

WAYFINDING IN PACIFIC LINGUASCAPES:
NEGOTIATING TOKELAU LINGUISTIC IDENTITIES IN HAWAI'I

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Dedication

These pages are dedicated to my late father Sanders Glenn, Sr., warrior, scholar, and lover of words, whose pursuit of the outstanding and the humane has been my constant example in every stage of my education,

And to my late grandmothers, Gertelia Bullock Glenn and Vivian Goodman Brewington, whose open hearts and vigilant memories set me on this path. *Nunohum, kuwumaras.*

Mo na tino Tokelau i nuku kehe, na ika motu i te moana...

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the linguistic practices of Tokelau people resettled on Hawai'i's island of O'ahu as they engage in the work of maintaining their heritage language. The focus of the research is on the community of practice that has developed around the language and culture school Te Lumanaki o Tokelau i Amelika ('The Future of Tokelau in America') begun by descendants of people displaced from US-affiliated Olohega (Swains Island) and relocated to O'ahu beginning in the middle twentieth century. Through interviews, audio recordings of interactions, and ethnographic observation, I show that a key part of reclaiming and maintaining Tokelau identities in this space is the construction and negotiation of an imagined *Pacific linguascape*, peopled by talkers and defined by movement between islands of culture and actual transit through the geography of the Pacific. Community members make sense of their experiences in the multicultural world of modern Hawai'i through talk and through knowledge about talk, including dialectal variation, language contact, language history, and intracommunity linguistic ideologies. Through participation in explicit engagements with language, a species of *ethnometalinguistic action*, Tokelau people and speakers of Tokelauan make sense of social and historical interactions through language, using talk not only as a diagnostic for measuring linguistic sameness and difference, but also in dynamic ways as a wayfinding tool as they move through new social and cultural spaces in their homelands, as they encounter indigenous Pacific Islanders elsewhere, and as they reinvent and reinterpret themselves along the way.

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Le seul véritable voyage... ce ne serait pas d'aller vers de nouveaux paysages, mais d'avoir d'autres yeux, de voir l'univers avec les yeux d'un autre, de cent autres, de voir les cent univers que chacun d'eux voit, que chacun d'eux est...

The only true voyage... would be not to go towards new lands but to possess other eyes, to see the universe through the eyes of another, of a hundred others, to see the hundred universes that each of them sees, that each of them is...

"La Prisonnière"

À la recherche du temps perdu
Marcel Proust

Chapter 1. Introductions and research questions

1.1. Introduction. In the past several decades of culture reclamation and revitalization in the colonized Pacific an emphasis on a shared heritage of voyaging and wayfinding has been a major theme for organizing solidarity between indigenous peoples. As Polynesians find swaths of cognate words and culture forms that span the Pacific, as the *moana* laps at the shores of each of the islands, as landfalls and leavetakings have new consequences, and as people and resources move in new currents, the navigational requirements of this new Pacific demand new techniques. Modern Pacific Islanders live in a region in flux and as individuals and communities move through new culture spaces in their own region and through the thresholds of the globalized world they reinterpret and reuse traditional identities, ideologies, languages and speech ways, navigating and reshaping the new environments they encounter.

This dissertation investigates the linguistic practices of first-, second-, and third-generation Tokelau¹ people resettled on Hawai'i's island of O'ahu as they engage in the work of maintaining their heritage language. The study focuses on the community of practice² that has coalesced around the language and culture school Te Lumanaki o Tokelau i Amelika ('The Future of Tokelau in America'), begun by

¹ In this work I use "Tokelau" as both a noun in reference to the atoll group and as an adjective, as in "Tokelau people" and "the Tokelau language," out of respect for the preference of many Tokelau people I have encountered in the course of this study. I also make use of "Tokelauan" to refer to the language and culture where it facilitates ease of comprehension for the reader.

² This term and its application to this study are described in greater detail in Chapter 2.

descendants of people displaced from US-affiliated Olohega (Swains Island) and relocated to O'ahu in the middle twentieth century. Through interviews, audio recordings of interactions, and ethnographic observation, I show that a key part of reclaiming and maintaining Tokelau identities in this space is the construction and negotiation of an imagined *Pacific linguascape*, peopled by talkers and defined by movement between islands of culture and actual transit through the geography of the Pacific. Community members make sense of their experiences in the multicultural world of modern Hawai'i through talk and through knowledge about talk, including dialectal variation, language contact, language history, and community linguistic ideologies. Through participation in explicit engagements with language that I identify as *ethnometalinguistic action*³, Tokelau people and speakers of Tokelauan make sense of social and historical interactions through language, using talk not only as a diagnostic for measuring linguistic sameness and difference, but also in dynamic ways as a wayfinding tool as they move through new social and cultural spaces in their homelands, as they encounter indigenous Pacific Islanders elsewhere, and as they reinvent and reinterpret themselves along the way.

1.2 Research Questions. The goal of this dissertation is to investigate how dialectal variation, language contact, and community linguistic ideologies facilitate the negotiation of various identities in a small language community managing language shift in a diaspora situation.

³ This term and its application to this discussion are presented in Chapter 3.

This research is guided by four main questions:

1. What linguistic resources are available to Tokelauans living in Hawai'i?
2. How do speakers manage and navigate these linguistic resources across contexts that ask them to perform various identities in multicultural Hawai'i?
3. How are concepts of space, localness, and *malaga* ('voyaging' or 'travel'), related to how Tokelau identity is discursively constructed in a transnational space?
4. How do discourses of language endangerment allow Tokelauans to imagine and negotiate variation, language contact, and change in the diaspora?

In this chapter I will provide some orientation to the Tokelau homeland, its language, and to its main diaspora communities in New Zealand and Hawai'i. The history of Tokelau and the modern experiences of Tokelau people are marked by culture contact, reinterpretation, and reinvention and the next sections seek to frame the history and social worlds that Tokelau people in Hawai'i inhabit.

1.3 Tokelau linguistic identity in a transnational space. Tokelauan is a Polynesian language traditionally spoken on four low-lying atolls northwest of

Samoa with a combined land area of less than 14 square kilometers. Tokelau⁴'s closest neighbors are Tuvalu to the west, the Phoenix and Line Islands of Kiribati to the north, and Samoa to the south. Tokelauan is classified in the Samoic-Outlier branch of the Polynesian language family and is most closely related to the Ellicean languages spoken on the islands of the Northern Atoll Arc that reaches, west to east, from the Solomon Islands to the Northern Cook Islands. Tokelauan is mutually intelligible with Tuvaluan (Besnier 2000; Hooper 1996a) and many speakers also have fluency in Samoan and English.

Traditionally, the Tokelau group included four atolls, Atafu, Nukunonu, Fakaofu, and Olohega, but the islands have been divided politically between competing European interests in the Pacific since the early twentieth century. The three northern atolls now comprise the non-self-governing territory of Tokelau, administered by New Zealand, while the fourth island, Olohega (also known as Swains Island), is part of the US territory of American Samoa. The territory of Tokelau supports a population of between 1,400 and 1,500 (Statistics New Zealand 2006, 2011) on islands of a total habitable area of about 10 square kilometers (3.9 square miles), with few food plants and land resources.

⁴ *Tokelau* has many cognate forms across the Pacific, virtually all of them with a reference to cardinal north or to the direction of a northern (or northwestern) wind. In Hawai'i this cognate is associated with the windward or *ko'olau* sides of islands and is the name of one of O'ahu's two mountain ranges.

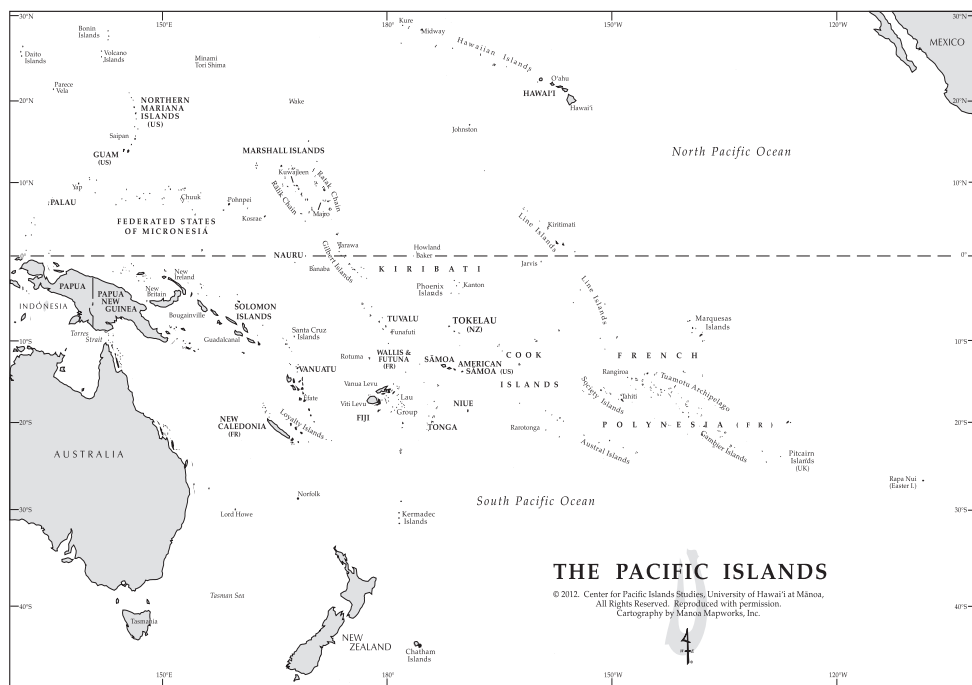


Figure 1: Map of the Pacific (used by permission of University of Hawai'i Center for Pacific Islands Studies)

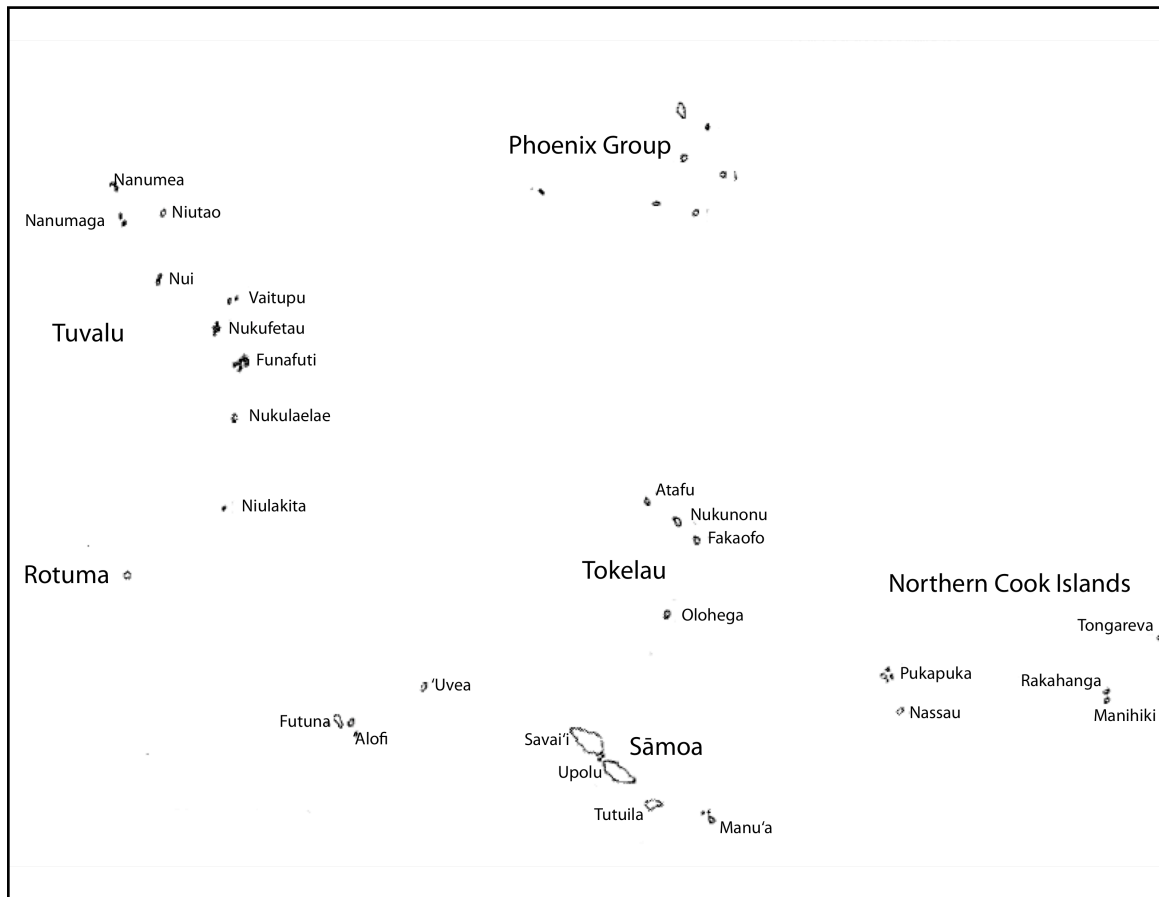


Figure 2: Map of the central Pacific, including Tokelau and neighboring island groups. Produced by the author.

Recently, archaeological finds on the island of Atafu have shown that Polynesian peoples have been living on the island for at least several hundred years (Addison 2008, Addison et al. 2009), and some earlier studies (Best 1988) have posited that people have lived in Tokelau for at least a millennium. Because of the limitations of atoll dwelling (Kirch and Rallu 2007), Tokelau culture is predominantly oriented to the sea, and cultural institutions have evolved over time

for managing the available resources. As an atoll society, Tokelau social structure is less stratified than traditional Polynesian societies in more resource-rich environments (Sahlins 1958).

While Tokelau is part of the culture area of western Polynesia, sharing some traditions with the much larger societies of Tonga and Samoa, the pressures of atoll dwelling have shaped the modern and traditional cultures of Tokelau in many ways that have important bearing on the development of social organization there. Tokelau culture's emphasis on a flat social structure is manifested in several ways in both the homeland and in the diaspora. One of those ways is in the emphasis on the equal distribution of collective resources, of food, gifts, and other material goods. The institution of the *ika hā* 'sacred fish' compels fishers to relinquish their catch of several marine species, such as green sea turtles or swordfish, to community elders to divide out equally. Communal fishing, or even just a particularly successful independent catch, results in *inati*—the institutionalized distribution of a portion of fish for each person in the community, including visitors and nursing infants. The brother-sister relationship that scholars (Lane 1961, Marck 1996, Hage 1998, and others) have described elsewhere in western Polynesia is also still vibrant in Tokelau (MacGregor 1937, Huntsman and Hooper 1976). The brother-sister relation was traditionally one predicated on attention to mutual material well-being, as the brother provided food resources and his sister other household materials such as sleeping mats or woven hats. Traditionally, after marrying and moving away from the family home to join his wife's household, a brother continued to provide food for his sister. Even in situations where kin relate through a modern nuclear family

model, brothers and sisters foster special relationships with their siblings' children. In Tokelau, where subsistence fishing is still the main source of food, these traditions endure, but in the diaspora, even where siblings are wage earners, brothers are still expected to be attentive to the needs of their sisters and their sisters' families. Sisters, who stay with the family, are called *fatupaepae* 'white stones', on the analogy of the white coral heads that form the foundation of the traditional Tokelau house (Matagi Tokelau 1991), and the council of *fatupaepae* wields important domestic and covert political power in village life. These institutions are important in how Tokelau people describe their culture as distinct from other Polynesian societies in the region, and the idealization of equal status between moieties is a crucial ideological point around which Tokelau people have motivated their difference from other Pacific Islanders, especially Samoans, whose culture is viewed by Tokelauans as primarily hierarchical and status-driven.

All of the four islands of historical Tokelau are separated by stretches of open sea hewn by strong currents. The distances between islands were traveled in traditional times by carved and lashed *vaka* 'canoes', and even in the contemporary era the channels require expert knowledge to navigate safely. As a result, navigation for voyaging and fishing has remained important in Tokelau, as embodied in the *tautai* tradition of inducting men into ocean lore, practices of celestial navigation, and advanced pelagic fishing techniques. Though relatively short trips between the islands were possible, and mutual intelligibility maintained by what Marck (1986:253) has called the "overnight voyaging" principle, the infrequency of voyages between the islands facilitated the development of atoll-specific identities

and dialects. During the period before the intervention of European interests in the area, these differences also fomented warfare between islands in competition for resources (Matagi Tokelau 1991).

Because of these environmental limitations, Tokelau has probably always supported very small speaker populations, but the forces of twentieth century globalization have caused this small community of speakers to be dispersed into territories across the Pacific, with the largest diaspora centers in New Zealand, Samoa, Australia, and Hawai'i.

1.3.1 Tokelauan language in the diaspora. In the nineteenth century, Tokelau was visited by a series of outsiders whose culture and language practices drastically altered the community and paved the way for the development of the current diaspora situation. In the middle 1860s all of the islands experienced a demographic crisis as “blackbirding” ships absconded with most of their able-bodied inhabitants to force them into labor in Peru (Maude 1981 ; Ickes 2009). At around the same time, just as in other Pacific Island communities, Tokelau was transformed by the introduction of Christianity as competing European missionary factions established themselves in the area. Though Tokelau eventually accepted both Protestant and Catholic missions, the process of conversion was mainly carried out by so-called “native” missionaries and catechists recruited from Samoa. In contrast to island groups where European missionaries emphasized the translation of the Bible into the local vernacular, missionary societies viewed the use of Samoan as expedient to the spread of Christianity in Tokelau based on the presumed similarity between

Tokelauan and Samoan. Literacy in Samoan was introduced in the mission period and though an official orthography was not produced until the 1970s Tokelau speakers adapted writing to their language⁵ and used it in correspondence and in non-official capacities outside of church and school.

Many Tokelau people emigrated to New Zealand beginning in the middle twentieth century at the encouragement of the government to find employment and to further their educations as a part of a major resettlement scheme after a series of storms damaged food resources on the island (Huntsman with Kalolo 2007). New Zealand continues to administer Atafu, Nukunonu, and Fakaofu as the territory of Tokelau, and in February of 2006 islanders rejected a referendum to make Tokelau an independent state (Parker 2006; Huntsman and Kalolo 2007). The territory operates in free association with New Zealand, and its people are considered New Zealand citizens. They can freely move within New Zealand, and receive support for schools and public works from the government. The territory has become wholly fiscally dependent on support from New Zealand as its current population increasingly moves from subsistence to limited participation in the global market economy. Indeed, many Tokelauans have taken advantage of the relationship with New Zealand to leave the islands somewhat semi-permanently for employment in the urban environments of Auckland, Wellington, and their suburbs. Today, there are between 6,000 and 9,000 people of Tokelau descent in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand 2006).

⁵ The Samoan influence on Tokelau orthography is evidenced in the use of <g> for [ŋ] whereas orthographies for other Polynesian languages, like Māori, have opted for the digraph <ng> to represent the same velar nasal.

In 1954, the first published materials in Tokelauan were created by New Zealand educators for use in schools in Tokelau. In New Zealand, students who speak Tokelauan or are of Tokelau descent have the right to education in their heritage language (New Zealand Ministry of Education 2000a). The New Zealand government also supports several Tokelau immersion early childhood education centers called *akoga kamata* 'beginning schools'. The New Zealand Ministry of Education continues to publish texts in Tokelauan and provides guides for classroom teachers on how to support the learning of Tokelau students past pre-school (New Zealand Ministry of Education 2000b, 2009) but more comprehensive support beyond the earliest grade levels is not readily available within the public school system.

The 2001 New Zealand census shows that only 44 percent of people with Tokelau ancestry reported that they could hold a conversation in Tokelauan, down from 53 percent five years earlier. Among New Zealand-born Tokelauans, only 29 percent reported that they could speak the language, compared with 71 percent born in the three atolls (Statistics New Zealand 2001). This trend is observable in many Polynesian immigrant communities in New Zealand (Taumoeofolau et al. 2002) but the Tokelauan case shows much more advanced signs of language shift than other communities of its size. Among Pacific Islanders in New Zealand, Tokelau people are most likely to identify with more than one ethnicity. Fifty percent of Tokelau people in New Zealand also claim another primary ethnicity. Tokelauans also exhibit the highest rates of intermarriage of any Pacific Islands minority in the country (Statistics New Zealand 2006). Tokelau people in New Zealand report much

more direct contact with their homeland than Tokelauans elsewhere, so the New Zealand rates of intergenerational transmission and self-reported conversational fluency are likely the best-case scenario in the diaspora. Despite the limited institutional support for Polynesian and other Pacific languages in New Zealand, most people of Tokelau descent live in nations and in a world where English is increasingly dominant and the practicalities of their new environments both at home and abroad make language shift difficult to avoid.

Including speakers in the homeland and in diaspora communities, there are approximately 3,000 speakers of Tokelauan worldwide (Lewis 2009). The Tokelau language has always had a small number of speakers, even in pre-European contact times, because the limited resources in the atolls restricted the number of occupants the land could support. Today, however, the small number of speakers at home, the dwindling use of the language in the diaspora, and the possibility that the islands themselves are endangered by global climate change (Barnett 2001; Welch 2002, Burns 2003) create a real feeling of endangerment among speakers. Rates of Tokelauan language maintenance and attrition in New Zealand suggest that the future of the language will be influenced by the efforts of the diaspora communities settled in Pacific territories where English is dominant, as much as within the Tokelau homeland itself.

1.3.2 Olohega in Tokelau. The fourth island of historical Tokelau, US-administered Olohega (Swains Island) has been part of the territory of American Samoa since 1925. Traditionally, however, Olohega was very much a part of

Tokelau.⁶ In the period before European contact, the islands of Tokelau operated semi-autonomously, with Atafu and Nukunonu paying tribute to the kingdom of Fakaofu, and with intermittent warring between the atolls documented in the enduring legends, chants, and oral histories passed down and compiled in *Matagi Tokelau* (1991) and in the records of twentieth century anthropologists. By those accounts, the island of Olohega was peopled from Fakaofu and these two islands enjoyed a closer, more amicable relationship than the other two. In this period wars often entailed the annihilation of entire populations or the flight and resettlement of entire groups on other islands outside of Tokelau. Olohega may or may not have been inhabited continuously during this time but the island, with the largest land area of the four and the only source of fresh water, was extremely important to the food security of Tokelau, and its position made it a crucial landmark in navigation through the area.

In 1841 the United States Exploring Expedition, empowered by the US Congress to discover new realms of commerce and science to exploit in the Pacific, traveled through Tokelau and returned with valuable cultural and scientific documentation, including the very first account of the Tokelau language by the philologist Horatio Hale (Hale 1846). Though the Expedition was able to land at Atafu and Fakaofu and make prodigious notes about the people they encountered there, the US explorers were unable to land at Olohega though natives from other Pacific Islands traveling with them went ashore to retrieve coconuts from trees that

⁶ Historian Betty Pedro Ickes has provided detailed accounts of both Tokelau oral history and Western sources on Olohega. For a more in-depth treatment of the history of Olohega and its people in the diaspora see Ickes's 2009 dissertation, "Expanding the Tokelau Archipelago: Tokelau's Decolonization and Olohega's Penu Tafea in the Hawai'i Diaspora."

had been planted in groves there. Despite some signs that the island was inhabited—the obvious cultivation of coconut and taro, the scarcity of birds for an island of its size—the Exploring Expedition reported that the island was *uninhabited* without having sent their own crewmembers ashore to see (Ickes 2009:51). This first account had important consequences for the status of Olohega as the Pacific became of increasing interest to the colonial powers of Europe and America.

In the subsequent decades missionaries, traders, beachcombers, and whalers all made their way through Tokelau and Olohega, and in the middle 1860s a New Yorker named Eli Jennings, who had been a crewmember on an American whaling vessel, found his way to an inhabited Olohega with his Samoan wife. Jennings and his family established themselves on Olohega, and when Peruvian “Blackbirding” ships arrived to capture slaves to work in silver mines (Maude 1981), Jennings allegedly brokered a deal with them that led to the seizure of most of the able-bodied people on the island (Ickes 1999, 2009). Though the rest of Tokelau and the surrounding islands were profoundly impacted by the demographic crisis caused by the “Blackbirding” raids, Jennings was able to establish an autocratic copra plantation in the aftermath, setting himself and his family up as rulers of the island and eventually restricting access to it and limiting the practices and mobility of the native people on the island as they shifted from traditional subsistence lifestyles to become laborers on the plantation.

Ickes (1999) has outlined the abuses and dispossessions that occurred under the Jennings regime, but the family’s claim to ownership of the island was in part founded on the erroneous claim that Olohega had been uninhabited at first Western

contact and had been *terra nullis*, despite the reality that Jennings lived there with native Tokelau people who understood Tokelau's claims to the place and its ties to Fakaofu. In 1925 the island was ceded to the US on account of the American citizenship of the Jennings family. During the copra plantation years, some Tokelau people married into the Jennings family but lived and worked with the rest of the Tokelau population, with low scrip wages and their mobility limited by the Jennings patriarch under an island plantation regime (Ickes 2001). While some traditions, like exogamic inter-island marriage and *fātele* dancing, were maintained during the copra plantation years, Olohega residents were separated from the other islands of Tokelau. Coupled with the ongoing importation of workers from the Solomon Islands, Tuvalu, Kiribati, Samoa, and elsewhere, Olohega culture and language began to diverge from the rest of Tokelau, even while Olohega islanders still maintained identities as Tokelauans, and especially their ties to Fakaofu Island (Ickes 2009).

After the Second World War changed the face of the Pacific in many ways, some Olohega people left in search of education and opportunity. Tired of abuses on the copra plantation, in 1953 workers on Olohega enacted a work stoppage. In retaliation, the Jennings family contacted the Navy administrators in American Samoa, who saw to it that Tokelau people, eventually including some Tokelauan Jennings family members, were deported from the private island and refused the right of return.

The repatriation of Olohega to Tokelau has been a recent topic of discussion in the diaspora, especially as New Zealand has encouraged Tokelau to become independent. The Tokelau contemporary music group Te Vaka has recorded and

performed a song, *Hāloa Olohega* ('Poor Olohega' or 'Too bad about Olohega') about the dispossession of the island, and singer-songwriter Vaniah Toloa, himself the son of Tokelau's current Head of State, has written and performed songs like *Tokelau Ke Manuia* that mention Olohega explicitly, and fondly, as part of Tokelau. In 2009 New Zealand television produced an episode of the Pacific Islander-focused news magazine program *Tagata Pasifika* dedicated to the story of Olohega people settled in New Zealand and Hawai'i (Papau et al. 2009). The northern three islands, New Zealand's territory of Tokelau, are often called the *Tū Tolu* ('Three Standing') but increasingly in public forums Tokelau is referred to as the *Tū Fā*, the 'Four Standing.'

1.4 Tokelauans in Hawai'i. Some nearly one thousand people of Tokelau descent live in and around the central O'ahu town of Wahiawā and in Honolulu's Kalihi Valley. The majority of them have roots in Olohega. Brought to Pagopago, American Samoa without the ability to purchase or hold land and without connections to the traditional clan structure of Samoan society, many Tokelauans existed on the social fringes of Samoa before moving to Hawai'i in the 1950s and 1960s to find work in the waning days of commercial agriculture on O'ahu (Ickes 1999).

Because of the status of Olohega and the history of removal and resettlement, Tokelau people in Hawai'i have been an invisible minority. Their arrival coincided with the largest waves of immigration to Hawai'i from Samoa and their legal status and cultural similarity to Samoans made them classifiable by government agencies and educational institutions primarily as American Samoans. Histories of Samoan language use in liturgy, or during relocation to Samoa after expulsion from Olohega

made early Tokelau immigrants reachable through the medium of Samoan and further complicated their institutional invisibility. For many who had endured the forced removal from their homes, the memories were painful and life in Hawai'i quickly became about ensuring the family's survival through any means. Most of the Olohega people who settled on O'ahu initially worked in agriculture, in factories, and on the docks. Many of their children served in the US military to become citizens or pursued higher education to secure professional employment. As they assimilated into Hawai'i's Local⁷ community, Tokelau people experienced language and culture shift at a rate much more rapid than that for other, larger immigrant ethnic communities.

1.4.1 Tokelau language in Hawai'i. In the multilingual world of Hawai'i's post-war plantation economy, Tokelauan adults spoke their mother tongue among themselves and with older children who recalled life in Tokelau, but even within a single generation younger children began to speak Samoan and Hawai'i Creole to each other (Ickes 2001:15). Studies of heritage language maintenance often identify religious life as a bastion of language maintenance in immigrant communities (Schrauf 1999), but Olohega's Tokelauans had developed religious lives through the medium of Samoan, prior generations having been missionized while still at home by Samoan-speaking missionaries. Within a generation outside their homeland, the shift to Samoan, English, and Hawai'i Creole seemed inevitable.

⁷ I will use "Local" throughout this text to refer to the syncretic culture of Hawai'i's plantation workers and their descendants. The culture is marked by several practices including, but not limited to, the use of Hawai'i Creole English, vernacularly referred to as "Pidgin." For more on this category in Hawai'i, see Okamura 1980, Chang 1996, Labrador 2004, Furukawa 2010 and others.

In 2003 members of the Tokelauan community in Hawai'i founded Te Taki Tokelau ('The Tokelau Guide') Community Training and Development, Inc., with the dual mission of preservation of Tokelau language and culture in Hawai'i and economic development for the community. In 2006, the not-for-profit community organization undertook a sociolinguistic survey of Tokelauan usage in the Hawai'i community with the support of the Administration for Native Americans, a subsection of the US Department of Health and Human Services. The survey, conducted entirely by community members and called the "Kālele Project," asked the community to report their proficiency in Tokelauan and other languages and to identify the domains in which they used Tokelauan or thought Tokelauan appropriate. The survey responses indicate that use and transmission of Tokelauan were in rapid decline within the small community. Only eight percent reported any ability to converse in Tokelauan, and only five percent of respondents reported fluency in the language (Te Taki Tokelau 2007). Te Taki's survey of Tokelau people on O'ahu was the first official report on Tokelau people living in the United States since community members had been previously counted in census documents as "Other" Pacific Islanders or American Samoan, reinforcing the institutional invisibility of Tokelauans among Pacific Island migrant communities in Hawai'i.

1.4.2 Te Lumanaki o Tokelau i Amelika School. In 2004, after an informal visit from a Tokelau delegation en route to the Pacific Arts Festival in Palau, members of O'ahu's Tokelau community began holding informal class meetings at the request of youth who were interested in learning the language, songs, and dance of traditional

Tokelau. Elders of many families had been concerned about the continuance of Tokelau traditions in Hawai'i, but it was not until second- and third-generation Tokelau people in Hawai'i were confronted with the reality of being unable to communicate with guests from the homeland or to participate in the genre of action song called *fātele* that the loose network of immigrant families began to organize into a small community, primarily concerned with cultural and linguistic maintenance.

The first project of Te Taki Tokelau was the establishment of a Tokelau language and culture school called Te Lumanaki o Tokelau i Amelika 'The Future of Tokelau in America'. Te Lumanaki grew out of the informal classes held in families' garages in the area of Wahiawā in central O'ahu, meeting on Saturday mornings with a loosely structured curriculum of *pehe* 'songs' and *fātele*, a type of action song. Word of the new school spread, and soon meetings overwhelmed the garage space. Classes relocated to the clubhouse at Poamoho Camp, O'ahu's last remaining plantation village and a place where a number of Tokelau families had made their first homes in Hawai'i. Since 2004 the school has had an enrollment of between sixty and eighty students, and though there is a concentration of Tokelau people in central O'ahu, participants live all around the island, many driving or taking public transportation for an hour or more each way to attend the Saturday class sessions. Most of the students are schoolchildren, and the word *lumanaki* itself means 'future' but is often metaphorically used in Tokelau to refer to children. The school's policy is to make Tokelau culture available to everyone in the community without charging tuition, and so over the last few years it has also attracted students and their

families who have no Tokelau ancestry. As the school has grown through partnerships with other heritage language programs, like the Hawaiian immersion programs and other recent projects for Samoan and Micronesian heritage language in other Pacific Islands communities, it has become a major site for the community of Olohega people to organize and be together as Tokelauans.

The school, staffed by native-speaker volunteers and some Tokelauan-learning adult members of the community, met between 2003 and 2010 once a week in the clubhouse of Poamoho Camp. Most of the students were born in Hawai'i, the continental US, or American Samoa, and all of them attend English-medium schools the rest of the week. For some, especially the young, the decision to attend is made by their parents, who together with the volunteer teachers and the elders make decisions about Te Lumanaki. The school operated for six years without a formal curriculum, relying on the imaginations of the volunteer teachers who came from a variety of professional backgrounds in information technology, medicine, business, and academia, but none with experience in language teaching.

Though language teaching is a major part of the project of Te Lumanaki, traditional Tokelauan performance art appears to be, for both students and parents, a primary draw to the school. The performance of *fātele* is the most visible public act of the school and the most recognizable Tokelau cultural practice in Hawai'i. One of the ways that participants have interpreted the value of *fātele* is in noting the salience of the action song in Polynesian performance arts and in Hawai'i. The school has performed *fātele* at art museums, galleries, Pacific Islander gatherings, and at the University of Hawai'i, among other venues in the community, and their

appearances have been rebroadcast on local cable-access channels and circulated online through vehicles like YouTube. *Fātele* is often explained on analogy with *hula*, a Hawaiian dance form highly regarded by both visitors and residents of the islands. While in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, *hula* has been associated especially with tourism, its practice has also been a major catalyst for the Hawaiian cultural renaissance and for language revitalization (Wilson 1998; Wong 1999). The similarities between *hula* and *fātele* allow Tokelau people to make certain kinds of claims on indigeneity by linking themselves to Hawaiians through a shared Polynesian culture history.

In 2010, teachers at the school developed the first formal content-based language curriculum, again through funding from the Administration for Native Americans. The curriculum project produced a collection of documents called the *Tāmoko Tokelau Language Education Series*. As a part of the project, the volunteer teachers received professional development in classroom management and heritage language teaching strategies and engaged more directly in lesson planning and researching traditional Tokelau culture for content in a range of domains including technology, geography and environmental science, and Pacific history. In the summer of 2010, the school initiated the first formal *malaga* ‘travel’ to Tokelau by a group of US Tokelauans to do research, gather images and ephemera to support the curriculum, and to make explicit ties between Te Lumanaki and educational and cultural institutions in Tokelau. The group included teachers, parents, and students and visited Tokelau communities in Samoa and the islands Atafu and Nukunonu before spending several weeks on Fakaofu.

Te Lumanaki School is the site of multiple negotiations of how language relates to Tokelauan identity, participation in local Hawai'i culture, and membership in a Tokelauan diaspora that is connected to ideologies of pan-Pacific and pan-Polynesian culture politics. Because there is a knowledge gap in the community—in terms of the traditional social and material culture of Tokelau—proficient members are engaged in descriptive analysis themselves as a means to be able to explain events to interested youth or Te Lumanaki students. This approach to learning things through explanation is an innovation in a society where people would have traditionally learned through observation or apprenticeship (*Matagi Tokelau* 1991). Additionally, in valorizing the horizontal social structure of traditional Tokelau, the school also hosts elder-parent-teacher meetings to foster consensus on plans for the school. These meetings are a hybrid of the traditional Tokelau *fono* 'meeting' (Hoëm 2004, 2010) and American-style parent-teacher association meetings with some elements of *talk story* (Ohata 1987), a speech genre in Hawai'i culture.

1.4.3 Tokelau identities in Hawai'i. In the period since the cultural revivals of the 1970s, Polynesians have been reaching across the ocean to draw parallels between their island cultures and histories of colonialism, and to share strategies and to give support for self-determination efforts. Within this political climate, members of small Polynesian societies, like Tokelauans, find themselves engaged in multiple dialogues about what it means to be Polynesian and where home is. Tokelauans in Hawai'i still identify with their home atolls and specific linguistic and cultural practices from those places but at the same time, their time in Samoa or New

Zealand induces them to identify with the Samoan language in church or with the players of Tokelauan descent on the New Zealand national rugby team. The Tokelauan diaspora in Hawai'i has connections to, and in some ways is part of, the Samoan diaspora, New Zealand diaspora communities, and the Polynesian diaspora concurrently.

Recognizing the history and development of Polynesia as a history of diaspora can inform analysis of the migrations and movements in the modern Pacific, but the contemporary diaspora has diverged from “traditional migratory patterns” (Spoonley 2000) of pre-European inter-island contacts. Polynesians relocate to larger nation states because the histories of colonialism and forced migration after the European contact period have re-shaped the currents of human resettlement in the Pacific Ocean, creating social actors with “flexible citizenship” (Ong 1999) who sometimes migrate as communities or migrate in order to pursue inclusion in community (Small 1997).

Polynesian migration in the modern era is motivated by the pursuit of resources, but it appears that in the case of Tokelauans outside of the atolls, a quest for agency in the shaping of a Tokelauan identity is a simultaneous, and not subordinate, motivator. Tokelau people in Hawai'i are members of concentric diasporas, and a series of shared identities inform how members of the community can concurrently position themselves as indigenous (for example, qualifying for funding as “Native Americans”) and as immigrants in their language maintenance efforts and can contextualize themselves within local Hawai'i culture and American culture, while participating in Pacific Islands, Polynesian, and Tokelau cultures.

Ickes (2001) identifies the phenomenon as “double consciousness”⁸ and the multiple positioning of Tokelauans in Hawai‘i and New Zealand reveals the diaspora to be a dialogic community in which trans-territorial discussions about language and culture and multiple and intersecting “economies of affection” (Henry 1999) are necessary to understand Tokelauan history and Tokelau people’s modern world.

