a little on my tapes, and so I have included them as part of the study. The eldest son now living in France, his French wife, and their daughter visited for the summer and so make guest appearances on the tapes as well. However, hoping to gain some good developmental data for my study, I focused my taping on the two-year-old grandson Siki (his grandfather's namesake by nickname only) who had been adopted from his parents living in Bora Bora about a year before my study began.

Siki began pre-school in the final three months of my study and was primarily cared for by his Pahio and his sixteen-year-old aunt Tahia. However, he also spent time with his Koua, his aunt Teresi, and her **vahana** Iku. In addition, he played and was cared for by his uncle Rafa (10-11 years old) and his three next door cousins (Ornella,

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Titi, and Gilda -- all girls aged 7 through 12).

Siki's grandparents seemed to be made nervous by the taping process, or perhaps simply by my **hao'e** presence in their home, and their ambivalence was reflected in and/or manifested most clearly through Siki's protracted resistance to being taped. During the first few weeks he would cry when I arrived with my tape recorder and soon after began to refer to me as ***couillon*** 'testicles'. This, in turn, further amplified Pahio's discomfort and anxious attempts to make him behave politely and acquiesce to perform. As a result, I sought ways to tape him outside the house more and more. And once I discovered the wonderful rapport he enjoyed with Tati Teresi and Tonton Iku, I switched to taping him at their house. There he and I were also made to feel more comfortable together so that eventually he came even to enjoy my presence and object when I had to leave.

Also, given that Pahio's ***français*** was more limited, I initially worked on transcribing the tapes with my friend and assistant Moi. However, after meeting Tati Teresi, I arranged to work with her instead. Although she had attended no secondary schooling, she was fluent enough in ***français*** to provide the assistance I needed.

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As a result of these taping and transcription variables, I am unable to go into as much detail concerning the psychosocial dynamics within this family. First of all, my primary focus on Siki meant that I followed him into a number of away-from-home contexts. Thus, I failed to collect on tape as much of the cross-sectional data to do with siblings, caregivers, and household activities available for the other families. Secondly, I had no opportunity to be in the home while transcribing the tapes since I was not working with his grandmother. Although Teresi provided a lot of pertinent information about the extended family as we worked, the actual transcription process (conducted at Iku's house on the other 'side' of the valley or later on at his family's house in Taiohae) did not provide me with the opportunity for direct insight into Siki's day-to-day family situation as I had in working with the other mothers.

However, what I can deduce from working with Siki is that much of the caregiving he enjoyed paralleled what I observed with the smallest children in the other families: he was the object of a lot of **ka'oha** but was also being teased and made flexible; he was frequently enjoined to

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perform for the family's amusement and his own edification; and he was addressed using caregiver forms in both **'enana** and ***français***.

As for his own psychosocial character, it is difficult to assess given that he was only two, especially if one accepts the dialogic model of identity development. While his overwhelming characteristic captured on tape was his **putu'i** recalcitrance, this could be blamed on my then limited skills in interacting with young children and/or some version of the 'terrible twos' scenario. However, I also believe he was already operating with some generalized **'enana** conception of how to treat **Hao'e**, especially women, as this was strained through his family's attitudes and behaviors.

First of all, his grandfather never warmed up to me, retaining a stern, monosyllabic gruffness (he was the only one of the family fathers who never offered me meat or contributed to my farewell party) except when he was drunk (at which point his **keu** tended toward the more belligerent end of the spectrum). By contrast, but also typical of **'Enana**'s dealings with **Hao'e**, Siki's grandmother never completely dropped her deferential and prim comportment

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towards the ***Madame*** (although late in my stay she did tell me she appreciated that I, unlike other **Hao'e**, had always been willing to sit and talk).

Thus, it did not seem an accident that Siki began to warm up to me a bit after Moi began to enjoin him in teasing and mocking me and once his Tati Teresi and Tonton Iku began to model **ka'oha** toward me. That is, he grew more comfortable with my presence once others within his social universe began to treat me in the ways an insider is normally treated.

However, aside from his interactions with me, his psychosocial identity may have already been taking some shape through interaction with his grandparents, aunts and uncles -- stubborn and gruff like his grandfather, yet playfully self-confident like his uncles Iku and Rafa.

Given this general family portrait, it should be clear that of all the four families with whom I worked, Siki's provided some of the strongest **kakiu** and **'enana** influences, while also manifesting some features which favor ***français*** as well. The overall growth in competencies in both languages by Siki over the course of the study, as well as the bilingual commitments displayed by most of the older

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children who played a part on my tapes, speak to these multiple influences.

All of the adults in charge of Siki (and to some extent the other children) used **'enana** for an overwhelming majority of their utterances. Thus, Koua only used ***français*** twice on tape and both of these were directed at me. Pahio used ***français*** some of the time, but much of this was directed toward me or toward teaching Siki principles of ***politesse*** with reference to me and my presence. Teresi used very little ***français***, and Iku used it even less. Both of these youths (under 30) were perfectly capable of employing more ***français*** and may have under normal conditions (i.e., when not attempting to help me out by eliciting Siki's **'enana**). However, the fact that they were able to keep up this flow of **'enana** with him over the course of a couple of hours spoke to the familiarity of all participants with the use of this code together.

As for his younger caregivers, I was surprised at the amount of ***français*** used by Siki's sixteen-year-old aunt Tahia (about a third of the time), given her overall commitment to **'enana** (this commitment, which I observed in all my casual interactions with her, was identified by

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others as due to a 'lack' of ***français*** and was said to be the product of some mental deficiency which caused her to be less successful at school than some of her older siblings). However, much of her ***français*** was addressed to me, used in reference to me, or took the form of a simplified ***français*** used as a caregiver code with Siki. Besides, two-thirds of her utterances were in **'enana**.

By contrast, Rafa (11-12 years old) made a concerted effort to 'teach' Siki ***français***. As he reported it to me, he wanted Siki to be prepared for school and was concerned that no one else in the family was teaching it to him. Thus, a large number of his utterances directed to Siki were in ***français***. Also, Siki's cousins from next door spoke to him using a mix of ***français*** and **'enana**.

I gathered too little talk from the three older children (Rafa, Titi, and Ornella) included in this family study to say anything definitive about their linguistic commitments. Nonetheless, I can discuss some of the tendencies suggested by the utterance counts and by my observations of these children at times when the tape recorder was not on. However, as the main focus of study in this family was Siki, I have the most to say about him.

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Although Rafa (10-11 years old) explicitly told me that he preferred using ***français***, on tape his utterances took the form of ***français*** slightly less than half of the time. In other words, his home context was sufficiently weighted toward **'enana** that his capabilities in performance showed him to be at variance with his expressed preferences, thus manifesting what I would classify as a bilingual commitment.

Of the two younger girls I recorded (Siki's cousins from next door), the preponderance of Titi's (9-10 years old) utterances were in **'enana** suggesting that she had embraced this code considerably more than had her younger sister Ornella (7-8 years old), who used it only about a third of the time. From my unrecorded observations I would not only confirm the results of these numbers, but also offer some possible explanations.

First, Titi is the eldest, and as her mother left when she was young, she probably received most of her socialization from her grandmother, receiving plenty of the sorts of caregiver commands addressed to older girls in **'enana** even by much younger mothers. Additionally, she showed clear signs of being a ***garçon manqué***. She wore her hair short, sported shorts with no shirt (never dresses),

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and had mutilated her nipples in some way that had left small but noticeable scars. It is also not far-fetched to hypothesize that she had also, as part of this process, adopted her father's linguistic commitments. Though sufficiently educated to know and use ***français*** for multiple purposes, this man, aged 30-something and the drummer in the traditional dance troupe, was clearly '**enana**-identified and was adept at employing **sarapia** for the purposes of **keu**.

Finally, Siki, although only two, displayed the most fluency in '**enana** of all the children under five in my study. That is, even though he rarely produced utterances of more than two words, a far greater percentage of these were in '**enana**. Only Teani (the four-year-old daughter in Manu's family) produced a couple of longer utterances, but this was due to her being two years older and thus much more capable of making multi-word utterances. On the other hand, once he began school in September (at the age of 2.4 years), he also proved himself to be acquiring ***français*** rather rapidly. By November, nearly half of his utterances were in this code, compared to none during the first few sessions in May.

Also, while counting his utterances, I thought it worth

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separating out his use of the word ***non***, which during the summer months would have weighted his usage disproportionately toward ***français***. As I discuss elsewhere, the rhetorical switch to a language other than that of one's interlocutors is one way to voice disagreement. Given that Siki's caregivers were primarily using **'enana** with him, it is no surprise that he adopted ***français*** as the most effective instrument for demarcating his willful rejections and negative intentions as he crossed the threshold into the world of linguistic articulation and strategic negotiation.

Siki was too young to analyze his usage in terms of linguistic commitment. However, it is clear from the larger contextual influences of his socializing context, from the kinds of linguistic input he was receiving from his caregivers, and from his own early usage feedback, that he, like his young uncle Rafa, was being given the chance to develop bilingual resources. These, then, would allow him to decide somewhere down the line whether or not to retain both codes and/or develop the syncretic third and a CS register for wielding them all.

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D. Conclusions

Dialogic identity emerges out of the process by which individuals who operate within a heteroglossic political economy negotiate their way dialectically between ideological and material constraints, psychosocially developed desires, and ethnolinguistic commitments. As none of these constraints, desires, and commitments are rigidly fixed, individuals construct their identities in terms of more or less static, more or less fluid sets of them, depending on an infinite number of contextual variables (see Zentella 1997 for a similar concept of how such variability arises in the development of ethnolinguistic identities within politically complex heteroglossic economies).

Thus, in the portraits provided in this chapter of the children with whom I worked, I do not claim that the children had come to some irrevocable ethnolinguistic commitment anymore than I understand their psychosocial identities to have been fixed. That is, I assume that they were not at that time being permanently stuck with a certain set of linguistic resources and attitudes, anymore than their characters were being set in stone. However, the

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degree to which they jumped from one identity or switched from one code to another may be less pronounced for some than others at various points in their life. That is, some who showed no predilection for this at the time of my study may have developed the ability to project a startling array of heteroglossic identities since then. By contrast, others who seemed particularly playful in this regard may have become monolingual, even monotonic, by now. Thus, all I have done here is attempt to assemble the voices of the children I came to 'know' in 1993 and classify them by their degree of commitment to a particular ethnolinguistic identity. These conclusions are summarized in appendix 7.

Nonetheless, some generalizations about the process of developing ethnolinguistic commitments and psychosocial communicative strategies are in order. Obviously age plays a significant role in these developments. Thus, I classify the youngest speakers in my study (aged 2 to 5 years) -- Siki, Tahia, Teani, Pio, Poutini, and Tava -- as only questionably committed to one code or another. Like the older children, they had already been exposed to and thus had to some degree acquired a variety of linguistic resources and rules regarding their usage. Similarly, they

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had already assembled an array of psychosocial desires and impulses. However, they had not yet developed any kind of commitment to an ethnolinguistically deployable identity. That is, they had not learned to leash their linguistic resources and rules to their psychosocial desires and impulses and thus rarely attempted rhetorical or dialogic CS.

Since all of these young children (except Siki) tended to use ***français*** for most interactions, their failure to 'accomodate' their interlocutor's choice of **'enana** did not appear to be an act of resistance. Instead such non-reciprical code choices appeared to be governed by the presuppositions about code usage in operation at the time. By contrast, Siki, who was more comfortable in both languages, would speak **'enana** with a **Hao'e** such as myself, who ineptly addressed him in **'enana**, rather than switch to ***français*** in an act of rhetorical resistance and/or a display of commitment to a French identity.[21]

While no children displayed a pronounced monolingual commitment to **'enana**, I would classify many elderly people as **'enana**-committed in that they spoke and preferred to speak **'enana** despite an ability to express themselves to

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some degree in ***français*** if required by the context. These persons, having come of age in a more clearly marked ethnolinguistic context, projected an **'Enana** identity out of a kind of reflexive merger of constraint and impulse. Thus, they would speak **'enana** with a **Hao'e**, even though it felt 'unnatural', precisely because they had never constructed the complex desire to resist oppression through hiding their commitments to a particular ethnolinguistic identity.

The older children (5 years and older) who were at that time manifesting a commitment to an identity marked by ***français*** (Julia, Kua, and Tehina Teikivaeoho) were also developing an internal set of constraints which were re-enforcing those pro-***français*** elements imposed by their parents and the political economy. Should their own psychosocial desires to be French (civilized, educated, wealthy, etc.) ever be contradicted by an impulse towards **'enana** identity, the less practice they had in speaking **'enana** as children, the less confident they would feel about taking it up again. Thus, the girls in Noella's family were already inhibited about displaying the **'enana** they clearly 'knew' (in the sense of being able to produce lexical items if requested and to comprehend remarks in **'enana** when

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addressed to them) even when being enjoined to do so by myself, their parents, or teachers. And the fact that their father was shaming them on this point was clearly not helping.

Finally, ten of the older children (five and up) were manifesting a commitment to an ethnolinguistic identity marked by the heteroglossic use of ***français***, **'enana**, and **sarapia** (Tikare, Puhe, Vaite, Titi, Vaetui, Rafa, Tehina (Manu's), Teata, Perena, Maria). All of these children could yet 'lose' their commitment to **'enana** and/or **sarapia** through further education and worldly experience. However, none of them will ever lose the capacity to reinvest their bilingual resources in the village speech economy so long as this economy is still operating according to the heteroglossic principles explored in this study.

Whether or not Hatiheu's speech economy retains a use and significance for **'enana** and/or **sarapia** as well as ***français*** is as yet an open question. However, I want to reiterate here the two key socialization factors influencing the children's development of commitment to a particular ethnolinguistic identity: dialogic engagement and language ideology, especially as these two are framed by particular

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psychosocial dynamics, which in turn have real consequences for the ongoing heteroglossic nature of the village speech economy.

Most obviously significant to the analysis of ethnolinguistic commitment (and so language shift) in Hatiheu was the large amount of ***français*** being directed toward the little children. Although exposed to plenty of **'enana** in their everyday environment and thus given ample opportunity to acquire a passive competence in the code, the littlest children were primarily engaged in dialogue in ***français*** and thus enjoined to feel more of a commitment to this language. I have two hypotheses to explain why the younger children were addressed a lot more in ***français*** and the older children addressed a lot more in **'enana** in all four families. Each hypothesis about usage would have different long-term consequences for the vitality of **'enana** in the speech economy.

First is the hypothesis that my study may have taken place at the fulcrum of shift in Hatiheu (a historic moment already reached several years earlier in the larger towns and still several years away in the more isolated villages) where ***français*** was overshadowing **'enana** as the code of

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choice in the home, beginning with talk addressed to the little children. This would be due to several factors, but most probably a mix of all of them: 1) political-economic and ideological forces supporting the acquisition and value of knowing ***français***; 2) the growing commitment of at least mothers to this code (both competence in and preference for using); and 3) the growing perception that children are lacking in commitment to **'enana**, are falling into the use of at best **sarapia**, and are preferring ***français*** or at least understanding it better. Given this scenario, even as the youngest children in these homes matured, ***français*** would remain the language of choice for engaging them as it was at the time of my study.

On the other hand, there may be in the Marquesas a century-old pattern of using ***français*** with little children and then shifting to **'enana** as the children mature. In this case, all of the youngest children in my study may in subsequent years have been engaged sufficiently in **'enana** to acquire a more substantial commitment to it than was in evidence at the time of my study. This would then contribute to the continued vitality of **'enana** (or at least **sarapia**). However, this pattern of using a simplified

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***français*** as a caregiver code may be transforming as caregivers' confidence in their competence in something closer to standard ***français*** increases. Thus, a psychosocial component may be influencing the fluency in and amount of ***français*** being used with children and thus the message being delivered about how successfully it should be acquired.

The other all-important factor influencing language socialization, regardless of which of the above hypotheses is true, has to do with language ideology and its psychosocial deployment within this complex context in which powerful forces for shift are now operating in the wider speech economy. First of all, continued ideological support for **'enana** by the cultural revival movement could be undermined if it is continually expressed in such a way as to 'shame' people for the variety of the code presently being used (as well as for **sarapia**). On the other hand, so long as **'enana** and **sarapia** continue to represent a desirable form of flexibility and resilience, young adults will continue to find more or less local contexts and vital functions for its use. In other words, what would be ideal for the continued vitality of **'enana** and/or **sarapia** is that some contexts, functions, and symbolic meanings of its use

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would be official and dignified in nature (e.g., sermons in church and oratory for political occasions) yet not oppressive of other more subversive deployments of the code and its pragmatic effects (e.g., illicit gossiping and double-voiced teasing at bingo sessions and parties). To fully understand the psychosocial dynamics of this tug-of-war over language acquisition and loss, it is necessary to examine how and why children are being **hakako** 'taught' language and other communicative resources such as **keu** 'teasing' and **teketekao** 'gossip' as these contribute to their development of **kako** 'flexible' psychosocial stances.

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## Notes

1. Ideally the transcription system should account for the multiplex nature of these interactions as was developed by Schieffelin for her representation of triadic 'say-it' routines among the Kaluli (1990). However, my understanding of the multiplex structure of almost all interactions and the geometric progression by which the ripples of interaction affect more and more participants in layered ways makes it impossible to provide enough identifying arrows and labels to schematize the situation with any accuracy.

2. Given the literal translation of **fa'aaloalo** 'make recognize/face', I am tempted to make an ethno-etymological leap in claiming that it is a cognate of **hakako** 'teach' (literally 'make flexible'). First, there are the equivalent causatives **ha('a)**[MQ] and **fa'a**[SAM]. Secondly, the **kako** 'flexibility' in **hakako** may be related to the **ka'o** in **ka'oha** (i.e., the flexibility with which one greets and welcomes others), just as the **alo** in **alofa** is no doubt the same as the **alo** in **fa'aaloalo** (i.e., the recognition with which one greets and welcomes others). Thus, I am proposing a cultural link between the Samoan attention to teaching children to show **fa'aaloalo** 'respect' (while also bathing them in **alofa**) with the **'enana** tendency to **hakako** 'teach' children to have flexibility after initially treating them with great **ka'oha**. If so, the transformation in linguistic forms would have accompanied a transformation in social structural and ideological emphases. That is, **'enana** children are not taught to respect hierarchy to the degree that Samoan children are (given the greater fluidity of social categories and relations and an expectation of greater personal flexibility in negotiating these in the Marquesas). Nonetheless, an interest in 'teaching' **'enana** children to attend, perform, and put aside their childish 'willfulness' has been retained.

3. I also noticed some variation in the ways infants and older babies were treated along the lines Martini and Kirkpatrick (1981) found in their study on the neighboring island of Ua Pou in the seventies. However, my own data in this regard are too sketchy to analyze here.

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4. This observation results less from an analysis of the transcripts in which the sample size of older boys was too small and more from casual listening around town.

5. The discussion of language usage in the four families is based primarily on the analysis of code usage during the taped and transcribed sessions. These analyses are inevitably rough because of the difficulties I encountered in coding and counting turns of talk as instances of one code or another.

First, a *turn*, by which I mean the chunk of talk one person produces in between chunks of talk produced by others, is a questionable, or rather arbitrary, unit of analysis. In some instances, a person produces several chunks of talk which are unrelated to each other (by subject matter or addressee), and yet I consider this a single 'turn' because no one else's turn has intervened between the separate chunks. In other instances, a person's chunk of talk may be cut into two or more turns by the intrusion of chunks of talk by others. In isolation, such an utterance might simply appear as one turn elongated by hesitations or a repetition of words.

Second is the issue of coding turns as either belonging to one code or another. My codification of an utterance is, first of all, questionable given the reasons discussed elsewhere to do with the fuzzy boundaries between codes in such a situation of language shift and restructuring, and especially given the phonetic idiosyncrasies of young speakers. It is also not even clear whether to classify an utterance as a token of a linguistic system (i.e., MQ, FR, or SAR) or of an ideologically cognized way of speaking (i.e., **'enana**, ***français***, or **sarapia**). After careful consideration, I decided not to assign turns to the linguistically defined systems, but to count them as if I could represent the consciousness of an **'Enana** making the judgments as to whether the speech being produced is representative of ***français***, **'enana**, or **sarapia**. In other words, I employ **sarapia**, as do **'Enana**, as the ideologically weighted, catch-all category for all turns that involve obvious and therefore 'objectionable' forms of 'mixed-up' material, whether I would analyze these as part of the marked CS register or aspects of linguistic transformation. Thus, utterances involving **sarapia** stand in contrast to

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those which are approximately categorized as belonging to one of the other two more established (but also ideologically cognized and transforming) 'languages', ***français*** and **'enana**.

However, one complication with this classification system is that my judgments are subjective. The problem is not that they are subjective in the sense that I am allowing metalinguistic consciousness within the ethnolinguistic community dictate what counts as an expression of one code or another since this is precisely the level of subjectivity I am interested in indexing in these counts. That is, I am using their standards of what is being spoken precisely because I am examining the children's development of commitment to these 'languages', commitment being a mixture of not only competency in but also attitudes toward the code.

Instead, I am concerned about the level of subjectivity entailed by the fact that I was unable to elicit speakers' judgments about the coding of utterances. That is, I based my cataloguing primarily on my own intuitions about which originally FR (as well as ENG and TAH) words now pass as **'enana** and which retain some metapragmatic residue of their origins. Similarly, I was forced to come to my own conclusions about which intrusions of MQ or TAH material into the ***français*** spoken is noted as **sarapia** and which go essentially unheard.

To be explicit about my practice, I coded as **sarapia** any form of intra-utterance CS that was primarily MQ but included FR, ENG, or TAH loans that are not phonologically embedded and were easily identified as loans by my assistants. This is by contrast with the MQ that includes loans habitually used by both older **'Enana** and children and thus were probably considered **'enana**. I have also categorized as **sarapia** all FR utterances which included MQ words apparently borrowed for the moment (i.e., nonce loans), especially in the mouths of smaller children as adults frequently judged these negatively.

Ideally, I would also have liked to count as **sarapia** a number of shibboleth calques, usually the effects of MQ on FR. When children produced these, they were roundly criticized as **sarapia** by my assistants who had been drilled by French teachers concerning some of the regular grammatical 'errors' produced by **'enana** pupils. However, I found it too difficult to make such an analysis at this

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time.

I also did not identify as **sarapia** many of the phonological transformations and syntactic calques by older speakers of ***français*** or by younger speakers of **'enana** as these were not the sorts of linguistic acts identified as 'mixed-up' (even though analytically, I would consider these SAR). If I had counted these as **sarapia**, the numbers would have taken on a very different look as almost everything said would have to be classified as **sarapia**. However, this would not accurately reflect the ideological distinction between the codes retained by Hatiheuans. By attempting to represent their intuitions on this score, I have been able to portray the children of Hatiheu as developing particular commitments toward the 'languages' conceived of as ***français*** and **'enana**.

One final caveat concerning my method of turn counting involves the researcher's impact on the code choices. I counted all turns in all sessions despite the fact that my presence obviously biased several of the taping sessions (especially at the beginning) toward interaction in ***français*** with me -- about the tape recorder, my family, my husband, etc. On the other hand, my presence also stimulated a lot of utterances in **'enana** throughout the sessions as the children especially in Noella's and Manu's families were at times preoccupied with testing my competence in that language. However, over time I managed, with the caregivers' aid, to organize taping sessions in all of the families in ways that made my presence less of an issue. That is, although I did not physically disappear and was clearly included in almost all interactions (whether as subject matter, interlocutor, or only overhearer), the majority of utterances appeared to be uninstigated by my presence. Nonetheless, in discussing the rough counts, I point out when and how my presence as addressee may have influenced the counting.

6. In fact, my apparent fluency existed more at the level of performance as my minimal linguistic talents meant that my comprehension in crowded chaotic contexts still lagged badly. Thus, most of his 'incompetent' children still understood his stories better than I did.

7. Although the second daughter Tehina's fictive 'grandfather', Kokohu, was an older man in the village with

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an apparent commitment to **'enana** typical of his age, he did not serve a caregiving role for these children who only paid him short ceremonial visits on Sundays. What was of greater significance for this family was his apparent wealth and connection to wider political-economic networks (see the discussion in Chapter V concerning his position as a middleman in the sale of carved crafts and watches out of house #6 on Map E in Appendix 1), which would if anything have re-enforced their orientation toward ***français***.

8. In the middle of my stay, Perena cut her hair like a boy's, re-enforcing what had already appeared to me by her behavior to be a ***garçon manqué*** persona, but then she began to wear dresses to school as if attempting to counteract the effect of the haircut. And seven years later, at the age of 18, she was already ensconced with a **vahana** and baby.

9. I orchestrated this session in hopes that the indigenous-style, male-activity context, with Noella absent and Mimi operating as head-caregiver, would elicit more **'enana**. At first glance, the figures for this session appear to indicate that this ploy worked; however, most of the many turns in **'enana** represent single words elicited by me or by each other to test me.

10. My guess is that when this animal was first introduced by **Hao'e**, the northern **'Enana** created this onomatopoeic term **menemene** for the goat based on the bleating sound it made. In the south the animal is **keukeu**, either for the same reason or because of its playful personality.

11. I only saw this brother once at the house, at a TV-watching hour; otherwise, I imagine he was involved in growing melons and marijuana in the next valley. Usually, I saw him 'in the road' carrying a coconut in one hand and holding a boom box to his ear.

12. I believe Tapu discontinued the project partly because she and Poea realized that I was not going to provide the sort of access to knowledge and power they were seeking. However, I also encountered some subtle resistance to the taping itself early on. For instance, I have them on tape engaged in some negotiation of what kind of talk to perform for the tape recorder, with Tapu reassuring Poea that

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whatever the tape captured was fine: **Hano mai ho'i ia ha'aharu te ta'a'au, te 'eo, te aha 'oti. Mei te mea pekē 'oe, 'a pekē.** 'It finds truly and records the cries, the voices, the whatever. If you want to scold, scold' (T4/18.118). However, more than once, Tapu suggested that she could take the tape recorder and do the taping herself. She was savvy enough to understand my desire for 'natural' discourse and made this offer, she said, because she thought it would help engender that sort of talk. But I was also feeling that she was feeling that my presence was feeling intrusive in the house. Finally, she just quit finding the time to help me transcribe. And indeed she did seem very busy. But also perhaps she and Poea were feeling the whole project was too invasive if not also a waste of time. Others commented that this was just typical of her 'prideful' tendency to take on more than she could handle and then leave the work unfinished. Nonetheless, they both exuded **ka'oha** for me in casual interactions throughout my time there.

13. Tapu reported that her goal in requesting reports from her children was that of instilling in them the capacity to observe carefully and report accurately about what has happened or been said in a given situation.

14. The baby boy Aere (aged 0.11-1.4 years) produced no 'words' within my hearing during the taping period.

15. Anaho can only be reached by foot, horse, or boat; it lacks electricity; most of the dwelling structures are unplumbed and unclosed in; there is no school and only a small chapel for tiny services; thus, the permanent population is miniscule. However, it clearly plays a role in the local imagination as a site of easy contact and exchange with adventurous **hao'e** 'yachties' who regularly arrive in this bay, which has been lauded for well over a century as one of the best landfalls and protected harbors after leaving the Americas. The 'yachties' are predictably anxious to get off, exchange rum for fresh fruit, and share in the local romance. And whether the romance was initiated by **Hao'e** or **'Enana**, many Hatiheuans now actively engage in the construction of Anaho as an idyllic venue for 'getting away' from civilization, romanticizing it as the ideal site for fishing, hunting, octopus-catching, fruit-collecting,

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and other 'natural' activities.

16. The fact that one of his best friends in town was the **mutoi** 'local police' gives some idea of the two-tiered judicial system operating in the Marquesas. Many of his 'illegal' activities were well-known to everyone in Hatiheu for years, and the only reason the ***gendarmes*** 'French police' were finally brought in (resulting in four months of imprisonment) was that one of the schoolteachers heard about some illicit sexual behavior in which he was engaging at a time when the Marquesas was following a Western world trend in raising consciousness over the issue of child abuse. Until recently, sexual relations between men and their sisters, daughters, and nieces were not only somewhat common, but also discreetly accepted, behaviors in the Marquesas.

17. Some comments such as this and those of the children (for instance in example #15, M10/23.379-81) led me to believe that they understood that the cassette would not be **pi** 'filled' if they did not produce talk. That is, they seemed to understand the tape to be like a physical vessel that must be filled with substantive talk rather than silence, and that the cassette would never be finished if they simply let time pass without talking. This has contributed to my hypothesis that **'Enana** conceive of language as being a more material entity than do **Hao'e** -- especially when put onto tape and carried away.

18. In Noella's family, the children's overwhelming tendency to use ***français*** and apparent incompetence in **'enana** was starkly clear whether they were taking my presence into account or not. By contrast, in the Pahuatini family the commitment to **'enana** by all parties (except Rafa who articulated a preference for ***français***, but performed bilingually) was swayed relatively little by my presence. Only in Tapu's family did linguistic commitments appear to be in the balance somewhat like Manu's. However, in Tapu's family, both children and adults directed considerably less talk my way and demonstrated less concern with my presence in general.

19. All of her multi-word utterances demonstrated the sorts of morphosyntactic interference from MQ that educators were

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worried were becoming systemic in the variety of ***français*** spoken in the Marquesas: e.g., ***Après ça va salir ton linge.*** *'Afterwards, your clothes will be dirty'* (M8/5.474), and ***Donne à Papa le viande.*** *'Give Papa the meat'* (M8/31:164).

20. Maria seemed a bit defiantly uninterested in both me and my project and, thus, uninterested in displaying any **ka'oha** or ***politesse*** via code-choice with me. Although willing to sign the consent form, she regularly refused to talk for the sake of the tape recorder when incited by her grandmother and never engaged in the sort of talk for talk's sake with me that the other children did (more or less willingly).

21. In fact, no child over the age of three ever attempted to use **'enana** with me except when engaging in the explicitly marked genre of quizzing me on my **'enana**. On the one hand, they understood that my **'enana** lagged far behind my fluency in ***français***; on the other hand, they were willing to humor my stated desire to learn **'enana**. So both in their common use of ***français*** and their efforts to teach me **'enana**, they were simply accommodating to my needs with the **ka'oha** shown most **Hao'e**.

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# THE EMERGENCE OF DIALOGIC IDENTITIES:

# TRANSFORMING HETEROGLOSSIA IN THE MARQUESAS, F.P.

by

Kathleen C. Riley

VOLUME III

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# Chapter IX

## Learning to **Keu** 'tease' and **Tekatekao** 'gossip'

In the course of development, children learn not only what code to speak but also a wide array of linguistic resources for a variety of communicative purposes within an inevitably complex psychosocial context. This process of socializing children to be speaking participants in their social universe is influenced by ideologies about how children acquire these resources and for what ends. And in heteroglossic speech economies marked by rapid, hegemonic sociocultural change, these ideologies too are heterogeneous.

In Hatiheu, the impact of French values concerning ***la formation des enfants***[1] is revealed in talk among children and caregivers, not only in the values transmitted, but also in the genres and speech acts used. For instance, French styles of teaching children to behave in particular ways show up in many of the strict forms of punishment and in the types of behavior punished in Hatiheu households. Also, a variety of Western notions about how children are to be talked to (e.g., using a caregiver register) seem also to

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have been syncretically incorporated into **'enana** socialization strategies.

However, these French values and practices are directly countered by a pan-Pacific style of socialization. First, believing that children bring great joy to a household, Hatiheuans train and encourage their children to perform for their entertainment. And although they even scaffold some of these endeavors, they do not glorify all attempts by their children as Western (at least white American middle-class [WAMC]) caregivers tend to (Ochs and Schieffelin 1984). Secondly, indications of what is interpreted as mischievousness and recalcitrance are largely humored as signs of necessary strength and resourcefulness, to be tempered later by the flexibility that comes with maturity.

Generally speaking, a number of indigenous values and practices are interlaced with French forms and nuances. For instance, the **'enana** belief that children are taught to talk appropriately through direct instruction, while probably Oceanic in origin, has certainly been re-enforced by their experience of French methods of educating children. Similarly, their socialization of the knowledge of and pragmatics for marking the social universe has its analogues

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in French ideology as witnessed by various etiquette routines and these have become intertwined in practice and ideology.

At this point, it is impossible to unravel the cultural sources, meanings, and functions for all forms, but some tendencies can be identified, and more importantly emergent meanings and functions for now syncretic forms can be analyzed.

Although the discourse and psychosocial functions of communicative strategies used to socialize children are totally enmeshed, I have for heuristic reasons dissected them in order to bring them into better focus. Thus, in this chapter, I look first at the various routines used to elicit a variety of communicative forms, considering their rhetorical impact and ideological underpinnings. Secondly, I analyze the social and emotional messages children are learning to interpret and articulate using these forms in socially meaningful ways.

## A. **'A bakako te toiki te tekao** 'Teach the children to talk'

The ways in which caregivers attend and talk to

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children and elicit talk from children reveal not only how children are learning to speak within a given culture but also how children learn to become speaking participants in ongoing social interactions, as well as cultural understandings of both of these processes. In Hatiheu, a number of forms and routines are used more or less consciously to **hakako** 'teach' children to **tekao** 'talk'. These discursive practices socialize not only specific linguistic forms (i.e., lexicon, syntax, and pragmatics) and communicative genres, but also ways of thinking about how language is learned.

The language acquisition ideology underlying language socialization forms and routines may or may not be available for metalinguistic commentary. Moreover, as the ideology in places such as Hatiheu is a syncretic mix of indigenous and Western beliefs, what is said about the practices tends to be multivalent and contradictory. Thus, in the following, I trace the socializing routines used, relate these to my assistants' comments about that practice, analyze the ideologies underlying these practices, and touch upon the possible origins of both.

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1. Caregiver register and other child-centric practices

All caregivers in Hatiheu, male and female, old and young, engage in a caregiver register (CGR) with young children (under the age of three or four) as well as various other child-centric practices even with somewhat older children. Aspects of this child-centric approach to caregiving are found throughout the world. For instance, CGR -- sometimes referred to as *motherese* or *babytalk* (Ferguson 1977) -- is used in many cultures from the United States (Gleason 1973) to Taiwan (Farris 1992), but by no means all (Ochs and Schieffelin 1984). In the following, I discuss and illustrate aspects of this style in the Marquesas and then consider its origins and functions.

The CGR in the Marquesas takes place in **'enana**, ***français***, and **sarapia**. Regardless of the code chosen, the register involves 'babytalk' terms, syntactic simplification, and other child-centric practices, including pragmatic decentering, scaffolding techniques, direct address to prelinguistic babies, and a placating style of behavioral control. The style was metalinguistically labeled in **'enana** as **'eo tama hou** 'new child language' or

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**'eo toiki** 'children's language'.

A large number of 'babytalk' terms are used by both children and caregivers when speaking to children. Some have both **'enana** and ***français*** variants, e.g., **vivi** 'hurt, wound' or ***bobo*** 'wound' ('booboo' in ENG CGR). Sometimes the words are taken from ***le langage enfantin***, i.e., FR CGR, as in ***dodo*** 'sleep'. Other times the derivation is less clear, as in **titi** 'breast' (perhaps from ENG 'titty') and **nunu**, being the little stuffed animal that a child sleeps with. Sometimes the term appears to be very local, i.e., used only by a couple of families whose children all play together -- e.g., the term **kukunana** 'shoulder ride' used by both Siki's and Manu's families. The reduplication seen in all of these is common (if not ubiquitous) and allows for the local production of words such as **painpain** 'bread' (from FR ***pain***).

Using a critical tone, Noella accused her older children of 'teaching' such words to the younger ones. Nonetheless, she too used them. Similarly, displaying a schoolmaster's dismissive attitude, the 10-year-old Rafa held Siki responsible for the use of 'babytalk' words: ***Il ne dit pas*** **hovare.** ***Il dit*** **kokoi.** 'He doesn't say **hovare** (MQN for horse). He says **kokoi'** -- literally 'ru-run'

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(S7/7.190).

Caregivers simplify syntax in a number of predictable ways. Articles are dropped as when Pahio is explaining to Siki who she is making flower garlands for: **Turisi. Na turisi**. 'Tourists. For (the) tourists' (S7/21.389). Complex utterances are broken down into simple phrases without syntactic framing. For example, in encouraging Siki to eat, Moi said: **Kaikai, he'e 'i te ika**. 'Eat, go fish' (S5/5.142). The adult version would have been something like: **'A kai 'omua 'oe. 'Ia pao, 'a he'e 'oe 'i te avaika.** 'You eat first. When done, you go fishing.'

While helping me transcribe these sessions with Siki, Moi castigated herself and others for falling into this kind of **'eo toiki** 'children's language'. She explained that this was not a good way to teach children to speak **'enana** properly (S5/5.142 note), and she blamed other parents for little children's inabilities to pronounce /k/, saying that they teach their children to say **tamai** rather than **kamai** 'bring here' (S5/12.50 note).[2] The reason she suggested I work with Siki was that he was already, at two, showing signs of learning real **'enana** as evidenced by his capacity to pronounce /k/.

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This anti-CGR ideology may be a vestige of indigenous sentiments about the inappropriateness of using simplified speech to teach children to speak (such sentiments are found, for instance, among the Kaluli [Schieffelin 1990]), and/or it may have trickled in as the latest Western spin concerning the pedagogical incorrectness of CGR. In any case, it is clearly not having much of an impact in practice at this time in Hatiheu as caregivers all employ CGR.

A number of other child-centric practices are employed with children somewhat older than four years as well. These include, first of all, a form of pragmatic decentering in which caregivers employ the address terms appropriate for use by the young child. This is practiced constantly by young and old and in talk about both self and others. Thus, when addressing their children, parents refer to themselves using the third person **Mama/*Maman*** and ***Papa***. For instance, Mimi told his five-year-old daughter Julia to bring him her uneaten crackers: **Kamai na Papa**. 'Bring here for Papa.' And a turn later Noella addressed her three-year-old son Tava: ***Viens ici à Maman***. '*Come here to Mama*' (N5/10.739-41).

In an example from the Poihipapu family, Tapu, while tending to her three-year-old son Poutini's bandages,

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referred to herself in the third person -- first in **'enana**: **Kamai 'oe inei. Na Mama e mea.** 'You bring (the bandage) here. For Mama to do (the bandaging),' and then in (mostly) ***français***: ***Et puis Maman va faire toute à l'heure avec le*** **ha'ika**. *'And then Mama will do (it) in a bit with the* medicine' (T7/27.28-44).

Members of the older generation also do this as when the two-year-old Siki's grandfather said: **'A hano pirike, 'umihi 'o Koua**. 'Go get (the) lighter, find Grandpa's (cigarette lighter)' (S7/21.203). Note also the dropped article and simplified clauses in his utterance, indices of CGR. And in speaking ***français***, Siki's grandmother refers to herself by the FR CGR term ***Mémé***, for example: ***C'est pas à Mémé?*** *'It's not Grandma's?'* (S6/9.44) A somewhat similar form of displaced third-person referencing was also projected onto Siki as when Iku asked him: **Patu 'o Siki, e?** '(This is) a drawing of Siki, yes?' (S10/9.108).

Additionally, caregivers refer to other persons using the term appropriately used by the child being addressed. For example, Siki was constantly being asked about the whereabouts of and belongings of **Koua** 'Grandpa', **Pahio** 'Grandma', **Papa**, **Mama**/***Maman***, **Tati** 'Auntie' (FR CGR is **Tata**),

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or ***Tonton*** 'Uncle'. And once Moi asked Siki: **Siki, sea Pahio? Sea Pahio? Sea *Mémé*?** 'Siki, where's Grandma? Where's Grandma? Where's *Grandma*[FR CGR]?' (S6/23.5), employing both MQ and FR CGR terms for this personage.[3] Or Siki would also be told to go get something from these persons as when his Tonton Iku was trying to tempt him to leave with his Tati Teresi: **'A hano suing gum me Tati**. 'Go get chewing gum with Auntie,' to which Tati Teresi added: **'A suing gum 'iō Pakahio**. '(Go get) chewing gum from Pakahio' (S8/19.570-1) as she wanted to get him back to the house.[4]

Scaffolding techniques are another set of child-centric practices found in the Marquesas as in many other cultures as well. Scaffolding is the umbrella term applied by Bruner and Sherwood (1975) to the various ways in which caregivers attend to and expand upon a child's initiative in a co-constructed verbal exchange or other activity. Ochs (1991) presents a cross-cultural examination of the many scaffolding ways in which caregivers may (or may not, depending on the culture) attempt to divine children's intentions and aid them in the expression of their thoughts. Caregivers in all cultures guide children in the acquisition of communicative forms, but not all presume to

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know what children 'want', nor attempt to aid them in the finding the words for it.

Thus, by contrast with various non-child-centric cultures in the Pacific (e.g., Western Samoa), in Hatiheu, caregivers commonly attempt to 'clarify' a child's incoherent utterance by guessing at and elaborating upon what has been said as well as by asking further questions. For instance, in one session (example #21), Tonton Iku carried on a dialogue with two-year-old Siki for nearly half an hour by asking him questions, repeating Siki's one-word responses (or corrected versions of these) in a questioning intonation, expressing disbelief at some of his answers, offering alternative words and extended phrasings, and then jumping to new subject matter based on what Siki had said.

Secondly, caregivers help children with the pronunciation and denotation of new terms, i.e., they provide spontaneous repairs (Ochs 1986). In example #21, Siki said: **Kana'ia.** And Iku proposed a possible word: **Kama'i'i?** 'Cold?' (S10/9.670-1). By contrast, in another segment, although Iku was scaffolding (if in a teasing fashion), he never made an actual guess at the word. When he asked Siki what the little dog eats, Siki replied: **Haaoa.**

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Iku asked **E aha?** 'What?' and Siki transformed it to: **Halaoa.** Iku asked: **Halaoa? E aha titahi?** '**Halaoa**? What's this?' Siki responded: **Kaiu peto.** 'Little dog,' based on which Iku put the pieces back together again: **E aha titahi kaikai peto?** 'What's this dog food?' In response, Siki finally produced the word: **Haraoa.** 'Bread,' to which Iku responded: **Haraoa me te aha?** 'Bread and what?' (S10/9.136-44).

Siki's caregivers also attempted to understand and respond to many of the ambiguous remarks he made, including his topic-raising references to objects, persons, or other entities within his field of perception, which were then sometimes scaffolded into requests for more information. For instance, one afternoon while Moi, Siki, and I were sweeping the church meeting house, Siki saw a plastic tobacco box on the floor and announced: **Ai, Koua**! on which Moi elaborated: ***Quoi?*** **Na Ko'oua? Pao. Pao.** '*What?* Ko'oua's? Finished. Finished.' Given this bit of information, Siki followed up on it: **Pao?** 'Finished?' and Moi confirmed it: **Mm** (S6/23.42-4).

A lot of the scaffolding to be found in caregivers' interactions with the two-year-old Siki occurred as a result

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of their attempts to engage him in conversation for my sake. However, this also happened in the course of more natural discourse with Siki as well as with the younger children in all of the families.

Another behavior frequently engaged in by many practitioners of CGR worldwide is that of talking directly to infants using a dyadic participant structure long before they produce linguistic signs of comprehension. Usually the behavior is accompanied by the expressed belief that the child understands language and is showing signs (e.g., smiles and eye movements) of understanding. Thus, for instance, not only did Noella talk directly to the infant Hina (e.g., asking the baby if she wanted to **kafe** with ***maman*** (N10/22.238-51)), she also, in discussing Hina's development with me (note N10/22.134), ascribed a lot of comprehension and intentionality to her smiles and hand movements, saying Hina liked to be spoken to softly and liked to hear words repeated, especially in ***français***. As was mentioned above, Noella's language acquisition ideology seemed to be heavily influenced by the French TV show ***"Allo Mama, Ici Bébé"*** as well as her experiences at the ***Ecole des Soeurs*** under the instruction of the nuns.

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Similarly, Tapu appeared to ascribe a good deal of intentionality and significance to her one-year-old's vocalizations and actions. For instance, hearing a scratching noise he was making on the floor between his thighs, she used a 'babytalk' term **kokikokiko** she had created to gloss his 'need' to go outside (presumably to pee) and asked him in a way that presumed an answer: **E-Aere, kaki kokikokiko, kaki kokikokiko?** 'Hey-Aere, (you) want to **kokikokiko**, (you) want to **kokikokiko**?' (T4/18.301).

These caregiver forms and strategies exemplify the ways in which people of any status attempt to imagine and bend to a child's perspective. Does this indicate the adoption of a Western caregiving style or does it highlight an indigenous cultural predisposition towards perceiving children as **putu'i** 'stubborn' yet adorable creatures from a very early age?

By contrast with CGR forms and practices in the Marquesas, Western Samoans neither use babytalk nor scaffold their children's utterances (Ochs 1988). And although they certainly treat their children as both willful and lovable social entities, they do not allow their children to breach social hierarchy. Samoans begin to address babies by the

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age of four to six months; however, these interactions generally take the form of engaging babies in performances within multiplex participant structures such that the baby is faced out toward the audience and positioned appropriately for the caregiver to ventriloquize utterances as if the baby were speaking (Ochs 1988:158-167).

The latter behavior was also observed in Hatiheu (e.g., a short episode involving Tapu, me, and her prelinguistic son Aere [T3/11.118] in example #6). However, in Hatiheu, this behavior accompanied CGR forms not found in Samoa. This would suggest that this child-centric style in the Marquesas arose as the result of colonial impact (which in its French form and content differed considerably from that experienced by Western Samoans).

As was discussed earlier, ***français*** may have have been adopted in the early 1900s as the caregiving code due to the impact of women working as maids and nurses (as well as 'wives') in French colonials' homes. A caregiving style and ideology may have accompanied this adoption. But the next question is how this FR CGR infiltrated the communicative styles even of older men who would presumably have had no direct exposure to its equivalent in French homes. I can

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only point out that the syncretizing process may have begun as early as the 1850s -- that is, through more than seven generations (generations being translated here as twenty-year intervals due to the young age at which many **'Enana** begin bearing children). And so even 70-year-old **Koua** would have been socialized by mothers, older sisters, and later wives, all of whom might have had opportunities to learn this style from the horse's mouth.

However, it should also be emphasized here that, even if the caregiver register was learned through personal contact with French people, still the playful and anarchic **'Enana** may have proven themselves far more open to incorporating the style's underlying attitudes than would the hierarchy-conscious Samoans have been if they had been similarly exposed.

Whatever the origins of CGR and other child-centric strategies in the Marquesas, the cultural presuppositions revealed by this style are, like those elsewhere in the world where it is found, the notion that young, unformed children need to be actively coddled and supported in their development of a communicative identity. That is, not only do these practices express the notion that children need to

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be 'taught' how to speak (an ideology shared in many other non-CGR using societies, e.g., Kaluli and Samoa), but also that adult contexts must be adapted to the child's perspective in order to bolster his/her acquisition of a sense of personal identity, responsibility, and community membership.

2. Performance elicitation techniques

The children of Hatiheu are explicitly **hakako** 'taught' how to engage in social discourse via a number of performance elicitation techniques. These strategies provide both models and impetus for the production of linguistic forms and communicative genres, while also teaching them the discursive functions of these forms. In particular, two locally salient communicative genres, **keu** 'teasing' and **tekatekao** 'gossiping', are used to make children **kako** 'flexible'.

As was seen earlier, these two genres operate back to back in adult interactions, with participants marking their fluctuating partnerships by jousting in opposition with one another at one moment and coalescing to gossip about and

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exclude others at the next. Similarly the routines through which children are embedded in social discourse teach these genres as reflexes of each other. Thus, the routines range from elicitations of specific verbal performances about others (i.e., **tekatekao**) to more or less playful challenges that encourage an ability to engage flexibly in verbal dueling (i.e., **keu**). However, the **tekatekao** elicited from the children may provide a form of **keu** for the caregivers and thus model this mode as well. Similarly, the challenging **keu** 'teases' sometimes take the form of overt **tekatekao** 'gossip' (i.e., performed in full hearing of the subject of gossip) by the caregivers, thus modeling this form as well.

a. **Tekao!** 'Talk!' **Pe'au!** 'Say!'

A variety of straightforward attempts to elicit talk from children were made by caregivers. The discursive functions ranged from encouraging their abilities to perform for an audience to sharpening their capacities to report on the doings of others. For the caregivers, these performances fed their own desire for **tekatekao** 'gossip'

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while also providing an opportunity for verbal **keu** 'play' with the children.

The generalized command **Tekao!** 'Talk!,' although employed quite a bit by caregivers, did not generally produce much in the way of 'natural discourse' (the ambivalence manifested by these awkward attempts to elicit talk and the children's subsequent resistance to the taping process was discussed in the last chapter). The youngest children simply shut up or said **Non!** in response, while older children would begin quizzing me on my **'enana** (especially the Teikikaine children).

On the other hand, **Himene!** 'Sing!' did sometimes bring results, in part because children have been schooled in church, prayer groups, and catechism class to sing little songs in both **'enana** and ***français*** on command. However, the command still worked best if the taping situation resembled in some fashion the natural context for such a rehearsal. For instance, when the request was made to the two-year-old Siki by Moi, who happened to be his catechism class teacher, he performed at length (S6/23.139-157).

Thus, although children are clearly socialized within institutional settings to sing songs, at the level of

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domestic interaction, adults frequently appear to be following the lead of the children in encouraging them to sing. For instance, at one point Siki's grandfather Koua heard Siki beginning to hum and immediately prompted him: **Himene!** (S8/4.160). In this case, both Siki's initiative and his performance were being supported.[5]

Songs were spontaneously produced and encouraged in most families, including hymns learned at church, such as ***Qu'il est formidable!*** *'He (Jesus) is awesome!'* (M8/31.136), children's songs taught at school or catechism, such as **E tahi kaiu manu** 'One little bird' (S10/9.521-536), and popular music picked up from festivals, the radio, and TV, such as the Tahitian dance tune: **Tamure tamure** (M8/31.627), the hit **Ka'oha Ua Pou** (popularized by a Tahitian) (T7/27.1,16), and ditties such as the Tarzan call **oi-i-oi** and phrase *Me Tarzan* -- produced in the 'pidgin English' Tarzan made famous (M6/23.910-2). Songs in all of these genres occurred in ***français***, **'enana**, and **tahiti**.

Another elicitation command heard with regularity in all households prior to eating was the call to prayer. This was not always addressed to any particular individual but served as a sort of communal imperative to gather round and

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pray so that eating could commence -- in ***français*** as: ***Fais la prière!*** *'Do the prayer!'* (e.g., T5/13.213) and in **'enana**, as: **'A pure!** 'Pray!' (M8/5.218).

Sometimes even young children initiated the call (probably in part because they knew they were not allowed to eat until the prayer was done), at times commanding an even younger child to do the prayer. For example, in the Teikikaine family the four-year-old Teani directed her three-year-old sister Tahia to pray, but then (perhaps frustrated that Tahia showed no signs of doing it) set out to do it herself within the same turn:

**Hia, *fais la prière!*....Aish!....Te Motua, te Tama....*Au nom du Père, du Fils, du...Saint Esprit.* Amen. *Benissez-nous, Seigneur.***
Hia, *do the prayer!*...Aish!....The Father, the Child....*In the name of the Father, the Son, the...Holy Spirit. Amen. Bless us, Lord.* (M8/5.181-3)

The meal prayer was always this simple invocation of the trinity and request for a benediction.[6] And versions in both ***français*** and **'enana** were heard in all of the families, sometimes at the same seating (or even same turn, as above).

Although everyone was expected to participate, the mothers discussed with me which of their children were not properly enunciating the words. For example, Tapu

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criticized her two sons, explaining that five-year-old Pio was not really even saying the words and that three-year-old Poutini blurred them (T5/13.218 note). And while helping me transcribe eleven-year-old Perena's attempts to lead the others in an **'enana** version of the prayer (N5/10.610),[7] Noella faulted her children for mumbling and said that it was because in speaking **'enana** they were afraid of showing their mistakes.

On site, too, caregivers were explicitly critical of younger children's errors. For example, Tapu shamed Pio: **Teka ta Pio!** 'Pio's fault/sin!' (T5/13.219). And even younger caregivers sometimes corrected younger children. For instance, ten-year-old Tehina stepped in to perform the prayer after Teani's attempt above. Nonetheless, sometimes the children competed for the opportunity to lead the others in the prayer -- as Pio had in the instance for which Tapu faulted him: **Eia! *C'est moi qui va faire. Doucement, doucement***! 'Hey! *It's me who's going to do* (the prayer). *Slow down, slow down!*' (T5/13.215-7). Perhaps Tapu's reprimand was as much due to his having made a prideful and overweening (by syncretic Catholic and **'enana** standards) claim to being able to do it, as for the fact that he was

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not yet able to do it.

However, the most successful direct ploy for eliciting speech from children is the **'enana** version of the 'say-it' routine found world-wide (Miller 1982; Schieffelin 1990; Ochs and Schieffelin 1984) in which a caregiver commands a child to say such-and-such, providing the exact words, syntactic structure, intonational contour, and appropriate pragmatic cues for the child to copy. In this way, the child learns both what to say and how to say it in a given context (as well as how to accomplish certain ends such as pleading, blaming, claiming or denying which are discussed below).[3]

Sometimes the utterance is introduced by the metalinguistic verb **pe'au/*dis*** 'say' (or some other similar *verbe dice*) as occurs in the following example in which the two-year-old Siki was being taught to respond to a ringing telephone. The phone rang and his 16-year-old aunt Tahia commanded him: ***Allez. Allez. 'A to'o. Allez... Pe'au: Allo.*** *'Go. Go.* Take (the telephone). *Go...* Say: *Hello.'* Siki picked up the receiver and tried to put it to his face: ***Allo.*** *'Hello'* (S7/7.10-11). Siki's grandfather then took the phone from Siki and talked. After the phone call

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was finished, this routine was repeated although the phone had not rung and there was no one at the other end of the line -- in other words, the second instance of the routine functioned as a practice session (S7/7.12-14).

At other times, the imperative frame is only pragmatically implied. For instance, in the course of engaging Siki in a number of mocking **pe'au** exchanges with me -- telling me to pick lemons and calling me stupid for getting rotten ones -- Moi initiated a **pe'au** routine without immediately providing the imperative mount: **E-Kate, Menike 'oe?** 'Hey Kate, are you an American?' In this case, perhaps having heard her directive as a question, Siki responded: **E!** 'Yes!' At this point Moi inserted the explicit directive: **Menike.... Pe'au 'ia Kate: Menike 'oe?** 'American.... Say to Kate: Are you American?' (S6/16.111-113).

In another instance, I arrived at Tati Teresi and Tonton Iku's house and greeted the two-year-old: **Ka'oha, Siki**. When Siki did not immediately respond, his uncle commanded: **Ka'oha....*Bonjour*, Kate. Ka'oha, Kate. Pe'au. Ai?** 'Hello....*Hello*, Kate. Hello, Kate. Say. Please.' (S10/9.2-3). In this case, too, the **pe'au** directive did not precede the modeled utterance, but only came afterwards when

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Siki showed no inclination to comply.

As in these last two cases, and unlike the first example in which Siki repeated the utterance provided, not all **pe'au** routines are successful at the illocutionary level -- i.e., the child does not immediately produce the utterance as requested. This may occur for any number of more or less obvious reasons (e.g., the child is occupied elsewhere and does not hear, misunderstands the referential or pragmatic intent, or rebelliously ignores the request). Nonetheless, frequently children comply with **pe'au** commands and the cumulative effect is that of children being taught to model their utterances on those of their caregivers.

Elicitations of formulaic utterances do not always take the form of explicit **pe'au** sequences. That is, the utterance is not always requested by representing it in direct, pre-ported speech forms -- i.e., with the intonation, exact words, and deictics appropriate to the intended speaker already provided.[3] Sometimes the requested utterances are represented using indirect or quasi-direct speech, or simply some epitomized version of the ritual utterance required. In one example, Koua scolded Siki: **'A'e 'oe ka'oha 'ia mea, 'ia Kate?** Translated literally the

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greeting **ka'oha** is being used as a performative verb, i.e., 'You don't **ka'oha** (say **ka'oha**) to what's her name, to Kate?' (S6/23.1). Although clearly a rhetorical question intended to shame Siki for not having greeted me properly, the utterance is also interpretable as an implied **pe'au** command: 'Say: **Ka'oha**.' In other words, such a form does not 'teach' language usage quite as explicitly. Nonetheless, even when samples of speech are not directly offered in **pe'au** sequences, directives to perform do have many of the same pragmatic socializing effects, including that of eliciting speech acts deemed appropriate in certain contexts. Additionally, these routines manifest the presumption that children have already learned and thus ought to be capable of performing specific speech forms.

However, when direct speech is projected, **pe'au** routines operate as instruction in how to produce well-formed utterances (phonologically, lexically, and syntactically). In addition, these speech events act as indices of the ideologies concerning the acquisition of these linguistic resources. In Hatiheu, these language acquisition ideologies show signs of both Polynesian and Western influences.

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First of all, older **'Enana**, most of whom have not had more than six years of education, tend to elicit syntactically complete sentences, much as Schieffelin found that the Kaluli do (1990). That is, when constructing a **pe'au** routine, these caregivers model multi-word utterances even when the child addressee is not yet apt to repeat these in their entirety. By contrast, younger **'enana** caregivers, immersed at present and since they were two in the Western educational system, focus instead on eliciting labels, as is frequently found in Western language socialization studies. For instance, all of the children tested my progress in **'enana** by trying to elicit single words (mostly nouns) from me in that code.

An example of this contrast in elicitation methods is provided by the following instance in which Siki's grandmother elicited a complete phrase while her eleven-year-old son Rafa focused on extracting individual words (S7/21.166-174):

166. Pahio: **Il faut pe'au, Bébé, il faut pe'au ('i) te Madame. Pe'au: 'A'e he meika pa'a.**
'You must say, Baby, you must say (to) the Madame. Say: There are no ripe bananas.'
167. Rafa: **Bé.**
'Babe.'
168. Siki: **Mm.** {listening}

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169. Rafa: **He mea...he mea.**
'None...none.'
170. Siki: **He mea.**
171. Rafa: **Meika.**
'Bananas.'
172. Siki: **Meika.**
173. Rafa: **Pa'a.**
'Ripe.'
174. Siki: **Pa'a.**

A more complex example of this contrast in **hao'e** and **'enana** styles is found in example #19 in which Koua, Rafa, and I were all engaged in a similar objective, that of getting Siki to talk about where he was planning to go and what he was planning to do now that he had succeeded in having himself mounted up on Koua's horse (S8/4:171-187).

Rafa and I both elicited responses to questions using Western school format (171, 172, 174). Rafa was satisfied with Siki's one-word answers in the affirmative (173 and 175) and engaged in the imaginative activity of going, as he exclaimed: **Ha'i!** 'Let's go!' (176). I, on the other hand, continued with a series of yes-no questions to which Siki did not respond (177, 179, 182). Invested as I was in the goals of those most involved in the revival movement who lament the loss of culturally rich and semantically specific vocabulary, I wanted Siki to produce a range of verbs appropriate to the task of doing copra: **ha'apuke** 'piling'

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the coconuts, **para** 'husking' them (or **taki** 'pull off' as I imprecisely began), in addition to **vahi** 'chopping' them open (the latter verb being the one used to characterize the act of doing copra in the formulaic phrase **vahi 'ehi**). Rafa, attuned to my interest in eliciting a particular word, provided in a one-word labeling act the correct alternative **para** for my and Siki's edification (183).

Siki's grandfather, on the other hand, used a **pe'au** routine to model a complete phrase (180, 186), and not being oriented toward any Western-style pedagogical focus on widening a child's vocabulary, he focused instead on making Siki perform the syntactically complete but semantically general sentence: **E hano au te 'ehi vahi.** 'I'm going to do copra.' In response to these commands, Siki attempted to **pe'au** as directed (181, 185, 187), but having at this point in his development produced few utterances larger than two words, he never got beyond an approximation of the semantic kernel of Koua's modeled sentence: **Vahi 'ehi** 'copra'.

This Western-style emphasis on labeling recurs in an example of a school routine Rafa had been practicing with Siki. Telling me that he wanted to show me how he had been teaching Siki ***français***, Rafa engaged Siki in repeating the

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following -- short phrase by short phrase: ***Je m'appelle Jérome. J'habite Hatiheu. Je suis né à Bora Bora, le 22 avril, mille neuf cent quatre-vingt douze.*** 'My name is Jerome. I live in Hatiheu. I was born in Bora Bora on April 22, 1992' -- on this last, they both hesitated as it ought to have been 1991 (S8/4 note).

In another instance, Rafa elicited Siki's production of several MQ nouns (**manu** 'bird', **ke'a** 'rock', **ika** 'fish', and **tupa** 'crab') to prove to me Siki's abilities in **'enana** as well. And when Siki mispronounced **tupa** as **tupo**, Rafa broke it down into syllables: **Non. Tu...**, and Siki repeated: **Tu.** Rafa said: **Pa**, and Siki produced: **Po**. Rafa reprimanded: **Tupa, c'est pas tupo**. '**Tupa**, it's not **tupo**' (S5/12.53-59). Rafa, the exacting schoolmaster, also enjoyed mocking Siki for his pronunciation of words as happened in example #20 with respect to ***pamplemousse***. In this case, Rafa exaggerated Siki's attempts more and more preposterously as **popeloushi...popoushu...mushe** (S8/19.474-9).

**Pe'au** sequences also sometimes happen 'naturally', i.e., children repeat in unsolicited fashion the speech of their caregivers. That is, no one says **pe'au** or appears to be trying to make anyone **pe'au**, and yet children repeat what

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has been said in ways that sometimes produce interactions that in a number of ways resemble **pe'au** routines. For instance, one morning Pahio was distracting Siki from following his favorite aunt Teresi by telling him what she was going to do: **'A hano Tati 'eka**. 'Auntie is going to get ginger.' Siki spontaneously repeated this, apparently confused as to the significance: **Tativa?** Pahio corrected: **'Eka**. 'Ginger.' He said it again, articulating it successfully this time: **'Eka**. She went on to elaborate: **Mea ho**. 'For massage.' Siki successfully repeated: **Ho.** 'Massage.' Pahio continued: **Ki'i**. 'Skin' (i.e., one rubs the ginger lotion into the skin for the massage). Siki repeated: **Ki'i**. 'Skin.' Pahio explained further: **No 'oe.** 'For you.' Siki did not repeat, and Pahio returned to her original command for him to stay and not go with his aunt (S8/4.374-384).

Caregiver awareness of this behavior by children was explicitly noted, for instance, by Manu who commented on her three-year-old daughter Tahia's tendency to repeat the phrases of others. That these spontaneous performances trigger caregiver awareness, corrections, and clarifications is evidence of how children may manifest some agency in the

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language socialization process. For example, having heard Tapu and her oldest daughter discussing how some compote for the crepes must be **mahanahana** 'warmed' before it could be eaten, five-year-old Pio inquired: **Hahana?** to which his mother responded, offering the corrected form: **Mahanahana,** which he then correctly produced (T5/13.119). In other words, he was apparently interested not only in having the compote heated but also in clarifying his knowledge of this word.

Frequently caregivers have more self-interested motives for ventriloquizing through a child -- i.e., motives that have less of a pedagogical objective. Nonetheless, these practices provide the context and impetus for multiple language socialization effects. These motives resemble those of peers who tell each other to deliver a message to someone else, instances of these being common enough within all the families. For example, Tapu said to her husband: **'A pe'au 'oe 'ia Vaetui: Hano mai te tama iti.** 'Say to Vaetui: Bring the little baby' (T4/18.314). He did as she requested, repeating the phrase but adding an **aia** 'please'. Requests such as this function as triadic directives in which the speaker tells a second party to tell a third party

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to do something that the first party wishes accomplished. What these verbal directives among peers lack is the didactic function of eliciting performances of speech from children in order to instruct them not only in what to say but also how to say it.

Similarly, caregiver-child **pe'au** routines also sometimes manifest a number of objectives having nothing to do with teaching language. For instance, caregivers may command a child to **pe'au** in order to distract the child from engaging in some other undesirable behavior such as whining, as when, in order to stop her four-year-old Tava from crying after a hundred-franc piece ten-year-old Tehina had found, Noella told him: ***Va di(re) à Papa: Viens, café.*** *'Go say to Papa: Come, eat'* (N10/22.43). And in the ***pamplemousse*** example (#20) eleven-year-old Rafa attempted to make two-year-old Siki say the word and quit pleading for the grapefruit (S8/19.550-1).

In other instances, caregivers initiate **pe'au** routines in order to influence some third party. Either the child is used to request something from someone else, as when in example #9 Poea sent his five-year-old son Pio to request cigarette papers from their neighbor Teii. Or the child

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might be simply transmitting a command or invitation as in Noella's **pe'au** above (although trying to distract Tava, she was also interested in calling Mimi in to eat). In both cases, the caregivers were aware that this (the conveying of important messages) was the sort of task the boys would take pleasure in performing (and thus a good way to distract them as well).

Some caregivers, especially older children, may have subversive motives for enlisting certain speech acts from smaller children -- i.e., an older child may tell a young child to request something which the initiator would have less chance being granted if s/he were to ask for it directly. For instance, Siki's nine-year-old cousin Titi teasingly instructed him to go tell Koua to catch the chicken they were watching, presumably so they could eat it (S5/12.77). Although a pretend command, this nonetheless illustrates the sort of requests young caregivers in particular use children for.

