Speaker-driven approach to language documentation

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Outline of talk

- Language documentation
- Language documentation as speaker-driven
- The Kurripako Language documentation project
- What do the Kurripako want to document?
- Importance of texts to speakers
- Contexts of use
- Implications for Language documentation projects
Himmelman (2006) proposes language documentation to be a lasting multipurpose record of a language with multiple end users in mind carried out by multiple specialists.
LANGUAGE DOCUMENTATION

- **Pragmatic constraints**
  - State of the language
  - Resources available
  - Collaboration
  - Interests of the speakers

- **Under these constraints, what should be prioritized?**
Language documentation: Speaker-driven approach

- Prioritize the needs and desires of the speech community
- Documentation driven by the (potential) speech community following local cultural protocols
Who are the Kurripako?

- Geographical Distribution
  - Northwest Amazon, Upper rio negro
  - Venezuela ca 2500, 85% speakers
  - Brazil ca 5000
  - Colombia ca 3000
Who are the kurripako?

- **Linguistic Classification**
  - Arawak family
  - Unclear internal relationship and number of dialects

- **Ethnographic dialect classification**
  - Four dialects identified by the words for yes and no: Aha/kurrim, ehe/khenim, oho/karro, oho/ñame
Kurripako language documentation

- Venezuela on a smaller scale exemplifies the world trend on language endangerment
- Approximately 30 indigenous languages, none with a comprehensive record
- At least 10 languages may disappear within the next 10 years
Kurripako language documentation

- A threatened but still healthy language: children starting to shift to Spanish and Portuguese

- To document Kurripako prioritizing:
  - Naturally occurring speech
  - Texts significant to speakers
- Worked with language collaborators selected by each community
- All of them wanted to record the same kinds of texts
What do they want to document?

- Traditional songs, stories, and dances
- Already difficult to find in use in the 1980’s in Venezuela (hill)
- Mostly available from non-evangelized populations from deep within Kurripako territory in Brazil and Colombia, migrating towards Venezuela
The song

NUMAKA PHIA NUKITSINDA.
NUKAOLE SHO.
NUPEYONDAKA PHIA NUKITSINDA.
NUMANDAKA PHIA, PHIA NUKITSINDA.
NUPEYONDAKA PHIA.
NUKAOLE SHO PHIA NUKITSINDA.
MATSIADALI KAWAOKAFEE.
KATIIMAKA FAA PANAYA HALEDAOKALIKO, NUKITSINDA.
Significance of the texts

- Evangelization
- Legal changes
- Indigenous identity and authenticity
EVANGELIZATION

- Evangelized in the 1940s by Sofia Muller
- Demonization of local shamanic practices and everything related to shamans,
- The translation of the New Testament in the indigenous language
EVANGELIZATION

- The prohibition of drinking alcohol, smoking and dancing,
- The replacement of the seasonal inter-village celebrations by Christian revivals referred to as “Santa Cena” (Holy Supper)
- The incorporation of singing and playing music in the services.
Legal Changes

- Constitution of 1999
  - The state as multicultural and pluriethnic
  - Indigenous languages as official in the places in which they are spoken
  - Chapter about indigenous people’s rights that include rights to health, education, self-determination, political participation, land and others.
Indigenous identity and authenticity

- Indigenous defined as people with their own characteristics
- Imagined as the savage other, prototypically represented by the Yanomami
Indigenous identity and authenticity

- How do evangelical kurripako adapt to the imagination?
INDIGENOUS IDENTITY AND AUTHENTICITY

- USE OF TRADITIONAL SONGS, DANCES AND ORNAMENTS IN THEIR PRESENTATION BEFORE OTHERS
- SECOND-ORDER INDICES OF INDIANNESS IN THE IMAGINATION OF THE NON-INDIGENOUS POPULATION
Contexts of use

- Only to be used before “others”, non-indigenous audience
- Mostly government-sponsored festivals and presentations, particularly within the school system—Bolivarian schools
Bolivarian schools

- Brain child of Hugo Chavez
- Emphasis on holistic, intercultural education
- Special curriculum for schools in indigenous and border areas
- Periodic festivals that gather schools in close areas
First Storytelling Festival

- June 2004, Puerto Ayacucho, Amazonas State Venezuela
- Children ages 7-12 enrolled in Bolivarian schools in the Puerto Ayacucho area
- 2 categories, one day for each: Spanish, Indigenous Language
- Cash prizes for first, second and third places in both categories
- Sponsored by the government of Amazonas and the Public Library System.
Indigenous Language Stories

- 45 children participated from 9 schools
- 4 languages from 3 language families: Piaroa (Salivan), Guahibo (Guahiban), Kurrripako (Arawak) and Piapoko (Arawak)
The winning story

- “A grandfather and his dog”
- Presented by a 9-year-old semi-speaker of Kurripako, member of the community where I was doing fieldwork

Outstanding characteristics:
- Onomatopeias
- Slow clear diction
- Colorful costume and body painting
- Body movement
The winning story

- An old man goes far to the jungle to hunt with his dog
- The dog runs away.
- The man climbs a tree. He climbs and climbs and climbs.
- A jaguar comes to the tree and the man throws a rock at him.
- The man calls the dog.
- The jaguar growls.
- The dog comes and barks and distracts the jaguar.
- The man climbs down and runs, runs runs.
- The dog later shows up at the man’s house.
Significance of texts to speakers

- Expansion of symbolic capital
- Can be used to gain economic capital
- Can be used to authenticate their indigenous identity
- Can be used to teach non-speakers
Significance of texts for documentation

- Variety of genres
- Show many different grammatical patterns
- Encourage speaker(s) participation in transcription, translation and analysis because of personal investment
- Contribute to a comprehensive record of the language
Implications of a Speaker-driven approach

- Speaker involvement and interest is a must
- Documenter must be willing to relinquish control of the project
- Documenter must have an established relationship with community
- Needs a deep understanding of the socio-cultural context
Implications of a Speaker-Driven Approach

- Need to follow cultural protocols
- Community collaborators will find sources of knowledge unknown to the documenter
- Documenter mainly provides resources (tangible and intangible) that community does not have
Conclusions

- Prioritizing speakers’ interest can better serve the community of speakers while still being useful to the researcher(s)
- Whenever possible, speakers must be given the priority in planning and carrying out the documentation
- Certain conditions must be met for this approach to work
Thank you!

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