ATTITUDES TOWARD TETUN DILI,

A LANGUAGE OF EAST TIMOR

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Dedicated to the spirit and people of East Timor, hau nia rai doben husi huun to'o rohan.

Chelsea P, Monique A, Kavon H, Russell B, Claire S, Brad R, Jonny K, Thomas K, Margaret R-G, Chae-eun K, Dave D, Mary W, Katie G, Joelle K, Mike C, Britney C, Courtney H, Prem P, Monica V, Emily K, Jim Y, Kent S, Angela F-R, Nozomi T, Colleen P, Colleen O, Ulricke S, Sandra E, Yvonne H, and anyone else who I've ever shared a coffee break or a happy hour with, I owe you all a great debt of gratitude.

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Abstract

This dissertation is the first documentation of the attitudes of East Timorese people toward Tetun Dili. Despite having a large speaker population and co-official status within East Timor, is not an extensively documented language. There are few dictionaries, even fewer grammatical descriptions, and almost no sociolinguistic literature on the language. The aim of this dissertation is to contribute to this literature by describing the attitudes held by Timorese toward this language, and to situate those language attitudes within the larger framework of language ideologies.

Language attitudes are the beliefs and stereotypes that individuals hold toward linguistic varieties which are informed by (or reactions against) dominant societal language ideologies. Language ideologies are the environment in which attitudes reside, and their relationship of influence is bidirectional. The data used for these two attitude studies come from language attitude surveys and sociolinguistic interviews. From this data emerged five general attitudinal themes.

The most important and robust is the theme of Tetun as a social necessity in East Timor. It is highly ranked in nearly every social setting, and is viewed as vital for daily life in Timor. The second is the theme of Tetun as a marker of East Timorese identity. It is viewed as an important part of Timorese-ness, and Timorese have an emotional attachment to it. The third theme is that of Tetun as the target of critique. It is viewed as inappropriate in certain situations or domains, and has some negative stereotypes associated with it. The fourth theme is that of Tetun as "developing" or needing "development". This was seen in the descriptive section especially, but also in views of Tetun utility. The fifth theme is that of Tetun as the locus of insecurity, either in personal use or more directly concerning the language itself. These five

trends will be explored in depth in both the interview and survey sections of this dissertation, with a special emphasis on their relationship to dominant language ideologies in East Timor.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Tetun Dili[1] is the one of two official languages of East Timor, and is one of the few

contact languages (a language variety that emerges from and is heavily influenced by prolongued

contact with other languages) in the world to have official status. As distinct in legality from a

national language, or a *recognized* or a *regional* language, an *official* language is one that is

typically clearly outlined in the constitution of a sovereign state as the language of governance.

While it is not uncommon for sovereign states to have more than one official language, it is

uncommon for indigenous, minority, or contact languages to have equal status alongside

international languages of wider communication. Of the hundred or so contact languages spoken

throughout the world, there are many examples of contact languages as recognized regional

languages, national languages, or de facto national languages, but it is considerably rarer for a

contact language to hold official status. As of 2017, some of the more well-known contact

languages to hold this status are Kiswahili (alongside English) in Kenya; Afrikaans (alongside

English and 9 other local language) in South Africa; Tetun Dili (alongside Portuguese) in East

Timor; Tok Pisin (alongside English) in Papua New Guinea; Kreyol (alongside French) in Haiti;

Bislama (alongside English and French) in Vanuatu. In each case, the contact language is co-

official alongside a major world (and former colonial) language.

Part of the hesitation to make contact and minority languages official within their

countries of use is rooted in the ideologies that surround them. Despite being a worldwide

phenomenon, contact languages have for centuries been considered corrupt varieties of the

languages that they developed alongside. The 'standard' variety is usually spoken by a

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[1] For disambiguation of the varieties of Tetun and discussion of the variations in spelling
(Teto/Tetun/Tetum), see section 3.2.1.

comparatively small number of elite members of the society in the contact context. The contact language tends to be the vernacular of the more numerous non-elite members (Hickey 2010, Bakker 2013). In this dissertation, I argue that the adoption of contact languages such as Tetun Dili as co-official languages of their countries demonstrates a shifting perception of their functionality and appropriateness (particularly as an act of nation-building), but that many negative attitudes and ideologies remain. I will present my argument with data from two attitude studies, which I will then situate within the larger context of language ideologies.

1.2 Research Questions

Tetun Dili, despite having a large speaker population and co-official status within East Timor, is not an extensively documented language. As will be discussed in Chapter 3, there are few dictionaries, even fewer grammatical descriptions, and almost no sociolinguistic literature on the language. In an effort to contribute to this literature, the driving research questions of this dissertation are as follows:

1. What are the most common attitudes about Tetun Dili among various groups?

2. Where do these attitudes come from and how do they differ?

3. How can these attitudes be described?

4. How can these attitudes be situated within the larger context of language ideologies?

1.3 Structure of the Dissertation

In order to address the questions outlined above, this dissertation is organized into seven chapters. Chapter One, the current chapter, outlines the goals and structure of the dissertation, and welcomes the reader. Chapter Two is a literature review summarizing several important aspects of language attitudes and language ideologies and the importance of studying them, drawing on seminal historical publications in the field as well as more recent work. Whenever it

exists, attitudinal literature specifically focused on East Timor is reviewed. Chapter Three, the environment of the study, begins with a linguistic history of East Timor from pre-contact through modern times. Each section of this history is carefully crafted to contextualize the development of Tetun Dili. The second half of this chapter is a historical review of descriptions of Tetun in various literature. Chapter Four is a review of the methodologies employed in this dissertation, from data tool design, to data collection, to the analysis methods that will be employed, and will propose a new way of using stance analysis to investigate language attitudes and situate them within language ideologies. Chapter Five presents the results from the first attitude study, the survey. Included in this chapter are discussions of the responses to a survey created by the author and completed by 301 Timorese. Chapter Six presents a discussion and discourse analysis of interviews conducted with 13 members of the Tetun Dili speaking Timorese community and discusses common themes that emerged; a special emphasis is placed on positioning these themes within the context of stance analysis, and interpreting language attitudes through stance. Chapter Seven summarizes and synthesizes the results found in these two attitude studies using my proposed framework for situating attitudes within ideologies, and discusses their implications. Chapter Eight concludes this dissertation with a general discussion and summary, as well as a discussion of the contributions of this work and the directions for future work.

1.4 Delimitation of the Study

Some of the limitations in this dissertation were intentionally introduced, while others were imposed by time and circumstances. While the primary focus is Tetun Dili, occasional forays into discussions of the historical and current role of Portuguese in East Timor are unavoidable. While Timorese attitudes toward Portuguese would no doubt be a fascinating and important study, it is not within the scope of this work, and the data collected and presented here

is insufficient for thorough comment in this regard. In addition, the current role of the Portuguese language in East Timor is hotly contested and is the subject of ongoing, bitter debate and it is not my desire to contribute to this conversation. Rather, I choose to concentrate my study on Tetun Dili, the indigenous lingua franca of East Timor, in the hopes that adding to the literature on it will increase its visibility and viability as an area of academic study. In the same way that discussions of Portuguese are unavoidable in a language attitude study in East Timor, discussions of English, Indonesian, and local languages were also included throughout this dissertation but are not intended to be viewed as the primary focus of this study.

1.5 Nature of the Data and Researcher Positionality

The data used for these two attitude studies come from language attitude surveys and sociolinguistic interviews. My four primary Timorese research assistants collected 301 paper surveys from Timorese participants throughout Dili. These were entered into a database and are presented in Chapter Five using both descriptive and inferential statistics. Interview data was collected by myself. During data collection, I interviewed 21 Timorese people, 16 first-time *malae*, and 19 'returner' *malae*.[2] My Timorese research assistant conducted 4 focus group-style interviews with 8 Timorese people. In the interest of clarity and brevity, only the following interview data will be used for this study: 13 Timorese interviews (6 women, 7 men). These seven interviews were chosen because the represented a diverse group of Timorese, as well as different stages in my data collection. These results will be presented and discussed using stance analysis in Chapter Six.

My identity as the researcher was an unavoidable and integral part of my research process. Lanza (2008) highlights several aspects of the researcher's identity that may be

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[2] Malae is a common cover-term for "foreign" but is more often used to mean "resident non-Timorese working in Timor". I use it because the *malae* community themselves use it (of which I am a member).

advantages or disadvantages to conducting research, such as linguistic competence, ethnicity, gender, age group, education level, disciplinary background, and attitude towards the research itself. At times, my linguistic competence both aided me and hindered me; I am competent in Tetun Dili, but not fluent. I feel that my learner status gave me some feeling of shared experience with interviewees, as well as put them at ease when I asked what might otherwise be viewed as obvious questions. Of course, I was hindered in that I had to limit my pool of potential interviewees to those who spoke English; the surveys were not restricted in this way. My ethnicity was also both a help and a hindrance; as a member of the dominant non-Timorese ethnicity in the country, I did not have trouble gaining access to varied communities but it also immediately marked me as an outsider to the Timorese community. Similarly, as a young woman my age and gender limited the level of contact I was able to make with some sectors of Timorese society, particularly older males. I do not think that my education level significantly impacted my research, but my disciplinary background certainly influenced my interview style and interview topics. As for my own attitudes toward the research, I tried to take a neutral and non-biased position whenever possible, and to encourage the sharing of different opinions whenever they came up. All of these factors together certainly influenced my access to and selection of participants, but, because I am well aware of them, I took pains to be as inclusive as possible.

2. Review of the Literature

      This chapter summarizes several important aspects of language attitudes and language ideologies and the importance of studying them. Both concepts have long been studied in relation to language and are sometimes conflated in the literature. While they do have several overlapping features, they also have critical differences. Language attitudes and language ideologies are both learned and they are both shared. The critical difference between the two is the degree of sharing; language attitudes reside and should be studied on an individual level, while language ideologies reside in the collective social consciousness. An individual subscribes to a particular social ideology, and that ideology makes up the body of attitudes that he or she uses to interact with and understand the world. In some cases, individuals may even be able to identify and describe the dominant language ideologies relevant to their context, but align their own attitudes in opposition to these ideologies. A prime example of the difference between ideologies and attitudes was identified by Rickford (1987) who challenged the dominant social order of "Guyanese Creole is bad; English is good" with his findings that individuals expressed "traces of the positive attitude to Creole which is usually overshadowed in the standard view" (Rickford 1980:9). More recent work has found that language awareness may be contributing to the reversal of the common narrative of contact insecurity (Balam 2013, Kouwenberg et al. 2011). This chapter will give particular attention to creole studies, and to ideology and identity work done in East Timor because the ideologies that relate to creole scenarios are similar to those that occur in East Timor. It will conclude with a discussion and review of how attitudes and ideologies are studied using stance analysis.

2.1 Defining Attitudes

Attitude is an old and much-discussed theoretical idea in academia, first used in the arts to describe the visual orientation or bodily position of figures. In social psychology, attitude has been claimed to be the most indispensible theoretical concepts in the field (Allport 1935:798). Despite its importance, social psychologists, unlike artists, have shown attitude to be a difficult concept for which an agreed-upon definition is rare. Taking a metaphorical extension from the arts, Thurstone (1931:261) may have provided the first definition to the Midwestern Psychological Association, saying that "attitude is the affect for or against a psychological object". Affect in this case may be further distinguished as appetition (positive response) or aversion (negative response). Thurstone was careful to indicate that this definition of attitude did not make any assumptions, claims, or implications about behavior, while later scholars attempted to connect them. Allport, for example, expanded on this in the Handbook of Social Psychology in 1954 saying that attitudes are "a learned disposition to think, feel, and *behave* toward a person (or object) in a particular way [emphasis added]" (Garrett 2010:19). Later, Oppenheim's definition also linked attitudes to behavior and cognitive aspects, by elaborating on the direct or indirect manifestations of attitudes, such as the "more obvious processes as stereotypes, beliefs, verbal statements or reactions, ideas and opinions, selective recall, anger or satisfaction or some other emotion" (Garrett 2010 ibid).

As interest in the study of attitudes increased through the mid-20th century, McGuire offered his own definition, which he intended to satisfy the majority of researchers using the concept, calling them "responses which locate objects of thought on dimensions of judgment" (1985:239). Using this same evaluative notion, Potter and Wetherell in their 1987 work declare that "whenever people are speaking or acting, they are taking an idea and giving it a position in

an evaluative hierarchy" and thereby constructing an attitude (Hoare 2000:326). Thus, the notion

of attitude progressed from theoretical concept divorced from behavior, to an explicitly

evaluative act and an object of study, a development particularly relevant to this dissertation.

2.1.1 Structure, Components and Theoretical Problems

Despite the disagreements surrounding operational definitions of attitudes, the structure

of attitudes is largely agreed upon. Traditionally, attitudes are said to have a three-part structure,

made up of three classes of evaluative response (Gross and Niman 1975:361, Garrett et al. 2003).

First, there is a cognitive component, which influences and is influenced by our experiences and

beliefs about the word. It contains our beliefs about the "relationships between objects of social

significance," for example, the association of certain language varieties with the prestige of

certain jobs (Garrett 2010:23; Garrett et al. 2003:23). Second, there is an affective component,

which relates to our feelings and moods with regard to the attitude object. This component is

usually presented on a directional scale of opposing poles such as 'favorable' to 'unfavorable',

along with an assessment of intensity ('mildly irritating' to 'unacceptably detestable'). The third

component of the tri-part attitude structure is the most contentious component of the three—the

behavioral component. In the traditional descriptions, the behavior component informs our

everyday choices, from the most minute to the most profound (Garrett et al. 2003).This

component is both contentious and highly studied because it is the real-world manifestation of

the attitude.

2.1.1.1 Relationship Between Attitudes and Behavior

The relationship between attitudes and behavior is not always transparent, and there is

considerable evidence that the two may function at odds with one another (see e.g., Wicker 1969;

Hanson 1980). This means that an individual may intend to act in alignment with their attitudes,

but they do not. As Oppenheim hinted in his definition of attitude, the relationship between attitude and behavior is problematic, both in theory and in experimental work. This has consumed a large part of the research on attitudes, starting from LaPiere's 1934 study, in which he assumed that professionals' self-reported attitudes toward Chinese people would match their behavior toward them. However, he was somewhat surprised to find this assumption proved false in a majority of cases. This apparent disconnect between attitudes and behavior spurred a deep and abiding interest, as well as a rift, among social scientists that continues to this day. On one side of the debate are those researchers, of which Oppenheim might be one, who assert that attitudes are evidenced in behavior and that behavior is therefore a predictor of an attitude (Celik 2013). This notion is rooted in the extreme empiricist philosophy that a mental state may not be observed, only the effects of the mental state (Chaiklin 2011:33). However, early work was unable to account for the inconsistent relationship in practice between attitudes and behavior. Gross and Niman (1975) attribute this shortcoming to both personal and situational variables, but more importantly to methodological inconsistencies. Scholars on the other side of this debate maintain that attitudes are indeed conceptual precursors to behavior, but are potentially inconsistent and complex predictors of predictors of those behaviors. Festinger (1957) (in Garrett 2010:24) proposes that humans prefer to keep their beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors in harmony to avoid the psychological burden of cognitive dissonance. The idea that all three components are operating in sync with one another has been the guiding principle in advertising and behavioral modification therapy for many years. This relies on the idea that an input that intends to catalyze change in attitude will then facilitate a change in the output (i.e., the behavior).

Scholars who hold the view that attitudes are precursors to behaviors contend that all manner of variables intervene to influence the degree and manner of an attitude's expression,

from the most personal and mundane details such as hunger, to the larger societal expectations of

the culture under review (Celik 2013). There may be many other explanations for this disconnect

between attitudes and behaviors, ranging from circumstantial (e.g., bad weather, absent-

mindedness, anger) to social consequence (e.g., acquiescence to perceived researcher desires,

anticipated hostile reactions from social groups, or a desire to present a more socially felicitous

character) (Garrett et al. 2003). Ultimately the question boils down to this: Are attitudes actually

predictors of behaviors, and, if they are not, why not?

2.1.1.2 Interconnectedness and Intervening Processes

Seeking to explain these inconsistencies rather than defend a position, scholars turned

instead to the question of the interconnectedness of the traditional attitude components. This

introduces the idea that there may be an intermediate step between the attitude and the behavior,

which some writers identify as the *intention* (Ajzen and Fishbein 1980, Garrett 2010). Intentions

function as a cognitive filtration system in which the person's attitude toward the potential

behavior is ranked against the person's "normative belief about how another person would judge

the behavior". In this intervening step, a number of complex and diverse thoughts may compete

for prominence, ultimately guiding, tempering, intensifying, or influencing the eventual resultant

behavior. Abelson likens this stage to an actor checking their own behavior against a script, or

"organized bundle of expectations about an event sequence" (Abelson 1982:134). The further the

action deviates from a normative 'script', the less likely that the attitude will translate into

behavior (Garrett 2010: 28).

In addition to intentions, other scholars have argued that there are other mediating factors

affecting the strength or speed of the behavioral output of attitudes. Stability, durability,

permanence, and malleability are all terms that have been used to describe this idea (Garrett

2010). There is evidence in the literature that some attitudes are stronger, longer-lasting, or quicker to appear than others. For example, Sears' (1983) research suggests that attitudes acquired earlier in life tend to endure longer throughout life. On the other hand, some attitudes are so fleeting, oscillatory and ephemeral that they are sometimes referred to as 'non-attitudes' (Ostrom, Bond, Krosnik and Sedikides 1994). Stronger attitudes are more easily retrieved from memory and have stronger effects on behavior (because there is no need to construct an attitude on the spot), and that weaker attitudes are less likely to influence behavior. Holland et al. (2002) find that participants with weaker attitudes toward a conceptual object were more likely to align their attitudes toward the overt attitude presented by the prime than those with pre-established, strong attitudes. This extreme vacillation and the question of the importance of context on attitude stability has been criticized by some as damaging to the utility of the concept itself. As early as 1955, criticisms arose that studies were unable to track or control their results because the research "presuppose[ed] a fallacious picture of human action" and resulted in a lack of useful knowledge (Blumer 1955:60 in Chaiklin 2011:35).

To summarize, the only consistent viewpoint on the definition of attitude among attitude researchers of various disciplines is that there is indeed no consensus. There are a number of theoretical, methodological and logical questions about the structure and expression of attitudes, and what mediating or mitigating factors effect these expressions. Importantly, the analysis of systematic variation in individual attitudes is actually of paramount importance to understanding a fundamental part of what is learned through human socialization. Because attitudes are complex and their manifestations may take many forms, attitude research methodologies must be equally versatile.

2.1.2 Prediction and Measurement of Attitudes

In general, attitudes are measured and analyzed using three broad theoretical approaches: indirect, direct and societal. Traditionally, attitude studies relied on indirect approaches such as matched-guise techniques or inferential statistics based on surveys or census data to make claims about attitudes. Others favor a more direct approach, and ask participants directly about their beliefs, stereotypes, or self-reported behavior. These types of studies may also rely on observation of participants while they complete an attitude related task, such as a forced-choice experiment. The societal approach looks at material from a broader social context in which participants are unaware that their actions are being analyzed. This material covers a wide range of context- and content-specific genre items and could be made up of, for example, advertisements, textbooks, blog posts, news segments, article comments, or street signs (Garrett 2010). These methods shall be visited in greater detail in the methodology section of this dissertation, particularly in relation to language.

2.1.3 Language Attitudes

After its emergence in the field of social psychology, the concept of attitude soon found itself applied to the field of language studies. So important is language to our socialization as humans that some scholars have even declared that language is the ideal subject of study to truly investigate the notion of attitude (Garrett 2010). As the field of attitude studies has continued to evolve across disciplines in theory as well as methodologically, interest in attitude studies directly related to language has gained momentum in American academic circles. Labov's 1966 study of English in Martha's Vineyard found that certain features could be indisputably linked to individuals' attitudes toward their own and others' in-group identities. The Twenty-third Georgetown Round Table in 1973 recognized the importance of this study (and the subsequent

spike in interest amongst other linguists) and called a special session to deal specifically with the topic of language attitudes. So enthusiastic was the reaction that participating scholars were asked to contribute accounts of their research which were subsequently published in a volume of current language attitude studies in the U.S. (Shuy and Fasold 1973). This volume marked the beginning of what would be a popular research topic in the following decades and provided models of various ways of exploring "this new and exciting area of language research" (Shuy and Fasold 1973:v).

The extensive interest in this field necessitated an operationalized definition of language attitudes. At the most basic level, language attitudes refer to the beliefs held by individuals regarding their own or others' language use. A generally held belief about language attitudes (according to Garrett) is that they arise as the product of "individual and collective stereotypes in intergroup relationships" and are used as both input to and output from a communicative event (Garrett et al. 2003:3). The variationist perspective holds that language attitudes may provide explanations of patterns of linguistic variation and are part of the "communicative competence of the members of a speech community" (Davies 1995:23). The debate over the relationship between attitudes and behavior is less controversial in linguistic research. Language attitudes are "mental and emotional phenomena that are no less real than physical behaviors" and are expressed in a "consistent and characteristic way", and can therefore be observed and measured to some degree (Perloff 2008:58, Sherif 1967:2, Garrett 2010; Preston 1982, 2011).

2.1.3.1 In Multilingual Settings

Language attitudes research is often concerned with multilingualism (or multi-dialectism) and covers a wide range of topics, from gender, accent, age or ethnicity, to education, official languages and language policy. Language attitudes, then, are an important avenue of linguistic

research in part because they may be used to provide the backdrop for a number of other sociolinguistic observations, such as phonological variation and change (Davies 1995). Language attitudes "underpin all manner of sociolinguistic and social psychological phenomena: for example, the group stereotypes by which we judge other individuals, how we position ourselves within social groups, how we relate to individuals and groups other than our own" (Garrett et al. 2003:12). Furthermore, the study of language attitudes not only seeks to measure and describe attitudes and their effects on behavior, but also to discover what linguistic forms or experiences are at work in determining and defining these attitudes.

Language attitudes research is conceptually founded on the notion of conflict, whether internal or external. Some scholars have argued that "contact between languages seems quite generally to involve some sort of conflict", but that language conflicts are at the bottom of some other, broader social conflict (Nelde 1987). Language conflicts are not only driven by what roles in society a language is perceived to play, but also by what those social roles (and thus, languages) represent; tensions may remain on the symbolic level long after they are resolved on the communicative level (see e.g. Bugarski 1990 for a discussion on these lingering tensions in the former Yugoslavia).

This conflict, however, is not only expressed between individuals, but also within individuals. Sikma's (1990) work on minority education program stakeholders in Europe shows that conflicting attitudes toward minority languages may be found within individual speakers themselves. She categorizes these conflicting attitudes into emotional and rational aspects, which may each be further divided into positive and negative attitudes. Emotional responses were feelings of pride in one's language, ease using it, and that it played an important part in establishing one's legitimacy as a group member (positive), but that the language itself was

inferior to larger national languages (negative). Rational responses viewed the language as having value as a cultural object (positive), but having little or no value as an economic tool (negative). Sikma found that these conflicting attitudes were often expressed by the same person, depending on the topic or the circumstances.

In addition to holding conflicting attitudes about a single language, an individual may hold conflicting attitudes about topics that are strongly connected to language, such as education, religion, and family. Further, a particular language may carry with it experiences that color a participants' view of the world. These attitudes may be elicited by the research design itself, such as Bentahila's (1983) study of language attitudes in Morocco, in which participants were asked to complete tasks first in French, and then six weeks later in Arabic. One of the tasks was a sentence completion test, which yielded such results as the following:

(a)
R.24:   FRENCH: **One needs a good job** to live happily.
        ARABIC: **One needs a good job** to be able to spend one's last days praying in the mosque.

R.46:   FRENCH: **The future depends on** education.
        ARABIC: **The future depends on** luck and chance.

R.64:   FRENCH: **Every man needs** money.
        ARABIC: **Every man needs** to look after his family's future.

(Bentahila 1983:41-42)

From the examples above and analysis of further data in Bentahila (1983), participants demonstrated a stronger inclination for Arabic completions to be associated with religious ideas, especially charity and concern for family welfare than French completions. The French completions had a more cosmopolitan slant, focusing on conflict resolution through action and understanding, reading or education for fun, and showing a stronger connection between love

and marriage than did the Arabic completions. These contrasts confirmed Bentahila's hypothesis that Moroccan bilinguals' outlook on certain aspects of life are influenced by associations with language, taking a more Western approach when using French, and a more traditional view bounded by Islamic doctrines when using Arabic. Bentahila then turns to textbook analysis to explain this divergence, highlighting the importance of placing language events within a larger social context and painting a clear picture of the power of experience on language attitudes (Bentahila 1983).

In multilingual East Timor, very little work on language attitudes has so far been published. However, Conceicao Savio et al. (2012) used a written questionnaire collected from 212 Fataluku-speaking participants in the easternmost reaches of East Timor in 2012 to focus specifically on issues of literacy and language attitudes within that group.[3] The researchers found that Fataluku, Indonesian, and Tetun were used across all domains except traditional events (in which participants overwhelmingly preferred Fataluku) and religious services (in which participants overwhelmingly preferred Tetun). The researchers concluded from these results that Fataluku-speakers in general placed a high value on their multilingualism. They also found high self-reported rates of literacy in Tetun, and that participants reported that while their visible-literary environment contained both Tetun and Indonesian, they strongly preferred Tetun (de Conceicao Savio et al. 2012).

2.1.3.2 National Identity

Other language attitudes research has focused on the various and sometimes overlapping facets of identity. Dong (2009) used teacher interviews, teacher evaluations of students' language

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[3] The original research question focused on literacy programs on Fataluku language, based on their understanding that such a program existed. When they found that it did not exist at that time, the researchers shifted their focus to literacy in Tetun.

competence and performance, and classroom observations in a Beijing primary school to show that migrant identities are constructed not only by metapragmatic discourses of the migrants themselves, but also by their local counterparts and teachers. Ideologies of homogeneity are highly valued in China despite considerable linguistic and sociolinguistic variation, and these ideologies appear to have an impact on teachers' appraisals of migrant students' performance. This is also an excellent example of dominant language ideologies appearing in individuals' language attitudes, hinting at the relationship between them (see section 2.2.7 for more on this). Shikama (2005) also uses attitudes toward migrants to investigate language attitudes in Japan in order to track shifting ideologies of national identity. Shikama's questionnaire of several hundred tertiary students in Tokyo found that speaking a foreign language or speaking English were the most prominent components of foreignness (Shikama 2005:187). By indicating that language is a crucial component of foreignness, she implies that it is also a crucial component of Japaneseness, and indeed, participants indicated that "Identifying as Japanese" and "Speaking Japanese" were the most important factors for being "truly Japanese" (Shikama 2005:187).

In East Timor, Leach's longitudinal study (the only one of its kind) surveys East Timorese tertiary students attitudes toward nation-building and national identity also include several questions on language. Conducted in 2002, 2007, and 2010, these surveys asked participants to rank how important "Ability to Speak Tetun" was to being "Truly Timorese" among other items such as "Ability to Speak Portuguese", "Being Born in East Timor" or "Being Catholic". Leach's results show an increasingly strong trend over the years that speaking Tetun Dili is the most important component of national identity, rather than the foreign language of Portuguese, an attitude which is in conflict with the national language policy (Leach 2012).

2.1.3.3 Policy

Attitudes toward national identity are often associated with language, and there is evidence that national language policy or language planning decisions have an effect on both language attitudes and notions of national identity. When French was adopted as the official language of Quebec in the 1970s, subsequent sociolinguistic studies found that the policy did not engender a feeling of economic opportunity and government inclusivity for Canadian Francophones, as was intended (Evans 2002). Quebecois, as speakers of non-Standard varieties of French, showed an increase in linguistic insecurity, reinforced by the explicit political positioning by the French government of Standard European French in opposition to 'inferior' or 'regional' varieties of French within the Francophone world (Evans 2002). Subsequent work, however, has shown a marked shift in attitudes toward Canadian French and that Quebecois now consider their own variety to be "more correct" and "more pleasant sounding" than all 19 other varieties of French tested, even Standard French from France (Evans 2002:90).