And even adults may use such avenues to seek out evasive means to manipulate those over whom they have no overt authority. In example #8, Tapu constructed a multivalent **pe'au** sequence along these lines. On the

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surface, she was instructing her older daughters to 'beg' for money from their teacher to go on the school trip (T5/13.367). This explicit **pe'au** was a joking command, the infelicitous intent made obvious by her wheedling tone and by the fact that she would never seriously instruct her school-aged children to 'beg' from anyone (especially a **demi** as was discussed previously). However, this sarcastic comment was underlyingly also directed at her overhearing husband as she was anticipating his unwillingness to provide the funds. By the end of her **tekatekao**, it turned out that Tapu was planning to go herself on the trip -- ostensibly to be sure the children were properly supervised -- and thus was using this convoluted interaction as a way to request from her husband both the funds and the permission for them all to go.

Additionally, caregivers may try to instigate a child's performance in order to construct entertainment for other participants in the speech event (including both family intimates and visitors such as myself). In some cases, the goal was that of encouraging the child to show off for an outsider (I frequently acted the part of the impressed third party in all the families -- whether for Siki's antics or

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Noella's children's literacy performances).

In other cases, the objective was that of eliciting speech which would make a small child appear silly or rebellious. For instance, during the ***pamplemousse*** sequence, Rafa became primarily interested in eliciting and teasing Siki for his phonological incompetencies. And another time, Rafa encouraged Siki to refuse to kiss his aunt Teresi good-bye and to say it was because she was 'sick', for which the two-year-old was soundly scolded (S8/19.616-27). In another instance, Teresi explained that Rafa had taught Siki to refer to his youngest aunt (and primary caregiver) Tahia as **make** 'monkey', taunting her for not being beautiful. This dialogic insult apparently had some real (and not altogether humorous) impact on Tahia as she swore back at Siki: **Ae! Sac(redieu)!** 'Yah! *Goddamn*!' (S8/19.743-6). Not only did these subtle manipulations set up amusing situations for Rafa, they also allowed him to mock his sisters indirectly.

I also noted two ventriloquizing routines that superficially resembled **pe'au** routines except that the prelinguistic babies involved could not have been expected to produce the utterances being modeled for them. In one example, after Noella finished giving the four-month old

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baby Hina her bath, Mimi complained: 'What a mess!' Noella reported to me that she told the baby to respond: 'But Papa's here to clean up after me' (N10/22.134). In the other case (example #6), Tapu spoke for baby Aere as if he were introducing the two of us (him and me) to some third party. In both cases the utterances were pragmatically constructed in such a way as to be directed bivalently toward some undesignated audience as well as covertly toward an overhearing third party who was the subject of the utterance. In the first case, the exchange operated as an implied and ventriloquized request for the overhearer Mimi to help out in cleaning up. In the second case, Tapu was providing me with Aere's French name. In other words, the probably primary function of the exchange was that of the caregivers' communication with the third party, ventriloquized in such a way as to make it amusing or at least inoffensive, but effective.

However, it was also clear that given the way Noella reported the incident to me, she at some level conceived of herself as offering the baby instruction in how to interact in such a situation. Similarly, I believe that Tapu was offering Aere some basic modeling in how to behave politely

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(more is made of this incident below). In other words, the prelinguistic babies in both cases were being embedded in a dramatic 'triadic' communication in which they could not as yet play a speaking role. Among the Kaluli, children are not engaged in 'say-it' routines until they show themselves to be linguistically prepared to repeat the demonstrated utterance with some accuracy (Ochs and Schieffelin 1984). But as mentioned above, both Tapu and Noella did not appear to share the ideology concerning the limited communicative capabilities of babies evinced by other Pacific peoples, evidencing instead beliefs resembling those of Westerners who think that their babies understand and respond very early. Thus, it is not surprising that both involved their babies in mock-**pe'au** routines which would model their social communicative roles even though the babies were not expected to actually **pe'au**.

All of the routines discussed so far function to elicit verbal performances from children in ways that usually have some sort of effect and thus teach the children what they can anticipate in the way of effective communication. In addition, the elicited performances provide caregivers with an opportunity to judge -- either applauding or criticizing

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-- these verbal productions.

Interestingly, no verbal performance in Hatiheu was ever met with the sort of positive feedback commonly found in WAMC child-caregiver interactions. That is, no child's articulation was ever complimented with anything along the lines of: 'Well said!' or 'Good job!' On the other hand, critical response was found with some frequency and, in its fairly precise linguistic focus, revealed some interesting aspects of the local ideology about language acquisition and the metapragmatic functions of language.

First of all, the explicitly pedagogic nature of the **pe'au** routine is indexed by the fact that caregivers not only elicited the production of an utterance, but also sometimes manifested their dissatisfaction with an imperfect performance. That is, **pe'au** routines create situations in which both the linguistic forms and communicative acts of children can be criticized and reformulated. For example, in the excerpt discussed above about riding the horse to do copra, Koua tried to instruct Siki in how to move beyond his partial rendering of the requested **pe'au** and form the utterance correctly.

Such corrections may also become entangled in issues of

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ethnolinguistic identity. Thus, in one example from Manu's family (M6/23.877-884), Moi and ten-year-old Tehina criticized seven-year-old Tikare for MQing the FR word ***jus*** 'juice' into **su** even though he was at the time speaking **'enana**. This correction was tied to local notions about the salience of phonologically altering loans.[10]

Another example (T5/13.533-8) is provided by Tapu's inquisition of her five-year-old son over his usage of **mango**, which she explicitly interpreted during the transcription session as an example of the dialect of their neighbors, the Taipivai (in fact, this is the primary shibboleth example provided by **'Enana** of Taipivai dialect):

533. Pio: ***C'est moi qui a cherché le* mango.**
[*It's me who got the* mango[TP].]
534. Tapu: **Mangooo?**
[Mangooo[TP]?]
535. Pio: ***Oui, le* mangong.**
[*Yes, the* mango[?].]
536. Tapu: **Mako...mako.**
[Mango...mango[MQN].]
537. Pio: ***Non. Le mangue.***
[*No. The mango*[FR].]
538. Tapu: ***Pourquoi alors tu dis* mango?**
[*So why do you say* mango[TP]?]

From this exchange, it appears that she would have been equally satisfied with him using either ***mangue*** (considered

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***français*) or mako** (considered the **'enana** dialect of Hatiheu he was expected to speak). She was not correcting his **sarapia** in this instance, but rather his usage of an ethnolinguistic identity marker of which she did not approve.

I only recorded a couple of examples of MQ syntax being corrected -- both by Siki's grandmother and both involving the possessive particle. In one case, she was telling him to clean some dirt with soap. Siki repeated: **Pu'a?** 'Soap?' She replied: **E. Na 'oe pu'a**. 'Yes. Your[A] soap' {as well as yours[A] to wash}. Siki responded: ***No 'oe?** 'Yours[*I]?' to which Pahio replied: **Na 'oe.** 'Yours[A]', emphasizing the correct possessive particle, while also correcting his attribution of responsibility -- i.e., it was his soap and his to clean, not hers. In his reply, Siki accepted the syntactic correction, but not the responsibility: **Naaa 'oe.** 'Yours[A]' (S7/21.338-342). In the second case, later that morning, she corrected his usage of an alienable possessive for a shoe. This time he repeatedly refused the inalienable possessive she was suggesting, while also continuing to insist that the shoe belonged to his uncle Huki.

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Interestingly, I recorded no examples of adult caregivers correcting children's production of ***français*** except when they were reading. For instance, Tapu aided her nine-year-old daughter Vaetui in producing a number of words she had trouble with while reading the consent form I had brought. First, she mocked her stumbling over ***étudiante***, and provided it instead. When Vaetui used the wrong gender in saying ***la langue marquisien***, Tapu interposed ***marquisienne***. When Vaetui in a deictically logical transposition replaced ***vous*** 'you' with ***nous*** 'us' in my form (which said that I wanted to spend a year ***chez vous***), Tapu insisted on the written original. When Tapu corrected Vaetui's pronunciation of ***enregistrer***, Vaetui objected: ***E, j'ai dit***. *'Yes, I said* (that).' But Tapu insisted: ***Tu as dit JUstrer.*** *'You said: JUstrer.'* Vaetui responded: ***J'ai dit: justrer***. *'I said: justrer.'* And Tapu corrected once more: ***GI!*** Vaetui did not try the word again but went on. A couple of words later Tapu corrected her liaison of ***de temps en temps***. And when Vaetui, trying again, came up with: ***deux entends***, Tapu mimicked her and laughed hilariously (T3/11.630-69).

Similarly, Noella corrected her nine-year-old daughter

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Tehina's pronunciation while reading from ***Le Dauphin Blanc***: first of ***d'horreur***, which had come out ***d'oreilles*** (the four-year-old Tava, hearing this, repeated it and laughed) as well as her lack of liaison in ***sans impatience*** (N3/6.177-80). Additionally, when Tehina tried to correct Noella's interpretation of what was wrong with leaving the ***eau de Javel*** outside the cabinet (concerning the safety pamphlet in example #4), saying one must not touch it with one's hands, Noella responded by correcting both Tehina's misconception about chlorine, as well as her pronunciation of ***Javel***. Tehina had dropped the /l/ and raised the /E/ to /e/ (N9/10E.71-3).

The fact that caregivers explicitly correct (and discuss the fact that they correct) children's speech is indicative not only of how language is acquired, but also of language acquisition ideology -- i.e., the metalinguistic ideology about this process. However, it was not clear from my data base, that these correcting practices were all that common. Indeed, I would hypothesize that these were the trickle-down result of Western schooling methods, and that mother's self-reports concerning this behavior may well have been exaggerated based on the Western ideology that teaching

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children language ought to include supervision and correction. Again this must be contrasted with research in Western Samoa and Bosavi where correction of this kind is for the most part absent (although more general expressions of critique of children's speech is found among the Kaluli -- for example, children engaged in babbling would be told not to talk like birds [Schieffelin 1990]). Although language is 'taught' through 'say-it' routines, correcting specific 'errors' would entail more of a child-centric stance for caregivers than is normally found there. On the other hand, mocking corrections such as these also promote the acquisition of strategies of resistance to accusations of misspeaking as was found in Samoa by Ochs (1991) -- i.e., a Polynesian notion of teaching children to respond to 'challenges'.

All of the performance elicitation routines examined so far manifest a plethora of psychosocial functions still to be discussed. However, in terms of their **hakako** 'teaching' functions, the Western school-style format of elicitating labels and correcting or scaffolding pronunciation and word-choice appears to have the effect of decontextualizing the language acquisition process. By contrast, other forms of

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**pe'au** routines provide not only the words and syntactic structures of an utterance, but also dialogically engage children in the practice of interacting in ways appropriate to particular contexts. In these **pe'au** routines, children learn to use code choices, speech acts, intonation and timing, etiquette and insult morphemes, all of which together operate as multivalent indices of subservience, authority, and/or a stance for negotiating the grey space in between. The content of the lesson is complex: not only how to form commands, requests, offers, and reports, but also why -- that is, what one must know about the interlocutors and the situation, in order to know how to form one's utterances in this way. Thus, the syncretic language acquisition ideology manifested by these language socialization practices in Hatiheu is affecting not only the learning of language but also the learning of how to learn through interaction.

b. ***Attention!*** To what and to whom and in what manner?

A number of socializing strategies are used to elicit verbal performances, ranging from purely phatic

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communications to reports of locally salient information. At either end of this spectrum, these socializing strategies provide guidance for children in how and to whom to talk about what. That is, they are taught who is important in their social universe and what is worth saying to them in what manner. In particular, children begin to understand about how to express **ka'oha** on the one hand and ***politesse*** on the other.

As was discussed earlier, many expressions of ***politesse*** are employed in the discussion of Western topics and in the context of the sort of formal acquaintanceships that were set in motion by colonialism. By contrast, expressions of **ka'oha** are meant to be reserved for more intimate relationships and contexts and are used to initiate discussions of subjects of indigenous concern. However, at present in daily socializing practice, it is not always easy to distinguish between the origins of these forms nor their functions with respect to teaching children the identities and relational distance of others. Still, I found some interesting patterns emerging from this study and propose here some tentative explanations for these.

Various French socializing routines for instilling

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polite verbal interaction as well as other phatic forms are now embedded in everyday discourse both between **'Enana** and with outsiders. The etiquette terms being taught are familiar enough to Westerners: e.g., ***bonjour***, ***allo***, ***s'il te plaît***, ***merci***, or ***pardon***. Directives to perform these sometimes take the form of direct **pe'au** routines as for example, a command to: ***Dis: Merci***. *'Say: Thank you'* (T3/11.611-14). Other times the directive is implied via promptings such as: ***Comment on dit?*** *'What do you say?'*, implying, Say: ***Merci***.(S7/7.120), or as in the **'enana** version directed at Siki by his nine-year-old cousin Titi: **E aha te mea ine'i pe'au 'oe 'ia Kate?** 'What's the thing here you say to Kate?' -- meaning, thank Kate for the crayons (S9/4.325).[11]

One other variation on this routine is that of the generalizing command which points out how this situation is a model for all other such situations in which the performance of this formula is expected. For example, when sweeping around a visitor, one ought to warn her rather than just bumping into her: ***On dit à Kate: Pardon!*** *'One (we/you) says to Kate: Excuse me!'* (N5/10.202).

Depending on who is speaking, when and to whom, these

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**pe'au** imperatives may appear as total or only partial switches into ***français***. For example, Siki's eleven-year-old uncle Rafa tended to use entirely ***français***: ***Dis: S'il te plaît***. *'Say: Please'* (S7/21.142) whereas Siki's older uncle Iku would use **'enana** to frame the requested speech act which was to be in ***français***: **'A'e pe'au'īa: *Merci*?** 'Not said: *Thank you?* (S10/9.719)[12]

However, the forms and concerns of the larger routine within which these imperatives were framed seem at times more indigenous. For instance, in the example in which Siki was being taught to answer the phone (discussed in the section on **pe'au** routines above), both the physical medium and the conversational routine were clearly imported[13] (this being a ritualized Western exchange CA folks [e.g., Schegloff 1972] have spent a lot of ink on). However, the fact that Siki's socialization in the art of using it was, nonetheless, playfully engaged is indicative of indigenous socialization ideology and practice: first of the pleasure **'Enana** take in small children, and secondly of the ways in which children are directly instructed in what and how to communicate.

Another instance of the syncretic nature of

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socialization routines is found in the example (#6) in which Tapu mediated my involvement with her prelinguistic son Aere using a ventriloquizing routine. Aere (11 months old) had been trying to play with my tape recorder and we had all tried various ways of telling him not to, beginning with the three-year-old Poutini's inappropriate: **A'a! poriki!** 'There! Idiot!' (T3/11.109). Tapu created a formal interdiction by using his longer **'enana** name and 'no' in ***français***: **Aeretoarii, *non!*** (110). I attempted to distract him by initiating a ritualized greeting in **'enana**, but hesitated for lack of knowing (or rather for being unable to pronounce the long name Tapu had just iterated), and so finished it off with the term of endearment for any baby in ***français***: **Ka'oha...*Bébé!*** (111-113).

Laughing at my clumsy efforts to take the baby up and away from the tape recorder (and at my apology for my incompetence, my excuse being that I had never had a baby), Tapu gathered him into her lap, faced him toward me (indigenous style), and produced the mock-formal presentation in ***français***: ***Elle, c'est Kate, moi, c'est Patrice.*** *'She is Kate, I am Patrice'* (114).

The only deictically logical way to read this utterance

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is as a ventriloquized presentation by Aere/Patrice of both himself and me to some imaginary third party. In this pretend scenario he and I would already know each other, but the third party would be meeting us both for the first time. In real space-time, this multifunctional socializing utterance operated at several levels, and as such was a fine example of Tapu's **keu** skills at creatively combining caregiver **ka'oha**, culture broker **ka'oha** (i.e., with outsiders), and ***politesse***. First, the utterance managed to distract him from my tape recorder. Secondly, it worked as a playful, face-to-face introduction between Aere and me. Finally, it served as a socializing interaction for both of us (even though, as mentioned above, he was at the time incapable of reproducing this etiquette form and was in any case years away from needing to). In other words, the etiquette form is Western. However, the attempt to model and request an utterance in this way (even before a child is speaking), specifically the ventriloquizing display of **ka'oha** toward a stranger, as well as the use of such a playful form to distract the baby, are all Oceanic in origin.

One other syncretic example (#16) was occasioned by my

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assistant Moi bringing the two-year-old Siki a t-shirt from Tahiti on one of our initial recording visits. His grandmother spent a lot of energy attempting to make Siki respond appropriately to this gesture. The exchange was framed at start and finish by her failed directives for Siki to: ***Dis: Bonjour, Tati.*** *'Say: Hello, Auntie'* (S6/9.10, 50) -- i.e., to engage in a form of French-style ***politesse***. However, much of the speech event had more to do with **'enana** concerns and forms of discourse.

First of all, Moi's gift-giving was driven by the very conventional **'enana** motive of trying to compensate the family for her breach of local decorum in having imposed such a **Hao'e** anomaly as myself, my tape recorder, and my unfathomable intentions onto this household.

Secondly, the chain of report requests in which Pahio unsuccessfully attempted to enlist Siki not only followed indigenous elicitation format, but also represented indigenous concerns: whom the present was for, whom it was from, where it came from, whether it wasn't very pretty, and whether they shouldn't save it for Sunday. Finally, she succeeded in pummelling him into saying ***Merci, Tati*** (S6/9.49).

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However, Moi was not Siki's actual aunt and though in a class of people he might theoretically have considered a fictive aunt, she was not someone from whom he was accustomed to receiving gifts. In other words, it comes as no surprise that he had some trouble capitulating to his grandmother's leads. In fact, he seemed genuinely confused about what aunt had brought him his shirt and Pahio was very explicit about pointing out that it was the so-called 'aunt' there in the room with him and not any one of at least six other aunts by birth or marriage he might be thinking of, not to mention the fictive ones he already recognized as important in his social universe.

In other words, the whole procedure appeared to be an attempt by Pahio to manage, using ***politesse*** as indexical frame, the awkwardness of receiving a gift from someone to whom she would now, **'enana**-style, be feeling indebted.

In addition to the socialization of French forms of greeting and of politely asking for and receiving objects or services, **pe'au** routines are also used to teach more obviously **'enana** modes of polite interaction. In particular, **pe'au** routines were used to instill a child with courteous address forms for others. For instance, in the

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episode above, Siki was being taught not only to say 'thank you', but also how to address Moi. That is, part of what was being taught in local terms was who his **Tati** were and how to address them.[4]

On this afternoon, he was being instructed that any older woman with some claim to intimacy with the family (all of whom might at some earlier stage of colonialism have been called **Mama**) was to be called **Tati**. However, in another incident, his Pahio tried to school him to address the 17-year-old who had just moved in with his Tonton Taiara as **Tati** (S8/4.344). In other words, 'aunts' could also be created by marriage regardless of age.

In the instance of Poea instructing his five-year-old son Pio in how to ask their neighbor Teii for cigarette papers (discussed in the **pe'au** section), what turned out to be significant (i.e., worthy of ridicule) was the fact that Pio got the address form wrong (T7/27.3-106). This inappropriate remark on Pio's part turned out to be a source of some hilarity rather than shame for his parents, perhaps because of who Teii was (something of a dangerous fool) or perhaps because of their inclination toward **keu**.

This man was also involved in an interesting reversal

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on the ***politesse*** children were normally taught to accord to older persons. In this instance (example #12), Moi was engaging Manu's children in a lesson about respecting people's rights to the produce of their own trees and gardens. When they accidentally let her in on the fact that they had taken some **vi** (a kind of apple) from her tree and put it in their freezer, they tried to slough off the blame on Teii, saying that he was the one who got the fruit down. Using a **pe'au** routine, she told them to scold him next time for taking the fruit without permission, and even to kick him in the butt for it (M6/23.966).

By contrast, Manu scolded her children in no uncertain terms for having referred to their aunt Moi as simply Moi instead of Tati Moi, asking in a distressed rhetorical tone: **Te mea hakako'īa 'ia 'otou: 'iō Moi?** 'The thing taught to you (to say): at Moi's?' In fact, only eleven-year-old Tehina had referred to Moi in this way (as she was speaking to me about the vegetables I had been growing at Moi's house). By contrast, the eight-year-old Puhe had referred to Moi as Tati Moi, a point he made very clear over the next couple of turns, using a dialogic response switch to ***français*: *J'ai appelé Tati Moi, moi.*** *'I called (her) Tati*

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*Moi, me.'* In other words, he switched to ***français*** not only as a rhetorical denial, but also as a metonymic index of his ***politesse*** (M8/31.992-1008)

As was discussed in Chapter VI, despite the oft-noted lack of words for 'please' and 'thank you' in **'enana**, various forms are available for negotiating demands and moderating keys, i.e., for indexing **ka'oha**. And yet, in all the **pe'au** routines directing children to make requests of others (e.g., when Siki was told to ask Moi for meat [S7/7.111] and Tati for more papaya [S7/7.129]), there was an interesting lack of modeling of the use of these forms. Perhaps this lack of explicit 'teaching' is correlated to the lack of ideological acknowledgement these forms receive from **'Enana**.

Another form of traditional **ka'oha** learned through a **pe'au** form is the *calling-out* routine that is common in Oceania. This routine elicits a child's participation in calling out the name of someone passing by and inviting them to **memai** 'come here' and **kaikai** 'eat'. As in the socialization routines analyzed by Schieffelin (1990) and Watson-Gegeo (1986) in Melanesia and Ochs (1988) in Samoa, in the Marquesas the child is cued to call out the person's

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name and invite them, with or without specifying in imperative mode the speech act to be engaged in, in this case **ta'a** 'call'. Thus, Siki's grandmother engaged him in both ways in the following routine in which he was being directed to invite one of his adolescent uncles to come and eat (S7/7.34-9):

Pahio: **'A ta'a: Huki!** 'Call: Huki!'
Siki: **(H)uki!**
Pahio: **Memai!** 'Come here!'
Siki: **Memai!**
Pahio: **Kaikai!** 'Eat!'
Siki: **Kaikai!**

In this case, the child is being taught to extend hospitality by sharing food and company especially with those for whom s/he is supposed to feel **ka'oha.**

As is true elsewhere in the Pacific, calling out routines are also sometimes launched when there is no actual person in the immediate vicinity to call to, i.e., as more obviously a practice session. For example, Pahio also engaged Siki in a **ta'a** sequence with his biological **Papa** and **Mama** who were in Bora Bora (S6/9.92-9). On the one hand, the caregiver is in this way enticing the child to take part imaginatively in these culturally significant activities. In addition, the child is being encouraged to think and talk

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about the people who stand in an important relationship to him or her even if they are not present. If, however, the addressees are within earshot, children are front-row participant-observers in a larger set of interactive concerns which now unroll before them, having to do with expressing concern and engaging in gossip.

The question **Pehea 'oe?** 'Where are you going?' asked in greeting of anyone walking by proves to be archetypal of the train of investigation engaged in by **'enana** (by contrast with the *How are you?* in America). And children act not only as observers of this invitation to gossip, they are also fully engaged in it. They are engaged not only when they themselves go walking by someone else's house, but also when their caregivers invite others in to eat and talk. Children are drawn through these interactions into the larger communicative practice of 'doing sociality'. Questions such as this prove to be illustrative of another highly productive way of eliciting talk from children, i.e., that of engaging them in what CA scholars refer to as question/answer (Q/A) sequences.

Some of the Q/A sequences commonly found in Hatiheu have as a discursive goal the acquisition of information (I

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refer to these as *report requests*, stressing in this way its analytic and developmental connection to the reporting genre of **tekatekao** 'gossip'). Other querying routines act as more purely rhetorical ploys (e.g., to challenge the child or simply to involve him or her in some kind of phatic engagement as in the **Pehea 'oe?** greeting). Both may range from playful to shaming keys, and thus both function to orient children toward important features in their social universe and how to interact accordingly.

The referential objective of report requests is that of gleaning details about the child's and others' activities and involvements. That is, on the surface, report requests take the form of a caregiver asking a child to give an account of someone's whereabouts, some event (i.e., details concerning the setting, the participants, their interactions, etc.), or object (i.e., its origins, ownership, etc.). However, at a metapragmatic level, these elicitation strategies teach children the values of various modes of interaction. On the one hand, report requests engage the child directly in **tekatekao** 'gossip'. They also act as challenges to perform and to prove one's credibility, thus embroiling children in the genre of **keu** 'teasing'.

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Children were quizzed ad nauseam on names, relationships, and appropriate address terms for important others, as well as the doings, whereabouts, belongings and responsibilities of these persons. For instance, two-year-old Siki was bombarded with short report requests along the lines of **Sea Koua?** 'Where's Grandpa?' (S6/9.1). Some of these were clearly designed to make him perform for me. This was evidenced by the fact that his one word replies led to frustrated attempts to elicit elaborations on previous short utterances and/or ended in simple commands such as: ***Il faut parler, Bébé!*** **Tekao!** '*You must talk, Baby*! Talk!' (S6/9.9). However, many such questions were also asked in an effort to engage Siki and other children in ongoing discourse about matters of local importance.

Another question asked with some kind of syncretic Oceanic-Western force was **'O ai?** 'Who's that/there?' On the one hand, as already mentioned, it is typical of Pacific cultures that children be socialized into an understanding of their rich and complex social universe. Thus, they are asked to perform their competence in recognizing people by face and name whether it be a neighbor across the road or a family member in the same room. For example, Siki was

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quizzed on the names of his biological mother, father, and older brother (S8/19.221-49), of whom he probably retained little actual memory although he was apparently shown photos in picture albums (obviously photos are not indigenous props, but the recitation of one's ancestors was a pan-Polynesian practice). On the other hand, children would also be routinely quizzed at school as to their own and their parents' names and would be expected to answer up quickly. These were also some of the first questions I was asked by children: who were my parents and where did they live.

Although I do not take code choice to be a clear indication of whether or not a verbal practice belongs to the associated cultural tradition, the choice between names identified as either **'enana** or ***français*** can be more significant as this is such a metapragmatically loaded issue for **'Enana**. Thus, when Siki was drilled on his parents' and brother's names, the fact that **'enana** was used and their **'enana** first names sought indicates to me that this is at least to some extent an **'enana** concern. However, given the way in which Rafa commanded Siki to repeat phrase by phrase in classroom fashion his first name, family name, birth

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place and date (discussed above in the section on **pe'au** routines), all in ***français***, I suspect this of being a largely French-structured practice. Nonetheless, the similarity of French and **'enana** concerns and practices in this respect would point to the emergence of a syncretic system underlying this set of socializing routines.

Two more questions children were frequently asked involved the culturally loaded and intertwined concepts of ownership and responsibility, which happen to be, though not by coincidence I believe, structured grammatically in parallel ways: **Nai tenei mea?** 'Who does that thing belong to?' (literally, 'Whose is that thing?'), and **Nai tenei hana?** 'Who did that?' (more literally 'Whose is that doing?'). Although these two questions frequently function rhetorically to shame a child for having done something wrong or taken something that does not belong to him or her, they also sometimes operate as report requests meant to elicit a child's understanding of the situation (even if the questioner already possesses the information). Either way the referential subject matter is of material interest as the questions point to important principles of ownership and responsibility. And although these issues were asked about

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and argued over in ways not unfamiliar to Westerners, children's reactions within these exchanges were clearly of some real local significance to their questioners.

In one case, the two-year-old Siki's aunt Teresi asked him about a pig being butchered by his grandfather. When Siki insisted it belonged to his favorite uncle Huki, she asked him several pointed questions about who had gone to get it ('whose was the getting') and who was cutting it ('whose was the cutting'). When the replies continued to be in Huki's favor, she laughed it off (S7/7.140-58). However, not long after, she went on for several minutes quizzing Siki about the ownership of a number of items, before Siki got to the 'right' answer -- not Huki, not his grandmother, but his grandfather (7/7.181-266). In this case, it was apparently important that Siki recognize that his grandfather was the head of this extended family, that everything raised, fed, and grown in this household belonged to him, and that much of the labor involved in it was his responsibility (if not his actual doing).

The ubiquity of report requests about persons' identities, relationships, whereabouts, belongings, and actions reflects indigenous cultural concerns, all of which

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recur in adult forms of **tekatekao** 'gossip'. Thus, queries of this kind through which children are engaged in **tekatekao** with persons both within and from beyond their immediate households teach the children not only how to speak about such matters but also their import. That is, they are learning not only about the pieces of their social universe but also how to fit them together using social interaction.

One interesting lacuna in the field of questions was *why?* In most parenting guides read by WAMC parents, children's use of *why?* is treated like an almost hard-wired stage of development -- i.e., as the inevitable and universal index of a child's expanding curiosity, which is then treated as a nearly biological need best met by buying endless *why?* books and computer programs. That many of these *why* questions barely make sense even by Cartesian standards (e.g., Why is your shirt blue?) has not hampered this local language ideology.

In fact, the prevalence of *why?* in the mouths of WAMC children might be better explained as simply one out of any number of possible queries employed by children cross-culturally to insert themselves into social interaction (i.e., questions like **'O ai?**, **Pehea?**, and **Nai?** among **'enana**

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children). *Why why?* is acquired by WAMC children is due to the fact that their caregivers employ it so much and in ways that would seem nonsensical to caregivers elsewhere who do not make a cultural habit out of seeking causality in every act or phenomenon (e.g., why is your room such a mess? why did you spill your milk?).

Thus, its absence in the Marquesas seems far less remarkable[15] than is the fact that it took me so long to remark upon it. The question exists in both ***français*** (***pourquoi***) and **'enana** (**no te aha**), and I as a social scientist and child of WAMC culture was quick to learn how to employ it. Nonetheless, I was very slow to realize that I was one of the few persons in my tapes to be constantly launching the question. Reflecting back, I have trouble remembering occasions when anyone demanded explanations of others, recalling instead how quizzically they responded to some of my queries of this nature.[16]

The absence of the question *why* is accompanied by a related phenomenon: the rarity of explanations by caregivers. The exceptions to this lack were the explanations given by Noella and by Tapu to some degree (as mentioned before), as well as by younger caregivers to each

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other. Finally, given Noella's penchant for explanations, it is not surprising that her children engaged a bit more in causality queries than did the others. For instance, in response to Noella's explanation about the baby's milk-only diet, Tehina tenaciously demanded to understand: ***Pourquoi alors tu as dit: Régime, tout régime?*** *'So why did you say: Diet, total diet?'* (N9/10F.40-5). I interpret the production of such utterance types among younger people as the result of increased exposure to Western discourse forms due to schooling and television.

One other question noticeably missing from the list of **'enana** socializing queries is the one used frequently by WAMC caregivers: 'What's this?' Such a question is clearly not a request for information so much as a pedagogical prod, deemed necessary by Westerners' language acquisition ideology, for teaching children to label their world with nouns. As discussed by Ochs and Schieffelin (1984), at least some Pacific peoples do not share this metalinguistic belief system. Instead a host of other questions involving the activities, whereabouts, possessions, identities, and relationships of people are considered of more importance -- referentially and pragmatically -- for directing children's

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attention to what they need to know. Among **'enana** an interest in labeling (as well as segmenting utterances for pedagogic purposes) may be growing as evidenced by some of the examples discussed above (e.g., Rafa's attempts to elicit specific lexical items from Siki). However, for the moment, 'What's this?' is still never heard outside of literacy activities -- for instance, a caregiver pointing at objects in a child's drawing and asking the child to identify it (M9/15.95).

Although the substance of the questions asked seems to be endemic to Pacific and Asian cultures (that is, asking someone 'Where are you going?' rather than the ubiquitous Western greeting, 'How are you?'), the style of asking a child 'Where is so-and-so?' and 'What is he doing?' has been largely re-enforced by school-style and catechism question-asking practices.

Some question-asking routines develop into situations in which the caregiver provides some of the responses to be imitated (i.e., offers the correct answers when confronted with silence, or else corrects wrong answers), all of which is reminiscent of the Western educational genre. For instance, Siki was quizzed by his aunt and uncles about the

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names of his mother, father, brother, and self, and was offered the names when he did not appear to know them, which he then repeated (S8/19.217-249). These name-asking routines appeared to have potentially Western and Polynesian origins, being both a 'school' activity and forming a part of indigenous activity with learning and reciting one's line of ancestors.

However, by contrast with the scaffolding methods of WAMC, **'enana** caregivers sometimes doggedly continue to ask until the 'right' answer is delivered. For instance, in the example discussed above, Teresi kept after Siki about the ownership of a number of objects (a pig, a horse, some sugarcane, a pipe) until he thought to answer: **Na Koua** 'Grandpa's,' for which she congratulated him: ***Voilà!*** 'There!' (7/7.171-266). In other words, Teresi kept after him until he came up with the 'correct' answer on his own, refusing to supply it for him. Such a style appears more like the non-scaffolding approach to socializing communicative skills found elsewhere in the Pacific (Ochs and Schieffelin 1984).

Tapu displayed her metacommunicative awareness of at least one socializing function of such report requests when

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she told me (5/13.28 note) that she tries to 'awaken' her kids to notice and report details accurately -- and that she does this as a catechism teacher too, referring to the process as ***prise de conscience*** 'consciousness raising'. This comment arose while Tapu and I were transcribing an example that began with her **pe'au** directive to eight-year-old Vaite: **'A hano 'a pe'au 'ia Mihiau: Hano mai te kafe.** 'Go say to Mihiau: Come have coffee' (T5/13.1). When Vaite returned from this errand, Tapu asked her what he had been doing, who he was with, quizzing her on all the details, and expressing her frustration at Vaite's imprecision: **Eia? 'A'e 'oe 'ite e aha te'ā hana 'a Mihiau?! [...] Va'e te noho pu? Va'e te himene? Hiamoe?** 'What? You didn't see what Mihiau was doing? [...] Just sitting? Singing? Sleeping?' (T5/13.26-28).

Tapu's disappointment in her children's 'incompetencies' in this respect seemed to be a concern instigated or at least supported by French ideology, and was related also to the worries expressed by both her and Noella that their children were confused and inarticulate when it came to listening to instructions, transmitting messages, and running errands successfully. For instance, Tapu

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complained that when she sent nine-year-old Vaetui out to buy **aniani** 'onions', she would come back with **vanira** 'vanilla' (T7/27.4 note). In the same vein, Tapu related a story of five-year-old Pio being told to wash his whole **nino** 'body' but only washing his head because he lacked this general term in **'enana** -- whereas he would have understood ***Laves-toi!*** *'Wash yourself!'* to mean he should wash his whole body.

However, given these concerns, such report requests begin to look like the *challenges* reported by Ochs in Western Samoa, i.e., as a form of 'shaming' children for false claims and other deceptive behaviors which are not deemed acceptable in Samoan society. These challenges motivate children to provide evidenced articulations of their perceptions of reality (188:154-5).[17]

In another example of such a challenge, Tapu asked Vaetui for a report as to who was at church yesterday. **Mea, Vaetui, te'ā hano'ia 'o 'oe 'ia mea 'i tinahi, mea nui te 'enana 'i te pure?** 'Who's-it, Vaetui, yesterday when you went to look for who's-it (Pio and Poutini on the playing fields) yesterday, were there many people at the church service?' After struggling for several turns to get an

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'accurate' response (i.e., what Vaite meant by ***C'est un peu plein*** 'It (the church) was a bit full'), Tapu narrowed her own question down to what she really wanted to know: ***Il y avait les grandmères?*** *'The grandmothers were there?'* In other words, was the service attended by these older women who would gossip about the fact that Tapu had not come? That is, the social details of interest had to do with who was observing the proper church rituals and what ripples of gossip would result from it.

Vaetui responded, **E?** 'What?' -- i.e., expressing confusion at the referential content of Tapu's question (it should be noted that Tapu did not exactly practice what she preached in terms of precise articulation either). Meanwhile, Vaite manifested her understanding of the full import of her mother's query, by taking this opportunity to rib her for not having been present: ***Ils ont pensé de la prière***. *'They thought of the service* (unlike you)' (T5/13.76-99). Tapu's own concern with her children's referential 'accuracy' seems short-sighted given Vaite's quickness with respect to metapragmatic insight.

As these examples illustrate, 'accuracy' in reporting is a relative matter, i.e., not all details are of similar

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import in different sociocultural milieus. In other words, one of the multiple metapragmatic functions of these routines is that of directing children's attention through referential discourse, teaching them not only which details are salient but also what these details signify, i.e., concerns to do with the identities and activities of important people in their social universe.

In addition, some report requests incorporate **pe'au** routines in ways that further attest to the significance of this issue of accountability. In such cases, the child is asked to report not only on what happened, but also on what they said to someone else and/or on what someone said to them. In example #8, Tapu asked Vaetui whether she had discussed the possibility of a field trip with Poea yet. Her request took the form of alluding obliquely to the topic first, and then asking what exactly had been said: **Vaetui, pe'au'īa e 'oe 'ia Papa, hua mea...hua mea? ... Pehea 'a te pe'au?** 'Vaetui, was it said by you to Papa, that thing...that thing?...What was said?' What followed was Vaite's attempt to say what *she* had said to the teachers about the field trip: ***J'ai dit comme ça: (on) a pas accepté. Y a pas d'sous.*** *'I said like this:* (one) *didn't accept* (the

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idea). *There's no money'* (T5/13.356-363).

In other words, report requests such as these function as requests for reported speech. Reported speech, i.e., the act of telling someone something someone else purportedly said, is a form commonly found in the **tekatekao** 'gossip' of Hatiheu (as elsewhere). Thus, one of the functions aside from that most obvious here of gaining some needed information is that of engaging children in one of the most valued genres in Hatiheu. As such, report requests such as these frequently led into larger discussions about the social significance of the reported details.

In other cases, although real information may also be sought about the encounter being reported, other functions are also evident. For instance, if the child was sent on an errand, the caregiver may be checking to see that the message was properly delivered (given children's presumed propensity for getting it wrong). Other times the caregiver may be assessing the veracity of the report altogether (the belief being that an ability to report words said will validate the fact that the encounter actually transpired). Finally, the performance also gives the caregiver a chance to assess and respond to the performance, but doubly so.

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This is because of certain similarities between reported speech and **pe'au** routines.

Both represent a speaker's dialogic projection of what someone else did or should say, and both involve multiplex participant structures. In **pe'au** routines the third party is the intended addressee of the speech which the first party is directing the second party to impart whereas in reported speech the third party is the one whose speech is being presently reported by the first to the second party. Secondly, both **pe'au** routines and reported speech vary formally as to how the speech (whether intended or reported) is represented by the first party -- i.e., the degree to which it is pragmatically constructed to echo mimetically how it was or should be said -- in terms of word-choice, morpho-syntactics, intonation, deictics, and code-choice.

As a result of these similarities, a caregiver's attempt to elicit reported speech from a child mingles the functions of **pe'au** routines and report requests -- that is, the child both performs talk appropriate to the present context as well as reporting forms instantiated in other contexts, giving the caregiver a chance to mock, correct, or castigate not only the in situ speech performance but also

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the decontextualized one.

For instance, after Puhe's return from delivering some **ihi** 'chestnuts' to his aunt Moi, Pahio asked him: **Pehea te pe'au 'o Tati Moi?** 'How was the talk of Auntie Moi?' -- i.e., what did she say? This may have been in part a check on whether he had actually accomplished his errand as instructed. Thus, when he replied that no one was home, Pahio pursued the subject by asking whom he had given them to. However, Puhe's response: **Tuku'īa e au 'ia personne.** '(It) was given by me to no one' was misunderstood by Pahio, who asked sarcastically: **Enā 'ia *Père Jean* te ihi?** 'There was to *Pere Jean* the chestnuts?' Pere Jean, the local priest, may have been in town at this time, but would certainly not have been at Moi's house; thus, Pahio's response was mocking his mumbling and/or his preposterous lie. Resisting her interpretation, Puhe insisted that he had put them on the table at Moi's house, that **ho'i** 'really' there was no one there (M10/23.148-155). As is seen here, reported speech is a primary form of evidence used to check on whether events have occurred as reported. However, the use of such a form of report request allows for the critical address both of the utterance used to report the event

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(i.e., as done here by Pahio) as well as the utterance used to report the speech as in the following incident.

In example #9 from Tapu's family, Poea sent his five-year-old son on an errand to request cigarette papers from their non-kin neighbor Teii, a man in his fifties, whom Pio ought normally to have addressed as **Papa Teii** or **Koua**. In fact, Poea referred to him using the latter term in beginning the **pe'au** routine used to provide Pio with the set of words to be spoken on his errand. Tapu then altered the message slightly and insisted on Pio repeating the phrase before he left: **Pe'au 'oe: 'A'e he mea to 'oe *papier* maimai?** 'You say: Are there none of your cigarette *papers*?' (T7/27.3-4).

On Pio's return, Poea and Tapu requested an account of the interaction. Here a concern with precision arose in part out of the parents' desire to possess social information -- in this case about who was at Teii's house, whether he had cigarette papers and was willing to share them, as well as some other data about which horses were being used for copra that day by whom and whether they were being overworked (T7/27.73-106). However, an additional function of Tapu and Poea's insistence on precision related

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in this case to their concern over whether Pio had transmitted the message accurately (i.e., repeated the words as they had instructed him) and, at the level of social pragmatics, whether he had interacted properly. Tapu asked: **Pe'au 'oe: 'A'e he mea to 'oe *papier* maimai?** 'You said: Are there none of your cigarette *papers*?' She then asked to hear Teii's response, but Pio thought that they wanted to hear what he himself had said and so reported: **Teii, he mea ta 'otou ta 'otou mea...*papier*?** 'Teii, are there none of your[A,pl] ... your[A,pl] what's it...*papers*?' (T7/27.82). Both parents laughed and Tapu asked in an incredulous tone: **Pe'au'ia e 'oe: Teii?** 'You said: Teii?' (T7/27.83), i.e., clearly this was not the appropriate address term. He also did not employ the possessive particle and pronoun she had instructed him to use (singular 'you' became plural 'you', and the possession of cigarette papers was incorrectly indexed as alienable); however, Tapu did not correct these (as Siki's Pahio had in the examples discussed above). Here the metalinguistic message to Poutini was at the level of the communicative system, i.e., that he had used an address term inappropriate to the social interaction. As Tapu noted while transcribing, usually the older girls were

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sent on such errands so that Pio was probably feeling rather self-important in his role as messenger -- at least until his usage was undermined by mockery (and that may have been part of its point).

Given that reporting speech is cognitively more difficult than performing a **pe'au**, it is no wonder that in my data no such requests for reported speech were tried with children younger than five years old. For instance, two-year-old Siki, the most common subject of **pe'au** directives, was never enlisted in requests for reported speech.

All of the Q/A sequences so far addressed are initiated at least in part to ascertain referential information of some kind. However, not all Q/A sequences are generated for this primary purpose, or even for the purpose of pointing out to children the kinds of information they ought to be interested in knowing. These querying strategies embroil children in emotional performances for the sake of performance and/or for the sake of emotion.

Like good Labovian researchers, a number of caregivers knew that the best way to elicit talk from their young charges for the sake of my tape recorder was to engage them in discussions of emotionally charged events -- sometimes

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purely imagined, other times accurately recalled, but usually lying in between these two extremes. Because of the contrast between the caregivers' teasing key and the naive participants' more emotional involvement in these interactions, I refer to these Q/A sequences as *mock inquisitions*.

But although the immediate motivation of some of these was artificial (i.e., helping me to get my cassettes filled), it was apparent from the ease with which all parties entered into this mode that such discussions were not an unfamiliar form of interaction. This is confirmed by the fact that I witnessed and recorded many other such exchanges which were clearly not instigated for my research. That is, they were were designed to generate playful interaction for other more indigenous reasons, which do not properly come under the heading of 'teaching' in Western cultures. However, for the caregivers of Hatiheu, **hakako** is about teaching children to be **kako** as much as anything else, and such *mock inquisitions* are a key way of doing this.

Frequently, in these forms of interactions, the questions operate as accusatory probes which project children into a more or less imaginary realm (i.e., not

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present in the here and now, but not necessarily unreal as they can be constructed out of past events or be potentially realizable in the future). As they enter easily into these realms, the children engage in 'angry', 'sad', 'scared', or 'ashamed' displays. On the one hand, this is a teasing form of fun for the caregivers and so teaches the children much about the genre of **keu** 'play' -- both modeling how to do it and requiring them to rise to the challenge of defending themselves from it. It also teaches them more about **tekatekao** -- the art of knowing about and reporting, hiding or defending their own and others' actions. Thus, they acquire the skills for engaging in both **keu** and **tekatekao** and thus becoming **kako** 'flexible'.

The rhetorical force of these mock inquisitions can be seen in an interesting episode involving Tapu, Poea, myself, and their fourteen-year-old neighbor and goddaughter Caro. Although less intimate with Caro and me than with his own children, Poea did not hesitate to use this socializing strategy to **hakako** us as well. Caro arrived at the door one morning and asked to borrow their **popo'i** pounder (these polished stone pestles are carved at the handle end in more or less clear detail into a phallus with testicles and are

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used to mash among other things breadfruit for **popo'i**).

First, Tapu mocked the **sarapia** form of Caro's appeal: **Tukituki? E aha te'ā memau tukituki?** '**Tukituki**? What is that **tukituki** thing?' (T4/18.260). **Tukituki** means the action of pounding, but lightly as for medicine; the heavy pounding needed for **popo'i** is **tuki** and the object is **tuki popo'i**, which form Caro proceeded to produce. Poea then engaged her in a series of teasing requests as to what she needed the pounder for, what her family was eating with the pounded breadfruit (just a grain of salt?), and who had caught the fish she claimed they would be eating, in this way subtly questioning her father's abilities to provide fish for the family. He then went on to caution her to handle the pounder with care in a not-so-veiled allusion to his own sexual organs: **Ti'ohi 'ua topa ta tonton kea.** 'Watch out uncle's stone falls' (T4/18.269), to which Tapu added: **Topa na'e tenā tukituki, 'a'e he mea haka'ua te tukituki.** 'If that **tukituki** falls, there are no more **tukituki**' (T4/18.271), turning with her usual dialogic grace a linguistic 'error' into metapragmatic humor.

After Caro left, Poea turned to the issue first of how I must think it odd that they grate coconut as they do

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(i.e., using a phallus shaped piece of metal tied to a wooden board which they sit on so that the metal protrudes from between their legs and the white grated coconut froths up there as they work). Shortly after, he followed this with a request to know how it feels to go so long without my husband (T4/18.260-309). As I was not yet fluent enough to catch these report queries (much less their sexual innuendo), Tapu deflected them so that only upon transcribing it with her did I begin to understand the loaded nature of the **keu** with which he was socializing Caro and me in the art of **tekatekao** -- i.e., how to report about our own and others' activities and states of being.

In other words, at the level of socializing communicative genres, inquisitions such as these **hakako** 'teach' children (and other naive semi-members) to encounter challenging **keu** 'teases' and engage in the transmission of events and information **tekatekao** 'gossip'. The emotions generated by the teasing activity (or at least given pragmatic substance by the exchange) -- Caro's and my 'shame' in the segment discussed here -- energize these accusations and inquisitions, which then act as catalysts for verbal performances by the children (and other immature

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or naive semi-members such as me). The emotionally charged nature of the mock inquisition thus provides both frame and content for socializing the appropriate ways of defending and reporting on knowledge and experience of events when these are being teasingly challenged.

Throughout this section, I have attempted to point out the possible origins of performance elicitation strategies and the ways in which these are contributing to the socialization of syncretic language acquisition ideologies and practices in the Marquesas at present.

Unlike caregivers in less obviously colonized regions of the Pacific, the caregivers of Hatiheu have apparently adopted a variety of Western fashions in attending to their children. Even prelingual children are treated not only as social participants, but as potential interlocutors. From early on, verbal performance by children is elicited and scaffolded, and their linguistic productions are received with a fair amount of correction (if never applause). Finally, children are taught to attend to others using a range of communicative practices governed by the principle of ***politesse***.

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This sort of Western-style caregiving was especially apparent in the presence of a **Hao'e** who was perhaps (despite herself) supporting the notion that attention of this kind be paid to the children. However, many of these practices were clearly familiar to the children themselves in that they responded in comfortable and even ritualized ways, i.e., even apart from my attention. Thus, it is hypothesized here that at least some of these adopted socializing strategies are undergirded by indigenous practices and ideologies related to the engagement of children in talk.

First of all, although many of the routines show up in my transcripts as artifacts of the caregivers' goodwill in trying to get their kids talking for the sake of my tape recorder, this provides evidence of the much-touted Polynesian culture trait of hospitality, their **ka'oha** for outsiders. Secondly, caregivers also engaged in a number of methods (found also elsewhere in the Pacific) of eliciting and re-enforcing children's verbal performances and inclinations to play to an audience, to deal with **keu** challenges, and to contribute to **tekatekao** reports. All of these socializing interactions teach children about the

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social coordinates of individuals in their audience and how to engage them as interlocutors. And some of these engagements are highly charged with emotion as caregivers show children how to **keu**.

Not all performance elicitation strategies entail such an emotional tenor except insofar as the children might feel 'fear' or 'anger' about not performing adequately -- e.g., not delivering up the requested information accurately or producing a **pe'au** as instructed. But whatever the emotional key, caregiver socialization strategies clearly serve multiple psychosocial functions: they teach children about their social universe and about how to develop and communicate feelings and identities considered appropriate within this universe. I devote the next section to an expanded examination of the emotional and relational content of what children are learning about how to feel, be, and relate.

B. Learning to be **kako** 'flexible'

In Hatiheu, children are socialized via a number of interactive practices expressive of either **ka'oha**

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'compassion' or **hakaika** 'shame'. These psychosocial messages are embedded in communicative genres that range in key from playful to angry. Using transcribed instances, I demonstrate in this section how caregiver routines **hakako** 'teach' both the communicative genres and their messages, and how as a result children begin to learn to use **keu** and **tekatekao** to meet their psychosocial needs, i.e., by becoming **kako** 'flexible'.

1. Engagement in **ka'oha**

A number of communicative genres are expressive of **ka'oha** 'love, compassion, concern' and as such index and transmit social and emotional messages about how one ought to feel concern about whom. As a result, children engaged in these interactions are taught the affective forms appropriate to certain relationships as well as how to co-construct a psychosocial identity using these emotional speech genres.

Children's engagement in **ka'oha** is modeled and directed by caregivers throughout the socialization process. First of all, caregivers display **ka'oha** for their children, thus

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setting a precedent not only for the forms of **ka'oha** that should be felt and expressed, but also for the appropriate objects and subjects of that **ka'oha**. Caregivers referentially address the well-being of their children (and other intimates) by inquiring about their physical state (e.g., wounds, hunger, or health), commanding or reprimanding behaviors with an eye toward protecting their health, attending to their needs, and showing off their accomplishments. Caregivers also display some degree of **ka'oha** through their treatment of their children's disputes and other behaviors which are pragmatically classified as anti-**ka'oha**.

Additionally, caregivers provide instruction in how to provide care for younger children. Thus, some utterances take the form of directives or reprimands as to how young caregivers ought or ought not to be treating their younger charges. Related to this, caregivers make judgments in the form of gossip (which are overheard by children) concerning the treatment of children by other adults. Some caregivers are versed in the Western style of framing these **ka'oha** activities in rationalized explanations, while others simply press their children into the service of these concerns

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without verbal rationale.

Finally, through **pe'au** routines and other elicitation methods, caregivers teach children how to use **ka'oha** to assert their psychosocial needs. Children's appeals to caregivers (which transform as they mature) evidence how they have learned these notions and strategies for negotiating their psychosocial identities, and so actively participate in their own socialization.

a. Displaying caregiver **ka'oha**

Demonstrations of **ka'oha** by caregivers emerged in the form of actions and gestures of concern, as well as explicit statements and questions about a child's well-being. Although **ka'oha** as presently practiced clearly draws much from its roots as an indigenous psychosocial notion, its application by caregivers in Hatiheu reflected a lot of impact from Western ideology and practices. Thus, Noella and Tapu, the two more French-oriented mothers, were most articulate in this mode, and so many of my illustrations are drawn from their families. However, all of the caregivers engaged in such interactions to some degree.

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The most ubiquitous forms of **ka'oha** displayed by caregivers are CGR and other child-centric approaches discussed earlier in this chapter. Beginning at birth, these child-centric practices dialogically orient children's sense of their psychosocial identities, marking in particular their rights to **ka'oha** from their caregivers. While CGR was probably not a component of indigenous language acquisition ideology and practice, the present-day use of CGR and apparent acceptance of its metapragmatic ideology has had an impact on the development of psychosocial styles and identities in the Marquesas. Although insufficient to prove this point, my data are suggestive of the idea that metapragmatic awareness of these socializing habits correlates with the disturbance older people feel over what they perceive as the loss of the old ways in which people all helped each other out, had real friends, and gave from the heart. In particular, older people complain that children are being pampered and that this is contributing to the present waywardness of youth.

Nonetheless, the use of CGR is also probably re-enforced by indigenous forms and ideologies of **ka'oha** displayed in the treatment of children and other intimates

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throughout Polynesia. Certainly, these child-centric ideologies and practices in the Marquesas both signal and help construct the idealized identity of the young child as an object of **ka'oha** and the fantacized intimacy between child and caregiver (not that this ideal identity or bond is always realized in reality, i.e., in all contexts or in relationship to all caregivers).

Noella, for example, evinced a real interest in her children's capabilities. As was mentioned above, displaying their accomplishments to adults was an elicited and re-enforced activity through various routines. For instance, during our first session (see example #1), Noella told the children to show me their drawings, which Kua and Tehina eagerly did (N3/6.62-8). Soon after, also triggered no doubt by my presence (I was still at that point considered a teacher-like ***Madame***), Noella commanded Tehina: **'A hano ta 'oe *livre*. 'A va'e ta 'oe *lecteur* tatau**. 'Go get your *book*. Start your *reading* reading.' As a result, ***"Le Dauphin Blanc"*** a collection of Tahitian myths in ***français*** was found, Tehina began to read, and Noella corrected some of her liaisons, after which Noella provided me with a summary of the story line of ***"L'Origine du Cocotier"*** (N3/6.145-98).

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However, **ka'oha** in the form of compliments, though not common among the families I worked with, was probably not simply a French imposition (as might be deduced from Noella's interest in showing off her children's reading and drawing skills to a ***Madame***). Or rather, perhaps the complimenting genre was Western, but some of the concerns expressed by the compliments were not. For instance, even two-year-old Siki's grandfather was recorded commending his grandson in a somewhat CGR fashion, but for attributes of real relevance to **'Enana**, i.e., male strength and capabilities. For instance, while down by the shore cleaning fish, Koua directed Siki in how to pour water on the fish and ended: **Mea 'i'i 'oe, e?** 'You're strong, yes?' (S9/4.16).

Given the covert dynamic and general level of 'shame' operating in Manu's household, it is not surprising that I never heard a caregiver there issue a compliment directly to a child. Nonetheless, even here, Manu expressed concern with generosity (as well as with hiding fear) as evidenced by two comments which were the closest I ever heard her come to bragging about her children, and both were about her three-year-old daughter Tahia. Once while transcribing a

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request by seven-year-old Tikare to share Tahia's bowl rather than his other little sister Teani's (M8/5.88), Manu commented that all the children preferred to share with Tahia due to her generosity. But later in the same session, Manu complained that Tahia had come back from a recent trip to the hospital ***gâtée*** 'spoiled' by the doctors who all liked her ***Parce que 'a'e uē te pikiri'īa na'e.*** *'Because* (she) did not cry at the shots' (M8/5.368, note). As a consequence, she was no longer so generously attentive to the needs of others.

Caregivers attended to children's needs -- both physical and emotional, and whether expressed or only anticipated -- in a variety of ways. Noella addressed her children's health needs both in actions and words, and she discussed these needs with me and with them about themselves or each other. For instance, at one point Noella was explaining to me that the French nurse had said Hina must be on a milk-only diet because she had been getting too big. I repeated (looking for clarification): **Ha'aoke?** Noella explained: ***Regime. Plus de banane. Plus de tomate.*** *'Diet. No more bananas. No more tomatoes.'* Always involved in any discussion concerning the baby, Tehina asked in alarm: ***N'y a***

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***plus de lait? N'y a plus de lait?*** *'No more milk? No more milk?'* Noella reassured her: ***Si, on donne le titi.*** *'Yes, one gives the breast'* (N9/10F.40-5).

In general, young children are treated with more **ka'oha** than are older children. And babies' needs are addressed the most readily and immediately, much of this discourse being rendered in CGR. For instance, Tapu made a fuss over the 13-month old baby Aere's 'booboo' after a fall, using a crooning articulation heavy with labials and sibilants, as well as truncated phrasing and a self-deprecating, third person self-reference, i.e., taking responsibility for the hurt which he had initiated by climbing up on the counter (T4/18.50):

***Où est le bobo? Où est le bobo? Où est? C'est ici? C'est ici encore? Par ici? Méchante Maman? Elle est méchante, Maman? Elle a fait bobo le bébé...***
*Where is the booboo? Where is the booboo? Where is? It's here? And here? Here? Mean, Mama? She is mean, Mama? She made the baby's booboo...*

And she was still calming him somewhat later with some soft nonsense syllables: **E wu wu wu** (T4/18.155).

Both Poea and his nine-year-old daughter Vaetui were also implicated in these shows of **ka'oha** marked by CGR, as when Poea engaged Aere (14 months old) in a rhetorical query

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(i.e., a teasing expression of affectionate concern that the baby might be eating something he shouldn't, rather than a literal report request as to what the baby was eating): **E aba te'ā ananani?** 'What's that **ananani**' (T5/13.223-4). In helping me transcribe this, Tapu associated **ananani** with the sound of chewing **ina'i** 'meat', i.e., as a form of creative, onomatopoeic 'babytalk'. In another instance, Vaetui distracted the baby from touching a hot piece of fish by requesting a **pitu** (derived from ***bisou*** 'kiss') and affectionately calling him ***dindon*** 'turkey' with the same connotation of stupidity found in ENG (T5/13.251-2).

However, these shows of **ka'oha** are not reserved only for the babies, and little children's pleas for help were quite effective. Thus, although Noella was most attuned to the needs of her infant Hina, she also attended to the other two littler ones, Julia and Tava. For example, when the six-year-old Julia whined that she could not open a juice, Noella promptly did it for her (N9/10.F51-2). Similarly, Tapu used **ka'oha** marked by CGR to express concern for her three-year-old son Poutini's sores: **E'o! 'Ua hiti hua mekeo. Kamai tenā tapa. 'A taki Mama.** 'Hey oh! This itchy bump has risen. Bring that bandage. Mama will lift it'

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(T7/27.23).

By contrast, older children are the objects of considerably less **ka'oha**. In addressing the health of her eldest children, Noella could be rather peremptory. For example, in responding to her eleven-year-old daughter Perena's request for attention to her recently stitched wound: ***Maman, on dirait ça a recollé le bobo***. *'Mama, one would say that has healed, the wound,'* Noella warned: ***E, faut pas...faut pas laisser mouillé [...] Faut pas faut pas faire des gestes brusques. Tu risques de couper les fils***. *'Hey, mustn't...mustn't let (it) get wet [...] Mustn't make abrupt gestures. You risk breaking the stitches.'* Perena apparently interpreted the tone of this as an accusation (i.e., lacking in **ka'oha**) as she rebutted: ***Je fais pas les gestes brusques***. *'I don't make abrupt gestures'* (N9/10.F67-71). And in nine-year-old Tehina's subsequent plea for **ka'oha** with respect to a cut on her hand, Noella simply admonished: ***Fallait pas couper les mains***. *'Shouldn't have cut the hands'* (N9/10.F79-85).

In Manu's family, children over the age of five received a marked lack of response to their pleas for attention. For instance, Manu's eight-year-old son Puhe

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complained: **Memau te kopu** 'My stomach hurts,' and no one paid any attention. On the other hand, this family was not without expressions of **ka'oha** even for older children as was evidenced by Pahio's inquiry into the state of Maria's back that had been hurting: **Ahi'i a'e hua vi'itua ana?** 'How's that backbone?' (M10/23.31).

The two-year-old Siki, too, was the object of a fair amount of baby **ka'oha**, as his many caregivers managed his pleas (not always giving in), commiserated with him when he hurt himself, anticipated his needs, and instructed him in how to take care of himself. For instance, in one session, Pahio cautioned that the candy he was asking for was no good for his teeth (S7/21.15), that he needed to wash his hands and mouth (S7/21.189), and that he mustn't eat a piece of dirty bread (S7/21.399).

In another session, his two young girl cousins Titi and Ornella were sent by Pahio to get him out of the rain and out of his wet clothes. And later, while preparing to leave Pahio's house for Teresi's, Teresi warned Siki to find his **tutu**[CGR] 'blanket' now or else not to whine later if he found he didn't have it at her house (S9/4.233-243). In another episode, after a number of his requests to be

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carried **kokonana**[CGR] on Tonton Iku's shoulders because he was **vivi**[CGR] 'hurt', Teresi and Iku gave in and commanded eleven-year-old Rafa to carry him (S8/19.599-608).

However, some of these expressions of **ka'oha** involved less CGR and more teasing elements (e.g., resisting for a while Siki's' desire to go **kokonana**, and warning him not to whine about his **tutu**) than did those directed at Tapu's Aere, only six months younger, and the infant Tahia in Noella's family. In other words, this verged on the sort of 'shaming' discourse to which children begin to be exposed by the age of three.

Young children (i.e., three and under) are also frequently controlled using methods that are gentler than are those used with older children (involving hitting, scolding, threatening, or shaming, these are discussed below). Thus, a placating or cajoling style is frequently used by caregivers to gain the acquiescence of a young child to do or not do something. In addition, babies and young children may also be distracted by alternative activities rather than simply swatted away from an inappropriate activity.

Siki was elaborately cajoled in a number of sessions.

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In example #19, after resisting for several turns his desire to mount the horse, Koua humored him for several minutes -- teaching him to hold the reins and engaging in the pretend that Siki was going off to do copra. However, it then took everyone's efforts to lure the boy back off again: Koua used a 'fun' voice in telling Siki to 'fall' off and offered to take him tomorrow (194); Siki's aunt Tahia and young uncle Rafa enticed him by saying his uncle Teiki was coming with the other horse (198, 200-203), and his grandmother called him in to eat (204).

The ***pamplemousse*** example (#20) is part of one long distraction routine which was used first to tease Siki away from his interest in eating the grapefruits (by teaching him to say the word 'correctly' instead). Then, Siki resisted his uncle Iku's order to return home saying he wanted to go to Iku's house instead. The next several minutes were spent extracting him off of the grapefruit bag and onto Rafa's shoulders, lured by chewing gum or milk (S8/19.403-608).

In the episode in which Ornella and Titi were sent by Pahio to bring Siki out of the rain, nine-year-old Titi first threatened that Pahio would scold them both if he did not come, but then Tati Teresi and eight-year-old Ornella

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succeeded in cajoling him, Ornella by offering him chewing gum at the house (S9/4.68) and Teresi by telling him they would go to the house and bathe and then go to Tonton Iku's house (S9/4.62).

Siki was also complimented for his strength as a way to dissuade him from whining when something bothered him. For instance, when his sixteen-year-old aunt Tahia was giving him a bath, he began to cry, and she placated: ***Champion*, e?** '*Champion*, yes?' meaning you're too strong to cry at this (S9/4.128).

Noella, too, treated her youngest children in conciliatory ways that encouraged the **putu'i** nature they were already assumed to have. An example of the very early training her children received in how to express appropriately disrespectful forms toward an authority figure is found in the prelinguistic ventriloquizing routine in which Noella directed the infant Hina to say that Papa was here to clean up after her bath. And with her three-year-old son Tava, Noella used a conciliatory strategy that did not necessarily dissuade him from his misbehaviors. For instance, in one long episode she called out to him repeatedly: '**Poiti**' 'Little boy' or '***Bébé***' in a wheedling

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tone (N3/6.371, 379, 381, 463), and then went on to issue a set of cajoling directives, using both third person self-reference and a soft-singing voice (N3/6.512, 524, 546, 548, 552, 557). While transcribing this episode, she commented that sometimes this was the only way to get his cooperation because he would not do for his sisters what he would do 'for mama' (in explaining to me, she dialogically used this third person self-reference, sweetening her tone for the phrase as well, and thus created an epitomizing quote of how she might appeal to him to act for her).

But even with the older children, Noella's forms of direct contravention could be 'polite' (French-style) though firm as she sometimes used with them ***s'il te plaît*** (N10/22.55) or ***si tu veux*** (N5/10.492, 499). Similarly, Mimi used the courteous **'enana** form **aia** in both keys, pleading and firm, with the children (N5/10.695).

Tapu and her girls used a placating voice far more with the baby (11-16 months) than with the two older boys (3-5 years). For instance, when attempting to keep the baby from climbing back up on the counter from which he had just fallen, Tapu appealed to him over and over using a number of soft reprimands in ***français***, explanations in **'enana**, and a

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little song condemning the mess he was making among the pots: ***La pagaille, la pagaille, voilà, voilà, voilà.*** 'The mess, the mess, there, there, there' (T4/18.157).

Such methods of appeal were never used by Tapu with the two older girls. However, she did use distraction a fair amount with the littler boys. For example, although she began by scolding three-year-old Poutini for playing with the cotton fluff used to make cushions, she then offered him a crab instead and told him to eat it outside (T4/18.149-155). And in keeping baby Aere away from my tape recorder, she first softly reprimanded him, but then simply took him on her lap and directed his attention toward me using the little ventriloquizing routine (Ex. #6) discussed above.