It is in this context that the multilingual community of Hawai‘i becomes a resource for articulating these sometimes-conflicting identities. A pervasive feature of the talk in the Te Lumanaki community is code-mixing and use of Tokelauan and Samoan lexical items in sequences of English talk. Code-switching seems to have a particularly dynamic function where it “heighten[s] attention to competing languages and varieties to such an extent that identities, social relations, and the constitution of the community itself become open to negotiation” (Bauman and Briggs 1990:63). In a theatrical production in New Zealand that Hoëm (2004) describes, a female narrator code-switches between English and Tokelauan “for a more detached rendering of features of village life” (116). In Hawai‘i, Tokelau identity construction is not mapped directly onto use or proficiency in Tokelau language, though proficiency in the language does seem to have a connection with Tokelauan identity. For individuals who have low proficiency in Tokelauan, other linguistic resources are available, in particular two languages of wider communication, Samoan and English. In the community, Samoan correlates to high formality, such as in speech making or public prayers. English correlates to

⁸ This phrase was first offered by W.E.B. Dubois (1903) and has become influential in sociology, Black Atlantic, and diaspora studies. It describes the experience of individuals whose fragmented identities are unable to be unified, requiring them to maneuver between viewing themselves through the eyes of outsiders as their various identities conflict with each other.

accommodation to the young and to non-Tokelauan speaking community members. This study explores the role of multiple codes and multiple linguistic resources in the construction and maintenance of Tokelauan identities in these new contexts.

1.5 Overview of the study. In the following chapter I will present the theories that frame this study. Chapter 3 presents my approach and methodology, discussing data collection and the key concepts of *ethnometalinguistics*, mentioned earlier in this chapter, and the *linguascape*. Chapters 4–6 present data from interviews, participant observation, and from recorded interactions. Chapter 4 is a presentation of historical variation in Tokelau, and discussion and analysis of the Olohega variety in the diaspora. Chapter 5 investigates community strategies for circulating and negotiating linguistic knowledge in the space of Te Lumanaki School and highlights how exchanging information about language allows community members to establish a place for themselves in multicultural Hawai‘i. Chapter 6 illustrates the construction of an imagined Pacific *linguascape* through discourses of travel, actual travel, multilingual practices in interaction and in diffuse environments like music and social media. Finally, in Chapter 7 I discuss the findings and implications of the study, community reactions and participation in it, and directions for further research.

Chapter 2. Theoretical Frameworks

2.1 Introduction. In this chapter I will present the theoretical orientations that inform the study and around which the analysis and discussion are based. I begin by reviewing the literature in linguistic anthropology, performance studies, sociolinguistics, and language documentation and conservation to provide the theoretical background upon which the concepts of the *linguascape* and of *ethnometalinguistics* are founded. Finally, I present these terms themselves and discuss how language practices help to define social space and how community discourses about language convey language ideologies and strategies for membership in the Hawai'i Tokelau community.

2.2 Theories of community. In this section I will present the main theories of community that bound this study of Tokelau people in Hawai'i. First are the notions of speech communities and communities of practice, both articulated in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology in various ways that make reference to demographic categories and to social action. Additionally, I will present the imagined community, a useful theoretical tool in investigating the development of nationalism and nationalist sentiment, and also the ways that both diaspora and nations are constituted and maintained across distance.

2.2.1 Speech communities and communities of practice. The “speech community” is the core context for evaluating variation and change in sociolinguistic

analysis and is often taken as an *a priori* discrete group of speakers. In the literature, its main definitions emphasize a group that shares a set of linguistic practices and recognizes and pursues a set of linguistic norms through social interaction. For Bloomfield, a group who produced utterances “alike or partly alike” (1926:153) could be considered a speech community, while Gumperz (1968) foregrounded the frequency of social interaction through verbal means within a particular group in ways that set them apart from others. The community is an aggregate of persons who share notions about which rules govern the “conduct and interpretation of speech” (Hymes 1972:54), and though the community’s rules refer to the formal aspects of language, such as varieties of phonology or of syntax, the community itself is predicated upon the social interaction and social cohesion of its members. In Labov’s (1972) presentation of the speech community, the agreement on “rules” among community members need not be explicit, nor even articulable by them, but the norms that govern their speech behavior may be extracted from observable, overt patterns within a community, in contrast to those outside of it. Labovian sociolinguistics has often theorized the speech community in terms of demographic categories like ethnicity, social class, region, and gender because such classifications correspond to presumed social difference and insularity. Thus, the literature abounds in descriptions of speech communities bounded by place and age, sex, and occupation.

While the notion is very useful in analysis because of its ability to bound contexts, most “speech communities” in reality are constituted of individuals whose language usage and “rules” for verbal interaction are not discretely bounded by

demographic labels. Sociolinguists have wrestled with the implications of the notion of “speech community,” as it insinuates linguistic homogeneity within a community, whether in monolingualism or in relatively stable multilingual or diglossic practices (Ferguson 1959). Several scholars (for example, Gumperz 1962; Silverstein 1996) have attempted to articulate a contrasting “linguistic community” on the basis of shared linguistic ideology and the sense that community members themselves constitute a group through their orientation to linguistic practice. Duranti (1997) finds that the speech community, rather than existing as an entity for study, is instead the “point of view of analysis.” For those interested in language in social and cultural contexts, Duranti suggests the focus should turn to “the product of the communicative activities engaged in by a given group of people” (1997:82). This emphasis on the *product of communicative activities* is one that I take as foundational in this work.

I also draw on the notion of the “community of practice” articulated in anthropology and sociology, proposed in the work of Lave and Wenger (1991) to describe a group that coalesces around a common interest, pursuit, or profession. In the process of learning or practicing in a particular domain, community members develop their own social norms and negotiate social identities. Wenger (1998) has further expounded on the community of practice, describing its structure as composed of three interlocking components: mutual engagement, joint enterprise, and a shared repertoire. “Mutual engagement” describes the cultivation of relationships through participation in the community, while the “joint enterprise” or the “domain” is the interactional means through which participants constitute these

relationships. As a result of engaging in practice together, the community develops a “shared repertoire,” a set of communal resources used in interacting in the joint enterprise that allows the participants to share and negotiate identities in the pursuit of mutual engagement. Unlike the speech community, which has often been articulated with demographic overlays, the community of practice is defined by the identity work that its members do in the process of pursuing the practice that defines them as a group. The community of practice, then, is predicated on *action* as it shapes and articulates the identities of the group and individual members. The earliest descriptions of communities of practice focused on learning as a social practice (Eckert and Wenger 1994; Eckert, Goldman, and Wenger 1997) and the work of Eckert and her colleagues (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992; Eckert 2000; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003) places emphasis on the production and negotiation of linguistic style in such environs.

2.2.2 Imagined communities. On my first visit to Te Lumanaki school, I was shown a copy of the 1986 *Tokelau Dictionary*, compiled by Ropati Simona through collaboration with linguist Robin Hooper in New Zealand. The dictionary occupied a place of esteem in the community as an authority on the Tokelau language and as an emblem that Tokelauan *was* a language. In a very explicit way language, and especially the language codified in the dictionary and other texts written in Tokelauan, allowed these speakers, living far away from others who spoke their language, to “imagine” themselves as members of a larger Tokelau nation in the sense that Anderson (1983) describes in nationalist responses to European

imperialism. Anderson's "imagined community" highlights the fact that nations are certain species of socially constructed communities, brought into being by the collective "imagining" or will of the individuals who perceive themselves as being members of the larger community of the nation. An imagined community is different from an actual community, like the community of practice, in that members need not interact with each other in real time or in real space. Rather, members subscribe to a shared image of their affinity:

It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. (Anderson 1983:6)

Members "imagine" that they share experiences, general beliefs, and attitudes without having come in contact with each other. Anderson argues that imagined communities were made real by what he has called "print-capitalism." Locating the rise of the nation state in the early modern period, a time that in Europe was marked by the decline of Latin, an increase in vernacular literacy and the circulation of print, and eventually standard languages, Anderson argues that language became a special kind of proxy practice for imagining the nation. If speakers were able to read the ideas and accounts of others in distant districts, overcoming the temporal and spatial limitations of speech, new models of affinity could be launched, no longer fettered by the necessity of interaction. In the Tokelau community, as in others, the dictionary is an important artifact in creating this perception of similarity not only between speakers of the language distributed abroad but also

with ancestors whose speech ways are archetypal for the diaspora of heritage speakers.

2.3 Language and place. This section presents some theoretical orientations to relationships between language and location, both physical locations and the abstracted positions of speakers and speech communities. Tuan describes *place* as derived from a process through which “undifferentiated space” is “endow[ed] with value” (1977:6) through the “accretion of sentiment” (1977:32) and physical places can be particular types of anchors for “self-definition” of individuals or groups (Stedman 2002). Communities of practice are important vehicles for speakers to be able to determine and interpret social environments that map onto physical places and reflect ideologies of variation, differentiation, and identity (Irvine and Gal 2000). Place is of special concern to scholars investigating language as a manifestation of culture as language can be used by speakers as a way to delimit place or to transcend it.

2.3.1 Multilocality and multivocality. Within a text or a discourse, speakers and authors may employ assorted varieties, or voices, to effect divergent points of view and stances. Bakhtin’s (1981) work contributes the concept of multivocality as a set of practices, observable in multilingual societies (and within languages, among registers), which position different languages (or registers) as different views of the world. Such practices are most directly observable in the novel, where authors may make use of different varieties to index conflict and change of perspective. The

success of these indexing strategies relies on circulating ideologies about the domains and values of each of the varieties at play. In the present work, I explore how multivocality interacts in important ways with the *multilocality* that is evident in modern diasporas. Diasporic communities are bound by cultural practice and identity; they spread across multiple locations and are entwined by interlocking histories and modes of identity performance and negotiation. I draw on Rodman's (1992) expression of the concept of multilocality as a means to recognize the multiple dimensions that inform understanding of a place in history, as a culture area, and as a community habitus (Bourdieu 1977). Rodman, in turn, draws upon Foucault's (1986) notion of heterotopia and Appadurai's (1988) wish to avoid the "problem of place" as a "topological stereotype" to explore how communities recognize, reshape, and reconstitute notions of place in Melanesia. Rodman challenges the notion of place as it is traditionally understood in anthropology as static, immobile, and fixed. In her view, place is socially constructed through the layers of meaning generated and contested in geographical, cultural, and historical contexts by persons and communities through narrative, discourse, and negotiations of power in the creation of social landscapes.

In diasporas, and in this study, multivocality and multilocality interact in important ways that allow communities and individuals to derive meaning from their cultural and linguistic practices as they traverse territories and cultural spaces, adding layers of meaning and contesting existing strata of meaning in every move. In Chapter 3, I present the notion of the *linguascape* based in part on these notions of multivocality and multilocality. The linguascape foregrounds multidimensional

relations between languages, providing an alternative to unidirectional models of shift from a single heritage language to languages of wider communication, for example, by suggesting that movement or dispersal is not merely a single event, nor unidirectional in itself, but rather involves the ongoing circulation of knowledge and cultural resources. Histories of multilingualism and multidialectalism complicate flat representations of place as unitary and discrete. In Chapter 6, I explore the resource of bivalency in linguistic forms (Woolard 1999), especially in writing by multilingual people as they use the ambiguity of textual representations to motivate different kinds of authentic and authenticatable identities. In this work, I will explore the notion of place to show how people exploit linguistic resources as they make their way and make use of the experiences and skills acquired in one part of the multilingual environment to make sense of new environments, as immigrants or refugees, or in new enterprises, like language revitalization.

2.3.2 Linguistic ecologies. In the 1990s, Halliday and Hasan challenged language scientists to engage with the relationship between language as a system that encodes meaning and the broader social and ecological systems in which our language systems are embedded. Using the example of how ideologies of growth and development are imprinted in “semantic variation” within languages, they argue that insofar as language both constructs and reflects reality, scholars must focus attention on the power of discourse and the power of meaning (Halliday and Hasan 1989; Hasan 2009). In the Foucauldian sense, power is less a force to be wielded or a resource for distribution than it is a descriptor for the relationships that constrain

and facilitate action within a social setting. Halliday's (1990) "new ways of meaning" drew upon this structural notion and, with its emphasis on how language and ideology interact to effect change in social and physical environments, influenced the development of ecolinguistics, which is sometimes further divided into the disciplines of language ecology and eco-critical discourse analysis (Fill and Mühlhäusler 2001). These frameworks highlight the interconnectedness of language forms, ideology, language use, and function on the analogy of complexes of ecological interconnectedness.

Mühlhäusler's (1996) conception of a linguistic ecology includes both macro and micro processes that function on speakers and languages, including the relationships between languages and between varieties, and examining how ideologies affect the physical world. His study focuses on the language and social history of the Pacific Islands, and explores the impacts of ideologies, such as Protestant missionaries' logocentrism, on language change, social change, and population movement in the region. As Mühlhäusler and others have attempted to do, this study will examine how these processes—the linguistic ecology of the Pacific—may map onto the landscape and seascape of the Pacific. In my description of the community of Tokelau people in Hawai'i and their negotiation of various identities, I will borrow from linguistic ecology the emphasis on the dynamic processes that compose and constantly reshape the world of speakers and their languages.

2.4 Social meaning and metalinguistic knowledge. In this section I present several theoretical tools that foreground the ways that speakers pursue and create

social meaning through language. Additionally, the knowledge that speakers have about language, (whether a particular variety is socially meaningful as a dialect, for example) is dynamic and can be used in strategic ways by speakers to display and interrogate various social identities.

2.4.1 Performance and performativity. Practice, in the sense advanced above in discussion of the community of practice, is often a collection of habits in a specific domain and may or may not be constituted by conscious, deliberate action. Alternately, “performance” is a self-aware and a highly deliberate form of social display (Bucholtz and Hall 2004) that is available for evaluation by an audience who may judge the efficacy and appropriateness of the action in a range of social environments and contexts (Bauman 1977). Linguistic anthropologists have long sought to examine performance in both formal and informal interactions as a way to understand how individuals and communities make use of linguistic resources to present themselves as social actors (Hymes 1975). Drawing on John Austin’s work in the philosophy of language, feminist philosopher Judith Butler (1990) presents “performativity” as a term to describe how identity—in Butler’s work, gender identity—is an interactional achievement produced through reiterations and reproductions of performance that are recognizable in felicitous social conditions. Austin’s (1962) performative verbs are those that change the world through their utterance. A phrase such as “I thee wed” does not merely describe a condition or a set of events—in an appropriate social context (a marriage ceremony, for example) it creates them and instantiates new realities. Though Butler’s gender

performativity describes a set of practices that are mostly subconscious and hegemonic, they are crucially dependent on participants' willingness to continually reproduce them and to not only actively maintain the actions themselves but also to regulate their meanings and possible construals. In the present study, performance is taken as a description of what talkers *do* with language rather than what they *mean* by it. Linguistic performativity is the action of creating and re-creating identities through language use, drawing on the poetic function of language by constructing an interpretive frame (Bauman and Briggs 1990) that may be static or dynamic and may be hegemonic or may produce transgressive identities (Pennycook 2007) through the explicit obfuscation of linguistic indexes.

2.4.2 Indexicality. In linguistic anthropology an indexical utterance or behavior is one that refers to some state of affairs outside of the immediate and bounded interaction. The indexical utterance is deictic in nature—its apparent meaning may be fixed but the denotational meaning is only recoverable from the larger context. Eckert (2008) argues for a redirection of attention to the social meaning in linguistic variation. In her view, sociolinguistics must do more than contextualize variation in a social context, for example, assigning a set of linguistic variables or linguistic practices to a demographic category. For Eckert, variables are not just markers of identity or community membership but are a series of interrelated components of a field of possible and potential meanings for individuals and people engaged in interaction. Her idea of the indexical field is based on Silverstein's (2003) *indexical order*, the idea that indexicality is not un-ordered but instead produces patterns, as

evidenced in our ability to recognize normativity (as a process of recognizing similar and stable practices as meaning bearing) and to make departures from it (by choice, as in “style,” or by circumstance, where varieties exist in opposition to standards). Speakers use language and specific utterances to point to real and potential social realities. Speakers have access to discrete units of material culture, like clothing, or linguistic forms, like the aspiration or release of stops (Podesva et al. 2002), that they may use to project identities to be read and interpreted by others. This collection of materials, or of practices, is the indexical field from which individuals may choose. These materials or practices are commodities, entities that individuals can acquire and that are imbued with social value that is often unstable across contexts. In this view, talk is action, but talk is also one of a series of commodities that individuals may use to display identities. Eckert argues that variationist sociolinguists most often conceptualize structural tokens that map onto sociodemographic variables. Indexicality, however, foregrounds the series of relationships through which the meaning of the tokens is constituted and the value of the commodities is negotiated.

2.4.3 Enregisterment. The notion of enregisterment was proposed by Asif Agha (2003) as a way to describe the processes by which linguistic repertoires or ways of speaking become distinguishable from one another and emerge as socially recognized registers within a language. Remlinger (2009:119) interprets enregisterment in a dialectal context as

the recognition of the relationship between specific linguistic features and certain cultural values...tied to people through notions that link language use to beliefs about “authentic” local identity and the uniqueness of the dialect; speaker’s local authenticity is, in part, based on the use of enregistered features. ...[S]peakers rely on enregistered features to perform this identity for locals as well as outsiders.

Johnstone (2009) finds that enregisterment interacts with commodification in ways that render various linguistic forms produced in a place to be associated with that place: enregisterment makes speech identifiably local, imbuing it with value, standardizing linguistic forms, and linking speech with specific social meanings (such as class or regional indices). Like enregisterment, a key part of the process of commodification is the interpretation of the salience of linguistic styles and varieties across places and social spaces (Heller 2010). Such patterns can be seen in the emergent recognition of Tokelau dialects in the diaspora, especially as forms appear to derive their meaning and cultural value from their availability to be claimed and disclaimed as markers of authenticity.

2.4.4 Stancetaking in discourse. “Stancetaking” is the means by which speakers position themselves in relation to the discourse. Englebretson (2007:6) identifies five conceptual features of stance:

1. Stance occurs on three (often overlapping) levels—stance is physical action, stance is personal attitude/belief/evaluation, and stance is social morality.

2. Stance is public, and is perceivable, interpretable, and available for inspection by others.
3. Stance is interactional in nature—it is collaboratively constructed among participants, and with respect to other stances.
4. Stance is indexical, evoking aspects of the broader sociocultural framework or physical contexts in which it occurs.
5. Stance is consequential—i.e., taking a stance leads to real consequences for the persons or institutions in which it is enacted.

Stance is expressed in the ways that speakers may employ linguistic resources from the lexicon or grammar to encode their own evaluations in discourse. As realized in discourse, stance indexes socio-cultural knowledge (Matoesian 2005) that may represent synchronic social realities like the division of labor or claims about being local (Johnstone 2009) or gendered (Ochs 1996). Stance is invoked by a series of linguistic forms that “mean” in context and through processes of enregisterment and exploration of the indexical field. Stancetaking is a kind of performativity that allows speakers to realize social acts and social identities through talk-in-interaction (Schegloff 2007). In this study, individuals use various linguistic forms to display identities as Locals, as Tokelau people (versus other Pacific Islands or Polynesian people), and as an emergent community bound by both affective connections and co-participation in the endeavor of language teaching and learning.

2.4.5 Crossing. Rampton (1995, 1998) describes language crossing as a deviation

from a speaker's habitual speech variety or style to mimic the variety of a group in which the speaker does not claim membership. In Rampton's study of a group of multiethnic adolescents in a working class community in Britain, instances of crossing were not attempts to claim another ethnic identity, but a way for speakers to be able to claim and create identities that were in part constituted through their stances toward out-groups through demonstrating knowledge of variation in their interactions. While many studies of code-switching have focused on it as a type of ethnic in-group practice, a major contribution of Rampton's work is that it demonstrates that code-switching outside of the in-group has many other pragmatic implications. In the present study, community members demonstrate knowledge about and attention to the linguistic practices of other groups, including ethnic groups in Hawai'i and elsewhere in the Pacific, as well as others engaged in heritage language maintenance and revitalization. Code-switching does occur in the context of Te Lumanaki School as a pedagogical strategy and as an in-group act to index Localness. At the same time, there is explicit attentiveness on the part of many talkers in discourse here to avoid instances of crossing that they deem to be an inauthentic and face-risking impersonation of a non-Tokelauan ethnicity. In particular, special attention is paid to crossing that might be construed as impersonation of other Pacific Islanders, especially Native Hawaiians. These negotiations are illustrative of the ideological complexes that emerge in the community of practice at the school.

2.4.6 Language ideology. The talk at Te Lumanaki is itself a "site" (Silverstein

1992: Philips 2000) for metapragmatic discourse, that is, talk *about* language. Philips (2000) notes that much of linguistic anthropology's account of language ideology is bounded by an investigation of the products of ideology: at the micro level the linguistic behavior of individuals and at the macro level the language policies of nation-states. In her account of the role of adjudicating the linguistic behavior of individuals as a project of the Tongan nation-state, Philips finds talk explicitly about language to be both a product of ideology and a commentary upon it. In Besnier's (2009) treatment of how gossip and talk about gossip interact in political life in Tuvalu, talk about linguistic practice offers further evidence that "linguistic production does not just reflect ideology, but also produces and reproduces it" (83). Linguistic ideologies circulating in the community are observable in the shape of discourses and in the real world outcomes and effects of the talk.

2.5 Ideologies of language maintenance and endangerment. In this section I present two key concepts for contextualizing language and culture teaching, the endeavor around which the community of practice at Te Lumanaki o Tokelau i Amelika is organized. Members of the community grapple with the difficulty posed by teaching a language spoken by a small number of speakers in a society where the advantages of English monolingualism often outweigh the maintenance of immigrant languages. Here, I present some alternative orientations to the goal of heritage language teaching and learning, and to the enterprise of linguistic documentation and description for communities undergoing the loss of the languages of their ancestors.

2.5.1 Heritage language. Language scientists describe heritage languages as those with “particular family relevance” for their speakers (Fishman 2001:81), often incompletely acquired in the home (Polinsky and Kagan 2007), where they differ from the dominant language(s) of the wider community. Heritage languages in the North American context usually refer to the languages of immigrants, both individuals and communities, and they are theorized in contexts of foreign language and second language learning. However, as indigenous languages also succumb to domination by world languages like English, ideas about heritage language also inform how scholars and communities approach their survival.

In her ethnography of the role of indigenous swearwords in a community in northern Mexico, Shaylih Muehlmann (2008) presents a community whose indigenous identity, while important, is not seen by the community nor by individuals to be solely or primarily demonstrated in an ability to speak their Cupacá heritage language fluently. Instead, youth and other community members make use of swearwords and insults in their heritage language as a means of both demarcating community boundaries and as a critique of outsiders’ appraisals of their authentic indigeneity as epitomized in their ability to speak Cupacá. Discourses of language as a cultural repository are thrown into disarray when examined alongside the Cupacá example. What Muehlmann suggests is passed on to children in the Spanish dominant environment of the Cupacá is not heritage language in the sense that many discourses of endangerment conceptualize it. The kinds of “traditional” knowledge found there are scatological and ribald. She writes that the younger

generations were less likely to be able to speak Cupacá but were more likely to use the swearword collocations in their Spanish talk. And, in situations where they encountered police or non-governmental conservation workers who regarded their ability to speak words of their heritage language as proof of their status as Indians, those choice words were usually the Cupacá equivalent of “go screw yourself” (Muehlmann 2008:39).

Muehlmann notes crucially that it is the outsiders’ notion that there is a close and enduring connection between authentic indigenous status and heritage language use, coupled with outsiders’ disinterest in actually learning what the Indians are saying, that opens up the oppositional space for young Cupacá to use their heritage language as a token of indigeneity and to contest that their indigenous identity must be authenticated by those external to their community. Contrary to narratives wherein heritage languages are represented as primarily having value as connectors to past cultural contexts or as repositories of ancient knowledge, the Cupacá situation suggests that what is of value in the community is a relationship to the heritage language which is oppositional and in resistance to the dominant group’s authority to police their indigeneity. A similar kind of oppositional linguistic strategy launched against efforts to police indigeneity has been reported in the English of Lumbee people living in the coastal area of southeast North Carolina, whose shift to English occurred hundreds of years ago but whose identity as Indians and as unassimilated into the surrounding Euro-American culture remains robust (Brewer and Reising 1982).

The Cupacá affinity for swearword collocations also problematizes potential

documentation efforts in the community. Texts and a lexicon collected in the 1980s center on the kinds of anthropological linguistic documentation that has emerged as orthodoxy in the American context, privileging the speech of knowledgeable elders in traditional and culturally saturated domains. But Muehlmann's account questions what should count as a token of indigenous linguistic performance and competence. What the community conserves are collocations from a particular domain of the heritage culture, but what is cultivated is an oppositional performativity of their essentialized indigeneity. The Tokelau case in Hawai'i in some ways parallels the Cupacá example in that individuals do not seem to necessarily correlate true community membership with proficiency in their heritage languages. In my work with the community, it has been my position that what is observable is the linguistic behavior of Tokelau people, wherever they may be, and not necessarily a representation of a unadulterated version of the Tokelau language evolving in the homeland from time immemorial.

2.5.2 Language revitalization and endangerment. Since the early 1990s, the discipline of linguistics has been involved in discussions of linguists' professional obligations to communities undergoing rapid language shift and loss. An issue of the journal *Language* in 1992 was devoted to the discussion, with most of the authors affirming the ethical responsibility of linguists to support language conservation as both citizens and researchers who might lose their object of inquiry: "it behooves us as scientists and as human beings to work responsibly both for the future of our science and the future of our languages" (Krauss 1992:8). According to Krauss this

“responsible” work necessarily included not only “documenting these languages, but also working educationally, culturally, and politically to increase their chances of survival” (Krauss 1992:9). While the majority of the linguists and language activists echoed Krauss’s sentiment with their own entreaties for the discipline to take language endangerment seriously, some linguists with considerable fieldwork experience, like Peter Ladefoged, dissented from this view. For Ladefoged, advocacy for endangered languages obscured the linguist’s role as a researcher and instead made linguists advocates for “tribalism,” which he knew could be “seen as a threat to the development of the nation, and it would not be acting responsibly to do anything that might seem, at least superficially, to aid in its preservation” (Ladefoged 1992:809). In Ladefoged’s view, the responsibility of the linguist was not to moralize the loss of languages, but rather to report on the facts about them while they exist (1992:810).

Dorian’s rejoinder to Ladefoged focused on the status of the linguist as an outsider with access to power and prestige and also expertise to support endangered languages. To Dorian, the situation that causes language endangerment is usually already entangled in politics that have led to attrition or shift:

The point is simply that one’s fieldwork, however antiseptic it may try to be, inevitably has political overtones. If there is little overt politicalization[sic] in the region, the fieldworker may be able to ignore those overtones. If there is considerable politicization, s/he cannot usually contrive to do so....the linguist cannot enter the threatened-language equation without becoming a factor in it. (Dorian 1993:576–8)

While there is no consensus among linguists involved in language documentation, there is overwhelming support in the discipline for the rhetoric and practice of working with communities to develop language revitalization and maintenance programs. Linguists often place the responsibility for language maintenance in the hands of community members, envisioning their own roles as those of supporters or technicians, resulting in what emerges as somewhat defeatist attitudes about the possibility and likelihood of maintenance and revitalization of endangered languages. Dorian (1987) identified several benefits for communities to be involved in language maintenance efforts even when it is unlikely that they will be able to reinstate the language as a medium of daily life. Most important among these is the increase in status of the language by virtue of the attention linguists and community members invest in programs.

Linguists are, of course, not alone in their rapt interest in endangered language situations. In discourses of both documentation and conservation, community members and speakers are named as stakeholders but while new attention has been turned to how “discourses of endangerment” emerge among specialists and in the media, there has been no focused exploration of how endangered speech communities themselves marshal talk about language as a resource for community building, boundary marking, and (re-)interpretation of identities. For some communities, knowledge about their heritage languages, even if no one is speaking or learning them, is an important commodity for indexing identity. Some linguists and critical theorists have identified these stances as “commodity fetishism” (Taussig 1980) of language. Whether or not narratives from

Marxist economics⁹ are appropriate to describe the relationships speakers, learners, and communities have toward their heritage languages, conceptualizing relationships between linguists and communities as a set of transactions is problematic and necessarily foregrounds the power disparities between researchers and communities. The question of the value of language revitalization for linguists is embedded in how linguists view themselves in respect to the communities they work in and the potential outcomes of their work.

Recently, Himmelmann (2008) has again said that one of the crucial problems in language documentation is how to determine what is appropriate to document to make the products of documentation accessible and useable to a wide array of users. While some language documentation approaches prize the “authentic” speech of elderly monolinguals steeped in traditional knowledge, the situation of language endangerment on the ground is such that for many communities such human resources are not available. Some have advised that documenting an extremely moribund language is a mis-allocation of resources, but when a language dies or is severely reduced in its domains of use, that is not necessarily the only interesting linguistic phenomenon afoot. The language, or pieces of it, as in the Cupacá case or the Lumbee case, may acquire new uses. The question of how representative documentation must be also suggests consideration of the point at which the linguist’s gaze should look away from the situation at hand.

⁹ In New Zealand, for example, the annual Māori language week slogan is “*He taonga te reo*” (“The language is a treasure”). In European contexts “treasure” evokes an entity of economic value or an object of fetishization but *taonga* is also sometimes rendered in English as “heirloom,” which—along with the connotation of economic value—denotes a possession whose value cannot be determined by markets external to the possessors and inheritors.

A quest for a representation of an “authentic” code may overlook important and interesting phenomena in the contemporary community.

Many studies of language shift in endangered language communities situate the analysis within the homeland of the language, paying attention to how languages of wider communication enter into a community and how economic, religious, or political ideologies interact with local traditions. Additionally, most investigations of language shift and maintenance focus on diaspora communities with large or stable homeland populations of speakers. The present study contributes to the literature on small languages endangered in diaspora situations *and* in the homeland (Langworthy 2002) by highlighting how the choices of individuals and communities in flux have particular impacts on language use and language ideologies.

Chapter 3. Approach and Methodology

3.1 Approach. In this section I present two key concepts, the notion of the *linguascape* and the practice of *ethnometalinguistics*, drawing on the literature of diaspora studies, Pacific studies, the anthropology of globalization, and linguistic anthropology. Together, these concepts foreground the active process of meaning making that Tokelau people in Hawai‘i are engaged in as they traverse physical and cultural spaces, using language to explore identities and culture affiliations.

3.1.1 Defining a Pacific linguascape

But if we look at the myths, legends and oral traditions, and the cosmologies of the peoples of Oceania, it will become evident that they did not conceive of their world in such microscopic proportions. Their universe comprised not only land surfaces, but the surrounding ocean as far as they could traverse and exploit it, the underworld with its fire-controlling and earth-shaking denizens, and the heavens above with their hierarchies of powerful gods and named stars and constellations that people could count on to guide their ways across the seas. Their world was anything but tiny.

Epeli Hau‘ofa “Our Sea of Islands”

Epeli Hau‘ofa, an anthropologist born in Fiji to Tongan parents, has written (1993) that the Pacific is a “sea of islands” where the ocean has historically connected people and served as a thoroughfare for the flow of resources, culture, and ideas. Hau‘ofa’s vision reverses the colonial move to separate Oceanic peoples into distinct Polynesian, Micronesian, and Melanesian groups isolated by the ocean and

splintered into culture areas and linguistic families. Instead, as linguistic and anthropological evidence increasingly suggests, Pacific Island peoples are linked by their history, the geology and geography of their islands, and by their historical cultural orientations to voyaging and exploration. In the nearly two decades since Hau'ofa's seminal essay, the concept of a "sea of islands" has become more salient as the realities of globalization, diaspora movements, and neo-colonial policymaking in the region swirl in eddies that make it clear that these phenomena do not operate on single island groups one at a time or in isolation. Rather, in the aftermath of anti-colonial struggles in the middle and late twentieth century that produced nations like independent Samoa, a pan-Pacific politics based on various types of historical culturalism (Appadurai 1996; Campbell 1997) has been a strategic tool in coalition and solidarity building in the area. In particular, pan-Pacific cultural politics have been fodder for grassroots assertions of new and reclaimed identities through the revitalization of cultural practices and language. Tengan (2008) describes looking across the sea of islands as a key part of Hawaiian cultural revitalization and reconstitution in the wake of extensive culture loss and suppression by colonial agents. He points to the role of the Satawalese navigator Mau Piailug in reintroducing traditional Oceanic wayfinding techniques to members of the Polynesian Voyaging Society. As Native Hawaiians rekindled their navigational traditions, piloting the *Hokule'a* on several voyages, Piailug earned a sort of fame among cultural revivalists in Hawai'i. Additionally, the struggles and successes of Māori people in Aotearoa/New Zealand have been particularly inspirational in the domain of language revitalization, as some of their models, like the successful

kohanga reo ‘language nests,’ have been repurposed in Hawai‘i as the basis for the *‘aha punana leo* early childhood immersion programs (Wong 1999).

Alexander Mawyer (2008) has argued that for islanders, a critical component of constructing a notion of Polynesia, and by extension, the Pacific, has been scholarly accounts of Polynesian origins based in part on linguistic studies. From the earliest European and American voyages, the similarities between Polynesian speech varieties have been striking to outsiders. In linguistics, the early documentation of Polynesian compared to other Oceanic varieties was facilitated in part by the regular sound correspondences between daughter languages of the family. Mawyer’s account is useful for its articulation of how scholarship can become political through the ways it shares and shapes information¹⁰. However, Mawyer lays the responsibility for the construction of a Polynesia “imagined” through language, in Anderson’s (1983) sense, upon Europeans and colonial agents who needed conceptual tools to make sense of the contrasting linguistic diversity and homogeneity they encountered in the region. Such a view renders Polynesians passive consumers of depictions of their islands, who think of themselves as similar or connected primarily through a colonial gaze. In contrast, in this work, I describe an alternative way of conceptualizing how Polynesians and speakers of Polynesian languages make sense of the area through language. In “ethnometalinguistics,” speakers employ languages, varieties, registers, and cultural knowledge about

¹⁰ Mawyer does consider, for example, how Ma‘ohi scholars in French Polynesia have re-interpreted the family tree model of linguistic relationships as a “woven cord” (Pukoki 2003). The unified cord represents the Proto-Polynesian language community before it dispersed into the language communities represented by the frayed ends of the rope. While Mawyer sees this as an example of how linguistic scholarship is disseminated to Polynesians and how scholars revision it through a native cultural trope, an alternative analysis might also consider how the cord itself functions in the culture as a recognizable metaphor for familial and community connections.

language in active and dynamic ways. They use language not only as a diagnostic for measuring linguistic sameness and difference, or common origins, but also, though ethnometalinguistics, as a source of wayfinding tools as they move through new social and cultural spaces in their homelands, as they encounter indigenous Pacific Islanders elsewhere, and as they reinvent and reinterpret themselves along the way. Through these sense-making activities, they create the *Pacific linguascape*.

The concept of the linguascape has been circulating in linguistic anthropology and globalization studies¹¹ by analogy on the work of Arjun Appadurai on modernity and the flow of culture across national boundaries. Appadurai (1996:27-47) identifies five “scapes” that are media for the flow of culture across distance and the borders of states:

1. *Ethnoscapes*, the changing landscapes of people;
2. *technoscapes*, the changing configurations of technologies, especially social media;
3. *financescapes*, the exchange of capital and currency;
4. *mediascapes*, the changing orientations to images and narrative in the dissemination of information; and
5. *ideoscapes*, the shifting ideologies of political movements and counter-movements that have shaped the responses of nation states to globalization.

The notion of the linguascape has only recently appeared in the literature and has most often been invoked in accounts of globalization and discussions of how

¹¹ See, for example, the volume edited by Coupland (2010).

multilingual corporations negotiate and utilize the linguistic resources of their workers and clients. Steyaert et al. (2011) identify first what they call “adaptation to the viable language of a certain location” (Steyaert et al. 2011:273), a choice by speakers that allies the code used in interaction with ideologies about what is appropriate in a specific locale. In Hawai‘i this is a complicated negotiation. In popular discourses, the appropriateness of English (because of the US control of Hawai‘i), Hawai‘i Creole English (because of its development in Hawai‘i and wide usage in Local culture), and Hawaiian (as the heritage language of the indigenous inhabitants of the islands) is in open debate. Steyaert et al. present appropriateness, however, as a less complicated proposal, at least in Europe: “This implies that in the German-Swiss part of Switzerland, you speak Swiss-German or that in the French-Swiss part, you speak French” (2011:273).

Their model suggests the disruption of the view of a world overlaid by discrete but contiguous language boundaries. Steyaert et al. also point out that no matter how one locates the contours of this particular scape, they do not exist *a priori* but are contested and contestable, and are located in ideologies and practices much more than they are anchored to physical locations and bounded by spacetime. Scholars such as Gramling (2008:3) find that “being multilingual is an epistemic and social position, as opposed to a set of acquired proficiencies—in other words, that multilingualism is differential, rather than additive,” and that these differences are resources that multilingual speakers must bind into units that represent their identity presentations in various contexts. Geographers have wrestled with notions of “scale” as it relates to establishing the units of measurement of geographic

structures or phenomena. Scale may be adjusted to present macro and micro analyses, but the establishment of scale is informed by what is deemed important for the analysis presented by a geographer, and this adjustment is a process to be queried in description and interpretation:

[Scale is] the arena and moment, both discursively and materially, where socio-spatial power relations are contested and compromises are negotiated and regulated. Scale, therefore, is both the result and the outcome of social struggle for power and control....theoretical and political priority never resides in a particular geographical scale, but rather in the process through which particular scales become (re)constituted. (Swyngedouw 1997:137)

Scale is a way to focus attention on the scope of a particular representation of spacetime. As such, it is a conceptual tool that has garnered much interest and debate in the geographic literature, as theorists have argued for idealizations of absolute space (such as the kilometer) projected on platforms of relational space (Smith 2000) or for dispensing with scale altogether (Marston et al. 2005). Linguists have wrestled with notions of scale as well, albeit somewhat less explicitly (see, for example, Cablitz 2006 for this in the Marquesas Islands and Bennardo 2002 in Tonga). Because the products of our descriptions are not cartographic artifacts but rather necessarily incomplete representations of ephemeral social practices, linguists often rely on pat categories for organizing and theorizing linguistic knowledge: hence, the borrowing of the family tree model from the natural sciences, the reliance on such notions as the linguistic area, or Sprachbund, and the presentation of language interaction in terms of transfer (for example, linguistic

“borrowing” or language “contact”). As a result of the need to talk about ephemera in terms of the concrete, linguists have also found it convenient to speak of language as if it were primarily, and unproblematically, rooted to places. In historical linguistics there is talk of “linguistic homelands” and in dialectology of “the speechways of a region.” But new attention to language and population movements in a discipline increasingly concerned with language endangerment and revitalization compels scholars of language to critically investigate how, and why, language is linked to place in our theory and our descriptions. Realities of globalization and the crisis of language endangerment require language scientists to consider how language functions *ex situ*, uprooted from homelands, disconnected from the nation state, and bounded by scales that are fluctuating and contestable.