While the Quebec example shows an official language policy change born out of practical concerns as well as social pressures, not all languages policies are as communicatively oriented. Paterson and O'Hanlon's (2015) statistical analysis of the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey of 2012 found that respondents could be grouped into internally coherent groups of those who viewed the role of Gaelic in Scotland as either communicative or symbolic. These attitudes could reliably predict support of Gaelic policies. Participants who took a more communicative view tended to support increasing prominence of Gaelic in Scotland as a whole (such as displaying Gaelic on signs, public information, or in Gaelic-medium education) than did the participants who took a more symbolic view, who limited support for Gaelic prominence to Gaelic-speaking areas (Paterson and O'Hanlon 2015:563). Residents of the Gaelic areas

themselves, regardless of their communicative or symbolic alignment, tended to show the least amount of support for the right to communicate in Gaelic. Paterson and O'Hanlon attribute this to personal experiences with the difficulty of bilingual policy implementation, rather than attitudes about the language itself.

With respect to East Timor, the language policy can be divided into two main tiers. The top tier is the 2002 constitutional provision that sets out the role of languages in East Timor; "Tetum and Portuguese" are declared to be co-official languages, the 16 national languages are to be "valued and developed by the state" (Section 13, p. 16), and Indonesian and English shall be used as working language in the civil service "for as long as deemed necessary" (Section 159, pg 64) (Taylor-Leech 2011). The second tier is made up of the various Acts and Decree Laws that have been published in order to accommodate this provision, largely concerned with education. In her chronological analysis of these secondary language policies, Taylor-Leech uses two frameworks of policy contextualization to explain their focus, actors, activity type, goals, treatment of multilingualism and policy orientation (Cooper 1989 and Ruiz 1985). She outlines clearly that the acting bodies (e.g., the Council of Ministers, the National Institute of Linguistics, the Ministry of Education) at times enacted policies based more on ideological goals rather than practical concerns, resulting in mixed acceptance and effectiveness of these policies and necessitating further revision and legislation. The ideologies at the core of these policies will be discussed in more detail in Section 2.2 to follow.

2.1.3.4 Education

Many countries have language policies that focus on education, particularly on the language(s) of instruction. These policies can create conflict between teachers and parents. An early-grade mother tongue education program in the Indian states of Odisha and Andhra Pradesh

found that while teachers (even those who were not proficient in the target language) were almost unanimously in favor of the policy, local parents were uncertain and preferred that their children be taught in the dominant state languages (Panda et al. 2011). Similarly in East Timor, community interviews in three districts where a multilingual education program was piloted showed that parents and community members held negative attitudes toward the program. Despite being a government-sponsored program, parents feared that using mother tongues as initial languages of literacy would hinder children's ability to acquire the official languages of Tetun and Portuguese, thereby disenfranchising them

Language policies, in addition to engendering conflicting language attitudes, may also demonstrate pre-existing conflicting attitudes by being in conflict with themselves. This is especially prominent in the Philippines, where individuals who experienced the benefits of multilingual primary and secondary education policies are now entering into environments of English-only tertiary education policies. Besa (2014) demonstrated that code-switching behavior observed by both students and professors in tertiary institutions indicate that English-only policies are not highly favored in tertiary institutions. Faculty expressed attitudes that monolingual approaches hindered their ability to satisfactorily explain concepts to students, and also hindered students' ability to understand them. Conflicting education policies were also the basis of sweeping curriculum reform in East Timor in 2011. Based upon the 2004 Language Decree, teachers understood that, theoretically at least, they were to produce students bilingual in Tetun and Portuguese, but were given very little guidance in how they were to accomplish this. Subsequent documents and decisions from the Ministry of Education between 2004 and 2007 continually relegated Tetun to the status of an "auxiliary language" and emphasized that schools should be prioritizing Portuguese over Tetun. In addition to being in conflict with their own

policies, this insecurity over the role of Tetun in education held by the Ministry of Education

hints at the negative attitudes toward Tetun (Shah 2012).

2.1.3.5 Contact Languages

Broadly speaking, any language that is used in a contact situation could be labelled a

'contact language'. In linguistics, *contact languages* are considered to be pidgins, creoles, mixed

languages, or multi-ethnolects that exhibit distinct social and structural features as a result of

contact. Crucially, these features are identifiable as the result of contact, rather than as the

outcome of natural, gradual language change (Bakker 2013). In his handbook on contact

languages, Bakker argues that these "processes of emergence, propagation and

conventionalisation of new [varieties] are connected to processes of identity shift, identity

formation, or the emergence of stable and regular intercommunity contacts" (Bakker 2013:4).

The importance of the social functions of contact languages in identity formation is especially

seen in attitude studies on education, as language-in-education policies tend to be highly visible

indicators of larger social and political trends.

While descriptions of *ideologies* related to contact languages are common, *attitude*

studies on contact languages in contact linguistics are rarer. Many studies focus heavily on

education, and shed particular light on the attitudes of teachers toward contact and/or minority

languages users, and the attitudes of the general population toward contact and minority

languages in education. Rajah-Carrim, for example, explores attitudes of a small but diverse

population of Mauritians toward the hypothetical introduction of Mauritian Creole (Kreol) in

schools. Participants overwhelmingly rejected the hypothetical program, expressing fears that

introducing Kreol would overburden students, would inhibit their ability to acquire or corrupt

their command of the international languages, and would restrict their ability to participate in the

global economy (Rajah-Carrim 2013). In many places, language attitude studies have shown that preference for the 'standard' is often advocated at the expense of non-standard language users' performance (Siegel 2007). Language policies can also disadvantage non-standard language users by offering legitimacy to teachers' feelings of negativity toward language varieties and their users, engendering a negative self-image in students, discouraging natural self-expression, and slowing the acquisition of literacy in both the standard and non-standard variety (Siegel 2007). It is a well-documented fact that children learn the best when they are taught in the language that they know the best (see, e.g., Garcia 1997 on bilingual education programs around the world), but that this is rarely embraced in pedagogy is evidence of the strongly held ideologies of legitimacy of minority languages, contact languages, creoles, ethno-lects or 'non-standard' vernaculars.

In Jamaica, students are bought up in the view that there is only one language spoken in their country, English, and even at the tertiary level they fight against their own attitudes that "any deviation from that was not only unacceptable but unbecoming of a lady", or "a failed attempt to speak the Queen's English" but also recognize Jamaican Patois as a unique and indispensable component of "Jamaican-ness" (Kouwenberg et al. 2011). Similarly, in Hawai'i, listeners rated Standard American English tokens higher in terms of superiority traits (e.g. educated, upper class) but rated Hawai'i Creole English (or, HCE, an English-lexified creole spoken in Hawai'i) tokens higher in terms of dynamism traits (e.g. confident, talkative). Listeners who claimed Hawaiian ancestry also rated the HCE tokens at a higher rate of attractiveness than participants of other ethnicities, indicating the connection between in-group construction and language (Ohama et al. 2000). Group identity and language are also strongly connected in the Louisiana Creole community, in which the "keepers of Creole identity in

modern Louisiana" are not only defined by ancestry but also by ability to speak Creole, even though it is highly stigmatized (DuBois and Melancon 2000:255). In South Africa, these social evaluations of language (particularly negative attitudes toward certain linguistic features) were found to have played an important role in the early 'standardization' of Afrikaans, though it is now the undisputed lingua franca of the nation (Deumert 2004). This pattern repeats in many other places where a contact language is spoken; speakers view their own variety as inferior, but nevertheless recognize it as an important component of their identity.

However, there may be evidence that language awareness is contributing to a reverse of this trend. In another study, Balam (2013) find that speakers of Belizean Kriol (BK) have very negative attitudes toward more standard varieties, and that BK is actually the language of overt prestige in Belize. In in-group communication, participants who use Standard English or Standard Mexican Spanish are viewed with contempt as being pretentious or putting on airs. Balam argues that these findings are in contrast to previous studies in which participants held overtly negative attitudes toward Belizean Kriol and valued standard varieties (Balam 2013). Kouwenberg et al. also show that language awareness and linguistic education contributes to the legitimization and valorization of stigmatized language varieties (Kouwenberg et al. 2011).

2.2 Ideologies

2.2.1 Structure, Origins, Definitions

There are four main ways in which ideologies are understood. The first understanding is the early notion of 'ideology as ideational or conceptual', which refers to the mental phenomena in which members of a society hold organized ideas about fairly definite areas such as honor, or the division of labor. Early 20th century 'mentalists' held that ideologies were not necessarily conscious, while mid-century French structuralists and poststructuralists held that ideologies

were the connection between subjective representations and lived relations. Their disagreement lay in the degree of systematization of ideologies. The second understanding is 'ideology as experiential'; that is, that ideologies are "derived from, rooted in, reflective of, or responsive to the experience of a particular social position" (Woolard 1998:6). The second understanding is unlike the first, which frames ideologies as directly dependent upon the material and practical aspects of life. The third view frames ideologies in terms of power; ideologies are the tools, property and practices of the dominant social groups which sustain asymmetrical relations of power. The fourth understanding, similar to the third, is of 'ideology as illusion,' or that ideologies are distortions of reality, which necessarily deviate from scientific objectivity. This position nicely implies the complementary viewpoint of 'knowledge as truth,' which stems from the privileged position that truth is indeed knowable (Woolard 1998).

Taking all these views together, *language ideologies* may be theorized using some elements of each. In their simplest form, language ideologies are common ways of understanding language that become naturalized and largely invisible (Davila 2016). They sit at the intersection of beliefs, norms, and values about language use in social organization and are necessarily experiential. They index power relationships within a society and are not solely about language (Mariou 2015). Language ideologies may not express objective reality, but instead present an idealized reality.

2.2.2 Language Ideologies as a Field of Study

As an area of inquiry, language ideologies have not always been viewed as a valuable addition to linguistic literature. Eminent linguists such as Franz Boas and Leonard Bloomfield derided language ideologies as having little relevance or explanatory power in investigating the structure of "normal" language. Later linguists were less flippant in their approach to language

ideologies, including them as an inextricable element of the "total linguistic fact," and showed

that they could be linked to linguistic change. Language ideology studies give us a window into

the practices that lead to the reproduction and enactments of these ideologies. Much like the

debate in language attitude studies, the study of ideologies calls into question the relationship

between ideologies and how those ideologies are expressed. Language ideology studies have the

power to bridge linguistic and social theory by relating "the microculture of communicative

action to political economic considerations of power and social inequality", confronting

"macrosocial constraints on language behavior", and connecting discourse with lived experience

(Woolard 1998:27).

2.2.3 Neutral and Critical Approaches to Ideology Studies

Like attitude studies, social scientists concerned with ideologies are divided over

approaches to their conceptual foci. The critical approach is founded on the idea that ideologies

are inextricably linked to power—that they are themselves "practices in the service of the

struggle to acquire or maintain power"—that they are always the tool of the dominant social

group (Scheiffelin et al. 1998:7). The neutral approach "eschews negative uses and concerns

itself not with the truth value of ideologies but rather the way that they mediate meaning for

social purposes" (Scheiffelin et al. 1998:8). In other words, rather than take the social

psychological view that ideologies are notions to be positioned within a power structure, the

neutral approach promotes the social scientific view that ideologies are to be observed and

described. Kathryn Woolard makes the amusing observation that practitioners of the first kind of

study tend to use the pronunciation "id-eology" ([ɪ]deology), belying their emphasis on power

and interest (calling it "the *id* lurking under thin cover"), and practitioners of the second use

"idea-ology" ([ai]deology), which calls to mind the ideational and representational, devoid of

positionality (Scheiffelin et al. 1998:8). This dissertation takes the neutral approach toward

language ideology studies and will present, describe, and attempt to provide contextual

explanations for the ideologies toward Tetun Dili in East Timor.

2.2.4 Standard Language Ideologies

Standard language ideologies refer to the idea that there exists within a language an

idealized, stable, inherently correct, standard variety which functions as the basis of proper

usage. There are a number of ideas that are central to the acceptance and perpetuation of this

idea. The first is that this language variety is used by the middle and upper classes, but that all

groups stand to benefit from the use of the standard variety. The second idea is that the standard

language is available to everyone, that it enjoys widespread support, and that it is unaffiliated

with and attainable by a wide and diverse population (Davila 2016). These two ideas do not have

to be rooted in reality, nor must they take into account the inherent advantages and disadvantages

that some groups have over others in terms of language access. This ideology necessarily

devalues non-standard varieties and provides ideological space to the creation of a stratified

regime of language, sometimes overseen by explicit linguistic bodies (like France's *Académie*

française, Germany's *Rat für deutsche Rechtschreibung* or East Timor's *Instituto Nacional de*

Linguística). The belief in standard language ideologies is particularly strong in Europe, and

especially in Germany, as a means of preserving cultural and linguistic uniformity from an influx

of migrants. Weise's (2015) study on an emergent German dialect, primarily spoken in

multilingual, urban neighborhoods, found that the dialect had become closely associated with

ethnic and religious affiliations and that, more than any other non-standard German dialect, this

Kiezdeutsch is subjected to overwhelmingly negative public discourse. These and other reactions

of moral indignation to non-standard forms show that because language ideologies themselves

are not solely about language, neither are standard language ideologies, but are also closely associated with social normativity (Davila 2016).

2.2.5 Literacy, Orthography, and Development Ideologies

Western conceptions of literacy that were once considered commonsense and uniform have been increasingly challenged over the last century. Anthropologists who studied the impact of literacy on previously oral societies have popularized the notion that literacy is not an autonomous and neutral technology, but is instead a culturally organized, a historically contingent and an ideologically grounded practice. Ideas about what counts as 'real' literacy are mediated both by outside and local views of language and have lasting social and political consequences; 'real' literacy is never a purely technical idea, but always a political one. Even in countries with established literary traditions, orthographic battles still rage, even more so in nations where statehood and identity are still under negotiation. For developing nations,[4] every aspect of language is subject to contestation, from descriptions of the language to its orthographic representation. An orthographic system is more than mere reduction of speech to writing; the symbols themselves can carry historical, cultural, and political meaning.

This orthographic contestation is seen very clearly in East Timor, where two writing systems have come to prominence, promoted by two different institutions. The National Institute of Linguistics (INL) uses and promotes an orthography that contains several special characters: an apostrophe that represents a "silent" glottal stop (the glottal stop is not a phoneme in Tetun Dili), an acute accent to indicate both a long vowel and irregular stress (although the apostrophe is sometimes also used to mark a long vowel, rather than irregular stress), and a tilde to indicate a

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[4] Although even in the US (where there aren't particularly strident debates of the same fashion as found in France of Germany) literacy is used as a measure for intelligence and aptitude and can be grounds for marginalization of communities/individuals.

nasal vowel (although vowel nasalization is not phonemic in any language of East Timor and INL appears to be moving away from this usage). By contrast, the Dili Institute of Technology (DIT) uses and promotes a phonemic orthography that uses a one-to-one sound correspondence. Long vowels are represented by a sequence of two symbols, and the glottal stop/apostrophe is omitted altogether, along with the tilde. These two orthographies, along with the presence of Portuguese, English and Indonesian language media in East Timor, have at times created confusion among learners and writers of Tetun Dili and fueled the argument that Tetun Dili lacks 'development'.[5] The following example is a text taken from a Timorese newspaper from Williams-van Klinken et al. 2001, in which they compare it to the prescribed INL orthographic conventions. I have added the DIT orthography where it differs from either INL or the original text (or both).

a Original *Porta-voz* *UNTAET* *nian* *informa* *liu* *tan* *katak*
   INL   *Porta-vós*   *tán*
   DIT   *Portavos*
   gloss   spokesperson UNTAET POS inform pass as.well that
   trans: The UNTAET [United Nations Transitional Authority in East Timor] spokesperson further informed that

b Original *"iha* *15* *de* *Julho* *loron* *hahu* *campanha* *eleitoral* *nian*
   INL   *Julhu*   *hahú* *kampanha* *eleitorál*
   DIT   *Julyu*   *hahuu* *kampanya*
   gloss   LOC 15 of July day start campaign electoral POS
   trans: "On 15th July, the day on which the election campaign begins,

c Original *membro* *gabinete* *sira* *nebe* *activo* *politicamente*
   INL   *membru*   *ne'ebé* *aktivu* *politikamenti*
   DIT   *nebee* *ativu* *politikamente*
   gloss   member cabinet PL REL active politically
   trans: those cabinet members who are not active politically

d Original *sei* *atu* *suspende* *sira* *nia* *fungsaun* *governamentel*
   INL   *funsaun* *governamentál*

DIT						*funsaun*		
gloss	FUT	IRR	suspend	3P	POS	function	governmental	
trans:	would have to suspend their government functions,							

e	Original	*i*	*administrador*	*transitorio*	*Sergio*	*Vieira*	*de*	*Mello*	*maka*
	INL		*administradór*	*transitóriu*					
	DIT		*administradór*						*mak*
	gloss	and	administrator	transitional	Sergio	Vieira	de	Mello	FOC
	trans:	and the transitional administrator, Sergio Vieira de Mello,							

f	Original	*sei*	*dirigi*	*elemento-s*	*gabinete*	*nian*
	INL		*diriji*	*elementu-s*		
	DIT		*diriji*	*elementu sira*		
	gloss	FUT	direct	element-PL	cabinet	POS
	trans:	would henceforth be in charge of those cabinet ministers				

g	Original	*nebe*	*laos*	*husi*	*membro*	*partido*	*nian*	*ida.”*
	INL	*ne'ebé*	*la'ós*	*hosi*	*membru*	*partidu*		
	DIT	*nebee*	*laos*		*membru*	*partidu*		
	gloss	REL	indeed.not	from	member	party	POS	one
	trans:	who are not in fact members of a party.”						

This development rhetoric is common in post-colonial language planning, where deliberate interventions are believed to be necessary to make a linguistic variety suitable for modern functions. The concept of "developing" a language stems from implicit, although perhaps subconscious, ranking of languages based upon their perceived richness of functionality. This view perpetuates the notion that languages, like societies, should be viewed as underdeveloped in comparison with the metropole if they do not share all these functionalities. The ideology of "development" further expands the ideology of standard languages, and stifles the natural processes of natural linguistic development by selectively closing off certain (perhaps threatening) languages as potential sources of innovation. Altogether, ideologies of literacy, orthography, and "development" may deepen and perpetuate speakers' linguistic insecurity and anxiety toward their language variety, especially in places where nationhood and identity are concepts that are still under negotiation. The following excerpt from the Editors' Introduction to

the third volume of the now-defunct journal *Studies in Languages and Cultures of East Timor* provides a clear example of the ideologies of standard language, literacy, orthography and "development" that pervade East Timorese scholarship.

> The deeply rooted fallacy about the poverty of the Tetum language, a very useful tool of the Portuguese and Indonesian colonialisms of the past, becomes more and more unsustainable as linguists discover the structural subtleties and lexical riches of East Timor's national languages. What really hinders the immediate promotion of Tetum to the status of official language alongside Portuguese is not, therefore its lack of structural potential, but the fact that much of the treasure of its internal resources is yet to be revealed and rehabilitated.
> Linguistic science teaches that there are no 'superior' or 'inferior' languages, just as there are no superior or inferior races. There are only, in fact, languages more developed than others. Portuguese, for example, is not more developed than Tetum because it is intrinsically richer or more flexible, but rather because it was for over a millennium the means by which the government of an independent country, Portugal, promoted an entire literary tradition. […] Without support of its traditional partner, the Portuguese language, the literary Tetum now striving to become standardized, would begin to collapse. The syntax and, especially, the vocabulary of modern Tetum are today so lusified that the language has no real chance of development if it is cut off from the current Portuguese models. This all-important fact can be denied only by those who have never seriously studied that structure of modern Tetum. (Eccles and Hull 2000: vi-vii)

2.2.6 Language as problem, right, or resource

One of the important component of language ideologies is the general way in which the language is framed with respect to language planning, or, its position in society. Language planning can be theorized based on Ruiz's (1984) article on ideological orientations toward languages. Ruiz (1984) introduced the concepts of language-as-problem, language-as-right, or language-as-resource. Language-as-problem is the most common orientation and views linguistic diversity as a problem which must be eradicated, minimized or alleviated through direct action. Language-as-right is fundamentally opposed to the notion of language-of-problem and acknowledges multilingualism as a right that legitimizes and valorizes local identities. The first two of these tend to be more popular topics of investigation, especially in regards to bi- or

multilingual education, because they are usually visibly opposed to one another in public debate.

Later publications have turned to the potential of language-as-resource as an alternative to the

language-as-right orientation, focusing on the potential of supporting diverse linguistic

repertoires (Ruiz 1984, Horner 2011). In Horner's case study of Luxembourg, individual

multilingualism is often perceived as linguistic capital or *resource*, societal

multilingualism/linguistic diversity is often perceived as a *problem*, and "mother tongues" in

"one's own country" are often perceived as a *right* (Horner 2011:497).

Taylor-Leech analyzed language policy and planning in East Timor through this lens,

showing a language-as-problem orientation toward English and Indonesian, a language-as-right

orientation toward Tetun and Portuguese, and a language-as-resource toward Official Tetun

(Taylor-Leech 2011:134-144). In an earlier work, she uses the language ecology metaphor to

advocate for creating space for all Timorese languages through status, corpus, media, prestige,

and acquisition planning (Taylor-Leech 2005). She emphasizes that community involvement is

essential to the success of language standardization and promotes an inclusive, multilingual,

language-as-right approach to sustaining the linguistic and cultural individuality of East

Timorese identity.

2.2.7 Relationship between Attitudes and Ideologies

In many studies, language attitudes and language ideologies are difficult to separate

because of their intrinsic relationship. Kroskrity (2005) defines the problem as one of scope,

because language ideology research and the separation between language attitudes and language

ideologies is not well-defined in the literature. This dissertation defines the relationship between

language attitudes and language ideologies as one of interdependence which is nevertheless

delimited by scale. Language ideologies are the larger societal environment within which

language attitudes exist. Ideologies are constructed and inferred by society-at-large and represent such macro-ideas as "people from Northern California say *hella*" or "people from Southern California talk like Valley Girls". Attitudes represent the summation of an individual's experiences, opinions and judgments formed within the macro-system and are imbued with social meaning such as "people who say *hella* are cool" or "Valley Girl speech sounds really stupid". Ideologies are the underlying structure; attitudes are the surface structure. To use a metaphor from the Impressionist art movement, attitudes are the choppy, chaotic, brightly-colored brush strokes; ideologies are the picture that is created when all these brush strokes are viewed together as an organized system. This dissertation benefits from this approach in being able to use different data sources such as attitude surveys in conjunction with sociolinguistic interviews to outline a cohesive pattern.

To summarize, language ideologies are systemic and systematic social beliefs; they are investigated by taking samples of individuals' attitudes and which are then systematized and described. Language attitudes are individual and systematic and can be investigated in interaction, using *stance* acts as points of analysis. In the next section, ways of analyzing stance will be discussed.

2.3 Stance Analysis

This dissertation focuses on attitudes, which may be expressed linguistically through stance acts. At its most basic level, stance is the orientation a speaker takes toward some object, such as language or policy. Stance analysis relies on three basic components; an evaluative target, the speaker's orientation toward that target, and the speaker's relationship toward their interlocutors, real or imagined. The speaker may orient themselves toward the stance object in a number of ways; by evaluation or positioning with regard to the stance object, or alignment with

the stance of another stancetaker. By *evaluating* the stance object, the stancetaker is characterizing it as having some sort of specific quality or value. In *positioning* themselves toward the stance object, the stancetaker specifies the nature of their position, finely calibrated by a stancetakers' modality in organizing their relationship to their talk. Epistemic modalities characterize the stancetakers' position toward their talk by situating it within the realm of the speakers' knowledge or beliefs ("I know"). Affective modalities characterize the stancetakers' feelings about their talk ("I feel") (Kiesling 2009).

In addition to positioning oneself to a stance object, a speaker may present the stance of another person or entity and then align their own stance with relation to the presented stance. Intersubjectivity enters the discussion of stance at this point, because as the two stances interact, a degree of shared subjectivity is assumed. DuBois (2007) conceptualizes this dis/alignment relationship as an interactive triangle; the interactions of these three components "bind the subjectivities of the co-actors [via shared stance object], thereby articulating the intersubjective relation between them" (2007:168).
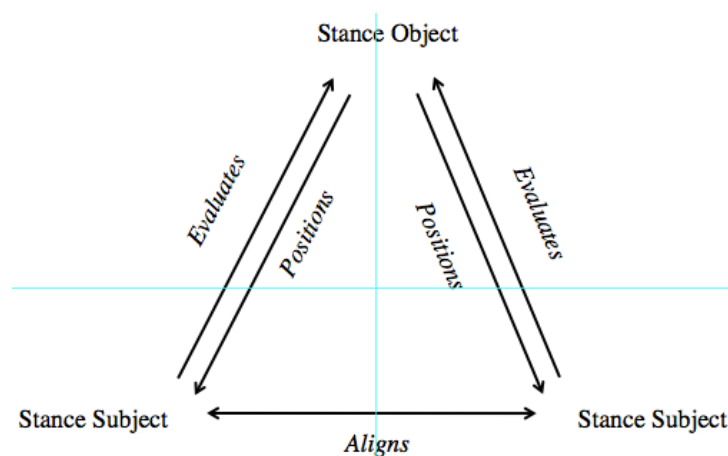
Figure 2.1 DuBois' Stance Triangle

The analysis presented in this paper focuses primarily on stances of the speakers (the stance subjects) toward Tetun Dili (the stance object). *I*-statements and other personal pronouns

have been shown to be relevant markers of stance, such as generic *we-* or *you*-statements because

they ambiguously identify groups but imply that anyone must do or understand the same thing

(Herbel-Eisenmann, Wagner and Cortes 2011). Some stances in the data are implied from

impersonal *you-*, *we-*, or generic *people*-statements which display stances as shared, rather than

merely individual (Myers and Lampropoulou 2012). Analysis presents the stance triangle as it

appears in this data by showing some examples of speakers dis/aligning themselves with the

reported stances of others.

Stance analysis strengthens discourse analysis by providing researchers with an analytical

tool through which to interpret their results. It offers several avenues of focus through which to

strengthen discourse analysis. Ferrarotti (2008) focuses her stance analysis specifically on the

use of *we-* and *you-* statements to interpret how news anchors construe their audience, their

relationship to their audience, their profession, and their relationship to their profession. She

found that an ideal professional voice invites an audience to participate within a shared

community of practice, and that anchors then negotiated their identities as pro- or anti-war within

that large narrative standard by their use of particular pronouns. Odango (2015) uses stance

analysis to provide the reader with a moment-by-moment insight into the identity work that

Mortolockese participants are doing when sharing local ecological knowledge. His work shows

that speakers' stance-taking tactics are part of a larger pattern of narrative practice that legitimize

speakers' knowledge, which, crucially, takes place in interaction. In using stance as a research-

analytical tool, Odango shows that macro-level cultural roles are constructed and maintained at

the micro-level. This is a particularly relevant point to my own work, in which participants use

micro-level expressions of attitudes in interaction to negotiate their positions within macro-level

language ideologies. In this dissertation, I will explore another application of stance analysis in attitude studies, which are then situated within their ideological context.

2.4 Summary

Notions of national identity, language in education, and language policy are relevant issues in the environment of this study, and their relationship to language attitudes remain to be explored. These larger notions can be categorized as language ideologies, which are the dominant, commonsense ideas shared by a society regarding language and language use (Rumsey 1990). Language ideology research may be used to describe linguistic phenomena in a variety of settings, including structural change (Rumsey 1990), language shift (Paugh 2005), standard language ideologies (Bullock and Toribio 2014) and language policy (Taylor-Leech 2005). The scope of language ideologies and the division between ideologies and attitudes is not well-defined in the literature (Kroskrity 2005); however, this dissertation takes the view that individuals' language attitudes are formed in response to the larger, societal language ideologies. Stance acts are the target of analysis because they represent the daily micro-actions that influence and are influenced by an individuals' language attitudes. In this same way, acts relating to those attitudes are the micro-actions which construct and are in turn constructed by the larger societal language ideologies.