Additionally, Tapu not only reprimanded her children's bad behavior, but also complimented their good behavior. For example, while changing the bandages on Poutini's sores from nono bites, she commended him: ***C'est bien quand tu ne grates pas.*** *'It's good when you don't scratch'* (T7/27.69).

Yet, even with their older children, both Tapu and Noella tended to explain why the children should or should not do something (i.e., displaying some **ka'oha**, rather than simply reprimanding them). For example, Tapu warned her

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eight-year-old daughter Vaite not to eat too much butter because it gives you white spots on the skin (T5/13.309-14). And in the same vein (if a slightly different rationale), Noella cautioned: ***Fini, le beurre. Ça suffit. Vas être malade.*** 'Finished the butter. That's enough. (You) will be sick' (N10/22.265).

Also, Noella frequently moralized about some lack or failing. For instance, when nine-year-old Tehina complained about not being able to find another bowl for herself, Noella replied: **Enā 'i 'a'o, 'iō he étagère. 'A'e ko'aka 'ia 'oe, he'e mai 'i'a. *Alors!* E? *Voilà ce que c'est de traîner.*** 'There is underneath, in the *shelves*. (If) you don't find, come over there. *So!* Eh? *There's what* (comes) *of dawdling*' (N10/22.274).

A great example of how this Western-style of explanation was obviously incorporated into this household was recorded in one long section (of which I have provided a few selections in example #4) devoted to reading a home safety pamphlet picked up at the clinic the day of the baby's inoculations. At Tehina's prompting, Noella read through most of it, explaining the pictures, many of which made very little sense in this low-tech, equatorial setting:

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the dangers of slipping on staircases, of being burned by furnaces, of being cut by electric knives, etc. Another possibly Western-derived fashion of modeling **ka'oha** is manifested by caregivers who attempt to resolve their children's disputes (i.e., a form of anti-**ka'oha** behavior among siblings). This style may also be based on an indigenous predilection to attend to younger children's appeals, i.e., by mediating conflicts in which the perceived needs of younger children are being ignored. Nonetheless, the underlying ideologies and strategies of the approach -- i.e., the effort to adjudicate the situation from on high before the participants get too out of control -- feels more Western, especially in Noella's case.

Noella treated her children's arguments as if there were true facts to be ascertained, legitimate rights to be protected, and objective decisions to be made. For instance, in example #3 Noella initially insisted that six-year-old Julia share her nuts with four-year-old Tava, but after Julia complied and Tava continued dissatisfied and complaining, Noella switched to Julia's side on the 'normal' grounds that it was after all Julia who had done the work for the nuts: ***C'est normal si elle qui a cassé.*** *'That's*

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*normal if* (it was) *she who opened* (them)' (N5/10.190). Also, note the anti-teasing ideology verbalized later in this same turn: ***Ne taquine pas ta soeur.*** *'Don't tease your sister'* -- a Western ideology that was put into practice more in this family than in Tapu's, but not altogether completely even in this family.

In another example (#5), Noella immediately responded to Julia's plea: ***Non, pitié!*** *'No, take pity,'* backing the littler girl's claim to the hundred-franc piece Tehina had found in Noella's purse: ***Donne. C'est à Julia.*** *'Give. It's Julia's'* (N10/22.35-6). While transcribing, Noella justified her intervention by explaining that this 'really' was Julia's money earned the other day by killing the **nono** that were bothering Noella. Then a few lines later, when Tava tried to claim the hundred francs for himself, Noella tried to distract him by giving him a **pe'au** chore -- to call Papa to eat (10/22.43,45).

Another example of Noella's interventionist style is manifested by her tendency to pre-empt her children's efforts to correct each other. For instance, during the game of bingo (partially presented in example #1), one of the older girls reprimanded her little brother for being

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wrong in marking a number on his bingo card: ***Ça, c'est faux***, *'That's wrong,'* and Noella responded: ***Non, c'est pas faux. C'est pas appelé***. *'No, it's not wrong. It wasn't called'* (N3/6.258-9). In other words, it was not that he was wrong; it was simply that that number had not been called, and he was too young to know one number from another. In such ways, Noella would oversee the ways in which her children labeled each other's faults.

Tapu, like Noella, readily and regularly intervened before disputes became too heated. She too sometimes simply judged the affair from on high, with or without offering a judicious explanation. For instance: **Mea Poutini, *viens, ici*, avec mea, avec Vaetui. Me te mea 'a'o'e, va'e ananu 'o'ua te pipike'e'e.** 'You Poutini, *come, here, with* what's her name, *with* Vaetui. Because, no, the two of you (you and Pio) will be always quarrelling' (T5/13.210). That is, if three-year-old Poutini and five-year-old Pio shared a bowl, they would grouse throughout the meal; so she directed the littler one to come eat with his older sister Vaetui. She also scolded her children for trying to take on the teacher's role vis-à-vis the literacy practices of their siblings: **'Oe, Vaetui, ha'apa'o 'oe ta 'oe.** 'You, Vaetui,

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concern yourself (with) yours' (T3/11.91), i.e., mind your own business and let Pio do his own writing.

However, in keeping with her general affinity for **keu**, Tapu frequently mediated and reoriented her children's attention in a more playful fashion, asking for mock report requests as to the problem and/or teasing the children away from or into more elaborate concerns. That is, she seemed to be a bit less concerned with the rights and obligations of participants and more involved in the competitive play involved in negotiations.

Manu intervened in her children's (many) conflicts as well, but usually in a way that manifested little **ka'oha**. That is, she appeared to be less concerned with modeling **ka'oha**, more so in teaching her children not to behave with anti-**ka'oha** toward each other, but perhaps most concerned that they simply not be seen or heard fighting. Thus, she punished the boys after the first taping session in which I recorded them fighting (example #10). And when present during the taping session, she simply threatened to punish the participants if the noise from a dispute did not cease. One time she asked the boys to move their game of marbles, full of noise and dispute: **'A'e koana keu 'i vahi 'a'e hemea**

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**te 'enana.** 'Can't you play in a place without people?' (M4/14.167), which in a tiny house full of people was clearly not possible.

b. Instruction in doing caregiver **ka'oha**

Caregivers also engage children in expressions of **ka'oha** through explicit direction in how people ought to be performing as caregivers. Messages of this kind are transmitted first hand in the form of commands and reprimands instructing older siblings in the care of their younger siblings. Some of the interventions in sibling disputes analyzed above could be classified as a kind of extension of this sort of caregiver training -- i.e., whenever the dispute occurs between an older and younger child. However, all of the examples I now discuss involve the treatment of babies and none involve obvious disputes.

Noella involved primarily her nine-year-old daughter Tehina in caring for the infant Hina. Although she never said she herself did not trust her eleven-year-old daughter Perena, Noella once reported (N9/10 note) that she had dreamed Perena dropped the baby. As a result of this dream,

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Tehina no longer 'allowed' her older sister Perena to hold the baby -- i.e., asserting an authority that Noella, by her actions and inactions, apparently supported. For instance, one day Noella involved both of the older girls in different ways in the act of feeding the baby Hina, i.e., she told Perena to tell Tehina to bring Hina, who was then invited (addressed in typical CGR fashion) to ***prendre le café avec Maman*** '*have coffee with Mama*' -- or rather to nurse while Mama had her breakfast (N10/22.238-51).

Tapu and Poea also expressly instructed their children in the appropriate treatment of the baby Aere, his rights and needs for **ka'oha**. In one example, Poea protected the baby's claim to some food: **Na pepe!** 'For baby!' (T5/13.335-340), and in another instance Tapu told her five-year-old son Pio: **'A tuku ta ia poro**. 'Give his (the baby's) marble' followed immediately by directing Poea's attention to the problem: **Papa, 'a Pio e ha'auē nei 'ia *Patrice***. 'Papa, there Pio is making *Patrice* cry' (T7/27.115).

Similarly, when an insulting style that is common between older peers is addressed to a baby, it is considered abusive and the perpetrator is sternly dealt with. For instance, Pio said to the baby: **Ngengengeng. *Je veux pas***

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***regarder ton* kikiri**. 'Ngengengeng! *I don't want to look at your* balls[CGR]' (T5/13.543), meaning I'm sick of you, your baby noises and baby presence (babies tend to go around naked or in only a t-shirt till they are about two, thus his **kikiri** were exposed and vulnerable to this typical assault). Tapu in response threatened: **E e e, Pio! 'Oe, kumia'īa 'oe Papa, e? Papa, 'a Pio, va'e nei mea ta ia hana 'epo ma inei** 'Hey, hey, hey, Pio! You, hit (by) Papa, eh? Papa, (attend to) Pio, (he's) doing his dirty work here,' the dirty work being in this case not only the use of ***gros mots*** 'bad words, swears' (which was Tapu's explanation to me), but in particular his use of them in addressing the **pepe** in this way (T4/14.544).

However, the two young boys were not the only ones reprimanded for mistreating the baby. In one instance, Tapu scolded seven-year-old Vaite for tickling the baby too hard: **Mo'i e ha'amamae!...E, *gentille le bébé!*** 'Don't hurt!...Hey, (be) *gentle* (with) *the baby*!' (T4/18.437-40). And in another episode, Tapu reprimanded nine-year-old Vaetui explicitly for not paying attention to the cleanliness of the place where she put the baby down: **Vaetui, mo'i 'oe tuku Pepe 'inā, tenā vahi moe'īa e te peto**. 'Vaetui, don't put

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Baby there, in that place slept in by the dog' (T5/13.525). But sometimes even the youngest ones were scolded for not providing the proper level of **ka'oha**. For example, three-year-old Poutini was scolded for not paying attention to the baby who was about to fall (T7/27.106).

Forms such as this also sometimes contain messages concerning the nature of babies -- what they 'want' and/or how they can be expected to act. In one instance discussed above as an example of rhetorical CS, Tapu told eight-year-old Vaite to bring the baby back inside and Vaite replied that he wanted to go outside. Tapu then replied: ***Si tu ne fermes pas, lui il va aller dehors*** *'If you don't close (the door), he'll go outside'* (T5/13.540-542). In other words, babies are willful but unthinking creatures, and it is the caregiver's role to think for them and safeguard them.

While there were no babies in Manu's family, I discovered a few examples of how a hierarchy of caregivers are perceived to oversee the proper delegation of **ka'oha** and to intervene in cases of anti-**ka'oha**. For instance, both Manu and Pahio interceded on the four-year-old Teani's behalf in an altercation with her twelve-year-old cousin Maria by both placating and distracting the little girl.

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Hearing Teani in tears, Manu asked: **Pehea ia, tenā paho'e?** 'What's with her, that little girl?' to which Teani responded by tattling: ***C'est Maria***. *'It's Maria* (making me cry).' Maria took umbrage: ***C'est pas moi. J'ai pas tapé. C'est touché le ke'o avec le po'osea***. *'It's not me. I didn't hit* (her). *It's* (that she) *touched her* butt *on the* bench.' But Pahio retorted: **Mea'a ho'i 'ia 'oe ana 'ia pau'eka mehe rira.** 'But really with you, when knocking (against you), it's like a needle,' meaning that Maria's personality is so sharp, it hurts. And Pahio continued with compassion in her voice: **E uē te toiki. *Mange* Paho'e. *Mangez, chef! Mangez, chef! Après, allez garder les* 'ou ti.** 'The child cries. *Eat,* little girl. *Eat, boss! Eat, boss! Afterwards you'll go guard the* **ti** leaves.' Manu re-enforced this with instruction to Maria to give Teani more of what would make her happy, some Sao[13] crackers: ***Mange, mange. Mea 'oe haka'ua ta ia mea...ta ia sa'o.*** *'Eat, eat.* Do (give) more of her things...her sao.' Maria retorted that it was just that Teani was tired. But Manu warned: **'Au(a) e 'oe pe'au atu.** 'Don't say that,' meaning (she later interpreted for me) that Teani would get mad at being accused of being tired because she likes to be strong.

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Meanwhile, Pahio fabricated a bit of **tekatekao** to distract Teani: ***Peut-être Kate il a touché à nous deux* 'ou ti, e? *N'a pas toi aller regarder,* e? *Mangez!*** *'Maybe Kate has stolen our* **ti** leaves, yes? *Without you going to watch* (them), yes? *Eat!'* (M8/5.379-388).

In another instance, Pahio warned eight-year-old Puhe not to make Teani cry by keeping her from a ball: **Āu(a) e ha'auē.** 'Don't make (Teani) cry' (M10/23.180). And in example #15, Puhe demonstrated his understanding that even Manu could get in trouble from Ava for having mistreated four-year-old Teani and made her cry: **Uē ananu, e-Te'ani. Tihe na'e Papa manini Mama.** 'Hey Teani, still crying. (When) Papa arrives, he'll scold Mama' (M10/23.386).

On the other hand, the transcripts are also filled with examples of how young caregivers have correctly learned how they are to treat their younger charges. For instance, the nine-year-old Tehina (in Noella's family) was already adept at addressing caregiver **ka'oha** directly to the baby as in her concern that Hina was in pain from the shot she had received at the clinic: ***Aïe aïe aïe [...] Ça fait mal le derrière.*** *'Ow ow ow. [...] That hurts, (your) behind'* (N/10.C43-48). And seven-year-old Tikare engaged three-

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year-old Tahia in the **pe'au** routine: ***Dis:*** **Nana, Papa!** 'Say: Bye-bye, Papa!' (M8/31.486).[19]

And even the three-year-old Poutini displayed his acquisition both of CGR and of how to engage a baby in an implicit **pe'au** routine expressive of **ka'oha** when he directed the baby Aere to tell me: **Nana. Nana, *Bébé*.** '(Say:) Bye-bye. Bye-bye, *Baby*' (T7/27.61). Note again how this **pe'au** is being used with a prelinguistic baby, indicating how even a three-year-old is digesting the notion that babies are to be treated like communicating participants.[20]

Messages about caregiver **ka'oha** are also transmitted by gossiping in front of children about how other caregivers are performing (or not) the proper **ka'oha** with their children. Two examples of this sort of gossip appear in report requests already discussed above. First, in example #8, Tapu asked her daughters whether and how they had discussed the possible school trip with their father. She used these report requests to provoke a discussion of who would be going, who would be paying, and finally how everyone was reacting to the mess the teacher was making in organizing the trip. Specifically Tapu was interested in assessing the young (and childless) school teacher's **tuhuka**

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'skills' for guarding children. And she brought up the fact that **te tau motua kui** 'those older mothers (and) fathers' were rejecting the idea of the trip because they feared the children would not be properly supervised. Finally, this issue of childcare became the grounds on which she proposed going herself, i.e., she reported how she had told the school teacher that she would have to go if she could not trust him to look after the children properly. Poea's response to this elaborate **tekatekao** was a mini-sermon about putting pleasure second, which functioned as both an omniscient judgment of the school teacher as well as a probably negative response to his wife and children's appeal.

In the same taping session, after asking Vaite for information about her teen-age nephew Mihiau's doings, Tapu took this opportunity to comment on the practice of letting boys 'wander'. In particular, she was concerned about her twelve-year-old godson Panui whom she had seen out on the road at night with Mihiau (T5/13.325-27):

**Mea'a Panui tenei mehe tora'au -- e tuku te ha'ati'a 'i te pō e he'e. [...] Te'ā taha'īa mai...te ahiahi tu'u hiti'īa mai, pe'au atu au: E aha? 'Ua ava to 'oe ehua mea he'e 'i te tumoe ma he mea...va'anui? Pe'au: Ha'ati'a'īa e Mama.**
But Panui now is like a champion[TAH] -- given permission to

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go out in the night. [...] That walk home...the evening of my climb here, I said: What? You have enough years to go out at night on the...road? (He) said: (It's) permitted by Mama.

Tapu made her voice high-pitched for this final bit of reported speech from Panui, dialogically emphasizing both his pre-pubescent age and his like-a-champion attitude.

However, her primary if implicit criticism is of his mother for letting him go out like that. This she made clear during our transcription session, telling me that she feared that Panui's parents were neglecting him, letting him stay out all night, by contrast with Mihiau who, even though several years older, is ***sage*** 'good', coming in at five or six in the evening, the sort of behavior that gives less cause for worry to his parents, to Yvonne, and to Ro'o (the **haka'iki** of the island). In Tapu's eyes, children's proper formation and behavior is a matter of concern not only for parents and teachers, but also for **haka'iki**.

c. Appealing to the **ka'oha** of others

From early on, children are also prompted to engage in interactions not only with younger children (i.e, taking on

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the caregiver role) but also with others (relative peers, older caregivers, and outsiders) for various purposes. Through these socialization strategies, children are launched into active roles in the acquisition of a psychosocial stance with which to meet their needs.

Thus, as was discussed earlier in this chapter, by the age of two, children are being engaged by caregivers in a number of phatic interactions that, whether products of indigenous **ka'oha** or Western ***politesse***, demonstrate and instill the concerns of the community toward people at varying degrees of intimacy and distance within their social universe. **Pe'au** routines, in particular, are used sometimes merely in practice sessions to teach the words and genres, the important persons with whom to engage and the important subjects about which to talk, as well as the attitudes and keys needed to accomplish particular goals. And this is true, whether a child is learning to answer the telephone or 'call out' in a more indigenous style (as Siki was in a couple of instances).

However, most such **pe'au** routines are enacted within realistic triadic participant structures (in which an actual third person is present) so that children are engaged via a

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kind of ventrilcquism in appropriate social interactions that teach them not only what and how to say what and why to whom, but also what to expect in response. That is, the caregiver directs the child to say something to a third party that will elicit a response from that party. In the process, the child learns the linguistic and pragmatic forms appropriate to that interlocutor and that objective but also some more general notions about what one can expect to get from or give to others (in the way of material objects, emotional support, services, and information), and how to assess and deal with another's status, needs, and perspectives. Structured games make a wonderful metaphor for clarifying this issue.

While playing a game of bingo, Noella instructed her two youngest children (prior to the baby's birth) in how to play. On the one hand, three-year-old Tava and five-year-old Julia were still learning the technical rules about hearing and reading called numbers, placing seeds on these numbers, and identifying a **bing** (the word used when a winning pattern has been created on the card) or a **tiaki** (literally 'wait', but in this context a situation in which one is waiting for a particular number in order to win). On

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the other hand, they also had to learn some of the social rules for interacting while playing. For instance, players take turns holding the bag and picking and calling numbers out of it, and this takes some negotiation. Also, if one needs more seeds to put on one's card, one may need to ask for them. Thus, Noella advised Julia at one point: **Ai! *Il te reste un, Bébé. Il te reste un. Dis à Tehina: Donnes à moi.*** 'Hey! *You only have one left, Baby. You have only one left. Say to Tehina: Give me.*' This Julia promptly did and as a result received from her older sister Tehina a new handful of seeds with which to continue playing (N3/6.607-8). In other words, here she was learning not only what to say, but also how to assert her gaming rights and priveleges.

This instruction in how to **keu** 'play' occurs in many normal (non-gaming) interactions as well. For instance, eleven-year-old Rafa used a **pe'au** routine to instruct Siki in how to make a plea for a candy, guiding him as well in a challenge of his grandmother's interdiction that it was bad for his teeth (S7/21.13-19):

13. Rafa: **Pe'au 'oe: Kaki au.** 'You say: I want (the candy).'
14. Siki: **Kaki au.** 'I want.'
15. Pahio: **Kaki 'oe te manini? Hauhau no to 'oe niho.**

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'You want the candy? Bad for your teeth.'
16. Rafa: **Pe'au 'oe: 'A'o'e, mea meita'i.**
'You say: No, it's good.'
17. Siki: **Meita'i.** 'Good'
18. Rafa: **'A'e hauhau.** 'Not bad.'
1. Siki: **'A'e hauhau.** 'Not bad.'

Although **pe'au** routines frequently set up amusing situations for caregivers and allow them to effect their own ends, they also sometimes provide opportunities to **hakako** children in certain psychosocial stances that would be effective in particular contexts. Thus, while this episode was clearly a source of **keu** amusement for Rafa, it was also his way of teaching Siki the art of appealing to his grandmother's **ka'oha** while also developing his **putu'i** identity.

Given training of this kind, children evidenced their abilities to enlist their caregivers' **ka'oha** in a number of ways that represent a dialogic mix of the pragmatic resources their caregivers have **hakako** 'taught' them and the stylistic creations the children themselves develop out of happenstance and ongoing interactions.

In all of the families, there is evidence of children of almost all ages appealing to their caregivers (especially their mothers) for objects, for attention or credit for good behavior, for reports or explanations, for help when they

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are hurt, and for aid in resolving conflicts with other siblings. Children employed a number of forms varying in tone from **uē** 'crying, whining' to more nuanced or manipulative variations that imply patience and fortitude while nonetheless keying the interlocutor to respond. The forms these pleas take and the responses they receive depend primarily on the age and gender of the child speaking but also in part on the psychosocial style of the family.

Needs and requests for objects were read into the mouths and minds of even prelinguistic children, such as Hina and Aere, based on their gestures and sounds. In particular, the needs of babies for food were generally anticipated and quickly placated. Although the more Westernized Noella discussed the needs of her children with me, caregivers rarely verbalized these **pe** 'soft' needs as they were being addressed. But one interesting exception was Tapu's teasing 'babytalk' reading of her son's scratching at the floor as a **kaki** 'need' to **kokikokiko** 'go outside' (T4/18.301).

Once children were speaking, they used single nominatives to make their desires known -- e.g., two-year-old Siki's use of **'anani** to request a grapefruit in example

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#20. If the wish could not be granted (as in the grapefruit example), elaborate schemes for distracting and teasing the child's attention away from the object were used.

Although the **uē** 'crying' of little children is labeled in this way, the person who has **ha'auē** caused the crying is blamed for this, rather than the crying child (as in the example above in which Pahio reprimanded Puhe for making Teani cry [M10/23.180]). However, by the age of three or four, children's pleas in a certain key, although still referred to as **uē**, begin to be perceived as objectionable 'whining',[11] and children who engage in too much of this are labeled ***bébélalas*** 'cry-babies'. The fact that this whining was not always acceptable even from some of the youngest children was indicated by caregivers' variable responses to pleas in this key. For instance, when three-year-old Poutini was whining that he could not find his pants: ***Mami, n'a plus à moi.*** *'Mommy, no more of mine,'* Tapu mocked him, mimicking and exaggerating his tone: ***N'a plus à toi.*** *'No more of yours'* (T3/11.9-10). However, at one point Tapu and Poea chose to allow him and the five-year-old Pio to begin eating before the prayer, while the eight-year-old Vaite was castigated for whining: ***Moi, je veux manger.*** *'I want to eat*

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(too)' (T5/13.191-208).

Even two-year-old Siki's desire for **ka'oha** and companionship (i.e., the cure to 'loneliness') was variously humored or castigated. On one occasion, he was cajoled out of his desires to go with his Tati Teresi as Iku teasingly accused him of wanting to **ha'apa'opa'o** 'tire out' Tati (S8/19.403-608). But another day, his wish to go to their house was actually fulfilled (S9/4.204-33).

By contrast, in example #15, four-year-old Teani was first teased, but then roundly rebuked for her recurring desire to be with her mother. Not only was she no longer the baby of the family (Tahia having usurped that place a little more than a year after Teani was born), she was also no longer young enough to be **uē** 'crying' for what she wanted in this way.

One interesting internal dialogic code-switch used for the purposes of pleading involved the term **manini** meaning 'sugar' or 'sweet', as well as 'orgasm'. **Manini** is one of a number of evocative words in **'enana** whose sounds and intonation are iconically charged with something essentially **'enana**, in this case features of the sweetness and sexuality of life in the archipelago. For young children, a request

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for a ***bonbon*** would not carry nearly the same significance as the insertion of **manini** in the middle of an otherwise ***français*** utterance. Because of its layered significance, expressive of ethnically-loaded affect, it conveys some of the same cloying impact as a whining reminder that 'you promised...' does in English.

Similarly, the pleading tone in which even children predisposed toward ***français*** pronounced the word **ina'i** 'meat' was indicative of the high regard felt for this food. And like **manini**, **ina'i** also has sexual connotations. Thus, the dialogic code-switch acts like a plea for the stuff of **'enana** life.

Children as young as two-year-old Siki pleaded for objects using the direct and aggressive claim in both languages: **Na'u**! or ***A moi!*** 'Mine!' This selfishness was apparently accepted as part of their **putu'i** nature at this age. Credit for activities was also requested, like objects, using the simple form: **Na'u!** 'Mine!' This similarity is not surprising given the parallel structure in **'enana** of using possessive particles to possess not only objects but also actions.[22] For example, Poutini used this form in trying to get Tapu to attend to his attempt to write

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his name (T3/11.66). The FR structure used by **'Enana** for this function is that of emphasizing the agent with a fronted demonstrative clause (as opposed to a calque of the **'enana** form), as when Pio took credit for getting a mango: ***C'est moi qui a cherché le mango.*** *'It was I who got the mango'* (T5/13.533).

Siki had no real need to elicit interest from his caregivers regarding his positive behavior or attributes as attention and compliments were frequently forthcoming. However, this did not stop him from engaging in a scaffolded sort of bragging, usually about his 'strength'. For instance, while carrying the 'heavy' lemon bucket, he happily parroted Moi's comment, repeated several times: **Mea 'i'i Siki.** 'Siki is strong' (S6/16.31-42). Similarly, he responded to Rafa's query: **Teke atu 'a'e?** 'You're strong, no?' by showing his arm muscle and repeating a number of times: **'A, Teke!** 'There, strong!' (S8/19.516-25). I suspect that this response to and encouragement of his pride, already carried out in a teasing genre, would be further tempered by challenges and critiques within the next year or two.[33]

However, even very young children's assertions of

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desire and pride were not always self-centered, but were sometimes extended by an appropriative speech act inclusive of their immediate community. For instance, three-year-old Poutini claimed the prizes shown on the Millionaire TV show: **Na matou!** 'Ours [pl/exc]!' meaning that he wanted to take this stuff for his family and away from the persons on TV (T4/18.404). In another instance, he requested more meat for himself and his brother with whom he was sharing a bowl: ***Le ina'i à nous deux!*** *'The meat for us two!'* (T5/13.294).

All of the three-year-olds in my study had already learned to modulate their requests for objects sometimes by using the dual inclusive possessive: **Ta taua!** or its calque ***A nous deux!*** An extension of the appropriative act illustrated above, this is performed in a softer, pleading tone. Manu translated it as ***partager*** 'share' when it was used in this way, but literally it means 'ours' (yours[sg] and mine), implying pragmatically: make the thing you have be for both of us. This seemed to be an important step in learning not to 'whine'.

Children from the age of about four laid claims to objects using simple and relatively polite request formulae in both ***français*** (e.g., ***Donne un peu...*** *'Give a little...'*)

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and **'enana** (**Aia tuku a'e** ... 'Please give a little...'). Thus, Noella's children engaged in a constant flow of requests (e.g., for crayons or paper) the day they came to my bungalow. For example, nine-year-old Tehina asked: ***Julia, donne un peu le crayon papier.*** *'Julia, give a bit the erasable pencil'* (N4/12.338). When a desire for something was not granted, a child might go over that caregiver's head in the authority pyramid. For instance, Perena reprimanded Tava for taking more paper: ***Gustave, ne gaspille pas; c'est pas à nous.*** *'Gustave, don't waste; it's not ours.'* He then appealed to me in a small voice: ***Un peu les feuilles.*** *'(Give) a bit some paper'* (N4/12.242-3).

However, the younger the children, the less apt they were to use the polite particles such as ***un peu*** and **a'e**, much less the formal formulae such as ***s'il te plaît***. Thus, two-year-old Siki almost never used these, and six-year-old Julia rarely (although, for some reason, four-year-old Tava appeared to have gotten wind of the efficacy of these forms). On the other hand, even if the particles were used, younger children tended toward a more pleading tone and manner. For example, in Tapu's household three-year-old Poutini appealed in a whine over and over again: ***Donne un***

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***peu***... (T5/13.352-4).

Young children also produced other specialized forms for signaling an appeal to their caregivers' **ka'oha**. For instance, two common terms were ubiquitously used to refer to pain -- **mamae** 'painful' and the CGR **vivi** meaning both adjectival 'painful' and nominal 'booboo' (***bobo*** in FR CGR). For example, Siki used **vivi** repeatedly when he wanted Iku to give him a shoulder ride, implying he was too tired or hurt to walk on his own too feet (S8/19.603). Another day he mentioned he was **vivi** and his Pahio responded by querying as to who had hurt him: **Nai ha'avivi?** 'Whose make hurt?' (S7/21.239-248). The equivalent in ***français*** -- ***faire mal***, literally 'do harm' -- was used by Poutini at the thought of having his bandage changed: ***Après ça va faire mal?*** *'Afterwards, it's going to hurt?'* (T7/27.31). The younger the child, the more quickly such appeals were attended to.

Finally, young children 'tattled' extensively to older caregivers.[24] Speech acts of this type represent in miniature the reporting encouraged through report requests and modeled by adult gossiping. Tattling itself was modeled by some adult caregivers tattling to each other: e.g., Tapu told Poea that Pio was making the baby cry: **Papa, 'a Pio...e**

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**ha'auē nei 'ia Patrice** 'Papa, (attend to) Pio...(he's) making Patrice cry' (T7/27.115-116).

Given such examples of how the genre works, it is not surprising that children learned to use this as an appeal for caregivers' aid in resolving a number of kinds of conflicts. For instance, children sometimes tattled in order to procure an object from another child as when five-year-old Pio complained: ***Maman, tu sais...va pas donner ma feuille.*** *'Mama, you know...(Vaite) won't give my paper'* (T3/11.149).

However, tattles were used not only to represent pleas for help in a dispute with a relative peer, but also in the form of reporting on others in the role of assistant caregiver. Even young children attempted to negotiate their way into this role by bringing an older caregiver's attention to bear on another child's wrong-doing. For example, five-year-old Pio told on Aere for peeing on a chair: ***Bébé, on a fait ici*** *'Baby did* (it) *here'* (T3/11.18). This strategy is more fully elaborated upon in the reports of older children.

In general, young children learn to request (but do not always receive) their caregivers' attention for a number of

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needs. They ask for help in procuring objects. They look for credit for their praiseworthy activities and creations. And they seek out their caregivers' help and concern if they are hurt, lonely, or caught in conflict with their peers. Children under the age of five call out **E Mama!** in a pleading tone to get the attention of their caregivers. By contrast, older children are taught that this form is disrespectful to use with authority figures. Generally speaking, children over the age of five do not engage in such direct appeals. Nonetheless, older children too have their ways of attracting their parents' **ka'oha** and/or otherwise meeting their own psychosocial needs.

First of all, while older children do not desist from expressing desire for food and other objects, they do find more circuitous approaches. In Noella's family, nine-year-old Tehina was the one who was known for needing a lot of food. However, she channeled her self-interests into a more impersonal-sounding concern over whether there was enough to go around. For instance, one day when I came over to tape at midday, she was querying her father: ***Papa, c'est quoi à nous* kaikai?** *'Papa, what's our* meal?' He said that he was cooking breadfruit, and she asked: **Mei avec *le quoi?***

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'Breadfruit *with what?*' When he replied that there was goat, she asked: ***Va assez ça?*** *'That will be enough?'* (N9/10.A12-25). Later in the same session, as the meal began, Tehina inquired again if there was enough **ina'i** 'meat', and as no one replied she began helping herself. However, Noella stopped her: ***'Ua ava....Ça suffit....Un peu de régime toi aussi.*** 'Enough....*That's enough....A little diet for you too*' -- like the baby who was getting too big and had been put on a milk-only diet that day (N9/10F.120-135).

Most importantly, older children seek out their caregivers' **ka'oha** by speaking and behaving maturely as assistant caregivers. On the one hand, this role gives them the opportunity to ventriloquize their needs through the **pe'au** requests of younger children.[15] Additionally, it allows them to gain credit for attending to their younger siblings' assets and failings. But perhaps most importantly, having proven their maturity, they can seek out **ka'oha** from their caregivers in the form of inclusion in a more adult-like intimacy -- i.e., based on teasing, gossiping, and other displays of **ka'oha** manifested by peers.

In particular, children attempt to direct caregivers'

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attention in something like peer relationships by displaying or reporting on their own and others' activities. This was of particular interest when the reports were of activities outside of the immediate context as this began to most nearly resemble the adult genre of 'gossiping'.[36] Even young children attempted this at moments. For instance, to attract my attention, Tapu's two little boys told me about the oranges being sent on the next boat to Poea's friend in Tahiti who had expedited a shipment of plywood Poea needed for building his boat (T5/13.54-71).

However, almost all of the older children did this with real regularity with their immediate caregivers, but some had to work harder to capture their caregivers' attention. As mentioned above, Noella's children of almost all ages not only requested and received a lot of attention for their accomplishments and activities, they also found it easy to engage their parents in reports on their own and others' activities. For instance, eleven-year-old Perena frequently involved herself in adult **tekatekao** by, for instance, asking her father in **'enana: Te'ā mene...Tuku'īa na 'oe?** 'That goat...returned by you?', i.e., did you give away the goat that used to be here.

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By contrast, Tapu's older children worked harder to get her attention for their gossip and praiseworthy activities, having to make their way through a lot of her mocking at their failures to get the words out and the narrative straight. Nine-year-old Vaetui's attempt to interest her mother in an account of how the other children had looked to her to explain Vaite's lack of a French name (example #6) illustrates how such an aim could be easily derailed.[37]

Nonetheless, they continued to report matters to their mother in an attempt to get some response. For instance, through several turns (and two code-switches) nine-year-old Vaetui worked to attract her mother's attention with her tale of how the copra dryer was left open and the rain began. Vaetui wanted to assign blame for this situation (it was her father who left it open) while also trying to take credit for having attempted to rectify it (she tried to pull it back on by herself, but it was too heavy). Significantly Vaetui started this report in **'enana**, i.e., a metonymic choice based on a typically **'enana** topic. However, this being the code of adult **'Enana** interactions, her choice operated more significantly as a dialogic ploy to capture her mother's attention by behaving like a peer. The

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attention-getting narrative was a success in that Tapu finally responded with a question about who put the cover back on (T3/11.145-57).

Given the relative lack of compliments and interest expressed in Manu's household for laudable activities, it is not surprising that her children rarely even attempted to direct their caregivers' attention to these. Instead the children were far more concerned with covering up their reprehensible activities or reporting on others' less than seemly ones -- as when five-year-old Tikare informed me: ***Tu as vu Puhe? Il a fait caca par derrière notre maison.*** *'Did you see Puhe? He took a poop behind our house'* (M3/19.261).

However, in one example, mentioned above as an instance of caregiver **ka'oha,** Mama Maria expressed her concern for her twelve-year-old granddaughter Maria's hurt back. However, after admitting her back was still **mamae** 'sore', the younger Maria responded to this as she would to peer **ka'oha** from a **hoa** 'friend' by gossiping back in a blaming tone: **Mea totahi atu te tuku mai'īa hua haika.** 'What's more I was given that medicine (which didn't work)' (M10/23.31-33). Peer **ka'oha** is expressed as much through the mutual bad-mouthing of others as through directly expressing

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concern for each other. In this way, the young Maria was laying claim to a more adult status (using, by the way, a complex syntactic structure in **'enana** and thus marking herself as a fluent adult insider gossiping with another true **'Enana** about those **hao'e** doctors who had given her the bad medicine).

While tattling to a higher authority to protect one's own interests brings more of a response from caregivers when in the mouths of younger children, it continues in use even among older children. For instance, with Vaite absent, Vaetui resorted to an extended accusation: ***Vaite, elle, elle a mis mon pantalon.*** 'Vaite, she, she put on my shorts' (T4/18.31-206).

Older children also sometimes try to turn the tables altogether by expressing caregiver **ka'oha** for their caregivers. For instance, Vaetui expressed concern for her mother who was busy cooking: ***Maman [...] tu Manges pas bien.*** *'Mama [...] you're not eating well'* (T5/13.332-4). Though she did not respond to this verbally, Tapu did then sit down to eat. And in one interesting instance of reverse **ka'oha** by a boy, eight-year-old Puhe tried to prohibit Manu from smoking. When she did not put out the cigarette, he accused

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her: ***Maman, tu m'as menti.*** **[...] Pe'au'īa e 'oe:** ***les femmes enceintes ne fument pas.*** *'Mama, you lied to me. [...] Told by you: pregnant women don't smoke'.* Manu asked him sarcastically to provide the sources of his allegation: ***Qui t'as dit alors que je suis enceinte?*** *'So who told you that I am pregnant?'* When both he and his younger brother Tikare insisted it was she, she turned to me to say, shaming them with overt gossip, that they had spoken last night of a pregnant woman: ***C'est pour ça ils disent que je suis enceinte.*** *'It's for that that they say I am pregnant'* -- insinuating in a typical critique this lack of understanding by children (M8/31.220-29). Thus, in this family a son's attempt to express caregiver **ka'oha** for his mother was met with mockery.

As has been examined in this section, children learn about caregiver **ka'oha** through engagement in caregiver displays either as participants or onlookers. What they learn is what they can expect in the way of concern from their caregivers at various points in their own development, what they should express themselves in the way of concern as they develop into caregivers, and what are the foci of

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concern, i.e., what sorts of attributes, feelings, activities, interactions, and thoughts are appropriate topics of concerned expressions. As a result children learn various forms and keys for appealing to the **ka'oha** of their caregivers.

Ideally this forms the basis of their adult appreciation of the principle of **ka'oha** around which their sense of 'community' is organized. That this indigenous principle appears to be under attack at this time in history may be related to the way in which the complementary indigenous principle of 'shame' is also interacting at this time with 'anger'. But to fully understand these shifts in the psychosocial dynamics of the society, it is necessary to look first at how 'shame' and 'anger' are applied in the socialization process and then at how children are at present rallying to confront their caregivers' attempts to shame them.

## 2. Socialization via **pekē** and **hakaika**

Children's behavior and speech is not simply guided by modeling **ka'oha** in a **ka'oha** manner, i.e., using gentler,

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concern-filled methods to demonstrate how to behave inclusively and engage others through one's concern. Their interactions are also guided via the principles of **pekē** 'anger' and **hakaika** 'shame'. While some strategies rely entirely on an ability to instill **ha'ametau** 'fear' via 'anger', others rely on the more complex practice of **ha'ahakaika** 'shaming' which can range from 'angry' to almost 'playful' in key. In this analysis, I move along this spectrum from physical punishment through 'scolding', 'threatening', 'mocking', and 'teasing'. The form and substance if not the 'angry' key of the more punishing methods appear to be most obviously influenced by French socializing ideologies, whereas the more playful ones seem to be more indigenous in origin.

a. Caregiver displays

Physical punishments (mostly slaps and earpulls) were used with some regularity by caregivers (adults and older children) in all four families with whom I worked. In addition, verbal expressions of **pekē** 'anger' were also common. These took the form of **pekē** 'scolds,' **ha'aha'ametau**

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'threats,' and **maio** 'mockery.'

The **pekē** 'scolds' practiced in all of the families showed extensive French influence, both in form and content. First of all, peremptory commands in ***français*** such as **Allez!** '*Get going*!' and **Attends!** '*Wait!*' are ubiquitous. Older (and, in my study, female) children were scolded extensively for not performing certain household tasks well enough or fast enough. For instance, Tapu scolded nine-year-old Vaetui for not cleaning a pot (T5/13.103-7) and a little later for taking too long doing it: **Ça traîne 'oe, Vaetui.** '*That dawdling* you, Vaetui (T5/13.149). Later still, Tapu told Vaetui not to play with the oven light that way: Don't you know how to do it? (T4/18.217). This led into an overall warning that Vaetui must learn to clean house now she is big (T5/13.472), which led into a mini-rampage about how Vaetui must quit playing like a child and do her work at the house if she wants not to be a disgusting wife (T5/13.547-551). Similar scolds directed at older children, while angry in tone, were also messages about how to care for younger children (discussed at more length above in the **ka'oha** section). For example, Tapu yelled: **Vaite, e aha tenā mea 'a pepe kai anā?** 'Vaite, what's that thing

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baby's eating there? (T5/13.157-170).

Secondly, children attempting to investigate a visitor's belongings are reprimanded with two formulaic phrases: ***Touches à tout!*** *'You're touching everything!'* implying the imperative: 'Quit touching everything!'(T3/11.6) and ***Ne joue pas!*** *'Don't play!'* (T3/11.120)). The latter is also frequently produced in **'enana** as **Mo'i e keu!** (T3/11.55); or by a similar formula: **'A vai!** 'Leave (it alone)!' (T4/18.221). The concern with leaving others' belongings alone has clearly been influenced by French notions of property, privacy, and theft.

Another common scold that would seem to reflect a Western concern involves stopping children from making too much noise: ***Tais-toi!*** *'Shut up, you!'* (T4/18.26). However, this is also sometimes produced in **'enana** as well: **Tu'itu'i!** (M4/14.564). One other scold used only by Noella and her children was ***Mal fait!*** *'Badly done!'* (N5/10.430); it had no **'enana** counterpart.

In addition, ***gros mots*** 'swear words' in both ***français*** and **'enana** usually have to do with sex organs (e.g., ***couillon*** *'balls'* [T3/11.2]) or excrement (e.g., **tutae pi'au** 'stinky shit' [M4/14.738]), and their use is reprimanded,

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although not always and sometimes only after some initial show of amusement. For instance, in response to Tonton Iku tickling him, two-year-old Siki launched the epithet: **Pi'au 'ota, e?** 'Stinking smegma, yes?' Iku giggled in reply: **Pehea?** 'How's that?' I interjected an **Ooo** of mock shock, to which Iku responded in a sarcastic tone: **E, hoa.** 'Yes, truly.' He then reprimanded: **'A'e ati'i nā.** 'Not like that,' and continued tickling and vocalizing: **Ei! Ei!** As a result, Siki produced the swear another couple of times, and although Iku repeated his reprimand, he also continued tickling and chortling (S10/9.582-91). In other words, sometimes the apparently mixed message lets the child know that the transgression is entertaining; in this way, the participants through swearing and laughter index and co-construct subversive resistance to the dominant French ideology concerning proper behavior.

As was explained earlier, Noella and Tapu tended to rationalize their scolds as well as their commands. For instance, after yelling at eight-year-old Vaite for letting the baby eat some sugar cane, Tapu explained that a rat had been eating it (T5/13.157-170). By contrast, Manu's scolds came out as absolute, unmitigated reprimands or angry

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directives, offering little rationale.

Caregivers also sometimes gave triadic scolds in which another caregiver was asked to scold a child. For example, Tapu told her husband Poea: **'A pe'au 'oe 'ia Vaetui: 'Hano mai te tama iti.'** 'You say to Vaetui: Bring here the little baby,' because nine-year-old Vaetui was not listening to Tapu's request (T4/18.314). When directed at a higher authority figure (as in this case), such a triadic scold operated bivalently such that the child to be scolded would also hear this and perhaps act before s/he received the scold from the scarier authority (Tapu relied on these forms as she did on threatening to tattle in a way that Noella did not).

When a triadic scold of this nature was directed at a lesser caregiver, it might take the form of a bivalent scold, i.e., the older child was being scolded for not attending to a younger child who was being simultaneously (or nearly so) scolded for misbehaving. For example, Tapu called out: ***Attention!* E-Pio! Enā keu 'ia te mea!** *'Look out!* Pio! He's going to play with the thing!' The first half of the turn was directed at stopping five-year-old Pio directly from playing with my tape recorder, while the

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latter (signaled by a rhetorical code-switch) was directed at Pio's nine-year-old sister Vaetui and implied: Why aren't you watching and stopping him! (T3/11.16).

However, regardless of origin or form, caregiver's 'anger' was used pervasively in all four families to display disapproval of certain activities and enforce the enactment of desired behavior. The power of 'anger' expressed in this way lay in the existence of underlying **ha'aha'ametau** 'threats' (literally 'make afraid'). The ability to make children afraid was expressed not only through commands and reprimands combined with an angry intonation, but also more simply in the form of sounds, gestures, and looks. In other words, implicit in most scolds is an underlying threat of further consequences, more or less clearly articulated. For instance, a raised hand accompanied by **'A?!** is frequently used to suggest that a slap will follow if the behavior is not altered. But sometimes angry looks and intonation simply operate as the pragmatic act of excluding the child from the caregiver's **ka'oha**, which also instills 'fear' in the child. Manu's angry look in example #15 amply illustrates this approach and its frightening effect on little children.

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In addition to the implied threats found in all such scolds and gestures, many caregivers also articulate the possible consequences more clearly. Stern reprimands are sometimes accompanied by the expressed possibility of a spanking: **Kaki au pehi 'ia 'oe?** 'Do (you) want me to hit you?' (T4/18.21; N5/10.767, N10/22.50) or by a gesture to hit accompanied by a question such as: **Kaki 'oe te'ā 'a?** 'You want that there?' (T3/11.4). Manu tended to use the exaggerated form: **Kukumi au 'ia 'oe** 'I'm going to kill you' (M4/14.746), which Noella said she thought wrong in that it would scare children. As a representative of Western ideology, Noella was apparently expressing the notion that one should punish children, but not 'scare' them with too much 'anger'. Of course, this ideal is rarely realized in Western socialization practices anymore than it was in the Marquesas as the feeling of 'anger' leaks through most scolds, threats, and punishments.

Other threatened punishments include formulaic ones such as: **'A kohi te ka'o** or ***Va ramasser les feuilles*** 'Go pick up the trash/leaves' (M4/14.739) as well as ones discussed in reference to a particular situation such as Tapu's: **Pao na'e 'a'e au e pe'au haka'ua 'ia Kate he'e mai**

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**'i tatou mea putu'i oko 'o'ua** 'When this is over I won't tell Kate to come here again because you two have been so bad' (T3/11.817).

However, not all threats of punishment took dyadic forms of this kind. Multiplex threats are those in which a caregiver threatens the intervention of someone higher up on the authority chain. For instance, a common exclamation by both mother and elder children was: **Pekē'īa e Papa!** '(You will) be scolded by Papa!' (T3/11.621). Sometimes this took the form of a threat to 'tattle' as in: **Pe'au'īa e au 'ia Papa** 'It will be told by me to Papa' (T3/11.216). In a rare reversal of the normal gender hierarchy, Poea, too, engaged in tattling threats warning the children that Tapu would punish them: **Enā Mama 'a ta 'ia 'oe me te akau** 'Mama's going to hit you with a stick' (T4/18.3). Such multi-party threats create a sense of surveillance -- i.e., the possibility that shameful behavior will be reported to a higher authority and/or to the wider community. In this sense, 'tattling' is related to the more encompassing genre of 'gossip'.

However, overt tattles (i.e., 'tellings' that take place in the presence of the offending party) frequently

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operate as more of a bivalent threat. For example, nine-year-old Vaetui tattled to her mother about her three-year-old brother: ***Regarde un peu: Poutini va'e mea te manières...Lui, il fait des manières*** *'Look a bit:* Poutini is busy putting on the *airs...He's putting on some airs* (T5/13.174-8). Here Vaetui may have translated her **sarapia** into ***français*** in part because she intended Poutini to hear this tattle and change his bad manners before his mother got to him. But while partly a rhetorical switch for this reason, I would, in fact, consider this a dialogic switch in that the FR term ***manières*** encodes French ideology about how children ought not to behave and so switching in this way elicits metonymically as well her own and her mother's powers as French-invested authority figures.

Over developmental time, fear of physical pain and of social exclusion are merged as the notion of **hakaika** 'shame' is forged. Socializing strategies, even ones loaded with 'anger' but also far more 'playful' utterances, can then build on the ability to trigger **hakaika**, i.e., on the ability to **ha'ahakaika** 'shame' (literally 'cause shame').

Angry shaming of children may take the form of **paha** 'insults' and **maio** 'mockery.' This is in clear contrast

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with the practice among adult peers who, as was explained above, are not supposed to attempt to shame each other openly and angrily. Instead, adults cloak their critiques of other adults in 'teasing' and 'gossip' and thus avoid outright insults for which they in turn would be shamed. Thus, the only peer insults I heard adults produce were cloaked by the language barrier or were said under their breath or when drunk. However, such behavior was not infrequently performed in the presence of children, and I recorded one example of how this covert form of insulting may operate more openly as part of the new television-watching context and thus provide great modeling of this genre for the children. While the whole family was watching ***"Millionaire"*** (example #7), Tapu and Poea mocked the television personalities: ***Stupide!*** (T4/18.454) and **Taioro!** (T4/18.379). The polite denotation for this TAH term is 'fermented coconut milk with shrimp', but by extension it means something like stinking smegma/uncircumcised penis and is used as is **karaihi** in **'enana** to signify something like 'stupid **Hao'e**'.

Moreover, insulting behavior of this kind, while covertly performed vis-à-vis other adults, was openly

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employed by caregivers in the form of direct invectives to 'shame' children. A related form of this 'shaming' was what I call *overt gossip* -- i.e., talking negatively about a child to others, but directly in front of him or her. I refer to this as a kind of 'gossip' because of how it mirrors the sorts of critical reports about others that one finds in real 'gossip' -- except that in this case it does not happen behind the object's back. Here the child is not only learning by example the genre of 'gossip' but also in an unmediated form the shaming effects of this genre. That is, adult 'gossip' creates 'shame' for the object of gossip, and although this shame inevitably gets back to the shamed object, it comes via various mediated channels. By contrast, the child object of overt gossip is shamed immediately, but in the process begins to experience how such gossip-based shaming works.

Thus, although neither direct insults nor overt gossip were used among (non-drunk) adults, caregiver discourse was filled with censure via both these genres concerning children's shameful acts of stupidity, laziness, or wastefulness. As a result children made good use of these forms in their own peer disputes, prior to developing the

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'flexibility' of adults (as is discussed in the next chapter).

Transparent evidence of French influence on **'enana** socialization practices can be found in the notions codified by the many loan words used so liberally with opprobrium. ***Gaté***, meaning 'spoiled', is applied across the board to youth these days who are thought to have had it easy by contrast with their parents. ***Gaspillage***, meaning 'waste', is issued as a reprimand, as in 'You're making a mess!' ***Bourrique***, pronounced **poriki** in **sarapia**, literally 'ass', is an epithet assigned to children and incompetent others, who are proving themselves to be slow-witted or clumsy (see example #17, in which Moi directed Siki to tell me I was **poriki** for being slow to collect lemons).

Several terms show some interesting slippage in the form of contradiction and/or synchrony between French and **'enana** notions of good and bad behavior in children. ***Têtu*** 'stubborn' was used in speaking ***français*** much as **putu'i** is when speaking **'enana** to criticize a rebellious child. However, I believe there is some tension between the French and **'enana** notions encoded in these words as **putu'i** is also translated as 'cheater'. This denotation lends support to

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the idea that childish stubbornness is interpreted as an intentional attempt to do something tricky, rather than simply a refusal to do what is being asked. As was mentioned above, by indigenous standards, this is not necessarily a bad trait in children on their way to becoming **kako**.

Secondly, the term ***bébélala*** 'cry-baby' is commonly used in all four of the families with whom I worked, both as a taunt in direct address and as an indirect, shaming slur. Though half the term is FR and is reduplicated like other FR CGR terms, it could not be found in any FR dictionary nor was it recognized by several francophone informants from France. Interestingly, it is found in Haitian discourse (B. Schieffelin, personal communication), and thus may have its origins (like ***charabia***) in nineteenth-century, French colonial interactions. Nonetheless, the concern with hiding weakness is clearly of indigenous import as well in the Marquesas.

Finally, a number of FR terms are used to critique youth, although not as epithets. For example, ***promener***, an expression for 'taking a walk', when used by **'Enana** generally connotes that the young walker is on the prowl, or

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'wandering' as I translate it, and looking for some sort of illicit trouble (to do with drinking, drugs, or sex).

Also, as already mentioned, **sarapia** was used derisively by my transcription assistants to label the mixed-up speech of their children whom they said were confused by the two languages and as a result were incapable of following directions or transmitting messages accurately. Where communicative confusion of this kind develops, blames to do with stupidity and incompetence (**poriki**) as well as stubbornness and trickery (***têtu*/putu'i**) follow. These criticisms are then easily conflated into insults to do with lying and hypocrisy (***hypocrite*/tivava**) as is also frequently manifested in conflict discourse between children.

Finally, French notions of sinning also creep into instances of direct criticism, for example in Tapu's use of the term **teka** 'sin' to fault her five-year-old son for his error in performing the **pure** 'prayer' before the meal, especially given that he had had the presumption (pride) to ask to do it (T5/13.219). Although I lack evidence to support this, I hypothesize that this sense of 'sinning' is related to the Catholic notion of faulty performance that can be easily absolved, by contrast with the notions of

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wrongness buried deep in a person's character that are found, for instance, in Jewish or Protestant notions of 'guilt'. I imagine that the Catholic notion of 'sinning' was easier to syncretize with **'enana** notions of a flexible person (one whose behavior is only contextually, not absolutely, incorrect) than would Protestant notions of the person as more deeply flawed.

Related to this idea is the fact that **'enana** children were shamed for not abiding by the codes of what should or should not be hidden in the presence of a **Hao'e**. For instance, certain subjects ought not to be raised in 'polite' discussion, e.g., excrement, as when ten-year-old Tehina reprimanded Tikare for telling me about Puhe's **caca** 'poop' behind the house: ***Quoi, tu crois elle a envie de savoir?*** *'What, you think she wants to know?'* (M3/19.261-4). Similarly, four-year-old Teani told me that her chicken had taken a 'poop', and her mother responded rhetorically in an exasperated, shaming tone: **On a besoin de savoir?** *'We need to know?'* (M8/5.772).

In Noella's family Tava, the only son and youngest (3-4 years old) before the arrival of the new baby Hina, was alternately privileged and scapegoated. Although the object

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of both direct insult and overt gossiping, he was apparently allowed to get away with more misbehavior, in this way contributing to the development of his identity as a male. On the one hand, the others accused him of weakness and fear. For instance, in example #2, five-year-old Julia announced that Tava was afraid to explain his drawing (N4/12.224) and in example #3 the others taunted him for being afraid to jump in the river (N5/10.598-600). They also called him ***maniéré*** 'affected' when he cried. On the other hand, they laughingly berated him as a 'little pig' **kaiu puaka** in example #1 for being sloppy in the way he ate (N3/6.621-33) and for scribbling all over everything (N3/6.166-71). His sisters reported to me in front of him that he was an example of **'enana hauhau** 'bad men' who do people harm (N8/2.B27-35). And while transcribing one time, Noella told me that Tava got into fights a lot and that she would warn people that he was ***méchant*** 'mean' (N8/2 note). She was concerned that he was not spanked as much as the others and so was not learning limits. Thus, although the feedback he received was referentially negative in that he was being called 'bad' and 'wild', the attention was nonetheless engaging, and he apparently enjoyed the strokes.

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However, Tava was not the only object of overt gossip in Noella's family. In one example, Noella and nine-year-old Tehina joined forces in mocking Julia, who was cracking chestnuts with a hammer at that moment. Noella commented to me: ***Casser les noix. Après elle se tape sur les doigts. Et elle vient pleurer après.*** *'Cracking nuts. Afterwards she bangs her fingers. And then she comes crying.'* Tehina then produced a mocking high-voiced imitation of Julia's cry: ***Oui, oui, s'il te plaît, j'ai tapé sur le doigt.*** *'Yes, yes, please, I banged my finger.'* Eleven-year-old Perena, being less prone to this mocking style and apparently more concerned by her sister's problems, mentioned: ***Maman, un bleu ici, on a déjà vu? Elle a [_____]*** *'Mama, a bruise here, you've seen? She has [_____].'* Noella retorted (N5/10.315-8):

***Parce que elle joue trop. Regarde. Elle a des bleus partout. Elle monte peut-être sur les cailloux. Après elle glisse, elle tombe. Elle a un gros noir là, sur l'autre côté.***
*Because she plays too much. Look. She has bruises everywhere. She climbs perhaps on the rocks. Afterwards she slips, she falls. She has a big black one there, on the other side.*

In other words, Julia was being blamed for her propensity to hurt herself, and her appeals for **ka'oha** were being mocked

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(shortly after I left the field the nurse helped identify that this bruising was part of a malady of some significance). In such ways, an odd balance between expressions of **ka'oha** and elicitations of **hakaika** was maintained in this family.

In Manu's family both of the boys were also subjected to male conditioning (though perhaps without the same undercurrent of **ka'oha** expressed toward Tava). For instance, after assigning eight-year-old Puhe the punishment of collecting leaves, Manu scolded him for looking like he was going to cry: **Mo'i 'oe hano mai e uē mai, e?** 'Don't you come crying here, yes?' (M4/14.739). In other words, don't try getting out of this punishment by appealing to my **ka'oha** like that. Not that he ever did actually cry (shed tears), Manu reported to me. His age and gender would work against it. In addition, in this incident, he was further subjected to overt gossip as four-year-old Teani took up the shaming with a mocking cry: ***Tout seul, c'est comme un bébélala.*** *'All alone, it's like a cry-baby'* (M4/14.741).

However, these forms of admonishing critique and overt gossiping were not reserved only for boys in Manu's family either. Teani was the one known in this family to always

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want more to eat, which was expressed, for example, in her plea: ***Mama, je veux pas avec Tahia....Je veux toute seule.*** 'Mama, *I don't want to (share a bowl) with Tahia....I want (to eat) all alone*' (M8/5.146-8). In response, Pahio mocked her in the form of overt gossip (and using humorous **sarapia**): ***Tenā...si te paho'e Leticia...si n'a pas de sa'o, n'a pas de kaikai***. 'That...*if* the little girl *Leticia...if* (there) *are no sao* (crackers), (there) *is no food*' (M8/5.165).

As mentioned above, the caregiver technique of gossiping about a child in her presence not only exerts constraint but also models this ubiquitous mode of interacting. Similarly, caregiver 'mockery' (a more hostile form of 'teasing') both models the genre and teaches children how to feel and behave when confronted by this kind of **keu**.

In Tapu's family a mocking tone was used to shame all of the children, regardless of age or gender, except the baby. For instance, as discussed above, Tapu mimicked and exaggerated the tone of her three-year-old son Poutini's whining complaint about not finding any pants (T3/11.10). Similarly, Tapu used a sarcastic tone in criticizing her

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nine-year-old daughter Vaetui's efforts at caregiving and housekeeping. For instance, when Vaetui found some too-small shorts to help dress Pio, Tapu laughed at her: **No Pio tenā?** 'For Pio that?' (T3/11.1). And in another instance, Tapu challenged Vaetui's claim to having already cleaned the crabs for the meal with a series of caustic remarks: 'you shelled them as I did yesterday? ... oh really, those there? ... flies are gathering on them' (T4/18.50-68). Poea too produced some of this sarcastic criticism as, for instance, when he was trying to ascertain whether Vaetui had done an adequate job cleaning the house: **'O ia ta'u mea kanino nei** 'Hers (it will be upon) my seeing the thing here' (T5/13.468); in other words, I'll believe it when I see it.

Sometimes Tapu's mockery was explicitly metalinguistic as when Vaetui responded vaguely to a report request about the whereabouts of the lemons she had collected, Tapu retorted: ***Il y a toujours plein* 'mea'** '*There are always a lot of* **mea**' (T4/18.107). This had been a common complaint leveled at Tapu and her peers by her French teachers at school, i.e., that they mixed this **'enana** term for 'thing' into their ***français*** as both a turn-holder and a generic nominative and verbal (in fact, everyone in Hatiheu was

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'guilty' of this linguistic tick). However, Tapu seemed here to be as concerned about the imprecision as about the **sarapia**.

She came up with two other humorous if perhaps clichéd reflections on her children's linguistic performances. In attending to five-year-old Pio's difficulties writing his name, she announced: ***Avec toi, quand tu marches, c'est la tête qui marche*** *'With you, when you walk, it's the head which walks'* (T3/11.47). And at the end of this session, she castigated Pio for doing nonsense talk into the microphone: **'A eponei, to 'oe 'eo me he 'eo piha.** 'Later your language will be like cow language' (T3/11.957), i.e., when we played it back and tried to transcribe it.

Frequently Tapu's sarcasm focused on the issue of children thinking themselves bigger and older than they were, i.e., an issue of 'pride' (of which she herself was accused by older women in the community). For instance, Tapu asked five-year-old Pio: **Maka 'a 'oe?** '(You think) You're big?' (T5/13.439). And in denouncing her godson Panui for wandering (as discussed above), she manifested a similar concern with his inflated (***gonflé***) sense of being big, as she reported she said to him: **E aha? 'Ua ava to'oe**

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**ehua mea he'e 'i te tumoe ma he mea...va'anui?** 'What? You're old enough to be out sleeping in the road?' (T5/13.327).

Most of Tapu's mocking tended to take the form of direct commentary; however, she also sometimes engaged in overt gossip as in her critique of three-year-old Poutini for not eating: **Enā *maniéré* hua poiti nei** 'This boy here is *acting affected*' (T7/27.20). In another example, speaking to me in front of her children, Tapu mocked them for greedily eating up the crepes she had made without showing any appreciation: ***Ils sont tellement gourmands. Ils vont pas dire: Maman, c'est bon.*** '*They are truly gluttons. They won't say: Maman, it's good*' (T5/13.392).

For all of the adult caregivers, there was no clear line between this serious mocking tone used to shame children out of their present behaviors and a more purely playful tone used to tease and engage while also instructing them as to what is worthy of shame or concern. However, for Tapu, Mama Maria, and Iku this was particularly true. Their teasing is the subject of the rest of this section.

When caregivers 'tease' children, they **keu** 'play' on the edge between 'shaming' the children for weakness and

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offering them **ka'oha** 'compassion'. Sometimes caregivers bring up a clearly fearful or painful experience -- whether remembered or imagined -- in order to provoke a child into performing and interacting. Taking the form of threats, accusations, dares, or mock inquisitions, these provocations make the children feel, imagine, and speak while also giving caregivers an opportunity to manipulate these responses.

In some **keu**, caregivers threatened to expose a child to some pain or danger, pressured him or her to do something undesirable, or accused him or her of some reprehensible behavior. On the one hand, such teases challenge children to claim forms of knowledge or bravery. On the other hand, they also help train children in the management of **pe** feelings (e.g., 'fear', 'anger', 'sadness', 'loneliness'), which they are bound to feel given the ubiquity of this shame-inducing genre. In other words, such provocations show children how to equate feelings of fear and sorrow with shame for these feelings and how to hide or transform these feelings in order to deflect the shame that teasing inspires. And in the process of learning to deal with teasing, they also prepare to engage in it at others' expense. Thus, such teases play a part not only in teaching

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children about what to feel in the abstract, but also in shaming them into proper behavior in the concrete moment, providing opportunities too for learning to rebut the shaming discourse.

The two-year-old Siki was frequently involved in pretend threats and mock inquisitions that were intended in part to get him performing for my tape recorder. However, these were also familiar mocking forms intended to teach experience not only in **keu** but also in the proper subjects of **hakaika**. In one instance (part of example #21), Tonton Iku engaged Siki in a series of report requests as to the whereabouts of his parents and little brother (S10/9.632-653). In the final query: **'A'e 'oe he'e? 'A'e? 'A'e 'oe he'e? 'A'e?** 'You don't go? No? You don't go? No?' Iku was, in effect, jibing Siki for his weaknesses: for missing his parents and for being unable to go join them in Bora Bora. While I do not presume to know what feeling(s) exactly Iku would have expected Siki to be experiencing about this (whether **vivi'io** 'loneliness', **uē** 'sadness', or **pekē** 'anger'), what is clear is that the underlying expectation is that he ought to be feeling something and should as a result have some response to this situation,

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which indeed turned out to be the upset vocalization: **Aiiii!**

Iku then immediately switched to another painful subject by threatening to send Siki to the French nurse (Barbara) for shots for his leg sores. After repeated attempts at just saying **Non!**, Siki responded: **(E)nā vivi!** 'That will hurt!' And after continued debate and whining, Iku recommended as a palliative the performance he had been trying to elicit all along: **Himene, enā ko'e vivi.** 'Sing, that will dissolve (the) pain' (S10/.654-701). These and other teasing tactics clearly touched **pe** spots in Siki and thus succeeded in eliciting shows of wide-eyed emotion which were in turn gently mocked.

In the Teikikaine family, both Tati Moi and Pahio were masters at such teasing provocations. In one session, Pahio got her eight-year-old grandson Puhe all riled up by making him think she was going to force him to grate a lot of coconuts to make **pi'ahi meika**, a sweet banana paste he did not even like. His twelve-year-old cousin Maria, too, was happy to join in the tease (M10/23.350-367). Similarly Tati Moi once (in example #12) upset the four older children by suggesting that they help her plant sweet potatoes (M6/23.84-857), which led into a fascinating dispute over

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who had rights to which produce on the land lying between theirs and their grandmother's house as well as one tree down at Moi's house. In other words, caregivers succeeded through these interactions in their objectives of eliciting verbal performance from the children while also achieving a number of other goals.

An extended sample from Manu's family, already referred to several times, illustrates the contrast between angry and teasing techniques for shaming children's objectionable behaviors and how both methods function to socialize the child's feelings and articulations of those feelings. In this example (#15), several caregivers of all ages were shaming the four-year-old Teani for her desires and crying modes of appeal, which were as has already been explained no longer appropriate given that she was no longer the 'baby' of the family. In the course of the session, Teani was prevented twice from accompanying her mother and in the course of the others' dialogue it became clear that this was not an unusual event, i.e., Teani was always trying to follow her mother when she went off somewhere.