In the last decade, linguistic anthropology has rigorously developed the concept of the “linguistic landscape,” which is principally concerned with the orthographic representation and salience of languages in public spaces. The linguistic landscape literature (Landry et al. 1997; Backhaus 2005; Gorter 2006; Shohamy and Gorter 2009, among others) takes the visual representation of languages in shared spaces (on signage, in commercial advertising, and official notices, for example), as symbolic of a particular type of language contact, displaying the power and status of languages and their communities via the frequency of their orthographic representations and prominent salience in public space. Theories of linguistic landscape have foregrounded the linguistic heterogeneity of public spaces, and many scholars examining these landscapes focus on multilingualism, even in allegedly orthographically and linguistically homogenous urban spaces (e.g., Tokyo,

as described by Backhaus 2005). Such studies have shown that writing and language are deployed in variously hegemonic and oppositional ways (see Pennycook 2009 on graffiti in the linguistic landscape). While linguistic landscape is an important concept for engaging multilingualism in public space, its emphasis on orthographic representation renders the relationship between language and place something that can be static—at least temporarily—and something that is actually, and some would argue necessarily, embodied in the material world.

Tokelau people in Hawai'i do participate and negotiate the complex semiotic networks of modern O'ahu's linguistic landscape as Local people and as Polynesians cultivating multimodal literacy skills and multilingual competence. However, I use the term “linguascape” to describe the ephemeral nature of the identities imagined and reconstructed in the spaces that Tokelau people inhabit. Whereas “linguistic landscape” describes an actual material landscape overlain in actual orthographic material, the “linguascape” describes the commodification of linguistic knowledge and linguistic practices—not necessarily represented orthographically—that circulate in this community of practice, allowing members to claim places in an imagined diaspora, in Local Hawai'i culture, and in the continued practice of Tokelau culture.

3.1.2. Seawater in the theory machine. Whatever may be imposed upon them, the images that *-scapes* often conjure are those of landforms. Stefan Helmreich (2011) outlines the ways that anthropologists' theoretical models have privileged land as the domain of culture in contrast to oceanic and marine spaces and offers an

alternative view of the ocean as an important “theory machine” (Galison 2003), an object or phenomenon in the actual world that motivates the development of theory based on analogy with the phenomenon’s mechanism or behavior. Helmreich argues that anthropology has long benefitted from another view of water—and in particular seawater—as a metaphor around which to build theories of culture. Already, as scholars have engaged with the mutability of culture practice they have used terminologies that refer to the “flow” of cultures and cultural productions in contrast to models of culture *in situ* that gave us notions of “contact” and “center” versus the “periphery.” Helmreich recalls the inspiration that freshwater gave to Boas as a metaphor for the versatility of cultural patterns but also notes that anthropologists and critics influenced by European conventions usually engaged the sea as “a ‘nature’ that moves too fluidly to be captured by ‘culture,’” unless “brought under containment” as in an aquarium (Helmreich 2011:135), or that to be understood must make reference to land, highlighting ethnographers’ interests in the hybrid natures of peoples who spend time on the ocean or orient their lives to the sea. Many cultures around the world, however, don’t make the same distinction between humans and the ocean that western Europeans have. For Pacific Islanders and others whose cultures are oriented to the sea, the ocean is not a realm separated from humans or at odds with human interests. The meaning of the metaphor of the sea appears to depend very much on whether the vantage point is from a continent or an island and in Polynesia, especially, the sea has historically been imbued with senses of adventure, possibility, abundance, and connection between people and landmasses. The vastness of the ocean, churning with currents,

teeming with dangerous beasts in the European tradition is instead envisioned as a knowable and navigable space, where currents are themselves both forces and navigational referents.

Though the concept of ‘flow’ from anthropology often refers to distinct currents of culture movement, the sea itself is “a great dissolver—of time, of history, of cultural distinction” (Pálsson 1991:x) and one of the major contributions of using the sea to envision the linguascape is that in the actual theory machine the flow of water happens over the contours of an underlying structure—the seafloor—seawater itself is amorphous and the distinction between oceans and seas is one of relative space and relative orientation. What makes a body the Indian Ocean or the Pacific is a matter of position and not of the intrinsic differences between waters that emerge at clear boundaries. Similarly, the distinction between related languages in the Pacific is one that is determined by negotiations by speakers. As I will show, in Polynesia and in the Tokelau world what makes a way of speaking Tokelauan or Samoan or Hawaiian or Local depends to a great extent on the stance and vantage point of the people who are using it and perceiving it.

3.1.2.1 “Just like Tokelauan, but different”: Tokelau in the linguascape. One evening a couple of years into my fieldwork at Te Lumanaki, I found myself sitting outside of the Te Taki office waiting for the beginning of a planning meeting with a group of people who were part of the teaching staff at the school and members of the organization’s board of directors. As we waited for the meeting to start we talked story about the school and the meeting’s agenda, part of which was a

progress report on the research I had been doing in the community up to that point. One of the men, who identifies as Samoan and who is married to a part Tokelauan woman with whom he has children who attended Te Lumanaki asked me, as a linguist, which languages were Tokelauan's closest relatives. He had lived in New Zealand and Australia and been very interested in indigenous cultures there, and he found the indigenous language of Hawai'i to sound similar to the language that his wife and her relatives spoke. Another teacher, who had been trained as a physician in Pohnpei, the capitol of the Federated States of Micronesia, replied that in serving as a doctor in different locations throughout the Pacific he had encountered speakers who spoke languages that were "just like Tokelauan, but different." He went on to describe meeting and being perfectly understood speaking his own language, as he had acquired it living on Atafu and Fakaofu as a child, by Polynesian Outlier Kapinga or Nukuoro people in Pohnpei, or Tikopia people from the Solomon Islands living in Fiji. The extent of the mutual intelligibility was surprising and fascinating to most of the people who gathered to hear his story about a Tikopia man who claimed that his island had been settled by people fleeing a place called Atafu in the east after losing a battle, and finding refuge on an uninhabited island in the Solomon Islands. According to the doctor, Tokelauan was a useful language, in some cases more useful than the Samoan that he spoke, because with just a little information about sound correspondences in each language one could converse across the area of Oceania. Soon, everyone in the conversation had lists of sound correspondences between Polynesian languages that they spoke or had heard of; some knew that the Ilokano of their neighbors in Wahiawā had words with similar

forms; some had heard that Hawaiian used to have /t/ where /k/ now prevailed.

Part of what is most interesting about this anecdote is that the doctor's examples from his experience destabilized a couple of tropes that had otherwise been at play in the community. One such trope is the notion of the external expert as a character who can authoritatively confirm or deny stories community members circulate and believe about their culture or language. The original query was to me, as a linguist, to explain how Tokelauan fit into the models of linguistic sameness and difference that our discipline has developed. There was a sense that I could speak to a question about how similar Tokelauan was to any other language of the region, and as we will see in subsequent discussions my academic authority has not been something that is exempt from testing, questioning, and negotiation. Another trope destabilized by the doctor's discourse was the idea that Samoan or English were constantly and unequivocally the most useful languages for Tokelau people to acquire and to use as they moved about Pacific spaces. English is a globally valued language of wider communication and Samoan is a language of prestige in Tokelau because of its association with liturgy and education, and more recently, as the language of a larger, internationally recognized, independent nation. In Hawai'i it is associated with the largest Polynesian immigrant group, a group in which many of the Tokelau community in Hawai'i also claim membership. The suggestion that a small language like Tokelauan would be *more* useful in diverse locations than Samoan was something both surprising and subversive to ideologies circulating around language shift in the wider community. In the doctor's account of his experience abroad, Tokelau language was also displaced as a language *in situ*,

confined to the four atolls of the homeland. His encounters with “Tokelauan, but different” also made his native language the native language of Nukuoro, of Tikopia, of places in Micronesia, and of Outliers in Melanesia as well as in Polynesia proper. What he regarded as Tokelau language had spread across the ocean and, in a way, for him and in his retelling to the group, defined the transverse space of Oceania. Tokelau language, rather than just being a small language of about 3,000 speakers spoken on tiny specks of land in the vast ocean, was a language that facilitated travel, that bridged distances, that was found in multiple locations—inscribing it and the people who spoke it in the linguascape of the Pacific.

The linguascape is a dynamic conceptual tool that places the experiences of speakers and the consequences of their talk into the culture flow that defines the area of their region. When in 2004 the Tokelau community in Hawai‘i began organizing for language maintenance it was because of the visit of a group of performers en route to the Pacific Arts Festival in Palau. Tokelau people born and raised in Hawai‘i realized as they hosted the guests of this *malaga* (‘travel’) that their inability to communicate via their shared heritage language was part of a larger sense of disorientation in a new cultural landscape. As the school has developed over the years, the notion of *malaga*, of travel, has become an important symbolic organizing principle for the work that Te Lumanaki engages in. As the discussion in the previous sections demonstrate, the Pacific linguascape that Tokelau people in Hawai‘i inhabit is defined by several features that are transmitted and cultivated through community action and motivated by individual and collective identities. Many of these features of the linguascape are borne in knowledge about

Tokelau language, but also in knowledge about other languages of the region and of immigrant languages in Hawai'i. To construct and maneuver in the Pacific linguascape, community members use knowledge of sound correspondences between Pacific languages, sets of cognates and predictable forms (based on other cognates and sound correspondences), and intracommunity ideas of relational hierarchies between languages and speech varieties (such as common descent from an ancestor language). Importantly, these bits of knowledge are fluid and not necessarily based on the same criteria that linguists use to construct such models. For speakers in the linguascape, boundaries between areas are permeable and the relationships between geographically distant but phonologically similar languages (for example the fact that both Samoan and Hawaiian have a glottal stop but Māori and Tokelauan do not)¹² are explainable in terms that conform to ideas about language that were already circulating in the community before classes began at Te Lumanaki. As a way to make sense of sameness and difference across the area, lexical evidence is privileged over syntactic evidence, so that the phenomenon of Hawaiian and Samoan both possessing the form *i'a* 'fish' in contrast to Tokelau *ika* 'fish' suggests to some community members that Samoan and Hawaiian might be closely related or share some special contact history. These phenomena all work together to grant Tokelau people a means for constructing solidarity with other Pacific Islanders through a historical culturalism that foregrounds shared linguistic origin. Just as a dreamscape is not a dream about terrain, but rather an imagined

¹² Hawaiian and Māori are both Eastern Polynesian languages and are closely related, while Samoan and Tokelauan are both members of the Samoan-Outlier group within the larger Polynesian family.

world constituted by the act of dreaming, the linguascape I present here is not a landscape varnished in linguistic signs and signifiers, but rather is an imagined world constituted by the acts of using language and knowledge about its use. While Appadurai's *scapes* are etymologically linked to "landscape," the Pacific's cultures, and Tokelau culture in particular, are oriented toward the ocean. In the linguascape described here, the connections are fluid and marked by few discrete boundaries, and they touch the shores of the sea of islands, uniting the experiences of people in flux rather than separating them from their homelands.

3.1.3 Defining ethnometalinguistics. As we can see in the doctor's anecdote, knowledge about Tokelau language and its relationship to other ways of speaking in the Pacific region is a topic of interest and of spontaneous discussion in the community. In conversation, speakers were able to easily produce lists of sound correspondences and cognate sets, gathered from their own experiences and from discourses of linguistic sameness and difference that they had access to in their communities. Though some in the conversation were temporarily positioned as experts (me, as a linguist worthy of being queried on this topic and the doctor as an authoritative traveler with a ready answer), the focus was less on the authority of these experts and more on the sharing of information and experience, as evidenced by the quick turn to the discussion of cognates and sound changes. This phenomenon is *ethnometalinguistics*, that is, culturally based and circulating knowledge and talk about language (Agha 1993, Duranti 1997). Ethnometalinguistics is a type of discourse that allows participants to share and

exchange prized knowledge about linguistic practices and language history that are viewed as part of the shared heritage of the community. Not every community member has equal access, experience, or expertise to be able to comment on language practices, but the notion of *ethnometalinguistics* points to the fact that the idea that any member *could* potentially comment on linguistic knowledge is an ideology circulating in this community of practice and in the wider Tokelau and Pacific Islands community.

The terms “ethnolinguistics” and “metalinguistics” figure prominently in linguistics and linguistic anthropology, often along with discussions of “folk” linguistics (Hoenigswald 1966, Niedzielski and Preston 2000), a largely pejorative term usually invoked in situations when laypeople have, from the perspective of linguists, “got it wrong” about etymologies or linguistic structures. The motivation for employing a category of ethnometalinguistics, however, is to underscore both the fact that linguists are not alone in thinking about language and that the insights of non-specialists, even when they differ from those of professional linguists, are often valuable to the development of the practice of linguistics, with particular merit in the development of language documentation and conservation, and with implications for linguistic theory and general linguistics.

Ethnometalinguistics describes the interaction between ethnolinguistic awareness and metalinguistic knowledge about how language is structured and functions. Together, these kinds of knowledge are embedded in specific social and cultural contexts, and they often focus on the differences between languages or varieties in contact; practices like literacy; the indexicality of linguistic varieties,

styles, and registers, and a host of other issues that pertain to a view of language as a kind of social action. While the primary aim of linguistic anthropology is to describe the relationships between language and culture, and the ostensible aim of sociolinguistics is to describe how social structure affects linguistic practice, the disciplines have often constructed themselves in opposition to the kinds of superficial “folk” observations that their subjects offer on how language operates in daily life. Both linguistic anthropologists and sociolinguists, under the influence of the structuralist mores of their disciplines, have been invested in projects explicating the macro structures that guide linguistic behavior, especially those that are invisible to speakers. As part of the attempt to make linguistics a science in its own right, there has been a pervasive wish to emphasize that form (and not function) is the domain of the discipline (Figueroa 1994; Bauman and Briggs 2003 among others).

Ethnometalinguistics is often focused on accounts of linguistic diversity within a geographical range, and community accounts of the etiology of diversity are often important focal points in ethnolinguistic knowledge. In Tokelau, for example, traditions of voyaging are important in community members’ accounts of phonological similarities and mutual intelligibility between Tokelauan and the languages of neighboring Tuvalu, Pukapuka in the Northern Cook Islands, and among some Polynesian outliers in the Solomon Islands, such as Tikopia. In Tokelau tradition, people who were forced off the Tokelau island of Atafu during a period of war in the pre-European contact period settled Tikopia from the east (Huntsman and Hooper 1991). The discussion of the similarities of Tikopian to the specific

variety of Atafu speech is a part of a larger ongoing interest in inter-island variation within Tokelau. The existence of geographically based dialectal differences remains a popular topic of conversation in the Tokelau diaspora. Speakers describe the term *hikuleo* (literally ‘ending voice’ or the ‘tail of the voice’) as an equivalent of the English notions of “dialect” and “accent.” Anecdotes about dialectal differences between the speech of the three main islands focus primarily on distinctive prosodic patterns. So far, no linguists have made a study of Tokelau dialects, but the common themes in speakers’ descriptions of dialectal difference (that Nukunonu people speak as if singing, Atafu people speak rapidly with question intonation, and Fakaofu people mumble) could be a valuable entry point to such a study.

Language documentation, and linguistic description more broadly, crucially rely on the ethnometalinguistic knowledge of speakers and community members to be able to begin and later to ground their analyses. Standard practices in linguistic description, such as the elicitation of minimal pairs in order to determine phoneme inventories or the elicitation of grammaticality judgments, depend on speakers’ access to a body of knowledge about how the language functions and creates meaning within a specific context. Additionally, language documentation enterprises, as efforts to create representations of the linguistic behaviors and values of communities, also rely on speakers’ abilities to identify genres of speech and local taxonomies, and to perform translations, for example in the elicitation of lexical items for a dictionary or example sentences in a grammar. Bruna Franchetto’s (2006) language documentation of Kuikuro speech was enriched by attention to the community’s ethnometalinguistic knowledge. In particular, she

writes that the community's description of neighboring groups as "those who speak in the throat" indicates their attention to phonological differences between their Carib language and surrounding languages as 'those who speak in the throat' and "is an accurate description of the articulatory characteristics of the languages under comparison: the preponderance of dorsal and uvular articulations in the Upper Xingu Carib languages and the preponderance of dental and pre-palatal articulations in Arawak languages" (Franchetto 2006:193). It is perhaps possible that these features of Kuikuro and the neighboring Arawakan languages could have been observed by outside linguists, but what is crucially important in this case is that community members recognize these differences and that they are meaningful as a part of the indigenous ways of understanding the community and its relationships to others around it.

When ethnometalinguistic knowledge is incorporated into language documentation efforts, it also becomes an important resource for communities involved in language revitalization. The quest for ethnometalinguistic authenticity has been an important concern for those engaged in language revitalization practices (Warner 1999; Wong 1999), and indeed a major part of the recovery of language in threatened indigenous communities is focused around reconstructing and reconstituting ethnometalinguistic knowledge. While a linguist working with a community cannot reliably predict what kind of language-knowledge *will* be valuable to a community engaged in revitalization or maintenance efforts, in many situations there are ways to determine what kinds of language-knowledge *are* valuable to the community, whether or not the heritage language is employed as a

medium of every day communication.

Michael Silverstein (1998) investigates how conceptual approaches in linguistic anthropology, ethnography of communication, variationist sociolinguistics, and sociology of language combine to present language as “a total cultural fact”—not merely ancillary to the production and negotiation of identity and group membership. Silverstein’s analysis focuses primarily on conceptualizations of minority languages (versus ethnonational languages of nation-states), endangered languages (versus languages of wider communication), and the challenges of mounting a theory of linguistic localness in a globalizing world.

The notion of localness—a traceable and enduring link to a place—is a central notion not only in linguistic ethnography of non-Western language communities, but also a powerful organizing notion for many communities themselves. The locality becomes a center around which identities may be motivated and boundaries erected and policed, and which lends authenticity to the community. In a world where languages are not just spoken *in situ*, if they ever truly, exclusively were, Silverstein offers the notion of *language community* as a category that is subsumed by the speech community. A language community, according to Silverstein, is “a population who communicate with respect to the presupposition of a [normative] ‘shared grammar’ of their ‘language’” (1998:407). This contrasts with the *speech community* in that membership in a speech community is predicated on ongoing linguistic interaction in a given population. In this view, a speech community can be plurilingual, can exhibit more variation, and is more stable than a language community. The two concepts contrast in ways that reflect the distinctions

of competence and performance. A language community is made up of those who have access to the grammatical abstractions that constitute languages as independent codes. A speech community, by contrast, is more directly mapped onto a given sociodemographic population who interact linguistically—that is, it is more clearly linked with linguistic practice. While both the language and speech communities interact with and problematize the idea of localness and linguistic competence and performance being directly linked to a bounded place, “the speech community is the context of emergence, sustenance, and transformation of distinct local language communities” (Silverstein 1998:407). Engagement with a locality allows speakers to ground linguistic difference in meaningful ways.

Referencing the work of anthropologists like Kulick (1990) and Besnier (1995), Silverstein shows that while instructive, the state-centered accounts of language endangerment, minority status, or globalization cannot account for the transformative ways that people make use and make sense of language. This notion that speakers are constantly invested in making sense of language is actually part of two interacting phenomena that exemplify the value of attending to ethnometalinguistics in linguistic studies. The first is the indexicality of language whereby language usage has the potential to indicate stances, identities, and values of the speaker. The second are what Silverstein calls “ideological processes of cultural valorization of language and discourse” (1998:419).

While no longer regarded as primitive or impoverished compared to Western European languages, endangered indigenous languages are imbued in essentializing discourses (Jaffe 2007) with a certain magic and awe-inspiring transcendence of

modern cosmopolitan culture. Part of this narrative, Moore argues, is that these societies on the periphery, however magical, are “destined to lose their cultural coherence” (2006:302). The notion is that if linguists or expert outsiders are not available to authenticate the documentation of the language in its still ‘pure’ form, the essential, unadulterated knowledge has been lost to humanity and what remains is markedly less valuable. However, Muehlmann’s (2008) Cupacá case suggests that such essentializing moves neglect the complex ways that communities use their heritage languages to reclaim power vis-à-vis a dominant group, but they may also cause linguists looking for a “pure” version of the language in which to collect mythological texts, say, to miss out on something as fascinating as the function of swearwords in an endangered language community.

In describing community access and responses to John Peabody Harrington’s archived notes on American Indian languages, Moore writes that the relationship between descendants of the speakers and the linguistic artifacts are “mediated by kinship, descent, and ethnicity.” On the other hand, “[t]he relationship of linguists and anthropologists to the archive and its contents...is mediated by forms of scientific expertise...”(Moore 2006:310). The discussion of kinship, descent, and ethnicity versus scientific expertise is actually one about forms of power—most crucially the power to authenticate what is indigenous, who has access to language through their recognition as members of the community, what is worthy of protection, and what is rare and valuable versus what is quotidian and unremarkable. Here the old, purer, forms of indigenous languages are often what are valued and the use of languages of wider communication by their descendants is

not only less interesting and less prestigious, but the study of them, which often makes use of ethnographic approaches in conjunction with linguistic analyses, is often viewed as much less scientific. Maffi argues that a shift “from viewing language as grammar to viewing it as action within the social and natural world can make it possible to talk adequately about the relationship of linguistic diversity to biodiversity, of how languages are repositories of cultural memory and guides to action that can influence the landscape and its biodiversity” (2005:604). Attention to ethnometalinguistics contributes to this shift within linguistics by destabilizing the basic assumption in Western linguistics that linguistic structure is arbitrary and detached from the natural and social worlds.

3.1.4 The ethnometalinguistic language object. After Saussure, linguistics and the philosophy of language have emphasized the arbitrariness of change, giving much prominence to external causes such as changes in the physical environment and material culture. While it is quite impossible to accurately reconstruct the mind states of prehistoric societies on the basis of linguistic or archaeological evidence, questions about perceptions are fundamental if we wish to be able to understand the mechanisms of semantic change. Ethnometalinguistics, on the other hand, often approaches the structure of language change as non-arbitrary and, crucially, as a phenomenon that is not separate from linguistic function.

Instead of engaging Saussure’s *langue*, the abstract system that resides in the collective mind of a speech community, J. R. Firth’s (Firth 1957, in Duranti and Goodwin 1992) work focused on *parole*, language as used and understood by

speakers, rejecting the idea that speech acts are occasions of information transfer from speaker to hearer. Firth suggests instead that all utterances are abstractions and that meaning is solely derived from a form within its “context of situation.” Even with the situational dependency of meaning, speakers are able to communicate relatively effectively in spite of the ambiguity of their statements. Sociologist Erving Goffman (1959) suggested that speakers had access not just to the single meaning of a form in a single context, but to a range of possible meanings. The interchange between two speakers is “framed” by the larger context of the speech act as a situation, of joke telling, lecturing, or argument, and speakers make judgments about what meaning is intended or is possible within that frame.

J. L. Austin proposed a slightly different relationship between words, meaning, and context. In his *How to Do Things With Words*, Austin (1962) identified “performative utterances,” those whose meaning is not derived from the context of the sentence but instead both create the context and change reality. As such, sentences of this sort are not able to be assigned a truth-value because they do not refer to prior extant facts but are acts in themselves: A jury announcing that they “find the defendant guilty” is not merely describing a verifiable fact about the world, but is acting through the pronouncement itself. Austin went on to suggest that all language was endowed with these performative qualities. His emphasis on the speech act has proven influential in views of language that continue to consider the social as an integral part of linguistic inquiry, and has influenced other social sciences, most notably cultural anthropology and the developing fields of gender and performance studies. In Polynesia, the notion of words having transformative

power is important in the ethnometalinguistics of the area. Biggs (1990) describes how the use of the number eight in Polynesian myth and story telling is understood to not only describe but also invoke the *mana* 'power or efficacy'¹³ of the personages that populate the tales. Elsewhere, language is understood to have brought about geographic and topographic entities and to continue to interact with them, as is also a common theme in indigenous Australian accounts of language and identity (Povinelli 1993).

Linguist William Labov's attention to variation within a speech community as a means to observe language change has been influential in sociolinguistics. One of Labov's (1964) most significant contributions has been to demonstrate that variation within a speech community is structured and that varieties are governed by structured rules in regular ways that coincide with the functional uses of communication and identity marking. Whereas thinkers in the nineteenth century found variation to be problematic to identify and reconcile with their conceptions of language and change to be unobservable, Labov's work is an example of the modern methods of observing what language does and how it does it that moves us closer to understanding the nature of the object under study. In Labovian variationist approaches, macrosocial identities or demographic categories are mapped on to variation. This practice of conceptualization allows analysts to make claims that speakers are speaking "like" some stereotype, making choices around some standard register (Silverstein 2003). Communities often have recognized other, perhaps microsocial, variables around which variation is structured, as in the case of

¹³ See, also, Tomlinson and Makihara (2009) on the role of *mana* in the linguistic anthropology of Oceania more broadly.

Franchetto's (2006) observation about Kuikuro metalinguistic knowledge, or in southwestern China's Sui people's attention to clan as a most important sociolinguistic variable (Stanford 2009).

3.2 Methodology. Over a period of five years, from 2006 to 2011, I have collected approximately two hundred and seventy-five (275) hours of audio recordings in the Tokelau community in Hawai'i, New Zealand, Samoa, and in Tokelau. These recordings include interviews (30 hours), meetings (35 hours), and other general interactions (210 hours). Approximately twenty percent of these audio data have been transcribed.

In addition, twelve hours of oral history recordings of Olohega people from a collection made by Betty Pedro Ickes between 1996 and 1997 inform the brief, philological description of the Olohega dialect presented in Chapter 4, including the comparison of variation in fluent Olohega speakers (circa the mid 1990s) and the speech of others in the contemporary community. Though now most speakers of the Olohega dialect in the Hawai'i community are elderly, oral history recordings have preserved the speech of these elders as younger people before the launch of the efforts to revitalize Tokelauan in the community. Many of the oral history recordings are focused on tales of the forced relocation of these individuals, and their accounts of their own language awareness and behaviors in immigrant and refugee situations are important to compare with their current attitudes about the utility of using and understanding Tokelauan for their children. Transcripts of the

oral histories exist, but must be annotated for closer analysis of the linguistic features of the talk.

3.2.1 Linguistic ethnography. This study is primarily a linguistic ethnography, drawing on sociolinguistic and anthropological approaches to the study of language as well as works in the ethnography of communication developed by Hymes (1972) interactional sociolinguistics (Blom and Gumperz 1972). All of these approaches have in common that they view language as crucially a part of a social context (Duranti and Goodwin 1992), and as constituting social contexts from which individuals and communities may derive many different types of meaning:

Linguistic ethnography generally holds that language and social life are mutually shaping, and that close analysis of situated language use can provide both fundamental and distinctive insights into the mechanisms and dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday activity.

(Rampton et al. 2004: 2)

Linguistic ethnography seeks to discover the cultural presumptions and patterns of behavior that comprise the collective knowledge of meaning-making methods within a particular community or cultural group. The most common methods for gathering data in ethnography, and in this study, are experiential. They include first-hand observations of linguistic interaction in a variety of settings and situations in the Te Lumanaki community and include the observation of mundane events like class meetings and fundraisers at the school, as well as events scheduled (Abrahams 1977) only rarely, such as holiday observances or overseas travel. Ethnographic

observation has been an important tool in coming to understand the methods community members have for negotiating their identities in the context of Te Lumanaki School.

3.2.1.1 Data collection and participant observation. My data were collected between 2006 and 2011 in a number of field sites. My primary site has been on O'ahu at the proceedings of Te Lumanaki School and affiliated community events such as school performances, parent-teacher meetings, teacher training, staff meetings, and community events such as birthday parties for elders or to celebrate babies' first birthdays. I made two fieldtrips to New Zealand in 2007 and 2008, to Auckland and to the suburb of Porirua, outside of Wellington, respectively. In 2010, I traveled to Samoa and Tokelau with teachers and students from Te Lumanaki, collecting data at the Tokelau government compound at Leilata and in the Tokelau settlement at Lotopā on the island of 'Upolu in Samoa and spending several weeks on the atoll of Fakaofo in Tokelau.

My primary data are ethnographic recordings of the parent-teacher meetings/*fono* of Te Lumanaki school, ethnographic notes from participant observation, sociolinguistic interviews, and the literature produced by the school for circulation among parents and teachers in various formats, including e-mail communication and through social networking venues on the Internet. During the collection of these data I have been a participant observer and have served as a teacher at the school and as a curriculum coordinator. My role as a linguist was always explicit and eventually became a commodity in the community in ways that present themselves in the data, and that I discuss in the analysis, especially in

Chapter 5. For now, I may say that over the years, my position within the community has changed in some ways to allow different vantage points of the phenomena at hand. For the first year of my research as I learned to understand Tokelauan myself I engaged in simple observation of school sessions, especially the morning assembly where the school directors engage the students, parents, and teachers in a number of rote interactions based around school subjects, but also addressed the elders for clarification of pedagogical points and for their expertise in Tokelauan language. These data collection sessions were based on a process of ethnographic observation that first sought to identify dynamics of the school setting and interactions between participants and interactants. In the second year of my research with Te Lumanaki, I supported my ethnographic observations and note making with recordings of the school sessions, semi “public” events like parent-teacher meetings, and recordings of public events that took place when Te Lumanaki traveled as a group to the bi-annual Tokelau Easter Tournament in New Zealand in 2008. Since then I have also served as a teacher at Te Lumanaki and as a participant observer and have become a more prominent character myself in the recordings and transcriptions of the community’s structured interactions, such as teacher planning meetings and school sessions.

Though many of the data upon which this study is based are captured in the form of audio recordings of interviews and interactions, a very important part of researching the Te Lumanaki community involved my becoming a part of it myself. I first interacted with the parents and teachers at the school as a student of linguistics who was interested in language conservation. In particular, I was initially interested

in the structural pressure on Tokelau language as community members attempted to preserve it in the diaspora. As part of my first interactions, I worked with community members on a lexicography project, planning to create a children's picture dictionary of Tokelauan. Over time, I began to spend my Saturdays at Te Lumanaki and I realized that I was involved in the process of becoming part of the community as I slowly learned the language, was gifted with and began to return gifts of food, and was expected to take on some responsibilities in the group. A key part of my participation in the group, the process of my socialization into its practice, and my participant observation was what Lawless has called "reciprocal ethnography" (1993: 5) whereby community members were also keenly interested in my home culture(s). As a novice in this community and as a learner of Tokelau language in the context of the school my status as a linguist and researcher was not superordinate to the other identities and histories I brought with me to the interaction and the so-called "subjects" of this linguistic ethnography of Te Lumanaki were also engaged in active learning about me as part of the process of my becoming and being validated as a community member. That process is not the primary object of this work, but is rather a lens through which I view the ongoing work of community building for Te Lumanaki through language teaching and the management of multiple linguistic identities.

Chapter 4. Olohega speech in Tokelau

4.1 Introduction. In this chapter I will show how knowledge about historical variation in Tokelau becomes a resource for Te Lumanaki community members as they claim places within the Tokelau diaspora. Descendants of Olohega people in Hawai'i demonstrate differing levels of fluency and comfort with the varieties of the Tokelau language that they are able to produce. Though the pedagogical practices at Te Lumanaki School present Tokelau language without overt attention to dialectal differences between islands, community members are aware of some phonological and lexical differences between the historical Olohega dialect and the rest of Tokelau. In particular, some non-fluent members invoke Olohega linguistic identities as a means to mitigate criticism of their achievement of "standard" Tokelau pronunciation of two particular fricatives. By first attending to the problem of dialectal description in Tokelauan and other Polynesian languages, this chapter will demonstrate how community members' ideologies of dialect and identity are contested and re-evaluated in the process of language learning at Te Lumanaki School.

4.2 Variation in Polynesian languages. Polynesia's long history of contact and colonial relationships with Europe has produced a rich tradition of linguistic description, but even with some of the oldest lexica and syntactical treatments in the Pacific, Polynesian grammar has been neglected in several important areas.

While the diagnosis of speech varieties as separate languages versus dialects of a single language has long been a complicated agenda in linguistics, the notion of “dialect” has been particularly fraught in descriptions of Polynesian languages. From the earliest European accounts, the remarkable similarity in sound inventories, grammatical features, and lexical semantics across geographically distant varieties was striking and even led eighteenth-century English explorer James Cook to remark in his journals that

[N]othing is so great a proof of their all having had one Source as their Language, which differ but in a very few words the one from the other. There are some small difference in the Language ...but this difference seem'd to me to be only in the pronunciation, and is no more than what we find between one part of England and another.

[W]e have always been told that the same Language is universally spoke by all the Islanders, and that this is a Sufficient proof that both they... have had one Origin or Source [*sic*].

(in Edwards 2003: 132)

In Cook’s imagined Pacific, Polynesians were part of one great nation splintered, as England was then, into regional dialects. This Romantic view of the relation between nation and language in the Pacific persisted in part because of the influence of Enlightenment-era thinking on the descriptions of Polynesian languages. As dialectology became an important part of the language sciences in Europe, the notion of dialectal difference became closely associated with phonological variation. By virtue of the comparatively limited phoneme inventories of Polynesia, and a research agenda to construct models of genetic affiliation among them, the internal diversities of languages in the area were largely not considered to be ideal for

dialectal studies.

Though dialectology remains a very understudied area of Polynesian linguistics some modern scholars have mounted studies that situate internal variation as a rich site for exploring the sociocultural complexities of Polynesian communities and changes in progress. Mayer (2001) documents the ‘t- and k-styles’ of modern Samoan, called by community members *tautala lelei* ‘good speech’ and *tautala leaga* ‘bad speech.’ While the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ labels reflect ideological orientations that circulate in the community about these varieties, Mayer’s study demonstrates that the labels are less about assigning positive or negative values to each of the varieties but rather are used by community members to define appropriate cultural domains for their use. The *lelei* style is associated with domains introduced to Samoan culture (e.g. Christian worship, European-style education) while the *leaga* style is associated with traditional Samoan contexts like the oratory style of the *fono* and also occupies a wider range of colloquial and quotidian interactional contexts. Samoan speakers appear to manage the phonological difference between the *lelei* t-style and the *leaga* k-style in terms of the social meaning of the salient phonemes that are in alternation when talkers code-switch between them.

Duranti and Reynolds (2009) show that the linguistic repertoires of Samoans living in southern California include the phonologies of the *tautala lelei* t-style and *tautala leaga* k-style in English contexts, creating new disjunctures in the management of the two registers in the diaspora. Duranti and Reynolds describe the k-style as a neutralization of the coronal and dorsal features of dental alveolar non-

stridents. The t-style is marked by /t/ and /n/ whereas the use of their velar counterparts /k/ and /ŋ/ in the k-style neutralizes some phonological contrasts:

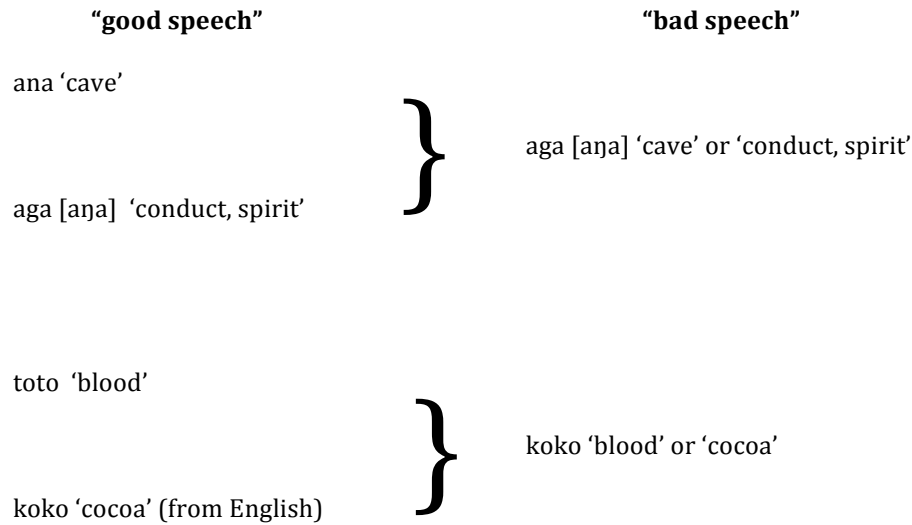


Figure 3: Examples of “good speech” and “bad speech” pronunciation
(Duranti and Reynolds 2009:237)

Their study reveals a portrait of a diaspora community with speakers of different levels of fluency in Samoan and in English engaging in acts of lexical borrowing across contexts—especially of English kinship terms *mom* and *dad* and *tautala lelei* forms in *tautala leaga* contexts without phonological assimilation. Names that in Samoa would have variable pronunciations in t-style and k-style domains remain static in new American contexts, with a preference for English or *tautala lelei* pronunciations predominating in wider contexts. The authors view the borrowing of kin terms such as *mom* and *dad* as innovations with important cultural consequences that signal how the family, as a meaning-making unit in Samoan

culture, undergoes reinterpretation in California. In contrast to traditional Samoan values that make the status of children dependent upon, and subordinate to, the identities of elder family members whose personal names or titles are generally the terms of address that children use, in the US the child-parent relationship assumes prominence as children address their parents primarily as *mom* and *dad*, foregrounding that relationship. To Duranti and Reynolds, these kin-address practices, together with the new proclivity toward use a single phonological variant of a name in many social contexts, signal the community's American-influenced recognition of individuals' personas as constant across domains.