3. Environment of the Study

3.1 East Timor Country Profile

The research for this dissertation takes place in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony in island Southeast Asia with a population of 1.2 million. Both historical and recent conflicts have contributed to lasting instability and hampered development. Over one-third of East Timor's gross national income is from foreign aid– up to $US185 million per annum. It is a member state of the United Nations, the Asia Development Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the Community of Portuguese Language Countries. It holds observer status within the Pacific Islands Forum, but does not seek full member status. Because of its youthful economic insecurity, it is the only nation in Southeast Asia that is not a member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, although it has been petitioning to join since 2002. Not only is East Timor ranked the 147th country out of 187 in the UN's development indices, the misuse of public power for private benefit (in both perception and practice) has resulted in its ranking of the 52nd most corrupt country of the 175 countries monitored by Transparency International (The World Factbook).

Map 3.1 East Timor

3.1.1 Historical Overview

3.1.1.1 Pre-contact

As is often the case in post-colonial island nations, little is known about the people of

Timor Island prior to Western contact. Timor had its first debut into popular literature in Herman

Melville's *Moby Dick*, where he wrote that "the long islands of Sumatra, Java, Bali, and Timor,

which, with many others, form a vast mole, or rampart, lengthwise, connecting Asia with

Australia, and dividing the long unbroken Indian Ocean from the thickly studded oriental

archipelagos" (from Gunn 1999:12). This seemingly objective description hints at a major

archaeological research problem in East Timor: if Timor island is the connection between Asia

and Australia, whence came the people of the island? The traditional view is that Timor Island,

as the final island in the Lesser Sunda island chain, is one possible migration route through

which Pleistocene man (30,000 to 15,000 BCE) entered Australia and Melanesia from Asia.

During the height of the last glaciation, large areas of what is now seabed would have been

exposed, facilitating this migration (Glover 1986:4). Recent evidence from Jerimalai and Lere

Hena caves in Lautem district indicate a settlement period that closely aligns with the settlement periods of Northern Australia and the other islands of the Lesser Sundas. Painted and drilled shell jewelry as well as deep-sea pelagic fish bones have been discovered and reliably dated to over 42,000 years ago, confirming that early modern humans were indeed present and socially sophisticated at the expected period (O'Conner et al. 2010). However, this does not necessarily solve the riddle of whether Timor's settlers travelled *into* Australia, or *from* Australia. The tuna bones and fishhooks found in East Timor are in fact the earliest evidence of deep sea fishing in the entire world, indicating that early humans on Timor Island had the maritime technology to make substantial ocean crossings (O'Conner, Ono and Clarkson 2011).

Linguistically, unfortunately, we cannot reach that far back into Timor's history. Today there are two distinct language families present on the island, indicating that at least two migrations of people occurred. The current settlement of Papuan[6] languages in the mountainous interior and the dominance of Austronesian languages along the coastal plains follows a pattern observed throughout other parts of Melanesia. Hull (1998) estimates that the Papuan in-migration occurred until about 2000 BCE, from the Bomberai Peninsula of present-day Papua New Guinea (Hull 1998).[7] The four currently extant Papuan languages of East Timor are thought to be descendants of the languages spoken by these settlers. The second wave of linguistic influence on Timor Island came from Austronesian-speaking peoples from southeastern Sulawesi around 1000 CE (Gunn 2011).[8] From these peoples at least ten modern languages descended and

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[6] 'Papuan' here is used as a classifier that means 'non-Austronesian'; Papuan is not necessarily a genetic affiliation, but instead an aerial one that covers the still-growing literature on the non-Austronesian languages of Melanesia, the Pacific and SEAsia.
[7] Hull apparently came to this estimate using lexicostatistics- a method of ascribing time periods to linguistic change, which is not wholly reliable.
[8] Conflicting analysis by Glover (1971) places the Austronesian in-migration around 3000 BCE at the coincidence of evidence of sustained agriculture, a view which would hold that the Papuan-speaking peoples' in-migration happened far earlier than Hull's estimate of 2000 BCE.

perhaps more from under-described dialect-language continuums. Other linguistic influences may have been introduced by Chinese and Javanese sandalwood traders, who recorded their dealings with the Timorese as early as the 14th century (Molnar 2010:26).

At the time of European contact, Tetun Terik in the east and its cousin Tetun Belu in the west were the most widely spoken varieties of Timor Island, and were prone to extensive variation themselves. As the powerful Tetun-speaking Wehale kingdom gained prominence in the 14th century, Tetun emerged as the dominant language throughout the island (Gunn 2011). Indeed, some form of the language was clearly in use as a pre-colonial trade language between the various ethno-linguistic groups of Timor, and was recorded as such by the Portuguese, who by their influence changed the position of Tetun forever.

3.1.1.2 Portuguese Times (1500s – 1975)

When the Portuguese arrived in the region in 1511, they found Timor to be island of small kingdoms, led by *liurais* (kings), alternately at war or allied with one another. Like the Chinese and Javanese traders before them, Portugal's main interest in Timor was the sandalwood trade and, to a lesser degree, the conversion of the native population to the Catholic faith. Both of these campaigns had slow beginnings; Portugal did not establish a permanent administrative base until the 17th century. In the 1560s, they were instead established on Solor Island, prior to the powerful Dutch East India Company's interest in the region. After the Dutch drove them out in 1613, they relocated to an outpost in Kupang, their first permanent foothold on Timor Island. The Dutch followed and again captured the Portuguese fort, and they relocated to Lifao (now Oecusse) in 1702 (Molnar 2010, ibid). Both the Dutch and the Portuguese faced alternating

alliances or opposition from the semi-indigenous *Topasses,*[9] who had no forts but were well-established among the peoples of Timor and Flores. This multilingual group used Portuguese as their "status language and also for worship", Malay for trade, and most of them also spoke a language of Timor or Flores as their mother tongue (Soares Babo and Fox 2003:8). The *Topasses* opposed the permanent settlement of Portuguese in Timor, and continually sacked Lifao, forcing a series of governors to flee. By 1769, the Portuguese had exhausted their patience and permanently relocated their colonial capital to Dili.
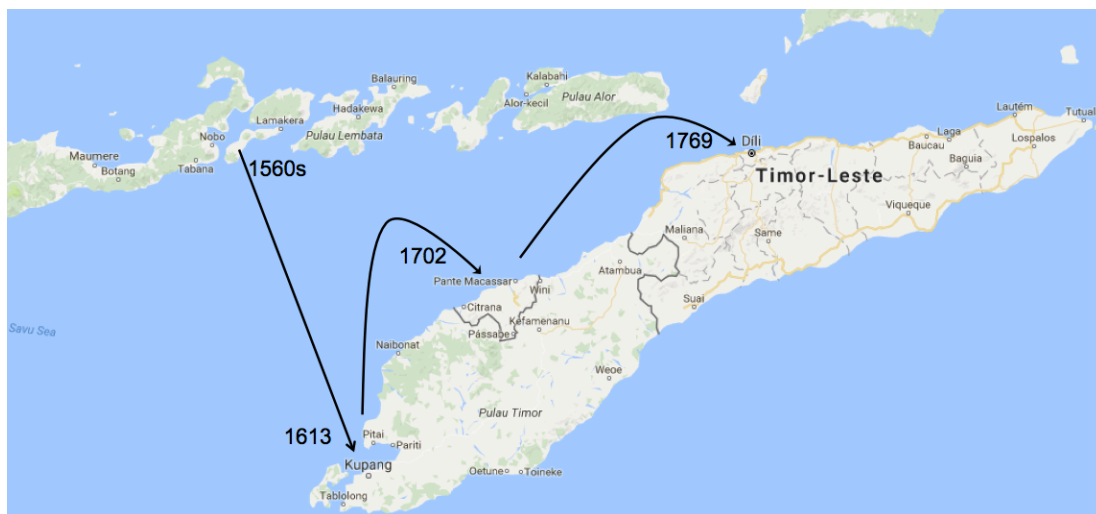
Map 3.2 Portuguese Migration through the Lesser Sundas

The *Topasses* had always welcomed Portuguese friars and allowed them to move freely throughout Timor, but it was the Portuguese move to Dili that facilitated concerted conversion efforts. The Dominicans had a presence in the Dili area for some 200 years, but the facts surrounding the subsequent administrative settlement are not well-documented, possibly due to a fire that may have destroyed the records (Gunn 1999). From 1769 until the early 20th century, Portuguese colonial governors engaged in 'pacification' of the native populations, first by

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[9] The *Topasses* were the mixed-ethnicity descendants of Jewish Portuguese and indigenous SEA peoples. They were frequently allied with the various kingdoms of Timor, sometimes to the furtherance of Portuguese trade, sometimes not. They dominated Timor's foreign politics for two centuries, eventually dwindling in numbers and organization after a failed attack on Kupang in 1749 (Molnar 2010).

abolishing the traditional *liurai* system and replacing it with the Portuguese appointed *reinos*,

and then by carving administrative zones called *sucos* (Molnar 2010, ibid).

During this time, the first written descriptions of Tetun appear, then called *Teto*, which

was rapidly becoming the administrative and religious language of Timor. Early accounts of

Timor agree that Timorese were accustomed to using some form of Tetun as a trade, war, and

alliance language by the *liurais*, and this lingua franca was easily adopted by the Portuguese. The

first Catholic catechism was translated into Tetun in 1885 by Father Sebastião Manuel Aparício

da Silva, who also published a Portuguese-Tetun dictionary in 1889.[10] In the years following,

many other missionaries produced more catechisms, devotionals, homilies, and translations of

the gospels. Ultimately, the most important works on Tetun to be produced during this

missionary period were the *Dicionário Tetum-Português* by the Reverend Father Manuel Patrício

Mendes (1935) and the *Mètodo Prático para Aprender o Tetum* by the Reverend Father Abílio

Josè Fernandes (1937).[11] Although it is unclear which variety of Tetun these works are

describing, this period did also include an early description of Tetun Dili. The excerpt below is

from a collection of traditional texts with linguistic commentary by Father Artur Basílio de Sá,[12]

an early 20th century missionary.

> *Atente-se bem no curioso desta nossa observação: em Timor, onde o idioma*
> *português ainda não conseguiu, por razões que sumàriamente enunciámos, constituir-se*
> *em língua franca da ilha, conseguiu-o já, desde há muito, um dialecto local: o teto.*
> *Pois foi graças ao uso que os portugueses têm feito, e obrigaram a fazer, deste*
> *dialecto que ele tanto se expandiu e divulgou, dominando todo os outros.*
> *E note-se que entre as autoridades civis e militares, agricultores e missionários,*
> *principalmente, vamos encontrar exímios cultores práticos dum teto vernáculo, que não*
> *se ficaram naquele falar vulgar, chamado teto de Díli, saturado de vocábulos*

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[10] Father da Silva is credited with producing the first Tetun orthography, elements of which still survive today.

[11] Sources that describe these texts do not include information on the variety of Tetun used. It is likely that they are talking about Tetun Terik, but without actually perusing each item, at this point it is difficult to say.

[12] Father de Sa is also credited with developing one of the first Tetun orthographies.

portugueses, mutilado na sua sintaxe, provado de seus idiotismos e que todo o português chegado àquela província começa por arengar. (de Sá 1961:xxi)[13]

> "Pay special attention to the curiosity of this observation: in Timor, where the Portuguese language has still not managed to take hold for reasons already mentioned, a local dialect (of which there are many) has managed to take hold: Tetun.
> For it was thanks to the work that the Portuguese had done, and were indeed forced to do, that this dialect has both expanded and flowed freely, dominating all others.
> And note that between the [indigenous] civil and [Portuguese] military authorities and the [indigenous] farmers and the [Portuguese] missionaries, we find that they mostly tolerated the cultural practice of using Tetun as their vernacular, that they did not stop that vulgar speech, called Dili Tetun, which is saturated with Portuguese vocabulary, mutilated in its syntax, deprived of its idioms and that all the Portuguese who arrived in that province began to prattle on in." (my translation)

While this is not the most obviously positive description of Tetun Dili, the Portuguese missionaries did view the languages of Timor as a resource to conversion. In addition to producing materials in Tetun, there are other materials in Galolen, and indications that priests were accustomed to other languages of their parishes. Unlike contemporary imperialist nations, Portugal did not have a policy of explicit language expansion. If anything, they viewed the prevalence of Tetun as an advantage to the advancement of Catholic faith (Taylor-Leech 2005:19). This attitude of 'language as resource' would not hold through to their successors, the Indonesians.

3.1.1.3 Indonesian Times (1975 – 1999)

The Portuguese colonial administration continued in East Timor through both of the World Wars,[14] and would only end with significant political changes in Portugal. The Carnation

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[13] This excerpt could also be used as historical evidence of the eventual creolization of Tetun.

[14] The Second World War was an especially grim time in East Timor. Australia, fearing that Japan would use Timor Island as a base of attack, established forces on the island (despite direct orders not to do so). The Japanese saw this as an open declaration of Australia's bellicose intent, and were provoked into invading and controlling Timor. Australia was then obliged to deploy more troops to reclaim Timor from the Japanese. Hundreds of Australians died in the conflict. Tens of thousands of Timorese combatants and civilians were also killed by the Japanese- estimates are currently as high as 60,000 (Kingsbury 2009). See section 3.3.2.1 for the linguistic implications of these events.

Revolution of 1974 changed Portugal's political philosophy toward foreign holdings, and they began to grant independence to their former colonies, and to draft decolonizing transition plans. This was also the case with East Timor (Molnar 2010). In anticipation of release from Portugal, three major political parties began to form in East Timor. The first, APODETI,[15] favored full integration with Indonesia, viewing Indonesia as the nearest economically secure neighbor. The second, UDT,[16] favored continuation as a Portuguese protectorate during a long transition into full independence. The third and most popular party, FRETILIN,[17] favored full independence as well as sweeping social change from the village level. One of the tenets of FRETILIN was the introduction of Tetun as the language of popular education, going as far as creating a standardized orthography that moved away from the diacritic-laced Portuguese orthographies. FRETILIN took the nationalist view of 'language as right' and promoted it as the language of the *maubere*, or 'common people' (Taylor-Leech 2005:20).

However, certain over-generalized elements of FRETILIN's radical social policies were interpreted by international observers as dangerously communist, so while Portugal was working with the Timorese to create a transitional government, Indonesia was quietly preparing an invasion and annexation campaign with the full knowledge and tacit approval of Australia, the US, and other anti-communist Cold War era powers (Molnar 2010).[18]

Secretly backed by Indonesian troops who were already massing on the border of West Timor, impatient and overenthusiastic APODETI and UDT members formed a coalition

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[15] Asosiasaun Popular Demokratiku Timorense/Timorese Popular Democratic Association
[16] Union Demokratiku Timorense/Timorese Democratic Union
[17] Frente Revolusionariu Timor Lorosa'e Independente/Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (Originally ASDT- Asosiasaun Sosial Democratiku Timorense/Timorese Social Democratic Association)
[18] It was discovered later that the significant petroleum resources in Timor featured heavily in the justification for this annexation. Western powers did not want an infant East Timor to slow production, and Indonesia was desirous of the oil revenue.

undertook a coup in August 1975, which was put down by FRETILIN and Portuguese troops. The UDT and APODETI fighters and their families fled across the border to Atambua[19] where they were met by Indonesian military. The leaders of these estimated 2,500 refugees were forced at gunpoint to sign the Balibo Declaration.[20] This document was presented as 'proof' to the world of the Timorese people's desire for annexation and integration with Indonesia. From there, the Indonesian army then steadily advanced into East Timor, posing us UDT troops continuing the conflict as they captured town after town. Meanwhile, FRETILIN made its official declaration of independence for the Democratic Republic of East Timor on November 28th, 1975.[21] Indonesia's response was swift and brutal, launching Operation Komodo, a full-scale invasion just nine days later on December 7th. Six months later, the Republic of Indonesia declared East Timor as its 27th province, but FRETILIN refused to accept Indonesian sovereignty. It is estimated that 60,000 to 100,000 Timorese were killed in that first year alone (Kingsbury 2009; Molnar 2010).

Over the next 24 years, Timorese continued to resist Indonesian control while Indonesia alternately embarked on campaigns of fear and campaigns to win hearts and minds (often simultaneously). They built schools, clinics, hospitals, roads, bridges, and brought infrastructure such as electricity and water to even the most rural villages (Department of Foreign Affairs 1980).[22] They carved the country into new administrative zones and appointed their own leaders much as the Portuguese had done. Former APODETI and UDT members who survived were appointed as governors of the province and looked aside as the Indonesian military committed

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[19] This is a common practice whenever there is trouble in Dili.

[20] Not only were the signers held at gunpoint, but the Indonesian army threatened to execute the women, children and elderly if they resisted.

[21] Adding to the Red Scare, the infant state received formal diplomatic recognition from six countries that were led by leftist or Marxist–Leninist parties, namely Albania, Cape Verde, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and São Tomé and Príncipe.

[22] Indonesian-language 'development' reports often repeat that the Indonesian government brought the first televisions to East Timor, to the amazement of the natives, and use anecdotes like these to reinforce the notion of Portuguese withholding the treasures of the world from the Timorese.

outrageous human rights violations; systematic rape as a form of ethnic cleansing, extra-judicial killings, outright massacres (the most notable in a cathedral), coerced sterilizations, indefinite imprisonments, 're-settling' of Timorese children into adoptive families in other Indonesian provinces, forced labor, etc. Resistance was often met with immediate execution. And so, under this regime of fear and absolute obedience, Indonesia began to re-write East Timor's history (Kingsbury 2009; Molnar 2010).

In the 1980s, around 150,000 Indonesians were 're-settled' into East Timor in an effort to eradicate Timorese culture, religion and languages. As the official language of the Republic of Indonesia, the Indonesian language was already the official language of the province, and children were being indoctrinated in state ideologies as a means to quell resistance. The language rights of Timorese were ignored, and the brief period of 'language as right' was all but forgotten as the Indonesian government undertook a coercive language shift, promoting Indonesian as the language of unity (Taylor-Leech 2005:21). Portuguese was prohibited as the liturgical language (which had unexpected benefits for the symbolism of Tetun as language of national unity) and was vilified as the language of the colonizers. Portuguese was used by the guerilla resistance (many of whom had been educated under the Portuguese) in their internal and external communications, so anyone overheard speaking Portuguese was accused of being a spy. All the while, the Timorese people remained aware that it was only the other lusophone nations that supported their independence struggle. The Indonesians tolerated Tetun and the other local languages, but did not support their development, and fractured speaker communities resulting from forced relocations contributed to the decline in number of speakers of local languages (Kingsbury 2009; Molnar 2010). For the first time, Timorese were unquestionably presented

with the ideology of 'language as problem', which persisted long after the Indonesian presence in East Timor.

3.1.1.4 Height of Conflict (1998 – 1999)

As with the political upheavals that occurred during Portuguese times, real political change in East Timor came as a result of fundamental shifts in political philosophies in Indonesia. The Asian financial crisis of 1998 fomented open disapproval of the Indonesian government and demonstrations by her long-oppressed peoples, which were met with violent military response. Mounting pressure on then-President Suharto forced him to step down in May of that year, replaced by his Vice President, B.J. Habibie. In the wake of the financial crisis, Indonesia could no longer afford to ignore sanctions from international organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and so President Habibie offered "special status" to East Timor in September 1998. International observers as well as Timorese began to clamor for a referendum on independence, and in January of 1999, President Habibie announced his acquiescence to the idea (Kingsbury 2009; Molnar 2010).

The referendum vote was held on August 30, 1999 under the supervision of the United Nations, after a civic education program throughout the country which utilized Tetun, based on their understanding that it was the de facto lingua franca of the country (Molnar 2010). 78.5 percent of the country rejected autonomy within Indonesia, calling for full independence. The Indonesian military immediately unleashed a wave of destruction throughout the country that displaced 300,000 people and killed 1,400, including 4 UN workers. The International Force for East Timor, a non-UN peacekeeping force led by Australia commonly known as INTERFET, was allowed to land in Dili after a month of terror and violence that destroyed up to 70% of the country's infrastructure and saw Dili practically burned to the ground. When United Nations

Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) was finally established in East Timor in early 2000, INTERFET was absorbed into and directed by their organization. Thus began 2 years of careful United Nations administration, followed by a continually reduced presence over the next decade. This presence had a significant impact on the linguistic makeup of East Timor, as it was the first time that large-scale and prolonged contact with English had ever occurred (Kingsbury and Leach 2007).

3.1.1.5 UN Administration (1999 – 2002)

The initial stages of UN presence in East Timor could be described as 'linguistic chaos'. Mostly English-speaking UN workers were unprepared for the diversity of languages they encountered, and dismayed by low fluency rates in English and Portuguese. Although Indonesian fluency was high among Timorese at the time, it was avoided. From the beginning of their administration, English was mandated as the official language and was used in all of the Council of Ministers' meetings, a move which was heavily criticized (Azimi and Chang 2002). However, teenaged Timorese had been educated under the Indonesian school system, which included an English component in secondary school. Thus young Timorese were in a critical position to provide translation services all over the country, and many did. The Timorese observed that these English-speaking foreigners lived comfortable, well-fed, educated, safe lives and readily adopted the assumption that learning English would in itself present opportunities for them to do the same. The English-speaking soldiers, aid workers and police brought with them their salaries and outrageously lavish lifestyles (in the eyes of most East Timorese), as well as the assumptions and attitudes of monolingual ideologies (Taylor-Leech 2005:23). These ideologies continually represented Timorese multilingualism as a problem (or at least as the 'wrong' multilingualism),

especially in foreign media which focused on the complexity of the linguistic situation in East Timor and downplayed the East Timorese' language skills and aptitude for multilingualism.

3.1.1.6 Independence (2002 –present)

Two years after the referendum on independence was held, elections were held for the Constituent Assembly, an 88-member body who were elected to draft a complete constitution for the new country. Over the next few months, questionable political maneuvering ensured that the Constitutional Assembly was able to continue in their roles as East Timor's first government. The constitution was ratified in February of 2002, and the constitutional body assumed a legislative role without election, one of many clandestine acts by the Timorese elite that began to slowly disenfranchise the public. Nevertheless, in May of 2002, tens of thousands of Timorese as well as delegates from ninety countries descended upon Dili to celebrate the formal independence of East Timor, and the end of the UNTAET mission (Kingsbury 2009).

Linguistically, the constitution of the Democratic Republic of East Timor honored FRETILIN's original position of inclusivity by appointing both Portuguese and Tetun[23] as co-official languages of the country, even though fewer than one percent of Timorese had been educated in Portuguese. The Timorese who were now in power were the very same as those who were treated well under the Portuguese government, spent their lives in exile in other lusophone countries, and for whom the nuisance of Portuguese neglect was overshadowed by the horrific atrocities of the Indonesians. In this view, Indonesian and English were the colonial languages, and Portuguese was not. The selection of Portuguese was a result of complicated historical interpretations and has indeed resulted in complicated responses. While fascinating and important to the language ecology of East Timor, the complicated nuance of this issue of

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[23] It is important to note that the variety of Tetun is not specified here, which eventually gave rise to Tetun Ofisial. See section 3.3.1.

Portuguese is unfortunately not within the scope of this dissertation.[24] The pertinent information is that the Tetun language was given equal standing to the Portuguese language, and was placed under the stewardship of the National Institute of Linguistics (INL) to be developed and standardized (Taylor-Leech 2005:25). This standardization campaign has been met with various resistance and success for reasons outlined in the previous chapter and, in my view, has damaged the confidence of Timorese in using Tetun, as well as contributing to the ideology of 'Tetun as deficient', a point which will be particularly relevant to this dissertation.

3.1.2 Languages, Origins and Ethnicities

East Timor is home to at least 15 indigenous languages, as well as many more dialects of those languages. For details on these languages, their many dialects and alternate names, and the status of their documentation, see Appendix A. The table below shows speaker populations of the main languages of East Timor prior to the Indonesian occupation, and from the most recent census.

Language	District(s)	Speaker Population prior to 1975 (Aditjondro 1994)	Speaker Population according to Ethnologue
Mambae	Ainaro Aileu Bobonaro Cova Lima Ermera Liquiça Manufahi	80,000	131,000
Makasae	Baucau	60,000	102,000

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[24] Kingsbury (2009) summarizes the English-speaking perspective charmingly: "When CNRT announced, in March 2000, that Portuguese was to be East Timor's official language, there was something akin to incomprehension among Australians and other English speakers in East Timor. Why, they asked, would such a small and vulnerable country adopt the language of a tiny European state that had no relevance in global affairs? English was, after all, the defacto global language. In part, this reflected, though, most Australians' own poor language skills, as well as a self-congratulatory view that Australia had "saved" East Timor" (Kingsbury 2009:93).

	Lautem Viqueque		
Bunak	Bobonaro Cova Lima	50,000	76,000
Baikeno	Oecusse *West Timor, Indonesia*	14,000	72,000
Kemak	Bobonaro Ermera	59,000	72,000
Tetun Terik	Bobonaro Cova Lima Manufahi Manatutu Viqueque	220,000 (This number conflates all varieties)	63,500
Tokodede	Bobonaro Ermera Liquiça	45,000	39,500
Fataluku	Lautem	30,000	37,000
Waima'a	Baucau		18,400
Kairui-Midiki	Manatutu Viqueque		15,000
Naueti	Viqueque		15,000
Idate	Manatutu		13,500
Galolen	Manatutu	30,000	13,000
Makalero	Lautem		6,000
Habun	Manatutu		2,700

Table 3.1 Main languages of East Timor

Timorese people are bound to the lands of their ancestors "and the power they wield over the living", which is embedded in the land (Stead 2012). According to the Tetun people's tradition, all the world's inhabitants can be traced back to three people who were birthed from a shaft in the earth, the 'womb of the world'. Other accounts say that God dropped all humans, dogs, and birds out of the sky onto the only piece of land on the whole earth and they used this 'womb' to hide from demons (Hicks 1984). This notion of Timor as the birthplace of the world is seen in other cultural traditions throughout Timor Island. Elizabeth Traube's pre-invasion work found that Mambai people viewed Portuguese overseas foreigners as returning younger brothers

who rightfully (according to them) assumed political rule as Stranger-Kings.[25] Throughout

Timor, traditional ideas of spiritual authority are intrinsically tied to land. The land of your

traditional origin is the locus of your spiritual energy, whether you were born there or not, and

whether you reside there or not. The land provides the conduit through which relationships with

the ancestors can be accessed and invoked, which highlights the seriousness of the trauma

inflicted upon the Timorese during the forced displacements and resettlements of the Indonesian

occupation. However, as other authors have noted, these notions of homeland as the seat of

spiritual power and the fact that many Timorese still live in places where they have no traditional

attachment also emphasize Timorese people's ability to reinterpret and adapt their traditions, to

both resist and assimilate (McWilliam and Traube 2011). The forced migrations during the

Indonesian occupation had the unexpected consequence of further reinforcing the cultural

importance of origin, and promoted a nationalist re-imagining of the connection between the

people and the land, emphasizing East Timor as a single "homeland" rather than many lands of

origin, which later contributed to the ideology of 'Tetun as symbol of Timorese unity', which

will be particularly relevant for this dissertation (McWilliam and Traube 2011).

Timorese have historically had deep connections to their ancestral lands and the

sometimes-mysterious ways in which these connections manifest have been a fond topic of

reverent treatment by anthropologists for the last half century. Ethnographic essays on concepts

of land and cosmogony have shown that Timorese continue to practice recognizably

Austronesian rituals, beliefs, and practices, such as the construction of the traditional house as a

physical analogy of social and cosmic order, exchange relationships, and the symbolic

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[25] The notion of the Stranger-King dates back to the Bronze Age and is now used as an analytical tool to understand interactions between colonizing foreigners and indigenous populations, particularly in conflict resolution. This phenomenon is not unique to Southeast Asia, although it is very common- see Bovensiepen 2014 for a recent take on this notion with respect to traditional house construction in modern East Timor.

classifications of binarism of secular-sacred, inside-outside, or masculine-feminine (McWilliam and Traube 2011).

