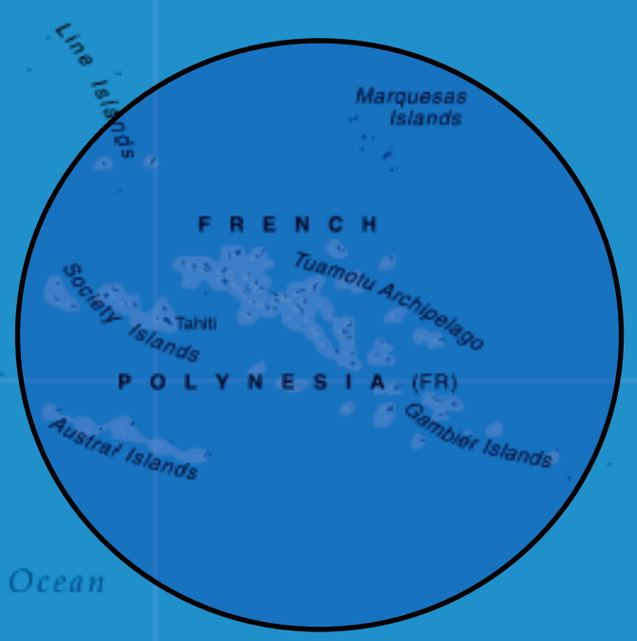
Assessing the Communicability of Wellness and Illness

Mangarevan, French Polynesia

Alexander Mawyer (Center for Pacific Islands Studies, UHM)

ICLDC 2017

French Polynesia



THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

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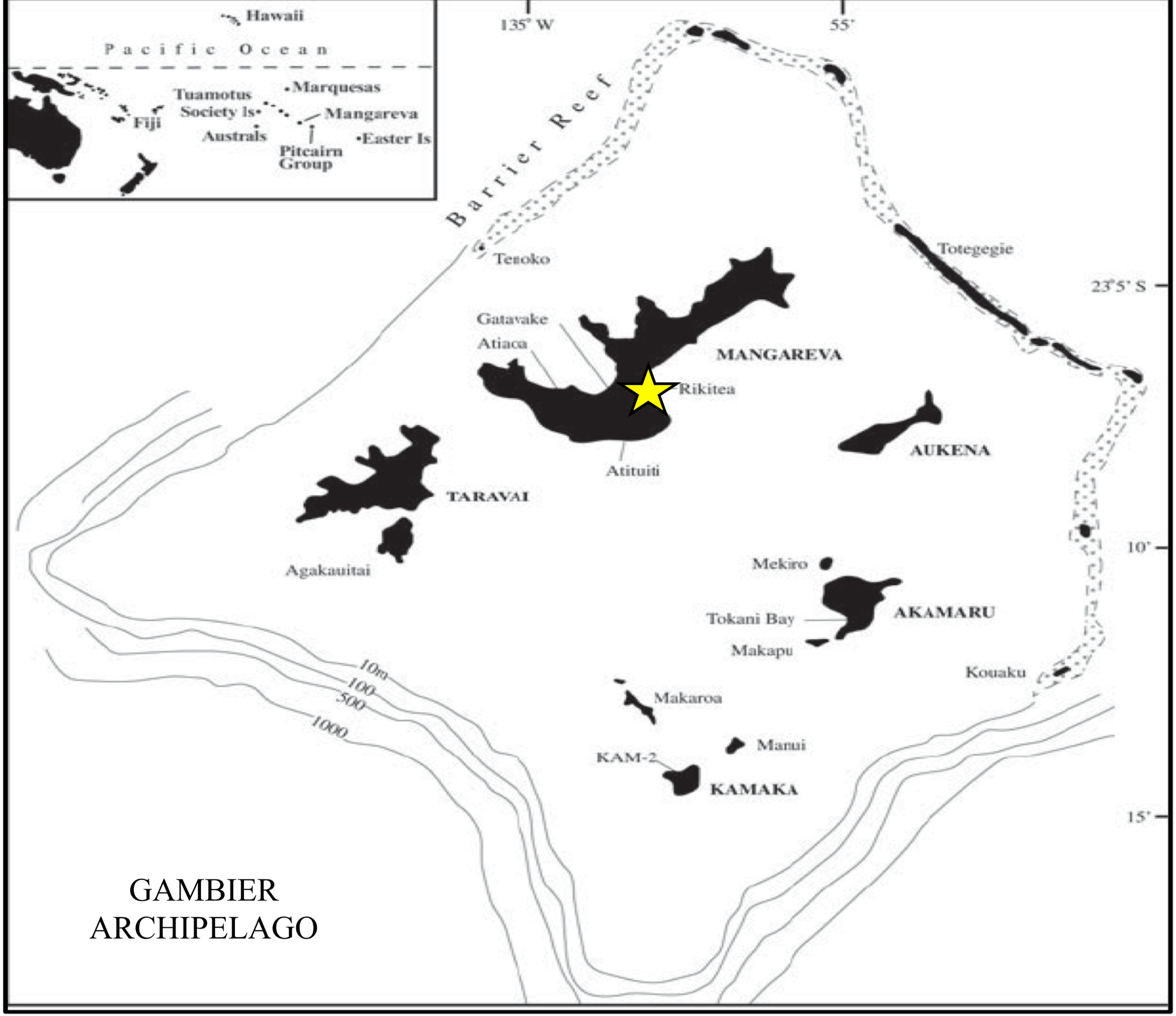

(Anderson, Conte, Kirch & Weisler 2003:120)

Town hall on Bastille Day

TIDES OF HISTORY IN EASTERN POLYNESIA

- Population of approximately 1,500 in 1863 had become 446 by 1881 (Kirch and Rallu 2007).

- Ship-to-shore vectored diseases; social organization transformation during the Catholic instauration; increased mortality from commercial pearl diving.

- Language and other dimensions of culture experienced profound shifts and transmission challenges (Buck 1934; Mawyer 2006).

- Wellness & Illness an historically highly salient domain across disciplines and for local communities.

- Wellness & Illness in the post-nuclear era.

Assessing Vitality

of Language and Language-Encoded Cultural Transmission:

Purported speaker numbers sufficient?

Tableau 1 *– Les langues et dialectes de Polynésie française*

"langue"	locuteurs (source 1)	locuteurs (source 2)	dialectes
MARQUISIEN DU NORD	3 900	6 000	
MARQUISIEN DU SUD	3 700	2 700	
MANGARÉVIEN	2 400	600	
PA'UMOTU	22 000	4 000	Vahitu; Napuka; Fangatau; Tatakoto; Reao; Marangai; Tapuhoe; Parata; (†Mihiroa)
TAHITIEN	61 850	68 260	
AUSTRAL	6 600	3 000	Rimatara; Rurutu; (†Tupua'i); Ra'ivavae
RAPA	600	300	

Languages and Dialects of French Polynesia
(Charpentier & Francoise 2015)

ASSESSING VITALITY

- Laval (1834): Flexible, extensive, ingenious, rich, scientific.
- Buck (1934): Westernized, eroded, high comparative value, cognate.
- Stillman (1985): Preserved, high contrastive value to regional centers.
- Mawyer (2006): Intense intergenerational difference, severe loss of compentence across all cohorts with distinct patterns.
- Census (2011): 600 speakers, essentially not assessed.
- **Manuireva (2015): A severely endangered language, urgency of language shift reversal strategies, previous strategies energizing but of limited uptake.**

Degree of endangerment	Intergenerational Language Transmission
Definitely endangered	Children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home
Severely endangered	**Language is spoken by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to children or among themselves**

UNESCO degrees of Engangerment (from Mosley 2010)

Level	Label	Description
6a	Vigorous	The language is used for face-to-face communication by all generations and the situation is sustainable.
6b	Threatened	The language is used for face-to-face communication within all generations, but it is losing users.
7	**Shifting**	**The child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves, but it is not being transmitted to children.**
8a	Moribund	The only remaining active users of the language are members of the grandparent generation and older.