In the first part of the incident, Manu rebuffed Teani's attempt to follow with an 'angry' reprimand,

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vocalization, and look (72, 77). Although Teani was initially upset by her mother's eyes, saying that they 'scratched' her (78, 81), she managed to identify her mother's attitude with that of a bull (in a sense metaphorically glossing the 'anger'), and so transformed her **pe** needs ('loneliness' and 'fear') into the less immediate and less shameful (because non-social) fear of bulls: **C'est comme ça le taureau?** *'It's like that, the bull?'* she asked, making her eyes fierce and putting her hands on her head like a couple of horns (87).

Teani appeared to be Pahio's favorite grandchild at that period (having been apparently semi-adopted by Pahio when Tahia was born). Thus, Pahio frequently teased her in ways filled with **ka'oha**. Thus, in this example, and perhaps by way of rewarding Teani for having flexibly reconstructed her **pe** feelings, Pahio responded by teasing her about the bulls: how many there were and how big their horns, engaging her in a mock inquisition as to whether they shouldn't all go visit the bulls tomorrow, and as to whether she'd been too afraid to go last time (88-108). When the twelve-year-old Maria objected to the proposal of visiting the bulls (102) saying that tomorrow would be Sunday, Pahio confirmed

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the performance elicitation goal of this talk by responding (103): 'It's just talk...,' and the pretend immediately resumed with Maria now contributing by teasingly exaggerating the number of bulls (106).

In this case, Teani gullibly responded to the teasing by showing some wide-eyed 'fear' at the thought of visiting the big-horned bulls, while also objecting staunchly to the allegation that she had not gone before out of 'fear' (apparently she had not gone because Pahio told her not to because of all the **nono** up there -- these biting insects being more bothersome if less terrifying). Pahio and Maria then mocked Teani for showing herself vulnerable to believing their claim that a billion bulls lived up there on the plateau (88-108).

By contrast, somewhat later in this session, Teani again expressed her frustration at not being allowed to go with her mother, but this time her caregivers responded with far less teasing **ka'oha**, responding instead at the more **pekē** end of the **hakaika** range. First, Manu slapped Teani (M10/23.343) so that she broke into inconsolable crying -- not that anyone tried to console her. Instead, her caregivers spent the next few minutes shaming her for her

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needs. First, Pahio mockingly criticized Manu for slapping Teani -- not because the girl was hurt, but because it had started the crying and put an end to the **tekao** 'talk' -- i.e., a source of inconvenience and shame vis-à-vis the **hao'e** researcher (344, 346). Next, eleven-year-old Tehina vocalized angrily at Teani (368). Then, twelve-year-old Maria threatened to slap her (373). Finally, eight-year-old Puhe, Maria, and Pahio all engaged in overt gossip about **te uē** 'the crying' of Teani and how if it went on like that my tape might never be 'filled' or only with her presumably useless wails (37-381).

By contrast, in Tapu's family this level of 'angry' shaming was almost never seen. Instead, teasing was the style used with all of the children, even the baby, being only later transformed into the more sarcastic (less **ka'oha**-filled) mockery used frequently with the older children.

In one example, she nudged the baby away from her breast using his stuffed animal to playfully challenge him: ***C'est le nunu qui mange le* titi.** *'It's the* stuffed bear[CGR] *who eats the* breast[CGR]' (T3/11.163) -- i.e., attempting to engender via this tease **pe** feelings of 'envy', 'fear', 'anger', or whatever. And in another example she tried to

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shame him for having unwashed genitals. After calling to him using his full **'enana** name plus **poriki** 'stupid': **A'ereto'ari'inoro'omataroa poriki**, she went on to say (T4/18.315-7):

**Kokoro kai'īa e te kori. *Attends, attends, laver* koko, *laver* koko, 'a Mama, e? Laver koko, e? *Laver* koko, e, 'a mama, e? Ma *laver* koko, e?**
Balls[CGR] eaten by the ants. *Wait, wait, wash* balls[CGR], *wash* balls[CGR], Mama's (to do), yes? *Wash* balls, yes? *Wash* balls, yes, Mama's (to do), yes? Ma *wash* balls, yes?

That is, to impress on him the importance of washing down there, she piqued his 'fear' that his balls were going to be eaten by ants.[28]

In a similar instance of concern over cleanliness, genitalia, and hiding what ought to be concealed, she teased him for leaning over in a way that exposed his buttocks: **Ai! te tuta'e!** 'Oh! the shit!' (T7/27.48).

In addition to teasing him into an awareness of what he might feel or possess but should hide (in the way of **pe** feelings and dirty genitalia), she also provided teasing support for the kind of willful, wildness expected of boys. Thus, as mentioned above, instead of physically preventing him from climbing back up onto a counter from which he had just fallen and for which he had had to be comforted, she

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teasingly reprimanded him using his nickname **Patiri**. This MQ'd version of his FR name Patrice, also means 'thunder' in TAH and 'ardent, passionate' in MQ, and is used for someone who is afraid of nothing, according to Tapu (T4/18.224-6). In other words, while trying in an off-hand way to save him from further harm, she was also encouraging him in his 'passionate' or **putu'i** nature. At another point she called him **Monsieur ha'a 'enana motua** '*Mr.* make man/father' (T4/18.356), or as she translated it for me: 'You're out there in the big world making a real father/man of yourself, aren't you?' Again, her concern with an inflated pride over being 'big' is evident.

However, some of this teasing concern continued with the older children. Thus, when put out by trying to care for three-year-old Poutini's wounds, she nonetheless teased him for parading around with his bandage on his stomach instead of on the wound on his butt: **'A'i au pe'au 'ia 'oe tenā mea humu kopu. E mea humu keo.** 'I didn't tell you to put that thing to tie stomach. It's thing to tie butt' (T7/27.32). And in another instance, Tapu teasingly intervened in an attempt by five-year-old Pio to cast blame on his three-year-old brother Poutini for wetting the bed.

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Pio was trying to interest me in a report to this effect when Tapu stepped in and inverted the tattle by accusing Pio instead of doing the peeing. She insisted several times despite his claims to the contrary. Given her teasing tone, I assume his version was the correct one and that she was simply interested in the comic effect of making him squirm at having his childish blaming act turned back on him (T7/127.141). However, as I hope I have begun to make clear by now, one of the effects of **keu** in Hatiheu is that of obscuring, or rather pragmatically proving the unknowability, of what really happened.

Tapu also engaged in a number of more prolonged teases with the older girls, to which they were apparently learning to respond in like kind. For instance, in example #6, Tapu actively and teasingly involved herself in a dispute between them over Vaite's name (T3/11.185-215). At issue was, first of all, Vaite's arrogance over the **'enana** name she claimed she had been given: **Tahia te po'otu** which means 'beautiful princess'. In this case, Tapu deftly poked at Vaite's pride by reimposing her family nickname, which means 'many fleas'. Secondly, Vaite's ability to report events accurately was being questioned, and she was being asked to defend her

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credibility. In other words, Vaite was teased into an emotional defense both of her integrity as a reporter (someone capable of **tekatekao**) and her claim to beauty, a beautiful gift-name, and the relationship it symbolized.

In Tapu's household, requests for information from the two older girls met with some resistance in the form of mockery, bearing the pragmatic message that the children ought to figure these things out for themselves -- i.e., ***débrouiller***.[23] Thus, at one point Vaetui and Vaite managed to elicit from Tapu an explanation of how the rechargeable batteries for my tape machine were recharged, but not without Tapu manifesting frustration that the girls did not understand more quickly based on the analogy she was making with the recharger Poea used for his night diving light (T3/11.847-888). In another example, Vaite and Pio asked about some new horses just delivered by the cargo ship from the next island over -- whose they were, where they had arrived from, and whether they were pretty. In response, Tapu gave up the information sparingly and then began a teasing **pe'au** sequence advising them to go ahead and telephone their aunt to send some over for them, to which Vaite replied that she already had but without success

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(T5/13.503-524).[30]

The efficacy of modeling these teasing methods is proven by the fact that younger caregivers in all the families demonstrated some budding skills at engaging in such taunting teases with younger children. For instance, in example #13, seven-year-old Tikare took obvious pleasure in pointing out the abscess on Teani's butt and eliciting her fear that he would tell Papa to pop it (M8/5.837-857). And Rafa's extended tease about naming the ***pamplemousse*** (example #20) is another instance of a young caregiver using such a teasing goad to maximize his young charge's frustrated **kaki** 'need' and elicit his **pekē** 'anger'.

b. Learning to confront **hakaika**

Children responded to these various shaming techniques of caregivers in a variety of ways ranging from submissive obedience to confrontative practices of their own. On the one hand, most children tended to obey commands with some regularity and were affected by the **ha'ahakaika** 'shaming' practices of their caregivers in somewhat obvious ways. That is, they curtailed or hid their shamed behaviors,

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discussed among peers the possible effects of not doing so, and adopted their caregivers' shaming practices with their own younger siblings. On the other hand, they also confronted the moral authority of their caregivers in a number of ways which varied depending both on the age and gender of the child and the psychosocial style of the family.

First of all, as was discussed above, young children (especially boys, but also girls) are allowed and even encouraged to express disrespect for their caregivers, i.e., to be **hauhau** 'bad' and **putu'i** 'stubborn, sneaky'. Remember, for instance, the way in which Noella ventriloquized for baby Hina in a **putu'i** style that Papa ought to clean up the mess after her bath.

And when children are capable but do not yet know how to perform in this teasing way, caregivers take it upon themselves to teach them. Thus, Moi engaged in a number of **pe'au** routines with Siki that took the form of teasing the **hao'e** researcher. In example #17, after directing considerable **ka'oha** at making him feel like a ***champion*** for carrying the heavy bucket with the lemons, she encouraged him to begin bossing me around -- telling me to pick up

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lemons (using peremptory imperatives), calling me **poriki** for being too slow, and castigating me for picking up lemons covered with chicken shit.

In this case, Moi's primary motivation was that of easing the tension between Siki and me by showing him he could use these **keu** forms with me rather than all the stiff and formal ***politesse*** his Pahio had been asking him to **pe'au** for the ***Madame***. As a result, Siki became very competent at performing in the **putu'i** ways expected of and elicited from him (i.e., treating me like his worker instead of a ***Madame***). Indeed, he went on to be even more **hauhau** with me, using ***couillon*** regularly as a comment on my demands or as a term of address. Thus, while the elicitation of these expressions of Siki's **putu'i** nature was not at all unusual, I heard from Moi that his grandmother was feeling 'ashamed' when people started gossiping about the fact that he was regularly calling me ***couillon*** 'testicles' as this cut too deeply into her sense of ***politesse***.

In more general terms, these teasing **pe'au** functioned as lessons for Siki in how to **keu** -- about what was acceptable with whom, how far one could go, and what forms could be used. Additionally, Moi was skillful enough at **keu**

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to be using these teasing **pe'au** routines triadically to continue my own socialization into **'enana** culture -- in other words, rather than focusing Siki on the management of **pe** feelings in this instance, she was using him to elicit these in me, and left me to **tepurie** 'make do' as I could.

This developing capacity to use disrespectful forms with caregivers was not unique to Siki. Manu reported that the two little girls Tahia and Teani made fun of her regularly, and indeed I have on tape one instance in which the two-year-old Tahia called her **tutae moa** 'chicken shit', reiterated in **sarapia** in the next turn as **kaka pule** -- from FR ***caca de poulet*** (M4/14.765-7). I suspect this was a rather extreme example of the liberties young children are allowed to take with their elders and would have been analyzed by others in town as evidence of the wild ways sprouting up among **'enana** youth these days, particularly in some less well-cultivated homes such as Manu's. Nonetheless, that such behavior arose at all speaks to a general pattern of tolerating and even encouraging a certain amount of **putu'i** uppitiness from young children.

Indeed, Manu reported that her older children would never have addressed her like that. This may be an accurate

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representation of differences between these children (regardless of age), or simply an instance of Manu forgetting over time how the older ones once behaved. What is clear is that generally speaking, as children mature, confrontative disrespect is less common and discouraged -- especially among girls, perhaps, but again the lack of older boys in my sample makes this difficult to assess.

Two of the oldest boys in the study, Manu's Puhe and Tikare, were constantly challenging their older sisters' authority; however, I rarely witnessed them directly confronting Manu (or their father). Instead, they discussed hiding their 'bad' behaviors from their mother and manifested some concern that she would hear them on tape and punish them for what she heard. For instance, according to eight-year-old Puhe, Manu pulled their ears after hearing their **totoua** 'fight' during the first taping session (M6/23.571-3).[31] In another instance, they were anxious that she would 'hear' their laughter of excitement over watching a dog licking himself: **E, e 'oko'īa e Mama!** 'Hey, hey, it (will) be heard by Mama!' (M3/19.575-7).

Also, Siki's young uncle Rafa's many triadic interactions with Siki not only showed Rafa's concern with

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encouraging Siki's **putu'i** nature, but also gave Rafa's own rebelliousness a playing field in which to **keu**, but in a way that allowed him to evade full responsibility for some of the challenging remarks he goaded Siki into saying. That is, of all the boys in my study eleven-year-old Rafa was showing most signs of learning to **keu** and be **kako** 'flexible'.

Older children do sometimes engage in more stubborn and direct resistance to their parents, but all of my examples involve older girls. For instance, Tapu scolded nine-year-old Vaetui for 'talking back': **Mo'i 'oe pahono mai ani'i anā . Oko? Mo'i 'oe pahono mai!** 'Don't you talk back like that. Heard? Don't you talk back!' (T5/13.547-551). And when, in response to a command from eleven-year-old Perena to be quick, nine-year-old Tehina used a nasty tone in saying: ***Attends!*** *'Wait!'*, Noella scolded her: **Mo'i 'oe pahono mai ati'i nā, e?** 'Don't you talk back like that, yes?' Tehina then switched to a softer voice in repeating her appeal: ***Attends!*** (N5/10.211-4).[12]

But resistance could also take slightly more covert forms. One method is that of responding to a caregiver with strategic CS. For instance, as mentioned earlier,

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negotiations over authority may involve internal dialogic switches carrying ethnicity-laden connotations. ***Français*** may be used if the authority figure does not speak this language as well. For example, twelve-year-old Maria once pointedly inserted ***ampoule***, implicitly correcting her grandmother's MQ'd usage of **apure**, in an otherwise **'enana** dispute over who had done what with a light bulb -- valued because these items were scarce (M10/23.321).

Similarly, children frequently engaged in rhetorical response switches when confronting caregivers' commands, i.e., responding in whichever code the caregiver was not using to signal their disagreement with what had been asked of them (e.g., T5/13.540-2).

In another example, Vaetui held on through several turns to her appeal for a **titi'o** (the spongy piece inside a ripe coconut considered a tasty treat) which she particularly coveted, even in the face of Tapu's expressed displeasure: **Epō 'a! Vaetui, epō e hoa!** 'Wait there! Vaetui, wait truly!' Tapu wanted Vaetui to be focused on shelling the crabs at that moment. Vaetui's switch from her initial claim in ***français***: ***'A moi*** 'Mine' to the more fully articulated **'enana** claim: **To'o au na'u** 'I'm taking for me,'

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appeared to operate as a dialogic response switch. That is, she was not only rhetorically reiterating her claim, but also responding to her mother's reprimand, taking up the **'enana** adult code choice in order to stage herself on an equal footing. Tapu then threatened to hit, but Vaetui had already popped it in her mouth and signaled her victory with an open-mouthed vocalization. In response, Tapu mockingly mirrored her daughter's impolitely open mouth (by French standards) with a French expression of disgust that made her own tongue stick out from between her lips: ***Meeee*** (T4/18.165-176). In other words, she responded teasingly -- as one might to a peer -- rather than as a reprimanding authority figure.

Thus, this teasing style of Tapu and several other caregivers invited the development of their children's ability to **keu** in response. And the girls in particular were already replacing more confrontative practices with a teasing style of tussling with authority figures.

For instance, seven-year-old Vaite was showing signs at an early age of learning from her playful mother that she could respond to her parents' mockery by mocking back without dire consequences. However, she displayed a

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somewhat less flexible, more insulting mode of **keu** than did her parents. For instance, in attempting to distract Vaite from roughhousing, Tapu teasingly accused her of having made ***caca*** 'poop' in her sleep. In response, Vaite made an ugly face and said: ***T'es méchant!*** *'You're mean!'* (T4/18.440-5). In another example, Tapu teased Vaite for having gotten the day of the month wrong: ***C'est seulement chez Takuani qu'il y a le quatorze*** *'It's only in* Takuani's (world) *that this is the 14th,'* again using Vaite's grandmother's name to indicate Vaite is crazy like her grandmother. Vaite gave the stilted retort: ***A toi aussi. Il y en a ton Takuani***. *'Yours also. There's your Takuani there.'* (i.e., you're crazy as your mom too), and gave Tapu a couple of light slaps accompanied by mock angry vocalizations (T5/13.185-190).

Sometimes Vaite insulted her mother in seemingly unprovoked fashion as in example #8, when she called her mother: ***Cacheur!*** meaning 'one who hides,' for attempting to conceal the hole in her shorts (T5/13.51). In fact, this may well have been Vaite's attempt to evade her mother's command to do her work. And in another example discussed earlier, Vaite mocked her mother for not having gone to

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church (T5/13.89a). Vaite tended to 'scold' her, Tapu reported while transcribing this incident -- for instance, Vaite would remember promises and object if they were forgotten, and as a result Tapu would try to 'do better'. This form of 'teasing' was typical of their relationship and a salient example of the ways in which children found ways to effectively insert their own agenda into the socialization process.

Nine-year-old Vaetui was also demonstrating some capacity in this subversive mode of resistance to caregivers' authority. For instance, when Tapu called Vaetui's godmother Maryanne fat, nine-year-old Vaetui turned a qualified affront back on Tapu: ***Pas vrai!. [...] Ma marraine, elle est un peu grosse. [...] Comme toi***. *'Not true! [...] My godmother is a little fat. [...] Like you'* (T4/18.73-81).

And in a brief but interesting multiplex interaction, Vaetui appeared to be developing the ability to balance playfulness with criticism in the role of teaching younger siblings to do the same. The passage begins with three-year-old Poutini protecting his claim to a crab which Vaetui was trying to keep on the table so he would not make a mess

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eating it. Tapu transformed Poutini's inarticulate plea into a little nonsense song sung to the tune of a child's song about pulling your ears as you dance. In response to this intervention, Vaetui incited the baby Aere to invert authority by pulling Tapu's ear (a common punishment). Tapu took up this triadic tease from Vaetui by playfully accusing Aere of being ***Jaloux***! *'(You're) jealous!'* because she was playing with Poutini -- i.e., an instance of shaming the preverbal male for manifesting his **pe** feelings (4/18.412-422).

In Noella's family, nine-year-old Tehina was the daughter who seemed already to have negotiated her way into this teasing style with her parents. For instance, one day, she attempted to shame them in a playful fashion for falling asleep and snoring in front of the television the night before. First, she tried to trap her mother into lying about staying awake for the movie: ***Tu as vu tout le film? Quand tu as regardé, il y avait plus de film?*** *'You saw the whole film? When you watched, there was no more film?'* After Noella claimed she had, Tehina went on to contradict this with a comic portrait of how she had caught them in the act: ***Papa, il était en train de faire kloo....Toi, tu étais***

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***en train de faire brroom brroom...*** *'Papa, he was making klooo....You were making brroom brroom...'* (T5/10.256-272).

These few examples are indicative of the general way in which children begin to transform the confrontative practices learned from **pekē** forms of 'shaming' into the more playful ways of taking a stand modeled on their caregivers teases. Generally speaking, **keu** functions as an older child's ploy to gain the status of something closer to a peer with their older caregivers and is also in line with their attempts to engage their caregivers' attention through **tekatekao** 'gossip' -- i.e., the two forms of intimacy displayed among adult peers. Tensions over how to gain access to adult-style relationships and modes of interaction are much of what is at stake in the peer negotiations discussed in the final section below.

C. Conclusions

Whether socialization strategies take the form of commands to perform talk in exact ways (i.e., **pe'au** routines) or of Q/A sequences that elicit talk about events (emotional or not), all are used to shape children's

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acquisition of linguistic forms and practices by engaging them in the interactive genres of **keu** and **tekatekao**. Through these interactions, forms of talk are modeled, elicited, and corrected such that children learn not only what to say but also how to say it (to whom and for what purpose). And in many cases, the larger discussions that result from these performance elicitation routines both index and define social details of interest.

However, socialization strategies in Hatiheu not only **hakako** children to **keu** and **tekatekao**, they also impel them to take responsibility for identifying and/or rationalizing their feelings, activities, identities, and relationships. A range of socializing rituals ranging in key from **pekē** 'angry' to **keu** 'playful' transmit a variety of metapragmatic messages about the sorts of behaviors which are considered more or less shameful and more or less proper (depending on context). Some of these messages are derived from French principles of ***politesse*** and others from more indigenous notions of **ka'oha**, while some represent a syncretic mix of the two.

But whatever the origins, caregivers contribute in this way to children's development of the psychosocial stances

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and strategies needed to move beyond the **uē** appeals of babies and the **putu'i** confrontative practices of **toiki** 'kids' to become more 'flexible' participants in village life. However, females are expected to do this at a younger age than are males. That is, girls from the age of nine and older are expected to begin to demonstrate their caregiver **ka'oha** as they take on more and more domestic duties. And in practice, by the age of 17 or so, most girls do settle down with (considerably) older men to begin having their own children, only expressing subversive challenges to this norm via prurient gossip and extramarital sex. Ideally, adolescent boys too will be **sage** 'good', but by covert ideology it is generally accepted that boys will pass through a more or less long stage of wayward youthfulness before leaving their wandering wildness behind to become mature **vahana** and fathers.

All of the interactive features, techniques, and routines used to socialize the expression of affect, the indexing of identity, and the pragmatic formation of relationships both reflect and contribute to the emergent synthesis of indigenous and French communicative practices, ideologies, and identities. And clearly, caregivers'

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dialogic demands and ideological practices are influential in the development of communicative genres, cultural precepts, and psychosocial stances by the children. But while caregivers' strategies play a large role, children also demonstrate agency in the language socialization process. That is, children learn to use the codes, communicative genres, and emotional keys they have acquired to create more or less effective interactive strategies with their caregivers.

Given the importance of carrying on with this final aspect of analysis, in the next chapter I address and illustrate with transcript examples the ways in which **toiki** 'kids' use ethnolinguistic resources to negotiate their psychosocial roles and statuses with peers. Looking at exchanges that range from **ta taua** 'sharing' to outright **totoua** 'conflict', I trace how ethnolinguistic forms (both communicative genres and CS strategies) are used to jockey in the emotional terrain of relationships and identities.

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## Notes

1. It is difficult to translate this phrase which embodies the conception that children must be formed, educated, trained like a rose to climb a trellis to bloom. It is the received notion that Bourdieu has critically unpacked. I would suggest that it may also underlie (in an uncritically received form) Levi-Strauss's raw/cooked opposition. And at its most pervasive, it was responsible for the French colonial ideology that their 'noble savages' ought to be transformed into 'little frenchmen'.

2. Moi's displeasure with this particular transformation I would suggest has to do in part with its ontological replication of the phylogenic movement of the MQ phoneme /k/ toward the TAH phoneme /t/. That is, as a speaker of **tahiti**, she at some level recognized that many MQ words have drifted toward (read: 'been appropriated by') TAH reflexes such as this, threatening the /k/ in **'enana**, which is of such salience to **'enana** ethnolinguistic identity, as witnessed by words such as **ka'oha**, **kanahau**, and **keu**.

3. While transcribing, Moi disapproved of herself talking 'like Siki' in this instance, too.

4. This child-centric referencing of others could be explained in two other ways. First, these terms could be considered proper names -- and in a sense my decision to capitalize them indexes my support for this theory. Nonetheless, such names are not ubiquitously used by other family members; that is, the grandfather would not address his daughter as Tati Teresi. Thus, his use of this name when speaking to her nieces still constitutes a form of child-centric practice. However, it is also possible that covert possessives underlie these kinterm forms. For instance, the last example could be derived from '(Go get) chewing gum from (your) pakahio.' Nonetheless, I would suggest that even this form aligns the speaker with the child's perspective to some degree. That is, the speaker (Siki's aunt) might instead instruct the child (Siki) to get gum from 'my mother', which would be more obviously self-centric.

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5. Given the fact that **himene** is a loan from English 'hymn', one might assume that when used in the imperative, this routine is largely related to Western religious practice. Indeed, the youngest catechism classes mostly revolve around learning little hymns, and most **'Enana** spend several hours a week in prayer groups or at church or preparing for special events and pilgrimages, singing in both **'enana** and ***français***. However, **'Enana** sang much and well long before the advent of missionaries; and, although the social relations and practices by which those songs were taught and performed were driven underground a century ago, the songs and the teaching techniques were not wholly lost and have been recently re-emerging in the context of the cultural revival movement as ancient songs and dances are remembered and revisioned during planning sessions and rehearsals. Both teachers and performers are highly valued, but a particular emphasis is put on giving credit to those who create and recreate the model texts and dances.

6. The prayer ought to have continued -- as it did, a couple of minutes later, when Tehina took over from her younger sister who was still struggling to complete it: ***Benissez-nous, Seigneur, et la nourriture que nous allons prendre. Amen***. *'Bless us, Lord, and the food that we are going to take. Amen'* (M8/5.220).

7. **(Te (i)koa ('o te) motua, (te) tama, (te) kohane meita'i. Amen. Te etua meita'i-e, penetitio mai 'oe 'ia matou me ta matou mea e kai. Na 'oe vai'ei mai. Amen. Te ikoa te motua, te tama, te kohane meita'i.**

8. Many of the instances of 'say-it' routines found in my transcripts involve the two-year-old boy Siki. This may have been due to the fact that of all the children I worked with he was the only one of that developmental age who was already recognized as producing words (unlike the baby Aere) but was not yet using multi-word utterances on a regular basis. Thus, he may have been the only one in my sample for whom such teaching routines would have been deemed necessary. However, it may also have been that he was essentially an only child, the next older child in the family being his ten-year-old uncle Rafa, and so received

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more of the sort of individualized attention found in other studies of 'say-it' routines in which there were only one or two siblings in each family. That is, not only were his caregivers more aware that they needed to work to get him talking for my sake as he was not naturally immersed in and being drawn out by an immediate sibling group, they also had the time and energy to be making him perform on a normal basis. Nonetheless, 'say-it' routines occurred in all of the families with enough regularity to point to their importance as a socializing strategy throughout this speech economy.

9. I use the term *pre-ported speech* to contrast obviously with *reported speech*. While the latter is (purportedly) a re-saying of something previously said, the former projects an utterance into some future or imagined context -- i.e., it is pre-said. Alfonzetti (1998) uses the term *virtual quotations* for this type of speech.

10. This is not unlike eleven-year-old Perena's objection to her four-year-old brother Tava's use of the nonce transformation **tinaso** 'dinosaur' discussed Chapter VIII. However, not all such transformed loans engender critique. In this instance, the problem may have had to do with the association between **su** and the illegal alcoholic 'juice' made by **'Enana**.

11. In one humorous example (#21), Iku was trying to elicit what Siki would say to get angry at Huki for stealing a puppy, but Siki heard the stock query: **Pehea to 'oe pe'au'īa 'ia Teiki? Pehea?** 'How was your saying to Teiki? How?' and produced the routinized (and in this context inappropriate) response: ***Merci***. (S10/9.130-33).

12. Of the few **pe'au** routines I recorded in Manu's house, most were about instilling this form of ***politesse*** -- but mostly by one child toward another and usually delivered in sarcastic tones.

13. In the Marquesas phone conversations are still special events as most people have never had service or have had theirs shut down because of the expense. And if they do have a working jack, they hide the phone unless expecting a

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call, lest some unauthorized person walk into the house and attempt to use it (this secrecy only adds to the phone's perhaps universal appeal to children).

14. The fact that this explicit training in address forms entails the caregiver's usage of terms appropriate from the child's perspective further re-enforces the pragmatic decentering habitus associated with the use of CGR.

15. Schieffelin did not find 'why' questions in her Kaluli child-caregiver data either (1986a). By contrast, adults initiate heavier discussions of causality with the question translated: 'What is the root?' (B. Schieffelin, personal communication), which sounds suspiciously like **'Enana**'s equation of the 'source' of things with tree trunks in the term 'tumu'.

16. In fact, I initially felt myself at sea in the culture in part because of the lack of any apparent need for or attempt at explication or prediction. Rather, the problems I experienced with finding reliable housing, food, and transportation, seemed to be accepted as the givens of life -- neither the result of any chain of causality nor amenable to prefigured transformation.

17. **'Enana** like Samoan has an array of morphosyntactic resources -- e.g., passive constructions -- for manifesting one's claim to reality.

18. Sao is a brand of crackers imported from New Zealand, now valued as a staple, especially by children in Hatiheu. They are crumbled in coffee like cereal for breakfast, and the brand name has been adopted as a generic with a glottal added to **'enana**-ize it: **sa'o**.

19. **Nana** is the typical 'bye-bye' expression heard throughout the Marquesas. Although neither FR nor MQ in origin, it appears in its reduplication to have developed as a CGR form.

20. And this is true even though, just as in the Western version of this communicative event, the act of 'saying' farewell can be performed and will be appreciated even if it

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only takes the form of a little wave without the 'bye-bye' word.

21. This term can also be used for adult grief, as for someone who has died. However, when speaking of the child version of this genre, the term is sometimes caricatured in a mocking tone and reduplicated to make it sound babyish as **uē-uē**. This pragmatic and metalinguistic attention to the term **uē** resembles that of the Kaluli preoccupation with **geseab**, a form of high-pitched 'pleading' (Schieffelin 1990).

22. This performative claim to credit for an act is also transformed into an evidential in blaming someone for a reprehensible act.

23. Even the most **putu'i** and macho of young adult 'wanderers' did not manifest 'pride' as one of their psychosocial attributes. To the contrary, this characteristic seemed to attach more to the older (if not wholly mature) male members of the elite.

24. The act of 'tattling' was frequently expressed in the passive form: it will be **pe'au'īa** 'told' or whispered **baki'ī a** 'whispered' to an authority figure. Generally, this formulation arises in the form of a threat. Among WAMC, this generally comes out as: 'I'm gonna tell.' However, among **'Enana**, the one threatening to tattle cloaks his or her own role as tattler, emphasizing instead the overseeing/hearing role of some larger non-present force of control. In a sense this replicates the local understanding of how 'gossip' works: shameful acts are reported for community-wide censure, but it is never easy to track down the perpetrator of the initial report (nor the actual substance of what was said). However, several exchanges among peers demonstrate how children are not hoodwinked by this abstention from responsibility -- as they challenge the tattler for an active if as yet unrealized act of telling: if you tell, I'm going to....

25.Other interesting multiplex interactions are also constructed by young caregivers' use of younger children's greater liberty to plead in order to attain something that

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the older child would be ashamed of or ineffective in asking for. For instance, eleven-year-old Rafa provided me with an interpretation of a half-articulated utterance by two-year-old Siki in order to imply that I should buy them some more candy at the store: ***Il dit que où va aller...chercher les bonbons?*** *'He says where are (we) going...to get some candy?* (S8/19.653).

26. 'Tattling' is related to this form of gossiping in that both involve reporting on someone's activities to another person higher up on the authority chain. However, gossip about others outside the home is contrasted with reporting on another child's activities inside the house because the latter is an attempt to direct superior caregiver's attention to a situation the child lacks the authority to manage whereas the gossiping is an attempt to claim the caregiver's attention as an act of sociability -- i.e., an essay at joining adult society.

27. This is an interesting school-based and FR-oriented example of how children were beginning to require and perceive the value in explanations. It seems significant that this explanation occurred in a school context and concerned the French issue of the lack of a FR name.

28. In examples such as these, I find it intriguing but difficult to analyze the morphosyntactic convergence of FR, MQ, and BT into a kind of caregiver's **sarapia**.

29. This is by contrast again with Noella who bragged about her own propensity for having learned in this way but had adopted with her children the Western style of hand-feeding information.

30. This, like the school trip example, is another instance of Tapu sarcastically advising her children to 'beg' for objects from others.

31. And yet this was also grounds for hilarity as he explained earlier: **E, te'ā mea te 'oa'īa 'oko ia ta tatou 'eo...*comment* to taua totoua'īa.** [...] **Paona'e me to tau he'e'īa me to taua rikai taua.** 'Hey, that thing the other time, she heard our voices...how our fighting. [...] Later

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with our leaving, we laughed, we two' (M6/23.411-3).

32. Interestingly, 'talking back' in this way is not only pragmatically addressed (i.e., scolded) but also metalinguistically labeled by the TAH form: **pahono** 'reply' (in all of my **'enana** dictionaries, I can only find **pa** 'spread' and **hono** 'a priest's cry'). I am tempted to explain the usage of this **tahiti** term as a metonymic switch indicative of an ethnolinguistic understanding of Tahitians as being generally more egotistical and confrontative than **'enana**, both in interactive style and in resistance to the French.

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# Chapter X

## From **Ta Taua** to **Totoua**: The Negotiation of Dialogic Identity

The communicative practices with which peers engage each other in Hatiheu are in part modeled on and in part creative transformations of their caregivers' socialization strategies based on **ka'oha** and **hakaika**. As such, children's peer negotiations involve both expressions of alliance, concern, and **ta taua** 'sharing', as well as more or less overt **totoua** 'conflicts'. However, the children tended to intermingle these two modes within any interaction, moving back and forth between them, depending both on speaker's concerns and addressee's responses. Thus, not unlike the dispute discourse engaged in by working-class African-American children in Philadelphia (Goodwin 1990), the interactions of **'enana** children are organized not around finding the quickest of resolutions to their conflicts but around the contestation, assessment, and construction of identities and relationships.

The children in all four families tended to share both subject matter and rhetorical vocabularies for these

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conflicts, referred to as **totoua** 'quarrel, fight,' **pe'ape'a** 'trouble' [TAH], and **pipiki'e'e** 'disputing, grousing' (the latter was primarily used for the 'little' disputes of children whereas the other two were used much more widely to cover the troubled discourse of adults as well). However, they differed with respect to their communicative strategies, emotional keys, and amount of dialogism used, much of this depending on age, gender, and particular family stylistics.

In terms of topics, the children disputed 1) ownership of objects (claiming and rejecting others' claims); 2) credit for knowledge, abilities, and praiseworthy actions (bragging and insulting); and 3) responsibility for objectionable actions (defending themselves and blaming others). In practice these three 'topics' tended to blend into one another as all involved the negotiation of interpersonal power as expressed via competitions over the possession of physical objects, abstract competence (knowledge and ability), and concrete acts.

One type of dispute that highlights the immateriality of subject matter is what I call a *reality clash*. Conflicts of this kind revolve not around ownership of an object or

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responsibility for an action, but around differences of perception concerning some bit of social action -- whether this be something someone said or did or some event that just transpired in front of the disputants. Through their general engagement in the report requests and gossip of their elders, **'enana** children are socialized early into the art and politics of recounting social action -- i.e., the importance of constructing evidence for their perceptions and interests while dancing through the minefield of emotions ('shame' and 'pride', 'fear' and 'sadness') that are aroused by assessing and relaying these events. Reality clashes are heightened contestations of these reporting genres, instances in which children challenge each other's versions of reality. As such, these disputes over versions of 'reality' (never wholly resolvable given the phenomenological inconsistency of social reality) represent salient sites for the negotiation of affect, identities, and relationships. In other words, while actors frequently have some material or political interest involved in perceiving a situation from a particular angle, *reality clashes* are disputes over issues that do not involve any such obvious interests but exist as blatant negotiations of the relative

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power of vision and voice.

But while the children in all of the families manifested an investment in all of these concerns (both material and immaterial), they differed somewhat in the strategies and modes by which they enacted negotiations. These variations stemmed in part from age and gender, in part from the different psychosocial styles of the families, and in part from ineffable idiosyncrasies of experience and personality impossible to analyze in this study. In general the strategies for dispute can be classified into two keys -- i.e., **totoua** (angry, intractable confrontation) v. **keu** (i.e., subtle, flexible, playful exchanges), the latter being the ideal form for adult interactions, the former found primarily among the immature and the drunk.

**Totoua** strategies include shaming, blaming, insulting, claiming, and other direct forms of challenges or instruction as to how one ought or ought not to be doing things. Here power relations are pragmatically inferred (if not ratified), while cultural knowledge about credit and responsibility for things and actions is explicitly negotiated at the referential level.

**Keu** strategies include both teasing and gossiping.

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These are inferential modes used by **'Enana** to let each other know how they and others are measuring up against local standards (measured in shame and flexibility) as well as how they are standing in relationship to one another, but all done using ambiguous forms. These practices function as interpersonal power tests: does the other have the knowledge to interpret the message (multiply referential and pragmatic) and the resources and skills to **keu** 'play' back: rebutting and one-upping but in a similarly veiled fashion?

As was discussed above, adult-child shaming frequently takes on a very playful quality of teasing, thus encouraging a child to ignore the apparent force of adult authority and enter into something closer to a peer relationship (based on **ka'oha**) with the adult. By contrast, among children differing in age by only a few years, the line between imposing control and jockeying for the authority to do so is not always clear and so their forms of mockery and open shaming rarely take on the balanced playfulness of adult **keu**.

Finally, **ka'oha** is manifested at odd moments in the middle of other more conflictual interactions and at times cannot be separated out from teasing interactions.

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Relationships forged in terms of 'compassion' and **ta taua** 'sharing' are sometimes useful when confronting an opponent, while other times 'concern' is implicit in a teasing relationship. Thus, some children establish alliances in part to protect themselves against the **totoua** barbs of others.

In some cases, a kind of 'buddy system' is imposed by the parents between an older girl and a younger brother (e.g., Vaetui with Pio, Vaite with Poutini in Tapu's family),[2] but sometimes there also appears to be a good character match (as between Teata, Puhe and Teani v. Tehina, Tikare, and Tahia in Manu's family), the insider relationships being indexed and constructed through **keu** and **ta taua** 'sharing'.

In other words, the themes that crop up in conflicts recur in children's constructions of friendship. That is, they show concern that their **hoa** 'friend' have access to physical objects and the appropriate attention for their knowledge, abilities, and positive actions, while helping them hide their shameful behaviors or painful difficulties.

In some families, one child is scapegoated as Tava was in Noella's family (perhaps because he was the only boy),

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being both insulted and teasingly incited as **hauhau** 'bad'. In Manu's family, Teani was identified as needy and castigated for her needs a lot. Perhaps this was her age as baby appeals should be replaced around the age of four by more mature, self-sufficient, and flexible modes.

Also, in each family, there appeared to be one or two children who were known by the others as being easier to get along with (for instance, easier to share their bowls of food with), i.e., the one who showed more **ka'oha** than the others. In Manu's family it was Tahia who was co-constructed to be the generous one. This was evidenced, for instance, by her voicings of concern that others have enough to eat and by the others' attempts to sit with her at meals.

The multiplex participant structure of many socialization strategies practiced in Hatiheu involve what I refer to as dialogism as one party enlists another party to speak to or for a third party. That is, by contrast with unmediated strategies in which speakers rely solely on the display of their own personal 'power', dialogic strategies use 'power' borrowed from or ventriloquized through another. These strategies are in turn learned and employed by children to project their desires, identities, and

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relationships using double-voiced media.

For example, in dealing with older caregivers, one child may command another to make an appeal which would not be attended to if the older child made the request directly. In this case, the child is using the force of the younger child's voice of appeal. In dealing with peers, children may enlist the parent's 'voice' in controlling their siblings' objectionable behaviors by threatening to **pe'au'īa** 'tattle'. In this way, the parent's authority is dialogically generated.

In fact, most means of negotiating identities and relationships could be said to be multiplex in the ghostly sense that children invoke their caregivers as a 'third' through the enacting of their styles. However, the most obvious way in which this works is through strategic CS.

Throughout the negotiating interactions of children among themselves, strategic CS was used not only to index but also to create affective states, psychosocial and ethnolinguistic identities, and interpersonal power differentials. Much of this switching was socialized via interaction with caregivers. For instance, as was mentioned earlier, children generally used ***français*** with younger

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children and/or in dealing with school related activities -- i.e., metonymically appropriating the authority voice of the teacher and/or mother both of whom speak ***français*** in these contexts. However, they employed **'enana** if trying to boss peers into certain kinds of household tasks (again, applying the usual style of the parents for these functions).[3]

With their parents, bilingually committed children initiated conversations making more or less creative code choices. That is, they used the language situationally associated with the activity and/or context or they transformed the framework through their metonymic code-choice based on topic (e.g., ***français*** for school-tales or big-world events like the visit of the President of French Polynesia to the village, and **'enana** for something to do with copra or household management). Sometimes they responded in conventional cooperative ways to their parents in the language used by the parent, but sometimes they switched for rhetorical effect (e.g., to express disagreement with their parents or to counter a command). Having learned to enact CS in these ways for the purposes of engaging in the socialization process, it is not surprising to find similar patterns in their peer negotiations.

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Nonetheless, CS between peers was the most complex area of usage and offered the most insight into the emergence of a marked CS register. Although use of the register itself signaled an emergent **'enana** identity and sense of rebellious solidarity, it also still seemed possible to identify some of the functions of specific switches. Thus, children used **'enana** with each other for household imperatives and claims (projecting their parents' authority) and for gossip, teases, and blames about in-family or **'enana** matters. ***Français*** was the presupposed choice for most other purposes, but strategic switching was used frequently to make specific points.

As should be clear from this discussion of dialogic engagement with caregivers and peers, age and gender play significant roles in the mediating strategies displayed by the children of Hatiheu. Conversely, the psychosocial styles acquired in this way play a large part in the development of their age and gender identities.

The communicative strategies used by children to index and construct gender are learned through modeling on and direct interaction with adults. In general, children have a lot of contact with both women and men (older brothers,

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fathers, grandfathers, and uncles) at home; in addition, children are influenced by and have ample opportunity to scrutinize men and women's interactional behavior in public. Given this exposure to the system of communicating and constructing gender in the Marquesas, it is no wonder that boys and girls develop and deploy two somewhat distinct mediating styles.

For boys, what is highly valued is the ability to accuse, insult, and tease (frequently using referentially untrue information to do with the cleanliness of one's target's genitalia, for example), to pun and speak figuratively (creating multiple or ambiguous meanings intended to confuse and/or entertain one's audience), to code-switch or use particularly creative **sarapia** (to manage interlocutors and reassert personal power).

For girls, strategic skills include expressing 'concern' (but in different ways for babies, friends, and strangers), teasing, and gossiping (both constructing and passing along social reports), as well as creative CS and **sarapia**.

Both boys and girls acquire these strategies in stages as they develop and in both cases some of these strategies

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are considered more 'mature' and/or proper or polite. In general, girls are placed under more pressure earlier to transform their immature expressions of **pe** feelings (crying and insults) into mediated forms (gossip and teasing) and manifest proper forms of **ka'oha** for others. Boys, by contrast, are expected to hide their fears and sadnesses at a younger age, but are also allowed to be wild and rude in their negotiations of other **pe** feelings (e.g., anger and desire) far longer. Let me explain in a little more detail.

As has already been discussed, the youngest children (under the age of four) appear to take a position of powerlessness in their pleading appeals to caregivers' **ka'oha**. On the other hand, children of this age demonstrate a good deal of the stubbornness and willfulness expected of them, and in this way begin to develop some of the rebellious spirit and strategies they will need as they grow older and appeals to **ka'oha** no longer work. Appeals are perhaps a bit more appropriate for girls (and work longer), while the **putu'i** nature is approved and covertly supported more in boys.

In the period from approximately three to twelve years old, children attempt to take power in a couple of ways. On

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the one hand, they are developing an authority stance and caregiving strategies vis-à-vis their younger siblings -- these stances and strategies are learned from and take those forms used by the adults within their social universe. On the other hand, children of this age are also working at negotiating equality with their peers. Patterned in part on the caregiving strategies they are learning to use with younger children -- many of these communicative genres lack the subtle **kako** 'flexibility' of the more playful and covert forms of **keu** displayed by more mature members of the community.

Girls, in particular, in claiming their rights and obligations as caregivers with younger children, balance **ka'oha** with critical authority, and apply both to their roles as friends with their peers. The forms of direct criticism (scolding and shaming) used with children is channeled underground with their peers and re-emerges through the indirection of gossip. Also, through gossiping with friends about other friends, speakers co-construct what they expect of friends in the way of the **ka'oha** that they are learning to manifest most overtly with younger children. In addition, girls of this age, learn to **keu** 'tease' with

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their peers through practice both with their younger wards and with their female caregivers, and so perhaps find it less of a struggle than boys do to develop this as a working style. That is, in some sense females seem never to lose as complete access to the **ka'oha** that informs **keu** as do males.

Boys of this age, by contrast, engage in more open conflict or **totoua**, and a lot less in gossip.[3] At this stage in development, open confrontation in the form of bragging, insulting, and threatening is as common as **keu** and is probably interpreted as an attempt to shame or scold, i.e., an attempt to create social inequality by appropriating the caregiver's role with a peer.

This period marked by **totoua** lasts throughout youth for most males and only with maturity do they acquire the skill and position to **keu** skillfully with peers (i.e., to confront without being accused of having confronted, and to deflect others' confrontations in ways that manifest one's elasticity, rather than weakness). However, as mentioned in Part II, there are few males of any age who demonstrate this degree of maturity all of the time, and **totoua** outbursts correlate fairly obviously with the amount of mind-altering substances they imbibe.

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In short, notions of age and gender found in the Marquesas affect children's development of psychosocial stances and the communicative strategies used to mediate these stances. These strategies and stances are illustrated in this chapter using transcript examples from all but the Pahuatini family. Given my focus on the two-year-old Siki with his caregivers, I recorded few instances of what could be classified as peer interaction in this family.

A. The Teikivaeoho children

Noella's children manifested a lot of concern and gregarious warmth for each other, as well as for their parents, and their extended family (e.g., their cousins in Hatiheu and Taiohae), although rarely for non-kin in the village. This **ka'oha** for each other was evidenced on the day in the coconut grove, when eight-year-old Kua (normally not a speaker of **'enana**) used the appeal term **mamae** 'hurt' to direct my attention to the fact that four-year-old Tava had some dirt in his eye; eleven-year-old Perena then explained how I must blow the piece of dirt out (N8/2D.2-20).

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This **ka'oha** was extended toward **Hao'e** such as myself as was evidenced by a constant flow of questions over whether I was eating well or being eaten by **nono**. Similarly, these children evinced an unusual amount of **ka'oha** for animals as was displayed one day in a discussion of the new puppies who were trying to get on their mother's nipples. This led into an extended discussion of how their Papa killed the female puppies because they would not have been useful as hunters and there would not have been sufficient milk. But this was done, they said, before the puppies were too big; if not, ***Maman a dit c'est pas bien. Ça fait pitié.*** *'Mama said it wasn't good. It makes* (one feel) *pity'* (N9/10.C1-67).[4]

However, a lot of the **ka'oha** in this family took the form of competitive concern, i.e., either bragging about each other to outsiders or competing with each other in displays of **ka'oha** for others. Thus, they showed off each other's achievements on a regular basis -- everything from four-year-old Tava bragging to me that the baby Hina had begun to giggle (N10/22.250) to the older girls' elicitation of my admiration for their mother's drawings in example #1 (N3/6.104,111).

The siblings also competed in displays of caregiver

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**ka'oha**. For instance, even Tava would ask in an appropriative tone about Hina: ***Où est mon bébé?*** *'Where is my baby?'* (N9/10.E114). However, nine-year-old Tehina tended to flaunt her status as the new baby's primary sibling caregiver. The day Noella allowed her to take the baby home from the clinic while Noella stayed on at school with Tava, Tehina was bouncing Hina on her lap, trying to make her stand, whispering in CGR tones: ***Débout... débout...débout...*** *'Stand...stand...stand...'* (N9/10.B1) and later took charge in reporting to me that the baby's butt was **mamae** 'hurting' from the shot she had just received (N9/10.E9).

Other forms of **ka'oha** were sometimes displayed in a competitive bid for some older caregivers' attention, as when Tava looked to his mother for credit for having shared his **tusti** 'twistie' (a salty chip bought at Yvonne's store) with one of his cousins who had fallen and hurt himself (N10/22.237-41). Another instance of competitive **ka'oha** occurred one day when several children vied to welcome Papa to the table, offering him the seats and bowls of others in hopes that he would sit beside them (N10/22.347-81). In another example (#1), eleven-year-old Perena took credit for having taught eight-year-old Rua to read (N3/6.153).

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In addition, Noella's children, like their mother, balanced their abundance of warmth with a critical stance which operated more strongly in some of the children toward particular others, and left some more frequently criticized. Thus, Kua was frequently the object of the other girls' shaming techniques. In example #1, Tehina denied Kua's claim that she was the author of the drawings she was showing me (N3/6.106-8). In the same example, Tehina said Kua could not read (N3/6.146-51). And in another instance, Perena accused Kua of not knowing the word ***grippe*** 'flu' (N5/10.638-42).

However, Kua generally stood up at least temporarily to these assaults by insisting that the drawings were hers (N3/6.105-7), that she did know how to read (N3/6.155), and that she had intended the word ***gorge*** 'throat' not ***grippe*** as that is what hurts when one has the flu (N5/10.639-45).

As discussed elsewhere, the only son Tava, too, was frequently shamed and maligned. However, Kua and Julia sometimes stood up for him. One time (example #2), Kua defended him from Perena's sharp critique of his drawing of a truck (N4/12.171) and a little later shielded him from having to explain his drawing (N4/12.222). Another time,

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when Tava was being tongue-lashed by the older girls for making a mess eating his orange, five-year-old Julia expressed **ka'oha** for him because he was crying at all the mockery (N3/6.621-33).

However, in response to this ubiquitous bullying, Tava had already constructed a fair amount of bravado, indicative of his **'enana** maleness. His techniques included threats of force, use of **'enana**, and direct reference to his own maleness v. their femaleness. For instance, during the copra session he kept Julia away from his knife, saying it was not for ***les filles*** 'girls' (N8/2.B2). And during another session he fashioned a gun out of his father's machete case and was trying to get everyone to ***haut les mains*** 'raise their hands' (N9/10.F82-91). Another time he reported to me about how he had gone to the river with his father; and defending himself from Perena's ribbing that he was afraid of the deep part (where lots of eels live), he claimed his father was not afraid for him, that he had not fallen in, and that he would jump instead (5/10.594-601).

Generally, disputes among the children were about many of the same issues and were articulated in much the same way (though not necessarily in the same language) as among the

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children in the other families. For instance, they disputed who was eating too much, who would share their eating bowl with whom, and who would get seats at the table (e.g., example #3, N5/10.321-6).

While playing games, they would fight over whose turn it was -- e.g., to call the bingo numbers (as in example #1, N3/6.320-46) -- and whether someone was making a wrong move (N3/6.258). They also accused each other of prying into each others' affairs, as when in example #1, Kua asked why Perena was rummaging in her bag (N3/6.110-2). In another instance, Julia accused Tava of stealing her drawing (N3/6.165-7). The hundred francs episode (example #5, N10/22.7-55) is an extended sample of how such disputes over material objects transpired.

And, as was mentioned earlier, in this family touting one's own accomplishments was an elicited speech activity. Thus, these children also engaged in it spontaneously, initiating bragging sequences which sometimes turned competitive as they refuted the accomplishments, abilities, or knowledge of others. For instance, after bringing us down a green coconut to drink, Perena pointed out her exploit: ***Tu m'as vu monté?*** *'Did you see me climb?'* But

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Julia responded with a put-down: ***Moi, je t'ai vu dans un petit cocotier. [...] Dans un petit cocotier, pas un grand cocotier.*** *'I saw you in a little coconut tree. [...] In a little coconut tree, not a big coconut tree'* (N8/2.324-9).

They also argued over their versions of reality -- although not nearly as heatedly as in the other families. For instance, in example #4 (N9/10B.1-22), the two oldest girls, Tehina and Perena, argued over whether their mother or their teacher had initiated a command for them to eat or not eat at the canteen. In this example, Tehina had taken it upon herself to give me a report of why her mother was not yet home (as she would normally be for a scheduled taping session) -- that Noella was waiting for Tava to finish eating at the school canteen -- and why she Tehina was home in the primary caregiver role with the baby (according to Noella, her sister Nathalie had wanted to hold Hina, but the children were afraid that their aunt would steal the baby; thus, Tehina was allowed to bring the baby home). However, on hearing Tehina's explanation of Noella's whereabouts, Perena briefly attempted to dispute Tehina's version of the event, an argument which had as much to do with vying over caregiver prerogatives as over an

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understanding of this particular reality.[5]

Some of their strategies for dealing with conflicts were also similar to those used in other families. Thus, they attempted to shame each other using a number of common epithets (though more in ***français*** than in the other families): e.g., ***maniérés*** 'bad-mannered', **hauhau/*méchant*** 'bad', ***gaspillage*** 'waste' (N5/10.815), and ***fainéant*** 'lazy' (N8/2.C1). Their accusations of thieving and prying were indexed by verbs from ***français: fouiller*** 'dig' (into someone's stuff), ***piquer*** 'steal,' ***prendre*** 'take', and ***toucher*** 'touch'.

One difference from the other families was, as mentioned before, the greater degree to which Noella's children looked to her to fulfill their needs and assess their efforts, which led to competition among them for her attention and praise. In particular, they tended to look to her to mediate and resolve conflicts among themselves. Thus, they often tattled (e.g., N9/10.E12), rather than just threatening to do so.

And not only did Noella respond by intervening, the children also tended to accept her word as final. For example, when they were fighting over who would be allowed

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to draw the numbers from the sack for bingo and Noella stepped in to say it was Kate, I was given the sack (example #1, N3/6.346). Generally the disputes were resolved quickly and with apparent satisfaction among the children.

When they did not actually look to Noella to mediate their disputes, the children modeled themselves upon her methods of dealing with perceived affronts. Some of these -- mocking, threatening to slap, or actually slapping each other -- were common in the other families. For instance, in example #3, a dispute between Julia and Kua over a chair, Kua threatened to slap her littler sister (N5/10.324). However, by contrast with other families, the older sisters in this family did effectively intervene (like their mother) as when Tehina stepped in and told Kua to give up the chair for Julia (N5/10.325). Also unusual was the fact that these children explained their rationale when arguing. For instance, in example #3, even little Julia attempted to offer a reason why she was not giving Tava one more nut: being ***méchant*** 'mean', he would eat them all (N5/10.184).

Similarly, these children did not show any real interest in disputing among themselves for the sake of disputing, i.e., as a creative or strategic display of

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identity or power. Instead, they appeared to share Noella's Western notion of conflict as something to be resolved as quickly as possible.

By contrast, while these children seemed heavily invested in reporting and gossiping for the traditional function of shaming (again this may follow from their being female), they also appeared to enjoy it for the sake of storytelling. This may stem from the fact that they treated books as media of learning, that is as vessels from which to acquire information and as props with which to perform the fact that they had succeeded in learning. That is, they were already caught up in the metadidactic cycle modeled in most Western schools -- one learns from written text and proves what one has learned via text. Whether the knowledge acquired in this way represents information and practices useful outside this hermetically sealed cycle is rarely questioned.

Thus, these children appeared to know a lot more about the semiotics of traffic lights (though they had never seen one in the world outside of books or TV nor needed to know the rules of them to avoid being hit by the three trucks in the village) than they knew about the shellfish which their

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peers were collecting on the rocks for dinner that night. In other words, the orientation of Noella's children toward Tahiti, France, and the world v. the immediate community was evident not only in their ***français***-oriented ethnolinguistic commitments, but also in their discursive practices and the cultural content and ideologies packaged by these.

B. The Poihipapu children

I did not observe a lot of open conflict or a lot of straightforward expressions of concern among the children in this household. On the one hand, as discussed elsewhere, the parents did not model a lot of direct confrontation with each other or with their children, preferring to use teasing to shame their children while also expressing warmth. Conversely, Tapu's and Poea's expressions of **ka'oha** tended to be imbued with a mock-critical tenor. As a result, the children appeared to be learning to use primarily sarcasm and mockery to negotiate their identities and relationships with each other.

The disputes that did sometimes occur between the children generally took the form of quick sniping incidents

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in which they vented their hostilities through the usual insults and rebuffs. These tended to emerge in ***français***, **'enana**, or some interesting **sarapia** forms, and tended to focus on stupidity and stubbornness **Poriki!** (T3/11.107, 109; T3/11.828) and **Putu'i**! (T3/11.817), lying **Tivava!** (T3/11.819), meanness ***Méchant!*** (T3/11.169, 499), and wastefulness ***Gaspillage, va!*** (T5/13.421), as well as general bad behavior ***Manioc, va!*** (T5/13.420).[6] Displeasure might also be expressed using swears such as ***Couillon!*** *'Balls!'* (T3/11.2) and **Sakarava!** (T5/13.500).[7] As in Noella's family, a lot of these insults took the form of older children attempting to take the caregiver role in scolding the younger children.

In several instances, the older girls Vaite or Vaetui vied over capturing the primary caregiver's authority role and right to delegate responsibilities. This worked especially well if the one speaking could represent herself as behaving like a mature member of the household engaged in household tasks and caregiving. For instance, when Tapu reprimanded Vaite: **'A pai ta 'oe.** 'Go away (and take care of) yours,' Vaetui mirrored this command: **Ei, gêner atu ai. 'A mai 'ia te hana. Kanino 'ia Pepe** 'Hey, *bother* over

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there (not here). (Or come) here for the work. Look after Baby' (T5/13.45-6). That is, Vaetui was busy with her own important 'work' (cooking the meat) and so wanted Vaite to quit bothering her and do some caregiving work, i.e., looking after the baby.

Between the two younger boys, disputes sometimes took predictable back-and-forth claims as in one small conflict over a bowl. Five-year-old Pio said: ***Eh, c'est moi!*** *'Hey, it's me* (mine)!' Three-year-old Poutini replied: ***A moi!*** *'Mine!'* Pio: ***A toi, c'est ça!*** *'Yours, it's that!'* Poutini: ***Après, non plus.*** *'Afterwards, no more'* (T5/13.127-130). This ended with Poea threatening to slap them.

When the children did get into longer disputes over objects or interpretations of reality, they enlisted Tapu's mediation (as they were socialized to expect her intervention anyway) by tattling or appropriating her voice of authority, or both in bivalent utterances. For instance, in a tussle over a watch they had taken from my pack, Pio appealed to his mother, hovering on the edge between a tattle and a dialogic appropriation of her voice: ***Maman, c'est moi. On a dit moi. Non, n'a pas dit toi!*** *'Maman, it's me. She said me. No, (she) did not say you!'*

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(T3/11.524).

While much of their **keu** was reserved for engaging with their parents, the two girls also practiced these forms with each other sometimes in the course of reality clashes. For instance, in example #6, Vaetui initiated the teasing episode in which Vaite claimed that she had been given a pretty name by their teacher last year. First, when Vaite claimed the name **Tahia te po'otu** 'Beautiful princess' for herself, Vaetui countered with the nickname: **Niho po'ea** 'Beautiful teeth' (T3/11.197), a less than flattering reference to Vaite's crooked teeth and her having gotten them from thumb-sucking. Then, Vaetui argued at length that the name was given to Vaite not by their teacher from last year, but by a visiting teacher from Ua Pou, strategically denigrating her little sister by attacking her credibility: ***Tu sais pas. Tu as tout oublié***. *'You don't know. You've forgotten everything'* (T3/11.215).

Tapu joined in this dispute with a teasing nickname of her own: **Mea nui te 'Īa** 'Many eggs of fleas', being a pun on Tapu's mother's real name **Tehono 'ia tu** after whom Vaite was named (T3/11.198). And Tapu spurred on the reality dispute between the girls by her series of report queries having to

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do with what name, who gave it, and what exactly had been said, i.e., a 'challenge' as in the Samoan communicative economy. Nonetheless, the primary dispute was between the girls, and in this debate over identity (naming, origins, and relationships) they performed a number of interesting strategic switches.

First of all, both girls carried on the dispute over several turns using simply the rhetorical response switches **'a'o'e** 'no' and ***si*** 'but yes' (T3/11.202-207). Secondly, Vaetui engaged in a couple of dialogic switches. She shifted to **'enana** mid-phrase to insist that the classical **'enana** name **Tahia te po'otu** had been given to Vaite by one of the oldest and most respected **'enana** teachers, a founding member of the cultural revival movement, when he was visiting from Ua Pou (the island which is credited as retaining the most 'traditional' forms of **'enana** culture). Specifically the phrase identifying his origins was in **'enana**: **he'e nei Ua Pou** 'came here (from) Ua Pou' (T3/11.201), this issue of island and valley origin being highly significant within the **'enana** worldview.[3]

A few turns later, Vaetui broke an NP to insert **tumu hamani** 'teacher' -- literally 'source of books' (T3/11.213),

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despite the fact that frequently the concept of 'teacher', associated with French schooling, is rendered in ***français*** when speaking ***français*** as ***instituteur*** or just ***le Monsieur*** (regardless of the teacher's ethnic origins), as indeed Vaetui herself had referred to him just before switching to **'enana** to discuss his origins. In other words, Vaetui was appropriating a tone of **'enana** cultural authority in discussing the traditional practice of giving and exchanging names, especially by cultural authorities such as this **tumu hamani**.

By contrast, Vaite claimed that the name was given to her by their regular school teacher from last year, an **'Enana** herself, but mostly referred to in this dispute using the appropriate French address term ***Madame***. Vaite was clearly more focused on the affectionate and complimentary significance of the name she believed she had been given by a female teacher she obviously felt some connection to and nostalgia for. As is discussed elsewhere, ***français*** may act residually as a medium of intimacy between girls and caregiving women. In addition, the fact that Vaite initially 'slipped' and called the teacher by her first name, her **'enana** name at that, is indicative of the intimacy

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Vaite felt toward this woman who was born and raised in Hatiheu (T3/11.190).

This little dispute shows that Vaetui and Vaite had already acquired some dexterity in using a **keu** 'teasing' style marked by dialogic CS to negotiate their ethnolinguistic identities and psychosocial relationship. Nonetheless, much of the peer interaction I recorded in this vein was mediated by their parents and so did not show the girls at their most creative. By contrast, the boys had not yet acquired the 'teasing' style of their parents, manifesting instead a slight tendency toward the more untempered belligerence (**totoua**) manifested by many male **'enana** children and their drunken adult counterparts. This style is best exemplified by the behavior in Manu's family.

C. The Teikikaine children

Some of the most interesting and prolonged peer disputes occurred in Manu's household. As the two boys (Tikare and Puhe) were very vocal, these interactions frequently took place in the **totoua** range, and so I emphasize that aspect in the following analysis.

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Nonetheless, all of the girls -- both the two little ones (Tahia and Teani) and the two older ones (Tehina and Teata) -- participated at the level of both **totoua** and **ka'oha**, so the latter is not wholly neglected. I also include some instances of the children's negotiations with me as they grew to treat me in many ways like an odd sort of peer.

In the role of caregivers, all of the older girls expressed **ka'oha** for Tahia (2-3 years old), still the 'baby' of the house, though less so for Teani (only a year older). For instance, Maria and Tehina chimed in together to prevent Tahia from picking up a pair of scissors that were deemed dangerous to her. However, when Teani (at four, not old enough by WAMC standards to be handling adult scissors) then claimed these scissors, no one stopped her (M10/23.119-129).

In addition, all of the girls engaged in some **tekatekao** 'gossip' with each other. One salient instance of this genre was exemplified by a bit of conversation between Tahia and Teani in which they were comparing their grandmother's house to their own newly decorated home (thanks to Manu's work putting in new linoleum and some cloth curtains across windows and shelves). Teani said: **E-Tahia, *c'est bien un***

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***peu à nous* ha'e *que à* 'ua Pahio. *C'est pas joli*.** 'Hey, Tahia, *our* house *is kind of good compared with* Pahio's *which isn't pretty.*'[3] To this Tahia concurred: ***Pas joli-joli.*** 'Not pretty-pretty' (M4/11.283-4).

The two children who expressed most **ka'oha** across the board were Tahia and Tehina, the two younger ones in each pair of girls. Tahia (2-3 years old), in particular, was always expressing concern for others, for instance asking Puhe when he returned from an errand to join them at the breakfast table: **Tu veux manger?** 'You want to eat?' (M10/23.204). Also one day she told everyone to be quieter because her Papa was sleeping (M4/14.611). And Tehina (10-11 years old) was perhaps the most expressive of **ka'oha** for me -- i.e., her questioning was 'polite' (i.e., less prying) and more filled with concern for my well-being. But even little Tahia engaged me in small talk about how I was doing with the **nono** (e.g., M10/23.79). Nonetheless, both of these girls were equally drawn into **totoua** in a variety of ways.

As in other families, the disputes among these children tended to revolve around objects, abilities, strength, and knowledge. Thus, there were fights over flip-flops, pants, puppies, balls, and marbles. For example, they went on

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about whether twelve-year-old Teata had stolen eight-year-old Puhe's flip-flops, with both Tehina (11 years) and Tikare (7 years) claiming that Puhe had given them to her (M8/31.285-97). In another episode, the children all fought over whether the ball Puhe had found belonged to their twelve-year-old cousin Maria or him (even after Maria had said it was not hers) with Pahio finally stepping in to pronounce judgment that it was not his as he had only just found it (M10/23.156-88).