Ethnicity in East Timor is highly heterogeneous, especially in comparison to West Timor, but is not necessarily a meaningful standalone classification on its own. The simplest description is that East Timor is comprised mainly of Austronesian and Papuan peoples, with small pockets of Chinese[26] and European Portuguese. Genetic studies have shown that the traditional Austronesian-Papuan dichotomy, while still statistically significant, does not adequately account for variation. A study of 342 individuals from 12 ethno-linguistic groups showed that a better predictor of genetic variation is actually linguistic affiliation (Souto et al. 2006). Within the Papuan languages of the eastern part of the country (Makasae, Fataluku, Makalero), no significant genetic distance was observed. Bunak, a Papuan language situated in the far western part of East Timor, showed significant genetic distance from the other Papuan languages, owing to its geographic separation. The Austronesian languages, separated into the Fabronic branch (Tetun Terik, Kawaimina, Galolen, and Baikeno) and the Ramelaic branch (Mambae, Kemak, and Tokodede) also showed genetic affiliation within these two branches. Subjects from Atauro island also showed significant distance from the other Austronesian groups, which the researchers owe to their relative isolation from the Timorese mainland. In addition, Souto et al. found "exotic" influences from China and Europe. So from a purely genetic level, the ethnicities of East Timor could be organized as the following: Papuan (west), Papuan (east), Austronesian-Fabronic, Austronesian-Ramelaic, Atauran, European, and Chinese (Suoto et al. 2006). However, there is no evidence to suggest that Timorese themselves conceive of their ethnicity in this way and the clearest indicator of group affiliation is still ethno-linguistic.

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[26] Owing to the Macau connection, free Chinese emigrants settled in Dili and have maintained their communities from the early 1800s (Gunn 1999).

3.1.2.1 The 2006 Crisis

Ethno-linguistic divisions within East Timor were at least one critical component in the nascent east-west ethnic divide during the near-civil war commonly called the 2006 Crisis. To briefly summarize, tensions erupted in 2006 between the members of the military and the police, after military personnel from the western part of the country felt that they were being treated unfairly by the administration, which was largely made up of people from the eastern part of the country. Among the westerner's complaints were that their eastern commanders were intentionally excluding them by using their mother tongues (such as Makasae or Fataluku) with one another. This conflict resulted in widespread societal violence and many deaths, and while most scholars believe that the east-west ethnic divide was not a historically important social index, it is now unquestionably gaining prominence as a potential source of conflict (Arnold 2009; Hicks 2009; Leach 2012). Because of this, many Timorese feel uncomfortable identifying themselves as a member of either group, preferring to use the identity indexes more common across East Timor—mother tongue and place of origin (Leach 2012). The east-west division is now largely considered a contrived notion advanced by the agitators of the 2006 conflict.

Findings in Ross (2015) corroborate the complexity of issue of ethnicity and the *lorosae/loromonu* (lit. east/west) division for some Timorese. I asked Timorese to select an ethnicity, which presented a significant confound for the participants (Ross 2015). In the demographic section of a map-labeling task, 31 of 52 participants chose not to answer and left the section blank. Of the 20 who provided responses, seven participants used an ethno-linguistic identifier (such as *Makasae*), ten used a traditional clan identifier,[27] and one person distanced himself from the entire concept by writing *la iha* (lit. 'not exist'). Interestingly, only one

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[27] Traditional clan identifiers also carry strong ethno-linguistic affiliation; *Uab Meto*, *Atoni*, or *Dawan* can all be used to refer to the language *Baikeno* in Oecussi district.

participant chose a side in the east-west divide, declaring himself for the easterners. Apart from being from Viqueque district, there is no apparent explanation for why that participant chose *lorosae*, but the fact that only one participant self-identified as either east or west underscores the unease associated with the divide. Another simply wrote *lorosae/loromonu*, and by claiming both, claimed neither.

3.1.3 Religion

Traditional religion in East Timor is ancestor-focused and animistic in nature, and places a great importance on the concept of *lulik*, sacredness. Throughout East Timor, origin villages contain an *uma lulik*, sacred house, which house the sacred ancestral heirlooms of that group. The organization of objects within the *uma lulik* and the organization of structures around the *uma lulik* are important analogs of the organization of the universe as conceived by Timorese. So important is this concept that a symbolic *uma lulik* was built in Dili in 2002 as a representation of national unity and social solidarity. Other important ritual concepts govern the binary realms of death and life, continuity and discontinuity; these include exchange relations, funerals, bridewealth exchange and marriage, harvest and fertility, legitimation of power, and even some kin relationships (Molnar 2010).

Roman Catholicism was introduced to East Timor as early as 1515, but missionary efforts moved forward only in fits and starts. The Dominican friar Antonio Taveira spurred the first missionizing in 1556, spreading the faith along the more accessible coastal regions. From this time until the next wave of missionary effort in 1697, only 10 churches and 22 missions would be founded in Timor. The Dominicans had an uneasy relationship with the colonial administration, however, and were expelled in 1834 to be replaced by the Jesuits, which again slowed conversion efforts. Unlike the colonial administrations of other countries, the East

Timorese were never force to convert. If a local *liurai* converted, many of his people might choose to as well, but they were not coerced. When the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) gave permission for Mass and other Catholic rites to celebrated in vernacular languages, Tetun gained prominence throughout East Timor and contributed to increased conversion rates, although Portuguese was still widely used (Kingsbury 2009).

The use of Tetun in the Catholic church of Portuguese Timor had far-reaching effects when Indonesia came to control East Timor. While only an estimated 20% of Timorese may have been converts prior to the invasion, by the late 1970s nearly 98% of the country were officially Catholic. At that time, Indonesia required that its citizens adhere to one of the five state-approved religions, which included Catholicism. Many unbaptised Timorese chose Catholicism out of familiarity, which explains the dramatic increase in numbers. 1975 also saw some structural upheaval of the Timorese Catholic church, as it was no longer part of the Portuguese Catholic church and was instead overseen by the Indonesian Catholic diocese. At the community level, the Church became deeply entwined in the resistance struggle and offered sanctuary and support for those affected by it. The Church began to see its role shifting from responsibility to Rome to responsibility to Timor, and throughout it all, there was Tetun, growing in prestige and strengthening in public prominence as it reached more and more hearts throughout East Timor during the long, dark years of the occupation.

At the international level, the Church and its senior members acted on behalf of the Timorese, especially Archbishop Carlos Belo, who was later awarded a Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts (Kingsbury 2009). When Pope John Paul II visited Dili in 1989, he kissed a cross and then touched it to the ground, rather than kissing the ground directly as he usually does upon entering a foreign nation. This was widely interpreted as an allusion to the Church's perhaps-not-

entirely-neutral opinion on Indonesia's presence in East Timor. Such was the power of Tetun by this time that the Pope's homily, delivered in Latin, was translated into Tetun, not Indonesian, for the crowd of 100,000 worshippers. Today, the Timorese Catholic church is directly under the jurisdiction of the Holy See (the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Catholic Church in Rome and a sovereign entity), and many Timorese practice some version of traditional animistic beliefs alongside contemporary Catholicism (Molnar 2010).

There are pockets of Muslims (mostly from Indonesia), Buddhists (from both the traditional Hakka Chinese communities and the newly arriving Chinese business owners), as well as a number of Protestants. The population of Atauro island is traditionally Protestant, but this is one of the few places in East Timor where this is true. Other multinational Christianity-based religious orders may be observed proselytizing door-to-door in Dili, such as the Latter Day Saints (Mormons), Seventh-Day Adventists, and the Jehovah's Witnesses, all of whom bring their linguistic influences along with them.

3.1.4 Education

For most of the colonial period, the Portuguese did not educate the Timorese people. It was not until 1863 that the first school was founded, and only for the sons of local rulers. By the following year, there was one primary school in Dili with 60 students and one teacher, one primary school in Manatutu with 20 students, and the commander of the fort of Batugede was offering instruction to 15 pupils.[28] Even after missionaries in Timor were legally required to open schools in 1877, progress moved slowly, and teachers "ignored even the rudimentary principles of pedagogy while schools basically lacked pens, ink, and paper" (Gunn 1999:133). It was not until 1952 that the first middle school was opened in Dili and the first vocational school 4 years

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[28] These efforts were praised in a formal report as the only way to instill the basic tenets of Portuguese civilization in these "barbaric" people (Gunn 1999).

later. A tiny handful of the educated sons of *liurai* had the opportunity to attend university in Lisbon, and this rudimentary education system formed the foundation for what would become the ruling elite of the country that are still in power today (Kingsbury 2009).

When the Indonesians invaded, there were fewer than a dozen Timorese who had been educated up to a tertiary level, and Timorese literacy was estimated to be 10% of the population. The Department of Foreign Affairs (1980) states that the Indonesian government had until that point rehabilitated 47 elementary schools and built 150 in each "settlement area" (1,950 total) as well as nine junior high schools. Many hundreds of teachers were brought in from Java and Sulawesi. Education was compulsory and was conducted in Indonesian (Department of Foreign Affairs 1980).

3.2 Tetun Dili

3.2.1 Disambiguation

It is important at this point to establish some terminology regarding Tetun. There are 3 varieties of Tetun recognized by linguistics, officials, and speakers themselves. First, there are the two varieties of Tetun indigenous to Timor Island, Tetun Belu and Tetun Terik. Tetun Belu is spoken in Indonesian West Timor and has at least three dialects (van Klinken 1999). Tetun Terik (also called Tetun Loos, meaning 'true Tetun') is spoken in East Timor and also has at least three dialects, corresponding to the districts where it is spoken: Tetun Viqueque, Tetun Manufahi, and Tetun Suai. In my experiences in East Timor, Timorese *always* refer to Tetun Terik using either of the duonyms, never as just 'Tetun'. The third variety of Tetun is the urban variety of Tetun Terik, called Tetun Dili (or Tetun Prasa, meaning 'market Tetun') which borrows heavily from Portuguese, Indonesian, English. In my experience in East Timor, both Timorese and *malae* will refer to this variety as simply 'Tetun', which I often do throughout my work. To complicate

matters, there is now a fourth variety of Tetun. "Official Tetun" is the variety that is specifically approved and promoted by the National Linguistic Institute, the language branch of the government of East Timor. This Official Tetun is based on Tetun Dili, but is not a faithful representation of Tetun Dili as it is spoken today. The Indonesion-isms that a visitor to East Timor would hear in everyday conversations are dispreferred in Official Tetun in favor of Portuguese loans; some morphology is being reintroduced in an effort to "decreolize" the language; a spelling guide for commonly misspelled words has been produced, etc. (Hull and Eccles 2004).[29] Many newcomers to Dili are not aware of the difference between Tetun Dili and Official Tetun, which can cause confusion at times. As other linguists have lamented, it is not always clear from the literature *which* variety of Tetun is being described, whether Tetun Terik, Tetun Dili, or Official Tetun (van Klinken 1999).

Another point of confusion, and of contention, is the spelling of the name of the language. When the Portuguese missionaries first wrote it, they used the spelling *teto* /tetu/ and later *tetum* /tetun/, which conforms to Portuguese orthographic conventions. While the varieties of Tetun do all have a non-allophonic /m/ in their phoneme inventories, none of them allow /m/ in word-final positions (Morris 1984:x, van Klinken 1999:27). However the prevalence of the Portuguese *Tetum* in much of the English language literature[30] has led to the widespread and erroneous adoption of the spelling pronunciation /tetum/ (Morris 1984). In my conversations with other linguists working on Timorese languages, I have come to understand that authors' choice of *Tetum* or *Tetun* can be interpreted as a proxy for their ideological leanings with regard to Portuguese as a national language of East Timor (or, if that perhaps seems too farfetched, then it can at least indicate their stance on the legitimacy or importance of Official Tetun). So while I

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[29] For more on this, see section 3.3.2.1.
[30] This is analogous to using *Español* instead of *Spanish* in an English-language publication about the Spanish language; not exactly wrong, but not exactly right either.

am certainly not alone in my choice to use the phonemic spelling *Tetun*, (cf. Morris 1984; van Klinken 1999; Hajek and Tilman 2001; Hill and Saldanha 2001; Williams-van Klinken, Hajek, and Nordlinger 2002; Cocks 2011; Quinn 2013; ibid), I have chosen to do so with the hope that more English speakers will adopt a usage that is more aligned to real-world use, and not because I am offering commentary-by-proxy on the role of Portuguese in East Timor or the legitimacy of Official Tetun.[31]

3.2.2 Tetun in the Literature

In general, the literature on Tetun falls under three broad categories. The first are linguistic resources that are entirely produced and consumed by linguists and other linguistic audiences. These consist of the classic Himmelmannian trilogy of structural grammars, dictionaries, and texts, and other specifically linguistic texts, such as language policy analysis. The second are pop-linguistic resources that are intended for non-specialist, casual or informal learners of Tetun. These resources include travelers' dictionaries, self-taught language courses, or other learner resources. The third category examined here are resources that are not intentionally linguistic resources, but do include some information about the Tetun language in East Timor. This literature is examined in order to give the reader an idea of how Tetun is described for various audiences and perhaps glean insight into the origin of certain attitudes about Tetun.

3.2.2.1 Linguistic Literature

The first English-language dictionary of Tetun was written by Australian soldier, Cliff Morris, after nearly a year of immersive contact during WWII. Published in 1984, Morris

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[31] Tetun speakers say /tetun/; Portuguese speakers say /tetun/- for them, –*m* does not necessarily represent /m/. Indonesians say /tetun/. In my 5 years of work in East Timor, I have only heard English speakers adopt the spelling pronunciation /tetum/.

continued to add to his dictionary with help from a Timorese family living in Sydney for over 40 years. The resulting work is a well-rounded representation of phonemically spelled Tetun vocabulary as it was in the mid-twentieth century. While the author explains that the variety of Tetun he recorded is Tetun Loos (Tetun Terik), almost every page contains loans from Portuguese (cf. *sabi-* key, from *xavi*) and Malay (cf. *dapur-* kitchen, from *dapur*).

Another dictionary by Yohannes Manhitu (2007), an Indonesian who grew up in Oecusse, is a curious blend of Official Tetun and Tetun Dili. In this Indonesian-Tetun/Tetun-Indonesian dictionary the author explains that he included vocabulary from any source he could find, regardless of whether it was 'official' or not, yet he also makes an effort to bring all the various entries into alignment with the official *spelling* of Tetun in this excerpt (my translation below).

> *Jauh sebelum disesuaikan dengan ejaan baku, seluruh lema bahasa Tetun (dalam Kamus Tetun-Indonesia) yang berjumlah +/- 8830, termasuk sublema, telah saya kumpulkan dari berbagi sumber tanpa memandang apakah sumber-sumber itu resmi atau tidak. Dan kata-kata yang 'asli' maupan yang berasal dari bahasa Portugis dan Indonesia pun saya himpun tanpa menilai asas baku atau nonbaku, karena hal tersebut berada di luar wewenang saya. sebagian besar kata yang bersifat 'modern' diperoleh dari media-maedia cetak dan elektronik (siber) yang muncul menjelang dan sesudah kemerdekaan Timor hinga saat ini.*
> *[…]*
> *Sumber-sumber pustaka berbahasa tetun yang dipakai untuk menyusun kamus ini menggunakan ejaan yang berbeda-beda. Namun secara umum saya telah menyesuaikan ejaan bahasa tetun dalam kamus ini dengan ejaan baku (ortografia patronizada) bahasa Tetun, sebagaimana yang tertera dalam Matadalan Ortográfiku ba Lia-Tetun (Lista Badak) dan sumber-sumber resmi lain yang diterbitkan Instituto Nacional de Linguística (lembaga kebahasaan resmi yang bertanggung jawab penuh atas pengembangan bahasa Tetun)*. (Manhitu 2007:xii-xiii)

> Long before Tetun had adopted a standard spelling, I collected the +/- 8830 entries of the Tetun-Indonesian dictionary, including cross-references (or sub-entries), from shared resources irrespective of whether the resources were considered 'official' or not. And the words that 'originally' come from the Portuguese and Indonesian, I collected without any regard to judgments of their standard or non-standardness, because it is beyond my authority. Most of the 'modern' words are derived from the print and

electronic media (online) from before and after the independence of East Timor until today.

[…]

Resources from the Tetun language literature that were used to compile this dictionary used different spellings. In general I have adjusted the spelling Tetun dictionary with the spelling standard (*ortografia patronizada*) [Port: standardized orthography] Tetun, as set forth in the *Matadalan Ortográfiku ba Lia-Tetun (Lista Badak)* [Tetun: Orthographic Guide for the Tetun Language (Short List)] and other official sources published by the *Instituto Nacional de Linguística* (the official language body who take full responsibility for the development of Tetun). (my translation)

There are two additional major Tetun dictionaries, both produced by INL and intended to promote Official Tetun. The first is a Tetun-English dictionary, currently in its third edition, by Geoffrey Hull (2002), which includes explanations about the current work of INL in developing Official Tetun (which Hull calls "National Tetum" in this work).[32] The second is a monolingual dictionary of Official Tetun for Timorese, which explains the many new terms that have been introduced in the language.

In addition to dictionaries, there are two major grammatical descriptions of Tetun (*Tetum Reference Grammar*, Hull and Eccles 2004 and *A Short Grammar of Tetun Dili*, Williams-van Klinken, Hajek and Nordlinger 2002a, and *Tetun Dili: A Grammar of an East Timorese Language*, Williams-van Klinken, Hajek and Nordlinger 2002b). Williams-van Klinken, Hajek and Nordlinger give helpful descriptions of the historical and current varieties and registers of Tetun and say that "Tetun Dili has grown out of Tetun Terik" (2002b:6). They also give examples of the linguistic influences of Portuguese on Tetun Dili. Hull and Eccles make two passing references to the creolization of Tetun Dili in their explanation of its historical development.

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[32] First published in 1999, this work is known locally as The Orange Dictionary. It is a one-way Tetun-to-English dictionary, often containing 'Tetun' words that Tetun Dili speakers don't know. Gordon Peake, in his book *Beloved Land: Stories, Struggles, and Secrets from Timor-Leste,* recalls that one Australian guerilla fighter used the dictionary in his hideout in the mountains, as a "surprisingly comfortable pillow". For more on Geoffrey Hull and his enthusiasm-turned-disillusionment in East Timor, see Peake (2013) Chapter 3.

Typologically Tetum-Praca [Tetun Dili] is a creolized language, having lost all its morphology apart from certain fossilized elements found in word derivation. Morphology has been replaced by various function words (markers), and to some extent by syntax. (2004:xiv)

Tetum-Praca (vernacular name: Tetun-Prasa). The variety of Tetum that developed in the town of Dili (known as *a Praca*) after the Portuguese made it their new capital in 1769. Dili Tetum was especially influenced by the original Mambai language of the district ad especially by Portuguese. Unlike rural Tetum (Tetun-Terik), it underwent creolization and became (together with Tokodede) structurally the simplest language in East Timor, a factor that favoured its spread throughout the territory as a lingua franca. Tetum-Praca is the new national language of East Timor.[33] (2004:234)

Strictly speaking, Hull and Eccles 2004 is not a faithful description of Tetun Dili as it is really used, but is Official Tetun, an idealized form of language that was being promoted by the government at that time tantamount to linguistic propaganda. This work was undertaken by the National Institute of Linguistics (INL) under the guiding principles that their version of Tetun was to be the "basis of national literary language" and that "loanwords and structures currently found in the colloquial language of the Indonesian-educated generation of Tetum speakers are to be excluded from the standard literary language in favour of genuine Tetum terms of native or Portuguese origin" (2004:xiv). Hull and Eccles also make the claim that Tetun Dili has "traditionally drawn on the more conservative rural varieties of Tetum (known collectively as Tetun-Terik) for new vocabulary and forms" (2004:xiii). The resultant work strives to "teach the structures of literary Tetum within the context of the *traditional lexical canon* and the *language reform in progress today* [emphasis added]".

To summarize, linguistic work on Tetun Dili has focused on both faithful linguistic description and prescriptive standardization. Linguists who are interested in Tetun Dili will glean

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[33] The final sentence here is incorrect- before the constitution was ratified in 2002, there was some discussion of using Tetun as the national language, and Portuguese as the official language. There was even a brief debate over using Indonesian as the language of state business. However, Tetun and Portuguese were both chosen as official languages (Kingsbury 2009).

that there is some hesitation over what is or is not considered "official", and that Tetun orthography is an important part of Tetun scholarship. They will find occasional unsubstantiated reference to the creolization of the language, the simplicity of its structure, and its proclivity for borrowing.

3.2.2.2 Linguistic Literature for Non-Linguists

Mai Kolia Tetum (Let's Speak Tetun) is the very first self-taught language coursebook for learners of Tetun Dili (Hull 1993). This resource covers a wide range of non-linguistic topics such as the historical and cultural context of East Timor, as well as the linguistic development of Tetun Dili. Through 18 chapters of speaking, translating, and fill-in-the-blank exercises, the coursebook builds learners' grammatical knowledge and cultural competence. Unlike Hull's later works on Tetun Dili, the guiding ideal of this coursebook was "realism, rather than linguistic purism," and he proudly included the Portuguese and Indonesian loans that were common in every day speech at the time, calling Tetun the "common cultural medium" that was "perfect[ing] its standardization and extend[ing] its functions" (Hull 1993:vii-xi). While it is now out of print, for two decades, it was the only resource for non-Timorese to learn about East Timor and Tetun and many foreign volunteers in Timor are still familiar with it.

Probably the two most well-known and well-used modern resources for learning Tetun Dili are the Dili Institute of Technology's *Word-Finder Tetun-English, English-Tetun* and the *Peace Corps East Timor Tetun Language Course* (Williams-van Klinken 2015; Williams-van Klinken 2011). Both of these resources are freely available online and are updated regularly. DIT offers Tetun courses at several levels using these resources, and they are available to purchase for a small fee. The *Word-Finder* has a short preface and does not give learners a great deal of information about Tetun structure or historical development. The *Language Course*, by contrast,

covers a wide range of topics and describes the development of Tetun Dili from Tetun Terik (as well as the many differences between the two languages) in great detail. It was written using a large team of Tetun-speaking consultants and provides a pragmatic approach to learning Tetun Dili. The language itself is described as "not a standardized language […] fairly simple […] mostly easy to pronounce […] the lingua franca spoken by the majority of Timorese in the majority of districts […] with large differences in the way people speak it" (Williams-van Klinken 2011:xiii-xiv). Crucially, DIT does not use Official Tetun in their resources, and this can be a serious point of contention as, by 2011, this course had been taught in Dili to over one thousand foreigners from over fifty different countries (Williams-van Klinken 2011:x).[34]

One of the more charming learner dictionaries is the 2005 *Kleines Wörterbuch Tetum-Deutsch/Deutsch-Tetum* (Little Dictionary of Tetun-German/German-Tetun) for German volunteers, which does include careful explanation of the orthographic decisions made for both German and Tetun (based entirely on spell-check systems), and also declares that "*[e]s erhebt nicht den Anspruch eines Standard-Wörterbuchs dessen Entwicklung sei Linguisten überlassen*" (It does not claim to be a standard dictionary, whose development is left to linguists) (Loch and Tschanz 2005:7). Unlike other dictionaries, the authors of this dictionary take a pragmatic stance in including common loan words, particularly from Indonesian, for the simple reason that "*[w]ir wissen aus Erfahrung, dass dies bei Deutschen in Timor zu Irritationen führt*" (We know from experience that this [the common use of Indonesian words] leads to irritation for Germans in Timor) (Loch and Tschanz 2005:8). The front matter explains that whether to use an English, Indonesian, Portuguese, or Tetun word will depend highly on the context, but where a

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[34] I observed this course firsthand for one week in 2016 and observed at least 40 other students at varying levels. The teaching staff estimated that they take on 5-10 new students every week.

Portuguese term was in competition with a Tetun word, the Tetun word was given priority with the justification that it would also be understood in rural Timor.

The *Tetum Language Manual for East Timor* is a basic grammar and pronunciation guide, full of sample sentences grouped by topic for learners to try out and contains a Tetun-English/English-Tetun wordfinder (Hull 2005a). About the language itself, Hull says that "Tetun-Praca is a creole language, with a very simple grammatical structure, and is therefore easy to speak once you have learned by heart enough basic vocabulary" (Hull 2005a:6). He gives us an indication of the status of the language in saying that "older Timorese of a certain social prominence may still feel uncomfortable speaking Tetun to foreigners […] the majority of Timorese, however, will be delighted if you make an effort" (Hull 2005a:2). Another work by the same author and his Timorese counterpart is directed directly at Timorese teachers, translators, journalists and university students. The *Kursu Gramatika Tetun* (Hull and Correia 2005) is a style guide and workbook for Official Tetun. It is similar in form and content to the style guides for the Indonesian language that were disseminated in East Timor during the Occupation (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan [National Centre for Language Development] 1992). However, unlike their Indonesian predecessors, this resource contains the following strongly-worded, language-positive passage:

> *Ema beik gosta tanesan-hakribi dalen sira. Ita kadaves rona hahesuk hanesan: "lia-ingles fasil", "lia-portugues susar", "lia-arabe komplikadu", "lia-malaiu simples". Hahesuk ignorante lahalimar mos bainhira ema ruma dehan katak dalen ida (nu'udar ezemplu, lia-tetun) "primitivu". Juizu nune'e la bazeia ba fakta sientifiku ida, bazeia fali ba prekonseitu politiku ka cultural, no mos hatudu katak ema ne'e la hatene buat ida kona-ba siensia linguistika.* (Hull and Guterres Correia 2005:34)

> Stupid people love to compare languages in a loathsome way. You will sometimes hear statements like this: "English is easy", "Portuguese is hard", "Arabic is complicated", "Indonesian/Malay is simple". These are terribly ignorant statements, just as when some people say that a language is (for example, Tetun) "primitive". These judgments are not based on scientific fact, but are instead based on political or cultural

prejudices, and show that those people don't know a single thing about the science of linguistics. (my translation)

The *Lonely Planet East Timor Phrasebook* (2001) co-written by Australian linguist John Hajek and Timorese activist Alex Tilman again calls attention to the problems of "standardization". They describe Tetun as a "living language, used mainly as an oral medium, with no historical tradition of writing to help standardize it" and that as a result, the speakers "are yet to agree on a standard orthography" (Hajek and Tilman 2001:13-15). Hajek and Tilman briefly flirt with the structure of the language, saying it is "a great language for a beginner – verbs are easy, obvious grammatical inconsistencies are few and pronunciation presents no great problem". They also warn learners later in the book that Timorese speakers of Tetun will vary greatly in their pronunciations based on how fluently they are able to speak Portuguese.

To summarize, from these resources learners of Tetun Dili will learn that it is grammatically simple and easy to learn, but that it has many varieties depending on context. It is presented as a culturally important lingua franca, despite being imperfect and unstandardized. They may at times be frustrated by the many loanwords, but comforted by the promise of future development.

3.2.2.3 Academic Literature from Other Disciplines

Some colonial-era literature includes short descriptions of Tetun within more general description of the languages of Timor, such as this letter from Governor Affonso de Castro (1872:185) in which he laments that the Portuguese themselves have not done more to raise the Timorese up, instead preferring to learn Tetun and keep the Portuguese language to themselves.

> *[L]a langue que parlent les indigènes qui habitent la ville forte de Dili et une bonne partie des royaumes de l'est s'appelle le teto /tetum/. Cette langue, toute pauvre qu'elle soit, est encore la plus riche de celles qui se parlent à Timor […] c'est aussi notre*

faute si le teto est une langue aussi imparfaite, une langue de sauvages qui manque de mots pour les objets d'usage familier […]tous les auxiliaires qui viennent à la capitale Dili apprennent en quelques mois, tandis qu'après plusieurs années ils ne parlent pas encore portugais.

The language spoken by the natives who inhabit the fortified city of Dili and many of the kingdoms of the east is called Tetun. This language, as poor as it is, is still the richest of those spoken in Timor […] although it's also our fault that Tetun is an imperfect language, a language of savages who lacks words for familiar objects […] all the auxiliaries who come to the capital learn it [Tetun] in a few months, and after several years they do not speak Portuguese anymore. (Durand 2006:288)

Most of the non-linguistic literature on East Timor consists of post-independence historical, political, and personal biographical works. In them we see a variety of descriptions of Tetun, but most only make passing reference to it as a 'lingua franca' in East Timor, or throughout Timor Island, and do not often distinguish between the varieties of Tetun (Peake 2013, ibid). Aditjondro (1994), like those after him, describes Tetun as the lingua franca of East Timor and directly challenge the Indonesian government's claim that 46% of the population was now literate.[35] His reasoning is that Tetun is East Timor's language, not Bahasa Indonesia, and that the only resource in Tetun, *Rai Timor Rai Ita Niang* (Timor, Our Land), was produced by the FRETILIN guerillas. He criticizes the 1990 government policy to officially teach Tetun in elementary schools as another strategy to make the integration less painful after 15 years of failed acceptance of Indonesian sovereignty.