EGIDS (Lewis & Simons, 2010)

Language Ideologies

Leveraging Local Insights into Language Change

a. Takao 'Ou Late 20th or early 21st century, mixed or hybridized with French, Tahitian and Tuamotuan.

b. Takao Tupuna Speech recognized as "like that of the grandparents" of current speakers, that is felt or thought to be like that of early 20th or 19th century speakers.

c. Tumu Takao Mangarevan speech, contemporary or past, understood by speakers to be quintessentially "Mangarevan."

d. Takao Teito 19th century Mangarevan no longer legible or accessible to contemporary speakers, ie Missionaries' documentation.

Silverstein, M. (2004) "Cultural" Concepts and the Language-Culture Nexus. Current Anthropology 45(5):621-652.

Makihara, Miki (2004) Linguistic syncretism and language ideologies: Transforming sociolinguistic hierarchy on Rapa Nui (Easter Island). American Anthropologist 106:529-40. (2005).

Mawyer, Alexander (2014) Oriented and Disoriented Space in the Gambier, French Polynesia." Ethos 42, no.3: 277-301.

Mawyer, Alexander and Ena Manuireva (2015) "Endangered Poetics: Assessing Ethnolinguistic Vitality in the Francophone Pacific" 4th ICLDC. Http://hdl.handle.net/10124/24286

Walworth, Mary (2017) Reo Rapa: A Polynesian Contact Language. Journal of Language Contact 10, no. 1: 98-141.

Might Assessing Adjusted for Generations Yield Different Responses?

a. Takao ‘Ou
b. Takao Tupuna
c. Tumu Takao
d. Takao Teito

d *c* *b* *a*

5	4	3	2	1	0
CRITICALLY ENDANGERED	SEVERELY ENDANGERED	ENDANGERED	THREATENED	VULNERABLE	SAFE
There are only a few elderly speakers.	Many of the grandparent generation speak the language, but the younger people generally do not.	Some adults in the community are speakers, but the language is not spoken by children.	Most adults in the community are speakers, but children generally are not.	Most adults and some children are speakers.	All members of the community, including children, speak the language.

Scale of intergenerational transmission (Lee and Van Way, 2014))

LD&C at the Language/Culture Nexus

- Some domains are more engaged, central, focal, entangled with the human condition.
- Not all domains emerge, change, diminish, or are lost at the same rate.
- Some domains are more context sensitive or elicitation challenging.
- Why am I interested in the language of illness/wellness?

Silverstein, M. (2004) “Cultural” Concepts and the Language-Culture Nexus. Current Anthropology 45(5):621-652.

Pacific Anthropologies:
Illness, Wellness and Language

1. Folk taxonomies *(Conklin 1955; Frake 1961; Brent, Breedlove, Raven 1966; Feinberg 1979)*
2. Histories of contact, demography, and social change *(Laval 1968; Smith 1975; Rensch 1994; Kunitz 1996; Sallares 2010; Shanks et al 2011)*
3. Cultural specificity of wellness and disease *(Frake 1961; Moyle 1974; Feinberg 1979; Howard 1979)*
4. Culture documentation *(Best 1905)*
5. Mental health, mental states *(Levy 1973; Beeman 1985; Clark 1993)*
6. Cultural maintenance and transmission *(McClatchey 1996; Macintyre et al 2005)*
7. Social theory *(Blust 1981; Briggs 2005)*
8. Medical language of the nuclear experience *(Barker 2012)*

POC *MATE “die, dead”

Austronesian Comparative Dictionary
Robert Blust and Stephen Trussel
www.trussel2.com/ACD
revision 2/16/2017

POC *mate die; dead

OC

Fijian	**mate**	death, disease, sickness; to die, be sick
Tongan	**mate**	die; sometimes used in the sense of stunned or quite unconscious; (of fire or light) go out, be out; (of a boat) be sunk or wrecked; (of a volcano) be extinct; (of wind) die down, cease; (of sun or moon) be eclipsed; (of clock or engine, etc.) to stop, not to be going; paralyzed (as a limb); dead; death; **be utterly sick and tired of**; be overcome or carried away with (laughter, weeping, desire, sleepiness, fear, etc.)
Niue	**mate**	die, die out (as a fire); stop (as an engine); be desirous of, need intensely, be ill with deprivation; be destroyed
	ta-mate	kill
Samoan	**mate**	die (of animals, plants, fire, etc.)
	ta-mate	kill (animal or plant); (of a coco-nut tree, etc.) strip of leaves so as to kill
Tuvaluan	**mate**	die; dead; death; funeral wake
	taa mate	kill; switch off
Kapingamarangi	**made**	die; deceased; death; **paralyzed**
Nukuoro	**made**	dead (of plants only); numb, paralyzed; go out (of a fire)
Rennellese	**mate**	dead, dying, unconscious, faint, exhausted, paralyzed; be low tide; be killed or dead, as an engine; be extinguished or out, as a fire; to have stopped, as a clock; to be the dark of the moon; death, sorrow, sound of weeping (poetic)
Anuta	**mate**	die
Rarotongan	**mate**	general term for death: disaster, calamity, danger, defeat, ruin, oppression, **hurt, injury,** adversity, **unconsciousness**, subsidence, desire; out, as of a person being caught out when playing cricket; defeat, as in playing a game of cards or other game; a funeral burial; dead, oppressed, **unconscious; extinguished**, as a light; in lack of, i**n want of; loss of, as of vitality or vigor overcome with any emotions**; overcome in a contest; deep emotion, as of a person or persons being deeply in love; calmed down, subsided; moving slowly or slack, as of the tide, slack water; beaten, as in any contest; **benumbed, deadened, paralyzed; dried up**, as the water of a stream; withered, as the foliage of trees; die, lose life, perish
Maori	**mate**	dead; extinguished; **sick, ill, unconscious; injured, damaged, suffering**; in want of, lacking; overcome with any emotion, the emotion being expressed; deeply in love; calmed down, subsided; moving slowly, slack; completed, finished, accomplished; caught; death; sickness, injury, wound; danger, defeat, calamity; desire; company of mourners
Hawaiian	**make**	die; defeated, killed, unfortunate; **to faint**; death, fainting, danger of death, peril, destruction, misfortune; kill; deathly, deadly, faint, deceased, late; obsolete; poisonous; desire, want, to want