Arguments over possessions also extended to non-material things such as stories -- i.e., not only over whose they were to tell, but also over who should hear them and why. Thus, when Tehina (11 years old) commanded her younger brother Puhe (8 years old) to tell me the story of his adventures in Hooumi over the summer, Puhe resisted. And when Tikare (7 years old) stepped in to tell the story of a fight between two of their uncles there, Tehina stopped him, saying this was not for Tikare to tell (M8/31.33-41). However, it was unclear to me whether this was because she did not think he should tell Puhe's story or because she did not think this Hooumi summer story, in particular, ought to be told to me.

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Later, when Teata (12 years old) reiterated her younger sister's command to Puhe to recount his summer adventures, Puhe asked: **E aha kaki 'otou e *savoir?* *Et si* pe'au au 'ia 'otou, 'a'e *raconter* mai?** 'What do you want to *know?* *And if* I say (this) to you, you won't *recount* anything in return?' Teata assured him she would, but when he said for her to go ahead, Tehina begged off saying there were no stories to tell. Teata then said she would tell their mother that he was not telling the stories to me, and he said: ***Ça la regarde pas. Elle n'est pas à Hooumi.*** *'It doesn't concern her* (Kate). *She isn't in Hooumi'* (M8/31.849-60). Finally, he said he would tell, but only if: **'Ua...'ua he'e paotu 'i vaho. 'O au anaiho te mea noho. He'e vaho.** 'Everyone went outside. Only I staying. Go outside' (M8/31.886). In other words, he would tell, but not to us. Of course, this did not happen.

In general, appeals for information were rarely felicitously met in this family. For instance, the boys' questions directed
at finding out about me were either mocked or directly reprimanded, as when Tikare asked me who I was married to and both older girls responded: ***Ça te regarde pas.*** *'That*

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*doesn't concern you'* (M3/19.151-7). Perhaps this damper on requesting information was the result of the general cloak of secrecy in which the family was wrapped.[12]

There were also competitions over who could do things better -- for instance, jump rope the longest. Tehina (10 years old) claimed she could jump 26 times, and Tikare (6 years old) responded by exaggerating that he could do it ***jusqu'à mille*** 'up to a thousand' (M3/19.285-95). A game of marbles was full of jibes about who was winning, especially among the boys, e.g., eight-year-old Puhe's crow: **Enā pikisi[CGR]**. '(You're) going to lose' (M4/14.302) and seven-year-old Tikare's claim: ***En plus, j'ai qu'une seule, e?*** **Pikisi hua maka.** '*What's more, I have only one, yes?* (You) lost it big' (M4/14.735) -- using a dialogic switch to lord it over his older siblings **'enana**-style.

However, any interaction might ramify quickly into a conflict over all of these topics (stuff, strength, and knowledge) at once. For instance, in the disputes over the ball and the flip-flops, while the little girls were focused on possessing the objects, the boys and older girls were more interested in defending and jousting with each other concerning their knowledge of ownership. Thus, eleven-year-

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old Tehina was not concerned with claiming the ball for herself but with forcing eight-year-old Puhe to admit that it belonged to someone other than him (namely Maria). Similarly, seven-year-old Tikare claimed he had **'ite** 'seen' Puhe give the flip-flops to Teata (note the evidential strength of witnessing), and later he and his four-year-old sister Teani together teased the three-year-old 'baby' Tahia by pretending to take hers (M8/31.434-9).

Also, while they played at marbles, what was at stake was not only whose marbles were whose and who was better at playing and winning, but also who was in charge -- tracking turns, calling the shots, and keeping score. For instance, by way of claiming his own turn, seven-year-old Tikare repeated the order of play arbitrated at the beginning of the game: **E, 'o au. *Un...deux...trois.*** 'Hey, it's me. *One...two...three,*' pointing first at himself, then his older brother Puhe, and then his oldest sister Teata (using this dialogic switch to ***français*** to claim his authoritative knowledge of the game frame). When eleven-year-old Teata tried to wrest her turn away from Tikare anyway, eight-year-old Puhe protested: **E, 'a'e 'o 'oe.** 'Hey, it's not you.' She insisted: **'O ia!** 'Yes it is,' but Puhe stood firm as the

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final arbiter: **E, 'o ia, pao na'e 'o 'oe.** 'Hey, it's him, and then it's you' (M4/14.118-27). In other words, Puhe was not claiming the turn for himself; he was simply interested in being the arbiter of the matter. Similarly, Puhe was interested in calling out the wins of others as well as his own: **Tenā nepenepe'īa!** That win (of yours)! (M4/14.346).[11]

In another instance, Puhe and Teata together forced Tikare to accept that his marble had rolled out of bounds. But only after a struggle did the eldest sister Teata, using a rhetorical switch to **tahiti**,[12] magnanimously accept her younger brother Puhe's decision that their littler brother Tikare should be allowed to shoot again, but from **vaho** 'outside'. In response, with a dialogic switch to ***français***, eight-year-old Puhe commended her reasonableness: **Tu as raison.** '*You are right*' (M4/14.91-103). In other words, what was really at issue in all of these conflicts was who had more interpersonal power, or as the boys, in particular, frequently articulated it: who was the ***chef*** 'boss'.

Another activity that brought all of these grounds for dispute into play at once was that of testing my **'enana**.[13] This activity, which originated from their desire to demonstrate their **ka'oha** by helping me learn **'enana** mixed

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**hao'e** methods of testing knowledge with an **'enana** form of confrontation. That is, while ingenuous enough on their part, the **'enana** quizzing game was an analogue to the sort of sexual punning I finally learned to engage in with adults. While a usual pastime among **'Enana**, this sexual banter has very specific functions when enjoyed in the company of **Hao'e**. Thus, the children's adoption of the style (if not the content) of this form of **keu** with me was simply another instance of the way in which they were wrestling with authority.

During the first session, the older girls and I established the ground rules for the game: they would throw out words in ***français*** for me to translate into **'enana**. For instance, one would say: ***Goyave***. *'Guava,'* and I would respond: ***C'est tuava, oui?*** 'It's **tuava**, yes?' (M3/19.36-7). Then, another child would come up with a word for me.

Some exchanges displayed how kindly some of the children were in anticipating my communicative needs, while other interactions exemplified the exasperation they sometimes felt with my poor linguistic skills. One short passage exemplifies both of these styles, with Tikare showing frustration and Tehina showing compassion (M8/31):

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1040. Tikare: **Hua veve'a?** '(You're) returning quickly?
1041. Kate: **Hm? Vereha?**
1042. Tikare: ***Ah, non.*** **Veve'a.** *'Ah, no.* Quickly.'
1043. Kate: **Hua veve'a?**
1044. Tehina: **'A'e 'oe hua veve'a?** ***Tu ne rentres pas vite dans ta maison?***
'You won't return quickly? *You don't return quickly to your house?*'

The children also demonstrated **ka'oha** in their willingness to define words for me.

However, they also clearly enjoyed playing teacher with me when I did not know the answer or when they had occasion to correct me. For instance, when Puhe asked me for a translation of ***requin***, I gave the less-used word for middle-sized sharks **mako** (this being also the word for 'mango'). He corrected me, insisting on the word for the largest shark **moko** (M3/19.89-91).

Finally, these interactions with me also led into competitions among each other over a number of objectives. They vied to see who could attract my attention next by calling out a word. And sometimes they jumped in with the answer before I could respond (as if at school and looking for credit from the teacher). For instance, Puhe answered his own query concerning the sea turtle within seconds after asking: ***Tortu, tortu [...]*** **honu, honu** (M3/19.85-7).

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At one point in the second session they lost track of the original goal of eliciting my translations and just came up with a chain of words (mostly in **'enana** this time) which were linked by sound, sense, and contextual cues. Thus, following seven-year-old Tikare's call for **hai** 'ray' (also one of his names), eleven-year-old Teata came up with the rhyme **vai** 'water'. Tikare then spotted a pen and said ***stylo***, but Teata kept on her own morphological track with **ka'avai** 'river'. He followed her semantically with **tai** 'sea' but she turned to something within sight: **veo** 'tin roof'. He mimicked her and called out **veo** too, to which she took umbrage: ***Ooo...ça va, e?*** *'Ooo...it goes, yes?'* i.e., don't copy me. So he produced a phonological move: **ve'i** 'centipede' and she came up with another contextually present object: **puho** 'cabinet'. He riffed on that phonologically: **puhi** 'gun', and she went with another couple of present objects: **umu** 'oven' and **masini** 'machine' and a few lines later: **vaevae** 'feet'. Following from the sound of that and then continuing on his own semantic thread, he produced: **Vai 'o'e. 'Ehi. Tuava.** 'Green coconut water. Coconut. Guava.' And Teata reprimanded: ***'Ehi, j'ai déjà dit.*** *'Coconut, I already said'* (M4/14.627-49). But this did

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not stop Tikare from producing a whole new string of free associations, nor her from interspersing her own.

Additionally, they also found cause to mock each other for their attempts at donning the role of teacher. For instance, when Puhe asked me the word for 'butterfly', I responded by asking him what it was. He admitted that he did not know either, and his eleven-year-old sister Teata scolded: ***Tu dis seulement, après tu sais même pas.*** *'You just say* (it). *Afterwards you don't even know* (the answer yourself)' (M3/19.79-83).

Thus, all of this testing put them in the position to evaluate and challenge the possession of linguistic knowledge and abilities by both me and each other. These conflicts then allowed them to negotiate their relative statuses with respect to governing the flow of conversation and acting as ***chef***. Given their quickness at these, it is not suprising to find that Manu's children were very good at the form of dispute I label the *reality clash*.

As defined above, *reality clashes* are, on the surface, referential arguments over some 'fact' of the world or the substance of some social occurrence -- what happened, who was there, etc. The fact that some of these 'facts' and

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occurrences are essentially unverifiable (given the Heisenberg uncertainty principle and the Rashomon effect, both of which appear to be untheorized givens for older Hatiheuans anyway) seemed only to fuel the real function of these disputes. That is, underlyingly and pragmatically, these operate as micropolitical negotiations over who possesses and has the right to articulate that knowledge, what that knowledge means in some larger social order, and how it can be used to manifest strength in order to control the immediate interactional dynamic as well as longer-term relationships.

In one episode the seven-year-old boy Puhe argued at length with his ten-year-old sister Tehina and six-year-old brother Tikare about some new puppies -- how many there were originally and whether or not one of the missing ones was killed by his mother. As Puhe insisted: ***Ah...jamais vu un chien qui mort seulement.*** *'Ah...never saw a dog which (is) dead on its own'* (M3/19.570-4, 611-24) -- i.e., without being killed by someone or something.

In another episode, Puhe and Tikare argued over whether or not there are a lot of **nono** in Haatuatua with the older brother Puhe holding that there are no **nono**, only piles of

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toys there.[4] In response, their two older sisters attempted to assert their authority by claiming superior knowledge as to how the taping worked as well as an understanding of the surveillance that entailed. That is, they told the boys to shut up because Manu would hear their fighting and punish them again like last time. Puhe fought back with a metalinguistic justification: **'A'e he totoua inei**. 'This isn't fighting.' Rather than meet his challenge directly, ten-year-old Tehina attempted to shame him using overt gossip directed at me: **No te mea keu'īa e aua, totoua'īa e aua.** 'Because playing by them (is) fighting by them' (M6/23.556-574).

Similarly, Manu's children all fought over claims to credibility and insider knowledge, allegations of false reports, and intimations of hidden suspicions. The reality clash over a light bulb in example #15 illustrates how these conflicts escalate, and so I provide a lengthy exegesis here.

The episode began with a report request from Pahio as to where Manu had gone (M10/23.196). The eldest sister Teata took the lead in responding that Manu went down to help prepare the church for a special service for the youth

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festival being held in Hatiheu that weekend (197). According to Manu (she told me while we transcribed), she had left the scene in order to climb back up the hill to her own home to get dressed before descending to help with the preparations. Having apparently noticed his mother's uphill exit, Puhe set out to rebut Teata's report with his own claim to more privileged knowledge -- i.e., that Manu had gone back to the house to get the thing, the light, you know that thing like that one.... And so he stumbled on in an extended repair sequence attempting to identify the 'thing' he was claiming to know so much about (198).

This object requires some explanation. Manu's friends Titi and Mara had brought the bulb up to Manu's house the night of the older girl's joint birthday party over a month previously. Without this bulb, there would not have been enough light in the house to have an evening party. The morning of this taping session, while Puhe was down in the valley dropping off some chestnuts, Titi had told Puhe the bulb would be needed to light the meeting house next to the church for the party following the church service. It never became clear to me whether this light bulb actually 'belonged' to Titi and Mara or whether it 'belonged' to the

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community house. My suspicion is that this matter of ownership was not clear to anyone and that this was part of the tension out of which the following reality dispute arose.

Now eleven-year-old Tehina felicitously aided her brother in his repair by recognizing that the **mea** Puhe meant was the one that had been brought up here for the birthday party (199, 207). And Pahio realized that the bulb was probably needed for the meeting house (203) and labeled it with the MQ'd version **oporu** of the FR loanword ***ampoule*** (208).

The light bulb topic was dropped for several minutes as discussion turned to the chestnuts Puhe had brought back and whether they were good to eat. Pahio became engaged in a little discussion with herself over why her friend Meama (Siki's Pahio) had returned some of the chestnuts Puhe had been instructed to leave with her. Pahio appeared to suspect that an insult was intended. Relationships depend on the successful exchange of objects, and miscommunications concerning exchanges have been known to devastate relationships for at least weeks (if not years as was sometimes claimed). Thus, I imagine that her return to the

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subject of the unreturned light bulb was doubly motivated by both her train of thought about exchanges and relationships and by Manu's reappearance as she passed by on her way down the hill toward the church.

Pahio asked whether the bulb had not already been returned (312), and twelve-year-old Maria weighed in by mocking her aunt Manu for saying she was going to do this, but then doing something else instead -- i.e., being hypocritical (313). When Puhe called out to Manu to take that **mea** that Mara had brought here (315), Tehina ordered him in an arch **sarapia** to do the returning himself (316).

But Maria, having misunderstood Puhe to say 'Maria' instead of 'Mara', questioned what **mea** Puhe was talking about (317). Apparently she heard this as an accusation that she had mishandled some object, perhaps stolen it, a typical threat and suspicion between any two households close as these two were. So Tehina attempted to clarify for Puhe and Maria (319), but Pahio stepped in to name the thing an **opure** again -- showing her exasperation through the use of the emphatic particle **ho'i** 'truly' (320).

On the surface, Maria's response: ***Quelle ampoule?*** *'What light bulb?'* (321) was a clarification request, but by

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switching dialogically into ***français***, she was pragmatically striking a stance of superiority with which to refute Puhe's presumed accusation and to confront her grandmother's exasperation.

However, Puhe took Maria's clarification request literally -- i.e., that she did not understand which bulb they were all talking about -- and tried to clarify again by comparing the one he meant to the one hanging over their heads (322). Meanwhile, his twelve-year-old sister Teata turned on Puhe for having gotten it wrong -- i.e., for having said Maria was the one to have brought the bulb when in fact it was Mara (322-3). By way of refuting this new accusation, Puhe (who was now being challenged by three older females, all in different ways) insinuated that Teata ought to listen more carefully, accompanying this with the epithet **Kira** 'Chinese' deemed derogatory by **'enana** standards (325).[15]

Tehina then took up the accusation of Maria, perhaps simply to bug her cousin (326). Teata, by contrast, clung to her own version of reality about what Puhe had said, thus confronting his mocking tone, while also making a claim for the credibility of her own perceptions (327).

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Finally, Pahio intervened to point out the reality that mattered -- i.e., the adult issues at stake here -- namely that Manu's family had held on too long to someone else's valuable object, which was needed now by the whole community. Her use of the MQ'd version of the FR word for 'need' **pesua** (329) was perhaps indicative of the high degree of importance she attached to this issue -- i.e., the appropriateness of returning the bulb. By contrast, the MQ **kaki** might have indexed scorn for those in need.

Attempting to confirm and clarify Pahio's point about 'need', Puhe appealed to the authority of reported speech, saying that Titi had said to him: it was needed (333). Having half-heard this quote, Pahio not only reiterated the need indeed for him to return the bulb; she also requested a clarifying report as to who had told him to bring it (335).

Apparently, it had been dawning on Pahio that this reality dispute among the kids was **keu** 'play' by comparison with a potentially more significant conflict in the offing. Since Puhe appeared not to have effectively communicated the message to Manu that the bulb was needed, those people in need of the bulb for the community event being organized down below would soon be disappointed and Pahio's family up

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here on the hill would be held collectively responsible.

Thus, this *reality clash* which began with a simple report request ramified into a series of claims, counter-claims, blames and counter-blames, all to do at some deeper level with a power struggle over the transmission of truth, the ownership of valuables, and the right to tell others what to do. Puhe probably thought that his privileged position as Titi's message-bearer gave him the leverage to tell Manu to bring the bulb (in fact Titi's message may well have been of this nature: tell your mother to bring the bulb when she comes down). By contrast, the others heard from him a train of inaccurate references to the bulb, some inadequately expressed allusions to knowledge about it, an apparent accusation concerning its mismanagement, and some evidence to the effect that he had not even successfully transmitted the message to Manu. The two older female cousins, Maria and Teata, were mostly concerned with refuting his false accusations while his grandmother Pahio and only slightly older sister Tehina (herself more inclined toward expressions of **ka'oha**) focused on forcing Puhe to deliver the bulb.

However, Puhe never did respond to Pahio's final

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clarification query nor her command -- perhaps because he thought Manu was taking care of it as he had requested or perhaps simply because he did not have to as Pahio and everyone else became at that moment preoccupied with keeping Teani from following Manu down the hill. As to the bulb itself, I never succeeded in discovering whether it was finally delivered to the community meeting house.

Having touched on some of the topics and issues disputed by Manu's children, I now focus on the pragmatic means by which they negotiated who had the upper hand in any given conflict. The **totoua** style demonstrated by these children with such skill involved various speech activities and some strategic CS all of which developed out of several psychosocial stances.

Just as adults used several forms in controlling children, so did the children apply these same forms. However, given that the authoritative stance of ***chef*** was, among these children, always open to debate, many of these forms were challenged.

First of all, older children frequently attempted to appropriate the role of caregiver by issuing commands and reprimands such as **Tu'itu'i** 'Shut up' (M6/23.564) and

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hitting, or at least threatening to hit (e.g., M8/31.741).

However, even these simple forms of expressing dominance were not accepted lightly as children hit back, threatened to do so, or found mocking ways to rebuff their slightly older caregivers. For instance, when in example #15 the eight-year-old Puhe used the dirty double entendre **manini** (M10/23.386) meaning both 'scold' and 'orgasm' (as well as 'sugar'), his eleven-year-old sister Tehina told him to be quiet, using a particularly strong form for it (M10/23.387). As a result Puhe defied her authority, saying: What's that? We were told to talk (so I'm talking). Then, moving into third person (i.e., overt gossip mode) and using as an extra putdown Tehina's nickname Sapisapi, meaning 'needy one',[15] he let Tehina know it was none of her business, literally 'not her work', to scold him for this -- i.e., she lacked the authority (M10/23.388).

As Tehina was struggling to produce a comeback of equal force, perhaps looking for a similarly insulting epithet for Puhe (M10/23.389), he challenged her further by saying (still in third person) that she would like to say such things (aggressively authoritative) but does not want to be **kere** 'hit' for it. He then accused her of the **pe** feeling of

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being **ha'ameta'u** 'afraid' of boys and kicked out at her (but without touching her), accompanying the act with the verbalization: ***Kick boxing*, e?** (M10/23.390-2). Tehina responded with the refutation he commonly used: **'A he'e ferani, mea kere.** 'Go to France, do (your) fighting' (M10/23.393).

As in the other families, Manu's children frequently attempted to shame each other with accusations of being **ha'ametau** 'afraid' or **fata** [TAH] 'prideful', a **tivava** 'liar', ***tricheur*** 'cheat', or ***bébélala*** 'cry-baby'.

Sometimes these came out as direct insults, serious accusations, and scolds as when in the example above, Puhe accused Tehina of being afraid of boys. In the dispute over Puhe's flip-flops, his seven-year-old brother Tikare accused Puhe of **tivava** 'lies' (M8/31.293). And during the marble game, ten-year-old Tehina accused the boys of ***tricher'īa*** 'cheating' a couple of times (M4/14.178, 207). When the boys were bragging about how they could climb the trees like Tarzan or a monkey, Tehina told them to stop **tivava** 'lying' (M6/23.920). And when Tikare claimed he could jump rope to a thousand, Tehina refuted it: ***Pas vrai*!** *'Not true!'* (M3/1.296). Tehina scolded Tikare for teasing the baby

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Tahia by taking her flip-flops: **Hakaea te fata!** 'Stop the prideful (acts)' (M8/31.446).

Sometimes these shaming epithets came out as **pe'au'īa** 'tattles' and/or overt gossip. For instance, seven-year-old Tikare tattled to his mother that his four-year-old sister Teani was **ha'ametau** 'afraid' of talking to me and so was hiding under the table (M8/31.424). Tattles such as this (which took place in the hearing of the accused) operated both as threats that a higher power was being called in as well as shaming gossip. By contrast, overt gossip whether directed at someone in particular or simply at a generalized audience acted primarily as a shaming device. For instance, the twelve-year-old Teata announced in a shaming voice to anyone listening that the three-year-old Tahia was **ha'ametau** 'afraid' of a passing dog (M8/31.831). In another episode of overt gossip, the two boys joined in laughing at the two littler girls for needing to sleep when they came home from school, referring to them as ***bébélalas*** 'crybabies' (M8/31.755). And once, after accusing her seven-year-old brother Tikare of cheating at marbles, ten-year-old Tehina turned to me to comment: ***Toujours comme ça, eux***. '(They're) *always like that, them*' (M4/14.209).

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Sometimes these accusations formed part of teases intended to elicit performance and transmit cultural messages about these attributes. Thus, in example #15, when Pahio's mock inquisition elicited an expression of 'fear' in the four-year-old Teani, her twelve-year-old cousin Maria followed this up by teasingly accusing the little girl Teani of this emotion (M10/23.96). In another example, seven-year-old Tikare and four-year-old Teani playfully taunted three-year-old Tahia about crying at school (M8/31.172-5). However, as was mentioned earlier, Manu's children had found very little in the way of playfully balanced forms of shaming each other as any attempts at subtle mockery were quickly taken up as competitive **totoua** and openly confronted.

Threats to tattle to some higher authority in order to curb the tongue or activity of another child were common (e.g., four-year-old Teani threatening to tell Papa that her eight-year-old brother Puhe had made two-year-old Tahia cry [M4/14.732]). However, actual tattles were relatively rare (by contrast with Ncella's and even Tapu's family) although they did occur. For instance, after the twelve-year-old Teata first threatened Puhe that she was going to tell Mama

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that he would not recount his summer adventures, she did then proceed to tell Manu (M8/31.857-63).

Sometimes threats to tattle were challenged by counter-threats or insults. For instance, in an act of bravado, Puhe responded to a threat from his eleven-year-old sister Tehina by daring her: **Hano 'oe, pe'au titahi memau 'ia Mama. *Is comprehendo?*** 'You go tell that thing to Mama. (It's) *understood?*' (M10/23.192). The pragmatic force of this Spanglish put-down is tallied by Tehina's combative echo response: **'A'o'e. 'A'e *is comprehendo*.** 'No. (It's) not *understood*' (M10/23.193).

All of Manu's children, but the boys in particular, engaged in a lot of **ha'aka'i'e** 'bragging', showing off their own knowledge, competence, and general strength with respect to claiming objects and controlling other children. Brags of any kind were generally either challenged or matched with competitive bragging by others.

Sometimes their bragging appeared to represent pride in the family or the community as a whole. For instance, during the first session eight-year-old Puhe informed me: ***Le Hatiheu sait parler anglais.*** '*The* (people of) *Hatiheu know English.*' Nonetheless, his older sister Teata's return

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challenge addressed him personally: **Ei!** ***Tu sais l'anglais?*** ***[...]*** ***Dis un peu.*** 'Whah! *You know English? [...] Say a little.*' Puhe produced some nonsense syllables, but ten-year-old Tehina took up the dare and asked me if I knew what 'next' meant. When I asked how she knew this, Teata stepped in to take credit for being the one to have taught Tehina. However, Tehina disavowed this saying she had heard it on TV (M3/19.663-81).

In a number of other instances, the boys engaged in competitive bragging, generally about their strength, either physical or psychic. For instance, during one marble conflict, Puhe began making an annoying noise, related perhaps to the swear **pipiro** 'penis', and when reprimanded by his sister Tehina for this, he turned it to a brag: **'Ite 'oe te'ā mea...mea na'e au piripipipi enā ha'a'i'i.** 'You know that thing...when I do **piripipipi** it makes (me) strong.' And when his eleven-year-old sister Teata retaliated that his **piripiripipi** did nothing, he tried to prove it: **Enā 'oe 'a 'ite ta'u piripipipi.** 'You will see my **piripipipi**.' So when his younger brother Tikare dared him to go ahead and show them: **Mea 'e 'oe.** 'Do it!' Puhe produced the sound next to the tape recorder to show them how the volume needle

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swung more violently as he did so. However, Teata denied him credit: **Mea...mea pu na ia ta ia mea.** '(The radio) simply did...did it itself,' to which Tehina added her support in **sarapia**: ***Oui, c'est vrai hoa, Teata***. '*Yes, it's true* truly, Teata.' In response, Puhe resorted to snatching his little brother's marbles and then insulting him in a typical manner for not noticing: ***Monsieur le Rêveur.*** '*Mister Dreamer*' (M4/14.448-59).

In other instances, the boys appropriated the strength of characters such as Tarzan and King Kong and athletes seen on ***"Match"***, the Monday night sports program. For instance, after making fun of their two little sisters for being ***bébélalas***, i.e., for needing to sleep in the middle of the day, Puhe said: **Tikare! Si 'ite'īa e 'oe te'ā mea he *"Match"*...mea te *sport*....** 'Tikare! If that thing on "*Match*" was seen by you...thing the *sports event*....' Rather than complete a report of this event, he put up his fist to show off his biceps and turned to address me: **'Ite 'oe, e-Kate, 'o au mea te *muscle*.** 'You see, Kate, I have the *muscles*' (M8/31.761).

A little later, and perhaps in response to a discussion of the three-year-old Tahia being afraid of a barking dog,

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Puhe carried on making claims for his strength: **'Ua pehi'īa e au tenā ha'e Tonton Rua paona'e *exploser* te ha'e.** '(If) that house (of) Tonton Rua's were hit by me, then the house would *explode*.' When Tikare then mocked him for this brag and pretended to be fishing with a stick, Puhe grabbed the stick and said he would turn Tikare into a fish good for eating (M8/31.833-40).

A few minutes later, Puhe told Tikare: **He'e 'omua mei inei, ka'o 'i ferani.** 'Go first from here, get lost in France.' That is, he must do this before he could listen to my tape recorder. Tikare took up the dare: ***Okay*. [...] Ahn ahn ahn, *okay*. [...] E tahi maka *patte*.** '*Okay*. [...] {plane noises}, *okay*. [...] One big *step*.' Puhe responded: **E tahi maka *patte*, 'a'e. Teve'e *mille* maka *patte*.** 'One big *step*, no! (You will) dawdle with a *thousand* big *steps*.' So Tikare explained: **'O au 'a *King Kong*.** 'I am then *King Kong*.' Taken with the image of King Kong stepping across the world, Puhe appropriated and expanded upon it, showing with his own feet and the marbles how King Kong's big feet might crush the little people below him: ***King Kong* 'a'e teve'e. Tah! *Ecraser*. Tah! [...] Ati'i nei te 'enana...*miniscule King Kong*.** '*King Kong* doesn't dawdle. Tah! *Crush*. Tah! [...]

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Like this the people...*tiny* (compared to) *King Kong*' (M8/31.920-37).

Between the boys, direct confrontation sometimes ended in mute, fist-clenching face-offs as in example #10. This conflict grew out of a name-calling session in which Puhe mocked Tikare for being called a fish (one of Tikare's names **Hai** means 'ray'). Tikare came back with the apparently derogatory nickname of Puhe's godfather: **Fu'ufu'u**, adding on that Puhe's godmother was a sorcerer (this because though she lived in Tahiti, and so ought to be rich, but did not send Puhe Christmas gifts). However, this retaliation was apparently beyond the pale as Puhe accompanied his rebuttal with a shove that started Tikare crying (M3/19.1024-27).

Referred to as **kere**, conflicts involving physical violence (or the imminent threat of it) resembled the drunken brawls of adult **'enana** men that rarely went beyond the throwing of a few punches. The fact that **kere** were common enough forms of **totoua**, both expected and unmanaged by the boys' slightly older caregivers, was evidenced by Teata's unconcerned response to my (typically **hao'e**) query as to what was to be done to resolve this particular face-off: ***C'est comme ça.*** *'It's like that'* (M3/1.1042).

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Finally, several metalinguistic ploys were employed for interpersonal leverage and authority-brokering throughout these negotiations. First, the older children employed **pe'au** routines in order to demonstrate the linguistic incompetencies of the younger ones. For instance, after ten-year-old Tehina informed me that her little sisters Tahia and Teani could not pronounce /k/, Puhe commanded the two-year-old: **Hia, *dis un peu: Coca.*** '(Ta)hia, *say a bit: Coca.*' As they predicted she would, Tahia produced: **Tota** (M3/19.451-66).

Secondly, several occasions were found for criticizing the linguistic performance of others. For instance, at one point eleven-year-old Teata corrected her seven-year-old brother Tikare's **sarapia**: **'A'e inā to'oe *place ou* 'a'e inā to'oe koava?** 'That isn't your *place* or that isn't your place?' That is, she was pointing out his use of ***français*** for 'place' in the middle of speaking **'enana**. Of course, her own insertion of the FR conjunction **ou** went unnoticed. This linguistic correction (of a construction that had already been used a number of times during the game and gone uncorrected) may have been an attempt at a metapragmatic authority booster as she immediately followed it with a

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request for five marbles she claimed to have won from him (M4/14.337-41).

Another critical metalinguistic exchange occurred during a session of quizzing me on my **'enana**. Six-year-old Tikare asked me to produce a translation of the **'enana** term **puaka** 'pig'. In doing so, he was transgressing the rules of the game as I understood them at that time. These were that everyone was producing ***français*** for me to translate into **'enana**. So I simply repeated: **E puaka**, meaning that **puaka** is **puaka** in **'enana**. However, by his response, it appeared as if he understood this term to belong to ***français*** as he insisted on my translating it: ***En Marquisien***. *'In Marquesan.'* As a result his older siblings, Puhe and Teata, pounced on him for what they perceived as his metalinguistic confusion in misclassifying the word **puaka** as ***français***. This ended with Puhe's mocking marker of someone else's stupidity: ***Vu? V et U?*** 'Seen? V and U?' -- i.e., 'Get it, stupid?' (M3/19.648-58).

Interactions such as these, along with others analyzed as part of quizzing me on my **'enana** provide a fascinating window into the children's metapragmatic understanding of the phonological boundaries between the codes and of which

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lexemes belonged in which system. Another such form of metapragmatic negotiations was represented by their strategic CS. Aside from the switches already mentioned above, I point out several more here.

During one marble dispute (example #11), eleven-year-old Teata used a dialogic switch to **tahiti** to claim her turn: **Aita! 'Omua ta'u.** 'No[TAH]! First me' (M4/14.189). While transcribing this passage, Manu told me that her eldest daughter used this particular word because she thought it ***plus souple*** 'more supple' and thus more convincing. I analyze this as a dialogic switch in that a rhetorical switch is cloaked in the metonymic significance of **tahiti**, i.e., the ethnolinguistic association of Tahitians with a worldly suppleness, a kind of cheating persona, lends a pragmatic force to Teata's argument with others.

And while most of the marble game episode transpired in **'enana**, eight-year-old Puhe turned to ***français*** to represent a defensive posture: ***Vous êtes tous contres moi, ah?*** *'You are all against me, hm?'* (M4/14.105). And a few turns later, to his younger brother Tikare's mocking song (**Na-na-a-aa-a**) and insult (**tutae** 'shit') about having won a shot,

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Puhe responded with sarcastic ***politesse***: ***Merci beaucoup, e?*** *'Thank you very much,* yes?' (M4/14.150-1).

The dispute over Puhe's flip-flops began in ***français***, with his siblings all taking their oldest sister Teata's side against him in that language. Thus, his defensive commitment to his own position was signaled by a rhetorical switch to **'enana**: ***Mais non,*** **'a'i au i tuku.** *'But no,* I didn't give (them)' (M8/31.288).

At several points in the tapes, Puhe also used the rhetorical query ***Comprehendo?*** 'Understood?' to set someone straight on some point of obvious merit to him. For instance, during the ball dispute, he was trying to force his eleven-year-old sister Tehina to accept that the ball in his hands was not their cousin Maria's but his own: **Tenei 'a'e' na Maria. Na'u. [...] *Comprehendo?*** 'This isn't Maria's. Mine. [...] *Get (it)*[SP]?' (M10/23.164-7). I was never able to discover how this SP expression entered his pragmatic lexicon -- perhaps he learned it from some older boy who had taken Spanish at ***collège***, perhaps from some television cartoon, or perhaps from his worldly and sarcastic ***demi*** school teacher.[13] But whatever the source of these linguistic resources, for him they clearly functioned

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as markers of his own intelligence by contrast with the presumed idiocy of others (much like his usage of ***Vu?*** 'Seen?' which sometimes came out as the spelled locution: ***V-U?*** 'V-U?' as in the example above).

The **totoua** strategies of the boys in this family should by now be abundantly clear. By contrast, neither the younger nor the older girls manifested this level of investment in a combative style. Nonetheless, the older girls had learned to assert themselves in a variety of ways, with Tehina in particular seeking to claim the caregiver's shaming stance. On the other hand, the younger ones made some defense of their rights and belongings but tended finally to rely on appeals for help to their elders.

Clearly none of these children were proving themselves adept yet at the more flexible **keu** style. However, the expressions of **ka'oha** by two of the girls (the 'baby' Tahia and the next to eldest Tehina) demonstrated some understanding in this family of the importance of this key in the structuring of intimate relationships and a sense of psychosocial identification within the community.

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D. Conclusions

I have presented in this chapter a sampling of the sorts of heteroglossic negotiations in which **te toiki** 'the kids' of Hatiheu engage. In doing so, I have emphasized children's agency in dealing with their desires, constructing their identities, and managing their relationships. Through the strategic use of CS and various affect-laden genres, younger **'Enana** actively engage in their own initiation into the culturally appropriate ways of voicing identity and interacting socially within an **'enana** community. Through gossip, dispute, and expressions of concern children negotiate their interpersonal powers and identities within both the family and the larger heteroglossic speech economy.

However, emotional discourse among children and their caregivers functions not only to negotiate affect, identity, and communicative processes. As was demonstrated earlier, it also generates contexts and routines for the socialization of linguistic resources and attitudes. The variable development of ethnolinguistic commitments by children resulting from these dialogic processes then

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affects the wider ethnolinguistic dialectic. That is, while ethnolinguistic capital plays an important role in the development of psychosocial identity, it also has an impact on historical transformations of the translinguistic system and the heteroglossic speech economy. In these various interlocking ways, the children of Hatiheu are contributing to the art of being **'Enana** at this time in history.

In the concluding chapter of this study, I review the impact of macro and micro influences on the socialization of ethnolinguistic commitments in the Marquesas and touch again on how the psychosocial dynamics of **keu** and **teketekao** have helped shape the emotionally loaded issue of language loss.

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## Notes

1. From my research with both **'enana** and French-Canadians, I conjecture that this way of clumping children is not culture-specific but a feature common to peoples who produce large families. That is, speaking of children in pairs and meeting their needs in sets of two or more is a functional response to a social organizational problem once the domestic unit oversteps a certain number (perhaps when the number of children is more than double the number of adult caregivers).

2. As mentioned above, a purely rhetorical switch away from the norm is sometimes tried if the first attempt does not produce the desired results.

3. It is not that boys are incapable of being selective about whom they tell stories to. For instance, Puhe refused to tell me the story about the big fight between his two Hooumi uncles despite his siblings' urgings (example #14). But this is more complete hiding whereas the hiding involved in gossiping behind someone's back is rarely an attempt to hide the information or the social impact wholly; instead, the pragmatic power of gossip is in its potential to come back round to the subject and most gossipers use this dynamic to manipulate social relations in one way or another.

4. Eleven-year-old Perena in particular expressed concern for animals -- puppies, chicks, piglets -- feeding them, clucking over them, protecting them. This was unusual by local standards according to which animals were only fed to the extent that they were useful -- i.e., to be used as hunters or food -- but otherwise ignored or abused. Noella reported that Perena wished to be a vet -- clearly a Western occupation with little precedent in the Marquesas.

5. According to Noella, she had requested that the children all come home for lunch on days that are ***un école*** 'half days', namely Wednesdays and Fridays, so that they would not

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***faire bêtise*** 'make mischief' after lunch -- i.e., part of her efforts to keep her family more insulated from others in the village. Tehina took it upon herself to explain this to me; however, the way she phrased it made it sound as if the teacher had ***dit*** 'said' that they must not eat there. In fact, this was all just Tehina's prelude to telling me that the teacher had told Tava to eat even though they weren't supposed to. According to Noella, the teacher said this because the older children come out for lunch later than the young ones (including Tava) in ***Ecole maternelle***, and the mistress did not want Tava to sit there hungry while he waited for his older sisters to come out and walk him home. As Noella was bringing the baby home from the clinic that morning, she passed the canteen and saw him eating there. She spoke with the teacher then and said he could finish eating today but that she did not want to make a regular practice of this as meals at the school canteen cost money (this practice of feeding the children a hot lunch at the school canteen and charging the parents money for it was fairly recent -- the oldest children in the study had not eaten lunch at school when they were little).

However, Perena stepped in to correct Tehina on this point, saying that it was Mama who.... But Tehina did not let her finish her statement. Thus, it is unclear whether Perena was differing with what Tehina had originally been seeming to say -- i.e., that the teacher told them all not to eat -- or Tehina's elaboration -- i.e., that the teacher had told Tava to go ahead and eat. However, Tehina assumed it was the latter and so claimed superior knowledge of the situation (given her status as direct witness) as she had been there the day before when Perena was not and seen the teacher telling Tava to go ahead and eat. Then, she explained, when Noella saw him eating she said to go ahead even though it meant she would have to pay. Given Tehina's strongly argued case based on first-hand evidence and an understanding of causality, Perena backed off and turned to the pens I had brought as presents.

A minor subplot to this episode is the incident of Julia having taken the mission into her own hands of inviting my husband to come over and eat. Upon her return she announced with great self-importance her arrival and her news that he was not coming (the fact that I had told him not to so that the taping would be more 'natural' had

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already caused Mimi some consternation). In other words, she had needed no **pe'au** directive to set out on this mission of **ka'oha**, nor awaited a report request to offer up her account of what she had discovered. She had moved beyond top-down socialization into the realm of negotiating claims to credit for her communicative activities well-performed.

6. These two are transformations of the prayer form: ***A Dieu, va!*** *'To God, go* (to ask pardon)!' However, ***Manioc, va!*** is a punning twist on ***Manières, va!*** -- meaning: get out of here with your attitude. In this case, the put-down is intensified by comparing your airs to the manioc, an unassuming, bland root-crop.

7. This swear, like the two insults above, is derived from the prayer form ***Sacré coeur, va!*** *'Sacred heart, go* (to ask pardon)*!'* and equivalent to 'Christ almighty!'

8. This switch may also have tied back to Tapu's initial laughing query in **'enana**: **Meee...mei hea mai?** 'Whe..where did (that) come from?' (T3/11.196). But she was referring to the name itself, not the donor -- and yet these are never unrelated issues to **'Enana**.

9. A literal translation of this **sarapia** utterance would be: 'Hey Tahia, *it's well a bit of us* house *than of* those-Pahio's. *It's not pretty.*'

10. But as I have pointed out elsewhere, the obscuring of information (whether descriptions of details or explanations of causality) appeared to be a common occurrence in Hatiheu -- a product I believe of the historical interplay between indigenous and colonial articulations of 'knowledge' and 'reality'.

11. It should be noted that the boys in particular used a specialized vocabulary for the negotiation of winning and losing. According to Manu, **pikisi** is commonly used by children (I could locate it in no **'enana** dictionary, and surmise that it is derived from **piki** 'mount' as in horses, but also in reference to sex, which is also perceived as a game of winning and losing). She also said that her boys reversed the syllables of **penepene** 'win' to form **nepenepe**,

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this being a common form of language play practiced frequently by her boys. However, the only term related to **penepene** I could locate in any dictionary was the loan **pene** 'penny', from which I hypothesize that **penepene** is derived from the playing of betting games which involve 'winnings' of this kind.

12. **Are 'oe!** 'Go ahead you!' (M4/14.102). In fact, **are** is probably based on the FR loan ***allez***, but my assistants designated this as a TAH lexical item.

13. In general, the children spent a lot of time engaging me in ways that, on looking back, I now recognize as socializing techniques. First of all, they engaged me in talk about myself in both ***français*** and **'enana** that felt at first intrusive and even hostile, but over time I understood as their attempts to incorporate me via verbal **keu** 'play' -- bringing me inside the circle of their **ka'oha**. Or rather they treated me as if I were already there long before the adults were able to do so. That is, they asked me questions about myself, my family, my belongings (where acquired, for how much...?), and the nature of my relationship and activities with various people they saw me with -- i.e., report requests productive of **tekatekao** 'gossip'. They also welcomed me using **ka'oha** practices, i.e., inviting me to eat and inquiring about my health or whether the many **nono** 'biting flies' were bothering me.

14. Haatuatua has more of the incredibly annoying white variety of **nono** than any valley I ever visited (note my use of evidentials to mark the 'truth' here). Apparently (i.e., I was told by one of the archaeologists who had worked there -- I never saw any myself though I visited the beach a number of times), things do wash up on this beach, the explanation being that it is one of the first landfalls after the Americas. However, as most children have not visited this valley often if ever, this story seems to function in Hatiheu a bit like the Santa Claus legend.

15. **Kira** 'Chinese' is used on people who manifest (as Teata did) some of the features introduced into the gene pool by the induction of Chinese laborers to French Polynesia in the nineteenth century. At present, the few Chinese people in

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the Marquesas own stores and engage in other forms of trade and thus are stereotyped in the ways typical of those who are stigmatized for being capable, rich, and smart: i.e., as being bossy, stingy, and too serious about small details, all of which fit the ways in which Teata's character was stereotyped by her family members.

16. This nickname, given to Tehina by her godfather, (derived supposedly from a **kakiu** expression: **Memai, sapisapi** 'Come, eat soup/slop' (or some other MQ'd borrowing from contact with sailors). In her godfather's mouth **Sapisapi** had an affectionate teasing connotation of 'little, needy one', while in Puhe's mouth it was far more derogatory, a slight having to do with **pe** feelings.

17. Manu translated this term as ***gonflé*** 'swollen with pride'; possibly it derived from FR ***fat*** 'pretentious'.

18. Actaully, Puhe used a Spanglish form of this in the example discussed earlier: ***Is comprehendo?*** the former element being phonologically English. This supports my hypothesis that it was introduced by the school teacher who spoke English fluently as a consequence of having lived in Toronto for several years. Unfortunately, it is impossible to band and record the flight patterns of linguistic items such as this as they circulate through the global speech economy.

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# Chapter XI

## On Codes of Desire and the Flexibility of Identity: **Sarapia** and the Emergence of **te 'Enana**

In a recent work, Thomas (1997) articulates the continued need to investigate the ethnohistories of cross-cultural interactions in Oceania that have to greater or lesser degrees influenced the ways in which Pacific peoples are presently imagining and expressing themselves -- sometimes wholly incorporating, sometimes ignoring, sometimes marginally influenced by, and sometimes openly opposing the ideological forms of the encroaching Other.

This study has been an exploration of what linguistic anthropological approaches (e.g., ethnography-of-speaking, ethnohistorical linguistics, conversational analysis, and dialogism) can offer this agenda given that such historical interactions inevitably occur within highly heteroglossic contexts. In particular, Ochs and Schieffelin's language socialization paradigm has been applied to looking at how ethnolinguistic identities are socialized through psychosocial interactions as well as at how persons learn to use ethnolinguistic resources to construct and articulate

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their psychosocial stances. As has been demonstrated, these microlevel negotiations of identity are both causes and consequences of the dialectically changing translinguistic system in the Marquesas.

By way of conclusion, I examine here how processes of identity emergence can be broken into two components -- *identity discourse* and *identity pragmatics* -- and how these two components influence the contours and consequences of the disputes and socializing interactions out of which dialogic identities are constructed.

*Identity pragmatics* refers to the interactive processes by which identities are indexically instantiated. Governed by translinguistic associations between forms, functions, and meanings, identities are pragmatically constructed through all types of interactions ranging from relatively formal and institutionalized adult discourse to everyday talk among children and caregivers -- i.e., both routinized and creative. For instance, strategic CS may be used to signal transformations in ethnolinguistic identity in a Territorial Assembly meeting. By contrast, the use of a ***français***-based caregiving register can both signal and promote conditions favoring children's adoption of an

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ethnolinguistic commitment to ***français*** and French culture.

*Identity discourse* is 'talk' and the beliefs embedded in talk about ethnolinguistic identity, encompassing topics such as cultural revival and language maintenance. This discourse is shaped by ideology concerning these issues as well as by the identity pragmatics with which it is packaged. For instance, language acquisition ideology influences debates about the 'problem' of youth using too much **sarapia**. Similarly, the use of **tekatekao** 'gossip' to discuss this 'problem' helps create a 'shaming' dynamic in response to which the continued use of **sarapia** functions as a form of rebellion.

Both *identity pragmatics* and *identity discourse* manifest the intersection of macro and micro contexts and processes, and both are constructed out of the interplay of ethnolinguistic and psychosocial dynamics. Thus, through the analysis of these two phenomena researchers are able to integrate and highlight the relationship between ethnolinguistic constructs (meanings, forms, and functions) and psychosocial categories (emotions, commitments, and affiliations) in order to better understand the dialogic emergence of identity at both interactional and

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sociopolitical levels. In these final pages, I first explore the heteroglossic negotiation of psychosocial identity as one instance of the impact of sociocultural shift on identity pragmatics (what I refer to here as syncretic pragmatics). I then look at **te 'Enana**'s attempt to manage a highly charged example of identity discourse, the issue of 'language loss'.

## A. Syncretic pragmatics: negotiating psychosocial identity

Within a rapidly changing and highly heteroglossic speech economy, identity pragmatics are inherently syncretic. Syncretic pragmatics are produced when two or more sociocultural systems intermesh to influence the ways in which people signal, socialize, and construct their identities and affiliations. The syncretic pragmatics produced by the meeting of French and Polynesian cultures in the Marquesas are manifested in the code choices, communicative genres, and socialization techniques of **te 'Enana**. The influence of this emergent system of pragmatics is particularly apparent in the negotiation strategies

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practiced by children in the development of their psychosocial identities.

As was examined at length in Part II of this study, a range of sociopolitical structures demonstrates evidence of indigenous continuity as well as drastic restructuring by colonial and missionary impact. The roles of the **haka'iki** 'chief' and **tuhuka** 'craft specialist' have been retained and/or resurrected in altered form, while those of the **tumu pure** 'prayer leader' and **tumu hamani** 'teacher' have been constructed out of indigenous understandings and French Catholic institutional roles. Similarly, household structures and psychosocial identities illustrate the ways in which indigenous forms have not been wholly lost but reinterpreted. For instance, polyandrous marriages can be found in subterranean form as 'wanderers' serve the roles of **peke** 'secondary husbands'. Also, the transsexual gender of **mahu** has been transformed by the global sex economy into the **rairai**, a Western-style cross-dresser.

Despite this underlying retention of traditional forms, it is apparent that **'enana** understandings of the universe have incorporated a good deal of French Catholic ideology concerning good and evil, dark and light, savagery and

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civilization, and the fallen place of **'Enana** in such a universe. As a result, ideological ambivalence has been injected into the cultural revival efforts to reclaim **kakiu** 'traditional' knowledge and practices. And the maturity of the **ko'oua** 'grandfathers' and their necessary role in **hakako** 'teaching' the **toiki** 'children' is no longer supported.

Nonetheless, a number of indigenous psychosocial notions have been retained in the ways emotions, identities, and relationships are forged and expressed through verbal interaction. Specifically **pe** 'rotten' emotions are hidden and identities are made **kako** 'flexible' as interpersonal dependence and desires are negotiated. Similarly, the emotional stances of **ka'oha** 'compassion' and **hakaika** 'shame', as well as the communicative practices of **keu** 'teasing' and **tekatekao** 'gossiping' all turn out to be key in the ongoing dialogic negotiation of identity.

Overall, it appears that **'enana** communicative styles and sociopolitical statuses are being transformed through their experience of French institutional authority (e.g., via schooling, electoral politics, wage labor, and Catholicism). First of all, the intimacy of **ka'oha** 'concern' is giving way to the distancing rules of

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***politesse***. Secondly, some of the more traditional forms of flexibility are being subsumed by confrontation; for instance, the measured use of **tekatekao** and **keu** among peers is more commonly being reinterpreted as **paha** 'insults' and **pekē** 'anger', forms interpreted as more appropriate for use for or among immature children. Finally, the more Oceanic understanding that certain psychosocial 'facts' are hidden for the good of the group is being subverted by the Western ethos and practices of guilt, exposure, punishment, and redemption.

However, these transformations are not simply the result of the imposition of political economic shifts at the macro level but are more complexly influenced by microlevel, everyday interactions. As was discussed in Part III of this study, the historical construction of particular psychosocial dynamics and communicative contexts affects children's development of both their psychosocial stylistics and their ethnolinguistic commitments. Not only dialogic identities, but also the ideologies about how hierarchies of these identities should be lexically and pragmatically indexed and constructed, emerge out of a syncretic socializing nexus.

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In other words, the various methods for socializing linguistic and communicative forms and strategies are derived from a system of syncretic pragmatics. For example, the Western-style use of a caregiver register and scaffolding techniques as well as the inculcation of children into various forms of ***politesse*** reflect French influences. By contrast, the prevalence of pan-Pacific 'say-it' and 'calling-out' routines as well as the engagement of children in a number of phatic forms of local **tekatekao** 'gossip' indicate the continued significance of indigenous systems.

These socializing genres also have syncretic messages concerning what constitutes appropriate affect, behavior, and relational stance. For instance, on the one hand, report requests are used to educate children in the cultural importance of certain forms of local knowledge to do with church-going, childcare, ownership, responsibility, etc. On the other hand, such verbal routines inculcate the importance of attending to detail, providing credible evidence, and demonstrating one's flexibility.

Principles of **ka'oha** 'compassion' and **hakaika** 'shame', communicative genres such as **pekē** 'scolding' and **keu**

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'teasing' all continue to play important roles in **hakako** 'teaching' children to hide **pe** 'rotten' feelings and behave **kako** 'flexibly' in relationship to important others in their social universe. Nonetheless, the ability to compete and strategize within Western frameworks of competence and status (i.e., with respect to French literacy, salaried employment, Catholic behavior, and democratic citizenship within a nation-state), are now also being enjoined in the home as well as at school.

Finally, syncretic forces have also affected children's development of heteroglossic commitments, i.e., their differential acquisition of and attitudes toward **'enana**, ***français***, and **sarapia**. Large-scale, political-economic forces influence the acquisition, maintenance, transformation, and/or loss of the codes. However, the actual dialogic processes by which members of a community develop their particular linguistic repertoires, commitments, and ethnolinguistic identities cannot be adequately explained by looking only at macro factors. Instead, I have explored how the macro forces examined in Part II have infiltrated the local socialization practices of caregivers discussed in Part III, creating differences in

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patterns of language use and language ideology expressed in each of the households with which I worked. In short, what I found is that local shifts in identity pragmatics -- i.e., the formation of syncretic pragmatics within each household -- has meant that children are developing differential ethnolinguistic commitments given variations in the ideological contexts, linguistic input, and manner in which each child is engaged in interaction.

Thus, it is clear from this study that young **'Enana** in Hatiheu use a range of communicative resources to construct, index, transmit, and reproduce their emergent, synthetic culture. In everyday discourse, ***français*** and **'enana** are used to signal ethnolinguistic identities via metonymic and dialogic CS as well as to negotiate interpersonal dynamics at the level of the conversation via rhetorical and dialogic CS. Additionally, young **'Enana** articulate and deploy an emergent identity via **sarapia**.

Young **'Enana** also engage in a number of metapragmatically salient forms (terms of address, epithets for **Hao'e**, the self-mocking label **sarapia**, etc.) and communicative genres ('teasing', 'gossiping', 'scolding', 'reporting', 'whining', and 'fighting') in which the

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ethnolinguistic contrasts between **'Enana** and **Hao'e** are retained and underscored. For example, remember the struggles among the children, epitomized on the one hand by tropes from King Kong, Tarzan, a TV sports show, and the taunt, 'Go back to France,' and on the other hand by insulting images to do with sorcerers, fish, and dangers of wild cows and rivers. Such negotiations of psychosocial identity and interpersonal stance are marked by two cultures not only in substance but also style, as these children employed ***français***, **'enana**, and **sarapia** to tattle, taunt, and tease.

Thus, while partially strategic in nature and indexical in function (that is, wielded as resources in the construction of emergent ethnolinguistic identities), present patterns of code and genre deployment are the result of real shifts in the language socialization process, which have in turn been influenced by a syncretic social universe and worldview. Embedded in emotional discourse -- addressed via affect-laden genres and signaled to pay attention to psychosocial relationships and values -- **'enana** children acquire the linguistic resources and communicative strategies needed to negotiate their access to objects,

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information, power, and the concern of others in ways that are neither **hao'e** nor **'enana** but a dialogically produced syncretic amalgam.

In other words, the emergence of dialogic identities is affected not only by a rapidly changing, heteroglossic speech economy, but also by local psychosocial dynamics. However, these dynamics do not result solely from imposed colonial or retained indigenous categories and practices but are forged out of an emerging system of syncretic pragmatics, expressive of dialectical contradiction and shifting identifications.

The dialectical tension between French and **'enana** cultures takes particular forms unique to the Marquesas -- i.e., the production through socialization of **sarapia** and other synthetic French-**'Enana** communicative dynamics and the dialogic imagination of **'enana** identity and the nature and value of what is **kakiu**. However, the shape and contour of these dialectics are relatively common in situations of ethnolinguistic shift, especially when taking place within the context of a neo-colonial, cultural revival movement.

Also common in such settings is the sort of identity discourse that both embodies and propagates affective

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associations between linguistic forms and sociocultural identities. Specifically, psychosocial constructs such as loss and desire and emotionally laden ideology about the flexibility or purity of language inform the dialogic emergence and expression of ethnolinguistic identities.

To examine these processes, I look one final time at the present situation in which **'Enana** are expressing both their fear of losing their **tumu**, their source of identity, as well as unprecedented 'needs' or desire for what lies on the other 'side' of the **Hao'e-'Enana** divide. I review the explanations **'Enana** offered me for why they are losing **'enana** and developing **sarapia** and relate these to my own analyses of ethnolinguistic shift in the Marquesas. I then consider the role played by psychosocial values and genres in this communal effort to untangle and manage (***débrouiller***) this locally salient issue.

B. Managing loss

Like many other Pacific peoples, **te 'Enana** maintained their language through two centuries of drastic depopulation

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and sanctions applied by Christian missionaries and a Western educational system. However, in recent years 'the people' have begun to show signs of irrevocably giving up their '**enana** for ***français***, and this despite the almost simultaneous launching of a cultural revival movement marked by a renaissance of traditional song, dance, tattooing, and crafts, as well as symbolic use of the language.

As has been examined in this study, this shift in the translinguistic system is being underwritten in part by systemic commitments to certain indigenous values, communicative practices, and socialization strategies. Thus, although on the surface paradoxical, this turn of events can be better understood as part of an ongoing dialogic process in the ubiquitous construction of culture, with the emergence of syncretic **sarapia** as its code.

Nonetheless, 'the people' themselves are by no means unanimously in favor of this constructivist interpretation of these ethnolinguistic shifts. Psychosocial tension concerning ethnolinguistic loss is evident not only in more or less public and formal debate over this topic, but also in the everyday exchanges through which dialogic identities are created, expressed, and socialized. In short, '**Enana**

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complain about the **sarapia** of youth today (a common enough complaint in contexts of rapid language shift throughout the global speech economy).

From the cultural revival perspective, the concern is that children are inserting the ***français*** learned at school into other settings, either out of necessity, because they are acquiring insufficient **'enana**, or willfully, given their **putu'i** nature as youth. But behind this complaint lurks the fear, driven by older colonial forces, which tells them that the ***français*** children are learning is also inadequate for 'getting somewhere' in the world. Thus, ideologically, **sarapia** in its two different forms operates as an index of both decadence and vestigial savagery: as impure **'enana** it represents the people's 'fall from nobility', but as non-standard ***français*** it symbolizes their 'failure to civilize'.

I assessed in Chapter IV the evidence for these fears -- the historical breakdown of a diglossic situation in which separate codes were used for separate functions and in separate zones and the consequent development of strategic forms and practices that can be analyzed under the rubric of code-switching. Then, in Chapter VIII, I discussed in detail the particular ideological, social structural, and

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interactive factors affecting the differential development of ethnolinguistic commitments by a number of children in Hatiheu.

Here I examine the psychosocial dynamics involved in three metalinguistic notions cited by **'Enana** to explain the fact that their language appears to be used less, less well, and in fewer contexts than it was by their grandparents (that is to explain the processes of language shift and obsolescence). One reason proposed is that **Hao'e tivava** 'lying foreigners' have been stealing the language. Secondly, parents are criticized for purposely not teaching it to their children. Finally, children and youth are blamed for choosing to abuse and/or not use the language.

While most researchers would consider these models of linguistic causality to be ideologically loaded, they are not wholly groundless. In fact, these 'explanations' reflect very real psychosocial dynamics of the language-shift process, not only in the sense of providing some accurate insights into the process, but also as they are integral to the emotional/ideological context housing these dynamics. In other words, all of these factors have a very real place in the translinguistic transformations occurring

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in the Marquesas.

First is the idea that **Hao'e** are responsible for ruining the language. This notion is fairly compatible with liberal Western notions about the oppressive impact of colonial and missionary forces on native populations and their discursive practices -- the situation in the Marquesas was analyzed from this perspective in Chapter IV. In fact, a number of '**Enana** proposed three quite 'reasonable' explanations along these lines (i.e., ones that could have been proposed by linguists analyzing language shift in a large number of linguistically loaded, colonial contexts): 1) the fact that schooling takes place in ***français*** and that the use of **'enana** in school (even during playtime) was until recently banned and punished, 2) the fact that schooling now begins at two or three years old so that much of a child's day and early cognitive structuration takes place in ***français***, and 3) the fact that **tahiti** rather than **'enana** is now the language tested in the civil service exams.

However, the one aspect of this explanation of language loss that would take most Western researchers by surprise is the idea that we have stolen the language -- not en masse but piecemeal, like fruit from trees (as was discussed in

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Chapter VII), and without paying for it -- like the carved stone **tiki** taken by archaeologists and put in museums or like the land that has been taken out of usufruct by the French government. In other words, what is unfamiliar is the method of destruction, the idea that rather than simply obstructing the language's transmission (via various educational, socioeconomic, and political measures), **Hao'e** have been absconding with it and selling it at world market prices **'Enana** can only dream of.

In this model, the liberal researcher is lumped in with colonial administrators and missionaries as one of the chief architects of the scam. After all, we are the ones most obviously engaged in acquiring words and expressions, writing them down, and storing them in our computers. We entangle people in peculiar forms of metalinguistic discussion about bits and clumps of language that are hard to visualize. We then check our results against rare books containing previously stolen linguistic goods (i.e., nineteenth- and twentieth-century dictionaries and grammars which are out of print and hard to acquire except by researchers who have access to extensive libraries and the means to indulge in illicit photocopying). True, 'we' have

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given them ***français*** and **menike** in return, but these global codes are merely useful tools. They are not invaluable local resources, impossible to rejuvenate if once pulled up by the roots and left to rot.

The accusation that I was robbing the people of their inheritance -- their **tumu**, or tree trunk, the essence of their **'enana** identity which had been passed down for generations -- may have been the expression of a merely metaphoric understanding of the Westerners' role in destroying **'enana**. This metaphor, nonetheless, appears to have its roots in a widespread sensibility concerning the alienability of culture, a hyperbolic perception of the value of their own cultural materials, and an undue valuation of the wealth and power of **Hao'e** authors such as Melville. Moreover, I imagine even deeper cultural roots for all of this in hypothesizing a general fear of decontextualized interactions and the seepage of value through exchange.

However, as was discussed in Chapter VII, I also now read this language theft challenge as a pragmatic instance of the dialogic methods **'enana** have developed for managing the **Hao'e** who enter their orbit. In fact, underground

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resistance in the form of **keu** 'teasing' and **tekatekao** 'gossip' along these lines (as opposed to open confrontation in the form of **totoua** -- bragging, insulting, etc.) is considered the appropriate mode for interacting with anyone. In a sense, this 'dispute' over language theft was their way of socializing and incorporating me within their sphere of **ka'oha** 'concern' while also deploying, demonstrating, and maintaining their distinctive ethnolinguistic identity.

A second rationale for language loss proffered by **'Enana** is that parents (mothers in particular) are intentionally depriving their children of the chance to acquire their 'mother tongue' by speaking ***français*** in the home. This ideology, however, is understood at some level of consciousness by almost all to be riven with 'hypocrisy'. It is the elite who are most vocal in espousing the doctrine that the language and identity of the community must be saved and who deride less well-educated mothers for teaching their children an incorrect ***français*** while simultaneously cutting their children off from their **tumu 'enana** (cultural roots). However, it is precisely the elite who are most obviously 'guilty' of using the dominant language within the domestic sphere as elsewhere (to the

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exclusion of **'enana**) so as to give their children a chance either to leave the community of their 'mother tongue' behind altogether or else to better articulate with French society in dominating their home communities.

Such socializing strategies are common among the indigenous elite in colonial and neo-colonial contexts, and where an ideology of purism is prevalent so is the discourse of hypocritical blame (see, for example, Garrett 1999). Nonetheless, it is clear that the widespread pattern of use of the colonial language in the home does have its consequences for language shift. Moreover, it is precisely the act of blaming that is responsible for some of the very patterns observed. That is, less well-educated mothers are savvy enough to see that their better-educated neighbors practice the opposite of what they preach, and so have followed suit.

In the Marquesas, these perceptions and practices are possible because, as was demonstrated in Part III, through daily interactions caregivers teach children how to recognize and deal with hypocrisy and blame. First of all, hypocrisy is scathingly denounced in others and so understood to be ubiquitous. Secondly, **'Enana** are well-

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schooled in practicing and responding to the communicative act of blaming. Thus, the act of blaming those on the other 'side' (in this case, the elite) of saying one thing and doing another has contributed on the one hand to the 'loss' of the language but on the other to the maintenance of communicative norms to do with shaming and gossiping.

The third metalinguistic explanation that **'Enana** propose is that ***les jeunes*** 'youth' are no longer speaking the language because they are lazy and do not want to learn it well enough to speak it. This position of older speakers is marked by a discourse of disgust directed at their children and is sometimes transformed into angry critiques addressed directly to the children. These assaults have a 'blame-the-victim' feel since, as was just discussed, adults are responsible at the immediate level for the fact that children are not being given the degree or kind of exposure to the language that they themselves had as children. Thus, this researcher at first dismissed this belief as mere 'ideology' (in the entirely hoodwinked sense) and so failed to notice the ubiquity of its attendant discursive practices.

However, the contradictory messages implicit in shaming

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the children for not speaking **'enana** while also pressuring them to learn a correct, 'unmixed' variety of ***français*** are not lost on the children. Thus, neither their explicit reactions to this shame and critique discourse nor the agency displayed by the children in their deployment of codes can be overlooked. As was demonstrated in Chapter X, children strategically use **sarapia** and CS in the manipulation of their identities, and also function skillfully in various communicative roles in the shame, pain, and gain game.

It was in part to account for the impact of oppressive outsiders, parents, and children on shifts in language systems and their pragmatic use that I developed a theory of dialogic identity and its emergence. That is, I was attempting to understand how all three forces affect the processes by which people acquire and use ethnolinguistic resources in the everyday formation, expression, and negotiation of their psychosocial identities. I have found this theory useful for orchestrating an analysis of the ways in which **'Enana**, both children and adults, operate discursively ('discourse' taken in both its senses as biased ideology and everyday verbal interaction) within an

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oppressive communicative economy, thus effecting transformations in how varieties of ***français***, **'enana**, and their syncretic amalgam **sarapia** are presently being deployed in this semi-autonomous French territory.

As I discussed in the section in Chapter IV devoted to cultural revival movements in the Pacific, researchers frequently find themselves proposing constructivist critiques of local leaders' essentializing views (this happens elsewhere in the world as well -- e.g., Warren [1998] on pan-Mayan movements). However, I do not whole-heartedly support such a critique as I agree with a statement Maybury-Lewis is purported to have said at the 2001 AES/CASCA meetings devoted to the topic of Culture, Difference, and Inequality: "Better to essentialize than trivialize cultural identity."[1] In other words, at the level of the global speech economy, I see such identity discourse as an inevitable and necessary form of confrontation with oppressive, multinational forces.