Hull (2000) refers to it thus: "For East Timor Portuguese also has the positive advantage that the Tetum lingua franca is not formally very distant from it because of the huge Portuguese element in its sound-system, grammar and vocabulary. Portuguese is not excessively difficult for East Timorese to learn because they "already have a partial passive knowledge of it through

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[35] Publications prior to the referendum are uncommon, but rarest of all are works in English by Indonesian writers in opposition to the integration.

speaking Tetun-Dili" (2000:83-84). He also implores the government of East Timor to "sponsor

the development of Tetum as a modern language, approving an appropriate system of

orthography, publishing official dictionaries and grammars" so that "no one will be able to claim

that Tetum is a primitive and useless dialect, incapable of holding its own beside Portuguese and

other well-developed languages" (2000:87).

The Lonely Planet gives a succinct description, saying that Tetun is "primarily a spoken

rather than written language, with some variations found around the country. The variety spoken

in Dili (also known as Tetun-Dili or Tetun-Prasa, to distinguish it from Tetun-Terik, the

traditional rural variety) is the most widespread […] Keep in mind that Tetun has no standard

system of spelling yet, so you may notice variations in spelling when reading signs, menus, or

newspapers." (Cocks 2011:152).

Australian ethnographer Andrea Molnar, who has lived in Timor for long spans of time

over the last two decades, worked extensively with the Kemak-speaking peoples of Ermera

district and also writes dispassionately of the role of Tetun in East Timor. When writing of the

language itself, she describes it as an "evolving one"; currently being standardized, lacking legal

terms, an essential bridge across the vast linguistic diversity of East Timor, an aspect of Catholic

identity, the language of choice among the youth, and an important marker of East Timorese

national identity (Molnar 2010:91-98).

Geoffrey Gunn's *Historical Dictionary of East Timor* differentiates between Tetun, "the

official language of the Republica Democratica de Timor-Leste" and Tetun Prasa, an "otherwise

untranscribed language" which is nevertheless "obliged to conform to a standard orthography",

but "does not encode social differences and is therefore a more egalitarian language" (Gunn

2011:161-162). Gunn also expands on the ongoing role of the Indonesian language, explaining

that it "remains the language through which more complex issue are filtered, especially as it is far more syntactically developed than Tetum, and is backed by a vast print literature, which is almost completely lacking in Tetum" (Gunn 2011:117). However, in Gunn's own bibliography are included references to works in Tetun (variety unspecified) from as early as 1889, and show that, as has already been demonstrated, Tetun is in no way 'untranscribed'.

To summarize, the literature from other disciplines that comment on Tetun Dili describe an oral lingua franca that is un- or underdeveloped, unstandardized, imperfect, or poor. The scholarly community has faith that Tetun Dili is being developed from a simple oral language to a more complex literary one, and that the development of a body of literature will raise its status.

3.2.3 Registers

Like most languages, there are several registers of Tetun Dili. I have already discussed the structural and ideological differences between Tetun Terik, Tetun Dili and Official Tetun. In this section I will discuss the registers of Tetun Dili that have been described in the literature up to this point.

3.2.3.1 Liturgical Varieties

The liturgical variety of Tetun was heavily influenced by two factors. First, for over 50 years, the only secondary school that trained teachers, church workers and civil servants in Timor was located in Soibada, a Tetun Terik speaking area. Second, the Indonesian government banned the use of Portuguese in 1980, and Tetun became the language of the liturgy. Today, this variety is heard in Mass and other holy rites, scriptures, sermons, prayers and as a model for other formal occasions which may have a religious or somber overtone, such as funerals. This variety tends to prefer Tetun Terik vocabulary, even over vocabulary from Portuguese that is regularly used in Tetun Dili, for example Tetun Terik '*tulun*' over Portuguese '*azuda*' for 'help'.

Phonologically, it tends to retain /w/ where Tetun Dili uses /b/, as well as preserve the glottal stop. Morphologically, liturgical Tetun allows greater use of the causative prefix /ha-/ than is common in Tetun Dili, but it does not allow subject marking on verbs which is required in Tetun Terik. Tetun Terik also has a ritual register characterized by ritual terms and poetic parallelisms; neither urban Tetun Dili nor the liturgical variety of Tetun Dili use any aspects of this ritual register (Williams-van Klinken 2001). A common example of this is the traditional song *Kolelemai*, the chorus of which is a popular and amusing topic amongst Timorese and *malae* choirs for its untranslatability. The chorus "*kole lele mai, rade kokodele, kole lele mai*" is famously nonsensical, but Timorese all seem to agree that it comes from Tetun Terik (as evidenced, in their view, by the symmetrical repetitions, and by the fact that it does have some recognizable words here and there).

3.2.3.2 Press and Media Varieties

There are several printed daily newspapers in Dili, and Williams-van Klinken (2001) estimates that as much as 50% of the total word count is made up of Portuguese loans. She reports that there is an increase in Portuguese morphological plural marking (e.g., *livrus* 'books') rather than the more common periphrastic plural marking heard in natural speech (e.g., *livru sira* 'books'). She also found an avoidance of Indonesian borrowings, replacing them with Portuguese regardless of whether they are well-known or not. When performing a comprehension check with tertiary-educated Timorese, it was common for readers to encounter "several words in a single paragraph for which they could not even hazard a guess at the meaning" (Williams-van Klinken 2001:6). By my own observations and estimates, I believe that the percentage of Portuguese loans has declined in the intervening 15 years. Indonesian and

English are at least as common as Portuguese, although some stories will be wholly copy-pasted from Portuguese sources.

3.3 Summary

In summary, East Timor is a country of complex internal and external relationships. Its unique geographical position and valuable trading commodities have brought outsiders to the island from as early as the 15th century. These trade relationships have had a profound impact on the development of Tetun as a lingua franca, which later became Tetun Dili. The presence of the Portuguese colonial governance and later the Indonesian armed forces, government officials, and other bureaucratic infrastructure had the unintentional effect of strengthening the importance of Tetun Dili as a national language. Since East Timor became independent, various efforts have been made to standardize and develop the language.

4. Methods

This chapter will discuss the methodological background that influenced the research design of this dissertation. Approaches to attitudes measurement and analysis will be discussed, as well as the content and form of the quantitative and qualitative tools used. The chapter will conclude with a discussion about mixed methodology research in attitude studies.

4.1 Attitude Measurement

Broadly, researchers study language attitudes in three ways. Direct approaches use interviews or surveys which ask participants their opinions about language and language-related issues. Indirect approaches elicit these opinions more subtly through matched-guise or other experimental tasks. The societal treatment approach differs from direct and indirect participant-driven data in that it uses ethnographic or observational analysis of languages from the public domain. Many of the studies in Chapter 2 have used a variety of methods in order to investigate and offer explanations for language attitudes. Attitudes may express different conceptual orientations toward their attitude object (e.g. instrumental, affective, integrative), and researchers use these conceptual foci to elicit specific attitudinal data. Indeed, individual questions within a survey may even be fitted to an orientational model, as well as the responses to those questions. Other methods of analysis, such as stance analysis, use an existing theoretical framework to indirectly interpret directly gathered data.

4.1.1 Theoretical Considerations

The idea that attitudes can be measured and studied was once controversial, but is now generally accepted practice (see discussion in section 2.1.2 of this dissertation). The structural

components of attitudes have been theorized and schematized (see section 2.1.1 of this dissertation). The way in which attitude studies now conflict is apparent in their theoretical approaches toward analysis. Language attitudes can be theorized as having different conceptual orientations, which may influence their strength.

Early researchers categorized attitudes simply as positive, negative, or neutral (Kahn and Wiess 1973). Baker theorized two orientations of attitudes as *integrative* and *instrumental*, where integrative attitudes are social and interpersonal, but instrumental are mostly self-oriented (Baker 1992:32). Martin and White propose a multidimensional model, theorizing attitudes as being *affective*, *appreciation*, or *judgment*, and situate each along a positive-negative cline (Martin and White 2005). Affective attitudes express positive or negative orientations of desire, un/happiness, security; appreciation attitudes express positive or negative orientations of reaction or valuation; and judgment attitudes express positive or negative orientations of normality, veracity, or propriety (Martin and White 2005:71).

While it is useful to have an analytical framework within which to work, I do not hold the view that attitudes must necessarily fit within pre-defined categories, especially for exploratory data. Relying on strict adherence to orientational categories has even been shown to be unnecessarily contrived at times.[36] Therefore, some questions in the survey portion of this dissertation focus on specific types of attitudes, but others are more generally investigative (see Table 4.3).

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[36] See Smith and White 2005:38-40 for a discussion of different approaches to analysis.

4.1.2 Methods of Attitude Elicitation

4.1.2.1 Direct Measurement of Language Attitudes

In language attitude studies, the direct approach is separated into word-of-mouth data, such as interviews, surveys, or polls and written-response data, such as questionnaires and attitude-rating scales (Garrett et al. 2003). Both types of direct approach data will be used in this dissertation, in the form of interview data and surveys which include attitude-rating scales. These types of studies invite participants to share explicit opinions, preferences, or evaluations about language and rely on overtly expressed attitudes.

One of the main shortcomings of this approach is, of course, that human beings are complex and tools such as surveys often lack the sophistication to deal with such complexity.[37] Other common issues that may affect direct approach studies include asking hypothetical questions (which have little power in predicting actual behaviors), asking biased, complex or multiple questions, participants' social desirability or acquiescence bias, and personal characteristics of the researcher (Garrett et al. 2003). Reasonable measures were taken to avoid these pitfalls. Specifically, questions were short and direct, response types were simple, participants were assured of anonymity, and multiple survey RAs were employed to balance for researcher effects.

4.1.2.2 Indirect Measurement of Language Attitudes

The traditional and dominant indirect language attitude research tool is the matched-guise technique, or any technique in which language data is gathered clandestinely from a participant. The argument in favor of this method is that simply asking people what their attitudes are may

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[37] For example, it is not unusual for individuals to accommodate to interlocutors during face-to-face interactions (e.g., Giles et al. 1991), and a methodology which restricts an individual's own personal beliefs and opinions to one data point (like a single survey question) is likely to belie some of this complexity.

yield untrustworthy results because they may answer dishonestly. To prevent this, studies are designed so that participants are not given complete details of the research and are left to make assumptions. One weakness of this method is that if participants are not entirely sure what they are rating, researchers cannot be entirely sure what their data means. This can be overcome, however, with careful research design.[38]

This dissertation does not use the matched-guise technique but makes use of another indirect language attitude measurement in the form of stance analysis. This methods is indirect in that it relies on the researcher to evaluate the data through a theoretical frame, or to transform the data in some way, rather than accepting the data at face-value. In this way, stance analysis risks being viewed as interpretative on the part of the researcher because the interview data must be fitted within an existing framework (see discussion in section 4.3.3). This simplest response to this critique is that the researcher is often the only person familiar enough with the data to do this explanatory interpretation or offer commentary on the results.

4.2 Quantitative Data

4.2.1 Surveys

4.2.1.1 Research Design

Language surveys are a direct approach to studying language attitudes that rely on individual participants with no formal training on language or linguistics (non-linguists) to share their knowledge about and opinions on language and language use. In some respects, this method of inquiry can be called 'folklinguistics', not because of the impoverished nature of the study (although it has been criticized thus), but because it relies on the nuanced views and understanding of ordinary people as the primary data source (Garrett 2010). Of course, one of the

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[38] Limitations of time and concerns about data quality prevented me from being able to use a matched-guise technique for this dissertation, but my follow-up work will return to this idea.

foundations of 'folklinguistics' is that the opinions of 'ordinary' individuals might be preferable in investigating language precisely *because* they are reflective of general attitudes and ideologies towards language features, varieties, and the people who speak them (Preston 1982, 1996). Especially in developing countries where language and education policies may be under negotiation, finding suitable answers to language questions is crucially important to their economic, political and social development (Ferguson 1975).

The 101-question survey used in this dissertation was designed to answer a series of research questions. In order to establish a baseline for attitudes about Tetun Dili, I approached survey design from a wide range of attitudinal questions, including but not limited to: How do Timorese people frame their relationship to Tetun Dili? How do descriptions of Tetun Dili construct ideologies or attitudes about it? How do people feel about Tetun Dili? How do they talk about it? What are some of the stereotypes about Tetun Dili? Who is Tetun Dili spoken by (what kind of people) and where (what kinds of situations)? In what situations do people think Tetun Dili is most appropriate? Most inappropriate? (for a full list of survey materials, see Appendix B). Ultimately, the data collected from these guiding research questions are intended to investigate whether generalizable trends can be discerned within discrete groups.

The survey instrument itself was designed based on the models of attitude-survey-based doctoral dissertations by students who later went on to publish their findings in peer-reviewed journals, particularly Mihyon Jeon's doctoral and later work on language ideologies with bilingual Korean-Americans and Ruth Kircher's doctoral and later work on language attitudes in Quebec (Jeon 2005, 2008, 2010; Kircher 2009, 2012, 2014). The survey instrument was translated by a committee of four native speakers of Tetun Dili (two of these translators later served as research assistants) and consists of seven sections (see Appendix A). Following the

advice of a colleague at The Asia Foundation, the survey was then back-translated it into English at a later date to double-check for clarity.

4.2.1.2 Instrument Design

Section One – Demographic Information

This section contained 20 questions designed to collect general demographic information about each participant (Figure 4.1 below).

Personal Information

₁ Age:	₂ Sex:	₃ Ethnicity:

Where were you born?
₄ Country   ₅ District   ₆ Suko   ₇ How many years have you lived in Timor?

Where do you live?
₈ District   ₉ Suko   ₁₀ Bairu   ₁₁ How many years have you lived in Dili?

₁₂ Have you ever traveled abroad?   Yes   No   ₁₃ When and where?

₁₄ Level of Education: ₁₅ Number of children?   ₁₆ Occupation/job?

What do your parents do?
₁₇ Father   ₁₈ Mother

Where are your parents from?
₁₉ Father   ₂₀ Mother

Figure 4.1 Survey section one: Demographic questions

Apart from collecting general demographic data, some questions were included with the specific goal of establishing the participant's socio-economic status (SES). In a country that lacks an extant income tax system, and where the majority of workers are not wage-income laborers, establishing an individual's socio-economic status is difficult. For this reason, several of these demographic questions, when combined, proved useful in providing an indicator of a participant's economic status (Table 4.1 below). In Table 4.1 below is the metric I designed, which gives a weighted score to various aspects related to traditional SES measures (although I have altered some things to be more appropriate to a Timorese context; for example, having two

working parents in the West might not indicate upward SES mobility, but in East Timor, having

two employed parents indicates that they are educated). Using this metric, a hypothetical

participant who had not completed secondary school (0), was unemployed (0), had a father who

was a subsistence farmer (0) and a mother who was a homemaker (0), and had never left the

country (0) would have the lowest possible SES score of 0. Another hypothetical participant who

completed their post-secondary education (1) in Australia (1) and had two schoolteacher parents

(1), and who was herself employed by the government (1) would have the highest possible SES

score of 4.

Indicator type	Indicator	Weight
Education	Secondary certificate	.5
	or	
	Post-secondary	1
Employment	Professionally employed	1
	Mother professionally employed	.5
	Father professionally employed	.5
Mobility	Traveled abroad – Indonesia	.5
	or	
	Traveled abroad – Other	1

Table 4.1 Metric for establishing participants' SES

Section Two – Self-reported Language Use

These 16 items in section 2 dealt with language use and asked questions about

participants' historical language use, family language use, and situational language use (Figure

4.2 below). Questions in this section were looking for both language use and language mismatch;

for example, mismatches between parents' mother tongues (Q24 and Q25), mismatches between

the parents' and the participant's mother tongues (Q21), and mismatches between participants'

mother tongues and their language used most often in the home (Q35). These questions and the

incongruities between them not only indicate participants' beliefs about Tetun Dili domains, but

also indicate ethnolinguistic vitality of other local languages. Incongruities between language used at home, with friends (Q34) and at work (Q36) can also give insight into not only perceived self-language use, but also language appropriateness in various domains. Because the concept of a 'mother tongue' in East Timor not only points to language competence but also to cultural, social, and ethnic background, Q22 "What other languages do you know well" and Q23 "What other languages do you know a little bit" provided an opportunity for participants to identify their mother tongue *and* give themselves something of a competence ranking (however rudimentary). These questions also provided insight into some linguistic insecurity for some participants on the occasions when the language in Q21 was listed again in Q23.

Some questions were included to provide insight into the beliefs embedded in their responses rather than for the participant's representation of the linguistic realities of East Timor. For example, Q33 "When you talk to foreigners, what language do you use?" can be used as a basis of understanding where Timorese perceive that the majority of foreigners come from (or, at the very least, what the vehicular language for communicating with non-Timorese is). Q26 "What languages do you want to know better" and Q27 "What languages do you want your children to know" were designed to look at generational trends on the notions of language utility. All questions in this section were open-ended in order to encourage multiple and complex responses.

Information about Language		
21 **Mother tongue:**	22 **Other languages you know well?**	
23 **Other languages you know a little:**	**You parents' mother tongue?:**	
	24 *Father*	25 *Mother*
26 **Do you want to know any languages better?**		
27 **What languages do you want your children to know?**		
28 **In primary school, what language(s) did your teachers use?**		
29 **In secondary school, what language(s) did your teachers use?**		
30 **In university, what language(s) did your teachers use?**		
31 **When you talk to friends, which language do you usually use?**		
32 **When you talk to family, which language do you usually use?**		
33 **When you talk to foreigners, which language do you usually use?**		
34 **At work, which language do you usually use?**		
35 **At home, which language do you usually use?**		
36 **At school, which language do you usually use?**		

Figure 4.2 Survey section two: Self-reported language use questions

Section Three – Hypothetical Language Use (Ideal)

This 20-question section asked participants to choose the most appropriate language from Tetun Dili, Indonesian, Portuguese or English for situations and scenarios related to education and occupation, social solidarity, and media (see Figure 4.3 below). These questions were from Baker 1992, using Tuwakham's 2005 modifications for his doctoral dissertation work with multiethnic communities in northern Thailand as a regionally appropriate and culturally similar model. In order to fit within the Timorese context, some questions were omitted, modified, or added. The section began with the frame "According to your view, choose the language that is most important to…". Each item had the choice of four response languages, Portuguese, Indonesian, English, or Tetun. Participants were asked to choose only one language for each item.

Choose one language									
According to your view, choose that language that is most important to…									
	Tetun	Port.	Ingles	Indon.		Tetun	Port.	Ingles	Indon.
make friends:				37	talk with teachers:				47
be successful:				38	talk with rural people:				48
get a good education:				39	talk with Dili people:				49
feel happy in your relationships:				40	talk with government officials:				50
get money:				41	get a good job:				51
read:				42	talk with friends from school:				52
write:				43	go to church:				53
listen to the radio:				44	go to the market:				54
watch TV:				45	go to the districts:				55
be accepted by people in Timor-Leste:				46	be accepted by people in your neighborhood:				56

Figure 4.3 Survey section three: Hypothetical language use questions

No.	Item	Domain
37	make friends	social solidarity
38	be successful	occupation
39	get a good education	education
40	feel happy in your relationships	social solidarity
41	get money	occupation
42	read	media
43	write	education
44	listen to the radio	media
45	watch TV	media
46	be accepted by people in Timor-Leste	social solidarity
47	talk with teachers	education
48	talk with rural people	social solidarity
49	talk with Dili people	social solidarity
50	talk with government officials	domain-specific
51	get a good job	occupation
52	talk with friends from school	education
53	go to church	domain-specific
54	go to market	domain-specific
55	go to the districts	domain-specific
56	be accepted by people in your neighborhood	social solidarity

Table 4.2 Survey section three: Hypothetical language use questions

Section Four – Language Attitudes

The 26 questions of section 4 focused on language attitudes, asking participants to agree

or disagree with statements related to multilingualism, rational and emotional statements related

to Tetun Dili and Portuguese, and statements related to Timorese identity (see Figure 4.4 below).

Different statements were included to measure different types of attitudes. For example, Q74 "Tetun is really unfashionable" and Q57 "It is important to know a local language" are general language attitudes. Statements like "Knowing only one language makes life difficult" (Q68) and "Knowing Tetun can help people get jobs in Timor" (Q64) are instrumental language attitude questions in the style of Baker 1992. Questions like "People that know Tetun are clever" (Q59) and "All Timorese in Dili need to know Portuguese" are questions aimed to elicit integrative attitudes, also in the style of Baker 1992. In Table 4.3 below, each question is marked with the topic it revolves around and the attitude type it seeks to gain information about, as well as the language in question (whether Tetun Dili 'TD' or Portuguese 'P'). Not all statements were directly focused on Tetun Dili. This was partly to prevent 'survey fatigue' from repetition and partly out of a desire to investigate general attitudes toward multilingualism. Some questions were more directly focused on Portuguese, and while the role of Portuguese in East Timor is not within the scope of this dissertation, these questions may lend insight into the domains of use of Portuguese and/or Tetun Dili. Possible responses for these statements were binary 'agree' or 'disagree', rather than scaled responses in order to establish simple baselines for attitudes (and because I knew that the next section required more nuance, and I was, again, trying to prevent 'survey fatigue'). In almost all cases it can be assumed that if a participant marked 'disagree' then they believed that the inverse of the statement was true. For example, if a participant marked 'disagree' to the statement "Knowing many languages is just easy" (Q66), their belief can be interpreted as "Knowing many languages is *not* just easy". However, this is not always the case, and if a participant marked 'disagree' to a statement like "Portuguese, English, Indonesian, Tetun, and local languages can live together in Timor-Leste" (Q73), it is not possible to assume which part of the statement the participant was disagreeing with (something that future

work should take into account). What can be gleaned instead is a general attitude toward the

question itself.

There are some sentences about language in Timor-Leste. Please say if you agree or disagree.

	Agree	Disagree
57 It is important to know a local language.	☐	☐
58 It is more important to know Tetun than local languages.	☐	☐
59 People that know Tetun are clever.	☐	☐
60 Portuguese language and Tetun language are very different.	☐	☐
61 Children feel confused when they learn Portuguese and Tetun at the same time.	☐	☐
62 People have to learn Tetun before learning Portuguese.	☐	☐
63 It is more important to know Tetun than Portuguese.	☐	☐
64 Knowing Tetun can help people get jobs in Timor.	☐	☐
65 Knowing Tetun can help people get jobs abroad.	☐	☐
66 Knowing many languages is easy.	☐	☐
67 Knowing many languages is important.	☐	☐
68 Knowing only one language makes life difficult.	☐	☐
69 I feel sad for people in Timor that don't know Tetun.	☐	☐
70 Youths don't know how to speak Tetun properly.	☐	☐
71 All Timorese in Dili need to know Portuguese.	☐	☐
72 All Timorese in the districts need to know Portuguese.	☐	☐
73 Portuguese, English, Indonesian, Tetun, and local languages can live together in Timor-Leste	☐	☐
74 Tetun is really unfashionable.	☐	☐
75 Portuguese is more valuable than Tetun.	☐	☐
76 Timorese youths like to speak Tetun.	☐	☐
77 Older Timorese like to speak Tetun.	☐	☐
78 Tetun is a simple languages.	☐	☐
79 Foreigners should learn Tetun.	☐	☐
80 Tetun is an important part of Timorese identity.	☐	☐
81 If I had to choose only one language to speak, I would choose Tetun.	☐	☐
82 I have positive feelings about Tetun.	☐	☐

Figure 4.4 Survey section 4: Language attitudes

No.	Item	Topic	Attitude Type	Target Language
57	It is important to know a local language.	multilingualism	general	
58	It is more important to know Tetun than a local language.	multilingualism	instrumental	TD
59	People who know Tetun are clever.	identity	integrative	TD
60	Portuguese and Tetun are very different.	education	general	P, TD
61	Children feel confused when they learn Portuguese and Tetun at the same time.	education	general	P, TD
62	People should learn Tetun before they learn Portuguese.	education	integrative	TD
63	It is more important for people to know Tetun than Portuguese.	multilingualism	instrumental	TD
64	Knowing Tetun can help people get work	utility	instrumental	TD

	in Timor.			
65	Knowing Tetun can help people get work in a foreign country.	utility	instrumental	TD
66	Knowing many languages is just easy.	multilingualism	general	
67	Knowing many languages is important.	multilingualism	general	
68	Knowing only one language makes people get problems.	multilingualism	general	
69	I feel sad for Timorese people that don't know Tetun.	identity	integrative	TD
70	Young people don't know how to speak Tetun right.	identity	integrative	TD
71	All Timorese people in Dili need to know Portuguese.	identity	instrumental	P
72	All Timorese people in the districts need to know Portuguese.	identity	instrumental	P
73	Portuguese, English, Indonesian, Tetun, and local languages can live together in Timor-Leste	multilingualism	general	
74	Tetun is unfashionable/not attractive	identity	integrative	TD
75	Portuguese is more valuable than Tetun.	utility	instrumental	P
76	Young Timorese like to speak Tetun.	identity	integrative	TD
77	Older Timorese like to speak Tetun	identity	integrative	TD
78	Tetun is a simple language.	education	general	TD
79	Foreigners should learn Tetun.	education	integrative	TD
80	Tetun is an important part of Timorese identity.	identity	integrative	TD
81	If I had to choose only one language to speak, I choose Tetun.	multilingualism	general	TD
82	I feel positive about Tetun.	identity	integrative	TD

Table 4.3 Attitude statements, topic, attitude type, target language

Section Five – Tetun (Speakers)

Section 5 asked participants to rate their level of agreement with 18 positive, negative

and neutral adjectives describing Tetun Dili speakers (see Figure 4.5 below). Participants were

asked to respond using a 4-point Likert Scale corresponding to "really disagree-disagree

somewhat-agree somewhat-really agree" rankings. A neutral option was not provided, but

participants were reminded that all questions throughout the survey were optional. Most

adjectives had an opposing item (see Table 4.4 below), but not all. Adjective pairs were not

necessarily polar on the evaluation scale (for example, 'loud' is considered a negative trait in the

local context, but 'quiet' is neutral). These pairs were designed to look for consistency and mismatches between evaluations. For example, if a hypothetical participant marks 'peaceful' (Q94) with 'strongly agree', will they then 'strongly disagree' with 'violent' (Q95)? These questions were developed in conjunction with several Tetun Dili-speaking consultants in order to assure that the nuance of the adjectives was well understood in translation, and were based on linguistic stereotypes I had heard regarding other languages in East Timor.[39]

About people who speak Tetun				
Please, indicate your level of agreement with the following words.				
People who speak Tetun are...	**Really disagree**	**Disagree somewhat**	**Agree somewhat**	**Really Agree**
83 **quiet.**	☐	☐	☐	☐
84 **stupid.**	☐	☐	☐	☐
85 **loud.**	☐	☐	☐	☐
86 **kind-hearted.**	☐	☐	☐	☐
87 **feminine.**	☐	☐	☐	☐
88 **bad-tempered.**	☐	☐	☐	☐
89 **masculine.**	☐	☐	☐	☐
90 **honest.**	☐	☐	☐	☐
91 **modern.**	☐	☐	☐	☐
92 **backward.**	☐	☐	☐	☐
93 **successful.**	☐	☐	☐	☐
94 **peaceful.**	☐	☐	☐	☐
95 **violent.**	☐	☐	☐	☐
96 **young.**	☐	☐	☐	☐
97 **poor.**	☐	☐	☐	☐
98 **old.**	☐	☐	☐	☐
99 **rich.**	☐	☐	☐	☐
100 **pretentious.**	☐	☐	☐	☐

Figure 4.5 Survey section 5: Evaluations of Tetun Dili speakers

Positive	*Negative*	*Neutral*	*No.*
	loud	quiet	83, 85
successful	simple		93, 84
kind-hearted	bad-tempered		86, 88
		feminine - masculine	87, 89
honest	pretentious[40]		90, 100

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[39] Particularly, that Makasae speakers were loud, fast-talking and passionate, and that Fataluku speakers were quiet, peaceful, and soft-spoken, etc.