NeSmith (2003) also engages variation in a Polynesian community, investigating the grammatical and phonological pressures on Hawaiian as it undergoes revitalization in multiple environments, including in the classroom. Most teachers of Hawaiian today are themselves second language heritage learners and as a result of their relative social and political capital, aggregated in professions like teaching, law, and social activism, some of their linguistic innovations, (or mistakes, as the case may be), become institutionalized through their own language teaching. The fluency and expertise of the few remaining native speakers of the language is then problematized as it is relegated to the margins while the center is held by credentialed "experts" who happen to be L2 speakers. In this case, newly developing variation is a challenge for the cohesiveness of a speech community already under pressures of demographic shift and the encroachment of languages of wider communication.

Wong (1999) has also engaged with the idea of cultural authenticity in the

teaching and conservation of Hawaiian language, touching on how the loss of variation reconfigures and represents the modern ideal Hawaiian-speaking community as homogenous when these differences may have been an important part of the traditional culture. His 1999 study focuses on negotiations of cultural authenticity in Hawaiian language pedagogy contributes several interesting questions about how Hawaiian linguistic structures convey Hawaiian worldviews and cultural knowledge and how learners and teachers must negotiate traditional and emerging identities and concepts of agency in the service of preserving the language.

These contrasting ideologies about the meaning of variation in modern Polynesian societies also frame alternating views of modern and historical variation in Tokelau, especially in how speakers account for and manage geographically-based variation in the diaspora while engaging in the maintenance of an ideal Tokelau language that is distinct from other Polynesian languages. In this chapter I will describe how variation is conceptualized by Tokelau speakers, drawing on some early descriptions of the language and will introduce some of the strategies that speakers in the diaspora, especially in Hawai'i, use to make sense of the linguistic diversity in their communities, with special attention to the ways that the hitherto undescribed speech variety of Olohega Island complicates representations of authentic and emerging identities.

4.3 Historical accounts of variation in Tokelau. As part of the United States Exploring Expedition Horatio Hale's (1846) philological descriptions of Polynesian

languages are some of the earliest linguistic records from the area. Like Cook and other European voyagers before him, Hale noted the similarities between speech varieties but also provided the first systematic accounts of sound correspondences between the languages of Polynesia. Hale produced the first descriptions of Tokelau language after having come ashore briefly at Fakaofu¹⁴ and Atafu, cataloguing short word lists and phrases at each. In his analysis he compared the varieties found there to the languages of Samoa and Tonga, with an emphasis on their sound inventories. As a philologist who had worked on the languages of eastern North America, Hale's object was to sketch out a comparative grammar of the languages he encountered in the Pacific. His main description of Tokelau language takes the speech of Fakaofu together with Vaitupu in the Ellice (Tuvalu) Group as one dialect.¹⁵

Hale identified the fifteen-sound inventory of the Vaitupu-Fakaofu continuum as the exemplar inventory of Polynesian languages:

The only dialect, so far as is known, in which all these [sounds] are found is that spoken in the two groups of Fakaofu and Vaitupu. In the other dialects, some of these [sounds] are dropped entirely, and others changed (1846:231).

Linguists working in the region after Hale have treated the languages of Tokelau and Tuvalu as separate. Early analysis of Tokelauan's position in the

¹⁴ In Hale's account the island's name was reported as "Fakaofu."

¹⁵ Modern linguists often treat the speech of Tuvalu and Tokelau as separate but closely related languages but Hale's first impression was that they were part of a single widespread language. It may be that the languages have diverged significantly since the middle nineteenth century and further examination of levels of intelligibility between Tuvaluan varieties and Tokelauan ones is beyond the scope of the present work, but an account of the variation within each island group will necessarily have to reconcile the remarkable similarities that have persisted from the nineteenth century to the present to make utterances in each of the languages mutually intelligible (Besnier 2000, Hooper 1996).

Polynesian family placed it within the Samoic-Outlier subgroup (Pawley 1966, 1967; Green 1966), though more recent analyses of Polynesian genetic relationships¹⁶ (Wilson 1985, Marck 1993, 2000) place the Tokelau language in the Ellicean-Outlier group, suggesting that the language of Tokelau has several shared innovations with some of the languages of the Northern Atoll Arc, differing considerably from Samoan. Modern linguists describing Tokelauan (Hooper 1993, Vonen 1993, Sharples 1979), have suggested that dialectal variation existed between the islands, but atoll-based variation only receives passing reference in the literature.

4.4 Contemporary variation in Tokelauan. In Tokelau, speakers describe differences between the speech of Atafu, Nukunonu, and Fakaofu as variation in *hikuleo*, literally ‘ending voice’ or ‘tail of the voice.’ For the purposes of the present discussion it is sufficient to say that *hikuleo* refers primarily to intonational contour and speech rate. The varieties of Tokelau speech within the *Tū Tolu*, the northern three atolls, are presumed by speakers and linguists to have a unified phonemic inventory that includes the sounds bilabial fricative/ɸ/ and the glottal fricative plus glide sequence /hʲ/ which distinguish standard Tokelau speech from the sound inventories of Polynesian neighbors. In contrast, the *hikuleo* of Olohega has both a different intonational shape and the use of two phones, [s] and [f], that are marked in discourses circulating in the Tokelau-speaking community as “non-Tokelau” or “Samoan- influenced” because Samoan has the phonemes /s/ and /f/. Tokelauan in general shows evidence of influence from Samoan, particularly in the lexicon

¹⁶ The comparative method is a technique for historical linguistic analysis that compares structural features of two or more languages descended from a common ancestor.

(Hovdhaugen 1992), but despite speakers' ideas about the origins of the salient [s] and [f], Samoan influence on Tokelauan does not have a clear imprint on the phonology in part because of historical phonological variation within Tokelau.

Tokelau, like neighboring Tuvalu (Besnier 1995, 2009), was converted to Christianity in the middle nineteenth century through the efforts of Samoan and Samoan-speaking missionaries under the auspices of the London Missionary Society (LMS) and other Protestant missionary organizations. As a result, Samoan language occupied an important place in Tokelau culture as the language of the church, the *faifeau* 'pastor,' and schooling (Hooper and Huntsman 1992). Many diasporic Tokelauans are speakers of Samoan in the domains of the church and home and Samoan provided the basis for the standard Tokelau orthography¹⁷. On Nukunonu, however, and among those in the diaspora with roots on that atoll, the use of the digraph <wh> to represent the bilabial fricative represented as <f> elsewhere persists as a remnant of the conventions of Catholic missionaries there inspired by the New Zealand Māori orthography.¹⁸

4.4.1 Tokelau sounds and problems of description. In recent analyses languages of the Polynesian family on higher order branches than Tokelauan, such as Tongan and Niuean, are shown to have many more phonological retentions from

¹⁷ Thus, the orthographic representation of *Olohega* with <g> to represent /ŋ/.

¹⁸ Nukunonu people are known for their insistence on questioning the value of the Samoan orthography as it represents a particular type of foreign dominance in the public life of Tokelau and sometimes credit the Catholic missions with their retention of many ancient Tokelau practices that were suppressed under the Protestant missions on other islands. In these circumstances Samoan language occupies an interesting position as a language of authority and power (Besnier 2009) but also of foreignness and a potential threat to group cohesion.

proto Polynesian. Though the varieties he described in Tuvalu and Tokelau had lost glottal stop, Hale believed that Vaitupu-Fakaaofo provided the exemplar sound inventory for the family.

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless stop	p	t	k	
Nasal	m	n	ŋ	
Fricative	f v	s		h
Lateral		l		

Figure 4: Consonant inventory of the language of Vaitupu and Fakaaofo (after Hale 1846:231)

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless stop	*p	*t	*k	*ʔ
Nasal	*m	*n	*ŋ	
Fricative	*f	*s		*h
Trill		*r		
Lateral		*l		
Glide	*w			

Figure 5: Proto Polynesian consonant inventory (after Pawley 1966)

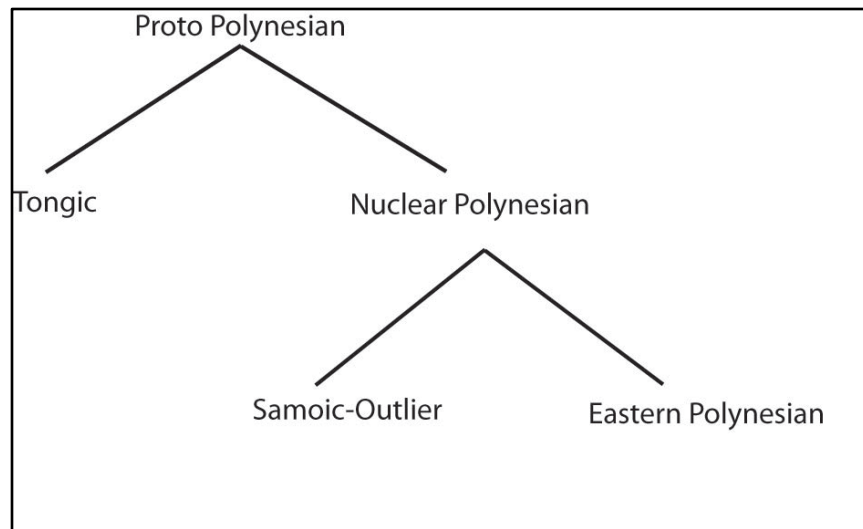


Figure 6: Tree diagram of highest order Polynesian subgroups (after Pawley 1966 and Green 1966)

Though Hale's description of Tokelau consonants is largely the same as the modern inventory, the major difference between Hale's and later scholars' accounts is the inclusion of the sibilant [s] and the omission of [h] in the 1846 description. Hale describes the alternation between the sounds [s] and [h] in some lexical items and clearly regarded them as versions of the same sound. As Hooper, Huntsman, and Kalolo (1992) have noted, of the approximately two hundred lexical entries that Hale collected as representative of the Fakaofu¹⁹ dialect, a number that contain the <s> segment are now considered archaisms by modern speakers of Tokelauan or have undergone a change to the sound²⁰ represented by <h> in the standard orthography.

¹⁹ In Hale's list five of the lexical items were noted as being restricted to Vaitupu.

²⁰ This sound is the phoneme [hi] discussed below.

	Hale 1841	Modern Tokelauan
<i>come</i>	sau	hau
<i>forbidden</i>	sā (hā)	hā
<i>great</i>	lasi	lahi
<i>how</i>	peseā	peheā
<i>moon</i>	masina	mahina
<i>mark</i>	tusi	tuhi
<i>no</i>	sē	hē
<i>no</i>	e sē ai	e hēai
<i>dance</i>	siva	hiva
<i>white</i>	sina	hina

Figure 7: [s] in lexical items. Vocabulary of Fakaofu-Vaitupu (Hale 1846: 361) versus modern Tokelauan

Hooper (1993) has described some consonants in the Tokelau phoneme inventory as having been borrowed from Samoan, in particular /s/ and /r/ found in place names and other proper names. However, /r/ appears to be restricted to European loan words in Tokelau as it is in Samoa (Milner 1966), but /s/ appears with more frequency in place names, personal names, and archaic language fossilized in chants, suggesting that /s/ may not simply be a recently re-introduced sound from Samoa. In 2008 a group of elders in New Zealand called Mafutaga a Toeaina o Atafu i Matauala Porirua ('Fellowship of Atafu Elders in Matuala Porirua') compiled a book of traditional fishing techniques from their home atoll in a document called *Hikuleo i te Papa o Tautai*²¹. In the document the *toeaina* 'elder men' describe techniques for tracking and capturing various fish and marine life and include with each description of the method a *fātele*, a song, for calling the fish, drawing the wind, to encourage a fishing crew, to pass the time, or to describe the

²¹ 'Echoes of the Master Fishermen's School'

exploits of a master fisher adept in a particular technique. These songs are drawn from the oldest recorded Tokelau language and some of the literal meanings are no longer recoverable by native speakers. The *fātele* are transcribed in the Mafutaga a Toeaina's collection and no sound recordings accompany them so it is not possible to determine the pronunciation of the sound represented by <f> in the record of these old chants and songs as either the standard bilabial fricative or the fortis labiodental /f/. However, the compilers do include numerous *fātele* that include lexical items that contain the orthographic representation <s>. Just as in Hooper's description many of the occurrences of <s> are in personal names, especially biblical names like *Esau*, *Solomono* 'Solomon,' and *Isaako* 'Isaac.' In fact, a number of the *fātele* included appear to be Samoan in origin as they include not only lexical items with <s> but also Samoan forms, including determiners such as the definite article *le* (as opposed to Tokelau *te*), the second-person alienable possessive form *lau* (opposed to Tokelau *tau*), the past continuous tense/aspect marker *sa* (opposed to Tokelau *nae*), the conjunction 'ae 'but' (opposed to Tokelau *kae*) and second-person singular pronoun 'oe²² (opposed to Tokelau form *koe*). Excluding the several *fātele* that appear to be of Samoan origin as recent borrowings into the repertoire of fishermen in Atafu, the collection of fishing-related songs includes overwhelming evidence of lexical items containing <s> in otherwise Tokelauan phrases.

²² The Mafutaga's book does not include any diacritics, such as the macron to denote long vowels and does include the inverted apostrophe conventionally used to represent the Samoan glottal stop. My inclusion of the glottal stop here is to represent the standard Samoan form of the pronoun.

gloss	from fātele sources	modern/ standard Tokelauan
<i>come</i>	sau	hau
<i>excitement</i>	saea	haea
<i>day</i>	aso	aho
<i>sacred house ('church')</i>	falesa	falehā
<i>flower adornment for the ear</i>	sei	hei
<i>white</i>	sina	hina
<i>Ruddy Turnstone (species of bird)</i>	vasavasa	vahavaha
<i>song/sing</i>	pese	pehe
<i>symbolic name of Atafu</i>	Muliselu	Mulihelu
<i>insert</i>	sili	hili
<i>restriction</i>	sa	hā

Figure 8: Lexical items with <s> in the Mafutaga a Toeaina o Atafu i Matauala Porirua's collection of fishing lore and forms in standard Tokelauan

sotoma
solo
gasolo
sasa
asiasi
masiasi
fulisia
sana
takitasi
sala
sasala
salasalaga
soleka
supo
tausala
sevi

Figure 9: List of lexical items with <s> in the Mafutaga a Toeaina o Atafu i Matauala Porirua's collection of fishing lore and forms with no recoverable standard Tokelauan equivalents. Meanings of these archaic words in these contexts are unknown.

These songs and chants are described in the collection as *fātele*, the action song

imported to Tokelau in the nineteenth century from Tuvalu (Thomas et al. 1990), where /s/ is part of the standard phoneme inventory. The themes of these *fātele* and the close association with ancient fishing practices suggest that, with the exception of the biblical songs, many of them predate that time period of borrowing and may have been reworked into *fātele* format or simply described as *fātele* in contemporary terms. In the list of lexical items containing <s> in Tokelau²³ phrases is *Muliselu*, the ceremonial and symbolic name of Atafu, usually presented and written as *Mulihelu* in standard Tokelau contexts. That these elders should wish to include a *fātele* that references their home atoll as *Muliselu* may suggest that the /s/ phoneme is part of the Tokelau inventory but marked, especially in contexts that harken to ancient times. The pervasiveness of <s> in the *toeaina*'s collection of fishing lore shows that even when cases of Samoan borrowing are excluded, and even when the distinction between Tokelau and Tuvalu phrases is unclear, [s] remains a salient sound for standard Tokelau speakers, even living abroad, and may signal a register change to older, more conservative forms.

4.4.1 Olohega speech. To speakers of Tokelau, the most salient phonological feature of Olohega speech is the presence of two sounds, alveolar fricative [s] and labiodental [f], in positions where *Tū Tolu* Tokelauan employs a palatal fricative [ç] (described by others as a glottal fricative with a glide [hⁱ] in some environments) and the bilabial fricative [ɸ], respectively. Despite the relative prestige of Samoan in some domains and popular associations between the [s] and [f] sounds in Olohega

²³ Or, as the case may be, both Tuvalu and Tokelau phrases.

speech and Samoan, Olohega speech is a non-prestigious variety in the diaspora and the dialect has very few speakers remaining (Te Taki Tokelau 2007). Most of these speakers are elderly people who were removed from the island by the US Navy in the 1950s or who left the island later (Ickes 1999, 2001, 2009). Because of the history of removal and resettlement of Olohega people, most speakers are multilingual with advanced proficiency in Samoan and English. For many speakers, this results in code mixing in daily life and in interviews. For this reason, several consultants expressed some anxiety that their Tokelauan was “not good” or appropriate for my data. Additionally, the community of Olohega speakers has been dispersed, even in Hawai‘i, as individuals set up new lives with and around Samoan and English speakers. Remaining Hawai‘i speakers of the Olohega dialect have described to me the embarrassment of being corrected for their pronunciation by Tokelau speakers in New Zealand and speakers express some anxiety about their pronunciation being a pastiche of Samoan on Tokelauan.

As a result, and as can be expected in the case of an endangered variety in contact with multiple languages of wider communication, individuals show significant variation in their speech production. The data presented below show what Olohega people have in common in their speech and together provide a glimpse of the dialectal features of the previously intact community.

In the Samoan-influenced orthography used for *Tū Tolu Tokelau*, the grapheme <f> represents the bilabial fricative [ɸ], though some writers with origins

in the island of Nukunonu use <wh>²⁴ to represent the sound, having been influenced by the Māori-based orthography of the Marist missionaries established there (Hooper, Huntsman, and Kalolo 1992).

'house'	Samoan	Tū Tolu	Nukunonu
orthography	fale	fale	whale
phonetic transcription	[fɔlɛ]	[ɸɔlɛ]	[ɸɔlɛ]

Figure 10: Orthographic and phonetic representations of 'house' in Samoan and Tokelauan varieties

The bilabial is produced with frication at the lips and for some speakers co-articulation at the glottis and though the Nukunonu digraph is often pointed to as evidence of that island's persistent contrariness, the use of <wh> has a certain merit, on the analogy of the sound in some English and Māori dialects where the digraph is in orthographic use. Hale noted the use of this sound as a variant of [f], describing it in reference to the English digraph in *what*.

At Fakaafu, Paumotu, and Tahiti, we occasionally heard the *f* changed to a sound like that of *wh* in *what*; as *whare* for *fare*, *owháwha* for *ofáfa*, &c. This may serve to show the process by which both the *w* and the *h* have been substituted, in some of the dialects, for the *f*; as in New Zealand, *waha* for *fafa*, &c. [sic]

(Hale 1846: 234)

Sharples (1976:40) gives more phonetic detail of the allophones, noting that before /i/ and /e/ what he calls the /f/ phoneme is realized as the voiceless labio-velar

²⁴ Though Nukunonu is known for the use of the digraph in common words like *fātele*, rendered as <whātele> I found no examples of <wh> in proper names, such as **Atawhu*. When I questioned speakers on this, the prospect of Atafu being spelled this way was very humorous to them.

fricative [ɱ]. Before the low back vowel /ɑ/ it appears as [h], and before the back vowels /u/ and /o/ the “labial articulation again loses its force” and becomes [h^w] (Sharples 1976:41). Though Hooper (1993; 1996a) repeats Sharples’s allophonic description, the articulatory distinction between [ɱ] and [h^w], in particular, is difficult to discern. No native speakers in my data produced a completely unrounded [h] in the environment Sharples describes, even in the high frequency lexical items he includes in his examples, like *fano* ‘go’ or *fā* ‘four.’ It is clear that while the labial articulation may “lose force” in the sense of producing significantly less frication at the lips, the lips are still very much involved in articulation of the sound in every environment. As a result, in this work I refer to the unit phoneme that Sharples and Hooper have attempted to describe as being realized as bilabial fricative [ɸ].

The sound represented by <h> in standard Tokelau orthography is described by Hooper (1993:10) as “phonetically [h] before the front vowels /i/ and /e/, but is strongly palatalised before the back vowels /a/, /o/ and /u/.” Hooper mentions the presence of [s] in Samoan loanwords in Tokelauan, with the note that “it is more usual for speakers to substitute /h/ in this position” (1993:9). Likewise, Hovdhaugen (1992) in his description of Samoan borrowings in Tokelauan identifies [s] as a borrowed sound. In writing, especially of personal names and place names, <s> represents this “borrowed” [s] sound, but in cases where words of Samoan origin are borrowed into Tokelauan the sound is transliterated as <h>. Hence, *Sāmoa* becomes *Hāmoa* or *pasi* (borrowed into Samoan from English ‘bus’)

becomes *pahi*²⁵. Hale noted <h> as a version of <s>, remarking that when produced the [h] sound was “strongly aspirated”:

At Fakaafu [sic], we also frequently heard the *s* pronounced like a strongly aspirated *h*, as *h’a* for *sa*, sacred. A similar sound is sometimes given to the *h* in New Zealand and Tahiti, as in *honi* or *hoi* (in Samoan *soni*), to salute by pressing noses, which some have supposed to be pronounced *shoni*, *shoi*. In fact, The Samoan *s* is a dental letter, approaching, in the pronunciation of some natives, very nearly to the sound of *sh*.

(Hale 1846:234)

Hale perceived some variants of Samoan [s] as approaching [ʃ], and though it isn’t clear from this brief mention what “strong” aspiration denoted in his analysis, his observation points to the fact that at least as recently as the middle nineteenth century there was variation in Tokelau’s fricative series.

In the Polynesian family there is evidence that this alternation between [s] and [h] is not merely a unidirectional change, but part of a larger phenomenon of lenis and fortis grades of the fricative series, similar to a phenomenon Ross (1988) has described for Proto-Oceanic. Standard reconstructions of Proto-Polynesian (Biggs 1978, Clark 1976, Pawley 1967, for example) have presented Proto-Polynesian (PPN) *s as retained as [s] in some Nuclear Polynesian languages and changed to [h] in others. Marck (2000) has also drawn attention to irregular retentions of Proto-Polynesian *h in a number of Nuclear Polynesian languages. The

²⁵ It is unclear how much this practice of transliteration is due to knowledge of cognates and sound correspondences and how much is motivated by a wish to Tokelauanize Samoan lexical items through the substitution, rather than borrowing the lexical item and its sounds as a unit.

sound was supposed to have only been retained in the Tongic subgroup, but Marck (2000) and Rutter (2001) show evidence that reflexes of *h persist in Nuclear Polynesian and Eastern Polynesian languages. Further, Rutter (2001) shows that where PP_N *s is reflected as [s] in Nuclear Polynesian languages there are also some instances in the same subgroup where PP_N *h is also reflected as [s].

Data from Tokelau are presented as part of Rutter's (2001) argument about the "irregular" innovation of *s to [h], but his source is Simona and Hooper's (1986) dictionary and though the orthographic representation of the reflex of *s is <h>, treatments of the sound by modern scholars like Sharples and Hooper and in Hale's account hint that it is not merely a glottal fricative, but is produced along a continuum, from a true sibilant to a fricative with no oral obstruction. Rather than synchronically describe [h] as undergoing a process of palatalization when it precedes back vowels, the sound appears to be now a palatal fricative [ç], the palatal features of which becomes sometimes inaudible when the sound precedes front vowels. Tokelauan appears to have inherited reflexes of *s as [s] or [ç], depending on dialect and register, though except in the cases of proper nouns mentioned above (where it is transcribed as <s> and pronounced as [s]) it is written as <h>. Many speakers produce a sound approximating the palatal fricative [ç] even before front vowels so that a word like 'lift,' rendered as <hiki> in the orthography, sounds more like [çiki], and <hēvae> 'shoe' emerges as [çe:vae] in actual speech.

This alternative analysis of [h] as [ç] allows us to unify discussions on the relationship between supposed /h/ active in modern Tokelau phonology and the Proto-Polynesian sound *s. Hooper recognizes Tokelau [h] as a reflex of Proto-

Polynesian *s and notes in her phoneme inventory that actual [s] occupies a fickle position in the phonology, reporting that in addition to using [s] in proper names, “/s/ sometimes occurs in Samoan loan words, although it is more usual for speakers to substitute /h/ in this position” (1993:9). It is likely that [s] remains psychologically salient in *Tū Tolu* Tokelau because of the recency of Samoan lexical and phonological borrowing, and Hooper’s remarks about [s] as a borrowed sound make it clear why the use of [s] in Olohega speech is regarded by many speakers as a Samoan affectation rather than as conservative. However, in the speech of Olohega as well as in some fossilized language found in old songs, chants, and place names [s] still remains in the phonology of Tokelau. What has been described as Tokelau [h] is a reflex of Proto-Polynesian *s, but the palatal quality of the sound (in most environments) suggests that what we are observing is a sound change still in progress as *s lenites toward a non-palatal [h] in all environments in the speech of the northern three atolls of Tokelau.

Besnier (2000) notes the mutual intelligence between Tuvaluan and Tokelauan and other writers on Tokelau language (Hooper 1993, Sharples 1976, Hoëm 1994 and others) have also remarked on the ability of speakers to understand each other. In Auckland in 2008 I observed a receptive bilingual (ten Thije and Zeevaert 2007) conversation between Tuvalu and Tokelau speakers wherein each spoke their own language and were understood thanks to their shared knowledge of lexical and phonological correspondences.²⁶ On Fakaofu in 2010 a number of people

²⁶ A similar phenomenon wherein speakers’ knowledge of lexical and phonological correspondences between their own language others compels them to adjust pronunciation to the phonology of their interlocutors’ languages is reported on elsewhere in the Pacific as “language bending” (Ellis 2007).

reported to me their ability to understand and speak the language of Tuvalu, owing either to having recent Tuvalu ancestors or just being able to work out the sound correspondences. In his discussion of Tuvalu dialect difference Besnier also notes that the dialect of the southern atolls is marked for its use of [h] in contexts where the northern, standard varieties, use [s]. Applied to a map, these phonemes in Tuvalu dialects and Tokelau dialects present a picture of a possible sound change rippling through the Northern Atoll Arc with a center of lenition of [s] and [f] originating in the area of *Tū Tolu* Tokelau and the islands of southern Tuvalu²⁷. While this type of lenition of fricatives is not necessarily remarkable in languages of the world, it does mark “standard” Tokelauan and “non-standard” Tuvaluan as phonologically distinct from neighbor dialects and languages.

²⁷ It is intriguing to note that these areas of lenition coincidentally overlap with areas most significantly impacted by kidnappings by Peruvian “Blackbirders” in the period of the middle 1860s and subsequent population replacement. Maude (1981) writes that “ [i]t was in the three [northernmost] Tokelau and two [southernmost] Tuvalu islands...that the shock was severe” (170). In oral histories circulating in Tokelau and in the diaspora, after blackbird raiders kidnapped large numbers of able-bodied people to toil in Peru, the remaining Tuvalu and Tokelau islanders employed various means to repopulate. On some islands young men were encouraged to have children by multiple women (Besnier 1995), on others Europeans settled and fathered children. Maude (1981:173) catalogs the national origins of the immigrants in the aftermath of the crisis: “Portuguese, German, Scottish and French, as well as islanders from Samoa, New Zealand, Uvea, Tuvalu and Ontong Java,” making what he calls “an improbably bizarre genetic mixture.” And on the island of Atafu oral history maintains that many people from Micronesia settled there, contributing to the darker complexion and features as part of the phenotype of some Atafu people. Southern Tuvalu experienced a similar demographic catastrophe.

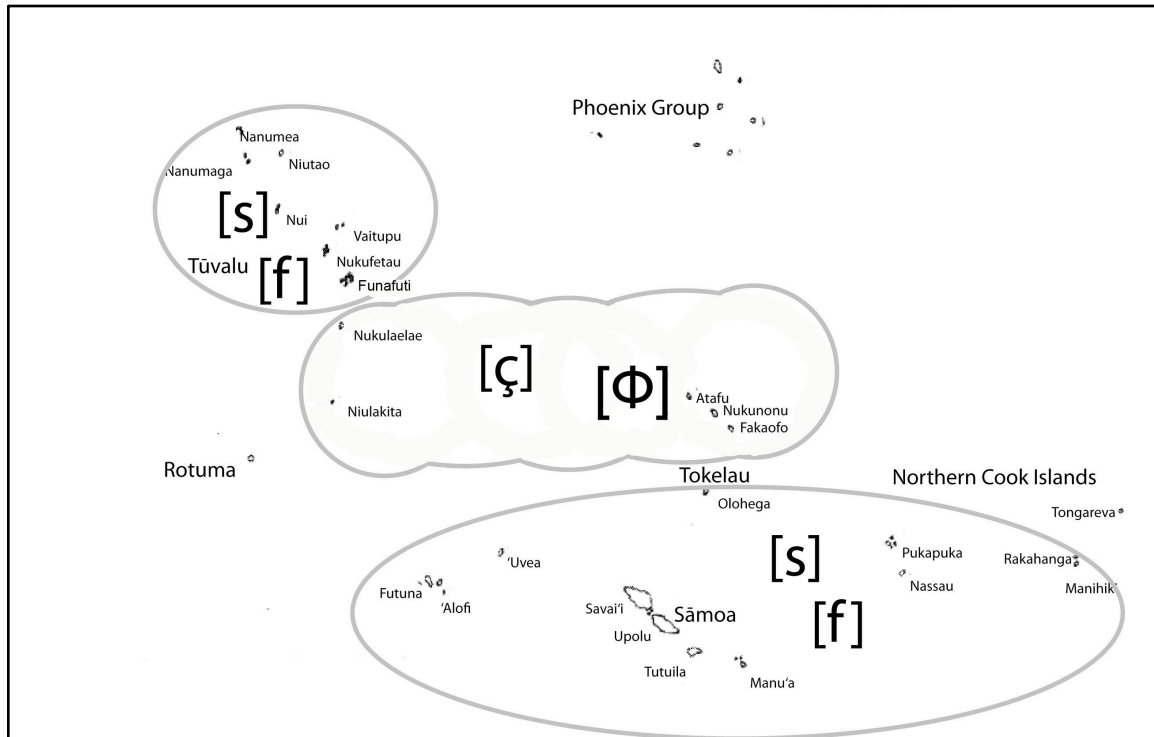


Figure 11: Distribution of fricative series in Tokelau and neighboring island groups

At around the same time that the northern islands of Tokelau were visited by slavers' ships, so was the southernmost island of Tokelau, Olohega. Oral histories of Olohega describe the island as having been visited by Europeans and Americans in the period and one in particular, Eli Jennings, is alleged to have been on the island and to have facilitated the removal of many of the able-bodied people there in exchange for payments from the Peruvians²⁸. In the aftermath, Jennings and his family set up an autocratic regime, limiting the mobility of the Tokelau people who lived on Olohega and essentially severing some of their strongest cultural connections to Fakaofu, Nukunonu, and Atafu in the process. Ickes (2007, 2009) has

²⁸ Again, see Betty Pedro Ickes's 2009 dissertation for more discussion of Tokelau history and other sources regarding this event.

described the preservation of some cultural forms in Olohega but it appears that the speech of Olohega and the other islands of Tokelau began to diverge in this period, with Olohega retaining the fortis grade of the fricative series as [f] and [s] lenited in the other three islands where communities of speakers were in more regular contact with each other.

Tokelau people call the island itself alternately *Olohega* [olohɛŋa] and *Olosega* [olosɛŋa] and in talking to Tokelau speakers in New Zealand I was corrected to use the [s] pronunciation a handful of times when I referred to the places as [olohɛŋa]. Speakers of the northern varieties of Tokeauan may refer to the island as *Olosega* because that was the original name of the island or because of a wish to demarcate the historical separateness of Olohega from the northern atolls.²⁹ I refer to the island as Olohega in this work as most people do in the context of Te Lumanaki and the Tokelau community building activities in Hawai'i, but for some speakers there has been a noticeable shift in change in producing the fricative in the pronunciation of the atoll's name. In an interview in 2010 with a speaker in Hawai'i who listened to recordings of herself from 1996 this difference was apparent and was linked in her understanding to how a political shift in the diaspora might have influenced this particular speech practice:

It's funny to hear how I changed my pronunciation from then to now, yeah? Olosega [olosɛŋa]. Olosega. That's what the elders always said—how they said it—so that's what we said, you know, I said. But I guess things have changed since then with [Te Lumanaki]

²⁹ Individual speakers in New Zealand may have had multiple reasons for correcting me and I can only speculate about them. As a learner, my mispronunciation (not necessarily of the fricative) may have caused them to offer me what they thought was a more easily pronounceable alternative of [olosɛŋa] rather than [oloçɛŋa] or [olohʲɛŋa].

school and more connections with the diaspora in New Zealand and people talking about it [Olohega] more with the [independence] referendum...At the school we always say Olohega [olohɛŋa], I guess get that *real* Tokelau pronunciation.

(BI:1209:WHI.AUD)³⁰

The school's pedagogical choices about the form of Tokelauan are influential in how it is interpreted in the diaspora community in Hawai'i. Though there was no explicit discussion of whether to teach the Olohega dialect, the school's teachers have over time drifted toward teaching the standard—even as it differs from their own original speech practices and those of their elders. There is a sense that because the community in Hawai'i is connected to Olohega—and to elders who speak with the fortis fricative series—that the school has a special responsibility to acknowledge variation in Tokelau and attention was directed to variation in the development of the school's first curriculum, as we will see in the following chapter. Though there seemed to be a tacit consensus that the school would use the Tokelau language codified in the 1986 dictionary (produced in New Zealand), one of the founding teachers expressed wonder about how the elders might interpret their decision.

This decision of course in an unofficial way denies the validity of our own dialect, in a way implying that the Olohega dialect is a corrupt form of the native language and I often wonder how the Elders feel about us privileging an external dialect (which just happens to be the "official," "standard" form) over their speech forms.

(BP:9.17.11.WHI.TXT)

³⁰ Each excerpt is coded in this way: (speaker: date :location: medium). Medium here is either an audio recording (AUD) or a textual transmission (TXT), often letters, emails, or communication over the Internet.

As the excerpt illustrates, for some community members there is a sense that the “standard” is external to the community and its history, especially as it is not consistently or solely modeled by the elders in the community. In a community of practice that places much symbolic value on the presence and participation of elder members who are the embodiment of Tokelau culture knowledge this pedagogical move has the potential to circumvent the cultural authority of the people who lived in Tokelau and who serve as the most direct connectors to life in Tokelau. The difference from the pronunciation of the northern three atolls along with widespread knowledge of the history of culture loss and separation of Olohega people from the rest of the diaspora contribute, however, to feelings that the variety is a “corrupt,” divergent form.

Another teacher who grew up in Tokelau, Samoa, and Hawai'i and lived in New Zealand recalled the eventual decision to present to students the “standard” Tokelau phonology as one that very much prepared them to access diasporic Tokelau culture and to represent themselves as authentic inheritors of the culture, even abroad in Hawai'i:

I remember briefly talking about this in the very beginning, and thought that it made sense to teach what is the accepted and standardized form of Tokelauan because it is what the majority of the Tokelauans speak in the rest of the world, with the intent that our students would be making connections and bridging the gap with the rest of the Tokelauan world outside of our small Tokelau community in Hawai'i...

I also did not want our students to be considered as outsiders or pseudo-Tokelauans because of the language differences...

(BP:9.17.11.WHL.TXT)

The choice to teach “standardized” Tokelauan in Hawai’i is not uncontroversial in the wider community. One Lumanaki family reported that their extended relatives did not participate in the school because the variety of Tokelau language being taught at the school—marked by the lenis fricatives and some lexical items—was the “wrong” variety for Olohega people. One aunt pointed to the teaching of the song *Ika Ika He Manu* (‘Fish, Fish, a Bird’) to children at Te Lumanaki. She argued that it should correctly be “Ika Ika Se Manu.” Though this very old song, which teaches about the best place to look for fish in the lagoon (where birds are swarming overhead) has recently been recorded in New Zealand with the *he* indefinite article (Learning Media 2006), when I heard it performed at a village dance night in Fakaofu in 2010 the singers produced a very salient sibilant in the indefinite article.

Traditional/ Olohega	Tū Tolu	English translation
Ika ika se manu	Ika ika he manu	Fish, fish a bird
Ika ika se manu	Ika ika he manu	Fish, fish a bird
Se manu ka lele	Se manu ka lele	A bird [that] will fly

Figure 12: “Ika Ika He Manu” versions

Olohega speech also includes a small set of lexical items that differ from the “standard.” Since the varieties of the northern atolls inform the standard vocabulary taught at the school, these items are sometimes contested by the elders who have lived on Olohega.

English gloss	Olohega	Tū Tolu
'rain'	timu	ua
'marry'	faiipo	fakaipoipo

Figure 13: Examples of Olohega and Tū Tolu lexical variation

In the first example, both the Olohega and the Tū Tolu forms for 'rain' also occur in Samoan. In the second example, the Tū Tolu variant is a cognate of the Samoan form *fa'a* [CAUS] + *ipoipo* ['sweethearts'], whereas *fai* ['make'] + *ipo* ['sweetheart'] appears to be an innovation from the form reconstructed back to Proto Ellicean, *faka-ipo-ipo. In both cases it is very likely that Samoan did contribute, or at least reinforce, these lexical items in Olohega in recent generations.