However, I am also proposing that researchers recognize the effective heterogeneity of identity discourses and language ideologies within local speech economies worldwide. While the leaders of cultural revival movements are out

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promoting an essentializing doctrine to appeal to first-world progressives (as well as a commodified identity to sell to first-world tourists), the majority of locals tend to play with or 'work' this hegemonic discourse using an array of identity pragmatics -- i.e., heteroglossic and subversive speech practices -- all of which have their own transformative impact on the 'voice' of the 'people' and their ethnolinguistic identity.

Thus, one finds in the Marquesas that, although a number of **'Enana** pay lip service to the dominant critique of **sarapia**, the majority reject this language ideology in practice. That is, they are dynamically engaged in both transforming old and creating new dialogic practices with which to index and construct difference pragmatically and to represent other identities metapragmatically -- to tease or laud, mock or cajole, sanction or resist. Not only ***français***, **tahiti**, **menike**, and all the dialects of **'enana**, but also communicative genres, such as babytalk, prayer, and sexual banter, are resources for constructing multiple identities interpretable through multiple frames by multiple audiences. As a result, children are socialized into the effective use of polysemic and heteroglossic discourse and

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the ideology that flexibly teasing and gossiping, lying and vying, is an intrinsic part of **'enana** life, despite the (French influenced) scoldings of their elders, a life flow to which the children are in turn contributing their own youthful identity pragmatics. In other words, the historically evolving heteroglossic system continues to be consciously relished, exploited, and (re)produced.

Of course, this researcher's desire is that the **'enana** elite would focus at the ideological level less on 'loss' and more on 'shift'. That is, I would like them to disseminate an identity discourse that does not lament the demise of all that was once powerful and noble about their language and culture, but that instead celebrates **'Enana**'s pragmatic flexibility in transforming these forms and their functions 'since the beginning'. However, this desire is simply proof of my own cultural discomfort with interpersonal conflict and discourses of shame (and further evidence of the dialogic dance of research).

By contrast, **te 'Enana** 'the people' have for a long time been developing psychosocial strategies for negotiating the **pe** 'rotten' feelings that are generated by an identity discourse of 'loss', as they engage instead in identity

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pragmatics that subvert the social order supported by a discourse of dominance. Through **sarapia** and **keu** 'play', many **'Enana** actively contribute to the ongoing emergence of their dialogic identities -- willingly discarding that which no longer works and powerfully retaining that which does -- as they continue dialectically to ***débrouiller*** themselves and to **hakako** their children to display their flexibly evolving identity.

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## Notes

1. Jonathan Friedman provided this quote as part of his keynote address on globalization during a plenary session at the meetings in Montreal in which he was rationalizing his own involvement in an agenda for which he has been accused of *essentialism*.

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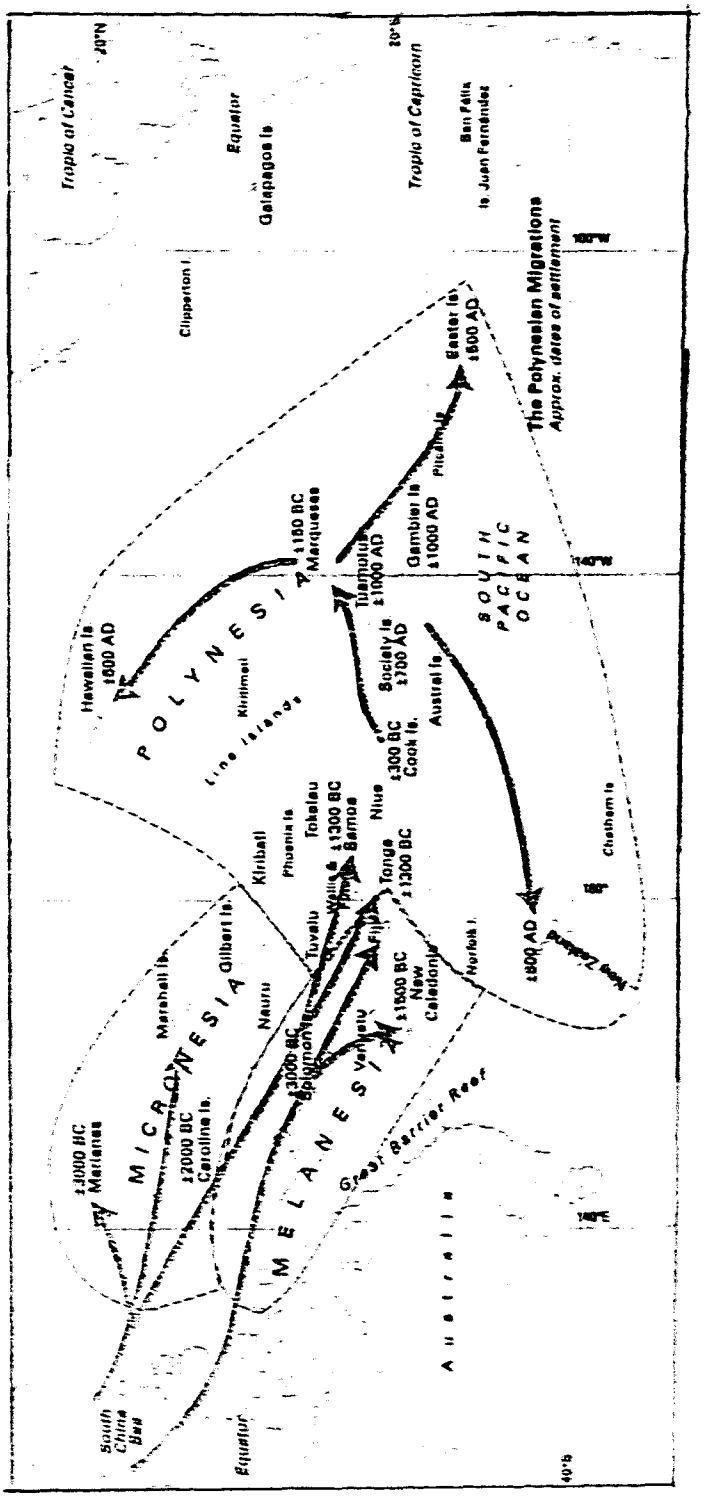
# Appendix 1
## Maps

A. Pacific Migration Routes

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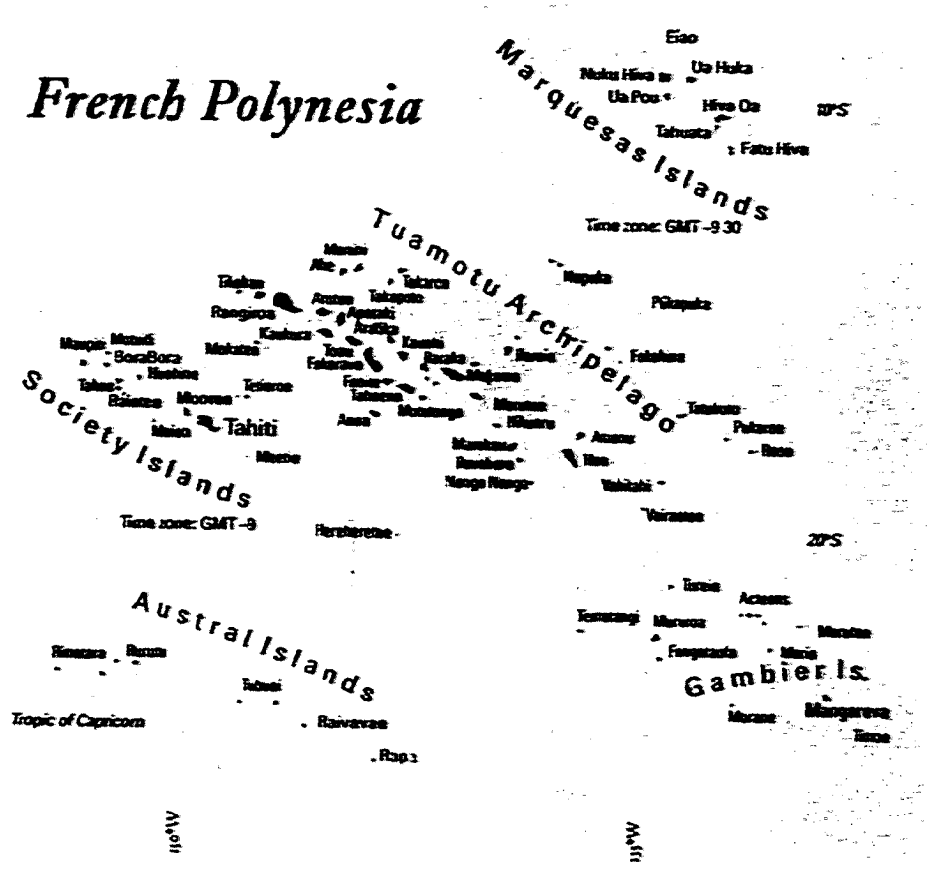


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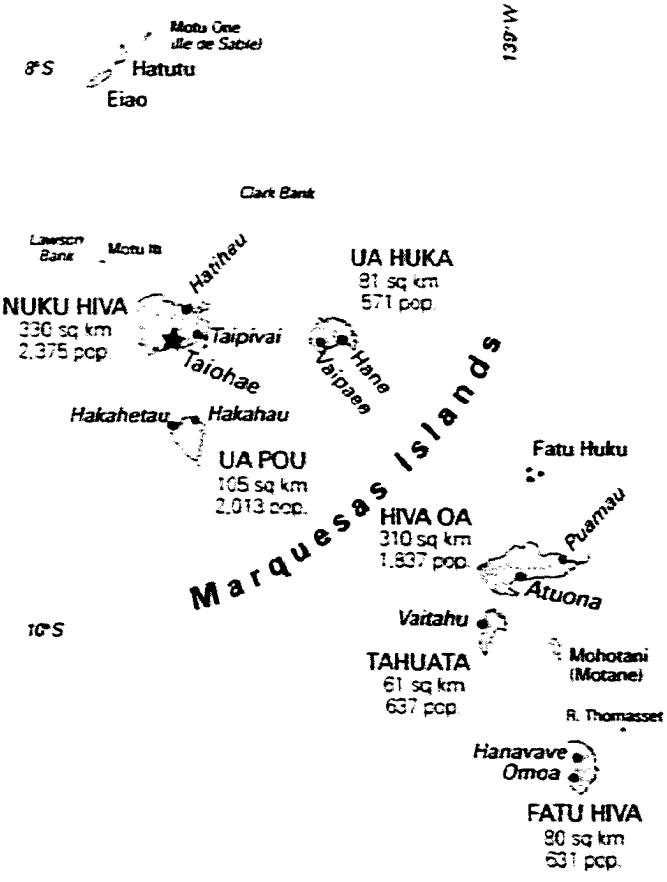
C. The Marquesas

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D. Nuku Hiva

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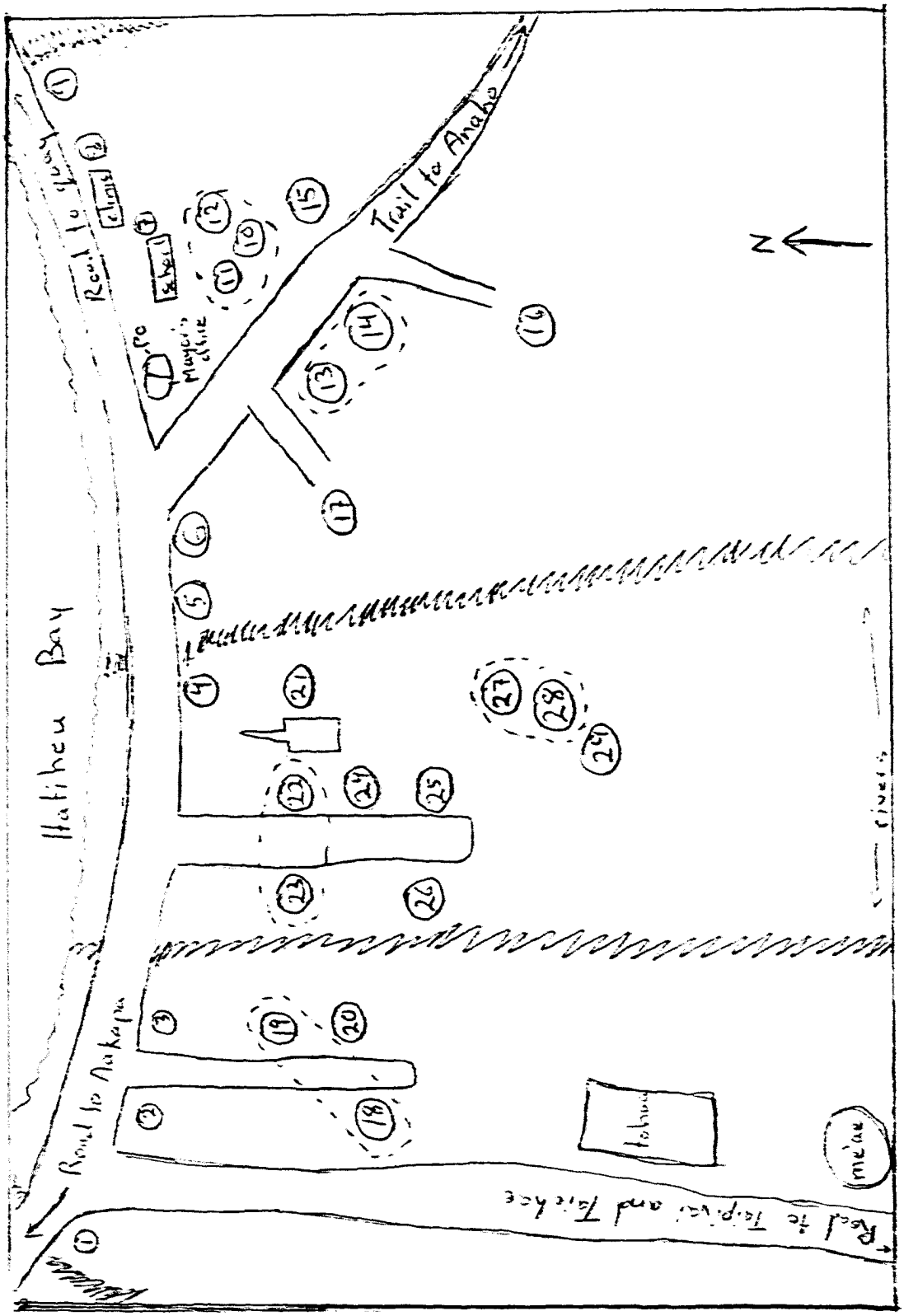


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F. Hatiheu dwellings

1. Two abandoned bungalows
2. TEIKIVAEOHO (2 adults, 1 wanderer, 6 children)
3. Four bungalows owned by mayor, rented at various times in 1993 to teachers, researchers (myself and several archaeologists), vacationing teachers and administrators from Taiohae, and a very few tourists.
4. Chez Yvonne -- restaurant, store, dwelling (1 grandparent, 1 adult adopted son, and 1 wanderer)
5. Liquor store and dwelling (1 grandparent, 1 adult son, 2 wanderers)
6. Dwelling and crafts store (1 grandparent, 1 adult adopted son)
7. School and teacher's housing
   Spring 1993 - Tah/Ital man and Tah/MQ woman
   Fall 1993 - woman from Ua Pou, her husband from Hatiheu, and baby
8. Infirmary and nurse's housing
   1992-95 - a French woman
9. Dwelling and bakery (2 grandparents, a daughter, her husband, and baby, 3 youth [away at school], 2 children)
10. Dwelling (2 grandparents, 1 adult, 3 children)
11. Dwelling (2 adults, 2 children)
12. (X)Dwelling (1 grandparent, 2 adults, 2 children)
13. Dwelling (2 adults, 5 children)
14. Dwelling (2 adults, 2 children)
15. (X)Dwelling (2 adults, 1 youth, 3 children)
16. Dwelling (2 adults, 3 youth, 5 children)
17. Dwelling (2 adults)
18. (X)Dwelling (2 grandparents, 2 grandchildren)
19. (X)Dwelling (2 adults, 1 youth, 4 children)
20. (X) Dwelling (2 adults, 2 wanderers, 3 youth [2 at school], 1 child)
21. Church, meeting house, and dwelling for the priest (an elderly French man) when in town a couple of days a month
22. (C) PAHUATINI dwelling (2 grandparents, 3 youth, 2 children)
23. (C) Dwelling (2 adults, 3 children)
24. (C) Dwelling (2 grandparents, 1 grandchild, 1 youth)
25. (C) POIHIPAPU dwelling (2 adults, 2 wanderers, 5 children)
26. (C) Dwelling (1 adult, 2 youth [away at school], 3 children)
27. (C) HOKAUPOKO dwelling (2 grandparents, 1 grandchild)
28. (C,X) TEIKIKAINE dwelling (2 adults, 6 children)
29. (C) Dwelling (1 adult, an ex-wanderer)

X = matrilocal (husband living on wife's land)
C = outsiders living on land grants from the church

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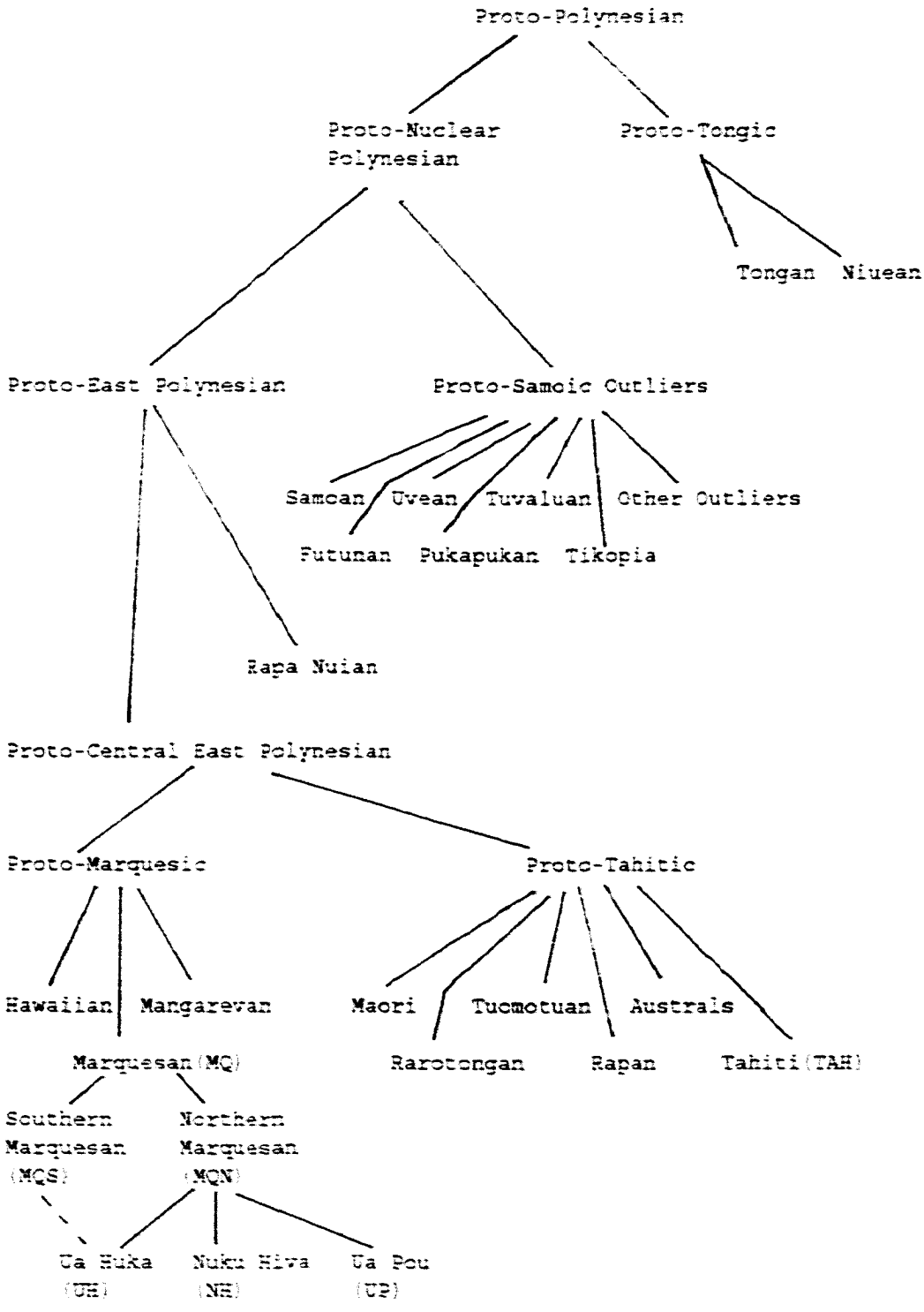
Appendix 2
Proto-Polynesian Family Tree

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Appendix 3
Adult Employment in Hatiheu

14 salaried workers for commune or other institutions:
- 1 mayor
- 3 teachers (EM and PM) (2 non-**'enana**)
- 1 teacher's aide (EM)
- 1 nurse (French)
- 1 postal worker
- 1 mutoi (**'enana** police)
- 1 electric meter reader
- 1 driver (and 1 substitute)
- 2 cooks for the school cantine
- 2 from Hatiheu working on Aranui

6 entrepreneurs
- 2 with stores (food, alcohol, sundries, tourist items)
- 1 middleman between expensive imported goods (e.g., watches) and expensive crafts from other islands (e.g., carvings)
- 1 baker
- 1 seamstress
- 2 with speedboats for hire for taxi service

10 intermittently employed (usually via the mayor) for archaeological, tourism-related, and public works projects (e.g., road repair, project to eradicate **nono**)

7 regularly employed in the service industry (i.e., by the mayor for her tourist business and by the nurse as a maid)

5 doing crafts (carving and **pareu**-making) to sell

19 working in copra/pig husbandry and/or fishing/hunting (sometimes in a share-cropper relationship, i.e., doing copra on someone else's land, or fishing in someone else's boat)

8 on pension

3 church workers (paid?)
- **tumu pure**
- **toko tumu pure**
- **mutoi des enfants**

several catechism teachers (paid?)

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Appendix 4
Associations in Hatiheu

1. ***Association des Parents d'Elèves***
2. Prayer groups
3. Youth group for church services and sports (volleyball and soccer)
4. Catechism classes
5. Meeting house construction
6. Dance troupes
    a) **Hikokua**
    b) **Hama**
    c) **Toiki**
7. Artisanal (**pareu** and wood-carving)
8. Traditional medicine and massage
9. Economic development - association of older women for the production and distribution of root crops
10. Co-op to buy and operate a new helicopter

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Appendix 5
Hatiheu Children and the ***Système Scolaire*** (5/93)

**Ecole Maternelle**: 16 students

**Ecole Primaire**

| *Grade* | *Number of students* | *Number held back 1 year* | *Number held back 2 years* | *Number advanced 1 year* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| CP | 10 | 4 | | |
| CE1 | 6 | 5 | | |
| CE2 | 4 | 2 | | |
| CM1 | 7 | 2 | 3 | |
| CM2 | 5 | 1 | _ | 1 |
| Total | 34 | 14 | 3 | 1 |

5 CM2 students passed on to **Collège** in fall 1993

**Collège**: 6 students from Hatiheu
2 dropped out during 1993
1 went on to a DEP program and dropped out the next year

**Lycée**: 1 student from Hatiheu

Total non-enrolled adolescents living in Hatiheu during 1993: 15

***Système Scolaire***

***L'école maternelle*** (EM) = preschool
***L'école primaire*** = elementary school
CP Le cours préparatoire
CE1 Le cours élémentaire I (10th)
CE2 Le cours élémentaire II (9th)
CM1 Le cours moyen I (8th)
CM2 Le cours moyen II (7th)
***Collège d'enseignement technique*** (CETAD) vocational junior high school
***Collège*** (les études de premier degré) = middle school
La classe de sixième (6th)
La classe de cinquième (5th)
La classe de quatrième (4th)
La classe de troisième (3rd)
***Lycée d'enseignement professionel*** (DEP) = vocational high school
***Lycée*** (les études de second degré) = high school
La classe de deuxième (2nd)
La première classe (1st)
***Baccalauréat*** -- first university title won by bac exam at end of second degree studies (i.e., ***lycée***)

As of 1993, it became mandatory for all children in the Marquesas to remain in school until age 16.

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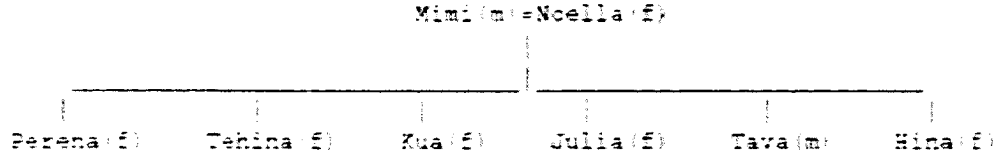
# Appendix 6
## Participant Families

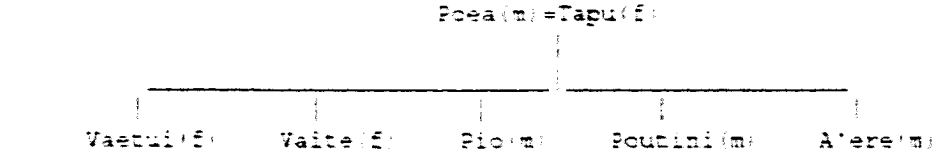
A. TEIKIVAEOHO




Papa: Teikihuikeu'otaipi Emile/Mimi (1946?)
Mama: Ki'ipuhia Noella né TAUPU (1962?)

Children:
- Tahia'apatiniaklatuehu Bernadette/Perena (11/14/81)
- Tehinapumaire Josephine (11/22/83)
- Kua'atutia Ludovica Marie (8/22/84)
- Tititaupo Julia (7/3/87)
- Teikitohutini Gustave/Tava Emanuel (7/3/89)
- Hinapeatetua Christine (6/9/93)

B. POIHIPAPU




Papa: Po'ea Marcel (1965?)
Mama: Tapu Lorette (né PUHETINI) (1965?)

Children:
- Vaetui Stella (6/5/83)
- Tehono'i'atu Vaite (4/28/85)
- Pio Rodrigue (2/9/88)
- Poutini Cedric (1/22/90)
- A'eretoari'inoro'omata'arca Patrice (3/19/92)

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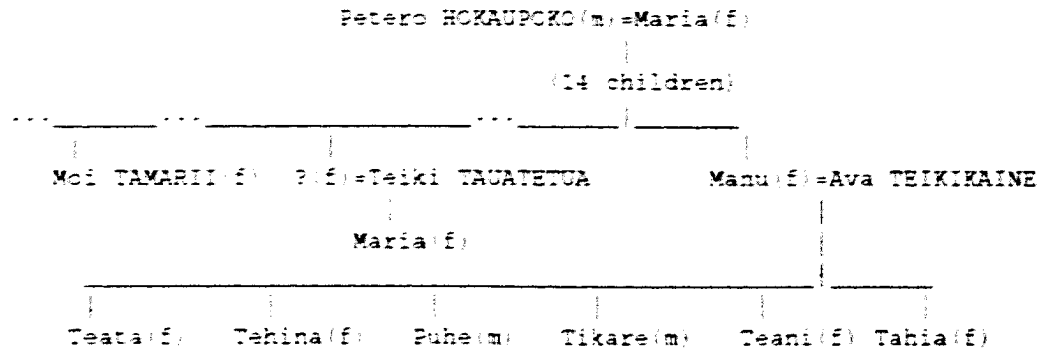
C. HOKAUPOKO-TEIKIKAINE




Koua: Petero HOKAUPOKO (1923?)
Pahio: Tahia'utieihei Caroline Maria HOKAUPOKO (1931?)

Children (out of fourteen, two were living in Hatiheu):
Moi Louise TAMARII (1946?)
Manu Jocelyne TEIKIKAINE (1965?)

Grandchildren:
from Manu and Ava TEIKIKAINE (1957?)
Te'ata Myriam (8/22/81)
Tehina Louisa (8/13/82)
Puhe Lorenzo Raphael (4/1/85)
Hai'i Judicael/Tikare (4/11/86)
Te'ani Leticia (2/26/89)
Tahia'utieihei Griselda (6/11/90)
from daughter in Tahiti and Teiki TAUATETUA
Caroline Maria TAUATETUA (3/26/81)

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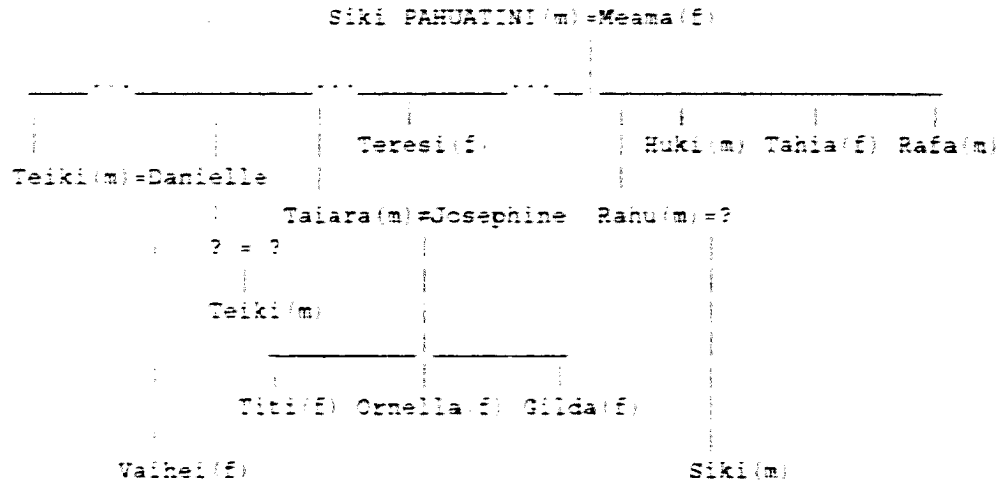
D. PAHUATINI




Koua: Tekohu'omanu Philippe/Siki (1928?)
Pahio: Meama né TAMARII (1938?)

Children (out of thirteen, six staying in Hatiheu during the study):
Teiki (1957?) living in France with French wife and daughter; they visited Hatiheu for the summer
Tai'ara Justin (1963?) living next door in Hatiheu with his three daughters; Vehine né PUHETINI (1976?) moved in with him late in the study
Thérèse/Teresi (1965?) living in Hatiheu and Taiohae with Iku TAATA (1963?); no children
Tahia/Marie-Rose, daughter (1977?)
Huki, son (1979?)
Raphael/Rafa, son (7/9/82)

Grandchildren (six staying in Hatiheu during the study):
from ?
Teiki (1978?), adopted by Siki and Meama
from Talara and Josephine TAUATETUA (no longer in Hatiheu)
Gilda (1/7/82)
Astride/Titi (11/15/83)
Ornella (11/20/85)
from Teiki and Danielle (1963?)
Vaihei (1990)
from Rahu and Irène, living in Bora Bora
Tekohu'omanu Gérome/Siki (4/22/91)
adopted by Petero and Meama

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Appendix 7
Focal Children

| Sex | Age (in yrs) | Grade (as of 3/93) | FAMILY NAME | 'Enana name | French name | Nick-name | Ling. Comm. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| f | 0 | | TEIKIVAECHO | Hina | (Christine) | | |
| m | 1 | | POIHIPAPU | Aere | Patrice | | |
| m | 2 | EM (9/93) | PAHUATINI | | (Gérome) | Siki | E/F? |
| f | 2-3 | EM (9/93) | TEIKIKAINE | Tahia | (Griselda) | | F? |
| m | 3 | EM | POIHIPAPU | Poutini | (Cedric) | | F? |
| m | 3-4 | EM | TEIKIVAECHO | | Gustave | Tava | F? |
| f | 4 | EM | TEIKIKAINE | Teani | (Leticia) | | F? |
| m | 5 | EM | POIHIPAPU | Pic | (Rodrigue) | | F? |
| f | 5-6 | EM | TEIKIVAECHO | | Julia | Turia | F |
| m | 6-7 | CP | TEIKIKAINE | | (Judicael) | Tikare | F/E |
| f | 7-8 | CP | PAHUATINI | | Ornella | | F |
| m | 7-8 | CP -1 | TEIKIKAINE | Puhe | (Lorenzo) | | E/F |
| f | 7-8 | CP -1 | POIHIPAPU | | Valte | | F/E |
| f | 8-9 | CE1 | TEIKIVAECHO | Kua | Ludovica | | F |
| f | 9-10 | CE2 | TEIKIVAECHO | Tehina | Josephine | | F |
| f | 9-10 | CE2 | PAHUATINI | | (Astride) | Titi | F/E |
| f | 9 | CE1 -1 | POKHIPAPU | Vaetui | (Stella) | | F/E |
| m | 10-11 | CM1 | PAHUATINI | | (Raphael) | Rafa | F/E |
| f | 10-11 | CE2 -1 | TEIKIKAINE | Tehina | (Louisa) | | E/F |
| f | 11-12 | CM1 -1 | TEIKIKAINE | Teata | (Myriam) | | E/F |
| f | 11 | CM1 -1 | TEIKIVAECHO | | Bernadette | Perena | F/E |
| f | 12 | CM1 -2 | TAUATETUA | | (Caroline) | Maria | E/F |

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# Appendix 8
## Taping Sessions

A. TEIKIVAEOHO
Transcription assistant: Noella Teikivaeoho

| Taping date | Session length (in minutes) | *participants (ages -- years. months, weeks) | | setting -- time place, activities |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3/6 | (90) | Tava | 3.8,0 | Saturday morning play |
| | | Julia | 5.8 | in and outside their |
| | | Kua | 8.6 | house: jump rope, |
| | | Tehina | 9.3 | drawing, reading, bingo |
| | | Perena | 11.3 | |
| | | Noella | 31? | |
| 4/12 | (90) | Tava | 3.9,1 | Monday morning at Kate's |
| | | Julia | 5.9 | bungalow: drawing, |
| | | Kua | 8.7 | playing with dinosaurs, |
| | | Tehina | 9.4 | cards, chess -- heavily |
| | | Perena | 11.4 | Kate directed/oriented |
| 5/10 | 90) | Tava | 3.10,1 | Monday morning at their |
| | | Julia | 5.10 | house: sweeping, renewing |
| | | Kua | 8.8 | flowers at altar, play, |
| | | Tehina | 9.5 | preparing and eating |
| | | Perena | 11.5 | breakfast, interactions |
| | | Noella | 31? | with neighbors over the |
| | | Mimi | 47? | cement mixer |
| 8/2 | (90) | Tava | 4.0,3 | Monday morning in the |
| | | Julia | 6.0 | coconut grove doing copra |
| | | Kua | 8.11 | and talking to the kids |
| | | Perena | 11.8 | about nonos, flowers, |
| | | Mimi | 47? | birds, etc. |
| 9/10 | (90) | Hina | 0.3,0 | Friday 11:30 - 1:00, |
| | | Tava | 4.2,1 | after school, lunch -- |
| | | Julia | 6.2 | talk about puppies, baby |
| | | Kua | (9) | (who had a shot), and |
| | | Tehina | 9.9 | food |
| | | Perena | 11.9 | |
| | | Noella | 31? | |
| | | Mimi | 47? | |
| 10/22 | 45 | Hina | 0.4,2 | Friday during school |
| | | Tava | 4.3,2 | vacation, breakfast |
| | | Julia | 6.3 | |
| | | Kua | 9.2 | |
| | | Tehina | 9.11 | |
| | | Perena | 11.11 | |
| | | Noella | 31? | |

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Mimi 473

B. POIHIPAPU
Transcription assistant: Tapu Poihipapu

| Taping date | Session length (in minutes) | *participants (ages -- years. months, weeks) | | setting -- time place, activities |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3/11 | (45) | Aere | 3.11,3 | Thursday at 4, all just back home from doing copra -- taking baths, dressing, literacy activities |
| | | Poutini | 3.2,3 | |
| | | Pio | 5.1 | |
| | | Valte | 7.10 | |
| | | Vaetui | 9.9 | |
| | | Tapu | 28? | |
| 4/18 | (90) | Aere | 1.1,0 | Sunday after church, food preparation, gossip, eating, TV watching, in the house |
| | | Poutini | 3.2,3 | |
| | | Pio | 5.2 | |
| | | Valte | 7.11 | |
| | | Vaetui | 9.10 | |
| | | Tapu | 28? | |
| | | Poea | 40? | |
| 5/13 | (45) | Aere | 1.1,3 | Thursday 6:30 AM breakfast at the house |
| | | Poutini | 3.3,3 | |
| | | Pio | 5.3 | |
| | | Valte | 8.0 | |
| | | Vaetui | 9.11 | |
| | | Tapu | 28? | |
| | | Poea | 40? | |
| 7/27 | (90) | Aere | 1.4,1 | Tuesday morning, after breakfast, preparing to go to copra, hanging around the house |
| | | Poutini | 3.6,0 | |
| | | Pio | 5.6 | |

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C. HOKAUPOKO-TEIKIKAINE
Transcription assistant: Manu Teikikaine

| Taping date | Session length (in minutes) | *participants (ages -- years, months, weeks) | | setting -- time place, activities |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3/9 | (90) | Tahia | 2.7,3 | Tuesday mid-morning in and around their house -- playing with cassette, testing my **'enana**, marbles and disputes |
| | | Teani | 4.0,2 | |
| | | Tikare | 6.10 | |
| | | Puhe | 7.11 | |
| | | Tehina | 10.6 | |
| | | Teata | 11.6 | |
| 4/14 | (90) | Tahia | 2.9,0 | Wednesday afternoon at their house. Ava and two little girls still eating midday meal, bigger ones playing marbles, Manu redecorating. Manu left and Ava slept, so kids talked to me in **français** |
| | | Teani | 4.1,2 | |
| | | Tikare | 7.0 | |
| | | Puhe | 8.0 | |
| | | Tehina | 10.8 | |
| | | Teata | 11.7 | |
| | | Manu | 28? | |
| | | Ava | 35 | |
| 6/23 | 45) | Tahia | 3.0,1 | Wednesday afternoon. Started in house but moved to sweet potato patch where Moi and Neil were planting. Talk with Moi and me and among themselves in **'enana** |
| | | Teani | 4.3,3 | |
| | | Tikare | 7.2 | |
| | | Puhe | 8.2 | |
| | | Tehina | 10.10 | |
| | | Teata | 11.10 | |
| | | Manu | 28? | |
| | | Ava | 35 | |
| | | Moi | 47? | |
| 8/5 | (90) | Tahia | 3.1,3 | Thursday 6:30 - 8:00 **Kafe** at Mama Maria's house. |
| | | Teani | 4.5,1 | |
| | | Puhe | 7.3 | |
| | | Tehina | 10.11 | |
| | | Teata | 11.11 | |
| | | Maria | 14? | |
| | | Manu | 28? | |
| | | Pahio | 63 | |
| | | Kocua | 70? | |
| 8/31 | (90) | Tahia | 3.2,2 | Tuesday AM -- **Kafe** at Manu's house -- first day back to school. |
| | | Teani | 4.6,0 | |
| | | Tikare | 7.4 | |
| | | Puhe | 8.4 | |
| | | Tehina | 11.0 | |
| | | Teata | 12.0 | |
| | | Manu | 28? | |
| | | Ava | 35 | |

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| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9/15 | (45) | Tahia | 3.3,0 | Wednesday afternoon |
| | | Teani | 4.6,2 | at Kate's bungalow with |
| | | Manu | 28? | crayons and dinosaurs |
| 10/23 | (45) | Tahia | 3.4,1 | Saturday morning, **kafe** |
| | | Teani | 4.7,3 | at Mama Maria's house |
| | | Puhe | 8.6 | |
| | | Tehina | 11.2 | |
| | | Teata | 12.2 | |
| | | Maria | 14? | |
| | | Manu | 28? | |
| | | Pahio | 63 | |

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D. PAHUATINI
Transcription assistants: Moi Tamarii and Teresi Pahuatini

| Taping date | Session length (in minutes) | *participants (ages -- years, months, weeks) | | setting -- time place, activities |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5/5 | (30) | Siki | 2.0,2 | Wednesday AM **kafe** |
| | | Moi | 4;7? | at Siki's house -- |
| | | Pahio | 5;5? | playing and eating |
| | | Koua | 6;5? | |
| 5/12 | (45) | Siki | 2.0,3 | Wednesday AM **kafe** |
| | | Titi | 9.5 | at Siki's house -- |
| | | Rafa | 10.10 | talk largely directed by |
| | | Pahio | 5;5? | Rafael |
| 6/9 | (45) | Siki | 2.1,2 | Wednesday AM after **kafe** |
| | | Moi | 4;7? | at Siki's house -- some |
| | | Pahio | 5;5? | play with blocks, lots |
| | | | | of elicitation routines |
| 6/16 | (45) | Siki | 2.1,3 | Wednesday AM **kafe** in and |
| | | Moi | 4;7? | around Siki's house -- |
| | | Pahio | 5;5? | showing photos, failed |
| | | Koua | 6;5? | attempts at eliciting |
| | | | | talk from Siki, lemon |
| | | | | collecting |
| 6/23 | (45 | Siki | 2.2,0 | Wednesday AM after **kafe** |
| | | Tahia | 1;6? | in and around Siki's |
| | | Teiki | 1;7? | house and sweeping the |
| | | Moi | 4;7? | parish house **ha'e** |
| | | Koua | 6;5? | **putuputu** |
| 7/7 | (45) | Siki | 2.2,2 | Wednesday late afternoon |
| | | Rafa | 10.11 | in and around Siki's |
| | | Tahia | 1;6? | house -- taking a bath, |
| | | Teresi | 2;5? | watching ballgame, |
| | | Moi | 4;7? | playing with telephone, |
| | | Pahio | 5;5? | playing guitar, eating |
| | | Koua | 6;5? | papaya, wandering around |
| 7/21 | (45) | Siki | 2.3,0 | Wednesday AM after **kafe** |
| | | Rafa | 11.0 | in and around Siki's |
| | | Tahia | 1;6? | house -- playing, |
| | | Pahio | 5;5? | talking |
| | | Koua | 6;5? | |

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| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8/4 | (45) | Siki | 2.3,2 | Wednesday AM **kafe** in and |
| | | Manu's | | around Siki's house. |
| | | Teani | 4.5,1 | Siki upset over a |
| | | Rafa | 11.0 | t-shirt I gave to Tahia, |
| | | Tahia | 16? | eats, gets on horse |
| | | Venine | 17? | being readied for copra, |
| | | Pahio | 55? | plays ships and |
| | | Teani's | | airplanes with Rafa |
| | | Pahio | 63 | |
| | | Koua | 65? | |
| 8/19 | (45) | Siki | 2.4,0 | Thursday AM after **kafe** |
| | | Rafa | 11.1 | in and around Siki's |
| | | Tahia | 16? | house -- talking to |
| | | Teresi | 25? | Teresi about pig being |
| | | Danielle | 30? | butchered -- and over |
| | | Iku | 30? | to priest's house -- to |
| | | Pakahio | 55? | be teased by Iku and |
| | | Koua | 65? | Rafa -- and back again |
| | | | | -- talking with me |
| 9/4 | (45) | Siki | 2.4,2 | Saturday AM pre-**kafe** |
| | | Vaihei | 3? | 1) down at waterfront -- |
| | | Ornella | 7.9 | cleaning fish just |
| | | Titi | 9.9 | brought in by fishermen, |
| | | Rafa | 11.1 | 2) at Siki's house -- |
| | | Tahia | 16? | bath, fish distribution, |
| | | Teresi | 25? | 3) at Teresi's house -- |
| | | Danielle | 30? | crayons, cooking |
| | | Iku | 30? | |
| | | Pakahio | 55? | |
| | | Koua | 65? | |
| 10/9 | (45) | Siki | 2.5,2 | Saturday AM **kafe** at |
| | | Teresi | 25? | Iku and Teresi's house |
| | | Iku | 30? | -- eating, talking... |
| 11/6 | (90) | Siki | 2.6,2 | Saturday mid-morning in |
| | | Tava | 4.4,0 | and out of Moi's kitchen |
| | | Teani | 4.8,1 | -- drawing, playing with |
| | | Rua | 9.2 | dinosaurs and balloons, |
| | | Manu's | | eating cookies |
| | | Tehina | 11.2 | |
| | | Perena | 11.11 | |
| | | Manu | 28? | |
| | | Noella | 31? | |
| | | Moi | 47? | |
| | | Mimi | 47? | |
| | | Kokohu | 65? | |

*The researcher was present throughout every session.

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Appendix 3
Glossary

**a'e** = a bit (qualifying, placating particle)
**aia** = (please)
**'anani** = orange
**'anani hao'e** = grapefruit
**'a'o'e** = no
**aoma'ama** = bright world
**ape** = beg
***Association des Parents d'Elèves*** = French equivalent of the PTA
***bagarrer*** = fight
***bavarder*** = gossip
**bebelala** = cry-baby
***blaguer*** = joke
***caca*** (CGR) = poop
***cacher*** = hide
***CEP*** = ***Le Centre d'Expèrimentation du Pacifique*** = the French nuclear testing installation
***chef*** = boss
***chuchoter*** = whisper, reveal
***civilisé*** = civilized
***couillon*** = testicles (epithet)
***débrouiller*/tepurie** = disentangle, manage, get by (on limited resources)
**demi** = part-European, part-Tahitian
**e** = yes, hey
***Ecole maternelle*** = preschool
**'ehi** = coconut
**emi'e'e** = emotion, fear, frightened
**'Enana** = Marquesans (people)
**'enana koekoe 'ua** = hypocrite
**('eo) 'enana** = Marquesan (language)
**('eo) ferani** = ***français*** = French (language)
**('eo) menike** = English (language)
**('eo) tahiti** = (neo-)Tahitian (language)
***fainéant*** = lazy
**fata** (M8/31.446) = prideful
**Ferani** = France, French (people)
***fermé*** = closed (minded)
**firifiri** = fried dough
***fouiller*** = dig, pry, rummage around in someone's stuff
***français*** = French (language)
***garçon manqué*** = tomboy
***gaspillage*** = waste
***gâter*** = spoil (a child)
**gonflé** = prideful
***gronder*** = scold
**ha'aha'ameta'u** = threaten
**ha'ahoa** = make friends
**ha'ahakaika** = shame
**ha'aka'i'e** = brag
**ha'akakai** = myth, legend
**ha'ametau** = fear

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**ha'ape** = spoil (a child)
**ha'ativava** = joke
**haka** = traditional **'enana** dance form
**hakai** = adopt (literally: make eat)
**hakaika** = shame
**haka'iki** = chief, mayor
**hakako** = teach, learn
**hakana** = hide
**haki** = tell, tattle, whisper
**Hao'e** = foreigners (usually Caucasian)
**ha'oha'o** = pineapple
**hauhau** = bad
**hei** = flower necklace
**henua** = land
**henua 'enana** = the Marquesas
**himene** = sing, song
**hina** = princess
**hoa** = friend
**ho'i** = truly
***honte*** = shame
**huhua** = prideful, conceited
**ika te'e** = raw fish
**ikoa** = name, name exchange
**ina'i** = meat
***indépendentiste*** = person supporting political independence from France
**'ite** = see, know
***jeunes*** = youth
***juillet*/Rere** = July, July 14 festival
**kafe** = coffee, (come) eat/drink coffee and whatever
**kaiape** = beg for food
**kaikai** = food, meal, feast
**ka'i'e** (S6/9.127) = 'prideful'
**kaikino** = stingy, greedy
**kaki** = need
**kakiu** = old, backwards, traditional, authentic
**kako** = elastic, flexible
**kamo** = steal
**karaihi** = rice, uncircumcised penis, stupid foreigner [epithet]
**katakata** = smile, laugh
**ka'oha** = hello, love, compassion, pity, respect
**ke'eke'e** = black
**keitani** = envy
**keke** = side
**keo** = butt
**kere** = physical fight (boxing), bull horns
**keu** = play, tease, game
**Kira** = Chinese [epithet]
**koakoa** = happy
**koe** [UP] = you [2nd person singular], **koekoe** = epithet for Ua Pouans and their dialect
**koe'a** = crazy
**koekoe** = intestines, soul, character
**koekoe po ke'eke'e** = benighted/ignorant character
**koekoe ma'ama** = enlightened character

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**koika** = party
**ko'oua/Koua** = elders, grandfather/Grandpa
**kou'a** = shrimp
**kouta'u** = thank you (literally: my desire)
***L'Ecole des Soeurs*** = Catholic school in Hiva Oa
**mā** = fermented breadfruit paste
***Madame*** = respect term for female Hao'e and/or teachers
**Mahu** = traditional Polynesian gender (man taking the female role)
**maio** = mock
***maire (associé)*** = mayor (deputy mayor)
**mako** = (medium-sized) shark, mango
**Mama** = mother, respect term for older woman
**manihi'i** = stranger
**manini** = sugar/sweet, orgasm, scold
**maniéré** = prideful, affected, having an attitude
**Ma'ohi** = Tahitian, Polynesian
**matou** = we (3rd person plural exclusive (i.e., addressee excluded))
**mave mai** = come here, welcome
**mea** = thing, do, who's it, (turn-holder)
**me'ae** = sacred sites, built of stone walls and platforms, usually around banyan trees
***méchant*** = bad, mean
**Menike** America, Americans
**metaki** = wind
**mo'i** = daughter
***Monsieur*** = respect term for male Hao'e and/or teachers
**mutoi** = local police
***Motu Haka*** = cultural revival association in the Marquesas
**na'u** = mine (first person singular alienable possessive)
**noho** = sit, stay, live with
**nono** = tiny biting fly (white ones on the beaches, black ones in the valleys)
**'o ia** = but yes
**'oko** = hear, feel
**o'oko** = sacred chant
**ori** [TAH] = dance
**ouvert** = open
**paho'e/Pahoe** = little girl/Little Girl
**pakahio/Pahio** = grandmother/Grandma
**Papa** = father, respect term for older man
**paepae** = stone platforms used for dwelling and ritual structures
**Pa'evi'i** = ***Centre de Documentations des Marquises*** = library devoted to **'enana** history, culture, etc.
**paha ('i te ikoa)** = insult (name-call)
**pahono (mai)** = respond (talk back)
***païen*** = heathen
**pareu** = cotton wraps worn as skirts and dresses
**pe** = bad, spoiled, soft, rotten
**pe'au** = say, command
***pécher*** = sin
**pe'epe'e** = tender, soft
**pekē** = scold, angry
**pekio** = secondary husband
**penepene** = win (you're bad, weak, soft)

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**pepe/Pepe** = baby/Baby
**pepe** = old, in a bad state
**pepe'e** = weak, easy to beat
**pesua/*besoin*** = need
**petu'e** = cheater, stubborn
**pia** = penis, beer
**puaka** = pig, messy and greedy [epithet]
***piquer*** = steal
**pi'au 'ota** = stinking smegma [epithet]
**pipiki'e'e** = fight
***pitié*** = pity, concern, compassion
**po** = night
**pohu'e** = culture, way of life
**po'i ma'ama** = enlightened people
**po'i po ke'eke'e** = benighted people
**poiti/Poiti** = little boy/Little Boy
**po ke'eke'e** = black night
***politesse*** = etiquette, polite behavior
**popo'i** = breadfruit dish
**poriki/*bourrique*** = ass, idiot [epithet]
***pourri*** = rotten
***prendre*** = take, steal
***promener*** = take a walk, go out for illicit activities
**pure** = prayer
***raconter*** = recount, tattle
**raerae** = male homosexual/transvestite
***rigoler*** = laugh
**sarapia/*charabia*** = mixed-up speech
**sauvage** = savage
***si*** = but yes
***souple*** = supple, flexible
***supplier*** = beg
***système scolaire*** = French educational system
***taquiner*** = tease
**ta'a** = call, scream
**ta'o** = taro
**tapa** = material made from tree bark, once used for cloth
**tapu** = taboo, prohibition
**ta taua** = ours [1st person dual inclusive alienable possessive], share
**Tati** [CGR] = Auntie
**tatou** = we [3rd person plural inclusive (i.e., including addressee)]
**tau'a** = shaman
**taure'are'a** = youth
**tehe** = cut, superincision
**teka** = error, sin
**tekao** = talk
**tekao hou** = news
**tekatekao** = gossip
***têtu*** = stubborn
**tiki** = stone or wooden sculpture of a deity
**tivava** = lie, liar
**toa** = warrior
**tohua** = ceremonial site consisting of stone walls and platforms
**toiki** = child/ren

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**toitoi** = vrai, honest, polite, just
**toko tumu pure** = **tumu pure**'s aide
***Tonton*** [CGR] = Uncle
**totoua** = fight, quarrel, dispute
**toua** = fight, war
***toucher*** = touch, steal
***tricher*** = cheat
**tuhuka** = ritual and artisanal expert
**tu'itu'i/*tais-toi*** = shut up
**tumu** = tree, trunk, source
**tumu hamani** = teacher (literally: tree/source of books)
**tumu pure** = prayer leader (literally: tree/source of prayer)
**turisi** = tourist
**tutae** = shit
**'ua** = two, hole (e.g., a pit for **mā**), a group headed by one (e.g., one child accompanied by another, a household head and the rest of the household)
**uē** = cry, whine, complain, sad
**uka** = up, toward the mountains
**'umihi** = pry, dig
**uta** = interior (the jungly interior of the valleys)
**'u'u** = war clubs
**va'anui** = road
**vahana** = man
**vahi 'ehi** = (do) copra
**vehine** = woman
**vehine ha'e** = wild women
**vehine mako** = shark woman (i.e., sexually active woman of the town)
***(les) vieux*** = (the) elderly
**vivi** [CGR] = hurt, wound
**vivi'io** = lonely

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# Appendix 10
## Transcription Examples

*Orthographic and transcription conventions used in these examples can be found at the front of the text, following the table of contents.*

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Example #1 (N3/6)

Setting: Saturday morning inside the house, reading and playing bingo

Participants: Tava (m/3.8), Julia (f/5.8), Kua (f/8.6), Tehina (f/9.3), Perena (f/11.3), Noella (mother), and Kate (researcher)

62. Noella: (to Kua)
**Montre un peu ton dessin.**
*'Show a bit your drawing.'*
63. Kua: (showing picture to Kate)
**Voilà à moi.**
*'There's mine.'*
64. Kate:
**Quel art joli!**
*'What beautiful art!'*
65. Kua:
**Oui, c'est la bande dessinée.**
*'Yes, it's the comic strip.'*
...
67. Kua:
**Dans le livre.**
*'In the book.'*
68. Tehina:
**C'est à moi.**
*'It's mine (the book from which Kua copied the comic strip).'*
...
70. Tehina:
**Où c'est le livre? Julia?**
*'Where is the book? Julia?'*
71. Julia:
**Non, c'est avec Kua.**
*'No, it's with Kua.'*
...
104. Perena: (showing Kate a drawing)
**Mea kanahau?**
*'It's great?'*
105. Kua:
**C'est à moi.**
*'It's mine (the picture).'*
106. Tehina:
**Non, c'est à Maman.**
*'No, it's Mama's (picture).'*
107. Kua:
**Oui, oui, c'est à moi.**
*'Yes, yes, it's mine.'*
108. Tehina:
**Oui, oui, mais c'est pas toi qui a dessiné.**
*'Yes, yes, but it's not you who drew it.'*
109. Kate:
**Ça va, ça va, ça va.**
*'Okay, okay, okay.'*

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110. Kua: (to Perena)
***Pourquoi tu fouilles seulement dans mon sac?***
*'Why do you dig like that in my sac?'*
111. Tehina:
***C'est joli, eh?***
*'It's (her mom's drawing) pretty, yes?'*
112. Kua:
***Pourquoi tu touches dans mon sac?***
*'Why do you feel around in my bag?'*
113. Perena: (looking for the comic book in Kua's bag)
***Où est le livre?***
*'Where is the book?'*
114. Kua:
***Il faut pas dire.***
*'It can't be told.'*
*(I won't tell.)*
115. Perena:
**Hooe! *C'est même pas à toi, c'est à Tehina.***
*'(irritated expression) It's not even yours, it's Tehina's.'*
116. Tehina:
***Oui.***
*Yes.'*
...
120. Perena: (tattling to Noella)
***Non, elle a pris hier le livre pour elle.***
*'No, she took the book yesterday for herself.'*
***Elle ne veut pas donner le livre à elle.***
*'She doesn't want to give her book.'*
121. Kua:
***Le livre, il est là-bas, elle est là-bas?* 'A hano au?**
*'The book, that is over there, it's over there? I'll get it?'*
...
145. Noella: (to Kua)
**'A hano ta 'oe *livre.* 'A va'e ta 'oe *lecteur* tatau.**
*'Go get your book. Start your reading reading.'*
146. Tehina: (to Kate)
***Elle sait pas lire.***
*'She (Kua) doesn't know how to read.'*
147. Noella:
**Perena! Perena!**
*(calling Perena to come help Kua with her reading lesson)*
148. Kate:
***Elle sait pas lire?***
*'She doesn't know how to read?'*
...
151. Tehina:
***Non, desfois elle dit comme ça, tu vois, elle dit comme ça...***
*'No, sometimes she says like that, you see, she says like that...'*
***il faut aider à elle pour lire.***
*'it's necessary to help her read.'*
...

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153. Perena:
***Si, elle sait un petit peu parce que moi je l'apprends.***
'But yes, she knows a little bit because I teach her.'
154. Noella:
**'A hano haka'ua tatau 'a 'oe.**
'Go get again reading of yours.'

155. Kua:
***Moi, je sais.***
'I do know (how to read).'
156. Noella:
***Va lire ta lecteur.***
'Go read your reading.'
157. Kua:
***Où est...?***
'Where is...?'
158. Noella:
***Où est ton livre de lecteur?***
'Where is your reading book?'
159. Tehina:
***Dans son sac. Elle l'a caché.***
'In her bag. She hid it.'
...
161. Tehina:
***Voilà à moi: "Le Dauphin Blanc."***
'Here's mine: "Le Dauphin Blanc."'
162. Noella: (to Tehina)
**Tatau 'oe.**
'You read.'
163. Tava: (trying to show Kate a drawing)
**Ke-ti. Ke-ti. Ke-ti.**
164. Tehina:
***C'est pas à lui, c'est à les soeurs. C'est à elle.***
'It's not his, it's the sisters. It's hers (Julia's).'
165. Julia:
***Oosh! Il touche à tout.***
'Oo! He gets into everything.'
166. Tehina:
***Comme ça il va gribouiller.***
'Like that he will scribble.'
167. Julia:
***Il pique mon dessin.***
'He steals my picture.'
168. Kate: (looking at drawing on Tava's chest)
***Qu'est-ce que c'est? Tatouage?***
'What's that? Tatooing?'
...
171. Noella:
***Si c'est pas sur lui, c'est sur le mur.***
'If it's not on him, it's on the wall.'
(Tehina begins reading ***"L'Origin de Cocotier"***)
...
(Bingo game has begun)

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320. Tehina:
***C'est moi qui appelle, Kua.***
*'It's me who calls (the bingo numbers), Kua.'*
321. Julia:
***Après c'est moi.***
*'Afterwards it's me.'*
326. Noella:
***Allez allez!***
*'Go, go!'*
327. Tava:
***Vite!***
*'Fast!'*
328. Tehina:
***C'est moi.***
*'It's me.'*
329. Tava:
***Vite!***
330. Perena:
***Maman, elle veut pas.***
*'Mama, she (she) won't give (over the sack of call numbers).'*
331. Noella:
***Donne avec...***
*'Give to...'*
332. Perena:
***Maman, elle veut pas donner.***
*'Mama, she won't give.'*
333. Noella:
***Kua donne avec Bernadette. Tu as fini.***
*'Kua, give to Bernadette. You have finished.'*
...
336. Perena:
***Ici, e-Kua!***
*'Here, hey-Kua!'*
339. Tehina:
**'A ko'i.**
*'(Do it) fast.'*
...
342. Perena:
**Veve 'a!**
*'Hurry there!'*
343. Noella:
***Ça suffit...un...ça suffit un, Julia.***
*'That's enough...one (bingo card)...that's enough one, Julia.'*
344. Kua:
***Maman, c'est Kate.***
*'Mama, it's Kate (who should call).'*
345. Tehina:
***Maman, c'est moi.***
*'Mama, it's me.'*
346. Noella:
***Avec Kate.***
*'To Kate.'*
(Kate is given the sack of bingo numbers)

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...

621. Noella:
(to Julia) ***Regardes, un seize.***
'*Look, a sixteen.*'
(to Gust) ***Bébé, amène ton orange sur la table.***
'*Baby, put your orange on the table.*'

622. Tehina:
***En plus, c'est drôle quand il mange.***
'*What's more, it's funny when he eats.*'

623. Kua:
***Oui, il a coupé mal.***
'*Yes, he cut (the orange) badly.*'

624. Noella:
***Il gaspille, après il a jetté l'autre moitié.***
'*He wastes, after he threw out the other half.*'

625. Perena:
***Oui, il est comme ça.***
'*Yes, he is like that.*'

...

629. Noella:
**Kaiu puaka.**
'*Little pig.*'

...

631. Perena:
**Kaiu puaka sauvage!**
'*Little savage pig!*'

632. Noella:
**'Aue kaiu puaka-e.**
'*Don't (do it) little pig-hey.*'

633. Julia:
***Maman, il a pleuré.***
'*Mama, he cried (because they're mocking him).*'

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Example #2 (N4/12)

Setting: Monday morning at my bungalow: drawing, playing with dinosaurs.

Participants: Tava (m/3.9), Julia (f/5.9), Kua (f/8.7), Tehina (f/9.4), Perena (f/11.4), and Kate (researcher)

126. Kua:
***Mon petit frère, il sait faire une...un voiture, e?***
*'My little brother (Tava) knows how to make a...a car, yes?'*
...
166. Kate:
***Qu'est-ce que c'est, Gustave?***
*'What is that (your drawing), Gustave?'*
167. Tava:
***Une voiture.***
*'A car.'*
168. Kate:
***Voiture? Aah, voiture. E.***
*'Car? Aah, car. Yes.' (laugh)*
169. Perena: (mocking laugh)
***Quelle voiture!***
*'What a car!'*
170. Kate:
***Il roule?***
*'It rolls?'*
171. Kua:
***Il faut pas se moquer.***
*'(You) shouldn't mock.'*
...
219. Kate: (asking about another drawing)
***C'est quoi, Gustave? C'est quoi?***
*'It's what, Gustave? It's what?'*
220. Tava:
***C'est le...c'est le...que le...que le...***
*'It's the...it's the...only the...only the...'*
221. Perena: (impatient)
***C'est quoi? Je ne sais pas ce que ça veut dire ça.***
*'It's what? I don't know what that means.'*
***E, c'est quoi, Tava?***
*'Hey, it's what, Tava?'*
222. Kua:
***Peut-être il n'a pas envie d'expliquer, e?***
*'Perhaps he doesn't want to explain, yes?'*
...
224. Julia:
***Il en a peur. Il a honte.***
*'He's afraid (of explaining). He's ashamed.'*

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Example #3 (N5/10)

Setting: Monday morning at their house, cleaning house, preparing for breakfast.

Participants: Tava (m/3.10), Julia (f/5.10), Kua (f/8.8), Tehina (f/9.5), Perena (f/11.5), Noella (mother), Mimi (father), and Kate (researcher)

(Julia has been cracking chestnuts inside on the floor, Tava is asking for some to eat, and Julia is refusing him)

166. Noella: (to Julia)
***Partagez avec ton frère.***
*'Share with your brother.'*

167. Julia:
***Non.***
*'No.'*

168. Noella:
***Julia...donne aussi à ton frère.***
*'Julia...give also to your brother.'*

169. Julia:
***Un seul!***
*'One only!'*

170. Tava:
**'A'o('e)!**
'No!'

171. Julia:
***Un seul! Là, assez!***
*'One only! There, enough!'*
(probably threw one)

172. Noella:
***Ne jette pas! Alors!***
*'Don't' throw the nuts ! So!'*

173. Julia:
***Qu'un seul. Voilà (là)-bas.***
*'That one only. There (over) there.'*

174. Tava: (refusing to take the nut she's thrown at him)
***Non.***
*'No.'*

175. Jul:
***Okay. Je vais pas te donner.***
*'Okay. I won't give you (any more).'*

176. Tava: (sticking out tongue)
**Meee! *Non!***
*'(sound of derision) No!'*

177. Julia:
***Non!***
*'No!'*

(Tava tries to get some from her -- scuffling dispute.)