[40] In Tetun, the opposite of 'honest' can be expressed as 'halo aan' or 'loko aan', which literally means 'making a face' but metaphorically means 'putting up a front' and has an implication of dishonesty. This item is sometimes translated in English as 'pretentious' for simplicity.

modern	old-fashioned		91, 92
peaceful	violent		94, 95
		young - old	96, 98
rich	poor		99, 97

Table 4.4 Positive-Negative-Neutral adjective pairings

Section Six – Language Ranking

Like section 5, section 6 of this survey was largely my own innovation based on my previous experiences in Timor. Section 6 asked participants to rank Portuguese, English, Tetun, and Indonesian in order of difficulty (see Figure 4.6 below). I have in previous visits and pilot surveys repeatedly observed that Timorese participants are eager to evaluate the national and working languages based on their perceived ease or difficulty of learning. It is my belief that the answers to this question encode more than comments on the ease or difficulty of the languages themselves. External ideologies, media availability, familiarity and environmental salience, personal learning experiences, ideologies of complexity and "development", and motivation all influence which language a participant deems 'difficult' or 'simple'.

Put these languages in order from simplest to most difficult [Indonesian, English, Portuguese, Tetun]

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____
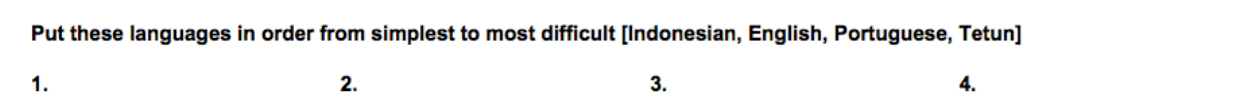
Figure 4.6 Survey section 6: Language ranking by difficulty

Section Seven – Language Description

This section asked participants to use 5 words to describe Tetun Dili (see Figure 4.7 below). This was based on Kircher (2009), in which open-ended descriptions of Quebec French were used to corroborate forced-choice responses. For the present study, this was the only chance that participants had to directly express their opinion about Tetun Dili, and will be used in the same way as Kircher 2009 to add nuance and detail to the forced-choice survey questions. In addition, this question was also asked of all interview participants with regard to Tetun Dili (and

sometimes also regarding English, Portuguese, or Indonesian) for the purposes of comparison between the two contexts.

Choose five words to describe the Tetun language.

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____

Figure 4.7 Survey section 7: Descriptions of Tetun Dili

4.2.1.3 Data Collection

Surveys were collected over a period of two weeks by four Timorese research assistants. RAs were recruited from the English Conversation Course at the Universidade Nacional Timor Lorosa'e and the English program at the Dili Institute of Technology. Before selection, RAs were asked to submit an application and sit for an interview. RAs were chosen based on their diversity of language backgrounds and clear understanding of the research. They were each given detailed Terms of Reference (ToR) and asked to sign a contract confirming that they understood their responsibilities and terms of compensation. As part of the ToR, RAs were required to attend a one-hour group training to familiarize themselves with the survey instrument and ethical research principles. Each RA was given 75 surveys which were marked with a unique identifier. During survey collection, RAs kept a log wherein they recorded information about each survey experience; location, noise level, time of day, length of time to complete the survey, questions that participants had, their estimation of the participant's mood, etc. During training, RAs were encouraged to collect surveys from participants of a wide variety of ages, economic levels, gender identities, education levels and linguistic backgrounds. When all surveys had been filled out and returned, RAs were required to meet with me individually for one-hour debriefings. During this time, I looked over each survey and asked the RAs questions where necessary, and discussed any questions or concerns that they brought up. In total and as a result

of this debriefing, a total of 299 usable surveys were returned by the 4 RAs over a period of 2 weeks.

4.2.1.4 Analysis

Survey results were entered into a Microsoft Excel database and cleaned up for compatibility with *R*, the statistical software (R Core Team 2016). Descriptive statistics for survey results were first visualized using Excel's chart function to check for mistakes and inconsistencies, and later in R for ease of visualization of data. The analysis of survey data presented in this dissertation is intended to be understood in conjunction with interview data.

4.3 Qualitative Data

4.3.1 Interviews

4.3.1.1 Research Design

Data for this dissertation draws from both surveys and interviews. Interview questions were designed to flow conversationally with each participant. With some natural deviations and occasional re-ordering, interviews largely proceeded according to the following pattern. The interviewer (me) typically began by asking each participant some background information about themselves, their experiences in East Timor and abroad, their impressions of East Timor and other countries they had visited. This was used as a segue to ask participants about their experiences communicating throughout their life in various scenarios, their language and language learning backgrounds, and their experiences and opinions on language-related issues in East Timor. Each interview ended with the same two questions, "Using 5 words, can you describe the language situation in East Timor?" (in parallel to the survey) and "Is there anything else you want to talk about, or anything you thought I'd ask that we didn't discuss?"

Following the model of Hoffman 2014, I allowed participants to direct the conversation naturally and did not steer them back to topics they were hesitant to broach or elaborate on.[41] I tried to be only a minimal conversation participant and minimized my opinions and views as much as possible, but answered direct questions when asked. Above all, I tried to never interrupt or talk at the same time as a participant. Interviewees were recruited by word-of-mouth with the understanding that I was asking them to participate in a 30-60 minute conversation about "their experiences in East Timor and abroad with language and language learning." The Institutional Review Board for Human Subjects Research at the University of Hawaii at Manoa approved my question bank of over 100 questions (see Appendix C), but only a handful of these questions per interview were intended for use. Interviews were conducted over a period of 12 months from October 2014 – July 2015 and February – April 2016.

4.3.1.2 Interview Participants

Current best practice for sociolinguistic interviews recommends that participants should vary by at least three language-external factors, such as age, sex, or area of residence (Hoffman 2014:30). An ideal sample would be stratified along these factors, and have a minimum of two participants per cell (Hoffman 2014, ibid). For this study, interview participants were stratified by gender and age.

Gender Age	Men	Women	Total
Younger[42]	2	2	8
Middle-Aged	2	2	8

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[41] I also never had a question check-sheet visible; in fact I tried to always arrive early to the agreed upon location and busy myself with a coffee or other drink so that I would have reasonable excuses not to talk, and so there would be 'normal stuff' on the table as well as the recorder.

[42] 'Younger' in this case was anyone below their early 30s, and 'Older' was anyone above their mid-50s (the reader is gently encouraged to remember that the demographic spread in East Timor skews toward the youth- I am certainly not middle-aged in the West, but in East Timor I'm old enough to be a grandmother).

Older	2	2	8
			24

Table 4.5 Sample Interview Participant Stratification

4.4 Relationship of Quantitative Data to Qualitative Data

This dissertation relies on two data sources for its analysis; quantitative survey data and qualitative interview data. These methods of attitude elicitation may yield different results owing to their differing approaches, and the role of awareness and attention associated with each approach. Survey results do not get at the nuance of individual opinions, while interviews provide data that is often *too* nuanced to generalize from. The aim of this dissertation is to create a unified description of language attitudes using both quantitative and qualitative data to support each other.

4.4.1 Mixed Methodologies in Attitudes Research

Amongst quantitative attitude studies, it is common to use a single data source or data set, such as the results of a matched-guise experiment (such as Cargile and Giles 1997; Diaz-Campos and Killam 2012; Loureiro-Rodriguez, Boggess, and Goldsmith 2013, *ibid*.), or a survey (such as Shikama 2005; Oakes 2013; Sallabank 2013; Paterson and O'Hanlon 2015; Salmon 2015, *ibid*.). Other attitudes studies use discourse-based data either as spoken interviews or interactions, (such as Rajah-Carrim 2007; Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain 2009; Jiang et al. 2010; Jones 2011; Dailey-O'Cain and Liebscher 2011; Karrebaek 2013; Mortensen 2014; Mariou 2015; Weise 2015, ibid.) written discourse data, (such as Chen 2012; Celik 2013; Hiss 2013, ibid.) and even public-space 'discourse' in the form of signs (such as Higgins 2009; Coupland 2012; *ibid*.).

Mixed methodologies research explores questions and problems using both quantitative data (from surveys or experiments) and qualitative data (from interviews) in order to increase the validity and trustworthiness of the findings (Calfee and Sterling 2010). Proponents of using

mixed methodologies point to the weaknesses of both approaches as an argument for using both. Quantitative methods can overly-simplify and decontextualize their results, and may be reductionist in their generalizations (Dornyei 2007). Qualitative methods are subject to researcher bias and lack of methodological rigor, and their more labor intensive results are *less* generalizable due to their small sample sizes. Mixed methodologies eliminate these weaknesses to some degree by increasing their respective strengths; Dornyei calls this "putting flesh on the bones" (Dornyei 2007:45).

4.4.2 Methodological contributions

In attitudes studies, the classic mixed methodology is to use either questionnaires or surveys and either interviews or focus groups as independent measures that strengthen or problematize one another. That different measures may result in even more complicated conclusions does not detract from the overall results; contradictory results help facilitate more nuanced understandings of attitudes and behaviors and can be replicated or challenged in future work. For example, Hoare's study of attitudes and perceptions of identity in Brittany found contradictions between her questionnaire data and interview data, concluding that the *reality* of language in Brittany was different than the *idea* of language in Brittany (Hoare 2000). Lai's study of gender and language attitudes in Hong Kong also found that while women and men exhibited distinct patterns in surveys, the focus groups were not conscious of it and could not explain it (Lai 2007). Balam's study on overt language attitudes and linguistic identities among multilingual speakers in northern Belize found different attitudes toward the local variety of Spanish expressed in interviews than were seen in surveys (Balam 2013). These studies and others show that, while an important source of baseline information, survey data alone may not paint a complete picture of language attitudes. Indeed, the difference between the two may

further problematize the object of study in ways that lead to future research avenues. For all these reasons and others, I am using surveys and interviews to present the first language attitude study in East Timor.

4.4.3 Future applications

An ideal research program would include elements of all four methodologies from the direct and indirect observation of language attitudes; surveys from various age groups, a matched-guise experiment, interviews and focus groups (or some type of interactional discourse such as classroom observation, work/life conversation or online forum analysis). To complete this ideal attitude study, a societal treatment approach would also be required in which language policy and planning documents were tracked over time and analyzed based on their content and orientation. Finally, a linguistic landscape study would round out the overall validity of any attitude research program by contextualizing the ways in which individual attitudes manifest in every day practice. It is my hope that future work would lead in these directions from the foundation I am laying out with this dissertation.

4.5 Summary

This chapter discussed the theoretical and methodological background that influenced the research design of this dissertation. Detailed descriptions of the research tools were included for future researchers to refer to. This dissertation uses direct and indirect methods of attitudes measurement and will use qualitative and quantitative methods of data analysis for the results presented in the next chapter. The overall goal of this mixed methodological approach is to provide as clear a picture as possible of the complexities of language attitudes in East Timor.

5. Results of the Survey

The aim of this chapter is to present the results of the language attitude survey collected from 301 Timorese participants of varying backgrounds in July of 2015. First, section 5.1 presents the background data collected from survey participants and gives context to the attitude questions that follow. Sections 5.2 and 5.3 show the results of the language use sections of the survey, both from participants' personal experiences, and their opinions on ideal language use in given situations. Sections 5.4 and 5.5 present the results of the attitude questions about Tetun and Tetun speakers. Section 5.6 shows the results of a language-difficulty-ranking task. Section 5.7 shows the results of the free-response descriptions of Tetun. Each attitude section concludes with a summary. A note on terminology: N/A is used throughout these sections to refer to responses that fall under the following categories: blank, an expression that indicated the participants' disinclination to answer a particular question, an expression that indicated that participants' belief that the question was not applicable to them, or an answer that was unintelligible to the researcher (me), the research assistants, and other knowledgeable Timorese consultants.

5.1 Survey Section One – Demographic Information

This section of the survey consists of 20 background questions that aimed to provide demographic information about each participant. The detailed discussion that follows is intended to familiarize the reader with the characteristics of the sample group, and situate their representativeness within the larger Timorese population. Results are presented here in largely the same order that questions appeared on the survey, but for the sake of brevity, some questions are combined. This section proceeds thus: 5.1.1 Age and Gender, 5.1.2 Ethnicity, 5.1.3 District Representations, 5.1.4 Length of Residence 5.1.5 Current Residence, and 5.1.6 Participant SES,

followed by a summary and discussion of the responses from this section. For discussion of the development of these questions, see section 4.2.1.2.

5.1.1 Age and Gender

Q1: Age – Tinan hira
Q2: Gender – Sexu[43]

Surveys were collected from 301 participants between the ages of 18 and 67 (4 N/A responses). Participants tend to be under 30 years of age with a median age of 23, and they were evenly distributed across gender, with 148 self-identified female participants and 150 self-identified male participants (3 N/A responses). These totals are consistent with current demographics of East Timor according to the 2015 census, which show that 77.7% of the population is under thirty years of age, and 51% of the population is male. This seems shocking on the surface, but the last few decades of internal stability, access to medicine, vaccines, and improved nutrition mean that children are surviving infancy at greater rates. Compounding this, Amnesty International estimates that a third of the population of East Timor was killed between

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[43] There is no good Tetun equivalent to the idea of 'gender' as an attribute that is different than 'sex'. In previous surveys, I have given a 'M/F/Other' option, which elicited confusion and amusement from Timorese participants. (This is not to say that Timorese do not recognize that third gender and transgender exist- they do.) For this survey, I simply left the spot blank to allow for write-in. For the purposes of this analysis, I am using the term 'gender' because participants self-identified.

1975 and 1999, so the older generation is unnaturally diminished.
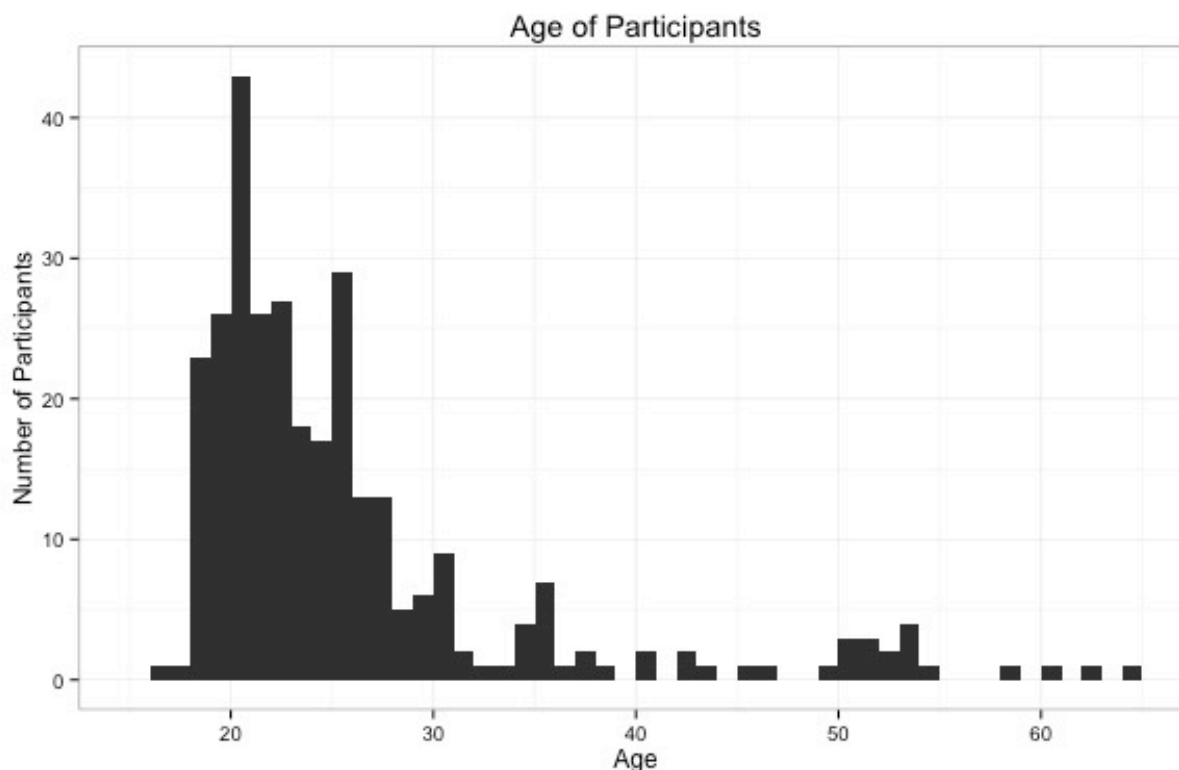
Figure 5.1 Distribution of Participant Age

5.1.2 Ethnicity

Q3: Ethnicity – Etniku/Rasa

As predicted, the concept of ethnicity presented a significant confound for participants. Answers to this question were free-response style, and the results were considerably messy. For this reason, I have classified the responses as falling under one of six response types: N/A (195), place-name (13), ethnolinguistic classifier (39), Timorese (39), or *Lorosae* (easterner)/*Loromonu* (westerner) (7/8). The largest by far is the N/A group, in which most participants simply skipped the question, but a few drew a 'strike' line through the blank as though to say 'this doesn't apply to me'. The second most common were responses that indicated the participant was simply

Timorese (original Timor:6, original Timor-oan:2, Timor:8, Timor metan:1, Timor-Leste:2, Timorense:11, Timor-oan:9), or responses that used an ethno-linguistic classifier (Atoni:2, Bunak:2, Fataluku:2, Idate:2, Kemak:4, Makasae:3, Mambae:20, Tetun:4).[44] Less common was the use of a place name that was more specific than East Timor, which may carry other ethnolinguistically identifying information, but which cannot be reliably extracted from the data (Ainaro:1, Angola:1, Baucau:1, Bebonuk:1, Dili:2, Ermera:1, Indonesia:2, Java:1, Lospalos:1, Remexio:1, Samora:1).[45] Finally, and somewhat unexpectedly, the least common pattern of response was for a participant to choose a side in the Lorosae/Loromonu division from the time of the 2006 crisis, with only 7 Lorosae and 8 Loromonu responses. It is worth noting that all of the Lorosae/Loromonu responses were collected by the same research assistant in the early stages of his survey collection (according to his activity logs), which suggests that, at least initially, he was providing more context for confused participants.

The clearest explanation for this messy data is that 'ethnicity' as conceived by Westerners is simply not a meaningful way that Timorese organize themselves socially. It would be very easy for an outsider to divide Timorese along Austronesian/Papuan lines (both linguistically and culturally), but this is simply not a recognized construct among Timorese. A second explanation is that the concept of *ethnicity* was introduced into the social consciousness at the time of the 2006 crisis, when Western media simplified the Lorosae/Loromonu violence as an *ethnic conflict*. This association is why I expected that participants might be more likely to give a Lorosae or Loromonu response to the question of ethnicity. That they didn't suggests that

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[44] These are some common local languages, except for Atoni, which is used interchangeably to refer to both the language and the ethnic group in the exclave of Oecusse.

[45] The two surveys which explicitly labeled their ethnicity as "Indonesian" were included after review. These participants are indeed Timorese, despite being born in Indonesia, or have at least shared in many Timorese experiences. For example, they have parents who are L1-speakers of Timorese languages, and they report that Tetun was used in their school years. It is not unlikely that they are Timorese-Indonesian.

Timorese are eager to forget the events of 2006, and that they do not want these labels to be or become any more meaningful than they already are.
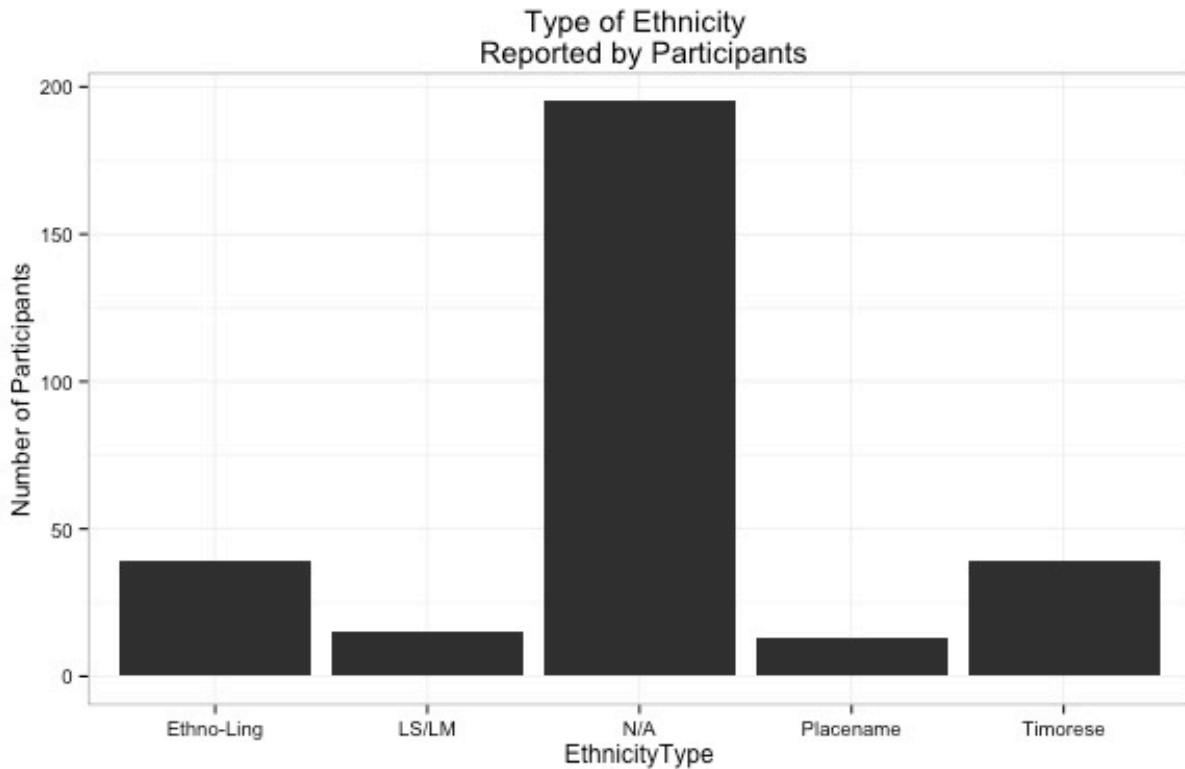
Figure 5.2 Participant Ethnicity-Type Responses

5.1.3 District Representations

Q4-6: Where were you born? Country/District/Area – Moris iha nebee? Nasaun/Distritu/Suko
Q19-20 Where are your parents from? Father/Mother – Ita nia amaa ho apaa husi iha nebee?
Apaa/Amaa

The birthplace questions were primarily intended to elicit which district participants were born in. The Tetun survey was explicit, asking *Moris iha nebee?* 'Where were you born?', and then asked for *Nasaun* 'Country, *Distritu*, 'District', and *Suko* 'Area' (a *suko* is an administrative division that is larger than a neighborhood but smaller than a sub-district, something like a precinct). The country slot was simply a lead-in for the district slot, and the *suko* slot is irrelevant

to the analysis of this survey (there are thousands of them; the abundance and diversity of responses make categorization of these outside of the scope of the present project). Participants were included from each of the 13 districts (Aileu:13, Ainaro:24, Baucau:34, Bobonaro:17, Covalima:20, Dili:76, Ermera:12, Lautem:25, Liquica:11, Manatutu:10, Manufahi:17, Oecusse:10, Viqueque:18), with 3 from Indonesia and 10 N/A. Parent's origins were also taken into consideration as part of the participants' background information and 111 participants had parents from districts other than their own. Comparison of participants and their parents' districts show a trend toward settling in Dili. The survey results pattern consistently with the 2015 census populations of each district. Of interest in this data is that participants report that their parents are from the districts at much higher rates than themselves, a trend which is strongly reversed in Dili. This again indicates the extent of urban migration in Timor, and together with the population sample in the previous section, shows the prevalence of youth settlement in Dili, and give an idea of how young the population of the city is.
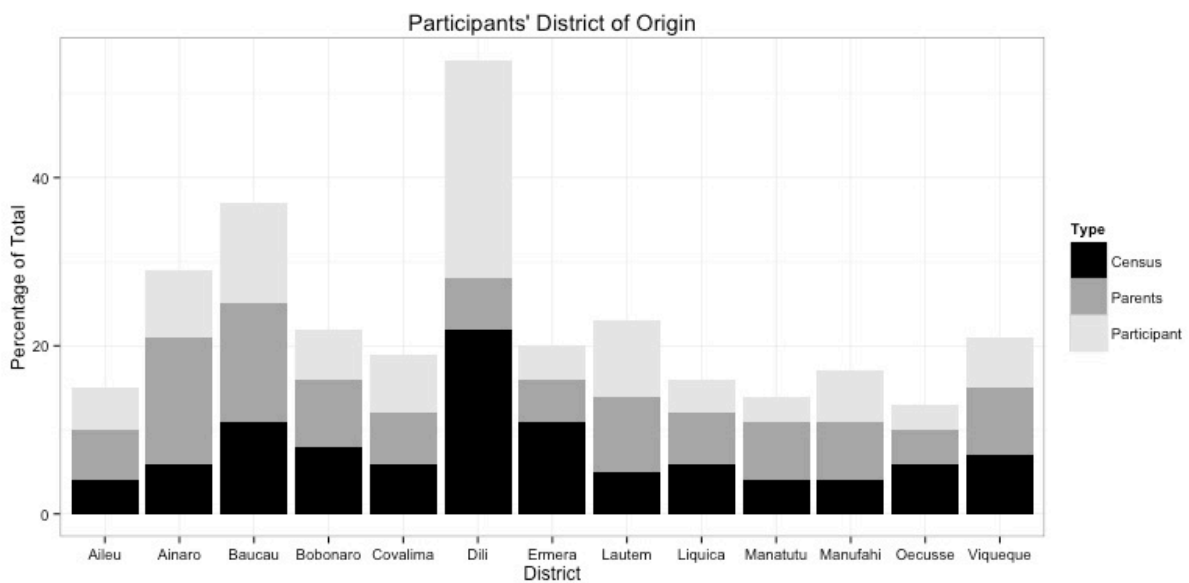
Figure 5.3 Distribution of Participants' District of Origin, their Parents' Districts of Origin, and the 2015 Census Population

5.1.4 Length of Residence

Q7: How long have you lived in Timor? – Tinan hira hela iha Timor?
Q11: How long have you lived in Dili? – Tinan hira hela iha Dili?

Participants reported that they had lived in East Timor from 6 years to 64 years, with an average of 25.5 and 29 N/A responses.[46] Of these 268 remaining responses (an additional 4 were removed for not providing a response in the "Age" field), "Years in Timor" were subtracted from their age. The majority of participants had lived in East Timor for their entire lives (258 responses), a few participants had spent a few years abroad (1yr in 2 instances, 2yrs in 2 instances, and 3yrs in 1 instance), and a few participants had spent many years outside of East Timor (12yrs in 1 instance, 13yrs in 1 instance, 14yrs in 1 instance, 26yrs in 1 instance, and 30yrs in 1 instance). In many cases, these participants reported having been in Indonesia in a future question, so it is possible that they were in exile during the Indonesian occupation. Curiously, two participants (a 21yo male and a 26yo male) reported that they had lived in East Timor for one year longer than they had been alive (22yrs and 27yrs, respectively), but this is likely a case of rounding up.

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[46] One male participant reported only living in Timor for 6 years and is the son of a Timorese father and Indonesian mother. In later questions, he reported speaking Tetun well and Makasae somewhat, and that his primary school teachers used Indonesian, but his secondary and tertiary school teachers used Tetun and Portuguese, so perhaps this was a misunderstanding of the question.