POLLEX: “Wellness” Reflexes

Level	Etymon	Meaning	HAW	MAO	MVA	RAR	TAH
PN	MAKI	Sickness, illness; sore.	Ma'i. :Invalid.	Maki. :Invalid, sore.	Maki. :Sore.	Maki. :Sick, ill, diseased (Bse); general term for illness (Whr).	–
NP	MAMAE.*	Pain, be in pain.	Mamae. :Effects of pain.	Mamae. :Pain.	–	Mamae. :Pain, feel pain, ache, hurt, painful (Bse).	Mamae. :Pain, in pain, to be.
NP	MA-UQI	Ill, not well, sick.	Maauiui. Bruise.	Maauiui. :Sick, ill.	–	Maauiui. :Tired, weary, fatigued.	Maauiui. :Pain, grief.
PN	MAA-HUQI	Sprained, strained (of muscle, tendon).	Maaui(ui). :Sprained, bruised.	Ta/ui. :Sprained. MAO1 Maaui/ui. :Wearied with labour, sickly (Wms).	–	Maaui/ui. :Stiff, aching, sore and weary (Bse).	Maaui/ui. :Douleur physique or morale (Mte).
PN	MAALOOLOO	Healthy, well, strong.	–	Maarooroo. :Strong, sturdy.	–	Maarooroo. :Power, strength, vigour; strong, unyielding.	–
NP	MAFU.*	Healed (as a sore or wound).	–	Mahu. :Healed, cicatrised.	–	Ma'u. :Heal up (Bse)	Mahu. :Cease, stop flowing (e.g. of blood) mte).
MP	MASAKI	Sickness, sick person.	–	Mahaki. :Sickness, sick person; a cutaneous disease (Wms).	–	–	–
EP	MATA-POO	Be blind, blindness.	Makapoo. :Blind(ness), blind person (Pki).	Matapoo. :Be blind (Bgs).	Matapo. :Blind (Tgr).	Matapoo. :Blind(ness) (Bse).	Matapoo. :Blind; a blind person (Dvs).
CE	MATA-POOURI	Faint.	Makapoouli. :Dizzy, dizziness, faint (Pki).	<Mata-poouri. :Gloomy, sad (Wms)>.	–	Matapooiri. :To faint, become unconscious, pass out (Bse).	Matapouri. :Faint through hunger (Dvs).

Greenhill SJ & Clark R (2011). POLLEX-Online: The Polynesian Lexicon Project Online. Oceanic Linguistics, 50(2), 551-559.

Ma‘i (Haw)

“sickness, illness, disease, ailment, patient, sick person; sick, ill, menstruating”

1	ma‘i ‘a‘ai	*a spreading sore; cancer, infection.*
2	ma‘i ‘a‘ai ‘anapu‘u	*lymphoma. lit., lymph cancer.*
3	ma‘i ahulau	*epidemic, pestilence.*
4	ma‘i ‘ai ake	*tuberculosis.*
5	ma‘i ali‘i	*royal disease, leprosy (so-called because the first leper was said to have been a ....*
6	ma‘i aloha	lovelorn
7	ma‘i ‘aumakua	*sickness caused by ‘aumakua as punishment for wrong doing, as eating the ....*
8	ma‘i ‘elepani	*elephantiasis. lit., elephant (Eng.) sickness.*
9	ma‘i Hebera	*var. spelling of ma‘i Hepela, smallpox...*
10	ma‘i hēhē	boil (carbuncle)
11	ma‘i hehena	*maniacal delirium. lit., maniac illness.*
12	ma‘i Hepela	*smallpox. lit., Hebrew disease.*
13	ma‘i hilo	*venereal disease, gonorrhea. lit., braiding disease.*
14	ma‘i hohola	*heart failure.*
15	ma‘i ho‘oka‘awale	*leprosy. lit., separation disease.*
16	ma‘i huki	*convulsion, fit. lit., pulling disease.*
17	ma‘i huki	*convulsion.*
18	ma‘i huohuoi	*schizophrenia.*
19	ma‘i ‘ino	*var. spelling of ma‘i‘ino*, sinful disease, especially venereal disease...
20	ma‘i iwi haki wale	*osteoporosis. lit., fragile-bone disease.*
21	ma‘i kau	*chronic or recurring disease or sickness. lit., placing sickness.*
22	ma‘i keiki	*pregnancy sickness; child's disease. cf. ma‘i o kamali‘i, children's disease.*
23	ma‘i kia‘i kino	*illness due to natural causes rather than to sorcery or gods. lit., disease guarding ....*
24	ma‘i kipa	*disease caused by an evil spirit. lit., visiting sickness.*
25	ma‘i kōpa‘a	*diabetes. Ni‘ihau.*
26	ma‘i kuhewa	apoplexy
27	ma‘i kukule	cholera, as of humans or chickens
28	ma‘i kuluma	chronic illness
29	ma‘i kumupa‘a	*disease caused by offending a kumupa‘a...*
30	ma‘i kuni	*typhus, fever. lit., searing disease.*
31	ma‘i laha	*contagious or infectious disease.*
32	ma‘i laulā	contagious disease, epidemic
33	ma‘i lele	*contagious or infectious disease. lit., jumping disease.*
34	ma‘i lele ai	*sexually transmitted disease (STD).*
35	ma‘i lena	*jaundice. lit., yellow disease.*
36	ma‘i lēpela	leprosy
37	ma‘i lōlō	*paralysis.*
38	ma‘i make	fatal disease, terminal disease
39	ma‘i naoa	*anorexia.*
40	ma‘i ‘ōhewahewa	psychosis
41	ma‘i o ka na‘aumoa	appendicitis
42	ma‘i ola	*to cure sickness; curable disease.*
43	ma‘i ‘ōnaehana pale ‘ea	*autoimmune disorder. lit., immune system disorder.*
44	ma‘i Pākē	*leprosy. lit., Chinese disease.*
45	ma‘i pakela ‘ai	*bulimia. lit., overeating sickness.*
46	ma‘i pālahalaha	contagious disease, epidemic, pestilence
47	ma‘i pale ‘ea pau	*AIDS, i.e. acquired immune deficiency syndrome. lit., disease (of) finished ....*
48	ma‘i paū	*flu, influenza.*
49	ma‘i pehu	dropsy
50	ma‘i pūhā	*ulcer, running sore.*
51	ma‘i pu‘upa‘a kīkala hāne‘ene‘e	kidney disease
52	ma‘i pu‘upu‘u li‘ili‘i	*smallpox. lit., disease with many little pimples.*
53	ma‘i pu‘uwai	*heart disease, heart attack.*
54	ma‘i ‘uhola	*heart failure.*
55	ma‘i ‘ula	*measles. lit., red sickness.*
56	ma‘i wili	*incessant or recurring pain; venereal disease. lit., writhing sickness.*
57	hale ho‘omalu ma‘i	*quarantine station.*
58	hale ma‘i	*hospital.*
59	ho‘omalu ma‘i	*to quarantine.*
60	ka‘a lawe ma‘i	*ambulance.*
61	ka‘a ma‘i	*siege of sickness, a long or chronic illness; to suffer such.*
62	kahu ma‘i	*nurse.*
63	kahu mālama ma‘i	*nurse.*
64	kau ma‘i	*period or time of sickness.*
65	ke‘ena kahu ma‘i	*nurse's office (school)*
66	mea ma‘i	*patient (sick person)*
67	moe ma‘i	*to lie abed sick; bedridden; sickbed.*
68	nānā ā loa‘a ke ‘ano o ka ma‘i	*diagnose (of sickness)*
69	waiho ma‘i	*to lie sick, remain sick.*
70	waihona mea ma‘i	*medicine cabinet*

A
B
C
D
E
F
G

A: +applicability
B: +Christianity, +~orth/phon
C: +historical trace, +location
D: -ma‘i,+new pathology
E: +hist. trace, +ethnocentrisms
F: +ma‘i, +new pathology
G: +institution (labor, architectural)