As a result of widespread knowledge about how Olohega speech differs from the speech of the other atolls, a low-level tension has developed for many teachers and parents of the school as they waver between two ideas of how to represent the Tokelau world to students: on one side, through a direct connection to Tokelau through Olohega history and linguistic practices or on the other by equipping them to claim a place in the diaspora as "real" insiders and not "pseudo-Tokelauans." The relationship between Olohega and Tokelau is complicated, not in the least, by the relationship with the Samoan language acquired in their experience in Samoa for many of the refugees and their families and the continued affiliation with Samoans in Hawai'i.

4.5 Phonemic variation in the Hawai'i Tokelau community. The community that surrounds Te Lumanaki School is a heteroglossic one: it includes speakers of the Tokelau standard, elders and others who speak the Olohega dialect or a mix of Tokelau and Samoan, and a number of youth and adult learners of Tokelau language who are native speakers of English, Hawai'i Creole or Samoan. Looking across a variety of speech contexts I found patterns of diverse groups of speakers using the lenis and fortis varieties and investigated how they account for their linguistic practices in such a heterogenous speech environment. The speakers themselves were roughly categorized in three groups: learners, young fluent speakers, and elder fluent speakers. These groups correspond with demographic categories and self-reports of fluency in Tokelau language and other languages. The learners were mostly women, in the range of thirty to forty years old at the time of my data collection. They are teachers at Te Lumanaki³¹ and active members of the Te Lumanaki community and several of them are part of the core cadre that organizes the social life of the school, including fundraising, fellowship, and performance. These learners are marked from the other groups by virtue of all having been born and raised in Hawai'i or North America and included in this group are adults in the Te Lumanaki community who do not claim Tokelau-descent but are affiliated with the school otherwise. As a group, at least one parent was not Tokelauan and these adults reported themselves as English or Hawai'i Creole dominant, but all of them

³¹ As in many language revitalization efforts, teachers may not be fluent speakers themselves but rather advanced learners (see, for example Hinton (2003) for a discussion of the challenges of these types of teachers in revitalization efforts in North America).

reported some limited Samoan proficiency. As part of Te Lumanaki they have all received some language instruction, mostly through group participation in *fātele* singing and performance.

The group of younger speakers are a cohort who were in the range of thirty to fifty-five years old at the time of my data collection. They were predominately raised in the northern atolls of Tokelau or in Tokelau communities in Samoa or New Zealand and most of them had lived in Hawai'i intermittently, perhaps attending grade school on O'ahu for a time or spending a few years in New Zealand or in Samoa. These speakers also reported themselves to be English dominant with some Samoan proficiency and knowledge and occasional use of Hawai'i Creole.

The third and final group, the elder speakers, are found in two sets of data. In the 1996 and 1997 oral history recordings they would have been primarily in their late sixties and seventies and in my recordings from 2005-2010 they were mostly in the range of eighty to eighty-five years old. Some of the speakers in the oral history recordings were deceased at the time of the later recordings but the speech of several of the seven in this group was compared between the earlier and later recordings. These speakers lived in Hawai'i for various numbers of years with periods in American Samoa or the other islands of Tokelau. These are the people who would have reached adulthood on Olohega and have been young adults when they were removed from the island.

4.5.1 Speaker preferences for lenis and fortis sounds. For the adult learners there appears to be a relationship between reported proficiency in Samoan and

preference for the fortis fricatives. Learners who reported high proficiency demonstrated a greater preference for the fortis set, while learners who were English and HC dominant and reported low proficiency in Samoan demonstrated a slight preference for the lenis set of fricatives. The remainder of the learner group preferred [ç] over fortis [s]. It is possible that for these learners the articulatory or perceptual distinction between these two fricatives is easier to discern or that speakers have models for lenis [ç] in their other phonologies and may access them when learning to produce the sound in Tokelau. The sound is also taught as a sequence of glottal [h] and the glide [j], based in part on its orthographic representation, and speakers are often socialized into using [ç] in the interjection *hāloa!* ‘poor thing’ or ‘too bad’ very early in their Tokelau speaking, often using it along with the question tag *ni* ‘is that so?’ or ‘isn’t that so?’ in their English before successfully forming grammatical Tokelau sentences.

The younger speakers demonstrated an overwhelming preference for the lenis sounds in all environments. Like some of the elder speakers their very limited use of fortis fricatives was confined to personal and place names.

Elders showed a slight preference for lenis fricative sounds in most environments except in high frequency words, for example *fai* ‘do, make’ and *fakafetai* ‘thank you.’ One high frequency word, *fakafetai*, was used with great frequency in prayers and had variable pronunciations. In some instances the word was produced with two lenis bilabial fricatives from the “standard” Tokelau: [ɸakaɸɛ'tai], but a common alternative pronunciation showed variability in the realization of [f] word-medially. Both the forms [fakaɸɛ'tai] and the expected fortis

pronunciation [fakafɛ'tai] were produced regularly by elders. As a group, the elders appear to prefer fortis sounds only marginally more than the lenis sounds of “standard” Tokelau. While these speakers were adults on Olohega, all of them have connections to the other islands of Tokelau and even during the Jennings regime on the island, Olohega continued exogamic marriage practice. Among these speakers there is a preference for the fortis [f],[s] series in place names such as Fakaofu [fakaofu], Atafu [atafu], Olosega [olosɛŋa] (contrasted against standard pronunciations [ɸakaoɸo], [ataɸu], [olohɛŋa]) and in personal names such as Alatasi [alatasi].

4.5.2 Ethnographic explanations. For both learners and younger speakers the lenis fricatives are “more Tokelauan” sounding, possibly because of instruction at the school or because of exposure to northern Tokelau varieties in the diaspora, but also because these sounds are not found in Samoan. These sounds are described as “unique” to the Tokelau language among related Polynesian languages and for some speakers their use explicitly links linguistic practice and identity to the “standard” Tokelau language and the broader Tokelau diaspora. For learners, however, the lenis sounds, especially the bilabial [ɸ], are difficult to produce and hear. None of the learners produce a bilabial fricative in English words like *whale*, instead demonstrating the sound changes in some varieties of American English and Hawai'i Creole that use [w] in those environments. The unrounded [h] that many learners use to approximate the bilabial fricative also stands out for them as a learner's mistake, as a common word like Tokelau *fale* ‘house’ [ɸalɛ] sounds too much like

Hawaiian *hale* ‘house’ [halɛ], as it misses the articulatory mark. One learner who grew up hearing some of the Olohega variety as a child describes the difficulty of managing these sounds in speech and representing them in the orthography:

Um, I guess it’s more hard [to produce lenis sounds] and sometimes it’s more hard even to hear, yeah?

That’s why I cannot write Tokelau...get aitches and efs all everywhere and it’s always wrong...

(Female, age 33)

(SA.4.9.10.HAU.AUD)

Additionally, some learners who used fortis varieties—especially those who had more fluency in Samoan—reported difficulty in determining whether words were Samoan or Tokelau. The boundaries between the languages are not clear in the community, though fluent speakers tend to have some intuition about the extent of Tokelau lexicon versus Samoan. Still, in a situation of multilingualism where speakers must maneuver between Tokelauan, Samoan, standard English, and Hawai’i Creole, learners make use of words circulating in their communities without being certain of whether the result is an authentic Tokelau word, one overlaid with Samoan phonology, or a true cognate from another source.

You know, cause we grew up in Kahuku

and you just hear more Samoan, Tongan and you already know the words...

So when we come school and we hear “*pehe*” [‘sing’] we’re like, wait is it *pehe* or *pese* cause *pese* is what the Samoans say and it’s what our family from Swains [Olohega] say.

When I sing “ika ika he manu” to the baby Aunty... is like, is that what they teach you at school? Cause, hello, it’s “ika ika se manu” in Swains and Tokelau and everywhere else.

(Female, 34 years old)

(TA.4.9.10.HAU.AUD)

For some learners difficulties with managing the lenis sounds are explained by invoking an Olohega “style” that marks what would otherwise be perceived as a pronunciation mistake as a atoll-specific identity, manifested in Hawai’i:

I cannot say the effs and aytches properly. What is that? *Fa* [ɸa:] and *ha* [hʲa:]? So what if I cannot say em? Cause we did not hear that before. I still call it *pisupo* [Samoan, ‘corned beef’] even though I know it’s not. Eh. Whatever. If I go to Tokelau I’ll just tell em, hello, it’s Swains style. Hawai’i style.”

(Female, 34 years old)

(MA.4.9.10.HAU.AUD)

For this learner, the inability to produce what she perceives to be difficult, foreign sounds that she did not hear before her affiliation with the school is a problem and inhibits her being able to produce the Tokelau language “properly,” though she is able to approximate the sounds in her careful speech. At the same time, she knows that her inability to produce a standard Tokelau form, for example *pihupo* [piɸupo] for ‘corned beef,’ does not render her unintelligible in Tokelau contexts. Rather than missing the articulatory mark of a sound she perceives to be difficult, she relies on a form that she counts upon being understandable by others in conversation and is also achievable for her in production. Calling the food *pisupo* or *pihupo* is not without consequence, however, and the learner anticipates construals of her

production as inauthentically Tokelauan and hedges it by invoking not only an Olohega identity and affiliation, but also by linking that identity and speech practice to her identity of being Local and enacting “Hawai’i style.” Her defensive positioning suggests that she might be anticipating critique from elsewhere in the diaspora, where “Swains style” and “Hawai’i style” allow her to be protected by identities that might not be otherwise available to critique by diasporic Tokelau people elsewhere who do not have the expertise to gauge the authenticity of these styles.

At least one younger fluent speaker found others’ inability to produce the sounds to be linked to a lack of effort:

They [learners] could do it [produce lenis sounds] if they wanted to, but I guess it is hard.

They just have to try, fakamakeke ni? [be steadfast, right?]. Fakalogo [listen].

(Male, mid-30s)

(MP. 3.12.10.WHI.AUD)

For Elder speakers, the fortis fricatives are associated with an identity linked to Olohega, and is not un-prestigious, possibly because of association with Samoan in liturgy and education.

As a group, however, Te Lumanaki community members maneuver through the heteroglossic language practice of fluent speakers and learners in ways that acknowledge the contested place of Olohega in the broader Tokelau diaspora. Speakers draw on the knowledge that variation existed in the traditional Tokelau homeland and that Tokelau people in the diaspora may wish to identify with their home atolls to alternately subordinate and maintain Tokelau “national” identities.

Younger fluent speakers think of the lenis fricatives as quintessentially Tokelauan and as a linguistic phenomenon that distinguishes Tokelau speakers from Samoan speakers, thereby problematizing the prestige and pervasiveness of Samoan in the community. The lenis fricatives become an actual shibboleth, a test of nationality, belonging, and effort to belong on the basis of a difficult pronunciation. Knowledge of historical variation allows learners who are unable to produce or perceive the difficult lenis fricatives a means to deflect and mitigate criticism about their mispronunciation of sounds outside of their native phonologies. The marked pronunciation of English-dominant and Hawai'i Creole-dominant speakers who struggle to produce bilabial [ɸ] is instead advanced by some as an intentional claim to an authentic Olohega identity through dialectal practice, and not a mistake.

Clearly, these adept maneuvers between varieties and identities, shifting fields of indices, and fluidity of national and localized diasporic imaginaries are evidence of the power of metalinguistic knowledge in this community. Speakers use historical variation in Tokelau to make sense of heterogeneity in the small speech community in Hawai'i. Especially for the elders and the learners who inhabit opposite ends of a spectrum of fluency, but seem to be engaged in similar linguistic behavior to different ends, manipulating knowledge about even a small linguistic phenomenon, like variation in the fricative series, allows them to claim places—authentic places—within an imagined Tokelau diaspora. Both elders and learners are marginalized speakers: the elders because of their atoll-based dialect's conservatism as “standard” Tokelau language diverged along with their subsequent displacement in the mid-twentieth century; learners in Hawai'i are likewise marginalized as adults

who never learned their heritage language or as those who as adults have adopted Tokelau culture. In this community of practice, metalinguistic knowledge is a commodity that gives speakers access to places, locations, and social spaces that allow them to claim authentic Tokelau identities in a fluctuating culturescape.

CHAPTER 5. “Localizing” Tokelau spaces through ethnometalinguistic action

5.1 Introduction: Ethnometalinguistic socialization at Te Lumanaki School.

In this chapter I will describe how participants at Te Lumanaki School use talk about language and knowledge about language as resources to claim space in the multicultural world of modern Hawai'i . Here, ethnometalinguistic knowledge is not merely an accrued, static commodity. Rather, as I will present below, ethnometalinguistic knowledge is always in flux and is always contestable and negotiated both in interpersonal interactions and in public forums, allowing talk about language to become a “mediated discourse” (Scollon 2001), the embodied action that prefigures social interaction and social meaning.

As a community of practice who have as their organizing aim the perpetuation of Tokelau linguistic practices, the people of Te Lumanaki spend much of their time together considering the meaning of language as it relates their own individual identities, the identity of the group, and its relationship to other similar organizations in Hawai'i and in New Zealand. It is unsurprising that a language school would be a site for the accrual and dissemination of knowledge about language. What is particular about Te Lumanaki's orientation to language knowledge, however, is how language (and not only The Tokelau language, but others, as we will see) not only becomes a proxy for understanding and recognizing personhood but also for bringing new persons into the community of practitioners.

Through a series of validating and instructive social moves, members transfer and negotiate language knowledge as social capital in Bourdieu's (1992) sense and create and maintain an "economy of affection" (Waters 1992) predicated on supporting cultural and familial ties through the praxis of language teaching and learning. While discourse is a type of action at the school it also emerges in the context of other actions, what Scollon and Scollon (2003) have called the "nexus of practice" where discourse, individual agency, and social practice converge. More plainly, sharing knowledge in the space of Te Lumanaki School is what allows persons to become members of the community and to contribute to the idealized work of cultural repatriation that is central to the school's mission.

Because of the history of Tokelau people in Hawai'i and the consequences that forced removal, exile, migration, and assimilation have had on the integrity of intergenerational transmission, in Hawai'i fluency in The Tokelau language is concentrated in those speakers who have lived in Tokelau or in Tokelau communities abroad in New Zealand or Samoa. For Tokelau people born in Hawai'i in the 1970s and after, the pressure to assimilate into Local culture in the absence of centralizing community organizations like the youth *mafutaga* 'fellowships' or churches that have anchored Tokelau communities in New Zealand (Ickes 1999, Höem 2004, Thomas 1996) was overwhelming. Many of them grew up with only one Tokelau parent or with grandparents whose focus was on providing their children with access to the economic and social advantages of modern Hawai'i. Tokelau's invisibility in Hawai'i led young Tokelau people to identify with other Polynesian cultures primarily and various respondents reported in interviews that they had

found it easier as children to describe their Tokelau heritage as “similar to Samoan” or as “similar to Tongan” because both are Polynesian communities in Hawai’i recognizable to Pacific Islanders and non-Pacific Islanders alike. As youth, some respondents said that they abandoned the futility of representing themselves as Tokelau people and took up Samoan personas, or in cases where Samoans and others recognized *Ko’elau* (Tokelau) culture young Tokelau people endured teasing about being *‘ai popo* ‘coconut eaters,’ an epithet that Ickes (2009) also documents in Samoa. A consequence of these experiences of invisibility and misapprehension, together with limited opportunities to hear and use the Tokelau language in mixed-ethnicity households, created environments that impeded the first generations of Tokelau people born in Hawai’i in developing fluency in their heritage language. This generation reported much lower levels of fluency than the second and third generations in Te Taki’s sociolinguistic survey (2007) and many express anxiety about their Tokelau speaking skills in the context of Te Lumanaki.

5.2 Te Taki’s Kālele Survey and early metalinguistic commentary. Shortly after forming in 2004 following the visit of the Nukunonu delegation en route to Palau, members of Te Taki Tokelau began a grant proposal for funding to conduct a quantitative sociolinguistic survey of language vitality in the community. With the support of Hawai’i’s congressional delegation, in 2005 Te Taki Tokelau was awarded a grant from the Administration for Native Americans (ANA), a division of the United States Department of Health and Human Services, to initiate the Kālele language assessment survey. The intention was to produce the first account of

Tokelau people in Hawai'i, with a goal of collecting information about the linguistic practices of individuals and families who had become dispersed after arriving on O'ahu. This twelve-month project was presented as the first step in meeting long-term goals of language maintenance and intergenerational transmission of Tokelauan by gauging domains, frequency of use, and language attitudes within the community. The project was named *kālele* after the Tokelau scoop net used to entrap fish in outer reef channels, but for at least one participant in the early formulation of the project the phonological similarity between *kālele* and the phrase *ka* (future tense marker) *lele* 'fly' ³² was auspicious and recalled the lyrics of *Ika Ika He Manu*, the well-known *fātele* mentioned in Chapter 4:

We all loved [the name for the project] but it was interesting how we had different images of the Kalele. I saw it as Te Taki on the verge of take off, launching this new venture that will take us to new places, like birds getting ready to fly.

(BI.9.13.11.WHI.TXT)

The proposal narrative highlighted the perceived linguistic and demographic situation of Tokelau people on O'ahu but also rhetorically constructed the loose network of families beginning to coalesce in Te Taki as a displaced indigenous

³² In Tokelauan, as in other Polynesian languages, a single form may represent concepts represented by distinct nouns and verbs in English. As a result, Polynesian word forms appear in many syntactic environments as functional shifts may be signaled by discourse or by operations on the lexical items by particles such as determiners or tense-aspect markers. Biggs (1998) called the major distinction between lexical items in Polynesian languages that between “bases” and “particles” and further described subcategories of “bases” on the basis of their semantics and syntactic distribution. Here, *lele* means both ‘fly’ and ‘flight,’ and glossing and English free translations throughout this work reflect this tension between very different morphosyntactic approaches to conveying meaning in Tokelauan and English.

community, signaling a shift away from feelings of shame about forced relocation from Olohega (as Ickes 2009 has described) and wishes to assimilate into Local Hawai'i culture or exist as ancillary to the larger Samoan diaspora. The proposal frames the community not as immigrants concerned with "heritage language maintenance" as other similar immigrant groups in Hawai'i might, but rather describes a wish to "revitalize" the "Tokelau Native language," borrowing from the rhetoric of endangerment (Cameron 2007) that circulates especially in North America and in indigenous communities in places like Hawai'i and New Zealand³³. The proposal discusses the efforts of Te Taki's Language Committee to "consul[t] with local Native groups and Native language schools" whose sharing of their experiences prompted the group to conceptualize a project with "a more methodical and consistent approach...for collecting data." Though the proposal does not go into detail about what earlier, perhaps less methodical and less consistent approaches they had considered, in the context of a proposal to the Administration for Native Americans, the passing reference to "local Native groups" and "Native language schools" is of interest. The proposal frames the community in terms of its location in Hawai'i and though the proposal writers allude to the language revitalization work of the indigenous people of Hawai'i—a story of relative success that many of ANA's federal reviewers would have some familiarity with—the avoidance of naming specific groups, or even naming the "local Natives" as *Hawaiian* or *kanaka maoli* may have arisen from a wish, often expressed in discussions around school performances, to avoid appearing to impersonate Hawaiians. Indeed, comments on

³³ See, also, Allen 2002 on rhetorical convergences between Indigenous peoples in North America and Aotearoa through the media of literature and cultural activism.

subsequent returned grant proposals to ANA and visits from their Washington, D.C.-based bureau agents showed that the difference between Polynesian groups living in Hawai'i was difficult for the agency to always correctly distinguish. Coming from an area where multiple American Indian tribes lived in proximity to each other, one agent asked in a visit where I was present whether Tokelau people were a sub-tribe of Hawaiians. As I will discuss later, the relationship between Hawaiian language revitalization and cultural practices has been inspiring and instructive for the Tokelau community, but their situation in Hawai'i and the political ramifications of adopting Native personas in a new home also requires that the group be vigilant and questioning about what their relationship is to *kanaka maoli* efforts at linguistic and cultural sovereignty.

By funding the Kālele Project, the Administration for Native Americans, as a federal agency, endorsed the indigeneity of Tokelauans living in Hawai'i, allowing community members for the first time to use the status of Olohega's possession as a US territory to direct resources to the displaced community in Hawai'i. During the project period Te Taki Tokelau was able to formally establish itself as a tax-exempt non-profit charitable organization under section 501(c) 3 in US tax code. People in the extended community were reportedly very curious about how the organization was able to secure funds to conduct a sociolinguistic survey, why the questions they posed might even matter to a federal agency, and what the implications and outcomes might be. In a minority language situation, one object of status planning is "recognition by a national government of the importance or position of one language in relation to others" (Cooper 1989). Though the Te Taki initiative

originated in the community, the outside support of an agency like the ANA and eventually an institution like the University of Hawai'i provisionally raised the status of The Tokelau language among adult members of the community. For Tokelau people living in Hawai'i, this recognition from the federal government and academia was important, but as Ruiz (1995) suggests in an indigenous language planning situation the community's perception of how the policy is shaped and implemented has much more impact on the eventual success of the project. Cobarrubias and Fishman (1983) propose that there are three types of language policy: endoglossic policies, which give "primacy and promote an indigenous language of the community," exoglossic policies that promote an "outside, frequently a former colonial language," and mixed or bilingual policies that accommodate both (76). Under this rubric the Kālele Project was endoglossic because though the funding and some expert consulting came from without the community, the implementation of the survey and the ultimate analysis remained in the hands of Tokelau people. The attention that the survey garnered as canvassers moved between households and extended families also eventually drew students to Te Lumanaki School. In a way, the survey was a method of advertising to the dispersed Tokelau people that Te Taki was organized and serious about addressing language shift in Hawai'i.

Once funded by the Administration for Native Americans, community members took on various roles as administrators of the Kālele grant, and undertook the design of the survey instrument on their own, enlisting the expertise of individuals in the extended *kāiga* who had training in the social sciences. The group

hired canvassers from the community and especially pursued those who had Tokelauan and Samoan speaking ability to be able to survey elders and other community members who had limited English abilities. The survey was the first attempt in the community to employ people specifically for their skills in The Tokelau language and culture knowledge, raising the status of speakers of the language in part through economic remuneration, which has been a successful strategy in other language planning efforts (Grin 2003, Wickström 2011). The Kālele Project stands out as a successful grassroots initiative from a small community that actively allowed community members to consider questions of linguistic vitality and identity explicitly for the first time.

Community members designed the questions of the Kālele Survey in consultation with each other, exemplifying the consensus-based flat structure of Te Taki's organization. Together, they identified useful demographic information they wished to collect from the respondents, such as age, marital status, birthplace and number of years in the United States and set about identifying questions that would help yield a picture of the fluency of Tokelau people in Hawai'i. Later, the survey items were shared with the University of Hawai'i linguists who helped to reshape some questions to elicit language attitudes and domains of use³⁴. Sociolinguistic surveys are often the work of agencies seeking a clearer picture of multilingualism in a particular community in order to deliver educational and social services

³⁴ Though the role of linguists was limited and in a late-term advisory capacity, two of them (Otsuka and Wong 2007) wrote about their involvement after a visit to Te Taki's office in Wahiawā when ANA representatives visited from Washington, DC to review the conclusion of the project. It is partly through this early connection to the University of Hawai'i linguistics department that I first learned about and became involved in the community.

(Martin-Jones 1991) or, in the case of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, to profile an area for Bible translation and missionary activities (Blair 1990). The Kālele Project, though funded by a federal agency, was the work of a fledgling community group and the process of conceptualizing, developing, and implementing the survey quickly became a site for community members to begin thinking explicitly about language.³⁵

The managers of the Kālele Project decided at the outset that it would be imperative for the questionnaire to be available in both English and in Tokelauan and that the canvassers also be speakers of English and Samoan or Tokelauan. The questionnaires were created in English and translated into Tokelauan mainly by one or two speakers and in the group's revision of the survey instrument care was taken to gather as much information as possible about respondent's attitudes and proficiencies, but as one of the question designers recalled "at the same time [to] not be too intrusive and scaring people off." Though no prior canvass of Tokelau people in Hawai'i had been completed, designers of the survey knew from their own anecdotal experiences in the dispersed community that the experiences of removal and resettlement created guilt and anxiety for some individuals about subsequent culture loss and language shift. They planned to insure that the canvassers adhered to Tokelau culture norms, including linguistic ones, when visiting homes to administer the survey, writing in the proposal:

...[t]his is especially important in the homes of Tokelau elders, what would be an appropriate response to an offer of tea or coffee from the host. In addition, [a] Cultural Consultant will advise and train the staff on appropriate and inappropriate behavior while visiting Tokelau

³⁵ See Appendix C for the survey instrument

homes, for example, what to say and do when walking past another person within close proximity, especially when that person is sitting or in a conversation with another person. In this case, the walker should always bend their bodies forward at the waist, lower his/her head, and say “Tūlou, ni” (‘Please excuse me’). Failure to do this is an indication of the walker’s rude behavior and can be perceived by the “injured party” as an insult.

(Te Taki Tokelau 2007:25)³⁶

Though parents some times scold young children for their failure to *fakatūlou*, or say *tūlou*, when crossing through personal space or conversational space,³⁷ the explicit instruction on the appropriate comportment and how its failure may be construed is a rarity in practice. Saying *tūlou* audibly and moving with head down is a very salient behavior in the space of the school and community activities and is often one of the first Tokelau verbal practices that children and new members of the community notice, experience some anxiety about, and eventually take up by mimicking the actions of others. The inclusion of a discussion on *tūlou* in the proposal suggests that in representing Tokelau culture knowledge to ANA the writers found this practice, along with *fātele*, to be a canonical projection of the values described elsewhere in the proposal as being derived from Tokelau conceptions of physical and social space (a topic also explored by Hoëm 2009):

As atoll-dwellers, with relatively limited living space, Tokelau people institutionalized practices such as *inati* (communal sharing), *maoopopo* (unity), and *fakaaloalo* (respect and/or deference to elders). These valued traditions are few of many that maintained peace

³⁶ This unpublished report is available by request from Te Taki Tokelau, Inc.

³⁷ See Duranti 1992 on this practice in Samoan.

and harmony within the clans and society-at-large.

(Te Taki Tokelau 2005:14)

Including a brief discussion on *tūlou* was a demonstration to the ANA reviewers that though the vitality of the Tokelau language in Hawai'i may have been compromised by the community's history of displacement and resettlement, on a broad scale the community still retained knowledge about linguistic practices and viewed those practices as both emblematic of their cultural heritage and essential in the constitution and maintenance of the community itself.

5.2.1. Kālele Survey results. Within the project timeline the Kālele team was able to survey more than ninety percent of the estimated five hundred Tokelau people in central O'ahu, exceeding their proposed goal of reaching eighty percent of the community. Within the year allotted for the design and survey data collection Kālele Project workers were able to gather responses from more than four hundred people, mostly in the area of central O'ahu where Te Taki is based. In the initial proposal the writers hypothesized based on unofficial counts that there were approximately one thousand Tokelau people on O'ahu, with the largest group, about five hundred people, living in central O'ahu. Within a twelve-month period Te Taki had contacted and canvassed a majority of the target population of their area and in so doing alerted many in the community to the new and growing Tokelau institutions they had in Te Taki and Te Lumanaki. Responses to the Kālele survey were expected to provide a rubric to gauge the attitudes community members

would be willing to claim semi-publicly and would therefore be a rubric against which Te Taki might be able to later measure the intervention of Te Lumanaki School in the community. To that end, minor students and non-Tokelauan family members were also included in the survey since the project administrators felt strongly that the Tokelau community, as it was starting to coalesce, included family members such as spouses or adopted children without Tokelau ancestry and with limited Tokelau language proficiency. Rather than regard these “non-Tokelauans” as outliers in the data collection their responses and attitudes at the outset were considered to be of special importance because their attitudes about the language and their own language practices (whether they were speakers of Samoan at home, for example) had implications about the language practices of other Tokelau people that they lived with, including the young people they might have been parenting.

For the community members conducting the analysis, the survey results confirmed the suspicion that the use and intergenerational transmission of the Tokelau language was declining in Hawai'i, as the majority of those surveyed reported no ability to read, speak or write the Tokelau language. Only around eight percent reported native-like abilities in reading, writing, speaking and listening. The survey results also served to confirm the feeling of endangerment within the small community but galvanized Te Taki's resolve to intervene in what seemed otherwise inevitable language shift. Though community answers were taken as evidence of shift, the survey questions did not explicitly probe respondents' ideas and impressions about language change or the relationship of the larger environment, of particular social spaces on O'ahu or in Hawai'i, to maintenance or shift. In particular,

the survey questions never make reference to Hawai'i and only ask respondents to consider Tokelauan, English, and Samoan—not Hawai'i Creole, a very salient marker of Local identity. Without having designed measures for the instrument to gauge change over time (from resettlement from Olohega to the survey period) or shift as community members moved through space (in the diaspora, on Olohega versus O'ahu), the interpretations of the Kālele Results highlight internal attitudes about the state of the community more than they describe actual linguistic practices.

READ TOKELAU	<i>Proficiency Level</i>	<i>Count</i>	
	1 - Not at all	271	61.73%
	2 - A little	76	17.31%
	3 - Well	32	7.29%
	4 - Very Well	13	2.96%
	5 - Native-Like	33	7.52%
	Refused to take survey	14	3.19%
SPEAK TOKELAU	<i>Proficiency Level</i>	<i>Count</i>	
	1 - Not at all	232	52.85%
	2 - A little	121	27.56%
	3 - Well	28	6.38%
	4 - Very Well	10	2.28%
	5 - Native-Like	34	7.74%
	Refused to take survey	14	3.19%
UNDERSTAND TOKELAU	<i>Proficiency Level</i>	<i>Count</i>	
	1 - Not at all	201	45.79%
	2 - A little	127	28.93%
	3 - Well	41	9.34%
	4 - Very Well	17	3.87%
	5 - Native-Like	39	8.88%
	Refused to take survey	14	3.19%
WRITE TOKELAU	<i>Proficiency Level</i>	<i>Count</i>	
	1 - Not at all	289	65.83%
	2 - A little	65	14.81%
	3 - Well	27	6.15%
	4 - Very Well	10	2.28%
	5 - Native-Like	34	7.74%
	Refused to take survey	14	3.19%

Figure 14: Self-reported Tokelau language proficiency. Summary results of the Kālele Tokelau Language Survey (Te Taki Tokelau 2007). Total number surveyed = 439

5.3. Curriculum development at Te Lumanaki o Tokelau School. For the first several years of the school's operation Te Lumanaki's Tokelau language program was largely remedial, providing limited language instruction mainly as a measure against suspicions that the heritage language was in decline. Class sessions themselves focused on translation and vocabulary memorization as teachers

employed strategies they recalled from learning second languages themselves in classroom settings. The small number of native speaker teachers bore the weight of delivering instruction while non-speaker parents who wanted their children to be exposed to their heritage culture navigated the margins in supporting capacities by fundraising, organizing outings and fellowship. Adult non-speakers sat in the more advanced children's classes intermittently and as a consequence of a wish to not alienate non-Tokelau-speaking adults, the decision-making *fono* 'meeting' talk predominated in English, with native speaking teachers translating into Tokelauan for the benefit of the elder *matua* 'parents' of the group.

Shortly after the Kālele Survey results were compiled, in March 2008 Te Lumanaki traveled to New Zealand to take part in the bi-annual Tokelau Easter Festival as the first representatives from a Tokelau community in the United States. The Easter Festival is the largest gathering of Tokelau people in the world, drawing crowds of several thousand to participate in sports competition in rugby and netball, dance competition in the *pō fātele* 'fātele night', and general *mafutaga* 'fellowship' around the holiday season. During Te Lumanaki's month-long *malaga*, students were exposed to the culture of the Tokelau diaspora outside of Hawai'i for the first time and the event was represented as the rejoining of the four atolls, the *tala fā* 'the four gables[houses],' of Tokelau, by bringing Olohega people in Hawai'i into connection with Tokelau people living in New Zealand. A very significant aspect of this visit was to expose members of the Te Lumanaki community to Tokelau culture and language in a wider range of domains than available in Hawai'i. Students visited Tokelau youth *mafutaga* and had cultural exchanges with indigenous Māori

communities, representing themselves abroad as both Hawai'i Locals and as authentically Tokelau people. We visited the Mataliki Akoga Kamata (Mataliki Pre-School) in Mangere, a suburb south of Auckland, and talked with teachers about their curriculum, based on the successful practices of Māori *kohanga reo* 'language nests,' and about government support for early childhood education in the medium of Tokelau language. During our stay in New Zealand the Te Lumanaki *malaga* was also hosted by Kōkiri Marae in Wellington, an inter-tribal space for urban Māori in a society where affiliation with ancestral *marae* in rural spaces is still a main avenue for cultural and linguistic maintenance and the organization of political will. At Kōkiri we were welcomed with a *pōwhiri*³⁸, the traditional Māori ritual of encounter (Salmond 1974), and after the proceedings several surprised Te Lumanaki students and parents remarked to me on the shock of having been able to understand some Māori language in the ritual through the phonological similarity to Tokelau cognates. Some hypothesized in the moment that Māori and Tokelau surely had a closer historical connection than either had to Hawaiian on the basis of the identity of these sounds³⁹.

When Te Lumanaki returned to O'ahu having won the cup for best overall performance in the *pō fātele* the group was also recommitted to increasing the domains of usage of the Tokelau language in Hawai'i, having observed how Tokelau and Māori communities in New Zealand engaged their heritage languages. Non-

³⁸ Both the forms *pōhiri* (with a glottal fricative) and *pōwhiri* (with a labio-dental fricative) are used in Māori for this particular ritual of encounter. Variation in the use of each form is often connected to tribal identity and association with specific places.

³⁹ Some forms that were particularly striking were Tokelauan and Māori second person singular pronoun *koe* in both languages, versus Samoan and Hawaiian 'oe.

speaker parents began to participate more directly in the lessons and as new students were attracted to the school as news of the win spread through the small community, the group wrestled with how to be both welcoming and instructive while adhering to authentic Tokelau values and practices in the school.

At public performances and in public statements from Te Lumanaki, spokespeople often describe the school as free and open to anyone interested in Tokelau culture. The inclusiveness is valorized in discourses about the internal ethnic diversity of the Tokelau-descended community in Hawai'i as well as in talk about adopted *hanai* or non-ancestral Tokelau people who have become integrated into the community, such as some of the most active families in the school who claim Hawaiian and Samoan heritage, or even myself as my role in the school moved into more invested participant observation. Though the individual backgrounds of community members are an important resource, the goal of Tokelau language and culture perpetuation makes the socialization of new members into the speech community of Te Lumanaki a site of negotiations of language use, language knowledge, and linguistic identities, often through the cultivation of and exploration of affective bonds, through non-curricular mediated discourses, and through recursive strategies of self-translation, group free translation of song lyrics in performance, and co-production of pedagogical materials between fluent and non-fluent speakers.

In 2009 Te Taki Tokelau again was awarded a language grant from the Administration for Native Americans, this time to develop a formal curriculum for Te Lumanaki. This project, called "*Tāmoko*" after an early growth stage of the

coconut, was an expansive project designed to provide structure for instruction at the school through the development of Tokelau language resources specifically for contexts in Hawai'i. As such, the project entailed the training of the volunteer teachers in classroom management and heritage language pedagogy and curriculum development by a consultant from the educational research and development firm Pacific Resources for Education and Learning (PREL). Additionally, funds were allocated to support the production of learning materials for parents and students, and to arrange the first ever official travel of a US-based Tokelau group to the islands of Tokelau themselves so that teachers and students could be immersed in Tokelau language and culture, collect cultural ephemera to support the new curriculum (such as photographs and recordings of traditional practices) and make connections to educational and cultural institutions in the homeland. I will discuss the significance of this *malaga* or 'travel' in greater detail in the next chapter but for the present discussion it is clear that the process of curriculum writing was a significant site for ethnometalinguistic reflection, as teachers at Te Lumanaki began strategizing an appropriate response to the reality of language shift and culture loss in the community through the window of their own experiences. A major consequence of this process was the effective strengthening of social affective bonds in the community of practice through sharing of Polynesian linguistic knowledge.

The process of curriculum design was facilitated by PREL, a private non-profit entity that does educational research and training throughout the Pacific. PREL's trainer was a Chamorro woman from Saipan and teachers in the group were very curious about the overlap between Chamorro culture and Tokelau culture. In

addition to being able to provide a very different systems view of educational policy design and implementation than most of the teachers at Te Lumanaki had ever experienced, the facilitator was also sympathetic to the school's mission and spoke often during the several month association about her family's efforts to raise their children as fluent Chamorro speakers in Hawai'i. As the teachers shared their experiences of teaching at Te Lumanaki and produced the first materials for the schools, they bonded with the PREL trainer over a shared Pacific Islands history, culture of voyaging, experiences of European colonization and contemporary migrations. Talk was focused on both the content areas and language teaching and within the first session the trainer learned the Tokelau greeting *malo ni* and the teachers learned to greet her in Chamorro with *hafa adai*. Additionally, they were extremely excited when she told them that there were coconut crabs (*Birgus latro*) in Saipan and that, as in Tokelau, they were a delicacy. On one of her trips to Saipan during our year-long association she brought back some frozen coconut crab for the group, extending the relationship from a consultancy to one supported by gift exchanges of cultural value.

In the process of developing the curriculum it became clear that the use of Hawaiian and Samoan knowledge was a very important bridge between the traditional culture of Tokelau and the experiences of the teachers at Te Lumanaki. Teachers recognized that knowledge about these languages was also a resource for their students and during the curriculum development process Samoan and Hawaiian emerged as pedagogical tools and discussions of their relationships to Tokelauan were means for fostering solidarity among teachers with varying levels

of fluency in the language. Among the teachers there were few native speakers. Though some had lived in Tokelau, most lived the majority of their lives in diaspora communities around the Pacific, and some of the teachers were themselves learners of Tokelauan.