**Participants' Years of Residence
in East Timor**
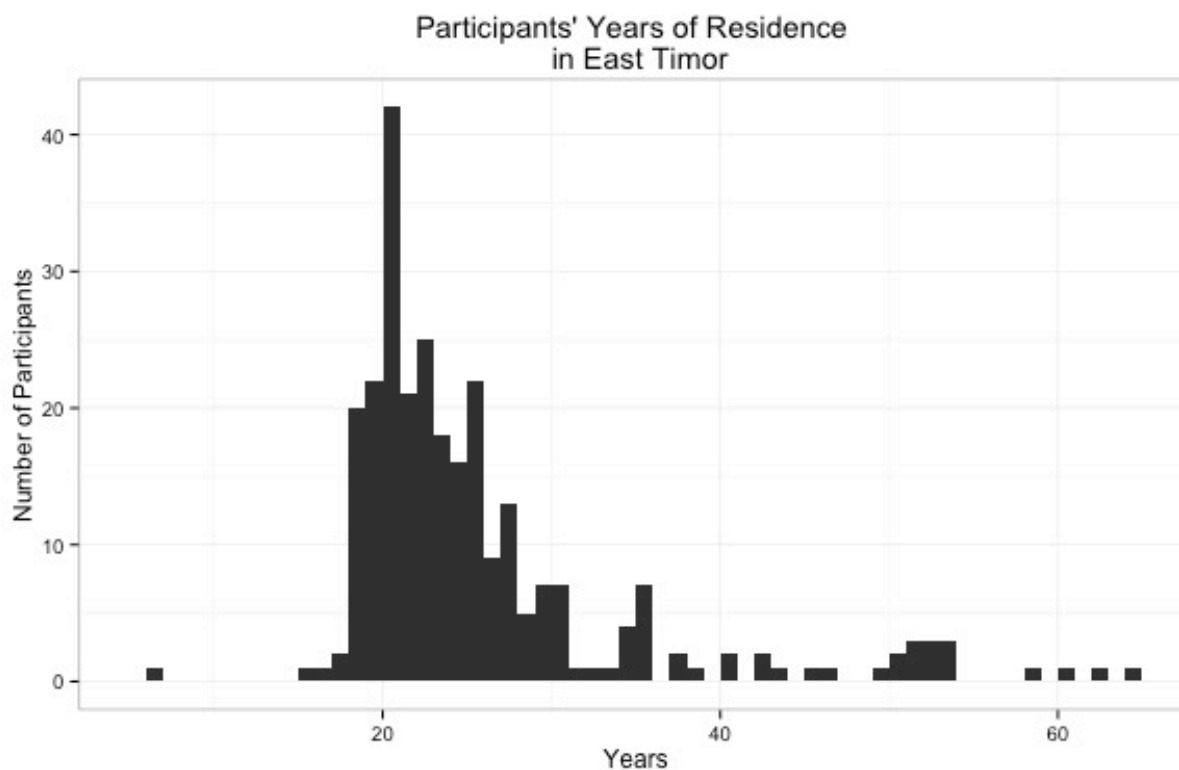
Figure 5.4 Distribution of Participants' Years Lived in East Timor

Participants reported that they had lived in Dili from under 1 year to 51 years, with an average of 10.7 years and 29 N/A responses.[47] Of these 255 remaining responses (4 were removed for not providing a response in the "Age" field, 29 were removed for not providing a response in the "Years in Timor" field, and an additional 14 were removed for not providing a response to the "Years in Dili" field), "Years in Dili" were subtracted from participants' "Years in Timor". From this, 111 participants had lived in Dili for 10 or fewer years, 121 participants had lived in Dili for 11-20 years, and 22 participants had lived in Dili for more than 20 years. The two largest spike occurred in the last few years, and around the first few years of independence.

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[47] With a few exceptions, these N/As are mostly the same participants as the previous question. With numeracy skills in East Timor considerably lower than literacy skills, perhaps these two questions were too annoyingly burdensome for some participants.
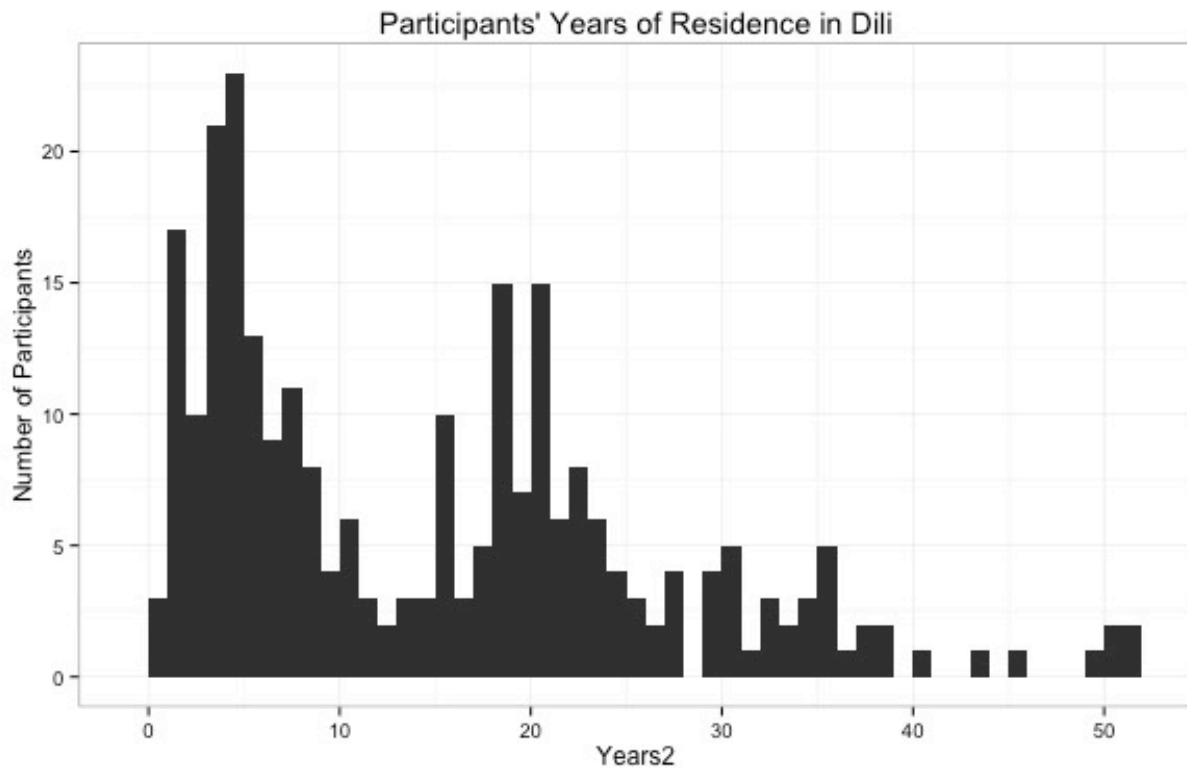
Figure 5.5 Distribution of Participants' Years Lived in Dili

5.1.5 Current Residence

Q8-10: Where do you live? District/Area/Neighborhood – Hela iha nebee? Distritu/Suko/Bairu

The majority of participants currently reside in the city and district of Dili (283), with 3 participants from other districts (Aileu, Bobonaro, Covalima), and 15 N/A for district. This question also asked for participants' *suko* and *bairu* (neighborhood), which resulted in over 40 different *sukos* and over a hundred different neighborhoods (even with 75 N/As for neighborhood!). Because Dili only has 31 official *sukos* and 5 of these are on Atauro Island (25km across the Wetar Strait from the mainland and generally not considered part of the city of Dili), *suko* and *bairu* data will not be used, but this richness of diversity does serve as a reminder of the robustness of sense-of-place in Timorese culture.

5.1.6 Participant SES

Q12-13: Have you ever traveled abroad? (Yes/No) When and where? – Ita halo viajen iha rai liur ona? (Loos/Seidauk) Bainhira ho iha nebee?
Q14: Level of Education – Nivel Edukasaun
Q15: How many children do you have? – Oan hira?
Q16: What is your job? – Servisu/Okupasaun saida?
Q17-18: What do your parents do? Father/Mother – Ita nia amaa ho apaa servisu saida? Apaa/Amaa

The questions in this section were designed to be taken together to calculate a rough estimate of participants' socio-economic status. In regards to Q12-13, obtaining a passport requires undergoing costly medical examinations, including a chest X-ray, and taking considerable time from work to queue at the Portuguese embassy (for a Portuguese/EU passport, which Timorese are entitled to apply for), or at the Timorese Department of Immigration (for a Timorese passport).[48] Even before the costs of transportation, visas, and accommodation, a Timorese person would need to have to have access to considerable economic resources in order to travel abroad. For these reasons and others, the majority of participants (242) reported that they had not yet travelled abroad.[49] 59 participants indicated that they had, and the majority of travel has taken place since independence and was to Indonesia, Australia, New Zealand, or the United Kingdom (43), with a few traveling to other countries such as Japan(3), Portugal(2), the Philippines(2), Angola(1), Singapore(1), Italy(1), Korea(1), Israel(1), the United States(1), Spain(1), and Thailand(1).

Q14 was a free response question, and so it was necessary to consolidate the diversity of responses into four main categories, comprising: Elementary education or no education (70), Basic compulsory education (high school or equivalent) completed (60), Some post-secondary

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[48] I have heard from Timorese friends that even now their Timorese passports are sometimes not recognized by many countries' border patrol agents and require special screening.
[49] It is worth noting that, at least anecdotally, many Timorese don't consider traveling to Indonesia as 'abroad' and so may not have reported it.

(116), Tertiary degree-holders (55). The large number of participants doing some sort of post-secondary training reflects the reality that many Timorese youth face in the workforce; there are very few jobs, and those that are available tend to favor those who have undergone a vocational or professional program, or completed a university degree. Tertiary degrees also range widely in their variety, from Indonesian-style diplomas (most common) to Master's Degrees from the United States (only 1).[50]
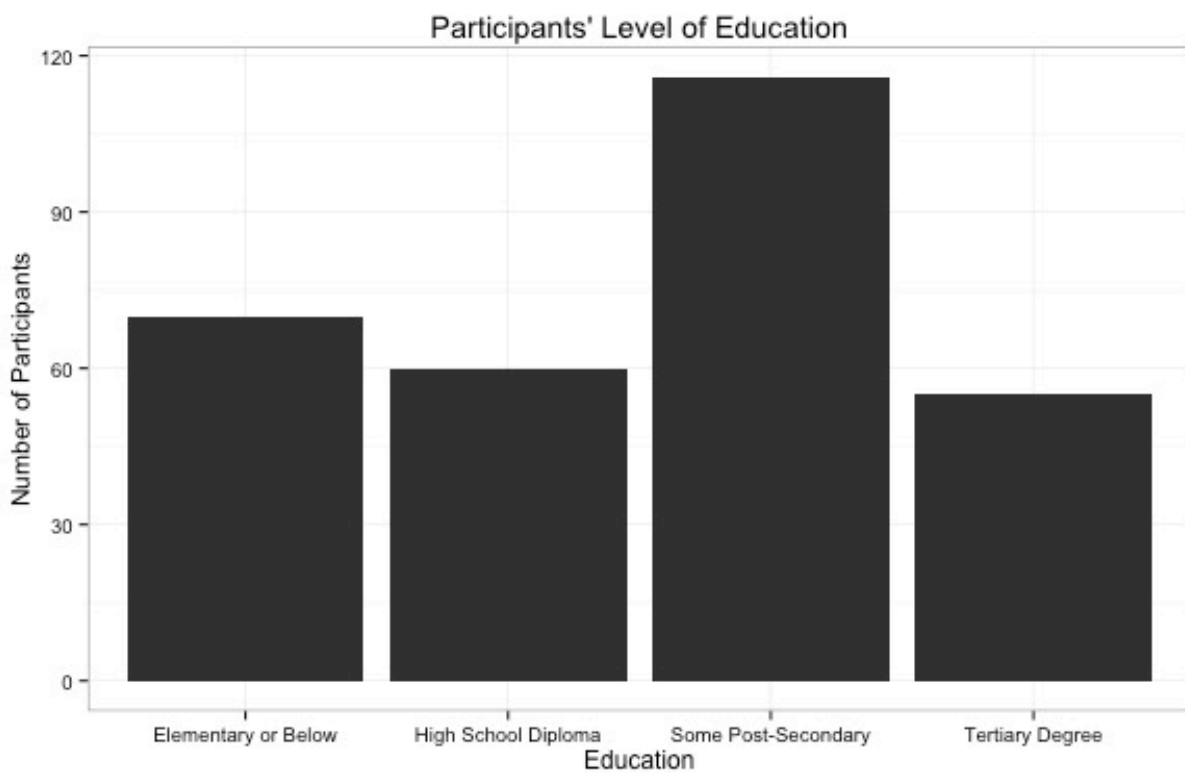
Figure 5.6 Distribution of Participants' Level of Education

Low response rates to Q15 rendered the data too sparse to be worth including here. A near-equal number of participants responded with 0 or N/A (114 and 120) while 18 participants had 1 child only, 13 participants had 2 children, 11 participants had 3 children, 8 participants had

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[50] For the Indonesian system, D1-D3 are equivalent to Associate degrees, D4 and S1 is equivalent to a Bachelor's degree, S2 is equivalent to a Master's degree, and S3 is equivalent to a doctoral degree. Nearly all of these were reported by survey participants.

4 children, 3 participants had 5 children, 3 participants had 6 children, 4 participants had 7 children, 5 participants had 8 children, 1 participant had 9 children, and 1 participant had 10 children. This question had the largest number of N/As on the survey, which is an indicator that it was not properly designed—a conclusion that should be taken into account in any follow up work. This data is not robust enough to be useful to this study, and I will not return to it.

Q16 asked for participants' occupation and elicited a variety of free-response answers. These responses were consolidated into three categories: Student (122), Professionally Employed (53), and Unemployed or N/A (126). Some examples of professional employment included government workers, teachers, security personnel, tradespeople such as masons, seamstresses and carpenters, business owners, and church employees. High unemployment has been a perennial problem in East Timor; in 2015, only 32% of the eligible population was considered to be employed (up from 24.5% in 2010). Of note from this population is that females tend to be professionally employed *and* unemployed at lower rates than males, which may indicate societal gender norms regarding employment, as well as emphasis on women's education.
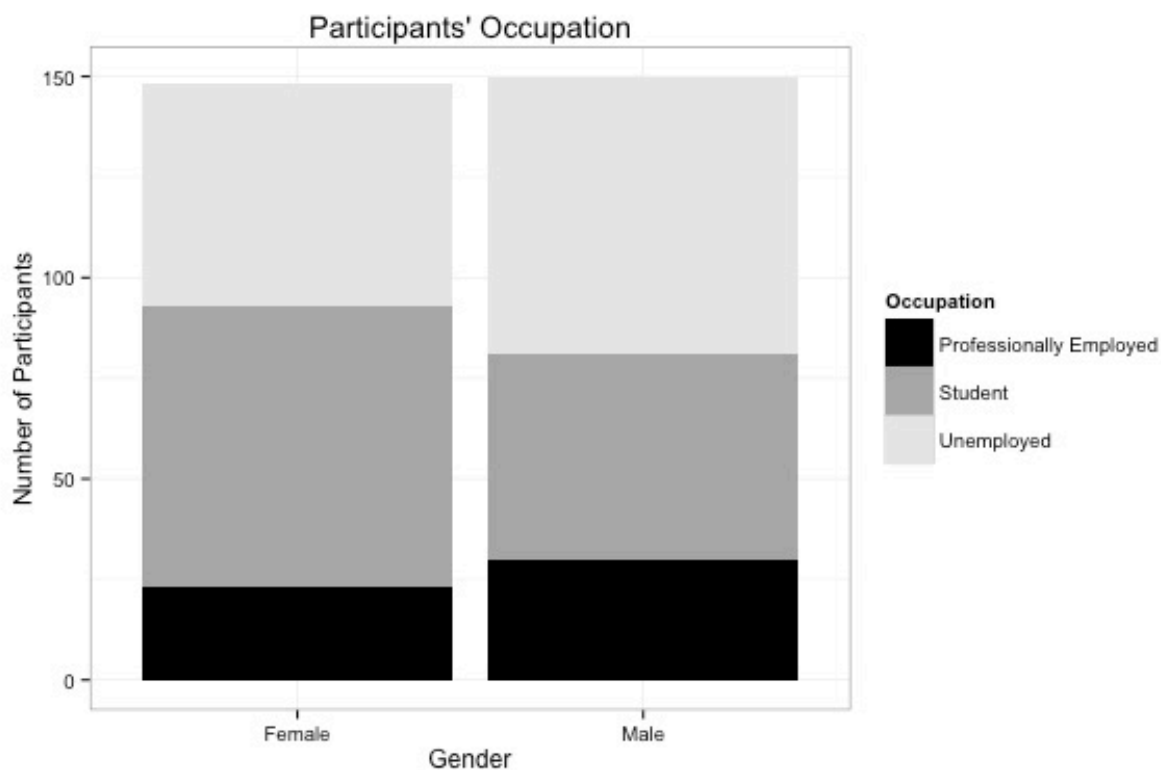
Figure 5.7 Participants' Occupations by Gender

Responses to Q17-18 regarding parents' employment widely varied and—because responses were so diverse—were ultimately organized into a simple Yes/No split. In this case, 'yes' means that the parent is professionally employed in some capacity and 'no' means that that parent engages in traditional subsistence farming, home-making, was deceased, or that the participant indicated in some other way that the parent is considered unemployed. Unsurprisingly, more fathers were employed than mothers (96 to 43), but overall employment was only about one-fourth of the total sample. This, again, highlights societal gender norms regarding employment, as well as the widespread low employment rates throughout the country.
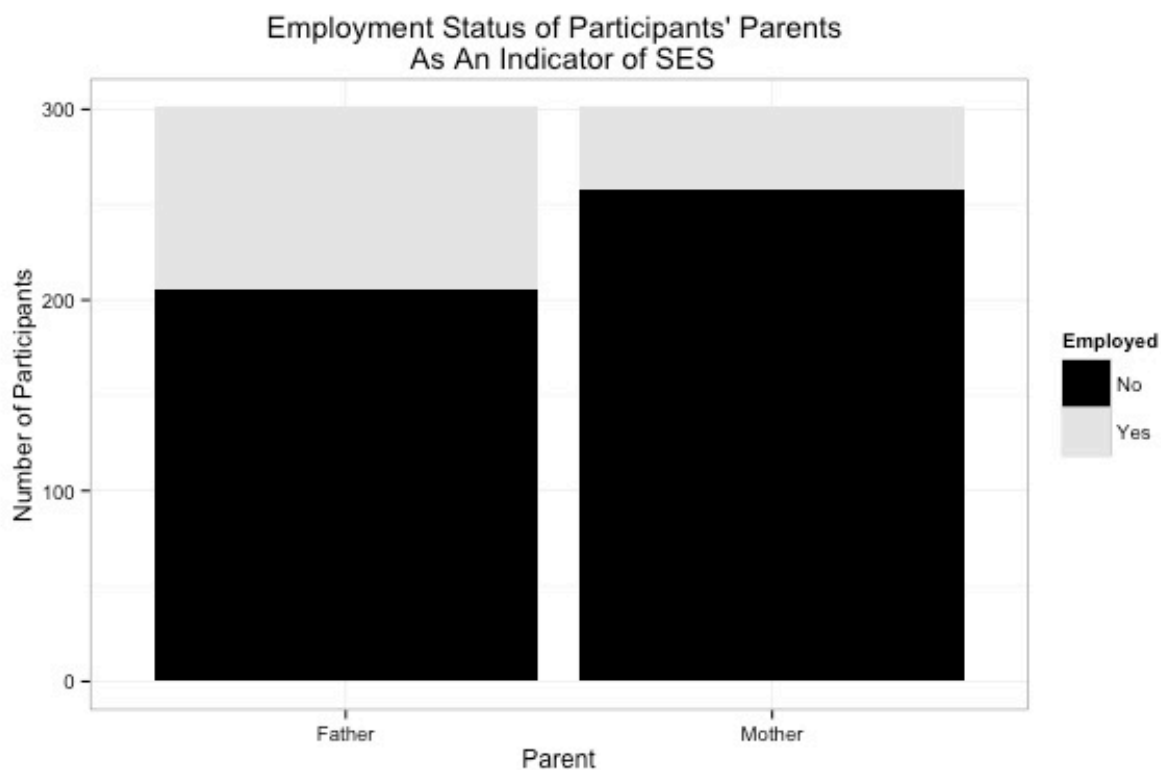
Figure 5.8 Participants' Parents' Occupations by Gender

Based on these questions, an estimate of participants' socio-economic status can be calculated. In a country that lacks an extant income tax system, and where the majority of workers are not wage-income laborers, establishing an individual's socio-economic status is difficult. For this reason, I created a composite score using the above questions, where responses were assigned a score (see Table 4.1 in section 4.2.1.2 on instrument design). Based on this, participant scores ranged from 0, representing the lowest end of the possible SES spectrum, to 3.5 (0 SES score: 41 participants, 0.5 SES score: 39 participants, 1 SES score: 100 participants, 1.5 SES score: 59 participants, 2 SES score: 36 participants, 2.5 SES score: 10 participants, 3 SES score: 10 participants, 3.5 SES score: 6 participants). Interestingly, no participants attained the highest possible score of 4.
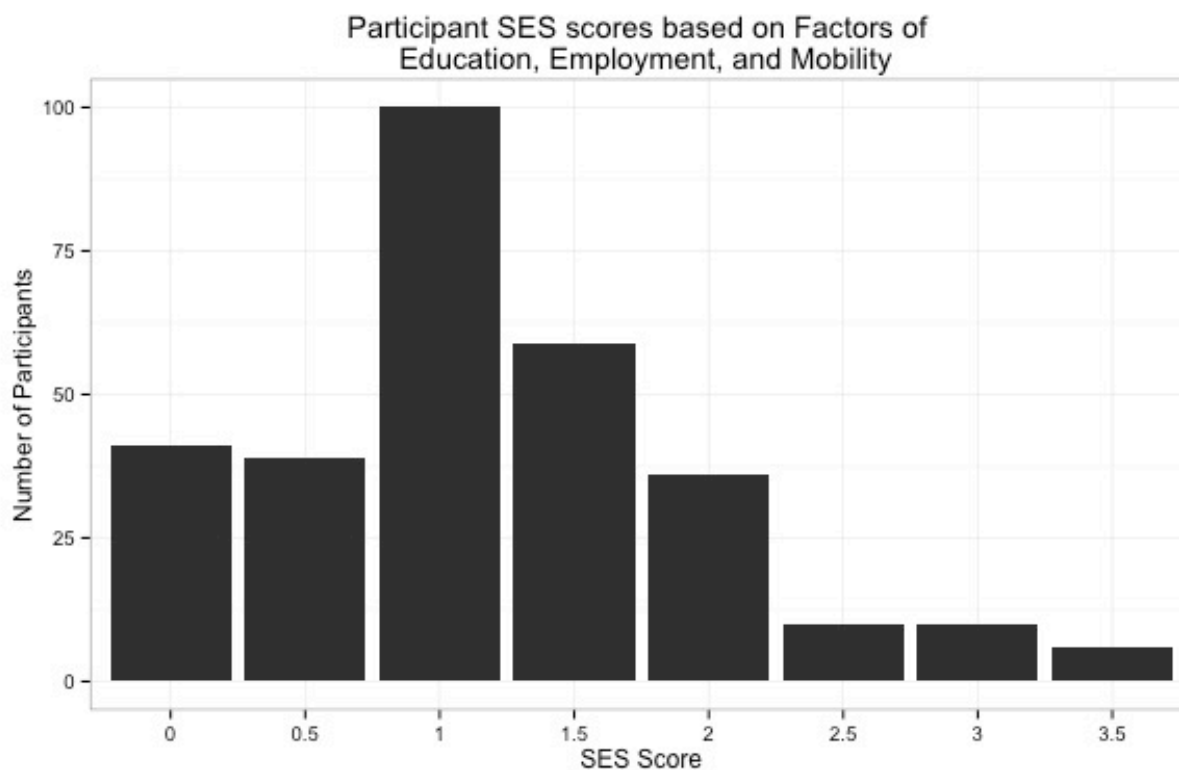
Figure 5.9 Participants' Estimated Socio-Economic Status

5.1.7 Summary

This section presented the general demographic characteristics of survey participants, at times alongside figures from the 2015 census results. The participants were mostly young, had completed the compulsory secondary education and were undertaking some kind of tertiary education, were slightly more often male that female, were from Dili in greater numbers than the generation above them, and occupied a low to middle socio-economic range. Based on census figures from 2015 and other reports, this group of 301 comprises a representative slice of the Timorese population. This is a testament to the excellent work of my research assistants and demonstrates their comprehension of the spirit of the research.

5.2 Survey Section Two – Self-Reported Language Use

This section tabulates the responses to questions regarding mother tongues, language knowledge, and experiences of language use. All questions in this section of the survey were free-response, and answers were widely varied. For the sake of brevity, some questions are combined and so this section proceeds thus: 5.2.1 Mother Tongues (Participants and Parents' Mother Tongues), 5.2.2 Languages Known Well, Somewhat and Want to Know Better, 5.2.3 Languages Desired for Children, 5.2.4 Primary, Secondary, Tertiary School LOI (Language of Instruction), 5.2.5 Language Use with Friends, Family, Foreigners, and 5.2.6 Language Use at Work, Home, School, followed by a summary and discussion of the responses from this section. For discussion of the development of these questions, see section 4.2.1.2.

5.2.1 Mother Tongues (Participants and Parents' Mother Tongues)

Q21: Mother Tongue – Lian inan
Q24-25: What are your parent's mother tongues? Father/Mother – Inan-aman lian inan saida? Apaa/Amaa

The concept of a mother tongue is not necessarily straightforward in a context where multilingualism is the norm. For this survey, I used the specific term '*lian inan*', which is widely understood in East Timor to be the native Timorese language that you and/or your family has a traditional cultural connection to, regardless of personal fluency. *Lian inan* literally means 'one's own language', but this possession is also a sign of group-inclusion, so the 'ownership' can be conceived as bidirectional. This is why the 'mother tongue' question was followed by spaces for participants to list languages they know 'well' and languages they know 'somewhat'. Because of the prevalence of mixed-language marriages, I expected participants to list several languages as their mother tongues, but they did not. The majority of participants (263) listed one language as their mother tongue and only 22 participants listed 2 languages or more. Interestingly, 10

participants did not list their own mother tongue in Q21 but did later list their parents' in Q24-25. Whether this was an oversight or a deliberate cultural commentary cannot be determined. It is also worth noting that a persons' reported linguistic repertoire may not be a true reflection of their fluency, and that languages may be included or excluded for any number of social and cultural reasons.

In Figure 5.10 below, the main mother tongues of the participants and their mothers and fathers are shown. In every case except Tetun Dili, parents spoke an indigenous language in higher numbers than participants. For Tetun Dili that trend is strongly reversed, with participants reporting that Tetun Dili is their mother tongue in much larger numbers than their parents. 72% of participants' parents (220/302) spoke the same mother tongue, and 53% (163/302) of participants had the same mother tongue as their parents. These figures, while only a small percentage of the Timorese population, hints at a language shift in progress from the less commonly spoken rural languages to the cosmopolitan languages of the city.
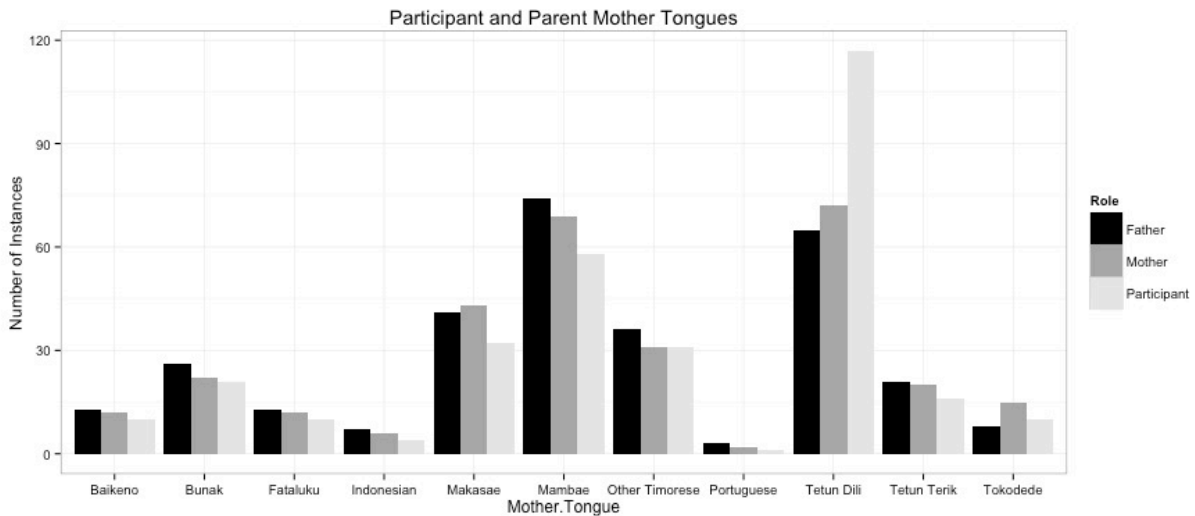
Figure 5.10 Mother Tongues of Participants and Their Parents, Indicating Potential Language Shift to Tetun Dili

5.2.2 Languages Known Well, Somewhat and Want to Know Better

Q22: Other languages you know well? – Lian seluk hatene diak?
Q23: Other languages you know somewhat? – Lian seluk mak hatene ituan?
Q26: What languages would you like to know? – Ita hakarak loos atu hatene lian saida?