178. Noella: (to Perena)
**Pao, hano 'oe ta'oe kiokio moa. Mea tuitui oko.**
*'When you're done, go get your little chickens. (They're making) too much noise.'*

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179. Julia:
***Aah, aah, non!***
*'Aah, aah, no!'*
180. Tava:
***Je veux prendre.***
*'I want to take (the nuts).'*
181. Julia:
**Non! On donne pas.**
*'No! One doesn't give. (I'm not giving you any)'*
182. Perena:
**Paona'e, hano kaikai.**
'Afterwards, (let's) go eat.'
183. Tava:
***Je veux prendre.***
*'I want to take (the nuts).'*
184. Julia:
***Non parce que tu es méchant. Après tu vas manger tout.***
*'No because you're mean. Afterwards you'll eat all (of them).'*
185. Tava:
***Deux.***
*'Two.'*
186. Julia:
***Non.***
'No.'
187. Tava:
***Maman!***
188. Noella:
***Oh-la-la!***
189. Tava:
***E-Maman, Julia, elle veut manger tout, jette l'autre sur moi.***
*'Hey Mama, Julia wants to eat all, (and) throw the others (the shells) at me.'*
190. Noella:
***C'est normal si elle qui a cassé. Ne taquine pas ta soeur. Mm?***
*'It's normal (she wants to eat them) if she cracked them. Don't tease your sister. Hmm?'*
...
192. Noella: (to Tava)
***Laisse ça. Laisse ça. Sorts-toi de là.***
*'Leave that. Leave that. Come out of there.'*
193. Perena: (to Tava)
***Sorts-toi sorts-toi.***
*'Come out, come out.'*
***Tu veux ramasser ça?***
*'You want to collect that?' (you want to get hit?) (showing an open hand)*
***Attention, e? Ne commence pas, e? Gustave!***
*'Look out, yes? Don't start, yes? Gustave!'*
194. Gust:
**Aw Auw...Lep!**
*(angry dog-like sounds, pretending to bite her)*
...
197. Noella:

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**E, attention, Gustave, e? Je vais te fesser.**
'Hey, look out, Gustave, yes? I'm going to slap you.'

198. Julia:
**Eeeh!**
(she's hurt -- pinched or hair pulled)

199. Noella:
***Toi, tu es méchant. Tiaki 'a 'oe inā!***
'You are mean. Wait there you (for punishment)!'

...

321. Jul:
**E-Kua, *pousse de ma chaise.***
'Hey Kua, get out of my chair.'

322. Kua:
***C'est pas ta chaise. Voilà là-bas.***
'It's not your chair. There over there (is yours).'

323. Julia:
**Naaan. Eeeh.**

324. Kua: (showing her open hand)
**Tu veux?**
'You want (a slap)?'

325. Tehina: (scolding Kua)
***Pousse de sa chaise.***
'Get out of her (Julia's) chair.'

326. Kua:
***C'est ma chaise.***
'It's my chair.'

...

594. Tava:
**Kate Kate**

595. Noella:
***Qu'est-ce que tu veux à Kate?***
'What do you want of Kate?'

596. Tava:
***Mon Papa a allé. Moi j'ai allé à la vière chez mon Papa...mon Papa.***
'My Papa went...I went to the (ri)ver with my Papa...my Papa.'

597. Noella: (correcting his pronunciation)
***À la rivière.***
'At the river.'

598. Perena:
***Ah...tu pleures à chaque fois.***
'Ah...you cry each time.'

599. Tava:
**Mon Papa...**
'My Papa...'

600. Perena:
**Tu as peur quand on t'amène au fond.**
'You're afraid when we take you deep (lots of eels).'

601. Tava:
***Non, mais j'ai pas tombé. Mon Papa n'a pas peur à moi. J'ai...C'est moi qui va sauter.***
'No, but I didn't fall. My Papa wasn't afraid for me. I..It's me who will jump.'

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Example #4 (N9/10)

Setting: Friday noon at their house

Participants: Hina (f/3.3,0), Tava (m/4.2), Julia (f/6.2), Kua (f/9), Tehina (f/9.9), Perena (11.9), Noella (mother), Mimi (father), Kate (researcher)

B.1. Tehina: (to Hina, holding baby by hands, face in, and bouncing so baby's feet grace her thighs)
***Débout...débout...débout.***
*'Stand...stand...stand.'*

...

***Ma maman, elle est à la cantine en train d'attendre mon petit frère. Parce qu'il mange, parce que la maîtresse a dit comme ça: (il) devrait nous on mange pas à la cantine.***
*'My mama is at the canteen waiting for my little brother. Because he eats...because the mistress said like that: must be that we don't eat at the canteen.'*

2. Kate:
***Devrait...?***
*'Must...?'*

3. Tehina:
***Devrait, devrait on mange pas à la cantine. Devrait pas manger à la cantine. Pas le vendredi. Quand il y a une école, on mange pas.***
*'Must be, must be that we don't eat at the cafeteria. Mustn't eat at the cafeteria. Not on Fridays. When there is one school (half day of school), we don't eat.'*

4. Kate:
***Oui, mais...***
*'Yes, but...'*

5. Tehina:
***Le lundi, oui.***
*'Mondays, yes.'*

6. Kate:
***Lundi, mardi, et jeudi.***
*'Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday.'*

7. Tehina:
***Oui.***
*'Yes.'*

8. Kate:
***Vous mangez.***
*'You eat.'*

9. Tehina:
***Mais après, la maîtresse a dit comme ça: il faut que Gustave mange. Il a mangé.***
*'But afterwards, the mistress said like that: it must be that Gustave eats. So he ate.'*

10. Kate:
***O, pourquoi il peut manger?***
*'Oh, why can he eat?'*

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11. Tehina:
***Sait pas. Devrait...on dirait: Non, e?***
*'Don't know. Must be...one would say: No, yes?'*
12. Perena:
***C'est pas, c'est pas, la maîtresse. C'est mea, Maman...***
*'It's not...it's not the school teacher. It's who's it, Mama...'*
13. Kate:
***C'est maman qui a...?***
*'It's mama who did...?'*
14. Tehina:
***Non, c'est la maîtresse d'abord!***
*'No, it's the school teacher first!'*
15. Julia: (running in breathless)
***Okay, je suis arrivée, Kate.***
*'Okay, I've arrived, Kate.'*
16. Tehina:
***L'autre fois que tu es partie mea...c'était hier...la maîtresse a dit comme ça: Gustave, va manger.***
*'The other time that you left what's it...it was yesterday...the school teacher said like that: Gustave, go eat.'*
17. Jul:
***Ton mari va pas venir.***
*'Your husband will not come (to lunch -- she'd been to ask him).'*
18. Kate:
***Nooon.***
*'Nooo.'*
19. Tehina:
***Après il a mangé, Gustave.***
*'Afterwards he ate, Gustave.'*
20. Kate:
***Je lui ai dit: Tu ne peux pas venir.***
*'I told him: You cannot come.'*
21. Tehina:
***Comme Maman elle ne veut pas. Après elle a dit: Ça fait rien. C'est pour ça: après il faudra payer.***
*'As Mama didn't want (him to eat). Afterward she said: It's nothing. It's for that: afterward one must pay (for the meal).'*
22. Perena:
***À qui ces stylos-là?***
*'Whose are those pens?'*
...
E.18. Kua: (looking at a pamphlet on household dangers)
***Regardez un peu ça. Ah, ça ça ça ça. "La maison...pour tout les dangers."***
*'Look a bit at that. Ah, that that that that. "The house...for all the dangers."'*
...
20. Tehina:
***Dangers. Ça là. Ce sont les dangers là.***
*'Dangers. That there. There are the dangers there.'*
...

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22. Tehina:
***Dangers. Tomber comme ça.***
'Dangers. Fall like that.'
23. Noella:
***Ah, oui? C'est expliqué? Faut pas laisser un enfant marcher avec les chaussettes. Ça glisse.***
'Ah, yes? It's explained? Must not let a child walk in socks. That slips.'
...
65. Tehina: (continuing to show pamphlet)
***Après...voilà.***
'Afterwards...there.'
...
67. Tehina:
***Ça c'est eau de javel [jave].***
'That's chlorox.'
68. Noella:
***Au lieu de mettre tout dedans, il laisse dehors.***
'Rather than put all (the cleaning fluids) inside (the cabinet), he leaves (them) outside.'
...
71. Tehina:
***Non, eau de javel [jave]...il faut pas toucher avec la main.***
'No, chlorox...must not touch with the hand.'
72. Noella: (correcting Tehina's pronunciation)
**Eau de javeL.**
73. Tehina: (repeating the correction)
**Javel.**
74. Perena:
***Tu n'as pas touché alors? Il faut pas manger le kaikai...?***
'You didn't touch, so mustn't eat food...?'
75. Noella: (to Perena)
***Non, parce que un enfant il sait pas...il va boire. Tu comprends?***
'No, because a child doesn't know...he'll drink (it). You understand?'
76. Tehina:
**Nn-nn.**
(oui)
...
79. Noella:
***Il va boire. Il va croire que c'est la limonade.***
'He'll drink (it). He'll believe it's lemonade.'
80. Tehina:
***Maman, voilà ici, le couteau électrique. Voilà.***
'Mama, there's here, the electric knife. There.'
81. Noella:
***Mais oui.***
'But yes.'

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Example #5 (N10/22)

Setting: Friday breakfast at their house

Participants: Hina (f/0.4,2), Tava (m/4.3,2), Julia (f/6.3), Kua (f/9.2), Tehina (f/9.11), Perena (f/11.11), Noella (mother), Mimi (father), Kate (researcher)

7. Tehina:
**Ma!**
8. Noella:
***Oui.***
'Yes.'
9. Tehina:
***J'ai trouvé un cent franc.***
'I found a hundred franc (piece).'
10. Noella:
***Si c'est dans ma chambre, c'est à moi.***
'If it's in my room, it's mine.'
...
19. Tehina: (singing, teasing voice)
***Voilà à moi, cent francs, Maman.***
'Here's mine, hundred francs, Mama.'
...
23. Noella: (sing-song voice)
***Qui a fouillé dans ma chambre?***
'Who was digging in my room?'
...
25. Julia:
***C'est à moi.***
'It's mine (the hundred francs).'
...
27. Julia:
***Donne.***
'Give.'
...
31. Tava:
**Eiiii!** ***Voilà les sous à moi!***
'Hey! There's the money of mine!'
(Tava tries to wrest it away from Tehina)
32. Tehina:
**Eiii!**
...
34. Tava:
**Mon sou. Maman, les sous.**
'My money. Mama, the money.'
35. Julia:
***Maman, c'est à moi les sous chez Tehina. Non, pitié.***
'Mama, it's mine the money with Tehina. No, have' pity (on me).'
36. Noella: (to Tehina)
***Donne. C'est à Julia.***
'Give. It's Julia's.'

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37. Tava:
***Donne avec moi.***
'Give to me.'
38. Tenina:
***J'ai trouvé.***
'I found (the money).'
(teasing -- to make Julia cry a bit more)
39. Tava:
***Na, Maman, avec moi.***
'Na, Mama, with me.'
...
41. Noella: (scolding Tava)
**Ke'etu.**
'Get down (from the table).'
42. Tava:
***C'est à moi.***
'It's mine.'
43. Noella:
***Va dire à Papa: Viens kafe.***
'Go say to Papa: Come have coffee.'
44. Tava:
***Non. Je veux à moi d'abord, mon sous.***
'No. I want mine first, my money.'
45. Noella:
***Vas chercher les chaises. Dedans.***
'Go find the chairs. Inside.'
46. Tava:
***Mon sous.***
'My money.'
47. Noella: (threatening to slap)
**E!**
...
49. Tava:
***Mon sous.***
(My money.)
50. Noella:
**'A pataki, e?**
'I will hit, yes?'
51. Julia:
**Mm hm.**
(mocking smug laugh)
52. Tava:
***Je veux mon sous.***
'I want my money.'
53. Noella:
***Descends de là.***
'Get down from there.'
54. Tava:
***D'abord mon sous.***
'First my money.'
55. Noella: (clear, not angry, not pleading)
***Gustave, s'il te plaît.***
'Gustave, please.'

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Example #6 (T3/11)

Setting: Thursday afternoon at home, all just back from doing copra

Participants: Aere (m/0.11,3), Poutini (m/3.2), Pio (m/5.1), Vaite (f/7.10), Vaetui (f/9.9), Tapu (mother), Kate (researcher)

(Aere is going after the tape machine.)

109. Poutini: (to Aere)
**A'a! puriko!**
'There! Idiot!'

110. Tapu:
**Aeretoarii, *non!***
'Aeretoarii, no!'

111. Kate: (to Aere)
**Ka'oha...**
'Hello...'

112. Tapu:
***Non, non, non.***
'No, no, no.'

113. Kate:
***...bébé.***
'...baby.'

...

(Tapu laughs as I clumsily try to keep the baby away from the tape recorder. She takes him into her lap so that he faces me.)

117. Kate:
***J'ai jamais eu un bébé.***
'I've never had a baby.'

118. Tapu (speaking to and for baby):
***Elle, c'est Kate, moi, c'est Patrice.***
'Her, this is Kate, me, this is Patrice.'

...

135. Tapu: (to Kate)
***Il a beaucoup plu, e?***
'It's rained a lot, yes?'

136. Kate:
***Oui.***
'Yes.'

...

145. Vaetui:
**Maman, kaponei pa'ipa'i te 'ehi.**
'Mama, earlier the copra (got) wet.'
(she was outside and saw the copra in the dryer all wet)

(Tapu is talking with Kate and does not immediately attend.)

...

147. Vaetui:
**Pa'ipa'i te 'ehi.**
'The copra (got) wet.'

148. Kate:
***C'est mouillé?***
'It's wet?'

(Tapu begins to attend to Vaetui.)

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149. Pio: (tattling)
**Maman, tu sais...va pas donner ma feuille.**
'Mama, you know ... (Vaite) won't give my page.'
150. Vaetui:
**Papa a laissé seulement le sechoir.**
'Papa just left the copra rack (without its rain cover closed)'
(reasserting with this tattle in **français** her rights to Tapu's attention over Pio)
151. Vaite: (instructing Pio in writing his French name Rodrigue)
**Il reste le 'e'. Où est le 'e' ici?**
'There is still the 'e'. Where is the 'e' here?'
(Vaite continues instructing Pio throughout the copra rack episode.)
152. Vaetui:
**'A te'ā tihe'īa 'a maua...**
'There that arrival of us two[exc]...'
**'A('e) te'ā tihe'īa 'o 'otou.**
'not that arrival of you all.'
**Huru'īa e au to'otahi.**
'(The cover) was pushed by me alone.'
**Pao'īa topa ai te papahua.**
'Finished, the copra rack (cover) fell.'
(I tried by myself to push it closed but it fell down and you came after and did not see)
...
154. Vaetui:
**Mei hati paotu**
'Almost all broken.'
...
156. Tapu:
**Nai 'a 'i toi haka'ua?**
'Whose there pulled (it back on) again?'
157. Vaetui:
**Namata.**
'Namata (her older cousin).'
...
163. Tapu: (teasing voice)
**C'est le nunu qui mange le titi.**
'It's the stuffed animal[CGR] who eats the breast[CGR].'
(Aere is at her breast. Tapu animates a little stuffed bear so it tries to nudge him away from the breast)
164. Vaite: (to Poutini who is trying to look at Pio's writing paper)
**E, pousse.**
'Hey, move!'
165. Pio:
**C'est comment?**
'How is it?'
166. Vaite:
(to Pio) **Le 're', c'est comme ça. Non...**
'The 'r', it's like that. No...'
(to Poutini) **Aia! E, Tini!**
'(frustrated appeal) Hey, (Pou)Tini!'

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167. Tapu: (to Vaetui)
**Te'ā ika 'a tatou tuku 'atu 'i 'oto.**
'Put our fish in (the food cabinet).'
**To'o 'oe te'ā pora karahi. Paona'e tuku 'oe 'i 'oto.**
'Take that bowl. Then put the fish in.'
168. Poutini:
***Voilà!***
'There!'
169. Vaite: (to Poutini)
***Méchant!***
'Mean!'
170. Vaetui: (to Tapu)
**'O inei?**
'This (bowl)?'
171. Pio:
***Je veux pas...***
'I don't want (to do it the way you're telling me to).'
172. Tapu:
**Vaite, 'a'e na 'oe e hana ta ia hana.**
'Vaite, not for you to do his work.'
173. Vaite:
***J'apprends à ecrire un 're'.***
(I teach (Pio) to write an 'r'.)
174. Tapu:
***C'est toi qui écris. Tu le laisse faire.***
'It's you who write (you wrote it, not him). You let him do (it).'
175. Pio: (trying to take paper back from Vaite)
***Je sais faire.***
'I know how to do (it).'
176. Vaite: (still correcting)
***On fait pas comme ça.***
'One doesn't make (it) like that.'
177. Tapu:
(to Vaite or Pio) ***Le quoi?***
'The what?'
(to Poutini) **Poutini, mo'i e keu, e?**
'Poutini, don't play, yes?'
...
181. Tapu: (to Pio, waiting for him to write another letter)
***Et après? Tu sais plus écrire?***
(And after? You don't know anymore how to write?'
...
183. Tapu:
(to Pio) ***C'est Maman qui a écrit.***
'It's Mama who wrote (that).'
(to Poutini) **Poutini, mo'i e keu.**
'Poutini, don't play.'
...
185. Vaetui:
***E-Maman, tous les enfants disent toujours à moi pour responsable.***
'Hey Mama, all the kids always look to me to be in charge.'

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187. Tapu:
***Comment?***
*'How's that?'*

188. Vaetui:
***Tous les enfants me disent: Comment Vaite s'appelle en français?***
*'All the kids say to me: What is Vaite's name in French?'*

189. Tapu:
***Elle s'appelle Vaite.***
*'She's named Vaite.'*

190. Vaite:
**Vaite...Maire.**
(Vaite is initiating the story about the name she claims Maire the schoolteacher gave her)

191. Vaetui:
***A Vaite, non. Elle s'appelle...comment on dit ça?***
*' According to Vaite, no (it's not her French name). Her name is...how does it go?'*
(Vaetui is aware of the story Vaite wants to tell.)

192. Vaite:
***Mama Gros?***
*'Big Mama (one of Tapu's mother's nicknames)?'*

193. Vaetui:
**Non.**
*'No.'*

194. Tapu:
***Quoi?***
*'What (then)?'*

195. Vaite:
**Tahia te po'otu.**
*'Princess the beautiful.'*

196. Tapu: (doubting, mocking voice)
**Meee..mei hea mai?**
*'Prooo...from where (does that name) come?'*

197. Vaetui: (mocking voice)
**Niho po'ea.**
*'Beautiful teeth (Vaite's nickname for crooked teeth caused by thumb sucking.'*

198. Tapu: (teasing voice)
**Mea nui te 'Īa.**
*'Many flea eggs (another of Tapu's mother's nicknames, derived from her real name Tehono 'Īa tu).'*

199. Vaite: (insisting)
**Tahia te po'otu.**
*'Princess the beautiful.'*

200. Tapu:
**Nai tenā ikoa 'ia 'oe?**
*'Whose that name to you? = (Who gave you that name?)'*

201. Vaetui:
**C'est à mea, c'est à Monsieur he'e nei Ua Pou.**
*'It was whose-it, the teacher from Ua Pou (who gave it).'*
*[It's who's its, it's Monsieur's came (from) Ua Pou.]*

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202. Vaite:
**'A'o'e.**
'No.'
203. Vaetui:
***Si.***
*'But yes.'*
204. Tapu:
***Monsieur Etienne?***
' an influential older **'enana** school master from Ua Pou who had visited their school -- one of Moi and Manu's brothers)'
205. Vaetui:
***Si, Monsieur Etienne.***
*'But yes, Monsieur Etienne.'*
206. Vaite:
**'A'o'e. *Madame* Maire.**
'No. Madame Maire (their school teacher from last year).'
207. Vaetui:
***Non, c'est pas Madame* Maire.**
*'No, it isn't Madame Maire.'*
208. Tapu:
***Oui...qu'est-ce qu'elle a dit? Elle a dit que tu t'appelles* Tahia te po'otu?**
*'Yes (So?)...what did she say? She said that you are named Tahia the beautiful?'*
209. Vaite:
***Oui, elle a dit comme ça: On peut pas changer de nom? Elle a dit...***
*'Yes, she said like that: One cannot change names? She said...'*
210. Tapu:
**Poutini, mo'i e ke'u.**
'Poutini, don't play (with the tape recorder).'
211. Vaetui:
***Pas Madame* Maire. C'est l'homme, l'homme, il est déjà venu ici.**
*'Not Madame Maire. It was the man, the man, he already came here.'*
212. Vaite:
***Non!***
*'No!'*
213. Vaetui:
**Le tumu hamani.**
'The teacher.'
214. Vaite:
***Non!***
*'No!'*
215. Vaetui:
***Tu sais pas, tu as tout oublié.***
*'You don't know, you forgot everything.'*

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Example #7 (T4/18)

Setting: Sunday after church, watching TV in the living room

Participants: Aere (m/1.1,0), Poutini (m/3.2), Pio (m/5.2), Vaite (f/7.11), Vaetui (f/9.10), Tapu (mother), Poea (father), Kate (researcher)

(Poea, Tapu, Vaetui, Poutini, and Kate are sprawled in the living room watching ***"Millionaire"***)

372. Poea:
**Te'a mo'i...mea...'aaa...'a Manuela.**
'That daughter...what's it...coof...of Manuela.'
(the contestant on TV resembles Manuela's daughter)

373. Vaetui: (shouting)
**'A...'a'e 'ite pehea te ori.**
'There...(a person on TV) doesn't know how to dance[TAH].'

374. Poea:
**[_____] Aiii!**
(mocking)

375. Tapu:
**Oiaia... te'a vehine!**
'Coo... that woman (can't dance)!'
(mocking the woman's poor dancing)

376. Poea:
**Vehine hao'e titahi, 'a'e?**
'This female Westerner, no?'
(agreeing with Tapu's assessment)

377. Tapu:
**Eee.**
'Yeees. (you bet she's foreign and can't dance right)'

378. Poea:
**'A'i taka'īa te pareu.**
'The (woman's) cloth wrap isn't attached (properly).'

(Vaite and Pio are just now returning from church; they missed the meal)
***Où tu as été? Assis-toi là-bas avec ton [_____] là-bas.***
*'Where were you? Sit down there with your [food?] there.'*

379. Tapu: (mocking laugh)
**Ai! te Hao'e! Ti'ohi a'e 'oe to ia vaevae. Ai! taioro! Ai! taioro, e?**
'Hah! The foreigner! Look a bit at his feet (lifting them instead of swinging his knees). Hah! smelly penis[TAH]! Hah! smelly penis[TAH], yes?

(music stops, announcer begins speaking)

380. Poea:
***C'est jaune, te'ā 'a?***
'It's yellow, that there (the 20,000,000 marker on the wheel)?'

381. Tapu:
***Oui, c'est toujours uka te'ā numéro [_____].***
'Yes, it's always on top of that number [ ].'

382. Vaetui:
***Un.***
'One (turn of the wheel).'

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383. Poea:
[_____]
384. Tapu:
***Attends, regarde le rouge.***
'Wait, watch the red (light which flashes with each turn of the wheel).'
385. Tapu:
***Deux. Regarde le buton rouge.***
'Two (turns of the wheel). Watch the red button.'
386. Vaetui:
***Le vert.***
'The green (light is on (after the wheel turns three times, the light turns green, which means it's a go; if not, the contestant spins again.)'
387. Poea:
**Haka'ea he jaune.**
'Stop (on) the yellow.'
(he's hoping the wheel stops at yellow -- the 20,000,000 mark)
388. Tapu: (still counting turns)
***Trois.***
'Three.'
389. Vaetui:
***Trois.***
'Three.'
390. Tapu: (beginning to note the markers as the wheel slows)
***Un million.***
'One million.'
391. Vaetui:
***Un million. Cinq million.***
'One million. Five million.'
392. Tapu: (rooting for the 20,000,000 marker)
***Uh oui oui oui. Vingt million oui oui oui.***
'Uh, yes yes yes. Twenty million yes yes yes.'
393. Poea:
[_____]
394. Vaetui:
***Cinq cinq cinq cinq million.***
'Five five five five million.'
395. Poea: (announcing the winning mark)
***Douze.***
'Twelve.'
396. Tapu:
**Oue oue.**
(cheering)
397. Vaetui:
***Douze million.***
'Twelve million.'
398. Poea:
**Ko'aka ia 'u. O au te mea 'i gagner.**
'Found to me (he guessed 12). It was I who won the thing.'
399. Tapu: (clapping, high pitched cry
**[_____] Douze million. Mi mi mi mi mi oo.**
'[_____] Twelve million. Mi mi mi mi mi oo.'

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400. Poea:
**Pe'au te'ā te'ā 'enana: Hani haka'ea he *vingt million*.**
'That that man says: If only it had stopped at twenty million.'
401. Vaite:
***Qu'est-ce qu'on va acheter? Tele?***
'*What is one (he) going to buy? Television?*'
402. Pio:
***Voiture.***
'Car.'
403. Tapu:
**Ua Pou te'a: vehine.**
'That woman Ua Pou (sre's an Ua Pouan)'
(recognizing someone on the program)
404. Poutini:
***Matou matou na matou matou.***
'Us (pl/exc), us, for us, us.'
(the money is ours, not yours you people in the TV)
405. Po'ea:
**'Ite ha'a 'oe te Hao'e ana: *C'est super!***
'You will see the Westerner there (say): *It's super!*'
(sour grapes voice)
...
408. Pio:
**Vaetui, toetoe.**
'Vaetui, crabs.'
(hungry appeal)
410. Vaetui:
***Oui, (il y e)n'a aussi le* toetoe.**
'Yes, there's *also* the crabs.'
411. Pio:
***Où est?***
'*Where is* (the crab)?'
412. Poutini: (singing voice)
***On veut le* toetoe. *A cherché, Papa-a-a. Et Keti?***
'One wants the crabs. Papa-a-a found (them for me). And Kate?'
413. Tapu:
**E? *Il semble pas de Moorea, e?***
'Hey? *He* (man on TV) *doesn't seem like* (he comes) *from Moorea, does he?*'
414. Poea:
[_____]
415. Tapu:
**Temataru.**
'Temataru (family name of the man from Moorea)'
(mimicking speaker's bad **ma'ohi** pronunciation)
***Yah! Ça va bien.***
(mocking the Tahitian's bad French accent)
'Yah! All's well.'
***Non, Tini!!***
'No, Tini!'
(scolding Poutini for making a mess with the crabs)

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416. Vaetui:
***Mets ça là-bas.***
'Put that (the crab) there.'
417. Poutini:
***C'est à Vai... C'est à Vaite.***
'It's Vai... It's Vaite's (fault?)'
418. Tapu:
***Le quoi?***
'The what (is Vaite's)?'
419. Poutini:
**Moi, trouvé [tule]...**
'Me, I found...'
420. Tapu: (mocking his articulation, turning it to nonsense and then into a game about pulling his ears)
***Tu l'ai tulé?***
'You ***tulé***'d them?'
Mm. Tu le tu le, les tore, tu le tu le, les tore.
(transformation on the child's chant: ***Tirer, tirer les oreilles,*** sung while dancing with hands on one's ears)
421. Vaeuti: (telling Aere to pull Tapu's ear)
***Tirez!***
(Pull!)
422. Tapu: (to Aere who's trying to pull her ear)
***Non! Jaloux!***
'No! Jealous!'
(don't be jealous just because I'm playing with Poutini)
**Tu le tu le les tole.**
(she begins pulling Aere's ears)
423. Vaetui: (reporting)
***Maman, on a failli mordre à Vaite.***
'Mama, one almost bit Vaite.'
424. Tapu:
***Mordue par qui? Par qui?***
'Bitten by whom? By whom?'
425. Vaetui:
***On a failli mordue. C'est le cheval.***
'One almost bit (her). It's the horse.'
426. Vaite:
***En plus j'ai rien fait. C'est le cheval.***
'What's more, I didn't do anything. It was the horse (who just did it).'
427. Tapu:
***À qui?***
'Whose (horse)?'
428. Vaite:
***À 'ua Tati Moi. En plus j'ai rien fait.***
'Tati Moi and company's. What's more, I didn't do anything.'
***Après quand j'ai couri et puis on a presque mordu ma tête.***
'Afterwards when I ran and then one almost bit my head.'
(laughter as Vaite now starts tickling Poutini and Aere)
429. Poea:
***Tais-toi!***
'Shush!'

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430. Vaite:
**Iiiiy!**
(expression of getting into the tickling)
431. Poea:
***Où est Pio?* Vaetui?**
'Where is Pio? Vaetui?'
432. Tapu:
**Sea Pio, e-Vaetui?**
'Where's Pio, hey-Vaetui?'
433. Vaetui:
**'A inei va'e te kaikai.**
'Here, eating.'
434. Poea:
**Pio?**
...
436. Poea:
**'Ite 'oe, e-Pio, mo'i e ka'o haka'ua.**
'You know, hey-Pio, don't disappear again (like that).'
437. Tapu: (to Vaite who's tickling Poutini and Aere)
**Mo'i e ha'amamae.**
'Don't hurt (him).'
438. Vaite:
**Tikitiki tiki tiki.**
...
440. Tapu:
***E, gentil le bébé!***
'Hey, (be) gentle (with) the baby.'
(laugning)
***E, hier soir quand [_____] fait caca dans la culotte.***
'Hey, last night when [Vaite?] took a pooh in her pants.'
441. Vaite:
***Non, même pas.***
'No, not even.'
442. Tapu:
***Tu as fait comme ça: oue oue oue***
'You did like that: (sounds and scrunched face Vaite made while taking a pooh)'
443. Vaite:
***Même pas.***
'Not even.'
444. Tapu:
***Après quand j'ai rigolé...après tu as _____.***
'Afterwards when I laughed (at you)...afterwards you _____.'
445. Vaite:
***T'es mechant. C'est toi aussi.***
'You're mean. It's you too (like that?).'
...
(On television, the second contestant is arriving)
452. Poea:
**Moea te ikoa 'o te'ā vehine.**
'Moea is the name of that woman (the regular singer for the program).'

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453. Tapu:
**E. *Famille* Tefana, to Esther.**
'Yes. *Family* Tefana, Esther's (Esther Tefana is the more famous singer).'
454. Poea:
**Tefana.**
(repeating this bit of information about her family name)
(the announcer tries to make the winner's wife sing, by putting the microphone forcefully to her mouth, but she pushes it away)
**Oi! Ve'o ia 'a me te mea. *Stupide!***
Oi! He's spearing (her mouth) there with the thing. *Stupid!*'
(Tapu laughs (at sexual connotations?))
455. Poea:
**Ve'o ia 'a me te *micro*.**
'He's spearing there with the microphone.'
(Tapu sings along. The announcer starts describing the new contestant)
456. Poea: (recycling and interpreting the announcer's information)
**Tihe a'e nei te'ā 'enana 'i a'a. Te'ā *mea pompier*.**
'Arrived a bit here that man over there. That *firefighter*.'
(that man's already been to France -- Tapu explained that one can tell if a contestant's been in France a while by their style of talk, politesse, dress; others are timid on the show.)
457. Tapu:
**E. Te'ā he'e'īa 'o ia 'i te kape.**
'Yes. He went there in the army.'
458. Po'ea:
***Passé, passé* mea te kape.**
'*Went through, went through* for the army.'
459. Tapu:
**Mea'a, hakako ho'i ta ia mea *sapeur pompier*.**
'But, learned truly his thing *firefighter*.'
(he just learned this profession; it's nothing special)
(she sings again with TV)

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Example #8. (TS/13)

Setting: Thursday breakfast in the kitchen

Participants: Aere (m/1.1,3), Poutini (m/3.3), Pio (m/5.3), Vaite (f/8.0), Vaetui (f/9.11), Tapu (mother), Poea (father), Kate (researcher)

(The primary school teacher (***Monsieur***) has told the children to ask their parents for money to go on a fieldtrip to Taichae to attend an interscholar meeting with the children from all the other valleys in Nukuhiva. Two problems: the money and the safety of the children.)

356. Tapu:
**Vaetui, pe'au'ia e 'oe ia Papa, hua mea... hua mea?**
'Vaetui, was that thing said by you to Papa...that thing?'

357. Vaetui:
**Eee.** [rising intonation]
'Yeees.'

358. Tapu:
**Pehea 'a te pe'au?**
'How was the saying (in response)?'

...

361. Poea:
**[_____] *des sous?***
'[_____] some money?'

362. Vaetui:
***Non.***
'No.'

363. Vaite:
***J'ai dit comme ça: On a pas accepté. Y a pas d'sous.***
*'I said like that: One has not given permission. Not any money.'*

364. Poea:
***Eh, bien, oui.***

365. Tapu:
***Il faut aller tarere à Monsieur.***
*'Must go beg[TAH] from Monsieur (the teacher).'*

366. Vaite:
**Huh?**

367. Tapu:
**Hano tarere *'ia Monsieur: Monsieur, on n'a pas de sous.***
*'Go beg from Monsieur: Monsieur, one (we) have no money.'*

368. Poea:
***Non.* _____.**
*'No.* _____.'

369. Tapu:
**E ho'i! *Peut-être 'ua Myriam, ils vont aller.***
*'Yes, truly. Perhaps Myriam and company Manu's children , they will go.'*

370. Vaetui:
***Oui, Myriam, tout seul va aller. Et Myriam a parlé avec Monsieur.***
*'Yes. Myriam, all alone will go. And Myriam talked with Monsieur.'*

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371. Poea:
***Elle va pas aller toute seule comme ça.***
*'She will not go all alone like that.'*
372. Tapu:
***Non. Il y a le Monsieur.***
'No. There is the Monsieur.'
373. Vaetui:
***Il y a Monsieur.***
374. Poea:
***Il y a Monsieur. Mais qui va aller acheter quelque chose? C'est eux deux?***
*'There is Monsieur. But who will go to buy things? It's those two school teachers -- Monsieur and his wife?'*
375. Tapu:
***Non.***
'No.'
376. Poea:
***Après il dit que c'est lui qui a occupé tout.***
*'Afterwards, he says that it's him who took care of everything.'*
377. Tapu:
***Non, hein bien, na ia nehe i hano mai.***
*'No, well good, his perhaps has brought here (these problems).'*
378. Vaetui:
***Monsieur a dit comme ça: C'est vous qui va amener...***
'Monsieur said like that: It's you who will bring...'
379. Tapu:
**Na ia nehe i hano mai.**
'His perhaps brought here.'
**Na ia e feruri ha uanei me te moni 'a te po'i.**
'His to think what perhaps with the money of the people.'
**'Ia pe'au ia e he'e Taiohae.**
'When he says go (to) Taiohae.'
...
381. Tapu:
**Titahi, na ia i ha'ahu'ike... Ani'i te mea,**
'This, he made the change... As well the thing,'
**'a'e ia i ha'ahu'ike nei te'ā mea 'a matou i tekao nei 'omua**
'(If) he had not changed here that thing said to us first'
**na 'oa tihe na'e Taiohae mea...**
'about our arrival there in Taiohae what's it...'
**Ha 'oa? E tahi vahi noho 'i 'a.**
'Quoi alors? One place (for all the children) to stay there.)
**Tenei 'a'e ia e makimaki.**
'Now he doesn't want (that).'
382. Po'ea:
**Ahh? 'A'e ia makimaki?**
'Ahh? He doesn't want (that)?'
383. Tapu:
**'Omua na'oa tekao'ia 'o matou 'īo he kantine pe'au'īa e au te'a mea. Pe'au: 'a'e au 'e makimaki e he'e ta'u mo'i...ta'u mau toiki ma vaho. Surtout tihe na'e 'i'a c'est vrai e tahi vahi noho'ia paotu.**

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'First at our talk at the canteen that thing was said by me, said: I don't want my daughters...my children (staying) outside (i.e., with families I don't know, which is what the teacher had proposed. Above all, arriving there, it's true, one place for all to stay (is more secure).'

**Pahono mai nei Virginie 'a 'a'e ho'i 'a'e kanahau.**

'Virginie (the other teacher) responded: Truly that's not good. (disagreed with the Monsieur)'

**Pe'au atu nei au: E? 'Ua ava anei to'oe 'ite te 'apu'u 'i te toiki? *C'est ça qu'il faut voir.***

'I said there: Hey? Do you know enough about taking care of children? *It's that that must be seen.*'

**Pe'au mai nei Tama: *Ah, oui, tu as raison.***

'Tama (the Monsieur) said to me: *Ah, yes, you're right.*'

**Pe'au au: *Oui. Parce que il faut* 'oe vivini meita'i te tiaki te toiki.**

'I said: *Yes. Because it must be that* you understand well the guarding (of) the children.'

385. Poea:

[_____]

386. Tapu:

**E, ho'i! Mea ke te mea e tahi vahi noho'Īa.**

'Yes, truly! The thing is different (with) one place to stay.'

**Tenei, vava'a na'e te popou'i, e tahi he'e'Īa, e tahi hua'Īa. Heke ana'e 'oe 'Īo he ha'e hoko, to'o mai 'oe te vaiu.**

'This, wake up in the morning, go out together, come back together. You go down to the store, take back the milk.'

**Comme te'a tekao'ia 'o matou 'omua na'oa, pe'au'Īa e au: *Si* e mea 'ia ani'i, *je vais aller aussi*. No te 'ua 'ā anaiho 'a: venini, tameti. Pao na'e hua mai.**

'As (he) first talked to us about it, I said: *If* it's done like that, *I'll go also.* For the two days only, Friday, Saturday. Then return.'

...

404. Tapu:

***Vaite, mea Vaetui, Myriam a mea a demandé à Papa à son Papa?***

'Vaite, who's it, Vaetui, *Myriam has* what's it *has asked Papa, her Papa* (permission to go on the Taiohae trip ?'

405. Vaetui:

***Non.***

406. Poea:

***Son Papa est allé chercher....son Papa a cherché...***

'*Her Papa* went to find...*her Papa found...*'

...

408. Tapu:

***Enfin d'un côté je comprends un peu te tau motua kui.***

'*Finally, on the one hand, I understand a bit those parents* (who rejected the idea of going)'

...

410. Tapu:

**Ko'aka'Īa ha'avivini titahi keke e he'e ihoa ta 'atou tau tama.**

'It must be understand this other side that their children go.'

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**Mei te pe'u pe'au mai te tumu hamani: ena he'e te hamani ta'oe toiki mua. Obliger hoa 'oe e tuku ha'a mamao nei 'iō 'oe.**
'If for example, the teacher says here: your child's studies advance, you're obliged to send them far from you.'
**'Ua aha'īa?**
'What do (you do)?'

411. Poea:
***Mais oui* feruri a'e 'oe te'ā mea 'a Silu pe'au a'a: Ha'apapu tenei mou 'a: *en plus* e he'e i 'oto tenei hana 'i Taiohae. *Comment ce fait e penser* tenei mo'i ani'i nei?**
'But *yes* think[TAH] a bit on that thing Gilles said there: Preparing[TAH] these days for the Certificat Etude Primaire, the entrance exam taken to pass into ***collège***, only given once every couple of years, on top of going into this work in Taiohae. *How does that make* his daughter *think* like that (his daughter who should be preparing instead for the entrance exam)?
**Orie ma hope 'iho te *plaisir* he'e 'i 'oto te tau vahi maha'o ha'akoakoa. 'A'o'e!**
'Instead of putting second the *pleasures* of going inside places for admiring and amusing (yourself). No!

412. Tapu:
**E.**
'Yes (I'm following)'

413. Poea:
**Mamua'īa te koakoa, a tahi 'a tihe 'iō he ma'ama.**
'Pleasure is put first, then arrives the intelligence.'

414. Tapu:
**[_____]**

415. Poea:
**Pehea'īa te aura'a?**
'How is that meaning[TAH]?

416. Tapu:
**Hm hm.**

417. Poea:
**No ke'ina *il faut* feruri toitoi.**
'For that it must think[TAH] straight.'

418. Tapu:
**E, ho'i.**
'Yes, truly.'

...

547. Tapu:
**Vaetui-e? A'i pao te hana.**
'Waitue-hey? The work isn't finished.'
**Pahu mai a'e 'oe, Mihiau, 'ia Vaetui me te 'apataki. Aah?**
'Mihiau, here hit Vaetui a bit with a slap. Right?'
**A'i pao ta'oe hana inei.**
'Not finished your work here.'
**Mo'i 'oe pahono mai ani'i ana.**
'Don't you talk back like that.'
**'Oko? Mo'i 'oe pahono mai!**
'(You) hear? Don't talk back!'

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548. Vaetui:

***Vaite, elle fait toujours [_____].***

*'Vaite, she always does [_____].*

549. Tapu:

**Vaetui-e? Vaetui, pa mai tenā puta.**

'Vaetui-hey? Vaetui, shut here that hole.

**Hano mai a kohi te'ā mea 'epo.**

'Go here collect that dirty thing (the dishes).'

**Pe'au'īa 'ia 'oe: 'Oe, te mea e noho he ha'e.**

'It was said to you: You the thing to rest (at) the house.'

**Maka mo'i, hakako te hana.**

'Big daughter, learn the work'

**Mo'i, o'io'i a'e nei noho me te vahana 'a'e 'ite te hana.**

'Don't (do it), tomorrow a bit here, (you'll) live with the man (and) not know the work.'

**To'omanu!**

'Shameful!'

**A'e ve'a te kaikai 'ia nunu, 'a'e propa te ha'e 'ia ha'apropa.**

'The food isn't cooked when you cook, the house isn't clean when you clean.'

**Vaetui-e.**

550. Vaetui:

**Mm mm.**

(expression of muffled resistance)

551. Tapu:

***Enfin. Brèf. Vaetui, tu ramasses ça et tu remets là et tu remets comme il faut, là!***

'Finally. In brief. Vaetui, you pick up that and you put away there and you put away as it should be, there!'

**Ha'akoi! Ati'i te'ā pepe keu a'a te'ā mea.**

'Do it quick! Like that baby play there that thing.'

(you're playing like the baby, not working)

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Example 9 (T7/27)

Setting: Tuesday morning after breakfast at the house

Participants: Aere (m/1.4), Poutini (m/3.6), Pio (m/5.5), Tapu (mother), Kate (researcher)

1. Poea:
   ***E-Pio, viens un peu! Pio! Viens un peu.***
   'Hey Pio, *come here a bit! Pio! Come here a bit.*'
2. Pio: (singing softly)
   **Ka'oha 'oe Ua Pou i Matuita...**
   'Welcome to you (people of) Ua Pou in the Marquesas[TAH]...'
   (song by a Tahitian heard on radio a lot at that time)
3. Poea:
   **Ko'i 'oe 'omua 'iō te'ā ko'oua Teii.**
   'Run first to that grandfather Teii's.'
   **Pe'au 'oe: À'e he *papier*, he *papier* no Papa.**
   'Say: There are no (cigarette) *papers*, *papers* of Papa'
   ***Papier, vite!***
   'Papers, fast!'
4. Tapu:
   **Pe'au 'oe: À'e he mea to'oe *papier* maimai?**
   'You say: Is there none of your tobacco *papers*?'
   ***Dits un peu.***
   '*Say a bit.*'
5. Pio:
   **He mea *ta'oe papier?**
   'Is there none of *your paper?*'
6. Tapu:
   ***Voilà!***
...
7. Poea:
   **A ko'i, e-Pio.**
   'Go quickly, Pio.'
8. Aere: (bobbing head)
   **Uin uin uin.**
   (an appeal for something)
9. Tapu: (attending to Aere's appeal)
   **Mm mm mm mm mm mm.**
   (what? what? what?)
9. Poutini: (taking up Pio's song)
   **Ua Pou!**
10. Poea:
   **Poutini, inei.**
   'Poutini, (come) here.'
11. Poutini: (singing)
   **Tupu-eee. Ua Pou Matuita.**
12. Poea: (softly)
   ***Mangez.***
   'Eat.'

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13. Poutini:
***J'ai mangé.***
'I ate (already).'
14. Tapu:
***Mangé quoi?***
'(You) ate what?'
**Enā *mannière* hua poiti nei, enā *mannière*, enā *mannière*.**
'It's *affected*, this boy here, it's *affected*, it's *affected*.'
(he's got an attitude this boy here)
(looking at an infected sore on Poutini's leg)
**E'o! 'ua hiti hua mekeo.**
'Hey! (it's) grown (perf) this itchy place.'
**Kamai tenā tapa. 'A taki Mama.**
'Bring here the bandage. Mama will lift (it).'
(She wants to redo the bandage.)
**Kamai 'oe inei. Na Mama e mea. E! E mea, Poutini.**
'Bring here now. For mama to do. Hey! Hey, who's it, Poutini.'
15. Poutini:
**Aisht!**
(refusing)
16. Tapu:
**Kamai 'oe inei.**
'Bring here now.'
17. Poutini:
***Après, ça va faire mal?***
'*Afterwards*, it will *hurt*?'
18. Tapu:
**Kamai 'oe inei. Ai, a ko'i!**
'Bring here now. Ai, hurry!'
**A to'i to'oe pa'aro 'uka. Kamai 'oe inei.**
'Pull your shorts up. Bring here now.'
**A'i au pe'au 'ia 'oe tenā mea mea humu kopu...e, mea humu keo.**
'I didn't say to you that thing (bandage) was for attaching (to your) stomach...yes, for attaching (to your) butt.'
(he was parading around with the bandage on his stomach)
**Auē mekeo. 'A!**
'Don't scratch. There!'
19. Poutini:
**E!**
'Hey!'
20. Tapu:
**'A vai 'oe tena pa'aro.**
'Leave those shorts.'
**Nai pe'au nehe 'a oka tenā pa'aro?**
'Whose word (who told you) like that to put on those shorts?'
(mocking tone) ***Tu as fait pipi, e?***
'You *peed*, yes?'
21. Poutini:
***Non.***
'No.'
22. Tapu:
**Ça pue.**
'That *stinks*.'

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**Kave 'i 'oto te tipara**
'Carry (the shorts) into the basin (to be washed)'

...

23. Pio: (returning from his errand, gives Poea the papers)
**'A!**
'There!'
24. Poea:
**'Oaka.**
'Success.'
25. Pio:
**E.**
'Yes.'
26. Poea:
**Pehea te pe'au te'ā ko'oua?**
'What was the word (of) that grandfather?'
27. Pio:
**E 'ah?**
'What?'
28. Poea:
**Pe'au'īa e 'oe te'ā ko'oua?**
'It was said by you (what I told you to say to) that grandfather?'
29. Pio:
***Oui.***
*'Yes.'*
30. Poea:
**Pehea te pe'au?**
'What was the word?'
(no response)
**Pehea te pe'au te'a...?**
'What was the word that...?'
31. Pio:
**Teii, he mea ta 'otou...ta 'otou mea...papier?**
'Teii, is there none of your [pl/A]...your thing...papers?'
32. Poea:
**Hnn.**
(laugh)
33. Tapu: (laugh)
**Pe'au'īa e 'oe: Teii?**
'It was said by you: Teii?'
34. Pio:
**E.**
'Yes.'
35. Poea:
***Et après?***
'And after (that)?'
36. Pio:
***Il est allé chercher le mea.***
'He went to look for the thing.'
37. Poea:
**A'i pe'au ia: *On a plus beaucoup?***
'He didn't say: *There isn't much?*'

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38. Pic:
***Non.***
'No.'
39. Poea:
***Hm.***
40. Tapu:
***Qui t'a donné?***
'Who gave (it) to you?'
41. Pic:
***C'est Teii.***
'It was Teii.'
42. Poea:
***Mihiau, il n'est pas encore venu?***
'Mihiau, he hadn't yet come?'
43. Pic:
***Si.***
'Yes.'
44. Poea:
***Où est?***
'Where is (he)?'
45. Pic:
***À, là-bas.***
'There, over there.'
46. Poea:
***Combien? Un cheval?***
'How many? One horse?'
47. Pic:
***Non.***
'No.'
48. Poea:
***Combien?***
'How many?'
49. Pic:
***La deux.***
'The two.'

(Tapu and Poea use this information to continue discussing which horses he and Mihiau will use today for copra.)

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Example #10 (M3/19)

Setting: Tuesday mid-morning in and around the house, jumping rope, playing with cassette, testing my **'enana**.

Participants: Tahia (f/2.7), Teani (f/4.0), Tikare (m/6.10), Pune (m/7.11 , Tehina (f/10.6), Teata (f/11.6), Kate (researcher)

276. Tikare:
***Tu ne sais pas sauter à (la) corde?***
*'You don't know how to jumprope?'*
277. Tehina:
***Si, quand elle était petite.***
*'But yes, when she was little.'*
...
285. Tehina:
***Je peux faire jusqu'à...***
*'I can do (jump) up to...'*
286. Tikare:
***Moi, jusqu'à vingt.***
*'Me, up to twenty.'*
287. Tehina:
***Vingt-six.***
*'Twenty-six.'*
...
295. Tikare:
***Je peux sauter jusqu'à mille.***
*'I can jump up to a thousand.'*
296. Tehina:
***Pas vrai.***
*'Not true!'*
...
(the children have brought a couple of new puppies for me to see)
570. Teata:
***Devrait on n'a pas sept, on en a onze, mais on ne sait pas où est les quatres. D'abord on en a sept.***
*'Should have been one (we) didn't have seven (puppies). We had eleven of them, but we don't know where is the (other) four. First we have seven.'*
571. Pune:
***Non, on avait douze. Un était mort.***
*'No, one had twelve. One was dead.'*
572. Teata:
***Oui, après...***
*'Yes, afterwards...'*
573. Kate:
***Douze petits chiens.***
*'Twelve little dogs.'*
574. Pune:
***Oui, après il a tué un. Il s'appelle Tueur-des-chiens.***
*'Yes, afterward he (the mother) killed one. He is called Killer-of-dogs.'*

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575. Tikare:
***Tu as vu ça? Dog!***
'You saw that? Dog (the name of Moi's dog)!'
(Dog is licking his genitals.)
576. Pune: (laughing)
***Oui, oui, j'ai vu.***
'Yes, yes, I saw.'
577. Teata:
**E, e 'oko'īa e Mama!**
'Hey, (this) is heard by Mama!'
...
617. Tenina:
***On sait pas où est quatre. On avait onze mais on sait pas...***
'One doesn't know where is four. One had eleven but one doesn't know...'
618. Pune:
***Non, on avait douze.***
'No, one had twelve.'
619. Teata:
**Un, il est mort seulement.**
'One is just dead.'
620. Pune:
***Oui, c'est la faute de lui.***
'Yes, it's the fault of (him (the mother)).'
621. Tenina:
***Non, il est mort seulement.***
'No, (he is just dead (not killed by anyone)).'
622. Pune:
***Ah...jamais vu un chien qui mort seulement.***
'Ah...(I) never saw a dog who just died.'
623. Tikare:
***Si, sous la pluie.***
'But yes, (in the rain (it caught cold)).'
624. Pune:
**Ei! *Quand il était mort, c'était pas la pluie.***
'Hey! When he died, it wasn't the rain.'
...
(the children have been quizzing me for several minutes on my **'enana**)
648. Tikare:
**E, puaka.**
'Hey, pig.'
649. Kate:
**E, puaka.**
'Yes, pig.'
650. Tikare:
***En Marquisien.***
'In Marquesan.'
651. Kate:
***C'est* puaka.**
'It's **puaka** (in **'enana**).'
652. Teata:
***C'est* puaka.**
'It's **puaka** (in **'enana**).'

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653. Puhe:
***Cochon!***
'Pig!'
{1. it's ***cochon*** in ***français***, 2. You're a pig = idiot}
654. Tikare:
***En français.***
'*In* ***français***.'
655. Puhe:
***C'est cochon!***
'*It's* ***cochon*** (*in* ***français***).'
656. Teata:
***Tu as dit en Marquisien.***
'You said (it) in **'enana**.'
657. Tikare:
***En français.***
'*In* ***français***.'
658. Puhe:
**Vu? V et u?**
'Understood? V and u?'
...
(Teata and Tehina have been giving me the children's birthdates and names (both French and **'enana**.
1021. Teata: (to Kate)
***A Tikare, c'est Hai.***
'*Tikare's* (name), *it's Hai.*'
...
1023. Puhe: (mocking)
***Poisson, poisson. Tu t'appelle: Poisson.***
'*Fish, fish. You're named: Fish.* (because Hai = ray)'
1024. Tikare:
***Il s'appelle Fu'ufu'u.***
'He's named Fu'ufu'u (Puhe's godfather) (thus, Puhe is called this too)'
1025. Teani:
***Oui.***
'*Yes.*'
1026. Tikare:
***Et il s'appelle....Sa maraine est sourcière.***
'And he's named.... His godmother is a sorceress.'
1027. Puhe:
***Elle est pas une sorcière. T'as compris?***
'*She is not a sorceress. You understood?*'
(Puhe shoves Tikare who begins crying)
...
1029. Kate:
**Oooh!**
1030. Puhe:
***E, j'ai rien fait.***
'Hey, I didn't do anything.'
(Tikare continues crying, standing in the doorway, trying to hold his ground against Puhe who is standing over him, chest puffed up)

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1031. Teani:
**_Couillon!_**
'_Balls!_'
1032. Puhe:
**He-he.**
('evil' laugh)
1033. Tehina: (scolding/threatening Teani for swearing)
**Nani!**
'Teani!'
...
1035. Kate: (admonishing the boys)
**Oooh oooh, _attends un petit peu_.**
'Ooh oooh, wait a little bit...'
1036. Teata: (also admonishing boys)
**E!**
'Hey!'
1037. Kate:
**Eh eh eh eh eh Ça suffit. Ça suffit.**
1038. Mir:
**E!**
1039. Kate:
**_Ça suffit, Lorenzo_.... _Tu es le_...**
'_That's enough, Lorenzo_ (Puhe).... _You are the_...'
(a long silence as the boys stare at each other with fists half-raised)
(some whispering)
...
1041. Kate:
**_Qu'est-ce qu'on fait? Qu'est-ce qu'on fait quand ils font comme ça?_**
'_What does one do? What does one do when they do that?_'
1042. Teata:
**_C'est comme ça_.**
'_It's (just) like that_.'
1043. Kate:
**_C'est juste comme ça?_**
'_It's just like that?_'

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Example #11 (M4/14

Setting: Wednesday afternoon at the house, Ava and the two little girls still eating their midday meal, older children playing marbles, Manu redecorating.

Participants: Tahia (f/2.9), Teani (f/4.1), Tikare (m/7.0), Puhe (m/8.0), Tenina (f/10.8), Teata (f/11.7), Manu (mother), Ava (father), Kate (researcher)

(Puhe and Tikare have begun a game of marbles. Teata will join them, but has not yet sat down.)

61. Puhe:
**'A puhi! Allez, 'a poro!**
'Shoot! Go on, play marbles!'
**Teata, (ha)kaea te keu.**
'Teata, stop playing around.'

66. Tikare:
**E, sea ta'oe pata?**
'Hey, where's your shooting marble?'

67. Puhe:
**'A inei, hakana'īa.**
'Here, it was hidden.'
(implicit accusation that someone hid it -- his winning marble)

...

72. Tikare:
**E, 'a'e inā to 'oe *place*.**
'Hey, that's not your *place* (from which to play).'

73. Puhe:
**'O ia! Ooooo oooo oooo**
'But yes! (frustration as Tikare moves it anyway)'

...

75. Puhe:
**Woooo wooo waa eeh. E ta'u pooroo.**
'(wait a minute). Hey, (that's) my maaarble.'

76. Tikare:
**Piti 'ia 'oe, ha.**
'Two[TAH] for you, four [TAH/MQ] (for me).'

77. Puhe:
**He mea ta Mama?**
'None of Mama's (available with which to play)?'

78. Tikare:
**He tu a'e ta 'u ke ta 'oe.**
'The (marble) knocks a bit mine more than yours.'
(I made more scores (marble hits) than you did.)

79. Puhe:
**Mea'a ['a]'e na 'oe i pata.**
'But it's wasn't yours (turn) to shoot.'

...

(Puhe and Tikare start over as Teata sits down to play.)

88. Tikare:
**E pere!**
'Hey play.' (Me first!)

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89. Puhe:
**_Deux, deux, deux._**
'Two, two, two.' (insisting on being second, making Teata last)
90. Teata:
**_Trois._**
'Three.' (accepting third place)
(Tikare is about to shoot from an illegal position -- one shoots from 'outside'.)
91. Puhe:
**Tikare, vaho 'oe**
'Tikare, (put) you (your marbles) out.'
92. Teata:
**Tikare, 'a'e 'inā 'oe.**
'Tikare, you're not there.'
...
98. Tikare:
**E ho'i, si si si, vaho au. Hea'a e keu au haka'ua, au.**
'Yes, truly, but yes but yes but yes, I am out. But I can play again, I can.'
99. Puhe:
**Poro na'e 'oe mei vaho, 'a'e mei 'oto.**
'You shoot only from outside, not from inside'
100. Teata:
**E, 'o au 'o au.**
'Hey, it's me, it's me (my turn).'
101. Tikare:
**E, 'o au!**
'Hey, it's me!'
102. Teata: (conceding)
**Are 'oe.**
'You go[TAH].'
103. Puhe: (to Teata)
**_Tu as raison._**
'You're right.'
104. Tikare:
**Wooo-wooo.**
(impressed with his shooting)
105. Puhe:
**Tikare Tikare Tikare. _Dehors._**
'Tikare Tikare Tikare. Outside.'
**_Vous êtes tous contre moi, hein?_**
'You are all against me, eh?'
...
118. Tikare:
**E, 'o au. _Un...deux...trois._**
'Hey, it's me. One...two...three.'
(pointing to himself, then Puhe, then Teata)
(reiterating the playing order)
...
142. Teata:
**Kare, tuku mai e tahi pata vert.**
'Tikare, give here one green shooter.'

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143. Puhe:
**Sinon, to'o ia te'ā pata bleu.**
'If not she will take that blue shooter.'
144. Teata:
**Tu crois moi j'ai pas honte?**
'You believe I have no shame (that I would steal the blue one)?'
...
150. Jud: (accusing Puhe)
**'I'ā. Ayi! Taui'īa e 'oe.**
'There. Hey! It (your place) was changed by you'
**Na-na-a-aa-aa**
(little mocking song = I'm beating you)
**Tutae, e e ai e e!**
'Shit (mocking song)!'
151. Puhe: (sarcastic)
**Merci beaucoup, e?**
'Thank you very much, yes?'
...
158. Puhe:
**E, pe'au'īa e 'oe 'i a'a 'o au.**
(you) (before)
'Hey, it was said by you (Tikare): It's me (Puhe) over there.'
(You said that was my marble over there.)
159. Tikare:
**'A'o'e.**
'No.'
160. Puhe:
**'O ia.**
'But yes.'
...
188. Puhe:
**'O au. Kare, pai atu.**
'It's me. Tikare, push over.'
**Pai atu, 'a'e au e poro ta'oe.**
'Push over, I won't play your marble.'
**Ai! Tikare!**
(exasperation)
189. Teata:
**Aita! 'Omua ta'u.**
'No(TAH)! First mine (my turn).'
...
206. Tikare:
**E, c'est pas ça.**
'Hey, it's not that.'
**E, 'o au, 'o au.**
'Hey, it's me, it's me (my turn).
(Teata and Puhe let him go.
**Weh! Weh!**
(I won! I won!)
207. Tehina: (who has been watching
**'A'o'e. Tricher'īa Tikare.**
'No (it's not your turn ! Tikare cheated.'
...

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209. Tehina: (to Kate)
**Toujours comme ça, eux.**
'Always like that (cheating and fighting), them (Tikare and Puhe).'
...

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Example #12 (M6/23)

Setting: Wednesday afternoon in the sweet potato patch between Manu's house and her mother's house.

Participants: Tahia (f/3.0), Teani (f/4.3), Tikare (m/7.2), Puhe (m/8.2), Tehina (f/10.10), Teata (f/11.10), Moi (aunt), Kate (researcher)

(Moi and Neil are planting sweet potatoes, but Moi has stopped for a while to join the children)

849. Moi:
**'A'e 'otou makimaki e mea...kei te kuma'a?**
'You all don't want to do...dig (the holes for) the sweet potatoes?'

850. Puhe:
**Kohi matou te ka'u.**
'We [pl/exc] pick up the trash (leaves)'

851. Tehina:
**Paona'e tuku mai ta matou, e?**
'Later give us our [pl/exc] (sweet potatoes), yes?'
(if we help you plant, you'll give us some of the produce?)

852. Moi: (sarcastic)
**Kohi 'otou te ka'u.**
'You all collect the trash.'
(go ahead with your worthless work)

853. Tikare:
***Okay, pas de blème.***
'Okay, no problem (we'll help with the sweet potates).'

...

856. Puhe:
**Mea'a tuku mai ta matou.**
'But give us ours [pl/exc] (for our work).'

857. Tikare:
**'A'o('e), moni.**
'No, money.'
(Don't give us sweet potatoes; pay us for our work.)

858. Moi:
**Na 'otou e kai nei 'i te'ā ma'a ha'aho'a mei 'uka 'ā.**
'Your (payment) is to eat the pineapple garden up there.'

859. Teata:
**Na Pahio.**
'(That's) Grandmother's (pineapple garden).'

860. Tehina:
**Na Pahio.**
'(That's) Grandmother's'

861. Moi:
**Mea'a 'otou.**
'But you(pl). (the pineapples are yours too)'

862. Tous:
**Aii! 'A'e matou kai nei.**
'Hey! We [pl/exc] don't eat (the pineapples).'

...

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866. Tehina:
**'A'i pa'a.**
'Not ripe.'
867. Puhe:
**'A'e na tatou kai nei te'ā mea...te'ā...**
'It's not our (pl/inc) eating that thing...that...'
868. Moi:
**Te'ā *pamplemousse*.**
'(You eat) that *grapefruit* (from the tree between theirs and Pahio's house).'
869. Teata:
**'O ia.**
'But yes.'
870. Tehina:
**'O ia na matou.**
'But yes, (that's) ours (pl/exc).'
871. Moi: (pointing to another tree close to Pahio's house)
**Te'ā *pamplemousse*. Nai e kai nei?**
'That *grapefruit*. Who eats?'
872. Tehina:
**Mea'a 'a'e na matou, na Tikare me Puhe.**
'But (it's) not of us (pl/exc) (the eating of that grapefruit), but of Tikare and Puhe.'
(it's only the boys out of her family who eat those grapefruit)
873. Teata:
**E.**
'Yes.'
874. Moi: (*to Mir and Louisa? or to Tikare and Puhe?*)
**'A'e kai nei 'o'ua? Tikare me Puhe?**
'You two don't eat it? (Only) Tikare and Puhe?'
875. Mir:
**Taki *telefon*.**
'Telephone is ringing = (we've been caught lying?)'
876. Puhe:
**Paotu te mea to'o nei Teata mea kanea mea...su.**
'All the time Teata takes (these oranges) to make what's it...juice (or alcohol?).'
877. Tehina: (correcting pronunciation)
**Mea...*jus*.**
'What's it...***jus***.'
878. Tikare:
**Titahi mea kamo nei ia te moni pao hoko te su.**
'Sometimes he (Puhe) steals the money to buy juice.'
879. Kate: (clarification request)
**Su?**
880. Tikare:
**E, su. Kona. E susu.**
'Yes, **su**. Drunk. Yes, **susu**.'
881. Puhe:
***Jus*...mea ke. Te'ā moni mea kona'īa e ia.**
'Juice...that's different. That money for getting drunk by it.'

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882. Moi:
**E su? E *jus*?**
'It's **su**? (Or) it's ***jus***?'
883. Tous:
**Jus.**
884. Tehina:
**'A'e 'a'e 'ite pehea te *prononcer*.**
'(Tikare) doesn't...doesn't know how to pronounce (things).'
885. Tikare:
**'O ai?**
'Who (doesn't know)?'
886. Teata:
**Kare!**
'Tikare (doesn't know).'
...
(Tehina has brought some frozen **vi**, a kind of apple, down from their freezer for us to all eat -- they took these from Moi's tree)
940. Tehina:
**'A'i pe'au'īa e pe'au.**
'Not said to say (where the **vi** comes from).'
941. Puhe:
**Tuku 'omua firisa. Pao, 'a tahi 'a kai.**
'First put in freezer. Done (frozen), then eat.'
942. Tehina:
**Kave'īa e au.**
'(This) was brought by me.'
...
953. Teata:
**'Ite'īa e Mama.**
'(The **vi** in the freezer) have been seen by Mama.'
954. Tikare: (swinging in trees, making Tarzan sounds)
**Oi oi!**
955. Tehina:
**'Ite'īa?**
'Seen?'
956. Teata:
**E, 'ite'īa.**
'Yes, seen.'
957. Tikare:
**Oi oi.**
958. Puhe:
**Tati Moi, 'ite 'oe to'oe he'e...**
'Tati Moi, did you see (on) your coming...'
...
961. Puhe:
**Te'ā tekao 'i Teii he'e mai inei. (O)'io'i, he'e mai hano te vi...**
'That talk of Teii: Come here. Tomorrow come get the **vi**...'
...
963. Puhe:
***...sans permission*?**
'...without permission?'

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964. Moi:
**A 'e?**
'Oh yeah?'
965. Puhe:
**E.**
'Yes.'
966. Moi:
**Na'oe a'e tu'e ma he keo.**
'For you a bit to kick (him) in the butt.'
**Pe'au na'e haka'ua, tu'e ma he keo. Pe'au 'oe: *il faut la permission. Okay?***
'(If he) says (that) only again, kick (him) in by the butt. You say: *Must be permission. Okay?*'
967. Puhe:
**E.**
'Yes.'
968. Moi: (giving a kick in the air)
**Tu'e ma he keo...Schout!**
'Kick (him) in the but...Schout!'

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Example #13 (M8/5)

Setting: Thursday morning meal at Pahio's (Mama Maria) house.