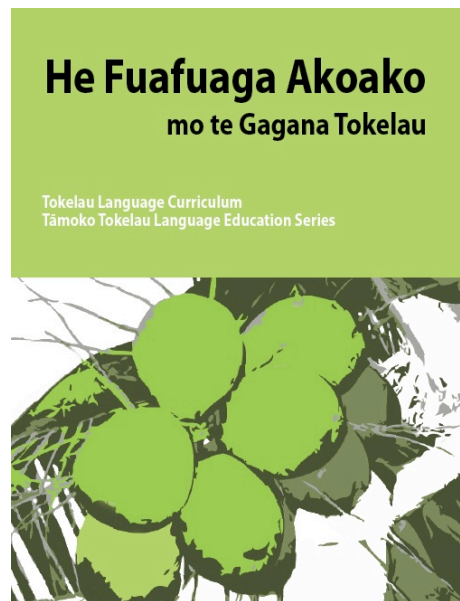


Figure 15: Cover image of the Tāmoko Curriculum, “A learning plan for the Tokelau Language”

The challenge of non-fluent teachers is one that many endangered language communities encounter in the process of revitalization (Hinton 2003) but though many teachers at Te Lumanaki were not yet fluent in the target language their experiences with other related languages were marshaled as resources in their own learning and teaching and also in determining the eventual benchmarks of the curriculum. The teachers agreed that the goal of the Tāmoko Curriculum was to give students access to traditional and contemporary Tokelau culture through the medium of the Tokelau language. As a result, the focus of the school shifted over the

course of the project period to the pursuit of what specialists in education call the “content areas,” topics such as mathematics, history, sciences, and the arts. As a group, Te Lumanaki’s teachers had also to learn about these content areas and engaged in intensive research about the traditional history of Tokelau and its connections to cultures in Hawai’i and across the Pacific. At many points in this process, culture knowledge gathered in the diaspora and in Hawai’i allowed teachers to fill in gaps in their own content knowledge about Tokelau. In one instance, a native speaker teacher was teamed with a non-fluent teacher to develop a lesson based on the parts of the traditional *vaka*, the outrigger voyaging canoe. The native speaker happened to not know all of the names for the *vaka*’s components but her partner did know Hawaiian names for them. Working together and working backward from their understanding of sound correspondences between Tokelauan and Hawaiian the two teachers were able to produce a document of the *vaka*, labeled with the correct terms, because of the presumed similarity between Tokelau and Hawaiian linguistic forms and canoe forms. Through this heuristic collaboration the borders of the languages—and some of their lexical forms—began to fluctuate until the collaborators had a hard time determining what was “properly,” i.e. authentically and proprietarily, Tokelauan and what was Hawaiian. As the teachers were deciding upon the best way to present their lesson, the following exchange occurred about the possibility of building a model *vaka* in class:

T: Well, what material should we use, to make it easy?

B: We could make it out of paper, the *laufala* [pandanus] we use for the sun, I mean the

lā! Hhhhhhnnnn

M: Mālō [well done] you two! Hhhhhhhh

[Group laughter]

(LUM.2.13.10.WAI.AUD)

In Tokelauan, as in Hawaiian, *lā*, is a homophonous form that means both ‘sun’ and ‘sail,’ as in the sail of a voyaging vessel. Even though the second teacher misspoke in her English transliteration when she intended to say “...the *laufala* we use for the sail,” her error drew laughter from the group and faux congratulations from a third teacher because the immediate source of the confusion was apparent and was based in shared knowledge about Tokelauan and Hawaiian lexical and semantic overlap in these homophones. This example highlights the value of non-Tokelauan linguistic knowledge in constructing and reconstructing representations of traditional Tokelau culture. Without having Tokelau fluency a teacher learning the language can still be positioned as a valued expert and as the boundaries between languages and linguistic forms shift, a liminal space emerges wherein the work of producing and sharing knowledge is not only mediated by language but also transformed by it. Importantly, as we will see in the following discussion, the work of Tokelau cultural repatriation in Hawai‘i grapples in many ways with the notion of what it is to be both Local and Polynesian in Hawai‘i, in comparison and in contrast to Hawaiian experiences of being both Local and Polynesian. A major component of this negotiation is a process of Localizing Tokelauan spaces, especially the community space of the school and contextualizing performances and talk by members of the

community of practice. Talkers draw on various kinds of linguistic knowledge circulating in multilingual Hawai'i to be able to position themselves as both authentically Tokelauan and as authentically Local, querying what it means to be immigrants in a place where indigenous tradition is so similar to the traditions of the homeland and when in both groups of islands the notions of travel, contact, displacement and recontextualization are major tropes in both traditional and contemporary culture. The next sections reframe a question that was rhetorically posed to me in one of my interviews with a parent at Te Lumanaki when I asked her about the value of the school in the life of her family: "How can you be what you are if you're not where you're supposed to be?" I argue that Tokelau people in Hawai'i use language in some strategic ways to create and maintain identities that allow them to access Tokelau through the experience of being Local precisely because *who* they are is tied to *where* they are.

5.4 Localizing Tokelau spaces.

5.4.1 Diminutive morphemes, encapsulation, and Localizing as a means for establishing affective bonds. Though the stated goal of the teachers and directors of Te Lumanaki School is to produce fluent heritage speakers of the Tokelau language the linguistic practices of the Te Lumanaki community members suggest that the Tokelau language, while highly valued and highly salient in the community of practice, is a secondary medium of interaction for most people at the school. Most speakers navigate a multidimensional continuum of English that

includes Hawai'i Standard English, Hawai'i Creole, New Zealand English, and Standard American English (SAE). Though English is a language of wider communication it exists in the community not as a monolith, but rather as a fractured and fractal code that includes varieties whose forms may overlap and whose boundaries, while in some ways are very salient, are also permeable and shifting. For example, a single speaker may use monophthongs in a way that contrasts with Standard American English pronunciations of lexical items like *May* (SAE [mei] versus [mɛ:]) and *okay* (SAE [okei] versus [okɛ:]), or produce forms like *go* and *know* without the SAE off-glide, but it is not necessarily possible for speakers or hearers to determine whether these pronunciations belong discretely to the repertoire of Hawai'i Creole or whether they have become acrolectal contributions to Hawai'i Standard English. Likewise, collocations are borrowed across the varieties. An example is the New Zealand English colloquialism *heaps* meaning 'a lot,' as in "Give it heaps!" ('Try hard!') or "I miss you heaps!" ('I miss you very much!'). Though some speakers used *heaps* in their speech prior to the school's 2008 *malaga* to New Zealand its use was very marked. Upon return, however, *heaps* found its way into the mouths of students and younger learners of Tokelauan in the school community whose impression of New Zealand was as a home of a certain kind of Pacific Islander cosmopolitanism. Many New Zealand English forms group members associated with youth, working-class Māori and Pacific Island speakers were valorized and adopted as in-group jokes, eventually becoming embedded in the idiolects and joking repertoires of many speakers, including second person plural *yous* and the use of *as* in emphatic collocations of the form "X as," for

example, “I’m tired as,” (‘I’m so very tired’) (Petrucchi and Head 2006, Bauer and Bauer 2002).

Pidgin, or Hawai‘i Creole, is also a very important medium for communication in the context of the school. In the community the most fluent speakers of Pidgin are also those least fluent in The Tokelau language. In some cases this is because the individuals only had exposure to Tokelauan in their adulthoods but also because the group born and raised in Hawai‘i is least mobile, most having spent their entire lives in Hawai‘i, perhaps with short trips to North America or having traveled outside of Hawai‘i for the first time with the school itself. Additionally, those who speak Pidgin most are those who primarily identify with the syncretic culture of Hawai‘i’s post-plantation Local community, either through their working class affiliation or descent from plantation workers. Still, pieces of Pidgin, in the form of lexical items, intonational contours like the characteristic falling tone of yes-no questions and Pidgin morphemes like diminutive –s are incorporated into the talk around Te Lumanaki School and become important tools in the establishment and maintenance of affective bonds.

Most of the people in the school's community of practice were born and raised in Hawai‘i and negotiate identities as Local people as they also get socialized into the practice of speaking The Tokelau language. As individuals acquire new Tokelau lexical items they use them in their English or Hawai‘i Creole speech but in altered forms. The most frequent change is the addition of a Pidgin diminutive morpheme -s. This morph is affixed to nouns and though sometimes non-Hawai‘i Creole speakers mistake it for plural or possessive –s found in SAE, the Pidgin

morpheme has a range of functions often attributed to diminutive morphemes in other languages. Sakoda and Siegel (2003: 15) give three examples of diminutive –s: *garans*, *laters*⁴⁰, *whatevas* as part of a list of “words and expressions derived from English but changed in form, and in some cases in meaning as well.” To this list I have added the mass noun *stuffs* as an example of a single syllable untruncated word that also takes the –s affix. These words have changed in form, but their semantic references are not changed. The –s diminutive has limited productivity in SAE but it does exist in highly colloquial forms like *pops* where –s is added to the shortened form *pop* from *papa* for ‘father.’ *What’s up pops?* or *I’m going to see my moms* are perhaps generationally bound in American English, but other varieties of English make productive use of the [shortened form] + [s] morphological process. In Commonwealth English for example, [shortened form] + [s] is a common method of deriving a nickname from a given or surname and in contemporary times nicknames like *Becks* (the nickname of English football star David Beckham) or *Wills* (a nickname of British Prince William) carry a sense of familiarity or irreverence that plain shortened versions do not convey.

The diminutive, which in many languages indicates small size or quality, intimacy, derision, or endearment, is in Pidgin a form that signals encapsulation—the inclusion of another sense in the original sense of a word. In this case, diminutive –s encapsulates the speaker’s affective stance and signals affiliation with Local culture through the transformation of Standard English forms into

⁴⁰ Orthographic representation of Hawai’i Creole by many speakers is inconsistent. Many scholars use the Odo orthography (for brief discussion, see Sakoda and Siegel 2003:23-26) but modified English orthographies are more commonly used so that a form given here as *laters* may also appear as *latas*, or *laytahs*.

recognizable in-group Pidgin forms. In effect, the affix is a Local marker:

source	-s affixation	gloss
guaranteed	<i>garans</i>	'guaranteed'
later	<i>laters</i>	'See you later'
whatever	<i>whatevas</i>	'whatever, it doesn't matter'
stuff	<i>stuffs</i>	'stuff'

Figure 16: [lexical item] + [s] = Local lexical item

This morpheme is also affixed to place names, in particular to surf spots and beaches and the prevalence of the diminutive is something non-Local, non-Pidgin speakers remark upon, often puzzled by what they interpret as possessive *-s*. Numerous collections of surfing lore pursue a kind of folk etymology as they attribute the names of certain spots to the proximity of landmarks on shore owned by a specific person. Beaches and breaks such as *Sandys*, *Tunnels*, *Kakelas*, *Waiks* (Waikīkī) are just a few of the numerous examples that refute the possessive interpretation, however. Diminutive *-s* also appears in affect-laden collocations like *You like cracks?* 'Would you like to be struck?,' said jokingly, or seriously, as a challenge and *Get jokes?* 'You're telling jokes now?' i.e. 'Don't try to be funny.' The form is also productive and HC speakers sometimes use the diminutive in novel, idiosyncratic ways. I once observed a teenaged speaker ask his mother for spending money:

Son: Eh mom, get muns?

Mom: Muns? What is that?

Son: Muns. Funds. Cash, mom.

Talkers at Te Lumanaki school also make use of the productivity of diminutive *-s* and participate in the Local practice of affixing the morpheme to shortened forms of personal names to indicate intimacy and in-group inclusion. In my data the only names that were available to the process were women's names of at least two syllables that end in a consonant when in shortened form. In disyllabic names the short form is based on the first syllable, though personal names of three syllables omit the first and third syllables.

Bonnie [bɑ.ni]	→	Bonz ⁴¹ [bɑnz]
Tammy [tæm.i]	→	Tams [tæmz]
Meghan [mɛg.in]	→	Megs [mɛgz]
Selepa [sɛ.lɛp.ə]	→	Leps [lɛps]
Akiemi [a.kɛ.mi]	→	Kems [kɛmz]

Figure 17: Diminutive *-s* affixation and personal names in the Te Lumanaki community

Additionally, Polynesian nouns are also available for diminutive affixation when they are used in Hawai'i Creole contexts. In my data diminuted body part nouns

⁴¹ The orthographic renderings of these names are based on how they appear most often in written notes and e-mails among Te Taki/Te Lumanaki members. The phonetic realization of *-s* is dependent upon whether the preceding consonant is voiced, as is the case in the realizations of SAE plural and possessive *-s*. When asked about the discrepancy in writing the diminutive, respondents all agreed that <z> was "more sassy." Michael Forman has described (personal communication) investigations of the use of the pronoun in a Pidgin graffito on a bus stop *Us was hea*. When asking why one would choose "us" over "we" Forman reported that respondents identified the *us* as possibly regional—associated with the creole variety on the island of Kaua'i—and also said "Us' mo' sassy." Though many orthographies have been introduced there is no widely used standard writing system for Hawai'i Creole. The association between a "sassy" style Pidgin and its orthographic renderings is an interesting area for further study.

appear frequently, always in joking contexts. Speakers produced the following examples:

- (1) I was eating like one povi [cow]. Ho, the manavs [stomach] was fully out here...
- (2) I would get the auagas [thighs] done. Plastic surgery. You don't know cause you don't have auagas!
- (3) I was looking at him and I was like, hm, you look kinda different cause the matas [eye] was all the way on the side of the head...

source	-s affixation	gloss
manava [TOK/SAM] 'stomach'	<i>manavs</i>	stomach
auaga [TOK/SAM] 'thigh'	<i>auagas</i>	thigh
mata [PN] 'eye'	<i>matas</i>	eye

Figure 18: Diminutive -s affixation and body parts

In the examples above, only one, example (1) is clearly the operation of shortening plus -s affixation. The other two could potentially be examples of borrowing and pluralization. The frequency of body parts in this kind of operation, however, could be attributable to several factors. First, the speakers who engage in the -s diminution are those most fluent in Pidgin and least fluent in Tokelauan. The words that they bring into their HC utterances from Tokelauan are not those that fill lexical gaps in the creole. Rather, they provide the speakers with an alternative

method of demonstrating Tokelau and Polynesian language knowledge in a way that allows for in-group signifying (Mitchell-Kernan 1972) and the tokens used in joking conversations or teasing are a way to make reference to shared linguistic knowledge—in the form of the authentic Tokelau form of the lexical item—without risking the embarrassment of perhaps forming an ungrammatical sentence in the heritage language. Additionally, joking about the body (one’s own or someone else’s) is a frequent bonding practice. For most of these speakers body parts form the bulk of their limited Tokelau lexica because their meanings are salient and were among the first words learned in commands from older family members (to go bathe, for example) as children. Also many of the words, like *mata* or *manava* are also part of the basic core vocabulary of other Polynesian languages. The limited phoneme inventories and regularity of sound changes in Polynesian languages allow for many of these basic vocabulary items to be inherited as cognates with identical forms in many, even distantly related, languages and the basic forms for body parts that are subjected to the diminutive affix in Hawai’i Creole could have been learned from other non-Tokelauan Polynesian sources, such as Samoan or Hawaiian. In fact, one of the examples above, (2), includes a diminuted form for ‘thigh’ *auaga* (reported by the speaker to be a Tongan word⁴² but she expressed uncertainty when asked if the same form could be Samoan or Tokelauan) in a bit of talk where “Localized” Tokelau lexical items were used in HC utterances. The speaker, a woman called Tiale⁴³, grew up in the heavily Polynesian North Shore O’ahu area near Kahuku and often expressed interest in and admiration for Tongan culture, having

⁴² Compared with the attested Tongan form, *alanga*.

⁴³ This participant requested a pseudonym.

traveled to the Kingdom of Tonga with friends from her church in the years before she first participated in Te Lumanaki and she eventually married a Tongan man. She reported that as a younger person she was drawn to what she perceived to be the “strength” of Tongan culture traditions in Hawai’i and her subjection of *auaga* to the HC diminution process may index a sense of co-ownership of Tongan lexical items in a similar way to her acquisition and incorporation of Tokelau lexical forms into a Local persona⁴⁴.

Other Tokelau words become available for diminutive affixation, particularly when they are introduced in code-mixed speech, as in the extract below.

- 1 TAV °You guys want sandwiches?°⁴⁵
 2 LA °I don’t. Thank you.°
 3 AG °No. Thank you.°
 4 CP Lepa. Lepa no kaulia. [pass]
 5 LA I know. Kaulias [pass] Hhhhh Hhhhhh
 6 CP Hhhhh Hhhhhh

(TAK.11.5.11.WAI. AUD)

Here, during a parent-teacher meeting at the school a child, in Line 1, offers food to adults gathered and engaged in discussion about a future field trip. The offer and the refusal are done in English in Lines 2 and 3 but another meeting participant, Chu,

⁴⁴ The practice of “localizing” lexical items from heritage languages via diminutive –s affixation is not limited to Tokelauan or Polynesian word forms. Gavin Furukawa (personal communication) has also reported on the phenomenon in Japanese loan words to HC. He cites *uruz* (from *urusai* ‘noisy’) and *habutz* (from Hiroshima/Yamaguchi dialect *habuteru* meaning ‘to pout’). The extent of heritage lexical items in HC that are available to this process would be interesting to pursue.

⁴⁵ The small superscript circles framing text indicate whispered speech. See also transcription conventions in Appendix A.

not among those offered food, interjects in Line 4, teasing one of the women, Lepa, to not pass on the offered food. In Line 4 he addresses her by name and uses the Tokelau word *kaulia* which in this context means ‘pass’ or to ‘skip’ and he uses it in an HC construction: “Lepa, no kaulia” or ‘Lepa, don’t pass [on this].’ Lepa, raised on Maui, has the most advanced vocabulary among the learners at Te Lumanaki, in large measure because of having heard and used the language with her native speaking grandparents from Atafu and Olohega. She recognizes the Tokelau lexical item in Chu’s teasing but also simultaneously interprets its importation into Pidgin form and in her reply also “localizes” *kaulia* in her own HC utterance with the affixation of the Pidgin diminutive suffix –s to the Tokelau word in Line 5: “I know. Kaulias.” The incongruence, or perhaps the novelty of bringing this Tokelau word, through Hawai’i Creole forms, into a sidebar at a meeting otherwise conducted in English brings a moment of humor and both Lepa and Chu find it amusing, laughing audibly over the rest of the talk. Switches to Pidgin in this extended exchange signal topic changes, especially from the business at hand to more familiar kinds of interactions that facilitate and maintain affective bonds, such as teasing about food, or talking about bad weather that ruined a crop of green onions:

- 45 THC Akiemi and I are going
 46 DP When?
 47 MT The day before your presentation
 48 THC On Monday the sevent ‘.
 49 LA Can I get back to you on that?

50 DP Oh, what is that? During the day? Evening?

51 AG It's during around lunch time

52 LA Afternoon

53 AG Yeah, lunch time. Afternoon.

54 CP If I'm not working

55 AG °What's that.° What's that. OK. They do have cause they're providing food for us so they wanna
56 know how many folks
57 so if somebody else wants to go wants to go I'll step out so we can kind of keep their numbers
58 down

59 THC Ke: Ok. So three of us then.

60 Did that answer your questions for or did that you needed an answer for the Seariders too?

61

62 AG No' I just wanted to let you guys know that we're talking to them and I'll have more of an update
63 later

64 THC Ho: Ma'o Farms got buss up↑ yeah↓ wit the wea↑ther?↓

65 CP What was that ah that shut the green onions?

66 THC Is that the one, the green onions? I don't know.

67 LA No:

68 THC I just know they got hit. They said it on the news

69 CP Cause with the weather:
70 when the ting is drowning in in flood wa↑ter↓ it's no good.
71 It kills the the green onion and they lost
72 the who:le farm

73 [inaudible]

74 CP Great. Sorry. Sis. Nele? Ed? Ok.
75 Well I guess we'll be kind enough to open it up to the others
76
77 [Group laughter] Hhhhhhhh

78 CP Spectators.

79 LA E kāulia [passing] Hhhhh

80 [Group laughter] Hhhhhhhh

(TAK.11.5.11.WAI. AUD)

In Line 64 Tammy introduces a new topic: the misfortune of a farm in the area of the potential fieldtrip due to a period of heavy rain. Tammy, whose talk was in the medium of Hawai'i Standard English throughout the business portion switches to Hawai'i Creole for this new turn. Chu continues, adding a query about whether this was the same farm and in Lines 69-72 offers the reason for the loss of the green onions: "Cause with the weather, when the ting is drowning in, in flood water it's no good." Here Chu has also switched from Standard American English to Pidgin phonology, stopping the fricative in *thing* to make it the recognizably HC *ting* and emphasizing it with added stress. In the next lines Chu, returning to business switches back to Standard English and in Line 75 opens the floor to others who had been to that point silent in the meeting, joking that so doing is a form of kindness. As the rest of the group continues the discussion of the school field trip Lepa shows that the joke of using *kaulua* still has legs: she uses it in a Tokelau sentence form "E kaulua," ("They're passing.")⁴⁶ when she in turn teases participants who declined to speak. Here *kaulua* appears in the expected Tokelau form: with a tense marker, non-past *e*, and this time no diminutive *-s* and the group—at least those who have similar lexical knowledge to native speaker Chu and advanced learner Lepa—laugh at the reappearance of this form as a method of good-natured teasing. The example of *kaulua* demonstrates that Tokelau words are available for productive morphological processes that occur in Hawai'i Creole and just as the diminutive *-s* morpheme affixes to Local place names like beaches and surf spots, or to the shortened forms of personal names to indicate affection and intimacy, these

⁴⁶ *Kāulua* is the plural form of *kaulua*.

morphological moves serve to index Localness, talk about Local things, and in-group solidarity as Local people.

5.4.2 Creating Local Tokelau performance, validating Local Tokelau identities through ethnometalinguistic knowledge. In this section I will focus on talk specifically in the context of language revitalization by examining discourses around the teaching of a song at Te Lumanaki School. I argue that Tokelau people in Hawai'i use talk in performance in order to be able to form alliances with indigenous Hawaiians and to secure a place in the Local settler culture. In doing so, they legitimize their physical and cultural presence in Hawai'i while also situating themselves in Tokelauan and Polynesian diasporic imaginaries.

In the multilingual world of Hawai'i's post-war plantation economy, Tokelauan adults spoke their mother tongue among themselves and with older children who recalled life in Tokelau, but even within a single generation younger children began to speak Samoan and Hawai'i Creole to each other (Ickes 2001:15). The shift from The Tokelau language to Hawai'i Creole was expedited by the fact that marriages between Tokelau people in Hawai'i were extremely rare because of traditional exogamic practices on the basis of clan group. (Ickes 2009) In Hawai'i young Tokelau people chose partners among their new neighbors and became more enmeshed in the Local culture that originated among the multicultural workers for whom HC was the predominate language. The small number of Tokelau people coupled with their legal status as American Samoans on the basis of Olohega's inclusion in the territory also put pressure on individuals and families to participate

more directly in Samoan and Local culture as they established lives in Hawai'i.

Since 2004 community members have run a language and culture school that meets on Saturdays with a curriculum that rests heavily on the practice of singing and dancing, especially of a genre of action song called *fātele* that was introduced and indigenized in Tokelau in the early nineteenth century from Tuvalu (Thomas, Tuia, Huntsman 1990). *Fātele* have become important cultural artifacts in the Tokelauan diaspora and *fātele* is an important marker of diasporic Tokelau identity (Thomas et al. 1990, Hoëm 2004), becoming the centerpiece of the bi-annual Tokelau Easter Festival in New Zealand, attended for the first time by a group of Hawai'i Tokelau people in 2008. Many have described the popularity of ethnic traditions of song and dance in indigenous language revitalization and, in the context of southern Alaska, Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998) have observed that singing and dancing are easily acquired as representations of the native culture and authentic “badges of ethnicity.” Though the appropriate pronunciation of song lyrics or the correct cultural contexts for performance may not be transmitted as successfully as in other methods of language teaching, the popularity of song and dance in the revitalization enterprise endures because they create a shared “success experience” (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1998:68) for students and teachers that is less daunting than the perceived difficulty in cultivating fluency in the language.

Without a formal curriculum for much of the school's history, the repertoire of *fātele* have operated as an aggregation of teachable “things” for Te Lumanaki's teachers to transmit to the students. *Fātele* are favorite pieces to perform at family parties and celebrations and, as discrete performances in the context of the school,

teachers are able to use them to assess students' mastery of pronunciation of song lyrics, skill in performing gestures with the hands and feet, and conveyance of a sense of excitement or *matagia* 'windyness,' (on the analogy of directing more wind to the sails), to the audience through spontaneous vocalizations like *saia!* At the same time, part of the success experience in teaching and learning *fātele* is the feeling that mastery of these action songs makes students practitioners of Tokelau culture and enables them to interact with their elders and other Tokelau people abroad through a shared medium of spirited performance.

Below I will present some discourses that surround the introduction of a particular song to Te Lumanaki's repertoire and will consider how the content and the structures of the discourses underscore the relationship between cultural practices (*fātele* and *hula*) by foregrounding the relationship between speech varieties (Tokelauan and Hawaiian).

During a Saturday morning school session one of the teachers came in, very excited that he had written a song:

CP: Mālō [hello] gang. Hhhhhh
I was sitting at home last night, watching TV with one of my [dogs] and this commercial came on. Hhhh. You know da one. And it inspired me to write this song for our moms. For your grandmas, yeah?
You guys know that commercial for TheCab?

Ss: <laughter> Frank Delima.

CP: You know da one. Hhhhh

(LUM. 11.2.09.POA.AUD)

The commercial referenced is one of several versions that have been playing on O‘ahu for several years to advertise the telephone number for the county-subsidized cab company. The telephone number of TheCab, 422-2222, is presented in these commercials making a play on the phonological similarity between the numerals “two two” pronounced in sequence with the Hawaiian word *tūtū* (also *kūkū* in modern Hawaiian, though this form is very rarely used by speakers)⁴⁷ which refers to a grandparent, *tūtū kāne* ‘male grandparent’ or *tūtū wahine* ‘female grandparent’ (Pukui and Elbert 1986). In HC and modern Hawai‘i English use of the short form *tūtū* without a modifier most usually refers to a grandmother. The commercial stars comedian Frank Delima, who performs a Local Portuguese persona in his comedy and life⁴⁸, dressed in drag as three stereotypical Hawaiian *tūtū*, or grandmothers. Delima’s cab song itself is a parody of a song by Danny Ku in the *hapa-haole* style popularized in tourist-oriented spaces like Waikīkī Polynesian reviews.

⁴⁷ Standard Hawaiian uses <k>, though historically in Hawaiian [t] and [k] were allophones and in variation. This is an alternation featured in many Austronesian languages.

⁴⁸ Delima is a celebrated comic who trades in the ethnic stereotypes popular in Local comedy, though his treatment of disenfranchised groups in his comedy, particularly Filipinos, has been the source of some tension and debate in the community about whether this kind of comedy is an important and necessary part of Local culture (Furukawa 2010).



Figure 19 : Still image of commercial for TheCab, featuring comedian Frank Delima as multiple characters, including kukui lei-clad Hawaiian band, and three “tutus” (Courtesy TheCab)

These songs are not, however, limited to tourist performances and many Local people know and perform them in informal venues like *kanikapila*⁴⁹ and family gatherings, recalling a time where these songs and these venues were some of the primary avenues for the perpetuation of Hawaiian culture before the linguistic and cultural renaissance in the 1960s and 1970s. Danny Ku’s version of “Ho’okahi Sunday Afternoon” (also known as “Tūtū e” or “Grandmother’s Hula”) depicts a Hawaiian grandmother going out on the town. Delima’s television commercial for The Cab draws on this knowledge circulating in Local culture and in also replicating himself in the stylized *hapa-haole* band, adds a bit of camp to Ku’s song.

⁴⁹ Hawaiian, ‘play music.’ In Local culture used to refer to informal music sessions and gatherings among friends to play music.

Danny Ku's version⁵⁰

Ho'okahi⁵¹ Sunday afternoon

There goes my tūtū⁵² e⁵³

She's trucking on down to town

On the ala nui⁵⁴ kapakahi⁵⁵ way

She was singing an old melody

Of 'Anapau,' 'e liliu e'⁵⁶

Tūtū will show you how to do-oo

The hula ami oni oni e⁵⁷

Tutu e inu ka 'awa e⁵⁸

That's the drink of the South Sea Islands e

U ona e tutu e-e

And now she's doing the hula rum boogie e

Tutu is going home now

To her hale by the kapakahi way

Ha'ina 'ia mai kapuana⁵⁹

That's the mele⁶⁰ of my tutu e

Tutu, tutu e

⁵⁰ In this version (Alapaki, Hawaiian Paradise (Alapaki Records ARCD 101)

Hawaiian words and phrases appear underscored and glosses and annotations are given in footnotes.

⁵¹ 'one'

⁵² 'grandma'

⁵³ vocative marker often used in song to extend the phrase

⁵⁴ 'big road'

⁵⁵ crooked

⁵⁶ This line refers to the lyrics of a *mele ma'i* a 'genital song' composed for Queen Lili'uokalani. "He aha ka hana a 'Anapau?" 'What does Frisky do?'

⁵⁷ a hula step with hip revolutions (Pukui-Elbert 1986)

⁵⁸ 'Grandma is drinking kava'

⁵⁹ This phrase often ends Hawaiian songs. Literally it means 'Break it off from the beginning,' and often signals that the song will repeat the first line or the title, in this case the words "tutu e."

⁶⁰ 'song'

Frank Delima's version

Ho'okahi Sunday afternoon

There goes my tūtū e

She's riding TheCab to town

She wouldn't travel any other way

The Te Lumanaki teacher, Chu, presents his song to the group as having been inspired by having seen Delima's version, giving the students and teachers gathered the Tokelau version below⁶¹:

1	Mālō ni	<i>Hello</i>
	congratulations INTENS	
2	It's Saturday school	<i>It's Saturday school</i>
3	I come to see all of my	<i>I come to see all of my</i>
4	<u>Tūtū Tūtū e</u>	<i>Grandmas</i>
5	Ko koe te fatu o te kāiga e	<i>You are the foundation of the family</i>
	FOC 2.SG DEF.DET stone O-POSS DEF.DET family VOC	
6	I love my <u>Tūtū, Tūtū, Tūtū e</u>	<i>I love my Grandma(s)</i>
7	E ā mai koe <u>Tūtū, Tūtū e</u>?	<i>How are you, Grandma?</i>
	NON.PST what hither 2.SG VOC	
8	Ko au e alofa lahi mo koe.	<i>I love you very much.</i>
	FOC 1.SG NON.PST love much for 2.SG	
9	E manuia au, fakafetai lahi e	<i>I am well, thank you very much.</i>

⁶¹ In this text Tokelau words are in boldface and Hawaiian words underlined.

NON.PST well 1.SG thank.you much VOC

10 **Kai koe te gali, Tūtū Tūtū Tūtū e...** *You are so lovely, Grandma.*

INTENS 2.SG DEF.DET pretty

Chu's song plays on Delima's (and Ku's) versions, but markedly reverses the characterization of the *tūtū*. Now, with *tūtū* applied to Tokelauan grandmothers who are revered in the school's community of practice, the Tokelau lyrics take a different tone, in lines 5-10 reframing the song as a moment of idealized intergenerational talk in the medium of Tokelauan, though there is little actual evidence this kind of intergenerational talk happens in the school community.

Weeks after Chu's initial introduction of his song another teacher, Bonnie, reviewed it with students, teachers, and parents, some of whom had not been present at Chu's presentation. Bonnie emphasized the mixed codes of the song and in doing so rendered the lyrics on a white board using three different colors to represent English (in black), Tokelau (in blue), and Hawaiian (in brown). Leading the discussion, Bonnie first draws attention to the use of three languages in Chu's song lyrics and asks the group to identify them.

Bonnie: Okay. Obviously, how many languages are in here?
[inaudible] How many say *lua* [two]? *Hiki tō lima*. [Raise your hand]. How many say more? Hini, how many are there?

E fia? [How many?]

Hini: There're three.

Bonnie: *E tolu*. [Three] What are they?

- Group: English, Tokelauan....
- Bonnie: English, Tokelauan and?
- Student: Samoan
- Group: Hawaiian.
- Bonnie: Hawaiian. Give me an example of... it sounds silly but let me see if you guys are really up, give me an example of *he kupu* [a word] from the English language. Somebody!

(LUM. 2.17.10.WAI.AUD)

Bonnie asks for examples of individual lexical items from each of the three languages. In the review session students had some difficulty determining first what words might be Hawaiian, some even hazarding that “*tūtū*” might be English. Though they knew the meaning of this particular lexical item, for Bonnie the Hawaiianness of it, and not just that it circulates in Local spaces, became an important point to be made.

- Bonnie: *Tūtū*. For those of you who have not gone through this song before, *ko he ā te uiga* [what is the meaning?], what does it mean? The *kupu* [word] ‘*tūtū*’?
- Group: <from various individuals> Grandma, or grandpa or elder. Grandparents.
- Bon: Grandma or... grandparents. Someone told me, uh, in the school, *he tino lea mai* [a person told me], was it you, Akiemi? Okay. Aunty Akiemi can you tell us what it’s short for or slang for?
- AG: It’s short for *tupuna* in Hawaiian
- Bonnie: *Tupuna*. *Tupuna* in Hawaiian which is the same for us, *tupuna* [elder]. We don’t call our *tupunas* ‘*tūtū*,’ however the Hawaiians do. It’s a really cute song.

(LUM. 2.17.10.WAI.AUD)

She draws on the linguistic knowledge of another teacher, in this case me, a linguist whose knowledge of Hawaiian and Tokelau cognate forms is drawn out as a

resource for the whole group to share as they interpret the meaning of the lyrics and connections between Tokelau and Hawaiian cultures. My answer in this interaction, while satisfying to Bonnie's request for confirmation of information attributed to me, is partial. In giving the form *tupuna* as the Hawaiian form I neglected to mention that the form *kupuna* is used by the majority of modern Hawaiian speakers, as well as speakers of HC and Hawai'i English both of which have the word in their vocabularies. A parent, Lepa, challenges the value of my offered explanation with her own knowledge of Hawaiian. As one of the few advanced speakers of Tokelau and as someone with a part-Hawaiian child in the school she has a stake in setting the record straight on this potential relationship between these varieties.

Lepa: I thought theirs was *kupuna*?

AG: *Kupuna* or *tupuna*.

Lepa: Oh,

Bonnie: I guess if you're on Ni'ihau it's *tupuna*, yeah? Hhhh

Though I am the linguist and presumably an expert on this subject, I am also a marginal member of the discussion and am overtaken in this turn by Bonnie who invokes her own knowledge of variation in Hawaiian to solidify connections between Tokelau and Hawaiian speech by making reference to Ni'ihau, well-known the last bastion of native speakers of Hawaiian language in the archipelago. Bonnie also displays her knowledge about variation in the Hawaiian-speaking community, especially that [t, k] are allophones in Ni'ihau speech whereas [t] has been suppressed in the phonologies of speakers learning Hawaiian as a second language

(Schütz 1994, NeSmith 2003). In a way, Bonnie's turn links Hawaiian variation to a place—Ni'ihau—and through the *sameness* of Ni'ihau and Tokelau speechways, as instantiated in the cognate lexical item *tupuna*, she connects Tokelau, and by association, the school, not only to Hawai'i but to a site that is viewed as *authentically* Hawaiian.

Lepa's question about vocabulary is a challenge, of sorts, to this equivocation. She frames it in terms of possession "theirs was *kupuna*" and in so doing evokes a different relationship between Hawaiians and the lexical item than would be done by saying "I thought the word was *kupuna*." Framing it in possessive terms foregrounds the possible inappropriateness of appropriating a term from a different culture group, however similar it may sound to Tokelau forms. Bonnie's earlier description of *tupuna* being "the same for us" shows that, though she is drawing connections between the forms as a teaching strategy and a possible strategy to foster solidarity with Hawaiians, even in this moment of linguistic sameness the concept of "us" Tokelau people versus "they" Hawaiian is important to uphold. Explicit talk about cognates also allows Tokelau people in Hawai'i to avoid "crossing" (Rampton 1995), that is, using a variety that belongs to another group and cannot legitimately be claimed. Such crossing, especially illegitimately taking the words and voices of Hawaiians, threatens the sincerity and the *mana*—the efficacy and spiritual power—of Tokelau people's project of community building through language revitalization. So while the connections between Tokelau people and Hawaiian people are emphasized through their shared Polynesian cultural origins, contemporary practices, and lexical items, those connections are most

meaningful when acknowledged along with the discreteness of each cultural tradition.

The addition of *hapa-haole* performance to Te Lumanaki's repertoire (which is otherwise preoccupied with producing authentic *Tokelau* performances) also shows how the *hapa-haole* genre itself is de-ethnicized in modern Hawai'i and is interpreted as Local—part of the syncretic culture of Hawai'i—as opposed to indigenous Hawaiian. The addition of the “Tūtū e” song to Te Lumanaki's repertoire makes claims on space within Local culture as Delima similarly does in his comedy performance. The highly consumable and circulating representation of Delima's *tūtū*, via television as a song that gets stuck in one's head and compels reinterpretation and parody upon parody, at once places distance between Ku's version and ideas of authentic Hawaiianess, which may include *tūtū*. The distance between *hapa-haole* and some authenticated Hawaiian practices allows Tokelau people to re-interpret but also to insert themselves in the breach as co-inheritors of Polynesian culture.