Kepano’s Combined Hawaiian Dictionary. http://www.trussel2.com/HAW/intro.htm

	Reflex	Meaning
1	Aahu	a spasmodic disease of the bowels; colic
2	Aamu	voracious, gluttonous; corroding, spreading, increasing as rust or disease
3	Aana	a disease in which successive relapses happen, and supposed formerly to be in consequence of new transgresions against the gods
4	Aao_1	thin or wasted state of a person by some disease
5	Aao_2	thin; wasted by disease
6	Aburuburu	rottenness, decay; rotten, decayed
7	Aeaeo	sallow, sickly, pale by disease
8	Aeo_1	a child that is weak and sickly
9	Aeo_2	weak, as a child; sickly; peevish; childish
10	Ahipihepihe	a remarkable remedy to cure langour or weakness, frequently used by Tahitian women, who have lately lien-in, and by persons of both sexes in chronic disorders
11	Ahoa	the headache
12	Ahoahoa	the headache; a pain with a continual din in the head
13	Ahopau	a shortness of breath; the asthma
14	Ahoru-1	the abatement of a disease or of anger
15	Ahoru-2	to abate or cease
16	Ahu	heat; feverish heat of the body
17	Ahua-1	a person that waits on the sick
18	Ahua-2	to nurse a person; to wait on the sick
19	Ahuâtai	a certain prayer and ceremony formerly used when war or sickness prevailed; a model of a canoe was made, fitted up, and sent to sea with the supposed sins and sickness on board
20	Ahuru	the rotten or decayed state of things
21	Aiaru-1	the ghost of a dead relation which was supposed to come to the living and inflict sickness or death
22	Aiaru-2	to inflict sickness or death to a person
23	Airaua	bedridden; ill, as a bedridden person
...	...	...
334	Turiopa	weakness of the knees, through weariness or disease
335	Tutaero	a blight of trees and plants, a disease of the bark, that generally kills them
336	Tutapa	an abscess in the groin; see tapa
337	Tutei	to be enlarged through eating or disease, applied to the belly
338	Tutuu	counsel or advice left by a dying person with friends or relations
339	Uai	to turn as a sick person
340	Ue	the last struggling breath of an animal; to toss and move, as a dying person
341	Umunaro	to be on the point of death
342	Uou	the name of a disease; also a sprain, or twist of the foot
343	Uu	a disease of the limbs like the rheumatism
344	Vaero	the extremities, as feet, hands, &c. which in death are sometimes drawn up and darted down again suddenly
345	Vahiupoo	a violent head ache; see hoa
346	Vaianui	the name of a medicinal plant
347	Vaiuretehe	a disorder caused by the native custom of tehe
348	Fevera (in Appendix)	fever (eng)

"Wellness Reflexes"

John Davies (1851)

A Tahitian and English Dictionary: With Introductory Remarks on the Polynesian Language and a Short Grammar of the Tahitian Dialect.

At least 348 explicit "wellness/ illness" reflexes:

- Symptoms (1,7,9)
- Pathologies (2)
- Spirituality (3)
- Morality (3)
- Physical state (4,5,6)
- Types of persons (8)
- Remedies (10)
- Disease (11, 12, 13)
- …
- Traditional practice (347)
- Borrowing (348)

“DIALECT ENSEMBLES”

Charpentier and Francois (2015)

Makemo Point d'enquête principal pour cet atlas
Raroia Point d'enquête complémentaire pour cet atlas
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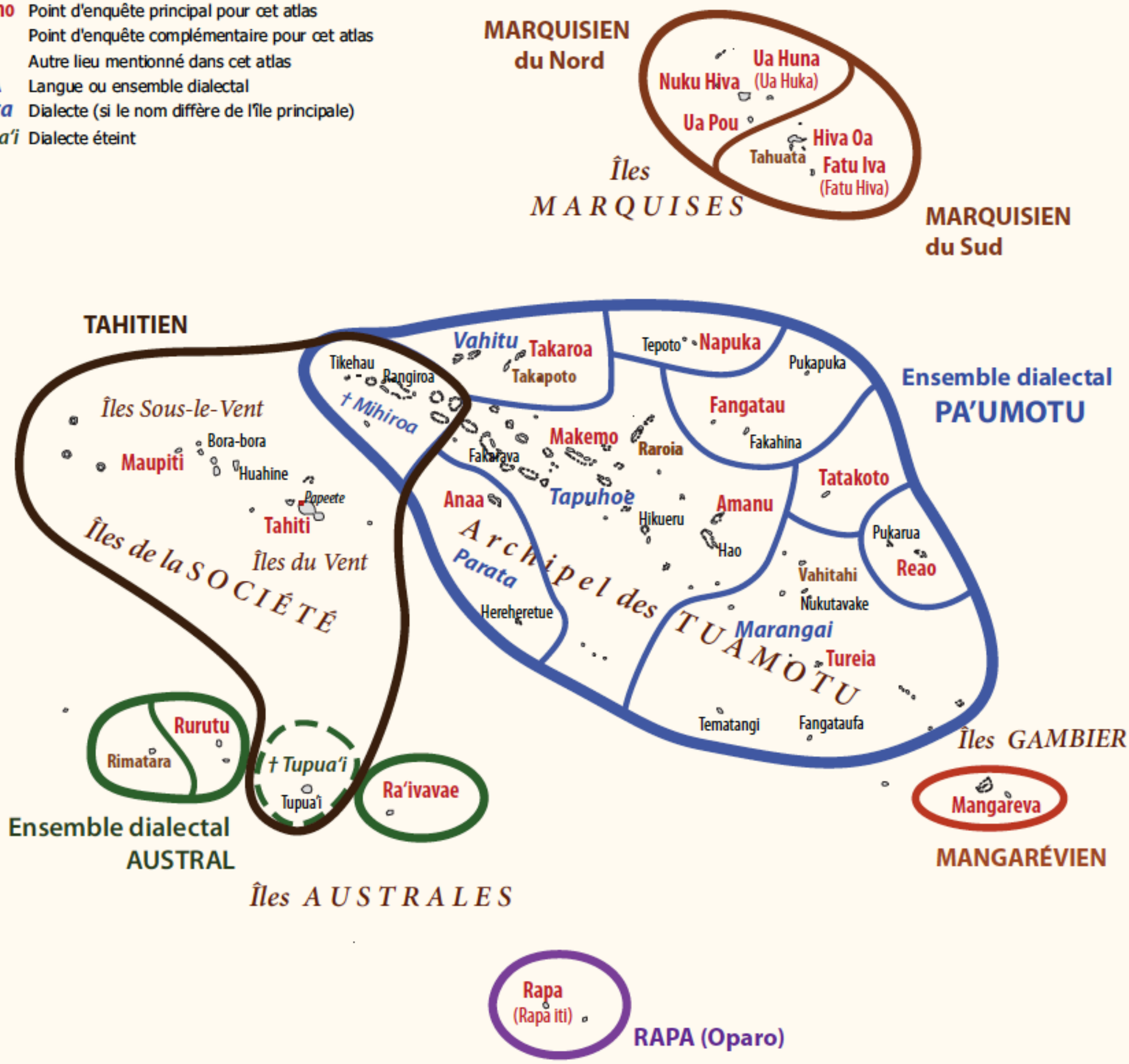

être en bonne santé	oraora – maita'i	in good health

1. meita'i ~ pohu'e meita'i
2. meita'i
3. meita'i ~ pohu'e meita'i
4. meita'i ~ tino fe'ofe'o*
5. meita'i te tino ~ tino fe'ofe'o*
6. maita'i te ea
7. oraora ~ maita'i
8. oraora
9. oraora
10. oraora
11. oraora
12. oraora ~ maitaki toreu te ora ~ tupu maitaki
13. oraoraraŋa maitaki
14. āēā ~ āēāēā ~ tupu maitaki
15. oraora ~ maitaki
16. oraora ~ maitaki
17. oraora maita'i
18. ogaga'a maita'i
19. oraora
20. ora maitaki