Participants: Tahia (f/3.1), Teani (f/4.5), Puhe (m/7.3), Tehina (f/10.11), Teata (f/11.11), Maria (f/12.4), Manu (mother), Pahio (grandmother), Kate (researcher)

(Tahia wants some of the Sao (brand name) crackers that Teani went to find in Pahio's cabinet)

372. Tahia:
**Donne à moi Sao. Sao. Sao.**
'Give to me Sao. Sao. Sao.'

373. Teani:
**C'est moi qui a été cherché. C'est pas toi.**
'It's me who found them. It's not you.'
(therefore they belong to Teani, not Tahia)

374. Tahia:
**C'est moi...c'est Maria!**
'It's me.... It's Maria (who found them)!'

375. Teani:
**Non, c'est pas Maria.**
'No, it's not Maria.'

376. Tahia:
**C'est Tehina.**
'It's Tehina.'

377. Teani:
**Non. C'est moi.**
'No. It's me.'

378. Tahia:
**C'est Teata.**
'It's Teata.' (Tahia tries them all to make her case)
(Teani begins to cry -- possibly Maria threatened her for not giving Tahia any Sao)

379. Manu:
**Pehea ia, tenā paho'e?**
'What's happening (with) her, that girl?'

380. Teani:
**C'est Maria.**
'It's Maria (who made me cry).'

381. Manu:
**C'est Maria?**
'It's Maria (who did it)?'

382. Maria:
**C'est pas moi. J'ai pas tapé.**
'It's not me. I didn't hit (her).'
**C'est touché le keo avec le po'osea.**
'It's touched the butt with the bench.'
(Teani just bumped her own butt on the bench.)

383. Pahio:
(to Maria) **Hea'a ho'i 'ia 'oe ana 'ia pau'eka mehe rira.**
'But really when knocking against you it's like a needle.'

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(to anyone, pitying) **E uē te toiki.**
'The child cries.'
(to Teani) ***Mange, Paho'e. Mangez, Chef! Mangez, Chef! Après allez garder les 'ou ti.***
'*Eat, Little girl. Eat, boss! Eat, boss! Afterwards, you go guard the* **ti** leaves.'

384. Manu:
(to Teani) ***Mange, mange.***
'*Eat, eat.*'
(to Maria?) **Mea 'oe haka'ua ta ia mea...ta ia Sao.**
'You do (give) again her things...her Sac.'

385. Pahio:
***Après allez regarder à nous mea, à nous 'ou ti...***
***si les enfants ils vont jouer.***
'*Afterwards, go watch over our things, our* **ti** leaves...*if the (other) children go play.*'

386. Maria
**'Ua 'eka te hiamoe.**
'(Teani will) go to sleep.'

387. Manu:
**'Aue 'oe pe'au atu.**
'Don't you say (this to her).'
(Teani will get mad -- she likes to be strong)

388. Pahio:
***Peut-être Kate il a touché à nous deux 'ou ti, e?***
'*Maybe Kate, he has stolen our two* **ti** leaves, yes?'
(big laugh)
***N'a pas toi aller regarder, e? Mangez.***
'(Because there) wasn't you *going to watch, yes? Eat.*'

...

837. Tikare:
**Enā me te uto mea...he keo 'o ia.**
'There's an abscess thing...(on) her butt.'

838. Kate:
**Sea...keo no ia?**
'Where...butt of hers?'

...

852. Manu:
**E, he keo Leticia.**
'Yes, Leticia's (Teani's) butt .'
(using Teani's FR name in answering me because that's what I used)
(big laugh (juxtaposition of MQ 'butt' and FR Leticia))

...

856. Tehina:
**'A'e kaki mea...ha'ahu'īa.**
'(Teani doesn't want (it to be) what's it...popped.'
**'A'e ia kaki ha'ahu'īa. (E)nā mamae.**
'She doesn't want (it to be) exploded. That hurts.'

857. Tikare:
**Ee! (E)nā mamae.**
'Yees! That hurts.'
**Paona'e haki au 'ia Papa.**
'Later I will) tell Papa (so he'll pop it -- Teani hides it).'

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...

860. Teani: (to Tikare)

**Y *en a aussi à toi* uto.**

*'There's also on you (an) abscess.'*

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Example #14 (M8/31)

Setting: Tuesday morning breakfast at Manu's house, preparing for the first day back to school.

Participants: Tahia (f/3.2), Teani (f/4.6), Tikare (m/7.4), Puhe (m/8.4), Tehina (f/11.0), Teata (f/12.0), Manu (mother), Ava (father), Kate (researcher)

(children trying to come up with stuff to talk about)

33. Tehina:
**Puhe, *faut* roa ia *raconter* to ia *aventures* Hooumi.**
'Puhe, he *must* truly[TAH] *tell* his Hooumi *adventures*.'

...

35. Tikare:
**'Ite au, 'ite au.**
'I know, I know (the story you mean).'

...

38. Tikare:
**Totoua *Tonton Gros* me *Tonton* Moe.**
'(Story of the) fight (of) *Uncle Gros* and *Uncle* Moe (two of Ava's brothers in Hooumi)'

39. Tehina:
**Ha!**
(not for you to tell)

40. Tikare:
**Totoua *Tonton Gros* me Moe.**

41. Tehina:
**'A vai 'oe.**
'You leave (that story).'

...

(Teata has put on some flip-flops and is walking out of the house)

285. Puhe:
**Teata! *Mes savates!***
'Teata! (Those are) *my flip-flops*!'

286. Tikare:
**T'as *donné pour elle*.**
'You *gave* (them) to *her*.'

287. Tehina:
**T'as *donné pour elle*.**
'You *gave* (them) to *her*.'

288. Puhe:
***Mais non*, 'a'i au i tuku.**
'But *no*, I didn't give (them to her).'

289. Tehina:
**E-Puhe, a'a!**
'Hey-Puhe, there (you did)!'

290. Puhe:
**E aha?**
'What?'

291. Tehina:
**Tuku'īa e 'oe no Teata te'ā *savate*.**
'Given by you for Teata those *flip-flops*.'

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292. Puhe: (loud, defiant whisper)
**'A'o'e!**
'No!'
293. Tikare:
**'O ia! Tivava.**
'But yes! Liar!'
294. Tahia: (to Puhe)
***Cochon!***
*'Pig!'*
295. Tikare:
**'Ite hoa au...**
'I truly saw...'
296. Tahia:
***Cochon!***
297. Tikare:
**Tuku 'oe Teata te'ā savate.**
'You gave those *flip-flops* (to) Teata.'
298. Teani: (to Puhe)
***Mais cochon!***
'But (emphatic) *pig*!'
299. Puhe:
***Cochon?***
*'Pig?* (You're calling me a pig?)'
300. Teani:
**E, cochon.**
*'Yes, pig.'*
301. Tahia:
***Cochon.***
302. Tikare:
**'Ite hoa au paotu te'ā cent francs, enā 'ia Puhe.**
'I truly saw all those hundred francs, they're with Puhe.'
(accusation that Puhe stole this money)
...
306. Puhi: (pointing his finger like a pistol at Tikare)
**Kaki 'oe puhi?**
'You want (to be) shot?'
307. Tikare:
**[_____]'A'i! Aisht! Aisht! 'A'i te mata, e?**
'[_____] Not! (no-way expression) Not dead, yes?'
...
434. Teani: (to Tahia, teasing sing-song)
***J'ai pris tes savates. J'ai pris tes savates.***
*'I took your flip-flops. I took your flip-flops.'*
435. Tikare: (to Tahia, teasing)
**Hia, tes savates.**
'Tahia, (there's) your flip-flops.'
436. Tahia:
**Kare, kamai.**
'Tikare, give here (my flip-flops).'
437. Tikare: (lifting flip-flops out of Tahia's reach)
**'A'i...'a'i...**
'No...no...'
...

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446. Tehina: (to Tikare for teasing Tahia)
**Hakaea te fata!**
'Stop the putting-on-airs[TAH]!'
...
(Tahia is trying to get her flip-flops from Teani)
488. Tikare:
**E-Ani! *Mets les savates en bas.***
'Hey-Ani! *Put the flip-flops down there.*'
489. Puhe: (scolding)
**Tahia me Teani!**
'Tahia and Teani!'
490. Tikare: (trembling voice, ventriloquizing Tahia's plea)
***Qu'est-ce qui à moi?***
'*What's mine?*'
491. Tahia: (pleading)
**E, *donnez.***
'Hey, *give.*'
492. Tikare: (putting the little flip-flops on his too big feet)
***Voilà.***
'There.'
493. Tahia: (pleading)
***Savates.***
'*Flip-flops.*'
494. Tikare:
**E, hei 'ia 'u?**
'Hey, they (the flip-flops) fit me.'
495. Puhe:
**Ai! He! Tenā maka'īa to'oe maikuku.**
'Naah! (laugh) That's big enough for your toenails.'
...
737. Puhe: (trying Tahia's flip-flops on backwards)
**E-*Bébé*! 'A'i hei to'oe *savates*.**
'Hey, *Baby*! Your flipflops don't fit (me).'
738. Tahia: (looks at his feet and giggles)
**Ai!**
739. Tikare: (reporting to Kate)
***E, lui, depuis longtemps, depuis quand il était tout petit comme moi, il ne sait pas mettre les chaussures et les savates.***
'Hey, *him* (Puhe), *for a long time, since he was little like me, he doesn't know how to put on his shoes and flip-flops.*'
...
750. Puhe: (reporting to Kate)
***Eux, eux, le midi, ils, quand eux rentrent, ils vont dormir.***
'Them, them (the two little girls), at noon when they return, they go to sleep.'
...
752. Puhe:
***Ils n'ont plus de travail. Quand eux se réveillent, ils vont aller jouer.***
'They don't work anymore. When they wake, they will go to play.'
753. Kate:
***Les bébés?***
'The *babies*?'

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754. Puhe:
***Oui.***
*'Yes.'*
755. Tikare:
***Oui, les petits bébélalas.***
*'Yes, the little crybabies.'*
756. Kate:
***C'est comme ça, les petits lalas.***
*'That's the way it is with little criers [neologism].'*
757. Tikare:
***Les petits lalas.***
(big laugh)
***Les petits lalalalas.***
758. Tania:
**E ah?**
'What?'
(trying to understand the mockery)
759. Kate:
***Ça, c'est le travaile.***
*'That's (sleeping and playing) the work (for babies).'*
760. Tahia:
**E ah? E ah?**
'What? What?'
(Tikare laughs)
761. Puhe:
**Tikare! Si 'ite'īa e 'oe te'ā mea he "Match" mea...te *sports*...**
'Tikare! If you had seen that thing, the "Match" thing...the sports (TV program with boxing)'
(Puhe puts up his fists to complete the utterance)
(to Kate) **'Ite 'oe, e-Kate. 'O au mea te muscles.**
'You know, hey-Kate. I have muscles (like the boxers).'
...
829. Tahia: (flailing her hands at a dog)
**Kirau!**
'Get out!'
830. Tehina:
**Faut pas faire, Tahia.**
'Mustn't do that, Tahia. (the dog might bite)'
831. Teata:
**Ha'ameta'u Tahia.**
'Tahia is scared (of dogs).'
832. Teani:
**Kirau!**
'Get out!'
833. Puhe: (outside, pointing his fists at Rua's house next door)
**'Ua pehi'īa e au tenā ha'e Tonton Rua paona'e exploser te ha'e.**
'(If) I hit Tonton Rua's house, then the house will explode (because he's so powerful).'
834. Tikare: (mocking laugh)
**Ha! Ha! He he he.**
(You're not so strong.)
...

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849. Teata:
**'A tekao te'ā tau *aventures passés* 'o 'oe 'i Hooumi.**
'Tell those *adventures* (that) *happened* to you at Hooumi'.
850. Tikare:
**E, tekao.**
'Yes, tell.'
851. Puhe:
**E aha kaki 'otou e *savoir*?**
'What do you want to *know*?'
***Et si* pe'au au 'ia 'otou, 'a'e *raconter* mai?**
'And if I tell you, (you) won't tell (me yours)?'
852. Teata:
**'O ia!**
'But yes (we'll tell you)!'
853. Puhi:
**Ai! e aha ta 'otou *aventures*?**
'(Go ahead), what are your *adventures*?'
854. Tehina:
**Oisht! 'A he mea. 'A he mea.**
'Oof! (We have) none (no adventures). (We have) none.'
855. Teata:
**E.**
'Yes.'
856. Puhe:
**'A he mea.**
'(You) have none.'
857. Teata:
**Non. E-'oe, e-'oe, e aha to'oe *aventures*?**
'No. Hey-you, hey-you, what are your *adventures*?'
**Puhe, *je vais dire à Mama que tu dis (pas) quelque chose...***
'Puhe, *I'll tell Mama that you (don't) say something...*'
(Let and Gris making washing machine noises)
858. Puhe:
***A qui*?**
'*To whom*?'
859. Tikare:
***A Kate*.**
'*To Kate*.'
860. Puhe:
***Quoi? Ça la regarde pas. Elle n'est pas à Hooumi*.**
'*What? That doesn't concern her. She isn't at Hooumi*.'
861. Tikare:
***Mais...mais il faudra raconter*.**
'*But...but (even so) it would have to be told*.'
862. Puhe:
***Eia! Il faut la fermer*.**
'*Hey! It must be the (mouth) is closed. (shut up!)*'
...
864. Teata: (tattling to Manu)
**'A'e he mea te hana 'a Kate 'iō te'ā tau vacances 'o ia.**
'(Puhe gives) nothing (for) Kate's work (as to those vacation (experiences) of his.'
...

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866. Puhe:
**Après, après je vais dire totoua Tonton Gros me Tonton Moe.**
'Afterwards, afterwards, I will tell (the) fight (of) Uncle Gros and Uncle Moe.'
867. Teata: (mimicking, mocking Puhe for not speaking **'enana**)
**Après, après on parle en Marquisien.**
'Afterwards, afterwards one speaks in Marquesan.'
...
991. Teata:
**Enā me ta'oe tomate?**
'You have tomatoes (growing)?'
992. Puhe:
**E, enā 'iō Tati Moi.**
'Yes, there are at Tati Moi's.'
993. Kate:
**Enā *mais* 'a'e nui.**
'There are but not many.'
994. Tenina:
**(E)nā 'iō Moi.**
'There are at Moi's.'
995. Kate:
**Hm? 'Iō Moi? E.**
'Mm? At Moi's? Yes.'
996. Tikare:
**Na 'oe ha'atupu?**
'You planted (them)?'
997. Kate:
**Tupu...?**
998. Tikare:
**Te *tomate*.**
'The tomatoes.'
999. Puhe:
**Na 'aua me Neil.**
'They two (Kate) with Neil.'
1000. Kate:
**Tupu te *tomate*.**
'Plant the tomatoes.'
1001. Manu:
**Pehea pe'au na'e: 'Iō Moi?**
'How (have you) said there: 'Iō Moi (v. Tati Moi)'
1002. Puhe:
**'Iō Tati Moi.**
'At Tati Moi's.'
1003. Manu:
**Te mea hakako'īa 'ia 'otou: 'Iō Moi?**
'The thing taught to you (to say): 'Iō Moi?'
1004. Puhe:
**Ja'i appelé Tati Moi, moi.**
'I said: Tati Moi, moi.'

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Example #15 (M10/23)

Setting: Saturday morning meal at Pahio's (Mama Maria) house.

Participants: Tahia (f/3.4), Teani (f/4.7), Puhe (m/8.6), Tehina (f/11.2), Teata (f/12.2), Maria (f/12.7), Manu (mother), Pahio (grandmother), Kate (researcher)

(Manu has told Pahio she has to go down to town to help make food for the youth group coming from A'akapa for the weekend. But first she takes the path back up to her house.)

71. Pahio:
**Mamu'i atu Teani te hiti.**
'Teani is coming behind you (on) the climb.'

72. Manu: (to Teani)
**Ei! *Non*, e?**
'Hey! *No*, e? (Don't follow)'

74. Teani: (to Manu, attempting to follow)
**'A! 'A! *Tu rentres!***
'There, there! You're returning (to the house)!'

...

76. Teani:
***Voilà, Maman!***
'There, Mama (I'm coming)!'

77. Manu:
**Ooo!**
(threatening sound to discourage Teani from following)

78. Teani:
**A'a te mata, e?**
'There, the eyes, yes?'
(glossing Manu's 'angry' eyes)

...

81. Teani:
**Nekeo te mata.**
'The eyes itch (me).'

...

87. Teani: (grimacing, putting two fists to her head like bull's horns)
***C'est comme ça le taureau?***
'It's like that the *bull*?'

88. Pahio:
**Ai ai, *le taureau*!**
'Uh-oh, the *bull*!'

...

91. Pahio:
***Beaucoup les taureaus* makas. Maka te kere.**
'Many the big *bulls*. The horns are big.'

...

93. Pahio:
**Pe'au au anoa me Teani 'ua rere Teani te'ā kere.**
'I say if Te'ani was there, she would have run from those horns.'

...

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95. Pahio:
**No te 'aha 'a'i 'oe e hiti?**
'Why didn't you climb up (that time when Maria and the other kids climbed up to the plateau where the bulls are)?'
96. Maria:
**Ha'ameta'u.**
'(You must have been) afraid.'
97. Teani:
***C'est toi qui a dit à moi de rester.***
*'It was you who told me to stay.'*
98. Pahio:
***Parce que y en a...no te mea ho'i mea nui te nono 'i uta.***
'Because there are...because there are truly a lot of nonos up in the interior.'
99. Maria: (to Teani)
***C'est pas vrai.***
*'That's not true.'*
(I didn't tell you to stay.)
100. Pahio:
**O'io'i tatou hiti, e?**
'Tomorrow we all (pl/inc) will climb up, yes?'
102. Maria:
**(O)'io'i e 'ātapu.**
'Tomorrow it's Sunday.'
103. Pahio:
(to Maria) **Tekatekao pu ho'i me Te'ani.**
'Truly, it's just talk with Te'ani.'
(to Teani) **'A'e 'a 'oe e hiti? Kave au 'ia 'oe haka'ite te piha?**
'You won't go then? I carry to you to see the bulls?'
104. Teani:
***Y a beaucoup?***
*'There are a lot (of bulls)?'*
105. Pahio:
**Ai!**
(a lot)
106. Maria:
***Oui, y a un milliard.***
*'Yes, there are a billion.'*
107. Teani:
***C'est vrai?***
*'It's true?'*
(laugh)
108. Pahio: (laugh)
***Un milliard te piha.***
*'A billion the bulls.'*
...
110. Pahio:
**'A'i tihe Puhe?**
'Puhe hasn't arrived?'
(Puhe had gone to deliver some bags of **mape**[MQ]**/ihi**[TAH] 'Polynesian chestnuts' to Moi and to Meama (Siki's Pahio).)

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111. Tous:
**Mm mm mm.**
(nc)
...
115. Pahio: (to Kate)
**E, 'ua heke tai kave te ihi 'a Moi.**
'Yes, (he) went down (to the) sea to bring Moi's chestnuts.'
... (Puhe returns.)
133. Tehina:
**'A Puhe.**
'There's Puhe.'
...
148. Pahio:
**Pehea te pe'au 'o Tati Moi?**
'What did Tati Moi say?'
149. Puhe:
**'A'e he mea Tati Moi.**
'Tati Moi wasn't there.'
150. Pahio:
**Tuku'īa at(u) e 'oe 'ia (a)i?**
'Given by you to whom?'
151. Puhe:
**Tuku'īa e au 'ia *personne*.**
'Given by me to no one.'
152. Pahio:
**Enā 'ia *Père Jean* te ihi?**
'(you gave) to *Père Jean* (French priest) the chestnuts?'
153. Puhe:
**'A'o'e. Tuku'īa e au ma 'uka te tapu.**
'No. Given/put by me on top of the table.'
154. Pahio:
**A.**
155. Puhe:
**'A'e he mea ho'i te 'enana.**
'There was really no person.'
...
196. Pahio:
**Pehea...? E heke Mama 'iō Titi?**
'Where's...? Did Mama go down to Titi's?'
197. Teata:
**E, hano pare te ha'e pure.**
'Yes, (she) went to prepare the church (for service)'
198. Puhe:
**'A'o'e, te'ā mea mea mea mea, te'ā mea mea, te 'ama!**
'No, that thing thing thing thing, that thing thing, the light!'
**'Ite 'oe tenā mea me he mea inā 'ite 'oe?**
'You know that thing like thing there you know?'
(No, she went back home to get the lightbulb.)
199. Tehina:
**'A, e. 'A, te'ā mea kave mai nei ia.**
'There, yes. There, that thing that was brought here.'

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200. Puhe:
**Eee.**
'Yeees.'
201. Tehina:
**Eee ho'i.**
'Yeees truly.'
202. Tahia:
**Puhe.**
203. Pahio:
**Mea tamau he ha'e putuputu, e?**
'(The lightbulb) for screwing (into) the meeting house, yes?'
...
207. Tehina:
**Te'ā 'ama kave'īa mai inei titahi 'ā anniversaire.**
'That light carried here that birthday.'
208. Pahio:
**Aaa. Te'ā opuru 'a 'atou i 'uka?**
'Aah. That bulb of theirs up there (at Manu's)?'
...
294. Puhe:
**'A'i kave'īa atu nei tenā ihi.**
'She (Meama) did not take here those chestnuts.'
(Meama had asked for two kilos of chestnuts. Maria gave more. Me'ama returned the surplus.)
...
298. Pahio:
**Pe'au'īa mai nei: 'ua hau ta ia?**
'Me'ama said it was too much.'
(Said this here (by Me'ama): Hers was too much?'
...
300. Pahio:
**'Ua hau te kiro 'a Meama. E to'u kiro e ha'a**
'Too many kilos for Meama? Three kilos maybe.'
**Hakahua'īa mai nei te toeka.**
'Returned the rest.'
...
(Manu, having gone back up to her house to dress, is now coming past again on her way down to sweep the church.)
312. Pahio:
**'A'i kave'īa hua mea 'a 'oe pe'au nā?**
'It wasn't brought down this thing you're discussing (the bulb)?'
313. Maria:
**Te'ā pe'au'īa taha te ha'e pure pare.**
'She (Manu) said she was going to prepare the church house (and instead she went back to the house).'
(mocking Manu's hypocricy: says one thing but does another)
314. Tahia:
**Mama!**
315. Puhe:
**Mama, te'ā mea no te mea. Te'ā mea 'a 'ua Mara kave mai nei....**
'Mama, that thing for the thing.... That thing Mara and company brought here....'
(reminding Manu to take the bulb)

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316. Tehina:
**N'as qu'a 'oe hana.**
'You have only (this) to do?'
(You only tell her? Why don't you take the bulb yourself?)
317. Maria:
**Ta 'ua Maria mea kave mai nei?**
'Maria and company brought the thing here?'
(What thing of mine are you talking about?)
318. Teani:
***Non.***
'No.'
319. Tehina:
**Te'ā mea...**
'That thing....'
320. Pahio:
**Te'ā opuru ho'i.**
'That bulb truly.'
321. Maria:
***Quel ampule?***
'What *bulb*?'
322. Puhe: (pointing to a bulb hanging over the table)
**Te'ā opuru ati'i nei.**
'That bulb like this.'
323. Teata: (to Puhe)
**E, ho'i 'a'e na Maria kave. Na Mara.**
'Hey, really not Maria's carrying (it here). Mara's.'
324. Tania:
**Mama!**
(crying after Manu who is descending)
325. Puhe: (to Teata)
**Pe'au atu nei au: Na Mara. 'Oko ana 'oe, e-Kira?**
'I said here: Mara's. You listening, hey-Chinaman?'
326. Tehina:
**Na Ma(ra)...? E, na Maria.**
'Ma's...? Yes, Maria's (who carried it).'
(claiming Puhe had said: Maria's)
327. Teata: (to Puhe)
**Ai! Pe'au'īa 'ia 'u "Na Maria".**
'Hey! It was said to me: Maria's.'
(claiming Puhe had said: Maria's.)
328. Puhe:
**Na Maria.**
'Maria's.'
329. Pahio:
**Pesua ana ho'i Mara e ha'ahua ta ia ha'ina.**
'Mara needing truly to return his stuff.'
...
333. Puhe:
**Pe'au'īa e Sutiti: Pesua ia.**
'Said by Judith: She needs (the bulb).'
334. Tehina:
**Mama.**
(warning her that Teani is following)

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335. Pahio: (to Puhe)
**Pesua ho'i, a hano 'oe.**
'(If they) really need (it), you go get (it).'
**Nai pe'au nehe...nai pe'au hano te opuru?**
'Who said...who said go get the bulb?'
336. Maria: (to Manu)
**'A, Teani e heke ana.**
'There, Teani is going down (with you).'
337. Pahio:
**E heke hoa.**
'(She's) going down really.'
338. Puhe:
**(A)ti'i ana ta ia heke paotu te 'ā me Mama.**
'Teani descends like that with Mama every day.'
339. Pahio:
**'Ua 'ite 'a Te'ani.**
'Teani knows (Manu won't scold her for following).'
(a criticism of Manu, not Teani)
340. Tehina:
**No te aha? No te aha?**
'Why? why (does Teani always follow Mama down)?'
341. Teata:
**No te mea va'e e keu.**
'Because (she) likes to play.'
342. Pahio: (to Teani)
**Memai 'a va'e te paparake.**
'Come continue the talking.'
343. Manu: (to Teani -- accompanied by a slap)
***Rester!***
'*Stay!*'
(Teani begins to cry)
344. Pahio: (to Manu (critical))
**Te va'e'īa tenā te uē.**
'That (your slap) started the crying'
345. Manu:
**E, e, *tais-toi*, e?**
'Hey, hey, *shut up*, hey?'
346. Pahio:
**Tenā mea 'ua ko'e hoa oti te tekao.**
'That thing (slap) really stopped the talk.'
... (Puhe wanting to go down too and play football)
350. Pahio:
**'A'e ha'a e ma'ona mea kai oko te pi'ahi meika.**
'Don't get full from eating too much banana **pi'ahi** (or you won't be able to play football).'
(distracting children from wanting to go down to the playing field so they'll stay and talk instead)
351. Puhe:
**'A'e au e au.**
'I don't like (**pi'ahi**)'
352. Maria: (correcting Pahio)
**'A'e 'o Puhe. Tikare.**
'It's not Puhe (who eats a lot of it). (It's) Tikare.'

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353. Pahio:
**E aha 'a, nunu na Tikare.**
'So what, (we'll) cook (it) for Tikare.'
(Teani still crying because Manu has left)
354. Teata:
**Aaah.**
(appreciating the thought of making and eating pi'ahi)
355. Puhe:
**'A nunu.**
'(Go ahead:) Cook (it).'
356. Tehina:
**Tahia!**
(calling Tahia back from following Manu now too)
357. Maria:
**'A va'e 'oe ta taua 'ehi heka.**
'You go do our(dl/inc) coconut grating (for the **pi'ahi**)'
358. Pune:
**'O au?**
'Me (do the grating)?'
(incredulous)
359. Pahio:
**'Oina ta tatou kaikai.**
'But yes, (for) our (pl/inc) meal.'
360. Lor:
**'A'e he mea te ko.**
'There's no (dehusking) pole.'
(So I can't do the work.)
361. Pahio:
**E aha 'a te'ā mea ma 'apai e tua 'a?**
'So what's that thing by the side on its back there?'
362. Maria:
**'Ā te ko ma 'apai mai.**
'There's the pole over there.'
(joining in on the tease)
363. Pahio:
**Po'o vaevae 'o 'oe.**
'Your piece of foot'
(use your leg for a pole)
364. Puhe:
**'A he mea te heka 'ehi.**
'There's no coconut grater.'
365. Maria:
**'Ā te heka 'ehi 'i'ā.**
'There's the coconut grater there.'
366. Puhe:
**Hea?**
'Where?'
367. Maria:
**'Ā ma te tua.**
'Behind your back.'
368. Tehina:
**Haia.**
(scolding Teani who is still crying)

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369. Puhe: (to Maria)
**'Ā 'iō matou.**
'There's (a grater) at our[pl/exc] house'
(i.e. it's up there not here)
370. Maria:
**'A'o'e.**
'No.'
371. Puhe:
**Okay.**
372. Teata: (to Teani, still crying)
**Tu veux *descendre?***
'You want to go down?'
373. Maria: (hand raised to slap Teani)
**Aa! Aa!** [rising intonation with each aa'
374. Teata:
**Pe'au'īa Puhe: kave'īa e Papa.**
'Puhe said: (the grater) was carried by Papa (to our house).'
375. Maria:
**A, 'iō 'otou?**
'Ah, at your place?'
376. Tehina: (to Teani)
**'A'o'e.**
'No.'
377. Teata: (to Maria)
**E. Enā 'iō matou.**
'Yes. It's there at our[pl/exc] place.'
378. Tehina:
**A!**
(exasperation with Teani, still crying)
379. Pahio:
**Tenei uē'īa 'o Teani, e?**
'This crying of Teani's, yes?'
(fed up with the crying)
380. Puhe:
**'A'e hoa e pi te'ā ratio.**
'(The crying) really won't fill that radio (tape recorder).'
381. Maria:
**'A'o'e. 'Ia uē ana'e Teani pi te'ā ratio te uē no Teani.**
'No. When Teani just cries, that radio fills (with) the crying of Teani.'
382. Tehina:
**Tahi, aisht!**
(reprimanding Tania)
383. Pahio:
**Anoa 'a mei te popou'i mai te'ā tekao'īa 'i kapo...**
'If only from the morning that talk before (was recorded)...'
384. Puhe:
**'*Ani pleure toujours comme ça*, ati'i nā, enā pao.**
'(If) Teani keeps crying like that, like that, it will be finished.'

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385. Maria:
**Tekao ma he 'eo ferani. Ma he 'eo ferani 'a'o'e. Ma he 'eo 'enana.**
'You're speaking **ferani**. In **ferani**, no. (Speak) in **'enana**.'
386. Puhe:
**Uē ananu, e-Teani.**
'Still crying, hey-Teani.'
**Tihe na'e Papa manini Mama.**
'When Papa arrives, (he'll) scold Mama (for making Teani cry).'
(Pahio laughs long, perhaps at the other possible meaning of **manini** 'orgasm'.)
387. Tehina: (to Puhe)
**Hakaea a'e tenā putahaha.**
'Stop already that holey mouth.'
388. Puhe:
**E aha 'a? Pe'au'īa: Tekao.**
'So what? It was said: Talk (so I'm talking).'
**'A'e he hana na te Sapisapi.**
'Not the work of the **Sapisapi** 'the little needy one' (to scold me).'
389. Tehina:
**'A'e he hana na mea...**
'Not the work of who's it (Puhe)... (to talk filth)'
390. Puhe:
**Te'ā kaki e pe'au mea'a 'a'e kaki e kere 'ia ia.**
'That wish to say but doesn't want to fight (about it).'
(Tehina wants to scold but doesn't want to be hit for it.)
**Ha'ameta'u nui te maha'i.**
'The boys scare (her) a lot.'
391. Tehina:
**Hmm.**
392. Puhe: (kicking out at her)
**Kickboxing, e?**
394. Tehina:
**'A he'e ferani mea kere.**
'Go to France for boxing.'
(get lost with your boxing)

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Example #16 (S6/9)

Setting: Wednesday morning after **kafe** at Siki's house.

Participants: Siki (m/2.1,2), Pahio (grandmother), Moi ('Tati'), Kate (researcher)

(Siki has been playing with blocks and refusing to speak with Pahio or me for several minutes. Finally, Pahio has a little success.)

1. Pahio:
   **Sea Koua?**
   'Where's Koua?'
2. Siki:
   **'I'ā.**
   'Over there?'
3. Pahio:
   **E aha?**
   'What?'
4. Siki:
   **'A pae.**
   'Left.'
5. Pahio:
   **Hano te hana?**
   'Went to work?'
6. Siki:
   **Eeeee...**
   'Yeees...
7. Pahio:
   **Pehea tenā vehine? Pehea te *Madame* 'iō 'oe?**
   'What's that woman doing? What's that *Madame* doing in your home?'
   **Hano te keu me 'oe.**
   '(She's) looking to play with you.
8. Siki:
   **Eeeeee.**
   'Yeeees.'
9. Pahio:
   **Il faut alors e keu me 'oe.**
   'Must then (let her) play with you.'
   **Il faut parler, bébé. Tekao.**
   'Must talk, *Baby*. Talk.'
   **Pe'au: Madame, pehea 'oe...?**
   'Say: *Madame*, what are you up to...?'

(Moi comes in bringing a gift t-shirt for Siki.)

10. Meama:
    ***Dis: Bonjour, Tati.***
    'Say: *Hello, Auntie.*'
11. Moi: (reiterating Pahio's **pe'au** directive)
    ***Bonjour, Tati.***
    '*Hello, Auntie.*'
12. Pahio:
    ***C'est à toi, ça?***
    '*That's yours, that?*'

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13. Siki:
**Mm.**
(vague affirmative)
14. Pahio:
**Nai kave mai tenei kahu? Na Tati?**
*'Who brought here these clothes? Auntie?'*
15. Siki:
**Mm.**
16. Pahio:
**Kave'ia mai no 'oe?**
*'(The clothes) brought for you?'*
17. Siki:
**Mm.**
18. Pahio:
**'A'e no 'u.**
'(It's) not for me.'
**Hei hea tenei kahu? Hei hea?**
'From where these clothes? From where?'
19. Siki:
**Hei 'a pae.**
'From away.'
20. Pahio:
**Hei 'a pae hea?**
'From away where?'
21. Siki:
**'A pae.**
'Away.'
22. Pahio:
**Hei hea? Hei 'a pae me 'iō Tati?**
'From where? From away at Auntie's?'
23. Siki:
**Eeee.**
'Yeees.'
24. Pahio:
***Joli*, e?**
*'Pretty*, yes?'
25. Siki:
**E.**
26. Pahio:
**No ai tenei kahu?**
'For whom these clothes?'
27. Siki:
**'A pae.**
'Away.'
28. Pahio:
**No ai?**
'For who?'
29. Siki:
**'A pae.**
'Away.'
30. Pahio:
**Hei 'a pae, no ai...no 'oe?**
'From away, (but) for whom...for you?'

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31. Siki:
**Eee.**
'Yees.'
32. Pahio:
**Nai tuku mai?**
'Whose the giving here?'
33. Siki:
**'A pae.**
'Away.'
34. Pahio:
**Nai tuku mai 'ia 'oe?**
'Whose the giving here to you?'
35. Siki:
**'A pae.**
'Away.'
36. Pahio:
**Na Tati?**
'Auntie's (giving)?'
37. Siki:
**E.**
'Yes.'
38. Pahio:
**Sea Tati?**
'Where's Auntie?'
39. Siki:
**'A pae.**
'Away.'
40. Pahio: (pointing to Moi)
**'A'e na tenā tati kamai. A'a.**
'Not that auntie's (the one you're thinking of) bringing here. There (the one right there).'
***Joli*, e? *Oh-la-la*. *Joli linge*, e?**
'*Pretty*, yes? *Oh-la-la*. *Pretty clothes*, yes?'
41. Siki:
**Hm**
42. Pahio:
***C'est à toi?***
'*It's yours*?'
43. Siki:
**E.**
'Yes.'
44. Pahio:
***C'est pas à Mémé?***
'*It's not Grandma's*?'
45. Siki:
***Non.***
'*No*.'
46. Pahio:
***Il faut dire encore: Merci, Tati.***
'*Must say again: Thank you, Auntie*.'
***Allez. Dis encore: Merci, Tati. Bébé?***
'*Go on. Say again: Thank you, Auntie. Baby*?'

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47. Siki:
**E?**
'Yes?'
48. Pahio: (gesturing at Moi with her hand)
***Bébé, regardes: Voilà voilà Tati. Merci, Tati.***
*'Baby, look: There, there, Auntie. (Say:) Thank you, Auntie.'*
49. Siki:
***Merci, Tati.***
'Thank you, Auntie.'
50. Pahio:
***Vas dire encore: Bonjour à Tati. Vas vas vas dis.***
*'Go say again: Hello to Auntie. Go go go say (it).'*
51. Moi:
**[_____]**
52. Pahio:
***Envoyez dedans pour le dimanche, e? Oui, e?***
*'Put away within for Sunday, yes? Yes, yes?'*
(no response from Siki)
...
122. Siki: (crying, wanting to get on Pahio's lap)
**[_____] 'A piki.**
'(_____) (I want to) climb.'
123. Pahio:
**'A iho.**
'Get down'
124. Siki:
**Ti'o.**
'(??)'
125. Pahio:
**'A iho...Hamai te puha.**
'Get down (off me)...The (my) thigh hurts.'
126. Siki:
**Epō a!**
'Later!' (I want to stay on now)
127. Pahio:
**Ka'i'e!**
'Proud (one)!'
**'A iho 'i 'a'o.**
'Get down to the ground.'
**'A te ratio.**
'There's the radio.' (go talk into the tape recorder)
**'A 'i'ā.**
'Over there.'

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Example #17 (S6/16)

Setting: Wednesday morning after **kafe** in and around Siki's house.

Participants: Siki (m/2.1,3), Pahio (grandmother), Koua (grandfather), Moi ("Tati"), Kate (researcher)

(Siki, Moi, and Kate have headed outside to collect lemons. Siki trips and falls.)

85. Moi:
**Ai! 'Ua topa hua *champion*. Topa... Topa hua *champion*.**
'Hey! The *champion* himself fell. Fell...the very *champion* fell.'

86. Siki:
**Eee.**
'Yees.'

87. Moi:
**Pe'au 'oe: Kate, 'a kohi. Kate, 'a kohi.**
'You say: Kate, collect (the lemons). Kate, collect.'
**'A'e kohi? 'A'e kohi? 'A'e kohi? Poriki.**
'(Say:) Don't collect? Don't collect? Don't collect? Ass!'

...

94. Moi:
**Pe'au 'oe: 'A kohi.**
'You say: Collect.'

95. Siki:
**'A kohi.**
'Collect.'

96. Moi:
**Mm. Kate, 'a kohi.**
'(right) (Say:) Kate, collect.'

97. Siki:
**'A kohi.**
'Collect.'

98. Moi:
**E, veve.**
'(Say:) Hey, quickly.'

99. Siki:
**Veve.**
'Quickly.'

...

111. Moi:
**E-Kate, Menike 'oe?**
'(Say:) Hey Kate, are you American?'

112. Siki:
**E.**
'Yes.'

113. Moi:
**Menike... Pe'au 'ia Kate: Menike 'oe?**
'American... Say to Kate: are you American?'

114. Siki:
**Ua...**

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115. Kate:
**Okay. Oooh. Toko.**
'Okay. Oooh. Heavy.'
116. Moi:
**Kohi'īa e Kate te mea piau.**
'Kate collected the rotten ones (lemons).'
***Oui? Topa? Topa?***
'Yes? Fall? Fall?'
(let the rotten ones fall? they fell so they're rotten?)
117. Siki:
**Ai!**
(right!)
...
146. Siki:
**E, tutae moa.**
'Hey, chicken shit.'
146. Kate: (repeating sounds in search of meaning)
**Je ta mot.**
147. Moi:
**Tutae moa, ae!**
'Chicken shit, (for sure)!'
**E Kate, 'a'e 'ite te tutae moa?**
'Hey Kate, don't you see the chicken shit?'
(why are you putting those shit-covered lemons in the bucket?)
148. Kate:
**Tutae moa.**
149. Siki:
**E, tutae moa.**
150. Kate: (having wiped them off, shows one)
**'A'e tutae moa. Kanahau. Kanahau.**
'No chicken shit. Good. Good.
151. Siki:
**E. Tutae moa.**
'Hey. (There is still) chicken shit (on the lemons).'
...
156. Moi:
**Ta Kate tutae moa.**
'Kate's chicken shit'
(laugh)
**'A'ea!**
'Right!'
157. Siki:
**E.**
158. Moi:
**Pe'au 'ia Kate: 'A to'o.**
'Say to Kate: Take (the bucket).'
159. Siki:
**Kate, 'a to'o, 'a to'o.**
'Kate, take, take.'

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Example #18 (S7/7)

Setting: Wednesday late afternoon in and around Siki's house

Participants: Siki (m/2.2,2), Rafa (m/10.11), Tahia (f/16?), Teresi (f/25?), Moi ('Tati'), Pahio (grandma), Koua (grandpa), Kate (researcher)

(Siki, Rafa, Pahio, Moi, and Kate are sitting in kitchen. Teresi comes in and begins rummaging in the freezer)

140. Teresi:
**'Ua pao te puaka ma inei?**
'Finished the pig (meaning pig meat) here (at your house?)'

141. Siki:
**'A 'i'ā.**
'There (there's pig -- there are a couple being raised in back).'

142. Pahio: (to Teresi)
**'Ua pao.**
'It's finished.'

143. Siki:
**'A pai atu.**
'Over there (there's pig).'

144. Pahio: (to Siki)
**'A 'i'ā te puaka?**
'Over there the pig?'
**Pe'au 'oe 'i Tati: 'A 'i'ā te puaka?**
'You're saying to Auntie: Over there the pig?'

145. Siki:
**'A 'i'ā.**
'There.'

146. Pahio:
**Sea?**
'Where?'

147. Siki:
**Puaka kukumi.**
'Pig kill.'

148. Teresi:
**Kukumi?**
'Kill?'

149. Siki:
**E.**
'Yes.'

150. Teresi:
**Paonae 'ua kai?**
'After that, eat (it)?'

151. Siki:
**E.**
'Yes.'

152. Teresi:
**'A'e 'a pekē ia, Koua?**
'Koua, he won't be angry (if we kill and eat his pigs)?'

153. Siki:
**Koua.**

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154. Teresi:
**'A'e pekē ia?**
'He won't be angry?'
155. Siki:
**Na Huki.**
'Huki's (pig)' (don't have to ask Koua's permission)
...
157. Teresi: (teasing)
**A? Na Huki te'ā puaka? Oh?**
'Ah? That pig is Huki's? Oh?'
158. Siki:
**E.**
'Yes.'
...
(Siki, Rafa, Teresi, and Kate have walked outside)
171. Teresi:
**Sea Koua?**
'Where's Grandpa?'
172. Siki:
**'A 'i'ā.**
'Over there.'
173. Teresi:
**Uh?**
'Huh?'
174. Siki:
**'A 'i'ā.**
'Over there.'
175. Teresi:
**E aha te hana?**
'What's his work?'
176. Siki:
**Hana.**
'Work.'
177. Teresi:
**E aha?**
'What?'
178. Siki: (sees the pig in bag)
**E, *le cochon*.**
'Hey, *the pig*.'
179. Teresi:
**Cochon?**
'*Pig*?'
180. Siki:
**E.**
'Yes.'
181. Teresi:
**Nai? Te'ā cochon?**
'Whose? That *pig*?'
182. Siki:
**Na Huki.**
'Huki's (pig).'

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183. Teresi:
**Nai?**
'Whose?'
184. Siki:
**Na Huki.**
'Huki's.'
185. Teresi:
**Na Huki?**
...
189. Kate:
**No ai te hovare?**
'Whose is the horse?'
190. Rafa:
**Il ne dit pas hovare. Il dit kokoi.**
'He doesn't say **hovare** (for horse). He says **kokoi**.'
...
201. Teresi:
**No ai te'ā hovare?**
'Whose is that horse?'
202. Siki:
**Na Huki.**
'Huki's.'
203. Teresi:
**Na Huki?**
204. Siki:
**E.**
'Yes.'
205. Teresi:
**Oo. 'A'e na 'oe?**
'Oo. Not yours?'
206. Siki:
**E.**
'Yes.'
207. Teresi:
**E aha?**
'What?'
...
213. Siki: (finds a piece of sugarcane)
**To.**
'Sugarcane.'
214. Teresi:
**To.**
...
220. Teresi:
**Heh? Nai?**
'Hey? Whose?'
221. Siki:
**Na Huki.**
'Huki's.'
222. Teresi:
**Na Huki.** (laugh) **Na Huki.**
...

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227. Teresi:
**Nai tenei to?**
'Whose this sugarcane?'
228. Siki:
**Na Huki.**
'Huki's.'
229. Teresi:
**Na Huki? Oo.**
'Huki's?' (disapproval)
230. Siki:
**Na Maman.**
'Mama's (meaning Pablo's).'
231. Teresi:
**E?**
'What?'
232. Siki:
**Na Maman.**
'Mama's.'
233. Teresi:
**Na Maman?**
234. Siki:
**Mm.**
(vague affirmative)
...
262. Teresi:
**Nai tenā *tuillot*?**
'Whose is that *hose*?'
263. Siki:
**Na Huki.**
'Huki's.'
264. Teresi:
**'A'o'e.**
'No.'
265. Siki:
**Na Koua.**
'Grandpa's.'
266. Teresi:
**Na Koua. *Voilà!***
'Grandpa's. *There!*'
...
(Siki kicks Kate.
267. Kate:
**Kaki 'oe... uē uē au. E!**
'You want...me to cry cry. Hey!'
268. Teresi:
**'A'o'e...mea mamai.**
'No...it hurts..'
269. Siki:
**Couillon.**
'*Penis*.'
270. Kate: (to Teresi)
**C'est moi.**
'It's me.' (this is what he calls me)

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271. Teresi:
**Aah?**
(really?)

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Example #19 (S8/4)

Setting: Wednesday morning **kafe** in and around Siki's house.

Participants: Siki (m/2.3.2), Manu's Teani (f/4.5), Rafa (m/11.0), Tahia (f/16?), Vehine (f/17?), Pahio (grandmother), Mama Maria (Teani's Pahio), Koua (grandfather), Kate (researcher)

(Koua has brought the horse to the back door -- he's preparing to go do copra. Rafa, Tahia, and Kate follow Siki outside to see the horse)

143. Siki:
**Koua, horave [lave], e?**
'Grandpa, horse, yes?'

(no response from Koua)

...

151. Koua:
**Kamai... 'A noho 'oe, e?**
'Bring here... You stay (at the house), yes?'

152. Siki:
**'A piki.**
'(I want to) ride.'

153. Koua:
**'A'o'e, no Koua... E hiti Koua te hana, e?**
'No, Koua's (horse)... Koua climbs (up to the coco groves) to work, yes?'

154. Siki:
**Papa piki.**
'Papa (Koua), (I want to) ride.'

155. Koua:
**E.**
'Yes.'

156. Siki:
**Na piki.**
'? ride.'

157. Koua: (gruff)
**Ai!**
'Go ahead'

(Koua puts Siki up on the horse)

158. Kate:
**Piki ia.**
'He rides.'

159. Tahia:
**Piki 'oe te kokoi?**
'You're riding the horse[CGR]?'

(Siki humming)

160. Koua:
**Himene 'oe. Himene.**
'You sing. Sing.'

(Siki stops humming)

161. Siki:
***(I)* y a horave [hovale].**
'There's horse.'

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162. Koua:
**E.**
'Yes.'
163. Siki: (reaching for the rope reins)
**Tou'a.**
'Rope (horse's reins).'
164. Koua: (showing Siki how to hold them)
**Kariri.**
'Roll up (the reins).'
165. Siki:
**Kari?**
166. Koua:
**Kariri.**
(Siki lets the reins slip.)
167. Tahia: (helping him with the reins again)
**Ah, attends, kariri haka'ua.**
'Ah, wait, gather (them) up again.'
...
171. Kate:
**He'e.**
'Go.'
172. Rafa:
**He'e 'oe te 'ehi vahi?**
'Are you going to do copra?'
173. Siki:
**E.**
'Yes.'
174. Rafa:
**'A he'e, e?**
'(You) go, yes?'
175. Siki:
**Eee.**
'Yeees.'
176. Rafa:
**Ha'i!**
'Drive! (let's go!)'
177. Kate:
**Ha'apuke te 'ehi?**
'(You're going to) make piles (of) the coconuts?'
178. Koua: (laugh)
**E. E vahi.**
'Yes. Chop (the coconuts).'
179. Kate:
**Vahi te 'ehi?**
'Chop the coconuts?'
180. Koua:
**Pe'au 'oe: e hano au te 'ehi vahi.**
'You say: I'm going to do copra.'
181. Siki:
**E va(hi)...**
'Chop...'

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182. Kate:
**Taki te 'ehi?**
'*Pull off the coconut?'
183. Rafa: (correcting Kate)
**Para.**
'Husk.'
184. Kate:
**Para, para te 'ehi?**
'Husk, husk the coconut?'
185. Siki:
**'Ehi...'ehi.**
'Coconut...coconut'
186. Koua:
**Pe'au 'oe: e hano au te 'ehi vahi.**
'You say: I'm going to do copra.'
187. Siki:
**'Ehi va(hi).**
'Copra.'
188. Koua: (trying to take Siki down off the horse)
**Memai. 'A iho.**
'Come here. Get down.'
189. Siki:
**'Ehi vahi.**
'(I want to go do) copra.'
190. Koua:
**'A'o'e, e hiti Koua 'i uta e hano te 'ehi, ha'apuke, e?**
'No, Koua climbs into the interior, goes to get the coconuts, make piles, yes?'
191. Siki:
**E.**
'Yes.'
192. Koua:
**E, memai, 'a iho 'oe.**
'Yes, come, you get down.'
193. Siki: (whining, resisting Koua's efforts to bring him down)
**[_____]**
...
194. Koua:
**(O)'io'i 'a tahi 'oe 'a hiti, e?**
'Tomorrow you'll go climb (to the coco grove), yes?'
(unlikely, Siki never goes to do copra)
195. Siki:
**Ine'i.**
'Now.'
196. Koua:
**Memai, enā hiti Ko'oua 'i uta.**
'Come here, it's Koua climbs to the interior.'
197. Siki:
**Ine'i.**
'Now.'
(Teiki is bringing another horse down)

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198. Tahia: (cajoling Siki)
**_Vas chercher l'autre cheval, vas chercher l'autre cheval._**
'(Let's) *go find the other horse, go find the other horse* (that Teiki's bringing)'
199. Koua:
**E vi'i 'oe, e vi'i 'oe.**
'You fall, you fall.' (that's right, fall off, it's fun)
200. Rafa:
**_Voilà, il a cherché l'autre cheval. Viens._**

*'There, he's found the other horse. Come.'*
201. Tahia:
**_Voilà en haut. C'est Teiki qui est cherché._**
*'Up there. It's Teiki who's found (the other horse).'*
202. Koua:
**Epō, epō, na Teiki 'oe e kave, e?**
'Later, later, it's Teiki's (who will) bring you, yes?'
**Kamai kamai noho 'oe inei. Kamai.**
'Come on, come on, you stay here. Come on (get off).'
203. Rafa:
**_Viens viens. C'est Teiki qui va amener._**
*'Come come. It's Teiki who will lead you).'*
204. Pahio:
**Kemai kaikai, _Bébé_.**
'Come eat, *Baby*.'
205. Rafa: (pulling Siki off)
**Allez! Allez!**
'Go on! Go on!'
(Siki cries)

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Example #20 (S8/19)

Setting: Thursday morning after **kafe**, in and around Siki's house and over to the priest's house where Tonton Iku was working on the plumbing.

Participants: Siki (m/2.4,0), Rafa (f/11.1), Tania (f/16?), Teresi (f/25?), Danielle (f/30?), Iku (m/30?), Pahio (grandmother), Koua (grandfather), Kate (researcher)

Siki, Rafa, and I have wandered over to the priest's house on the other side of the church where Iku has been repairing the plumbing. Iku puts Siki astride a bag of grapefruit.)

300. Siki: (plea)
**'(An)ani, 'ani.**
'Orange, orange.'
[**'anani** = 'orange'; **'anani hao'e** = 'grapefruit']

301. Rafa:
**('A)'e 'ani. *Pamplemousse*.**
'Not orange[MQ]. Grapefruit[FR].'

302. Siki:
**'Ani.**

303. Raph:
***Pamplemousse*.**

304. Siki:
**'Ani.**

305. Rafa:
**Pamplemoussi.**
(MQing the pronunciation)

306. Siki:
**'Ani.**

309. Rafa:
**Pamplemoussi.**

310. Siki:
**'Ani.**

311. Rafa:
**Moussi.**

314. Siki:
**'Ani.**

315. Iku:
**'Anani.**
(both correcting and confirming Siki's word choice)

316. Rafa:
**Moussi.**

317. Siki:
**'Anani.**
(adopts Iku's correction, refortified by this confirmation)

318. Rafa:
***Pamplemousse*.**

(This goes on for a while with Iku trying to change the topic a couple of times, but Rafa or Siki keeps returning to the grapefruit war.)

456. Siki:
**'Anani.**
(hitting bag)

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**'Anani.**

457. Rafa:
***C'est à moi.***
*'It's mine.'*

458. Siki: (whining)
***A moi, c'est à moi, c'est à moi* pomplemoussi.**
*'It's mine, it's mine, it's mine,* grapefruit.'

459. Rafa: (big laugh)
**Pampelemoussi.**
(he's won the linguistic contest over what and what language)
**Pamplemoushu.**
(mocking Siki's pronunciation)

460. Siki: (looking to Iku again for support)
**'Anani?**

461. Rafa:
**Pamplemoushi.**

462. Siki:
**'Anani?**

463. Rafa:
**'A pamplemoushi.**
'There grapefruit.'

464. Iku:
***Pamplemousse.***
('correcting' Rafa's pronunciation as well as his teasing)

465. Siki: (high-pitch)
**'Anani!**
(mad or betrayed by Iku calling it that)

466. Iku:
***Pamplemousse, e pamplemousse.***
*'Grapefruit, yes, grapefruit.'*
(now invested in teaching Siki to pronounce it properly?)

467. Rafa:
**Pamplemoushi.**

468. Siki:
**'Anani.**

469. Iku:
***Pamplemousse.***

470. Rafa:
**Bébé, pe'au 'oe: Pamplemoussi?**
*'Baby, you say:* Pomplemoussi?'

471. Siki:
**Aalaani.**

472. Rafa:
**Pe'au 'oe: pamplemoussi. Pe'au.**
*'You say:* Pomplemoussi. *Say.'*

473. Siki:
**Papeloushi.**
(big laugh)

474. Rafa: (mocking)
**Papeloushi.**

475. Siki:
**Papotu.**
(The mocking of Siki's pronunciation continues.)

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Example #21 (S10/9)

Setting: Saturday morning **kafe** at Iku and Teresi's house.

Participants: Siki (m/2.5,2), Teresi (f/25?), Iku (m/30?), Kate (researcher)

(Iku has set Siki on a table and is sitting in a chair in front of him so they can talk face to face)

110. Iku:
**Sea peto, kaiu peto?**
'Where's dog, little dog?'

111. Siki:
**Kaiu, he mea.**
'Little, none.'

112. Iku:
**He mea?**
'None?'

113. Siki:
**E.**
'Yes.'

114. Iku:
**Ena 'i 'a pae.**
'There is (a little dog) over there at Koua's).'

115. Siki:
**'A pae?**
'Over there?'

116. Iku:
**E, ho'i.**
'Yes, truly.'
**Kamai na'u, e?**
'Bring (one) for me, yes?'
**E hia?**
'How many?'

117. Siki:
**E to'u.**
'Three.'

118. Iku:
**Hia?**
'How many?'

119. Siki:
**E to'u.**
'Three.'

120. Iku:
**E to'u?**
'Three?'

121. Siki:
**To'o a Teiki a kaiu peto.**
'Teiki took one little dog.'

122. Iku:
**E aha?**
'What?'

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123. Siki:
**'A kamu 'ia Teiki kaiu peto.**
'Teiki stole the small dog.'
124. Iku:
**Hakana ia?**
'He hid (the dog)?'
125. Siki:
**Eee.**
'Yeees.'
126. Iku:
**'A'i 'oe pekē?**
'You didn't scold (him)?'
127. Siki:
**Tu'e.**
'Kick.'
128. Iku:
**'A'e 'oe pekē 'ia Teiki?**
'Didn't you scold Teiki?'
**'A'e? No te aha?**
'No? Why?'
***Il faut* 'oe pekē. Ai?**
'It must be that you scold. Right?'
129. Siki:
**E.**
'Yes.'
130. Iku:
**Pehea to 'oe pe'au'īa 'ia Teiki?...Pehea? Ae?**
'How was your saying to Teiki? How? What?'
131. Siki:
**Na'u?**
'Mine?'
132. Iku:
**E aha?**
'What?'
133. Siki:
***Merci.***
'Thank you.'
134. Iku:
***Merci?***
'Thank you?'
135. Siki: (singing)
***Mer-ciiiiii.***
'Thank youuu.'
136. Iku:
**E aha te kaikai 'a te kaiu peto? E aha? E aha te kaikai? Ae?**
'What's the food of the small dog? What? What's the food? Eh?'
137. Siki:
**Haraoa [haaoa].**
'Bread.'
138. Iku:
**E aha?**
'What?'

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139. Siki:
**Haraoa [halaoa].**
140. Iku:
**Halaoa? E aha titahi?**
'Halaoa? What's this?'
141. Siki:
**Kaiu peto.**
'Little dog.'
142. Iku:
**E aha titahi kaikai peto?**
'What's this dog food?'
143. Siki:
**Haraoa.**
'Bread.'
144. Iku:
**Haraoa me te aha?**
'Bread and what?'
145. Siki:
**Pi'ahi.**
'(paste made of coconut milk and chestnuts)'
(Siki likes this a lot, but too special to be fed to dogs)
146. Iku:
**Pi'ahi?**
147. Siki:
**E.**
'Yes.'
148. Iku:
**'O ia 'ā te kaikai 'a te peto?**
'That's the food of dogs?'
149. Siki:
**E.**
'Yes.'
150. Iku:
**'A'e he mea te ina'i?**
'Not any meat?'
151. Siki:
**'A'o'e.**
'No.'
152. Iku:
**Nai te ina'i? Na Siki?**
'For whom the meat? For Siki?'
153. Siki:
**'A'o'e. Koti'īa.**
'No. Butchered[CGR].'
154. Iku:
**Nai koti'īa?**
'Whose butchering?'
155. Siki:
**Na Teiki koti 'a cahier.**
'Teiki's butchering of notebook.'
(Teiki is butchering a pig to sell -- sales kept in a notebook)

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156. Iku:
**Nai?**
'Whose?'
157. Siki:
**Na Teiki kotia kaiu peto.**
'Teiki's cutting little dog.'
158. Iku:
**Teiki kotia kaiu peto? Kotia me te aha?**
'Teiki butchering little dog? Butchering with what?'
159. Siki:
**Pi'ahi.**
'Coconut-and-chestnut-paste.'
160. Iku:
**Pi'ahi?**
161. Siki:
**E.**
'Yes.'
162. Iku:
**Aiii.**
(mock expression of alarm/surprise/anger)
**Pekē 'oe 'ia Teiki, e? Ei?**
'You scolded Teiki, yes? Right?'
163. Siki:
**Eee.**
'Yeees.'
164. Iku:
**Pehea to 'oe pekē?**
'How was your anger?'
(Iku slaps his hand against his thigh.)
165. Siki:
**'Ati'i nei.**
'Like that.'
166. Iku:
**Pe'au 'oe 'ia Teiki: Mo'i kokoti, e?**
'You said to Teiki: Don't butcher (the dog/the pig?), yes?'
167. Siki:
**E.**
'Yes.'
...
(Siki is playing with Kate's microphone)
581. Iku:
**Mo'i e keu, e?**
'Don't play with it, yes?'
(Kate removes the microphone and Siki gives a cry)
**Himene 'oe, himene hua kaiu himene 'a 'oe.**
'Sing, sing those little songs of yours.'
(Iku begins tickling Siki)
582. Siki:
**Aaaaaa...Aue, Iku.**
'Aaaah...Don't, Iku.'
583. Iku:
**Eah? E aha?**
'What? What?'

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584. Siki: (giggling)
**Piau 'ota, e?**
'Stinking smegma, yes?'
585. Iku: (giggles)
**Pehea?**
'How's (that)?'
586. Kate:
**Oooo.**
(mock dismay)
587. Iku:
**E, hoa. 'A'e ati'i nā.**
'Yes, truly. Not like that.' (you shouldn't use those words)
**Ei?! ei?!**
(Right?! Right?!)
588. Siki:
**Piau 'ota.**
589. Iku:
**'A'e ati'i nā.**
'Not like that.'
(Iku still tickling)
590. Kate:
**Kirikiri? Kirikiri?**
'Tickle[CGR]? Tickle?'
591. Siki:
**Piau 'ota.**
'Stinking smegma.'
592. Iku: (laughs)
**'A'e 'oe he'e kaukau te tai. 'Oko?**
'You're not going to swim (in the ocean. (You) hear?'
**He'e maua me Rafa.**
'We [dl/exc] including Rafa will go (without you).'
593. Siki:
**'A pati au.**
'I'll depart.' (I'll go swimming anyway)
594. Iku:
**Ah?**
(oh, yeah?)
...
632. Iku:
**'I hea to 'oe papa?**
'Where's your papa?'
633. Siki:
**Ai ai Tahiti.**
'(??) Tahiti.'
634. Iku:
**Sea?**
[Where?'
635. Siki:
**Tahiti.**
636. Iku:
**'I Tahiti? 'A'e he mea 'i Bora Bora?**
'On Tahiti? No one on Bora Bora?'
(His father, mother, and brothers do live in Bora Bora.)

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637. Siki:
**Bora Bora.**
638. Iku:
**Sea?**
'Where?'
639. Siki:
**Bora Bora.**
640. Iku:
**Bora Bora?**
641. Siki:
**Mm mm...Eee.**
'(affirmative) Yes.'
642. Iku:
**Sea to 'oe mama?**
'Where's your mama?'
643. Siki:
**Bora Bora.**
644. Iku:
**Sea?**
'Where?'
645. Siki:
**Bora Bora.**
646. Iku:
**Bora Bora?**
647. Siki:
**E.**
'Yes.'
648. Iku:
**Sea kaiu Rahu?**
'Where's little Rahu (Siki's older brother)?'
649. Siki:
**Bora Bora?**
650. Iku:
**Sea?**
'Where?'
651. Siki:
**Bora Bora.**
652. Iku:
**'A'e 'oe he'e? Ae? 'A'e 'oe he'e? Ae?**
'You don't go (there)? Well? You don't go? Well?'
653. Siki:
**Aiiiii.**
(upset)
654. Iku:
**'A'e 'oe e heke 'iō Barbara?**
'You don't go down to Barbara's (the infirmary)?'
655. Siki:
**Non.**
'No.'
656. Iku:
**'O ia.**
'But yes.'

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657. Siki:
**Non.**
'No.'
658. Iku:
**'O ia.... Haika...haika te vaevae.**
'But yes.... Medicine...medicine (for) the legs.'
659. Siki: (Siki tries to cover his infected sores with his shorts)
**NOOON!**
'Nooo!'
660. Iku:
**Hakana hakana bobo, e? Ae?**
'Hiding hiding (your) boobcos[CGR], yes? Well?'
661. Siki:
**Eee.**
'Yees.'
662. Kate:
**Ka'o.**
'Hidden.'
663. Iku:
**Hano Barbara. Tati, hano Barbara. Hano, e?**
'Go get Barbara. Auntie, go get Barbara. Go get, yes?'
664. Siki:
**Naa.**
'Naa.'
665. Iku:
**'O ia.**
'But yes.'
666. Siki:
**Nooon.**
'Nooo.'
667. Iku:
***E, hano, pati Barbara. Hano pikiri.***
'Yes, go get. Barbara leaves. Go get (brings) shots.'
**'A'e 'oe ha'ameta'u?**
'You're not afraid?'
668. Siki:
**[_____] kana'ia...**
'[_____] (???)'
669. Iku:
**E ah?**
'What?'
670. Siki:
**Kana'ia.**
671. Iku:
**Kama'i'i?**
'Cold?'
672. Siki:
**Kana'ia.**
(Siki giggles)
...
(Siki lies down on the table)
676. Kate:
**Hiamoe Siki.**

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677. Iku:
**Enā 'oe hiamoe haka'ua?**
'You're going to sleep again?'
**Hano, hano.... Hano. Hano au Barbara.**
'Go get, go get.... Go get. I go get Barbara.'
678. Siki:
***Non.***
'No.'
679. Iku:
**'O ia.**
'But yes.'
680. Siki:
***Naah.***
'Naa.'
681. Kate:
**Kanahau Barbara.**
'Barbara's great.'
682. Siki:
***Non....naah.***
'No....naaa.'
683. Iku:
**Nui te kaka 'a 'a 'a.**
'Many pus blisters, there there there.'
**Kave Barbara.**
'Carry (you to) Barbara.'
684. Siki: (crying)
**(E)nā vivi.**
'That hurts[CGR].'
685. Iku:
**Vivi?**
'Hurts?'
686. Siki:
**E.**
'Yes.'
687. Iku:
**Sea?**
'Where?'
688. Siki:
**'A inei.**
'Here.'
689. Iku: (looking for sores through the dirt on Siki's legs)
**Ai, 'epo.**
'Hey, dirty.' (he can't see the sores for the dirt)
**Sea sea? Sea? Sea?**
'Where where? Where? Where?'
690. Siki: (crying)
**'A inei.**
'Here.'
691. Iku:
**He mea.**
'There's nothing.'

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692. Siki:
**'A inei.**
'Here.'
693. Iku:
**Hea?**
694. Siki:
**'A inei.**
695. Iku:
**He mea.**
**Ai 'a kave.**
'Well, (we'll) carry (you to Barbara)'
696. Siki:
**Mm mm vivi.**
'(fright) That'll hurt.'
697. Iku:
**Kave Tati 'iō Barbara.**
'Auntie will carry (you) to Barbara's.'
698. Siki:
***Non.***
'No.'
699. Iku:
**'O ia.**
'But yes.'
700. Siki: (crying)
***Nooooooooo.***
'*Nooooooooo.*'
701. Iku:
**Himene, himene, enā ko'e vivi. Himene.**
'Sing, sing, that'll dissolve hurt[CGR]. Sing.'
702. Siki:
**Nn nn nn nn.**
(refusing)

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