Delima's “Tūtū e” is Hawaiian but not quite and it is in this “pleasurable experience of liminality” (Tengan 2008:89) that the Tokelau teachers at Te Lumanaki approach this Hawaiianized performance. Before the “Saturday School Song” Te Lumanaki had not added any *hula* or any songs to its repertoire that did not have entirely Tokelauan lyrics. In fact some *fātele* performed in Tokelau and New Zealand with Tuvaluan or Samoan lyrics were often transliterated into the Tokelau language before being presented to the school to learn. The ostensible aim of the school, at least through the attestations of the teachers and parents that guide

it, is the revitalization and “enhancement” of the Tokelau language in the Hawai‘i community. However, there is ongoing discussion of the acceptability of Hawaiian influence in costuming and gesture in Te Lumanaki’s presentation of *fātele*, which became a discussion point both in the school and in the larger diaspora when the group competed in New Zealand against Tokelau dance groups based there at the Easter Tournament.

Hapa haole is not Hawaiian in the sense that other *hula* is, that is, it is not supposed to be authentic and is so not *hā* ‘sacred’ or ‘forbidden.’ The language mixing of Ku’s original “Tūtū e” and the near erasure of *‘ōlelo Hawai‘i* (‘Hawaiian language’) in the commercial Delima version leaves room for Tokelau authors to enter and to reshape the characterization of their *tūtū*—polite and pretty and engaged in talk with a fictionalized youth—as opposed to the sassy *tūtū* of the Ku and Delima versions. In doing this and in the discourse surrounding the meaning of the Saturday School song’s lyrics, Te Lumanaki community members make claims on an imagined Polynesianness instantiated in cognates and drawing on traditional values of reverence for elders. In reshaping a stylized, purposefully inauthentic version of Hawaiianess, Tokelau people are able to simultaneously motivate connections to indigenous Hawaiians as well as the dominant syncretic settler immigrant “Local” culture.

The linguistic ecology (Mühlhäusler 1996) of Tokelau people in Hawai‘i includes Hawaiian in addition to Tokelauan and English, Samoan and Hawai‘i Creole. As such, the relationships between these varieties in everyday interactions and in performance allow speakers to shape different kinds of self-presentations. Here we

see the Polynesian elements of Local culture become reinforced in a quest for a projectable Tokelau identity. “Tūtū e” becomes not just a way for Tokelau people to borrow pieces of Hawaiian/Local culture, but also reaffirms the place of Tokelau people as Polynesians in a locally readable form, in this case, the locally recognizable action song. Through these moves, the project of heritage language maintenance and revitalization in the Hawai‘i Tokelau diaspora is less about producing fluent speakers with “authentic” traditional presentations of self and community. Rather, by negotiating linguistic resources circulating in the community, including metalinguistic knowledge of Polynesian languages, Tokelau people avoid the *mana*-risking move of copying Hawaiians (and Hawaiian revitalization) outright. Instead, they secure for themselves a place in Hawai‘i as Local *and* as Polynesian, but not necessarily indigenous.

Chapter 6. Polynesia as a linguascape:

linguistic wayfinding and the authentication of identity

6.1 Introduction. In this chapter I will introduce two phenomena in the community of practice at Te Lumanaki that contribute to the imagining of a Polynesian linguascape that encompasses Hawai'i and Tokelau. Imagining a linguascape that includes these distant island groups, and points in between, allows Tokelau people in the diaspora to claim and maintain social identities as Tokelauans in contexts far removed from their homelands. Using a metaphor of traditional Oceanic wayfinding, I will show some of the ways that the cultivation of a type of melancholy centered on the experience of cultural alienation and language shift emerges as a resource for members of the community of practice to contextualize themselves as agents in a larger reclamation of Polynesian culture, beyond the Tokelau diaspora. Further, I will show that especially through the experience of linguistic melancholy (to be defined in the next section) members of the Te Lumanaki community are able to use their linguistic practices and those of others to diagnose the cultural authenticity of their actions in public spaces, such as in performance venues, on the Internet, or abroad engaged in *malaga*, or 'travel' as Hawai'i/Tokelau subjects.

6.2 Linguistic melancholy.

Since language acts and makes up for the absence by representing, by *giving figurative shape* to presence, it can only be *comprehended* or *shared* in a community of empty mouths.

Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok

In 2004 when travelers from Nukunonu arrived in Hawai'i en route to Palau to represent Tokelau in the Pacific Arts Festival, their presence served as a catalyst for self-reflection for many Tokelau people on O'ahu. Among those who interacted with the *malaga* from Nukunonu, several reported to me a sense of disorientation in the cultural and linguistic difference between themselves and these travelers from the homeland. Though the Nukunonu *malaga* was in Hawai'i on its way to represent Tokelau through song and dance, for people on O'ahu, the realization that they had difficulty in communicating effectively with the travelers in Tokelauan was a main motivator for the founding of Te Lumanaki. In subsequent years, the practices developed in community at Te Lumanaki have sought to span that cultural and linguistic gap between diasporic Tokelau people and those in the homeland by creating spaces for authentic expression of Tokelau identities, but the production and negotiation of these practices is still organized around an orientation to that difference.

The literature of critical diaspora studies has directed much attention to how language defines the experience of alienation in diaspora, especially concerned with how issues of social meaning and culture practice converge in the problems and practice of translation. Some scholars have located language as the medium for diagnosing the alienation of immigrants and migrating communities and Chi'en (2005) finds diasporic authors writing in English challenging notions of standard language through linguistic innovation as a response to the "linguistic muteness"

rendered by their physical and emotional displacement. She recounts a late twentieth century study of Southeast Asian immigrants in the rural US South suffering from depression. Their inability to describe their suffering adequately to clinicians in English made their depression difficult to diagnose and to treat, condemning them to an “internal exile” of inarticulateness and muteness in their new environment (Chi’en 2005: 18). For Chi’en and the authors whose work she investigates, the process of innovation in order to overcome this muteness (for example, by re-appropriating the voices of “broken English” speakers and code-mixing in literary works) is a kind of rebellion. Those who feel a discontinuity with the language practices of their ancestral communities are “linguistic anarchists” who feel “banished and bereft when they lose their first [or heritage] language,” eventually engaging in “the process of linguistic defiance, invention, recuperation, and enfranchisement” (Chi’en 2005:17). In Chapter 4 I presented some examples of how Tokelau language learners in Hawai’i motivated and repurposed linguistic difference as a way to overcome stigmas of banishment and dispossession. By invoking the dialectal variation of earlier Tokelau-speaking communities they harnessed the ephemeral nature of language and knowledge about variation to position themselves as the continuance of a Tokelau linguistic tradition, *ex situ*. They were able to re-contextualize their experience and knowledge of their heritage language through an ongoing process that Chi’en calls the “re-embodiment” of language that has become un-moored from its people.

With a similar interest in the mechanics of the cycle of dispossession and identity cultivation in diaspora, Anne Anlin Cheng explores what she calls the

“melancholy of race” in the experience of Black Atlantic and Asian American cultures. Critiquing Freud and the history of psychoanalytic diagnosis, Cheng (2000) repurposes the notion of melancholy to describe the development of racial identities that are primarily centered on shared and imagined histories of grief and loss. Freud’s “melancholia,” set out in his 1917 essay “Mourning and Melancholy” is a diagnostic term that describes a pathological reaction to loss. In Freud’s paradigm, mourning denotes the eventual acceptance of the loss of a beloved object, whereas melancholy involves the revisiting of that loss, an unwillingness for the individual to separate the lost object from its own ego, viewing the lost object as extant and recoverable by the subject, who is now unable to distinguish the object as separate from itself. While Freud’s melancholia is a diagnosis, for Cheng melancholy is a process by which subjects create identities that are predicated on loss, shaped by loss, and defined by loss. In diaspora, these losses are manifested in histories of separation from homelands, of forgotten culture practices, and disused languages. For the Black Atlantic and Asian American theorists that Cheng draws from, the histories of racial violence, dispossession, and silencing that these groups have experienced are the main ways that they establish category membership, rather than through reference to a unified culture practice or unitary descent from a shared homeland.

Cheng’s notion of racial melancholy is important because it allows analysts to theorize how subjects from diverse origins may conceive of themselves as part of a community through an orientation to what they have lost rather than what they share. Many communities are organized around just such notions about the loss of

endangered heritage languages. For many heritage speakers, speakers of threatened languages, and the descendants of speakers of lost languages, the pursuit and reclamation of, and sometimes the reinvention of, ancestral language practices can catalyze the cohesion of disintegrated communities and motivate the construction of new identities that are predicated on the shared practice of reclamation. Nancy Dorian's (1987) paper "The value of language-maintenance efforts that are unlikely to succeed" identified several benefits for communities involved in language maintenance efforts even when it is improbable that they will be able to reinstate the language as a medium of daily life. The value in such efforts is derived from the process of community building—and by extension identity creation and negotiation—in which language learners, remaining speakers, and community members engage.

I use "linguistic melancholy" in a way similar to Cheng's "racial melancholy": rather than use it to diagnose and pathologize communities, I focus on the practice of managing loss, investigating how that is accomplished through the medium of language and through metalinguistic actions. In discussing linguistic melancholy in the Tokelau community I wish to direct attention to the on-going processes of recognizing and managing experiences of alienation, loss of cultural practice, and language shift. These melancholic processes are much less pathological than they are empowering tools for a community that is often otherwise invisible in their new homeland and marginalized in many ways in the diaspora. In Hawai'i, linguistic melancholy binds Tokelau people to the culture of the indigenous Kanaka Maoli, as I presented in Chapter 5, and the expression of that melancholy through sharing of

culture forms and strategies for language revitalization also gives shape to the linguascape that Tokelau people in Hawai'i inhabit. The idea of the homeland is a problematic one in diaspora studies (see, for example, Safran 1991, Tololyan 1996, Butler 2001 and others) and in the case of Te Lumanaki's community of practice, especially in light of the multiple steps of migration and relocation, the community must manage subsequent loyalties to various places and identities. In a collection of writing from authors on their experience of diaspora, André Aciman (2000) opined that for people accustomed to moving between multiple cultures and social worlds "[d]isplacement, as an abstract concept, becomes the tangible home" and the melancholy of diasporic identity construction gives figurative shape and imagines the contours of that void, negotiating the topography of that absence. Linguistic melancholy becomes a tool for negotiating identities and navigating cultural spaces because loss is now native to the lifeworld of Pacific and other displaced indigenous peoples. The common grief of bearing witness to historical and linguistic change is partly what attracts Tokelau people in Hawai'i to the triumph narratives of other Pacific Islanders, like Māori and Hawaiians, because through the vicarious experience of their success Tokelau people may view a mirror of their own aspirations. By invoking the pedagogical and linguistic practices of related others (the joking *haere mai, haere mai!* of the Māori *pohiri* in non-ceremonial contexts at Te Lumanaki or the appropriation of *hapa-haole* music styles) Tokelau people in Hawai'i attach themselves to their process of recovery and in a way share the

mana,⁶² or efficacious spiritual power, of these successful culture workers and wield the power to effect the social and cultural environment around them.

6.3 Expressions of linguistic melancholy in Te Lumanaki's community of practice. In the following sections I present examples of linguistic melancholy from my data and investigate how participants at Te Lumanaki use expressions of this phenomenon to define the social space of the linguaspace that they inhabit. In the following examples, teachers, parents, and learners use Tokelauan, English, Samoan, and Hawaiian linguistic practices to facilitate community interaction and to assert identities as Tokelau people also connected to Hawai'i. By drawing on a range of linguistic resources, members of the community of practice are able to advance multiple identities and stances simultaneously and, in spaces of performance of cultural arts and in performing personas through text, reframe how linguistic practices of naming, description, and code choice index authentic Tokelau identities.

6.3.1 Authenticity in diaspora and discourses of voyaging. When Te Lumanaki traveled to New Zealand in 2008 to participate as the first US-based group in the Tokelau Easter Festival, they upset festival precedence by winning the overall cup for best *kauhiva* 'dance group' with a small group of mostly children as dancers. As part of the performance for the dance competition each *kauhiva* was expected to produce songs of various genres: welcome songs, ancient (pre-

⁶² Tomlinson and Makihara (2009) likewise describe *mana* as a key cultural notion in Polynesia and Oceania, more broadly. In their call for more attention to this phenomenon by linguistic anthropologists working in the region, they suggest that *mana* is a "keystone in ideologies of stability and transformation" (2009:25).

missionary era) songs and chants, songs referencing the Easter story, and songs of farewell. For Te Lumanaki's opening song, in the competition traditionally a welcoming song or a song that introduces the group, they performed a new composition, "Te Talāga a Te Tala Fā," written by one of the teachers at the school.

1	Te Talāga a Te Tala Fā	<i>(The history of the four atolls)</i>
	DEF.DET tell.NMLZ A-POSS DEF.DET gable four	
2	Te talāga a te tala fā mai anamua	<i>The story of the four gables⁶³ from ancient times</i>
	DEF.DET tell.NOM A-POSS DEF.DET gable four hither PST.first	
3	Te talāga a te tala fā mai anamua	<i>The story of the four gables from ancient times</i>
	DEF.DET tell.NOM A-POSS DEF.DET gable four hither PST.first	
4	Matamatagi e, Tūloto e, Mulihelu e	<i>Eye of the Wind, Stands Inside, Bottom Comb⁶⁴</i>
	eye.wind VOC stand.inside VOC bottom.comb VOC	
5	Ko au tenei, ko ai?	<i>Me here, who am I?</i>
	FOC 1.SG this FOC who	
6	Ko au tenei tō tāina	<i>It's me here, your younger sibling</i>
	FOC 1.SG this 2.SG. O-POSS younger.sibling	
7	E tau ki te gafa, si! ⁶⁵	<i>Anchored to the lineage, si!</i>
	NPST anchor to DEF.DET genealogy	
8	Te gafa maimua o na kāiga	<i>The ancient lineage of the families</i>
	DEF.DET genealogy hither.first O-POSS PL.DEF. DET family	
9	Te Hega a Tokelau	<i>The Feather Tuft of Tokelau⁶⁶</i>
	DEF.DET feather.tuft A-POSS Tokelau	

⁶³ I.e. four meeting houses, the four islands of Tokelau

⁶⁴ Symbolic names of Fakaofo, Nukunonu, and Atafu

⁶⁵ *Si!* and *ha!* are syllables often chanted as exclamations in *fātele* to end a line or to keep rhythm.

⁶⁶ A symbolic name of Olohega, referencing the tuft of feathers tied to the end of a skipjack lure. Possibly also a reference to Olohega's position at the southern end of the Tokelau group.

10	Matini o Folau	<i>Matini of the Voyage</i> ⁶⁷
	matini O-POSS voyage	
11	Te kafa na motu, si!	<i>The rope has slipped away, si!</i>
	DEF.DET rope PST.PERF gotten.away	
12	Te vaka na tafea, ha!	<i>The canoe has drifted, ha!</i>
	DEF.DET canoe PST.PERF drift	
13	Na ake i nuku kehe	<i>Out to distant lands</i>
	PST.PRF out in community different	
14	(Toe) taki mai e te fetū, si!	<i>(Again) guided back by the star, si!</i>
	again guide hither ERG DEF.DET star	
15	Momoli mai e matagi, ha!	<i>Brought by the winds, ha!</i>
	bring hither ERG wind	
16	Ko au tenei tō tāina	<i>It's me here, your younger sibling</i>
	FOC 1.SG this 2.SG. O-POSS younger.sibling	
17	Te Hega a Tokelau	<i>The Feather Tuft of Tokelau</i>
	DEF.DET feather.tuft A-POSS Tokelau	
18	Matini o Folau	<i>Matini of the Voyage</i>
	matini O-POSS voyage	

For Tokelau hearers of “Te Talāga a Te Tala Fā,” the lyrics are rich in symbolism that refers to traditional practices of formal addresses given when representatives from each of the Tokelau islands gather (Huntsman and Hooper 1991:52). The singers call out to the three northern atolls of Tokelau by symbolic names that make reference to village histories in line 4, demonstrating in-group knowledge of these ceremonial names of the villages before posing a question in line 5: *Ko au tenei, ko ai?* “Me here, who am I?” The question itself is ambiguous in the context of the song,

⁶⁷ A symbolic name of Olohega.

as it is not clear whether the speaker is anticipating a question from Fakaofu, Nukunonu, and Atafu as the houses wonder who holds the knowledge of their ceremonial names or whether it is that the first-person voice of the song is reflexively wondering aloud how it might fit into the collection of the other houses of Tokelau. It is here, in lines 5 through 8, that the melancholy discourse first enters “Te Talāga a Te Tala Fā.” Line 5 introduces a line that in its ambiguity simultaneously indicates disorientation and misapprehension. Who is this speaker? What is the speaker/singer’s connection to Tokelau? The immediate answer, provided in lines 6—8 identifies the speaker, disoriented or misapprehended as it may be, as a family member whose right to claim kinship is based on an enduring connection to genealogy: *Ko au tenei tō tāina, e tau ki te gafa, te gafa maimua o na kāiga* “I here am your younger sibling, anchored to the lineage, the ancient lineage of the families.” The song frames the rejoining of Tokelauans in Hawai’i to the rest of the diaspora as the reuniting of a family, and positions Olohega people collectively as the *tāina*, the younger sibling, in a subordinate role to the other atolls. The *tāina* role invoked in this song and others produced by Te Lumanaki community members is one that carries not only connotations of kinship connecting Olohega with the rest of the Tokelau diaspora, but also signals a certain kind of relationship. The *tāina*, usually represented as especially beloved in Tokelau discourses, (compared with, for example, the *uho* or equal-ranked same-sex sibling) is not only subordinate but it is also the responsibility of the older siblings to recognize, care for, and support the younger sibling.

Additionally, “Te Talāga a Te Tala Fā” draws on the tropes of voyaging and

navigation common in Tokelau music and dance. The use of the symbolic names of Olohega alludes to the island's important location for traditional navigation and wayfinding in the area and the lyrics in lines 11-15 evoke an image of a directionless voyaging canoe, loosed from its moorings. Eventually in line 14, the lost canoe is "guided by a star" to be rejoined with the other houses. The valued culture tradition of celestial navigation and wayfinding becomes the means to overcome distance, to reorient the unnamed voyager, and provides the lost voyager with an identity. The pursuit of culture and cultural practices is the means for reconnection with the rest of Tokelau in this Te Lumanaki account of the communities collective Wayfinding. In line 5 the statement *Ko au tenei tō tāina* "I here am your younger sibling" is an answer to a rhetorical question, but repeated as line 16 with no preceding question, it becomes an assertion on its own. As the song closes, the ceremonial names of Olohega are repeated, reminding the audience that Olohega has an authentic place in Tokelau. Throughout the songwriting of teachers at Te Lumanaki the themes of distance, loosened moorings and family reconnection with Tokelau recur and validate Olohega and by extension Hawai'i Tokelau people in the diaspora by presenting Tokelau as a place that can be recovered and rejoined through virtual (or rhetorical) navigation. Documents associated with Te Lumanaki for public consumption make reference to imagery of voyaging. For example, a flyer and program advertising a school recital in 2007 bore the title *Alo te Folau* "Advancing the Voyage" and depicted an image of a voyaging canoe with sail fully extended, excerpted from *Matagi Tokelau* (Huntsman and Hooper 1991). Tropes of purposeful voyaging and alternately being set adrift are especially prominent in Te Lumanaki's

performance.

The presentation of “Te Talāga a Te Tala Fā” in the festival competition explicitly referred to a shared ancient past when song and speech were immediate, before technologies like writing removed the speaker-hearer co-presence from necessity. In the case of the performance of “Te Talāga a Te Tala Fā” at the Tokelau Easter Festival, the presence of these Hawai’i Tokelau voices singing in Aotearoa is a subversion of deictic practices (Hanks 2005), such as writing, that *can* remove speakers and audience from occupying the same space-time.

In the summer of 2010 I voyaged to Tokelau along with several teachers and students from Te Lumanaki. The school produced t-shirts for us to wear on this first *malaga* to Tokelau with a design of four iconic square Tokelau turtles, one with a United States flag superimposed on its body and the motto below, *He ika motu i te moana* “A fish [possibly still attached to a line] that slipped away in the ocean.” Our travel, or *malaga*, took us from Honolulu to the island of 'Upolu in Samoa before we spent days on the open sea wending our way through the islands of the territory of Tokelau. After five days we finally arrived at Fakaofu Atoll, the historical seat of the polity of Tokelau and its most populous village, our group of eight having increased the number on Fakaofu to five hundred forty-two. The weeks-long voyage from O'ahu to Fakaofu was meant to be a homecoming of sorts for the teachers and students of Te Lumanaki and as we were shuttled on aluminum barges from the *Lady Naomi* through a channel in the reef that rings the atoll, we were greeted by a morning *fakapuku* ritual feeding and ushered to the *fale fono* (‘meeting house’) to be received by the Elders Council, the *Taupulega*. Inside the *fale fono*, our group of

women, girls, and one boy were honored visitors and our *taki malaga*, the leader of our travel group, was asked to make a speech on our behalf as we represented the first official visit from Tokelau people living in Hawai'i. At the close of the *taki malaga's* speech we rose and, to sweeten her words⁶⁸ (Holmes 1969, Buck 1965, Salmond 1974), sang *Te Talāga a Te Tala Fā*.

As we sang this song, it became clear that others in the *fale fono* also knew the words as they sang along and sang the song afterward in informal gatherings in the village. I asked them how they knew the words of *Te Talāga a Te Tala Fā* and they reported that since the village was able to provide wireless internet they had watched YouTube videos of the 2008 Easter Festival performance and had memorized the lyrics through repeated viewings. A song that had been written to express Olohega people's melancholy and sense of being adrift had been made available to an unintended audience in the homeland who recognized in the melancholy of the rhetoric and the haunting melody of the song a piece of shared Tokelau culture, transmitted from the margins of the diaspora to the center of the homeland.

6.3.2. Wayfinding as a deictic practice: co-constructed Tokelau identities in text. Besnier (1995) has written about the ways that the introduction of writing in neighboring Tuvalu has created new cultural spaces for the expression of various identities, especially those based on affective bonds. Because writing allows text to

⁶⁸ The interaction between singing and speech in Polynesian societies has been commented upon by many scholars working in the region. At Te Lumanaki this relationship becomes especially salient as *fātele* and other Tokelau song forms also become integral in the delivery of heritage language lessons.

stand as proxy for the face-to-face interactions of speaker-hearers, scholars like Peter Mühlhäusler (1996) have represented the introduction of writing into Pacific societies by Europeans as an initial step in a process of alienation, community disintegration and culture loss. While the introduction of writing in some societies has eventually obscured the linguistic diversity of communities as other colonial factors have eroded the integrity of communities of speakers, text also serves the important function of allowing communication across distance and across time. In the case of Hawaiian language revitalization, for example, the corpus of Hawaiian language newspapers and documents from the period before the United States' dispossession of the kingdom have become important documents in understanding and repatriating culture for a new generation of learners.

In the sections below I present some ways in which text has become a medium for representation and wayfinding for members of the Te Lumanaki community. In particular, as the extracts below will show, text in letters, presentations, and on the Internet becomes a tool for members of the Te Lumanaki community to present, revise, and reclaim authority and authentic identities while also demonstrating a need for support in culture and language learning.

6.3.2.1 Lepa's *malaga* letter. The *malaga* to Tokelau in 2010 was made possible by funds from the Administration for Native Americans and Te Taki's board of directors initiated a program to determine which teachers and students would travel to Fakaofu to represent Te Lumanaki and to collect Tokelau cultural ephemera that would support the developing Tāmoko Curriculum. The board

decided that interested applicants would be required to submit letters of recommendation from other community members and would be expected to write a short essay stating how they and the school would benefit by their traveling to Tokelau in the context of the curriculum development. The following letter was written by Lepa, whose linguistic knowledge was mentioned in the discussion in Chapter 5. Here, her writing features a mixture of Tokelauan, English, and Hawai'i Creole constructions as she reminisces about her experiences growing up with traditional Tokelau grandparents on Maui and presents her desire to travel to their homeland.

Lepa's essay⁶⁹

- 1 Malo ni ko au ko S A . Ko au e tolu hehulu tolu tauhaga. Ko oku matua ko M ma A .
Hello FOC 1.SG FOC S A FOC 1.SG NPST three ten three year FOC 1.SG.PL.O-POSS parent FOC M and A
[TOK Hello I am S__ A__. I am thirty-three years. My parents are M__ and A__.]
- 2 Ko au ko he tama tauhi.
FOC 1.SG FOC INDF.DET child care.for
[TOK I am a cared-for [i.e. adopted] child.]
- 3 I was raised on Maui with M__ and A__.
- 4 When I was in elementary my grandma use to always dress me up in muu muus and a fresh
[HAW 'woman's loose gown']
- 5 pale. Then she would take me near a tree or bush to take a picture before I go to school.
[TOK 'wreath, usually for the head']
- 6 She would take pictures as I'm walking to school from behind. I thought I was a Tokelauan
- 7 princess. When I reached 4th grade kids would tease me a lot about my muu muus and
- 8 pales everyday. Then I realized that nobody wears muu muus only on May Day. So I started
- 9 hiding clothes in my bag. My school was directly across the street. When I would hit the

⁶⁹ In this text non-English words are underlined and their glosses and free translations given below.

10 corner of my house. I would take down my pig tail braids. When I got to school, I would
11 change my clothes so I went early so not much kids saw me.
12 So when I got home from school I would get cracks cause my hair was down and my
13 clothes. In the 7th grade my grandfather A___had this huge loud station wagon. You could
14 actually hear it coming couple streets away. I used to be so embarrassed and he would drop
15 me off at 7:45 right in front of the school. Everyone would be laughing. That's when I turned
16 into a bully. Then nobody teased me after that.

17 Grandma always was doing something. She would have puka shells from Tokelau. She

[HAW 'hole']

18 always made me puka shell leis. Grams made pales, pillows, or she was cooking. My
19 grandparents spoke to me in Tokelauan. They were so good to me. We always went to
20 Tokelau community sivas all the time.

[SAM/TOK 'dance']

21 I know I am a good candidate because I can benefit so much for the school and the family. I
22 can go learn how my dad and my grandparents and ancestors live on Tokelau. Also see and
23 touch the island that I so longed and dreamed of and so proudly am to be Tokelauan. I am
24 so interested in learning everything they know. I'm so excited to teach everything I know to
25 the school and family when we get back.

26 Hakafetai lahi ni. Aloha atu.

thank.you much INTENS love out

[TOK 'Thanks very much.'] [TOK/HAW 'Love to you']

Lepa begins her letter in Tokelauan, using a formula for address that is taught to students at Te Lumanaki School as a proper way to introduce oneself to strangers. Students give their age and the names of their parents and, though teachers and parents model this type of introduction when visitors attend school sessions, adults are not always expected to provide their ages or may add additional

information about their genealogies, places of birth, or roles in the school community. Parents, additionally, are likely to give part of this introduction in English, depending on their fluency in The Tokelau language and whether they anticipate that the visitors understand. For example, when Hawaiian speaking visitors have attended the school, introductions by adults have been longer and in Tokelauan on the assumption that *‘ōlelo Hawai‘i* speakers are able to recover some meaning of the introduction by recognizing cognates in the space of the encounter. Though the members of the board of directors knew Lepa intimately, this formulaic introduction is a signal to them in the space of the process of letter writing, review, and awarding of a travel scholarship that she not only had proficiency in The Tokelau language but also is a practitioner of this type of address that has become standard in the school in formal occasions.

A Tokelau letter of this type, presenting reasons for an individual to receive a commendation or the honor of the community’s endorsement in the form of a travel scholarship, could very well begin with expressions of *fakatūlou*, expressions of respect or apology for presenting oneself or one’s thoughts in a way that could intrude on others or cause offense. The *fakatūlou* does often appear in text and Ickes’s own dissertation begins its acknowledgement section with a brief expression of this culture form:

Tulou. Muamua hiki te fakafetai ki te Tamana i te lagi, aua ko tona alofa tunoa e mafia ai mea uma. Tulou. Many people made this study and its current manifestation possible.

[Excuse me. First lift thanks to the Father in heaven, because it’s his divine love that made all things. Excuse me.]

(Ickes 2009:iii)

Lepa's letter does not begin with a *fakatūlou* but her introduction in lines 1 and 2 signals that she has interpreted the formulaic introduction promoted at Te Lumanaki as an appropriate substitute. Still, her report of her age in line 1, *Ko au e tolu hehulu*⁷⁰ *tolu tauhaga*, literally, "I am thirty three years," is unidiomatic in Tokelauan. A more common construction would be

E tolu hefulu tolu oku tauhaga.

NON-PAST three ten three o-POSS.PL year

'I am thirty-three years old.' [Lit. "Thirty-three are my years"]

Lepa has described her proficiency in Tokelauan as being communication driven and has often expressed no compunction about producing ungrammatical or unidiomatic utterances if they can still be parsed by more fluent speakers. Here, the structure is probably based on the practice of translating the phrase *Ko au e X*

Ko [FOCUS particle] *au* [1.SG] *e* [NON-PAST]...

as "I am...." in constructions like *Ko au e fiamoe*, "I am sleepy" [literally, "It's me (who) likes sleep"]. *Ko* fronted constructions (versus those that begin with a tense-aspect marker, for example) are very common in the speech of Te Lumanaki, partially because the *Ko au e...* collocation is an easy analog with English *I am...* statements. In line 2 she introduces herself as a *tama tauhi*, an adopted child, of her

⁷⁰ The discrepancy between standard orthographic representation of *hefulu* 'ten' and the representation here may be because of the difficult sounds of the bilabial fricative discussed in Chapter 4 and again below.

grandparents also signaling that she sees their care for her in the cultural framework where *tama tauhi* are especially beloved. The reinforcement of familial ties through the exchange and adoption of children is a prominent part of individual and family genealogies in Oceania (Firth 1936, Sahlins 1976, Silk 1980) and for Lepa her inclusion in this culture practice is also fundamental to establishing her claims of authentic Tokelau identity.

After her introduction, Lepa turns to English in line 3 to describe her early life with her grandparents on Maui. The turn to English is also a topic change. It is the end of her introduction but is also the beginning of the story, running from lines 3 through 16, of her struggle with Tokelau culture as a youth. In these lines Lepa deploys Tokelauan and Hawaiian words to describe the material culture of her household: her grandmother dressed her in *mu'umu'u* (Hawaiian) and *pale* (Tokelauan). Each of these lexical items have correlates in the other language and I have observed Lepa using Tokelauan *kofu* where she could have used *mu'umu'u* or Hawaiian *haku lei*⁷¹ instead of *pale* in other instances. Lexical choice is important in this portion of the text because it may suggest several things about the author's lexical knowledge, but also about the boundaries of Tokelauan and Hawaiian language. The combination of the *mu'umu'u* and the *pale*⁷² made her to feel as if she were a "Tokelauan princess" in lines 6 and 7, but these expressions of material culture also made her a target for ridicule for wearing special occasion clothing and

⁷¹ In Hawaiian *haku* refers to the method of production, i.e. braiding, of the lei. Though the expected Hawaiian form is *lei haku*, the form *haku lei* is borrowed into Local speech for a lei made to be worn on the head.

⁷² Both *mu'umu'u* and *pale* are borrowed into her English writing, as evidenced by the affixation of plural *-s* throughout the text.

adornments in line 8: “Then I realized nobody wears muumuus only on May Day.” May Day in Hawai‘i, celebrated on the first day of May, is also called “Lei Day” and is a day where Hawaiian ethnic culture is celebrated in pageants and the giving of lei (Friesen 1996) by schoolchildren of Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian ethnicity alike. Though Lepa interprets as an adult that her grandmother dressed her to be a “Tokelauan princess” as an expression of *alofa* to her *tama tauhi* her story suggests that authentic culture practices from Tokelau (wearing of the *pale*, for example) could be interpreted by her peers on Maui as an inauthentic performance of ethnic Hawaiian or an inappropriate performance of Pacific Islander identity, out of place and out of time. The disjuncture between her traditional Tokelau household and the wider Local community is presented as a realization, as a moment of increased awareness, that Tokelau culture, as represented by her grandparents’ actions was not necessarily understandable to the rest of Hawai‘i. In line 13, when she mentions the embarrassment of being picked up from school in a noisy car by her grandfather, Lepa’s story is relatable to many American children in early adolescence embarrassed by the association with parents or caregivers. That she includes this anecdote, however, shows that she links this childhood experience with the feelings of embarrassment years earlier from being presented as a “Tokelauan princess” in the wrong place at the wrong time.

In lines 17 through 20 Lepa leaves the story of her alienation from her grandparents and their culture to present them as authentic perpetrators of the culture, engaged in activities that she views as indicative of Tokelau culture. Still, in these lines where she describes her grandmother “always doing something,” she

uses lexical items with Hawaiian origins in English to describe those activities. “Puka shells” are shells with holes in them so that they may be strung together to form a garland, and “puka shell lei” is common in the standard English of Hawai‘i, at least to the extent as to not be solely associated with ethnic Hawaiians. In the second half of line 18 she refers again to her grandmother fashioning *pale* as a traditional Tokelau activity, along with cooking and making pillows. In line 19 she reports, “My grandparents spoke to me in Tokelauan. They were so good to me. We always went to Tokelau community sivas all the time.” The report that her grandparents were kind to her is presented in the midst of statements about them engaging culture practices—speaking Tokelauan language and dancing—that are highly valued in the context of the school. Here she presents cultural transmission of language and of dance as evidence of the quality of care she received. The choice of *siva* in line 20, versus standard Tokelau *hiva*, is ambiguous, since the word is *siva* in Samoan (a language Lepa has proficiency in) and in the Olohega dialect. At Te Lumanaki *hiva* is the preferred term but it is possible that she uses *siva* here in quotation of her grandparents.

In the closing of her letter to the board, Lepa returns to Tokelauan, or at least turns from English. The closing in particular highlights the liminality of text and orthographic representation of speech sounds. In line 26 she closes by offering thanks, “Hakafetai lahi ni,” where the <h> in “hakafetai” represents the bilabial fricative described as difficult to produce and hear by speakers. This word is often written as *fakafetai*, but as I mentioned in Chapter 4, the initial [f] is often lenited in the speech of Olohega elders, while the second [f] of *fetai* remains fortis. However,

the second part of her closing salutation “Aloha atu” is ambiguous to a further degree⁷³. Because Lepa switches between Hawaiian and Tokelauan lexical items throughout the text it is possible that the use of Hawaiian *aloha* instead of Tokelauan *alofa* is either a demonstration of her lack of formal training in Tokelauan writing conventions or is a mistake, a rejection of identification of Tokelauan spelling with Samoan orthography that does not capture the lenis features of the sound, or a hybrid phrasing that unifies Lepa’s short discourse on being Tokelauan in Hawai’i.

In speech, Lepa’s use of Hawaiian *aloha* may not be perceptible because of the subtle articulatory distinction between the glottal fricative and the bilabial fricative, but in text it is marked in several ways. Text allows her to draw on these multiple knowledges—of Tokelauan and Hawaiian—to signal multiple identities—as Local and as Tokelauan—at the same time. The phoneme-to-grapheme correspondence is already problematic in the multilingual realities of Tokelauan writer. The limitations of the grapheme, its multiple valences in languages known to her and owned by her here, however, allows her to play with the signification of the single form and in rendering this hybridity and ambiguity, she claims multiple spaces. Woolard (1999) argues that playing with this type of bivalency is an important tool for multilingual speakers as they negotiate the simultaneity of identities enacted through talk.

In this text, language ability and knowledge, along with the simultaneous experience of cultural melancholy (the loss of Tokelau practice and reminiscence on it), become resources that have the potential to facilitate travel. In this instance Lepa

⁷³ If this phrase were fully Hawaiian we would expect “*Aloha aku*,” as *aku* is cognate with the Tokelauan directional particle *atu*.

uses her Tokelau/Polynesian linguistic knowledge to bookend an essay on her identity, beginning with Tokelauan and ending with a hybrid utterance. The ostensible purpose of the essay was to prove to the board of Te Taki Tokelau that she deserved access to literal travel to her homeland, a place that her grandparents and parents were born and a place that she has never seen. Here, her demonstration of Tokelau linguistic ability and her authoritative cultural knowledge are her means to cover the distance, to travel to Tokelau and her experience in Hawai'i (in particular of a wish to assimilate into the culture of her peers on Maui) is revisited as a justification for her physical travel to Tokelau and reconnection there. Her authentic experience and identity are the justification for further activities (i.e. travel) that validate her as Tokelauan. She has experienced the loss of a connection to the authentic Tokelauanness of her grandparents and it evokes in her a sadness, a reminiscence, and a melancholy yearning to revisit the memory of that loss as a means to overcome and remedy it.

6.3.2.2. Co-created texts and linguistic repair. An additional example of the distributed experience of the community being used to present authentic and authenticated knowledge about traditional Tokelau lifeways was found in an observation after the return of Te Lumanaki teachers from Tokelau in 2010. Tiale, a teacher who had been on the *malaga*, was tasked with preparing a lesson for a Saturday school session that reported on some interesting experience from her time in Fakaofu. She decided to organize a slideshow to present the practice of *tā mai tua* 'strike from the back' communal fishing technique that we were able to observe on the reef. Tiale is a non-fluent speaker of Tokelauan and rates her own proficiency

quite low. Fishing techniques, or *faiva*, are often limited to an atoll community or to an age cohort and, perhaps most especially, to men. Our *kau malaga* of women and one boy were fortunate to not only be able to observe the *tā mai tua* but to have the elders' council, the *taupulega*, organize the village's men to undertake communal *faiva* for the express purpose of providing us with the experience of observing and recording their techniques. Tiale, who has continually expressed trepidation about her Tokelauan speaking ability wrote out, first in English and then with rudimentary Tokelau transliterations, the captions that she wished to accompany photos in the timed slide show and requested that one of the fluent speakers check her work and fix it. This task fell to one of the other teachers who also expressed some concern about the limits of his lexical knowledge pertaining to this specific fishing technique and his having not been present at the event. In some of his correcting of Tiale's lexical usage and syntax, this teacher made notes that she should ask for help from a third teacher for the best way to express the idea. This third teacher, who was on the *malaga*, is the nexus of the experience, as someone who was involved in this specific event. Her proficiency in The Tokelau language and experience of the event combine to authenticate Tiale's presentation of cultural knowledge.