FRENCH POLYNESIA'S "DIALECT ENSEMBLES"

Charpentier and Francois (2015)

FRENCH POLYNESIA'S "DIALECT ENSEMBLES"

Charpentier and Francois (2015)

malade	ma'i	sick – ill

1. mate ~ hemo te mate*
2. hemo te mate* ~ mamae
3. hemo i te mate*
4. mate ~ koana i te mate
5. mate ~ mamae ~ hemo i te mate*
6. ma'i
7. ma'i ~ pohe ma'i
8. maki
9. maki
10. maki ~ makimaki
11. maki
12. maki
13. maki
14. maki
15. maki
16. maki
17. ma'i
18. ma'i
19. mate ~ ŋerepu* ~ ko'o* ~ 'akai'o* ~ mamae*
20. ma'i

FRENCH POLYNESIA'S "DIALECT ENSEMBLES"

Charpentier and Francois (2015)

asthme	ahopau	asthma

1. hekei ~ mate kaikai
2. ao ko'e
3. kaeka*
4. aopao ~ nae pi
5. aopao ~ nae pi ~ mao 'e'e
6. ahopau
7. ahopau ~ hota huti
8. ahopau
9. paupau te aho ~ ŋaroŋaro te aho
10. maki huti
11. ahopau
12. ahopau ~ he'eti* ~ heketi* ~ hopo*
13. paupau te aho
14. maki ahopau
15. paupau te aho ~ hopo*
16. ahopau
17. a'opau
18. huti tūto'o
19. puka'a
20. a'o pau

FRENCH POLYNESIA'S "DIALECT ENSEMBLES"

Charpentier and Francois (2015)

coliques	‘a‘ati	colic

1. hahati te kopu
2. hahati te kopu
3. hahati te kopu
4. mamae te ‘opu ~ kavi‘ivi‘i
5. mamae te ‘opu ~ fafati te ‘opu
6. pū‘are‘are
7. ‘a‘ati ~ tāviriviri te ‘ōpū
8. katikati te roeroe
9. kirokiro te kōpu ~ tāviriviri te kōpu
10. hōkarekare te roeroe ~ katikati te roeroe
11. pūkarekare te roeroe ~ katikati te roeroe
12. katikati te roeroe ~ kō.viri.viri*
13. kakati te roeroe
14. kākatikati te roeroe
15. katikati te roeroe
16. katikati te roeroe
17. ‘a‘ati
18. ‘a‘ati te ‘opu
19. mamae te kopu ~ ‘akarotu*
20. takamiromiro

mal de mer	ʻāruru	seasickness

1. **kaʻepuʻepu ~ mate tai***
2. **kaʻepuʻepu ~ mate tai**
3. **kaʻepuʻepu ~ mate tai**
4. **kaʻepuʻepu ~ mate tai**
5. **kaʻepuʻepu**
6. **pūʻareʻare te ʻōpū ~ ʻāruru**
7. **ʻāruru ~ māenuenu**
8. **ŋāruru**
9. **ŋāruru**
10. **ŋāruru**
11. **ŋāruru**
12. **ŋaruru**
13. **ŋāruru**
14. **ŋaruru**
15. **ŋāruru**
16. **ŋāruru**
17. **ʻāruru**
18. **pihae ~ ʻāgugu**
19. **maeŋo**
20. **ŋāruru**

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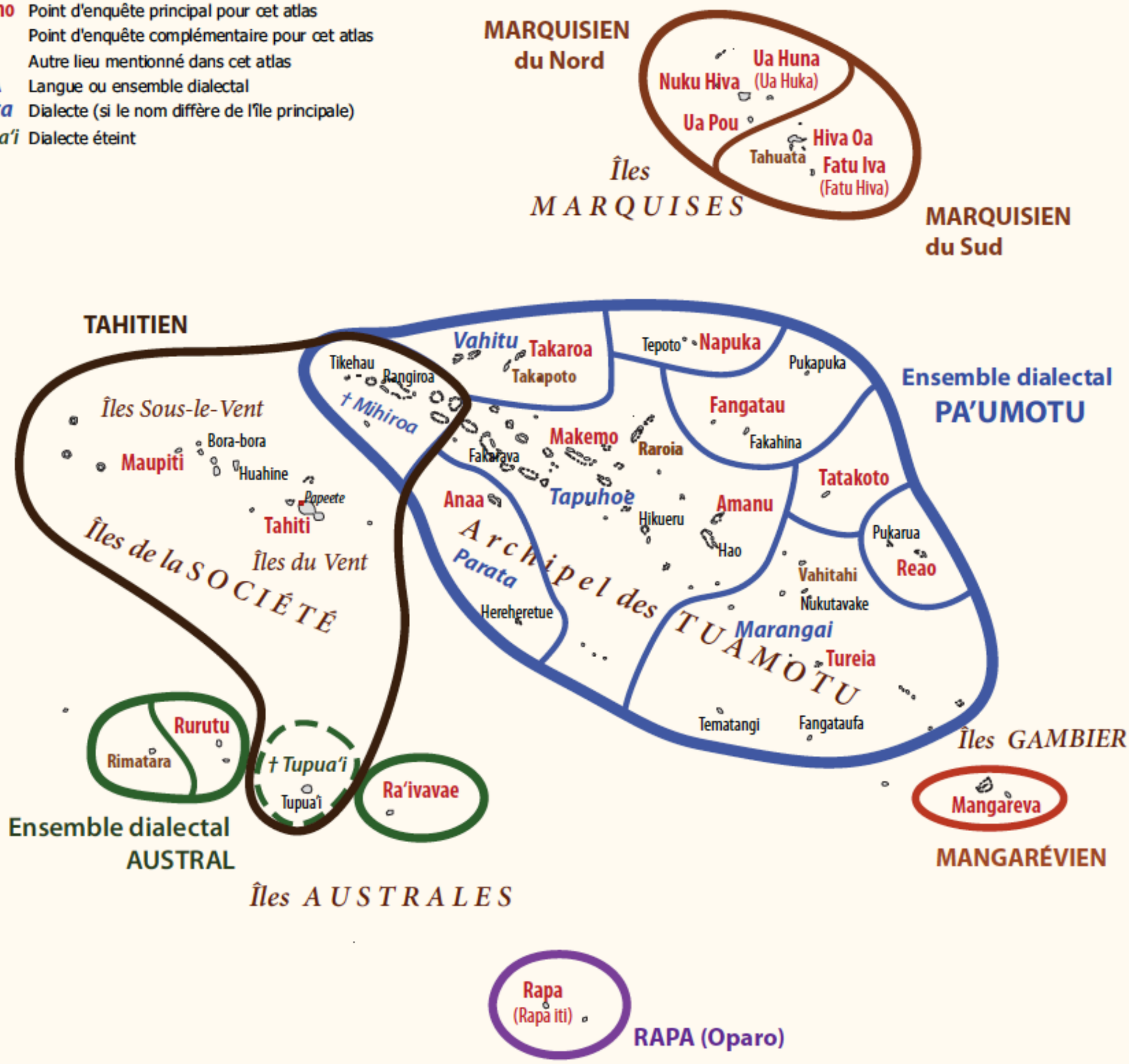
Parata Dialecte (si le nom diffère de l'île principale)
†Tupua'i Dialecte éteint



	MVA	Gloss		MVA	Gloss
1	Akagerêpu	devenir peu à peu malade	29	Mehiti	passer d'une maladie à la santé; vent qui passe sur un autre point; memehiti
2	Akaio	être maladif, lent à parier étendre de haut en has;… la main (en parlant de Dieu, par ex.)	30	Mehitiraga	passage de la maladie à la santé d'un vent sur un autre point
3	Akaîri	aliter un malade; faire son nid, nicher, en parlant d'un olseau, d'un animal, etc.; mettre un objet sur une élévation, sur une personne; akaiiri, akairiiri.	31	Noni	boiter, marcher avec valliance quolque malade, falble ou blessé; nononi, noninoni
4	Akamagi	cesser se retirer d'un travail où l'on a été longtemps laborieux.cesser, se dit encore d'une maladie; akamamagi.	32	Oromenûnû	être superficiel, se dit d'un maladie qui n'est qu ä la superficle de l'epiderme
5	Akamiti	faire disparaître une famille, une nation, se dit d'une maladie	33		effleurer
6	Akapahaka	être convalescent; avoir le cou raide par maladie: akapahakahaka	34		coup qui a touché l'épiderme
7	Akapakutea	être pâle pour cause de maladie	35	Paêa	marcher diffcilment et biaiser pour cause de maladie; paêa, paêaêa.
8	Akapeke	ployer un objet en deux; akapekepeke; faire disparaitre (la mort, une maladie, qui enléve une famille)	36		pierre lancée qui ne tombe pas vite.
9	Akaroro	absence des régles; maladie	37	Pagumêherêpo	être noir de fatigue et de maladie
10	Akatagata	faire un présent en le portant soi-même; peupler un paysl rupe-, distribuer à chaque personne; faire acception des personnes	38		noir et fatigué de a sorte
11		paraître en santé quoique malade.	39	Pahaka	guérir, se dit d'une maladie presque guérie
12	Akatakaroa	mal, maladie longue et chronique	40	Paragia	fiblesse, sans maladie et avec dégoùt du travail; faible; paparagia, paparagia, papagiaraga, paraparagiaraga, paparagiaraga
13	Akere	sombre, noir; maladie qui creuse les arbres	41	Potâka	faire le tour, aller au tour; s'étendre en parlant d'une maladie, d'une famine roue; vertébre; nœuds de la canne à sucre; chemin de fer.
14	Apuru	être lourd, láche, par maladie ou changement de temps; être embarrassé, gèné	42	Puga	pierre de corail; mauvais fruit de l'arbre à pain don't la chair est squirreuse; maladie qui tient longtemps sur le lit; longue conversation de plusieurs personnes
15		chose malpropre dans une maison	43	Rè-mai	sortir de maladie, de prison; être délivré du mai
16	Eva	Eve, la premiére feme; défendre, interdire; pendant, se dit des bras devenus raides dans une maladie, ou d'autre maniére	44	Rù	s'empresser; impatient, précipité; trembler par maladie, par tiéve
17	Haro	soupirer, par suite de maladie; haroharo	45	Rûrurûru	abri prfait; chevelure novellement repoussée aprés une maladie
18	Hora	maladie faisant aller et venir les malades sans qu'ils aient perdu la raison; heure	46		être trés bien abrité
19	Huaiti	rétention d'urine; glandes du scrotum qui font souffrir, cette maladie	47	Takahiti	palpiter, faire palpiter, se dit d'un animal, d'un oiseau qu'on vient de frapper à mort, du poisson mis à see, d'un maladie don't les membres s'agitent; tatakahiti, takatakahiti
20	Iroi	s'agiter en différents sens, comme l'on fait dans les maladies aiguës; iroiroioi	48	Takâtua	se tourner en tous sens par maladie, ou par ivresse
21	Ke	autre; il est toujours préceédé de mea; Cloche, tout e qui reptentit pour appeler en frappant; moustique; maladie.	49	Takopiri	être gêné dans sa marche dans ses actes, par faiblesse ou par maladie; tatakopiri, takopiripiri
23	Ko	des noms propres au nomnaif, c'est; se met devant les substantifs; cri des prêtres du paganisme quand on sanctifiant un de leurs confrés; maladie; indisposition non grave; mais parfois chronique; moustique	50	Tatatata	radoter, délirer, se dit des malades; dire des parer les sans suite et dénuées de sens, se dit des fous, des idiots et de toute personne sans raisonement
24	Koho	maladie; mal de tête; manava, mal de entre; au moral, péché; Niho	51	Ta-tu	maladie subite et courte qui donne la mort en 2 ou 3 jours
25	Koivi	squelette du corps humain; maladie de consomption introduite aux Gambier vers 1860; ceiui qui en est atteint	52	Tiêmi	éprouver des agitations pour cause de maladie; titiemi, tiemiemi
26	Maeiei	être soulagé dans quelque peine ou maladie	53	Tupapâku	cadavire, homme mort; homme gravement malade
27	Natega	mort, cessation de la vie; maladie;- atogaheva, mort lamentable	54	Vave	grandir, pousser promptement, se dit des hommes, des animaux, des pantes et des arbres; progresser, en parlant d'une maladie qui fait de rapides progrés
28	Matike	relever, revenir de maladie			

Mangarevan "Maladie" from Grammaire et Dictionnaire Mangareviens (1908).

	ETYMON	English Gloss
1	'AKA'IO	1. to be sickly; unhealthy. 2. To drawl out one's words.
2	'AKA'IO'IO	a sickness which produces languor but no great pain.
3	'AKA'IRI	1. to make a sick person keep his bed. 2. To make a nest, as a bird. 3. To protect its nest or hole, as a bird.
4	EVA	hanging down stiffly, said of the arms; stiff, said of a sick person.
5	'AKAGEREPU	1. to progress slowly, said of a sick person. 2. To have a lingering illness.
6	'E	to rave; to talk folly, to be delirious (said of sick people). Cf. hee.
7	'E'E-PU	1. fever. 2. Sweat caused by sickness. Cf. heke-puhu.
8	'ORA	1. a sickness that affects people, making them go and come without apparent reason. 2. To be drowned; to drown oneself.
9	KE	1. any instrument used to summon people, as a bell, drum, etc. Cf. kehekehe. 2. A mosquito. 3. A sickness; malady.
10	KO	1. a mosquito. 2. A sickness, illness (not of a serious character).
11	KONUE	to be bent under the weight of a burden; to be bowed by old age or sickness. Bent; bowed; curved.
12	KOPIRIPIRI	1. to lean upon; to rely upon; to Confide in. 2. To stick to; to apply closely to; to nuzzle up close to anyone through shame or sickness. 3. To go from one tree to another, as children do when called. Cf. pipiri.
13	KORU	1. humid; very damp; said of lands sogged with water. 2. Running together; confluent. 3. The dampness under a sick person. 4. Pains in the stomach.
14	MATE	1. to be sick; ill. Cf. mateeva, mateoge. 2. Dead. 3. Love; ardent desire. To have passionate desire in a sensual way. Mamate (mamàte), plural of the subject; matemate-noa (màtermàte-noa), plural of the action. See also below, under matematenoa.
15	'AKAMATE	1. to kill; to slay. 2. To make a person ill; to sicken. 3. To flatter; to cajole.
16	MATEMATENOA	1. sick; ill. 2. See under mate. 3. Pleasant agreeable conversation. 4. To cajole. 5. To fraternise.
17	ME'ITIRAGA	1. the passage from sickness to health. 2. A change in the wind.
18	MOTEAKA	pale; blanched with sickness. Cf. tea, teaka.
19	NA	1. a sign of the genitive (possessive), used particularly when it is a question of food or of a woman spoken of by her husband. Mate i na hu: Everyone is sick. Cf. no. 2. By, of; by the order of; on account of. It designates the author of an action. 3. Because; seeing that; whereas. 4. Placed before a substantive or personal pronoun, na signifies "It is," as Na mea It is the thing.
20	O'A	1. to fall down, to tumble down; to be thrown down. 2. The limbs of a sick person that have fallen down inert and helpless. Cf. roioha.
21	OMAOMA	1. precipitous; sheer. 2. Profound; deep. 3. Empty; void. 4. To have the stomach empty and sick with hunger.
22	ORANOA	eternal life; life uninterrupted by sickness, etc. Cf. ora and noa.
23	PAGUME'EREPO	to be black with some sickness, or with being worn out.
24	PA'AKA	to be healed or nearly healed or cured: said of a sick person.
	'AKAPA'AKA	1. to be convalescent. 2. To have the neck wrinkled by sickness. Akapahakahaka, plural of the action and subject.