Though this assistance to Tiale from the two more fluent teachers resulted in almost a complete revision, it resulted in a co-created text in which cultural knowledge gained by Tiale in Fakaofu was mediated by the linguistic expertise of her teaching colleagues. Still, even on the page their respective expertise was in negotiation, as contributors to the document deferred to each other. The production of the text also served as a learning opportunity for a less-fluent teacher, but

simultaneously valued her cultural knowledge and recent experience, providing her a means to contribute to the collective knowledge of the teachers and the school. By co-producing this text in a situation where the linguistic knowledge and content could not be authentically produced by a single author, the interaction of multiple authors created a new readably authentic product that could be consumed by and re-used by the larger community of practice.

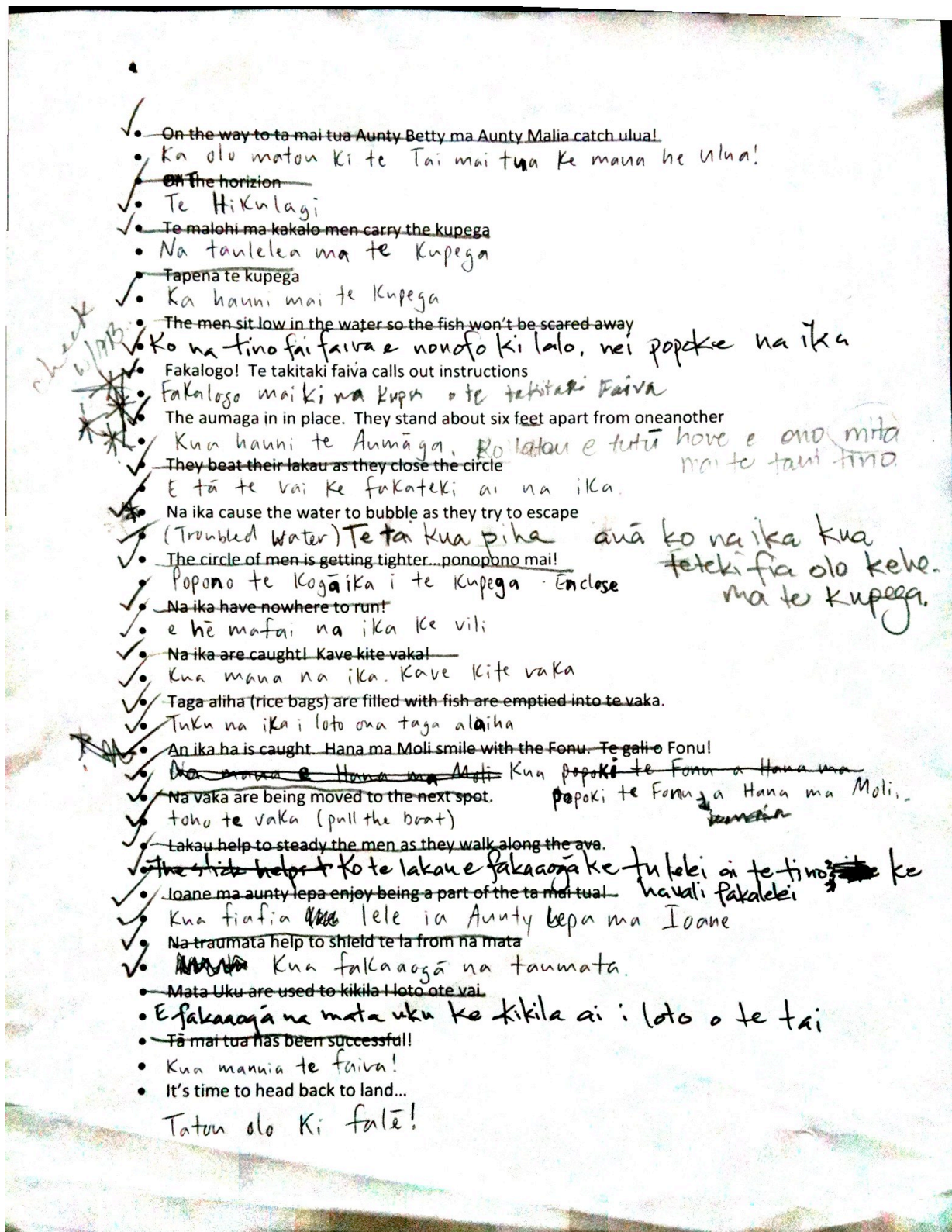


Figure 20: Co-constructed text of the tā mai tua presentation

6.4 Linguistic melancholy and public performance of identity. As Hawai'i Tokelau people interact with other non-Tokelauans through Tokelauan personas the notion of what is authentically Tokelau (versus pan-Polynesian or Pacific Islander) also raises problems. In chapter 5 I examined how issues of linguistic authenticity were raised especially in regard to the relationship between Tokelau language revitalization and Hawaiian language revitalization and maintenance, and this chapter have discussed how bivalency of linguistic forms allows individuals space to present multiple identities simultaneously, but the issue of crossing (Rampton 1995) and authenticity in performance is also at play when Te Lumanaki performs in public venues.

6.4.1 Discourses of authentic Polynesianness. In 2011 Te Lumanaki was invited to perform as a part of a Pacific music revue at the University of Hawai'i and on the performance bill were also ensembles scheduled to perform Hawaiian and Tahitian music. The ensembles from the university performed as the culminating activity of their school term and performers in the ensembles had varying connections to Tahitian and Hawaiian culture—some presumably had some ancestral connections, but many may have been fulfilling course requirements or learning about Polynesian culture for the first time. Te Lumanaki was scheduled to perform between the other ensembles as special guests of the music department and weeks before the performance one of the organizers sent a request that the school join the other groups in singing a finale, a Tahitian song of thanks, *Maururu a*

vau. The lyrics that the school was asked to sing were simply *E maururu a vau* ‘My thanks to you’ and a recording of the melody was sent to Te Lumanaki to practice.

Within a few hours of the request, e-mail exchanges between the parents and teachers of Te Lumanaki showed that the notion of performing publicly as a Tokelau school, in Tokelau costume, in another Polynesian language was problematic for many. One parent found the possibility of performing a Tahitian song in conflict with the notion of authentic Tokelau performance and awareness of the discreteness of Polynesian cultures that was valued in the context of the school:

Initially, my first reaction was what my kids would’ve thought if I had shared this info with them. I know that they would’ve said that they don't think it would be appropriate that we be included in the last song, because it's not Tokelauan, keeping us separate from the other groups... With that being said, I know that we have to teach them to be sensitive to their Poly [Polynesian] cousins. And if we must come together at the end of the show as a group, to show unity, I think the song should be Hawaiian.

(MT.3.8.11.EWA.TXT)

For this parent, it was important that children in the school recognize the appropriateness of performing Tokelau songs as Tokelauans and be willing to abstain from inauthentic performance of other Polynesian personas—even if for a single song—because that signaled an insensitivity to the proprietaryness of individual Polynesian cultural traditions. However, the possibility is raised that if a non-Tokelauan song should be sung by the school in performance it should be a Hawaiian song, highlighting once again the problematic positioning of *kanaka maoli*

cultural forms as the common property of syncretic Local culture. It is possible that a Hawaiian song should be available to the school out of respect for the indigenous culture of Hawai'i, but historically, Hawaiians have no closer cultural connection to Tokelau than Tahitians do.

In the end, after other parents and teachers discussed their discomfort with performing *Maururu a vau*, the organizers were able to compromise on the structure of the finale: over the Tahitian verses the Hawaiian ensemble sang a descant of *E mahalo nui e* 'Thank you very much,' while Te Lumanaki sang the Tokelau version of the same, *E fakafetai lahi e*.

The interrogation of what is proper and authentic representation of Polynesian identity is very much an ongoing discussion in the context of the school's community of practice. The figure below is a screen capture of the Facebook status update of a parent of the school, celebrating the ethnic diversity of Te Lumanaki's students, but especially the diversity of Polynesian representation in the school. Part of that authentic Polynesian identity appears to be associated for many in the community with knowledge about other Pacific cultures and restraint in appropriating them. Individuals and communities perceived to violate this restraint garner censure.



Figure 21: Facebook status update by a Te Lumanaki parent

Makalita, a parent at Te Lumanaki who also claims Cooks Islands heritage but admits to not knowing much about it, is also vigilant against perceived acts of appropriation of Cooks Islands culture by other Polynesians:

- 28 MA [my son]he tease me now cause every time I get a chance to go on to the computer
 29 because Cook Islanders are famous for their drumming, right?
 30 So I'm like always trying to go on there
 31 so can hear the music and there like
 32 oh, no he never upgraded his stuff so he have this Tahitian stuff on there
 33 I don't like listen to Tahitian music I know what that sounds like
 34 I wanna listen to my culture [i.e. Cook Islands culture]
 35 So I was pissed off when they say yeah Cook Islanders are related to Tahitians

36 then↑ how we related to them
37 When you tell me I related to them

(MA. 4.16.11.TOW.AUD)

Here, the notion of “Poly cousins” invoked by the other parent in discussion of respecting the boundaries of cultures does not apply for Makalita and Tahitians. She refutes the family relationship on the basis of Tahitian appropriation of Cook Islands music, which she takes to be part of her own cultural heritage.

In the following extract from an earlier bit of talk in this same discourse, Makalita, who has a European-American mother and who claims multiple heritages through both of her parents, discusses the difficulty in being Tokelauan when no one in her predominately Polynesian immigrant community on O’ahu’s North Shore recognizes a culture that she has herself only limited access to.

1 MA [unintelligible] Tokelauan (.5) I’m Tokelauan. How you fi-
2 that’s thats how we grew growing up
3 we jus told everybody we Sa:moan, we ‘afa kasi [half-caste] but there’s other parts of us
4 but you guys don’t know what it is and if I tell you
5 I don’t know how to explain it correctly↑
6
8 MA And I don’t wanna steer them wrong. No like tell them this
9 and it’s not. You know what I mean? It’s like No wa:ys
10 I’m safer off just saying that I’m Sa:moan
11 and they understand Sa:moan
12 cause there’s like five mil↑lion of us

13 and Tokelauan (.5) what's going on?

(MA. 4.16.11.TOW.AUD)

For Makalita there is a major risk in representing herself as Tokelauan and not doing it “correctly.” As a youth, she found a Samoan persona more accessible and more easily readable to others, in part because there was a Samoan category for her as an *‘afa kasi* ‘half-caste’ person with a European-American mother. She expresses anxiety about “steering others wrong” about her heritage culture and in the end links her self-representation as Samoan to population size and the likelihood that others would be familiar with Samoans because of their sheer number in the community, the “like five million of us [Samoans]” versus the presumably small number of Tokelau people. Makalita’s anxiety is echoed by other younger adults who came to Te Lumanaki to learn more about the culture and language of Tokelau.

The fact that the small community on O’ahu also contains many members that are unknown to Makalita also throws her own lack of knowledge about genealogical relationships—a major commodity in many Pacific communities—into stark relief. Her non-Tokelauan mother works in a public environment as a nurse in a hospital in Honolulu and reports to Makalita about meeting Tokelauans in the course of her work:

14 And my mom says there’s all these Tokelauans coming through

15 Queens Hospital

17 They're like what?↑ You know what is Tokelauan?↓
 18 She's like my kids, my grandkids
 19 They's like Ho! How you related to all these Tokela↑uans?↓
 20 You know what I mean,
 21 like when she call me she told me, I go Mom what's his name?↓
 22 She go I don't know if I'm saying it right but it starts with a P
 23 She goes Like Fenua's name but has a P
 24 And I was like I don't know
 25 We should ask um everybody in Wahiwa maybe they know, You know, cause I don't know
 26 and I don't know the connections and all that.
 27 I'm so bad at it but I need to learn it. I know I need to learn it

(MA. 4.16.11.TOW.AUD)

Makalita, in line 27, states that she feels a responsibility to learn her genealogical connections to other Tokelauans on O'ahu, but admits that she would have to ask others, especially those living in Wahiawā.

Another woman recognizes that the predominance of English speaking at the school for herself and others is linked to feelings of inadequacy in speaking the Tokelau language:

99 Yeah, I know cause that's just like me I didn't want to speak it because I didn't say it
 100 properly. So.

 146 I think it's because [some people feel] more comfortable even when [they] say prayers [they] feel
 147 more comfortable cause that's [their] first language
 148 And I think too that because he [one of the other teachers] can't say it properly either but I hear

150 him saying it and he sounds good to me so

151 I don't know cause that's how I feel so I think maybe he feels like that too

Anxiety about what constitutes “proper” Tokelau speech is widespread in the small community and is something considered by both fluent speakers and learners. This anxiety is not simply about performance, of making linguistic mistakes, or about not knowing what linguistic or cultural knowledge is valued in the diaspora, in interactions with other Pacific Islanders or in other communities. Instead, what these data show is that attention to crossing, of representing authentic Tokelauan and Polynesian identities in public is precisely about *knowing* what one does not know. In the extracts above what bothers Makalita most is that she is aware that her knowledge of and performance of her Polynesian culture is incomplete. In her accounts, as well as those of the other parents concerned about appropriation of other Polynesian and Pacific Islands personas, there is a meta-awareness of culture because of her experience of separation from what should be her own proprietary experience of her heritage culture. This meta-awareness is the melancholy that Cheng describes as the basis for the constitution of the imagined communities she describes in her analysis. In the case of these Tokelau community members, the linguistic and cultural melancholy they experience is the animus for their gathering together for the work of Te Lumanaki, but it is also a diagnostic tool for them to gauge the efficacy of their work.

6.5 Melancholy mapping: wayfinding in the linguascape. ‘Wayfinding’ is a term used most often for the non-instrumental navigational techniques employed by traditional Oceanic voyagers. In Oceanic wayfinding, the navigator uses information accumulated from a variety of sources, processed through the senses, applied to constantly changing positions of constellations throughout the progress of the year, to celestial bodies moving through the heavens, to currents moving through the ocean, and migrations of birds through the sky. In English the term evokes connotations of imprecision, of making it up as one goes, but I borrow this culture metaphor to unify the various types of identity brokering that Tokelau people in Hawai‘i engage in as they move through multicultural social worlds in Hawai‘i and work toward psychic repatriation to their homeland(s). In particular, I explore wayfinding as a metaphor for how shifts of language and realignments of social reality frame identities in multiple environments. Mining that idea of imprecision evoked in a European context, I explore the notions of liminality and transmission of knowledge that are at play in how the community of practice at Te Lumanaki envision themselves and replicate themselves as inheritors of Tokelau and Polynesian culture.

It has been my goal in this work to foreground the fact that language is unobservable without people and the example of the previously un-described Olohega variety is a useful illustration that various kinds of linguistic knowledge may lie dormant until the people and communities are available and willing to re-embody and re-employ them. The linguascapes and linguistic geographies I have described are shifting and multilayered because the entities that compose the

landscapes are moving targets: humans who change and grow and move about, and an ephemeral system—language—a sort of structure that is changed *by* its very use.

My use of wayfinding as a conceptual frame for the work that Tokelau people are engaged in at Te Lumanaki likewise seeks to emphasize that the process of wayfinding is a complex one of navigation between distinct and distant points through the ongoing recognition of signs in multidimensions (sky, sea, currents). Linguistic wayfinding is not a skill of mapping linguistic forms one-to-one to culture commodities in the indexical field. Linguistic wayfinding is a dynamic practice of making meaning in the first person—through collaboration and sharing experiences and knowledge. Though in English the word has a haphazard, imprecise connotation, the value in using it here as a metaphor for how language shifts and how realignments frame identities in multiple environments is precisely in that idea of imprecision. I borrow the concept from Polynesian culture history because wayfinding is a kind of knowledge that is transmitted through personal relationships. Just as language is, this navigational knowledge exists in the people who use it and who employ it in real environments, in real life, to do real things. Wayfinding techniques implore the navigator to be creative and flexible and to recognize the complex relationships between seascapes and landfalls, between migratory trajectories of creatures above and below. Wayfinding pays attention to the ephemeral and dynamic environment that swirls and changes around the ego. The linguistic wayfinding that Tokelau people do in Hawai'i draws on a multiplicity of resources that are inherited and acquired through interaction with new and changing environments: knowledge about historical variation in an imagined

homeland, ideologies of linguistic authenticity and proprietariness, and creative engagement with new genres and modes of performance. The mutability of the environment and the ephemeral nature of language compel Hawai'i Tokelau people to use whatever resources are available to construct and maintain social and cultural meaning as a way to make a connection to other communities that they view as part of their extended kin network(s). The communities that serve as nodes on this schematic network are the contemporary communities in the islands of the Tokelau homeland, the dispersed communities of Tokelauans in New Zealand, Samoa, Australia, and beyond, and more distant kin like *kanaka maoli* and ideological kin involved in the work of indigenous heritage language maintenance. Through connections with these contemporary nodes, the Te Lumanaki community also creates linkages to the valorized ancient past wherein the community, or the *nuku*, was connected in more intimate ways, including through shared culture and linguistic practices. In other ways, through the exchange of pedagogical techniques and ideologies about the proprietariness of Tokelau culture, the maintenance of these connections also fosters a shared future, or *lumanaki*, that is instantiated in the transmission of ancient culture practices through the network to be transmitted to the *fanau*, the next generation.

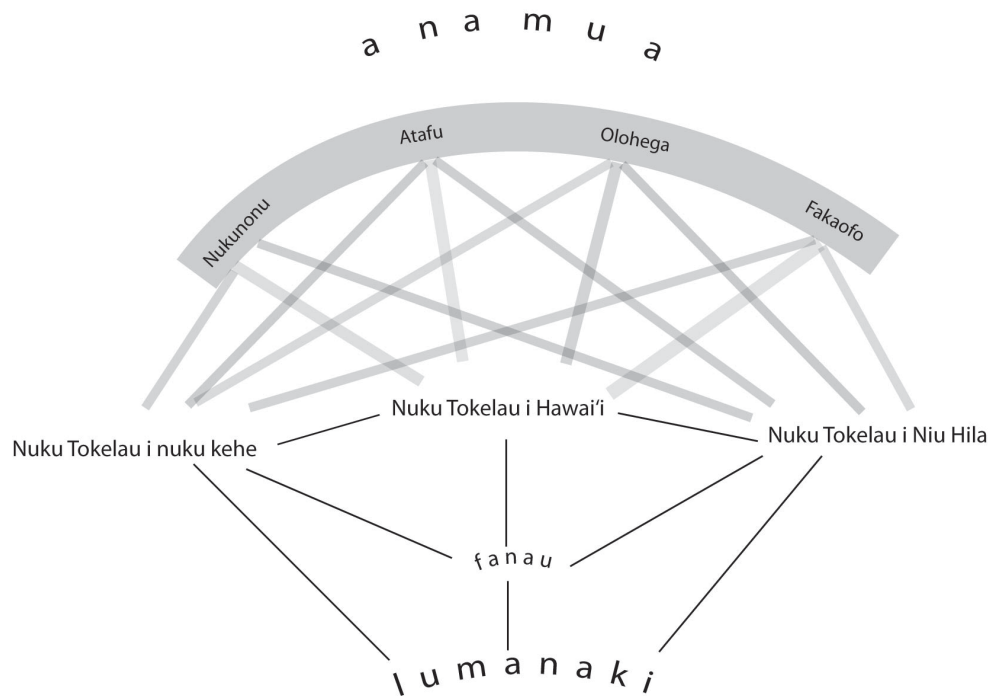


Figure 22: Schematic view of *nuku* 'community' and the Tokelau diaspora. Shared ancient history, *anamua*; diverse but direct connections from each of the atolls to each of the major diaspora settlements; shared connections between the four atolls; existing *nuku* recognize the integrity of *fanau* 'offspring' as their connection to *lumanaki*, 'the future.'

In this chapter, I have presented efforts by community members to represent identities and experiences they wish to be perceived as authentic through discourses that I have described as melancholic. Attention to maintaining linguistic and culture boundaries between Tokelau and other Pacific Islanders on the basis of maintaining authenticity and legitimacy sometimes leads Te Lumanaki community members to anticipate challenges to their representations as being inauthentic before they are lodged. The indexical field that allows cultural morphology to be reconstituted through linguistic forms is also a potential "mine field" of inappropriate or challengeable identities. It is a cultural space that *must* be

navigated in the project of The Tokelau language revitalization and wayfinding in the diaspora, but, to extend the nautical metaphor, there are also significant risks in such a navigational practice. Accessing Polynesia through Te Lumanaki brings along the risk of being the *wrong* type of Tokelau person—potentially instantiated in marked Oloheganess, as would-be Hawaiians, or as the wrong kind of Polynesian, inauthentic, indistinguishable, unrooted. The physical crossing (of oceans, into new communities) is a safeguard against a more dangerous kind of crossing: ethnic imposterism and cultural inauthenticity. In the multilingual and multicultural world of contemporary Hawai‘i, skirting this edge between connection and appropriation is necessary for the re-composition and re-discovery of Tokelau identities.

CHAPTER 7. Conclusion

7.1. Introduction. This chapter summarizes the major findings of the study, discusses its contributions to the study of language in multilingual social and cultural contexts, and presents some possible directions for further study.

7.2 Overview of chapters and summary of findings. The first chapter presents the study through descriptions of the Tokelau community in Hawai'i and Te Lumanaki o Tokelau i Amelika Language and Culture School, the contemporary Tokelau diaspora, and the history of expulsion and relocation that brought people from Olohega to Hawai'i in the middle twentieth century. In describing the interconnecting social worlds that Tokelau people inhabit, my aim was to highlight the multiple linguistic and cultural resources available to participants in the community of practice at Te Lumanaki as they work to collaboratively maintain identities as practitioners of Tokelau culture and to create novel identities as Tokelauans in new environments, including the multilingual and multicultural environment of modern Hawai'i.

Chapter 2 reviews the relevant literature in linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics, and in discourses of language endangerment that undergird the dissertation. I present theories of community that inform the study including the *community of practice* model (Lave and Wenger 1991), Anderson's (1983) *imagined*

communities and briefly present the problem of defining the speech community in linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics. Theories of the interaction between language and place that provide the basis for the study were shaped by the work of Bahktin (1981) and the work of theorists in geography and anthropology, especially Appadurai (1988, 1996), whose notion of “-scapes” that are conduits for the global flow of culture contributes greatly to the approach and methodology presented in Chapter 3. Theories of social meaning and metalinguistic knowledge interact in particular with the conceptualization of an endangered language in diaspora and resources such as stancetaking (Englebretson 2007) and crossing (Rampton 1995) highlight metalinguistic knowledge as the basis and means for various types of social action.

Chapter 3 describes the methods of linguistic ethnography that provide the main data for this study and presents two key concepts that undergird the rest of the dissertation: *ethnometalinguistics*, the contextually bound cultural transmission of linguistic knowledge, and *linguascape*, a dynamic habitus that imagines language and culture as contiguous and navigable within both geography and social space. This chapter reviews some literature of diaspora studies, Pacific Islands studies, and the anthropology of globalization in order to foreground the active process of meaning making that Tokelau people in Hawai‘i are engaged in as they traverse physical and cultural spaces, using language to explore identities and culture affiliations.

Chapter 4 addresses historical and contemporary variation in the Tokelau language, in particular focusing on the two fricatives, [s] and [f], that speakers

report are markers of the former dialect of Olohega, now only spoken in the diaspora. These sounds contrast with the “difficult” sounds of standard Tokelauan, a palatal fricative and a bilabial fricative, respectively, that speakers believe make Tokelauan phonologically distinct from neighboring Polynesian languages, especially Samoan. In Hawai‘i, however, community members’ ideologies of dialect and identity are contested and re-evaluated in the process of language learning at Te Lumanaki School. Fluent speakers and adult language learners produce and maintain various identities based on stances they take regarding knowledge of Olohega dialect features, alternately representing themselves as part of an imagined Tokelau diaspora or mitigating identification as disfluent speakers.

Chapter 5 describes how participants at Te Lumanaki School use talk about language and knowledge about language as resources to claim space in the multicultural world of modern Hawai‘i. Through the development of a sociolinguistic assessment, community members participate in metalinguistic commentary and engage with discourses of language endangerment and revitalization originating in Native North American activism. Additionally, by appropriating and reinterpreting the Local genre of *hapa-haole* hula, community members create multiple sites for the transmission of knowledge about historical relationships between linguistic varieties in Tokelau and Hawai‘i in pursuit of the idealized work of cultural repatriation that is central to the school’s mission. A key finding in this chapter is that members of the community of practice employ knowledge about language (Tokelauan, or other Polynesian languages such as Hawaiian) as a commodity that can grant persons entry into the community but the

value and validity of that knowledge is always available to be contested and negotiated.

Chapter 6 introduces two phenomena, the expression of linguistic melancholy and the negotiation of authentic Polynesian/Tokelau linguistic identities, which contribute to the imagining of a Polynesian linguascape that encompasses Hawai'i and Tokelau. I presented some of the ways that the cultivation of a type of melancholy centered on the experience of cultural alienation and language shift emerges as a resource for marginal members of the community of practice to contextualize themselves as agents in a larger reclamation of Polynesian culture beyond the Tokelau diaspora. Especially through the experience of linguistic melancholy members of the Te Lumanaki community are able to use the linguistic practices of others (e.g. Hawaiians, NZ Māori, and Native North Americans) to diagnose the cultural authenticity of their own actions in public spaces, such as in performance venues, on the Internet, or abroad engaged in *malaga*, or 'travel' as Hawai'i/Tokelau subjects.

7.3. Contributions and implications. This dissertation contributes in several ways to the study of language in multilingual social and cultural contexts. The catalyst for the development of Te Lumanaki Language and Culture School was a community's sense of endangerment of their heritage language in the diaspora. This study adds to the growing body of literature on language revitalization in dispersed speech communities by contributing to the understanding of how linguistic ideologies of endangerment and revitalization interact with multilingualism in a community under the pressure of language shift. Additionally, the case of speakers

making use of historical variation to explicate contemporary problems of shift and loss described in Chapter 4 adds another perspective to the growing literature on the meaning of variation in small and endangered languages (Stanford and Preston 2009). Because Tokelauan is a small language of only 3,000 speakers worldwide, endangered in the diaspora and precarious in a homeland threatened by out-migration and sea-level rise, the choices of individuals and communities have particular efficacy in determining the fate of the language as it and its community are further dispersed beyond the atolls.

The focus on the Tokelau language here adds another layer to the conversations around language endangerment and language documentation. Many endangered language communities are in fact dispersed as a result of the kinds of culture contact and societal change that fuel language shift. While many studies of language endangerment note the disintegration of communities, (most often operationalized in rubrics of language endangerment by the lack of intergenerational transmission of language), a review of the literature might suggest that speakers pass away or just evaporate, that they turn to languages of wider communication and merge into dominant colonial cultures. By paying attention to how different ways of conceptualizing diaspora enter and shape the work of a community of practice around the work of language revitalization, this study suggests, rather, that speakers move in currents and as they grapple with their heritage languages they also make use of knowledge about language, how it means and what it means, to marshal resources to reclaim and reinterpret their connection to other communities of speakers—those of their ancestors in the past and those of

their relatives overseas.

The talk at Te Lumanaki is itself a 'site' (Silverstein 1998, Philips 2000) for metapragmatic discourse, that is, talk about language. Philips (2000) notes that much of linguistic anthropology's account of language ideology is bounded by an investigation of the products of ideology: at the micro level the linguistic behavior of individuals, or the language policies of nation-states. In her account of the role of adjudicating the linguistic behavior of individuals as a project of the Tongan nation-state, Philips finds the "secondary site" of talk explicitly about language to be both a product of ideology and a commentary upon it. In Besnier's (2009) treatment of how gossip and talk about gossip interact in political life in Tuvalu the secondary site offers further evidence that "linguistic production does not just reflect ideology, but also produces and reproduces it" (83).

It is in this context that the multilingual community of Hawai'i becomes a resource for articulating sometimes-conflicting identities for Tokelau people. Multilingualism also becomes a means for establishing solidarity within and beyond the community of practice. This study shows that there is a valuable alternative to the focus on the study of languages endangered *in situ* and threatened by encroaching languages of wider communication. By examining the interactions between speakers' ideologies and practices, this alternative provides a view of how endangered speech communities may view one another and how recognition of a shared experience of language and culture loss becomes a site for empowerment and reclamation.

7.4. Limitations of the study. Though this study investigates language in diaspora and involved data collection in Hawai'i, New Zealand, Tokelau, and Samoa, it focused on a single community of practice based on the island of O'ahu where the Te Lumanaki group is a very small subset of the larger Tokelau community. The fact that teachers and parents at Te Lumanaki are involved in conversations about language and its meaning in the shaping of their identities does not preclude the possibility that very different experiences of language and culture have shaped the identities of Tokelau people elsewhere in Hawai'i and throughout the diaspora.

Because these data were recorded in the context of the school where both children and adults are learners of the Tokelau language, English and Hawai'i Creole predominate the talk. A focus on a group of speakers more likely to speak Tokelauan primarily, such as elders, or on a different domain where various types of Tokelau identities could be promoted, such as a family party, would have likely yielded very different results.

7.5 Directions for further research. In the course of this study several directions for additional research became apparent. A more complete account of linguistic knowledge and language practice in the Tokelau diaspora would have to include descriptions from other Tokelau diaspora communities, possibly yielding a comparative study of communities in New Zealand, Australia, Samoa, or the west coast of North America. Chapter 4 highlights how certain types of dialectal variation—in this case, variation in the production of two fricatives—interact to index different kinds of social meaning. A possible follow-up study could investigate

those fricatives as sociophonetic variables and a carefully designed study could further elucidate whether and how speakers and hearers distinguish between the sounds described as “difficult” and those fricatives, [s] and [f] that are part of English and Samoan sound systems.

7.6. Wayfinding. Finally, the title of this dissertation marks it as a particular type of anthropological product. Using in the title *negotiating*, a verb here without an expressed agent, signals, I hope, that less than being the final word on the identities of Tokelau people in Hawai‘i, this work seeks to highlight the dynamic processes through which individuals and a community of practice produce meaning and assign values (not always stable) to those productions and co-contributions. *Negotiation* often signals research that is concerned with post-structuralist attention to power relations. Used in this way, the word evokes a dialectic and I trust that readers—including those from the Te Lumanaki community—will take issue at some points with my analysis and presentation. As a researcher, I welcome the conversation. In the process of research I too have been a wayfinder as a part of the community I have described in these pages, and over several years, have found that the voyage of discovery is a collaborative effort and is never complete.

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Appendix A: Glossing and transcription conventions

In this text, interlinear glossing follows the Leipzig Conventions for morpheme-by-morpheme glossing and free translation. The following abbreviations appear in glosses here.

1 first person
2 second person
3 third person
CAUS causative
CLF classifier
DEF definite
DET determiner
ERG ergative
FOC focus
INCL inclusive
INDF indefinite
INTENS intensifier
LOC locative
N- non- (e.g. NSG nonsingular, NPST nonpast)
NOM nominative
NMLZ nominalizer
PL plural
POSS possessive
PRF perfect
PRS present
PST past
Q question particle/marker
SG singular
VOC vocative

Transcripts here are labeled with meta-data referencing individuals and groups of speakers, dates of recording or transmission of text, location of recording or textual transmission, and the medium, usually audio or text, in the format (NAME. DATE.LOCATION.MEDIA).

Though individual speakers names are not given here, a list of locations is provided below.

LUM Te Lumanaki School session
WHI Wahiawā, O'ahu Hawai'i
HAU Hau'ula, O'ahu Hawai'i
WAI Waipi'o Valley, O'ahu, Hawai'i
EWA 'Ewa Beach, O'ahu, Hawai'i
POA Poamoho Camp, O'ahu, Hawai'i
TOW Honolulu, O'ahu, Hawai'i

Transcripts themselves are annotated in the following

¿ falling interrogative sentence-final intonation
i falling sentence-final intonation
? interrogative sentence-final intonation
! sentence-final intonation

↓	falling phrase-final intonation
↑	rising phrase-final intonation
:	prolonged sound
(n)	seconds in a pause
(*)	micropause, less than 0.5 seconds
*	inbreathing
'	contracted or deleted sound segment (As in <i>kin'</i> or <i>kine</i> [kain] for <i>kind</i> [kaind])
{text}	approximated laughter utterance
(text)	uncertain, approximated text; inaudible
\	large drop in pitch
^	sustained high pitch
,	low rise in pitch
/	medium rise in pitch
caPITal	stressed or emphasized speech when in medial position of words. Does not include capitalization of proper nouns

Appendix B: Kālele Survey Instrument

KALELE PROJECT TOKELAU LANGUAGE SURVEY			
PART I. PERSONAL BACKGROUND			
Name:			
Address Street:			
Address City, State & Zip Code:			
D.O.B:			
Telephone #:		Cell#:	E-Mail:
Place of Birth:		Marital Status:	Gender:
Highest grade completed:		Are you employed:	
If born in Tokelau (or anywhere other than US), date of arrival in U.S			
If U.S. born, how many generations since the first settlers.			
PART II. COMPETENCE			
Please indicate the level of proficiency in each of the following languages. Use the following scale: 1= Not at all, 2= A little, 3= Well, 4= Very Well, 5= Native-like			
1. Tokelau / Speak	9. Samoan / Speak		
2. Tokelau / Understand	10. Samoan / Understand		
3. Tokelau / Read	11. Samoan / Read		
4. Tokelau / Write	12. Samoan / Write		
5. English / Speak	13. Other (specify) Speak		
6. English / Understand	14. Other (Specify) Understand		
7. English / Read	15. Other (Specify) Read		
8. English / Write	16. Other (Specify) Write		
17. Which Language are you most comfortable using?			
18. What is your first language?			
19. What is your second language?			
20. What's your third language?			
21. What's your fourth language?			

KALELE PROJECT TOKELAU LANGUAGE SURVEY	
PART III. DOMAINS OF USE	
Answer N/A if the question doesn't apply to you.	
What language(s) do you use when you speak to each of the following? Please specify the reason (e.g., I speak English with my husband because he is American and does not speak Tokelau). If you use more than one language, please specify which one you use most frequently.	
22. Your parents and their generation.	
23. Your grandparents and their generation.	
24. Your siblings.	
25. Your children and their generation.	
26. Your grandchildren and their generation.	
27. Your spouse	
28. Tokelau friends.	
29. Non-Tokelau friends.	
30. Tokelau neighbors.	
31. Non-Tokelau neighbors.	
32. Local school teacher.	
33. Tokelau colleagues.	
34. Non-Tokelau colleagues.	
35. Do you or your child attend any Tokelau language school? If Yes, what is the name of the Tokelau language school?	
What language(s) do you use when you speak to:	
36. Tokelau school teachers (in class).	

KALELE PROJECT TOKELAU LANGUAGE SURVEY	
37. Tokelau school teachers (outside class room).	
38. Classmates (in class)	
39. Classmates (outside class room).	
40. What language(s) do you use when you pray?	
41. What language(s) do you use when you dream?	
42. What language(s) do you use when you think?	
43. What language(s) do you use when you talk to yourself?	
44. What language(s) do you use in religious ceremonies?	
45. What language(s) do you use in church?	
46. What language(s) do you use in writing letters?	
47. What language(s) do you use in e-mail?	
48. Do you listen to any radio program in Tokelau?	
49. Do you watch any TV program in Tokelau?	
50. Do you read any newspaper in Tokelau?	
51. Do you listen and/or play Tokelau music?	
52. In reference to question #51. If Yes, in what occasions?	
53. Which language(s) do you use in court system?	
54. Are you a member of any Tokelau social group/organization?	
55. In reference to question #54. If Yes, Specify the name and nature of the organization.	
56. In reference to question #55. If Yes, which language(s) do you use there?	
57. Is Tokelau culture practiced in your home?	
58. In reference to question #57. What aspect(s) of Tokelau culture is practiced?	
59. What language do you use in public/private school?	
60. What language do you use in cultural activities?	
61. What language do you use at work?	

KALELE PROJECT TOKELAU LANGUAGE SURVEY	
PART IV. ATTITUDE	
the scale:	Please state if you agree or disagree with the following statements. Use
1= don't know completely agree	2= completely disagree
3= slightly disagree	4= slightly agree
5= completely agree	
62. Tokelau language represents Tokelau identity.	
63. I like using Tokelau.	
64. Children should learn Tokelau.	
65. In the future, Tokelau language will disappear in Tokelau.	
66. We need official support to keep Tokelau language alive.	
67. I am proud to be a Tokelau speaker/I admire those who speak Tokelau.	
68. I like friends with whom I can speak in Tokelau.	
69. People who speak Tokelau are more trustworthy than those who don't.	
70. People who speak English are smarter than those who don't.	
71. People who speak English are more successful than those who don't.	
72. It is essential to speak English in order to succeed in modern world.	
73. Kids who speak both Tokelau and English do better in school than those who speak just English.	
74. It's difficult for kids to learn both English and Tokelau at the same time.	
75. Children should learn English before they learn Tokelau.	
76. Children should learn Tokelau before they learn English.	