	ETYMON	English Gloss
26	PARAGIA	1. feebleness through want of sleep (not from sickness). 2. Distaste, dislike; to feel distaste. 3. Bored; boredom; ennui. Paraparagia (paraparagia), plural of the action; paparagia (paparagia), plural of the subject.
27	'AKAPOA	1. to bait; to throw the bait. 2. To communicate a smell of flesh to the water to attract the fish. Plural (of 1 and 2) akapoapoa (aka-pòapòa). 3. A sickening feeling in the stomach.
28	PO'EPO'E	1. to wink the eyes, to blink from weakness or sickness 2. Eyes that are deep-sunken with sickness. Cf. matapohepohe.
29	'AKAPONIU	1. to dazzle. 2. To have the sight impeded or troubled by sickness. 3. To spin a top. 4. To cause vertigo.
30	POTAKA	1. the name of different parts of the spinal column considered separately. 2. A knot in a sugar-cane. 3. Turned upside down; all spilt or shed. 4. Round. 5. A wheel. 6. A turning toy of children. 7. The knots joining the meshes of a net. 8. To make a circuit, to go round. 9. Dissipated, scattered, brought to nothing: said of a belief, a custom, a sickness, or an action. Plural, potakataka.
31	PU	1. a marine shell. 2. A fine handsome garment. 3. Suddenly. Cf. tomopu. 4. Precise; distinct; exact. 5. The middle; in the midst. 6. Used concerning the head of an octopus or squid; of the head in a hat; of the top of a shrub; of a liquid with which one has filled the mouth and then swallowed; of food pulped, to give to a child or sick person. Vaka i te pu, the canoe in which the king (or chief person) is.
32	RAGIRAGIA	an appearance of sickness and weakness in a person's complexion or attitude.
33	RAGIRAGIA	See under ragia.
34	RARA	1. a branch of a tree. Cf. raramei rararakau. Rarakore, a metaphor, used to signify without sickness, without fault, without sin. Cf. kore. 2. To pass wood through the fire to straighten it when warped; to pass leaves through a fire to soften them; to put linen or stuff by the fire to dry. Cf. ra. 3. To hurl a lance without hitting the object aimed at, to throw crookedly. Rararara (ràraràra), plural of the action; rarara (raràra), plural of the subject.
35	REMAI	to emerge from a prison; to recover from a sickness; to be delivered from an evil.
36	RU'IRU'I	1. having a bad taste. 2. Disagreeable on account of its sour smell. 3. To have the senses nauseated by a sickening taste or smell. 4. To dislike anything, as a speech, etc.
37	RURURURU	1. perfectly sheltered; admirably screened; a well-sheltered place. 2. Said of a fine head of hair that has grown after a sickness.
38	'AKATAKA	1. to polish, to brighten; to make level: said of pieces of wood, poles etc., from which knots have been removed. 2. To fish all day or all night with the line. 3. To throw the fishing-line here and there. 4. To raise the delicate edges of the pearl shell. 5. To throw away from the pearl-shell all that is not wanted nor of value. 6. To have to keep one's bed for a long time through sickness. 7. To rough-hew a piece of timber, but to use one hand only in doing so. Akatakataka (aka-tàkatàka), plural of the action and subject.
39	TAKOPIRI	to be languid in one's actions through sickness. Takopiripiri (takopiripiri), plural of the action; tatakopiri (tatakopìri), plural of the subject.
40	TAOTAOVERE	small red spots or marks showing the near approach of death in a sick person.
41	TEKEO	1. a sickness causing pains in all the limbs and joints: it is provoked by eating certain fish. 2 Drunk, intoxicated.
42	TEVATEVA	1. swellings, projections on the body. 2. A sickness that affects the skin with many pimples or swellings.
43	TOTUPO	to be very weak and feeble after an illness. Totupotupo, plural of the action; tototupo (tototùpo), plural of the subject. Cf. tupo, tupou.
44	TU	1. life; being, existence. 2. The name of one of the great gods of Mangareva, about whose worship the chief part of the native religion centred. [See Tu-nui, under marama.] 3. A wailing or complaint of sick persons in great pain. 4. A cry, a shout. 5. A home-thrust. 6. One after another: as Tu aga, work consecutively; kai tu, eat one after the other; Tu ka rere hua te hu, Let us all go aboard. 7. To be upright; to stand up. Plural (of No. 7), tutu (tùtù). 8. To aim, to aim straight; to hit the mark. 9. To be struck by a lance, to be wounded by a thorn in the foot or in the skin, etc.; to be pierced or pricked by. Cf. tumoto. 10. To be pierced or wounded by the fish nohu.
45	'AKATUGOUGOU	1. to make a sign by bowing the head. 2. Sickly-looking,, said of men or plants.
46	TUPAPAKU	1. a corpse, the body of a dead person. 2. A sick person.
47	TURAKAGA	destruction of a people by deadly sickness. Cf. raka.
48	'AKAU	1. to commence: said of a sickness. 2. To offer, to present. 3. The lowlands, the shore.

“SICK” in Tregear, E. A Dictionary of Mangareva (or Gambier Islands). 1899.

Assessing

“Wellness” and “Illness” Reflexes as Indicators

- Field Data from 2002-2003.
- Ran modified Tregear/Rensch set with 4 consultants out of 30+ speakers with whom I worked.
- Each of four speakers considered among the most competent and skilled speakers in entire speech community.
- Random set of terms from across lexicon.
- Group elicitation with the three men.
- Consultants born in 1920s (♂), 1930s (♂), 1940s (♂), 1950s (♀).

1. AKERE	1. A disease which attacks trees and makes them hollow. 2. Sky-blue. 3. Cloudy weather; dull weather. See kerekere.
2. GA'A	A skin disease, only affecting women.
3. GUGU	To have the gout, or a similar disease which affects the feet. Cf. aragugu
4. 'E'E	1. To lose one's way; to wander. See hè hèhe, and hee. 2. A skin disease.
5. 'I'I'I	To take from the skin a scab caused by disease.
6. IRA	A skin disease; dark spots or patches on the skin.
7. KOIVI	1. A disease of the bones. 2. Consumption (recently introduced) in a contagious form. 3. A bone. Cf. ivi. 4. The skeleton of the human body.
8. MA'URE	A cutaneous disease.
9. MAI'I'I	To slightly smell someone's skin disease while at work.
10. MUKOKOKA	A disease of or accident to the anus.
11. MUNA	1. An affliction of the posterior parts sent by the gods because the offender has gone to stool (evacuated his bowels) near his home. Cf. mau and aka-mau. 2. A kind of cutaneous disease covering the whole of the skin.
12. OPI	A venereal disease, at its commencement.
13. OROMONUNU	1. Superficial, a disease affecting only the outer skin. 2. To slip on the skin: said of a blow.
14. PAKA	1. A crust; a cake. Cf. pake. 2. A scab; scurf. Cf. roupaka. A kind of itch; a cutaneous disease. 3. A scale a shell; a chipping. Cf. pakaonu. 4. Pieces of flat wood, such as shingles. 5. A fragment. Cf. pakaatutiri.
15. POPOKO	1. Said of some sore or disease affecting the skin, of long duration and difficult to heal. 2. To hollow out. E maki no koe e popoko na te pirau. Your sore reaches deep because of the matter (pus).
16. TAPUA	To have sore lips; a disease of the lips.
17. TAPUAPUA	To have the lips diseased or covered with sores. Tatapua, plural of the subject.
18. TONA	A venereal disease.

MVA	Gloss	M	B	D	N	SUMMARY
. AKERE	1. A disease which attacks trees and makes them hollow. 2. Sky-blue. 3. Cloudy weather; dull weather. See kerekere.	* Something about the Creche, story about Christian births and traditional Mg. Chiefly births.	Archaic	"No teta'I manumanu" (about some birds or insects)		Misconnect; term not known but recognized; or a vague memory with a plausible semantic connection.
. GA'A	A skin disease, only affecting women.	"When women are pregnant"	Notable only when women are pregnant. Pains also from eating fruits.	Ok.	Pains also from eating fruits: ninita, meika.	Well preserved, possible semantic extention or possibly poorly recorded.
. GUGU	To have the gout, or a similar disease which affects the feet. Cf. aragugu	Archaic	Yes, rampant now and wasn't here before the 1960s.	Yes, rampant now, also the young are affected.	"Aragugu is a disease of the feet."	Term recognized but the French is prefered; most senior speaker wanted to expand on knowledge base.
. 'E'E	1. To lose one's way; to wander. See hè hèhe, and hee. 2. A skin disease.	Archaic	piko to koe ara nui; also ava teito to koe ara nui; also veriveri teito to koe makakaraga	same	same	New constructions produce the sense with common, basic terms; all three agree the term is archaic; conversation turned to 'e'e pu as another old term for fever which is now gone (pu'u = sweat); today only "fievre" is used.
. 'I'I'I	To take from the skin a scab caused by disease.	"Good" only not reduplicated, now "'I'I te paka"	Kiri paka	paka	paka tumei, paka oragi, paka rakau	Still in use; Form potentially modified; most senior speaker wanted to expand on knowledge base.
. IRA	A skin disease; dark spots or patches on the skin.	Archaic	"A mark, oblong on the skin, like a sunspot."	Ok. "E mea pagu." (A black thing, ie mark.)	"E mea kura" (a bad thing, went on to describe judgment of such marks.	Term not known for youngest speaker; for other three speakers the term is known and opened into connotations.
. KOIVI	1. A disease of the bones. 2. Consumption (recently introduced) in a contagious form. 3. A bone. Cf. ivi. 4. The skeleton of the human body.	Archaic for disease sense.	"Tagata tuto, tres meagre"	Everything makes one tired.	Makariri	Youngest speaker did not use term for consumption; elder three speakers did.
. MA'URE	A cutaneous disease.	Archaic	Archaic	Ma'ure kura (red inflamation)?	Mo'ore? (to peel, said of fruits)	Term not known but recognized; or a vague memory with a plausible semantic connection
. MAI'I'I	To slightly smell someone's skin disease while at work.	Archaic	Archaic	Archaic	"Tupa ana mai teta'I mate I ruga o te kiri" (Something to fall on the skin).	Term not known but recognized; or a vague memory with a plausible semantic connection
0. MUKOKOKA	A disease of or accident to the anus.	?	?	?	?	Term not known or plausibly mis-recorded. Rench gives Muko'uka.
1. MUNA	1. An affliction of the posterior parts sent by the gods because the offender has gone to stool (evacuated his bowels) near his home. Cf. mau and aka-mau. 2. A kind of cutaneous disease covering the whole of the skin.	Archaic	Archaic	Archaic	Archaic	Term not known but recognized.
2. OPI	A venereal disease, at its commencement.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Still in use.
3. OROMONUNU	1. Superficial, a disease affecting only the outer skin. 2. To slip on the skin: said of a blow.	Manu can mean "Nauseous"	?	Too much work.	"Mal un peu" (A little sick); manunu, toku tino maunu	Still in use; Form potentially modified; most senior speaker wanted to expand on knowledge base. Rensch gives oromenunu.
4. PAKA	1. A crust; a cake. Cf. pake. 2. A scab; scurf. Cf. roupaka. A kind of itch; a cutaneous disease. 3. A scale a shell; a chipping. Cf. pakaonu. 4. Pieces of flat wood, such as shingles. 5. A fragment. Cf. pakaatutiri.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Still in use.
5. POPOKO	1. Said of some sore or disease affecting the skin, of long duration and difficult to heal. 2. To hollow out. E maki no koe e popoko na te pirau. Your sore reaches deep because of the matter (pus).	Archaic.	Archaic	Archaic	"no te pirau" (about the pus).	Term not known but recognized; or a vague memory with a plausible semantic connection
6. TAPUA	To have sore lips; a disease of the lips.	?	Yes, but "no te puaka" (yes, but always about PIGS).	Yes, but "no te puaka" (yes, but always about PIGS).	Yes, but "no te puaka" (yes, but always about PIGS).	Preserved for most senior speakers, possible semantic extention or possibly poorly recorded.
7. TAPUAPUA	To have the lips diseased or covered with sores. Tatapua, plural of the subject.	Archaic	Archaic	Archaic	Archaic	Term not known but recognized.
8. TONA	A venereal disease.	Yes, "syphilils."	Yes, "syphilils," of course a long history here until penicilin.	Yes.	Yes.	Still in use.

Summarized responses to disease term elicitations.

Findings

- (5) items non-problematically still in use.
- (2) items clearly known but French is now preferred, eg “fever.”
- (1) clear de-lexification, current preference for a long articulation of simple terms to produce the same semantic effect, presumable increased comprehension for younger speakers, eg instead of ‘e‘e, “*piko to koe ara nui; ava teito to koe ara nui; also veriveri teito to koe makakaraga*.”
- (3) cases where the 50 year old did not recognize the term while 60+ speakers did.
- (4) items not known, but potentially recognized generally by the oldest speaker with plausible semantic connection.
- (2) terms possibly changed in form or mis-recorded.
- (1) mis-identification, seems a sort of back-formation from most junior speaker.

Implications

- Long-standing interest in medicine/health for THK (traditional health knowledge), LEK, TEK, or broadly biocultural concerns can be complemented.

- Wellness non-trivial, clearly bounded domain in which language shift, change, or loss is visible with potential gradations between generations.

- Wellness clear history of use in reconstruction of proto-language and deep time culture history (POC); of use in articulation of regional culture history and associated concerns with settlement, migration, cultural filiation (POLLEX); of use in assessing lexical innovation and perdurance; opportunities for evaluation of processes of creativity vs. applicability.

- Processes of simplification, de- or re-lexification, and borrowing visible; in elicitation takao teito, tumu takao, and takao tupuna distinctions emerge.

- Evidence of significant historical traces of invention, borrowing or other productive processes in the 19th or early 20th century period of disease-encounter and demographic impacts; opportunities to read across-the-grain of the lx. elicitation data for broad and deep anthropological concerns.

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Questions?

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