These three questions were included in order to allow participants to make claims of their own fluency without resorting to a rating scale, and to implicitly give participants ideological space to differentiate between their traditional mother tongue and their most fluent languages. Participants could list as many languages as they had room for; in Q22 and Q23, some participants listed as many as 7 languages, with an overall average of 3.4. As seen in Table 5.1 below, English was known to only a small number of participants, but dominates all other languages in the 'want to know' category, indicating its perceived position as the language of social and financial capital. Portuguese patterned very similar to English but with higher familiarity and lower desire to know. Indonesian trended in the opposite direction, with many participants familiar with it but having little desire to learn it. Other Timorese languages were familiar to participants, but they did not desire to learn them. Participants were familiar with very few other foreign languages but desired to learn several of them, including the East Asian languages Japanese, Korean and Mandarin and the European languages Spanish, Italian, Latin, and French.[51]

Tetun Dili occupied a more interesting distribution. Only 18 participants responded that it was their mother tongue in Q21, and that they knew it well or somewhat. 138 participants with a mother tongue other than Tetun Dili reported that they knew it well or somewhat. 47 participants

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[51] There are student exchange or degree programs for East Timorese in South Korea, China, and Japan. The European languages are typically learned by Timorese students who pursue an ecumenical career, which is a common aspiration for many young people in this predominantly Catholic, largely industry-less country.

did not report Tetun Dili as their mother tongue, did not report that they knew it well, or somewhat (despite the survey being written and conducted in Tetun). 98 participants included it as a mother tongue only, and did not add it to languages they know well or somewhat. The first group shows a comparatively high metalinguistic awareness that mother tongues can also be languages that one knows well (or not). That the non-mother-tongue group declared their level of fluency is perhaps unsurprising, since they would likely have had the experience of learning it at some point. The last two groups perhaps highlight the perceptual normalcy of Tetun Dili, in that they did not even think to list it among the languages they knew; effectively, Tetun Dili may be so ubiquitous that it becomes not worthy of comment. This is in line with findings from perceptual dialectology studies which underscore that languages that are perceived to be ubiquitous and 'normal' are not often mentioned at all (Preston 1986, 2012). Although, some linguistic insecurity can be observed in the 'want to know' category, wherein 36 participants wanted to know Tetun Dili better than they currently did.

Language	Already Know Well	Already Know Somewhat	Want to Know
English	50	90	**208**
Indonesian	119	54	21
Portuguese	66	**112**	149
Tetun Dili	**152**	15	36
Other Foreign Language	1	19	64
Other Timorese Language	23	40	0

Table 5.1 Languages Participants Reported Knowing Well, Somewhat, or Desire to Know

5.2.3 Languages Desired for Children

Q27: What languages do you want your children to know? – Ita hakarak ita nia oan sira hatene lian saida?

This question is something of a follow-up to the previous questions. After reflecting on their own fluencies and desired fluencies, participants are asked to speculate on which languages

would be important to pass on to their children by listing languages they wanted their children to know. Participants had enough space to list several languages, and indeed did. Most participants listed more than one, and several listed as many as five. Driving home the trend of shift away from traditional Timorese languages, only 2 participants listed that they wanted their children to know Mambae, and 1 participant included Makasae (represented by "Other Timorese" in Figure 5.11 below). For the official languages, only 58 participants listed Tetun Dili, while 208 listed Portuguese. Indonesian was listed in 22 instances, and English dominated with 234 instances. "Other Foreign" languages included Latin:10, Spanish:10, French:7, Chinese:4, Japanese:2, German:1, Italian:1, and Korean:1.[52]

These results, combined with the previous section, begin to place the role of Tetun Dili in Timorese' everyday life. Tetun Dili is a language that they know well, and know *so* well that they forget to report knowing it, but it is not a language that is valued for the future in the same way that foreign languages are. The rise in English and Portuguese may be an indication of the growing pressure of learning a global language, or may be partly attributed to the phenomenon known as 'acquiescence bias'. Participants were told that this survey was being collected by an American doctoral student, and may have (consciously or not) indicated their valuation of my presumed mother tongue out of politeness. I do not believe that this would have significantly biased the results, however, because Portuguese is nearly equally valued.

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[52] The same participants repeatedly list Latin in various places on the survey, which points to their likely ecumenical career aspirations.

What Language(s) Do You Want Your Children To Know?
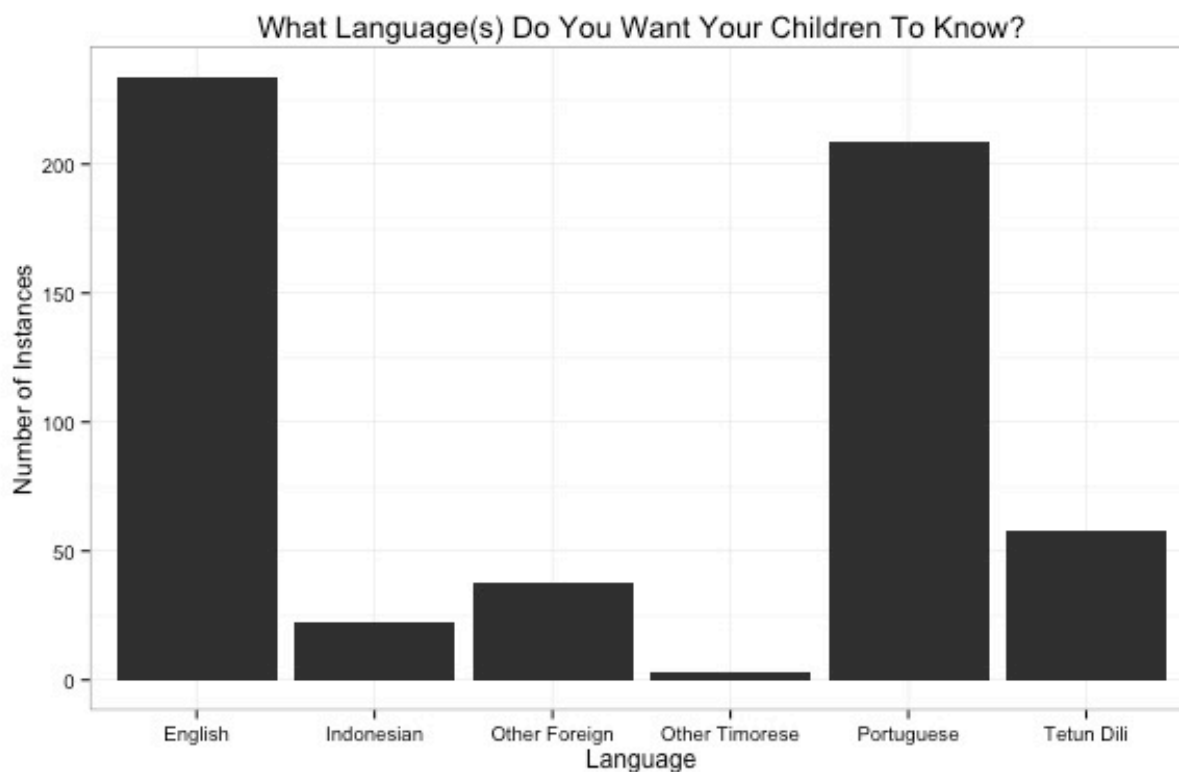
Figure 5.11 Responses to Languages Desired for Children to Know

5.2.4 Primary, Secondary, Tertiary School LOI

Q28: When you were in elementary school, what language did your teachers use? – Bainhira iha eskola baziku, ita nia mestri/a usa lian saida?
Q29: When you were in secondary school, what language did your teachers use? – Bainhira iha eskola sekundariu, ita nia mestri/a usa lian saida?
Q30: When you were in university, what language did your teachers use? – Bainhira iha universidade, ita nia mestri/a usa lian saida?

The questions in this section track the reported languages of instruction that participants experienced throughout their lives. Because not all participants have received an education at the tertiary level, some responses were left blank (2 for elementary, 8 for secondary, and 58 for tertiary). It is worth noting that these numbers do not match the self-reported levels of education from Q14. This could be due to the tenseless Tetun Dili sentence, which could be interpreted as

either a personal question or general hypothetical knowledge (e.g., "When at university, your (general) teachers use what language?").

Age plays a role in the resulting data. Participants were divided into two groups; those age 21 and above, who underwent the majority of their education prior to independence (203 total), and those age 20 and below, who underwent their education almost entirely in the time since independence in 1999 (94 total). There were not enough participants from the time prior to the Indonesian invasion of 1975 to form a comparative group.

The older group, in Figure 5.12a below, shows a high amount of linguistic diversity in all three levels of schooling. In the primary years, participants reported high levels of Portuguese, Tetun Dili, and Indonesian, with low levels of English and other languages. In the secondary years, Indonesian and English both increase, likely due to the fact that English is a very common secondary school subject in all provinces of Indonesia. At the tertiary level, English sees a dramatic bump, likely owing to the common practice of going abroad to pursue higher education.

The younger group, in Figure 5.12b below, shows mostly a prevalence of Tetun Dili and Portuguese at the primary level. At the secondary level, Tetun Dili dips somewhat in reported usage, complemented by an increase in Portuguese and English. For the tertiary level, Portuguese and Tetun are nearly equally as common, followed by Indonesian and English. This again indicates the prevalence of going abroad to receive tertiary education, even amongst this younger generation, who have far more tertiary options in East Timor today than their predecessors.

For both groups, other Timorese languages were reported in a few instances in the early school years (Makasae:3, Bunak:2, Baikeno:1, Kemak:1, Idate:1, Fataluku:1, Mambae:1), and other foreign languages were reported in a few instances in the later school years (Latin:4, Italian:2, Spanish:2, German:1).
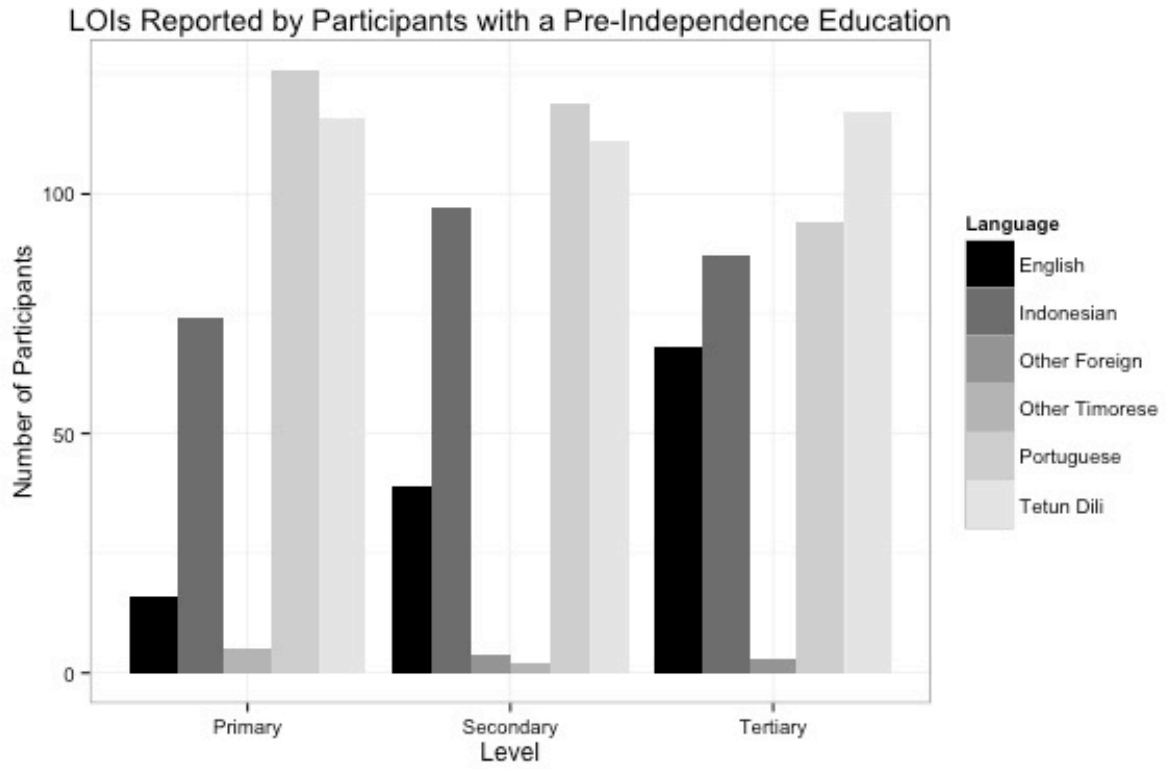
Figure 5.12a Reported LOIs in Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary School For Older (Pre-Independence) Participants
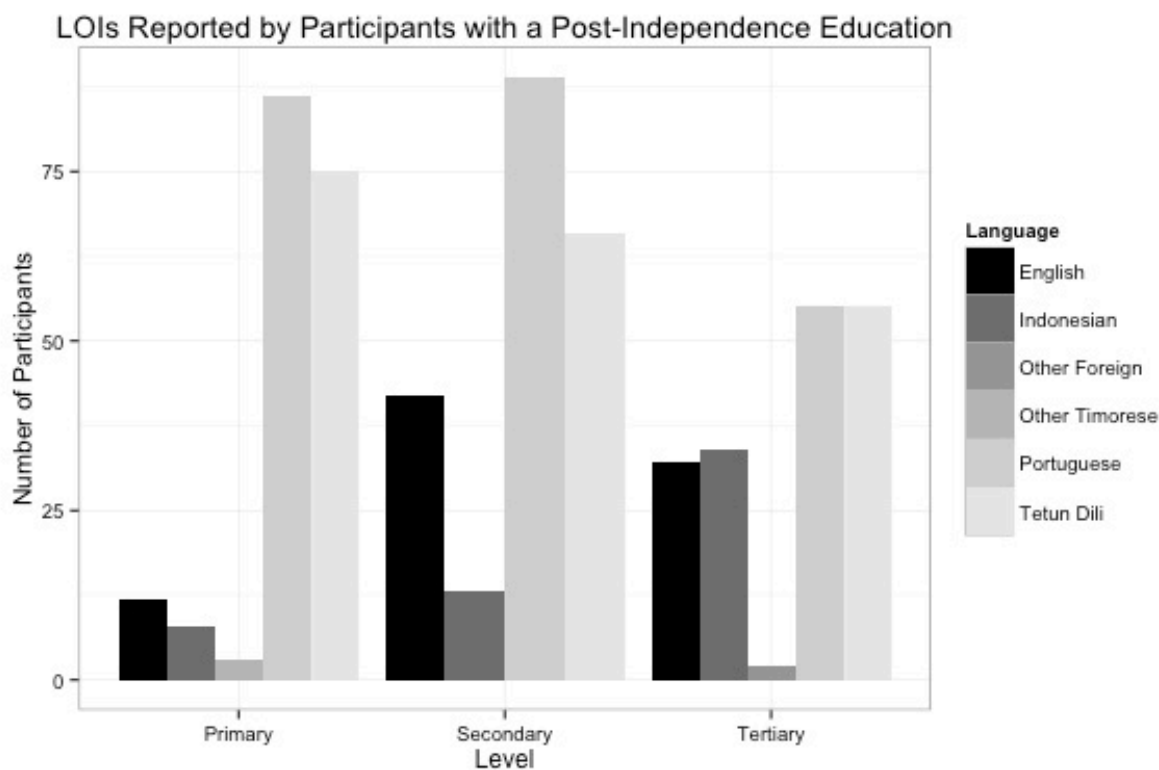
Figure 5.12b Reported LOIs in Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary School For Younger (Post-Independence) Participants

5.2.5 Language Use with Friends, Family, Foreigners

Q31: When you talk to friends, which language do you usually use? – Bainhira ita koalia ho kolega-sira, baibain uza lian saida?
Q32: When you talk to family, which language do you usually use? – Bainhira ita koalia ho familia-sira, baibain uza lian saida?
Q33: When you talk to foreigners, which language do you usually use? – Bainhira ita koalia ho malae-sira, baibain uza lian saida?

These three questions provide more information than simple daily interactional behavior;

they also make tenuous claims about established social and familial behaviors, as well as shed

light on the Timorese conception of a 'foreigner'. In Figure 5.13 below, Tetun Dili is the

overwhelming choice for use with friends and family, and Portuguese is used in interactions with

foreigners, but more rarely with family and friends. Other Timorese languages are used with

family members and friends and very rarely with foreigners. English and Portuguese are the

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most-used languages for interactions with foreigners, with a few instances of friends and family use. Interestingly, Indonesian is not highly reported for any situation, even for interaction with foreigners, which complicates the Timorese notion of what a 'foreigner' is.[53]
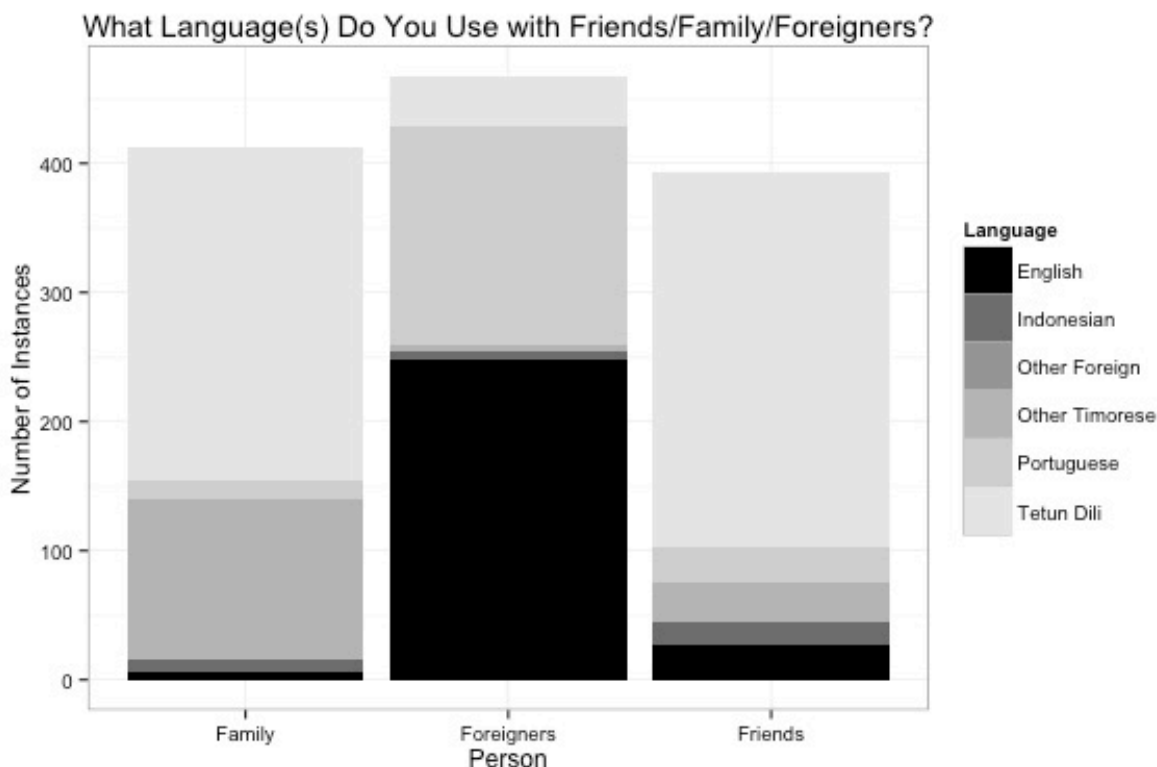
Figure 5.13 Reported Languages of Use with Friends, Family, and Foreigners

5.2.6 Language Use at Work, Home, School

Q34: At work, what language do you usually use – Iha servisu, baibain uza lian saida?
Q35: At home, what language do you usually use – Iha uma, baibain uza lian saida?
Q36: At school, what language do you usually use – Iha eskola, baibain uza lian saida?

These three questions are similar to the previous three, but instead of hypothetical interpersonal interactions, these focus on physical locations. In Figure 5.14 below, Tetun Dili maintains its position as the preferred language in every context. Portuguese is the most

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[53] The most recent figures show that Indonesians have the highest number of foreign arrivals through the Dili international airport. 15,240 Indonesians entered East Timor by air in FY 2015, compared to 11,692 Australians, the next-highest country.

preferred language at school, and other Timorese languages are the preferred languages of the home. English sees a slight boost in school and work, indicating that its value as an economic tool is on the rise.
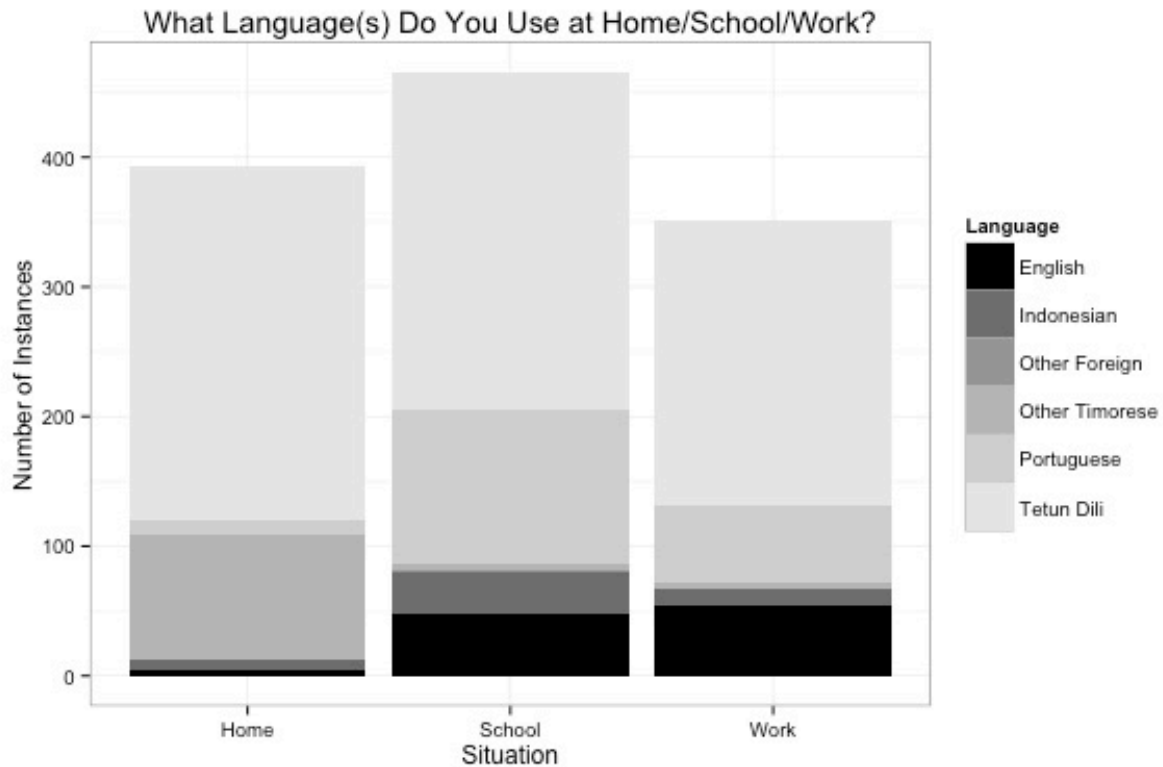
Figure 5.14 Reported Languages of Use at Work, Home, and School

5.2.7 Summary

Overall, the raw scores in this section paint a picture of a highly multilingual population in which Tetun Dili is deemed to be normal across social domains. In their reports of languages they knew well or knew somewhat, participants ranged from 0 to 7, with the average of 3.65. Of course, it is impossible for a participant to not know *any* languages, and again points to linguistic insecurity.

In this section of the survey, Tetun Dili is viewed as a language that is widely known though perhaps not widely recognized as such, used throughout one's life, vital for daily social

interaction, but not prioritized as a language to be learned oneself or by one's children. Language choice is almost always socially motivated in practice, but in abstraction the same may not be true. Often what people think and report that they are doing in every day practice does not exactly match their actual performance. One way that this manifested in the survey was in the 46 participants who failed to report that they knew Tetun. It is possible that they didn't know Tetun and that their participation was mediated by the research assistant, but it is more likely that they simply didn't think about it, or concluded that it was too obvious to merit comment. So, even though this section is specifically designed for participants to report their behaviors and experiences, it is important to remember that participant responses may be colored with a little bit of idealism. This is the focus of the next section.

5.3 Section Three – Hypothetical Language Use

This section tabulates the responses to questions regarding the 'best' language to use in certain scenarios and interactions. Raw scores are given in Table 5.2 below and are discussed in further detail in subsequent sections. For each question in this section of the survey, participants were obliged to choose one response from among Tetun, Portuguese, English, and Indonesian. Some participants chose more than one language, despite careful explanation in the text and by research assistants. Because these responses complicated the data and are not in the spirit of the task, they were deemed N/A, along with blank responses and unintelligible responses. Questions in this section are combined according to themes and so this section proceeds thus: 5.3.1 Social Solidarity, 5.3.2 Occupation, 5.3.3 Education, 5.3.4 Media, and 5.3.5 Domain-Specific, followed by a summary and discussion of the responses from this section. For discussion of the development of these questions, see section 4.2.1.2.

No	Text	Tet	Por	Eng	Ind	N/A
37	make friends	**223**	17	44	3	14
38	be successful	68	72	**135**	11	15
39	get a good education	64	**122**	85	16	14
40	feel happy in your relationships	**193**	26	58	10	14
41	get money	115	26	**124**	11	25
42	read	**97**	88	76	23	17
43	write	**122**	76	64	24	15
44	listen to the radio	**185**	23	63	16	14
45	watch TV	**120**	24	61	74	22
46	be accepted by people in Timor-Leste	**171**	45	56	10	19
47	talk with teachers	**183**	70	22	7	19
48	talk with rural people	**287**	0	3	0	11
49	talk with Dili people	**271**	8	7	2	13
50	talk with government officials	**137**	122	24	2	16
51	get a good job	87	48	**143**	3	20
52	talk with friends from school	**235**	32	17	2	15
53	go to church	**275**	8	3	4	11
54	go to market	**286**	0	3	1	11
55	go to the districts	**287**	2	2	0	10
56	be accepted by people in your neighborhood	**281**	3	6	0	11

Table 5.2 Survey Section 3, Raw Scores

5.3.1 Social Solidarity

According to your view, choose which language is most important to… – Tuir ita nia hanoin, hili lian ida deit nebee importante liu atu…
> *Q37: Make friends – Halo kolega*
> *Q40: Feel happy in your relationships – Senti haksolok iha ita nia relasaun*
> *Q46: Be accepted by people in Timor-Leste – Halo ema simu iha Timor-Leste*
> *Q48: Talk with rural people – Koalia ho ema iha foho*
> *Q49: Talk with Dili people – Koalia ho ema iha Dili*
> *Q56: Be accepted by people in your neighborhood – Halo ema simu iha ita nia bairru*

The questions in this section are related to scenarios in which language plays a part in the continuity of social solidarity. While language is certainly not the only factor in the situations in question, they are social, interactional scenarios that are critical to daily ease-of-living. In Figure 5.15 below, Tetun Dili is unsurprisingly reported as the most important language in each of these scenarios. English and Portuguese both have small representations as languages important for acceptance in East Timor, to feel happy in relationships, and to make friends, which may reflect

the growing societal pressure to learn these two languages. Indonesian, also unsurprisingly, performs very poorly in the social solidarity questions, without a single instance in being accepted in your neighborhood, or to talk with rural people.[54] The high instances of foreign languages in the question of 'being accepted in East Timor' indicate that participants may have re-interpreted the idea of 'being accepted' in a way that I did not intend (after all, who needs to be accepted in East Timor? Certainly not Timorese, who are 'accepted' by default), and future work should be careful to not accidentally encourage participants to respond from someone else's point of view. Another curious spike in foreign languages is seen in 'being happy in your relationships' and 'making friends'. This could point to the prevalence of language clubs that are informally organized by students (loosely defined and ranging widely in age), and certainly points to the need for more in-depth study on the role of English in East Timor.
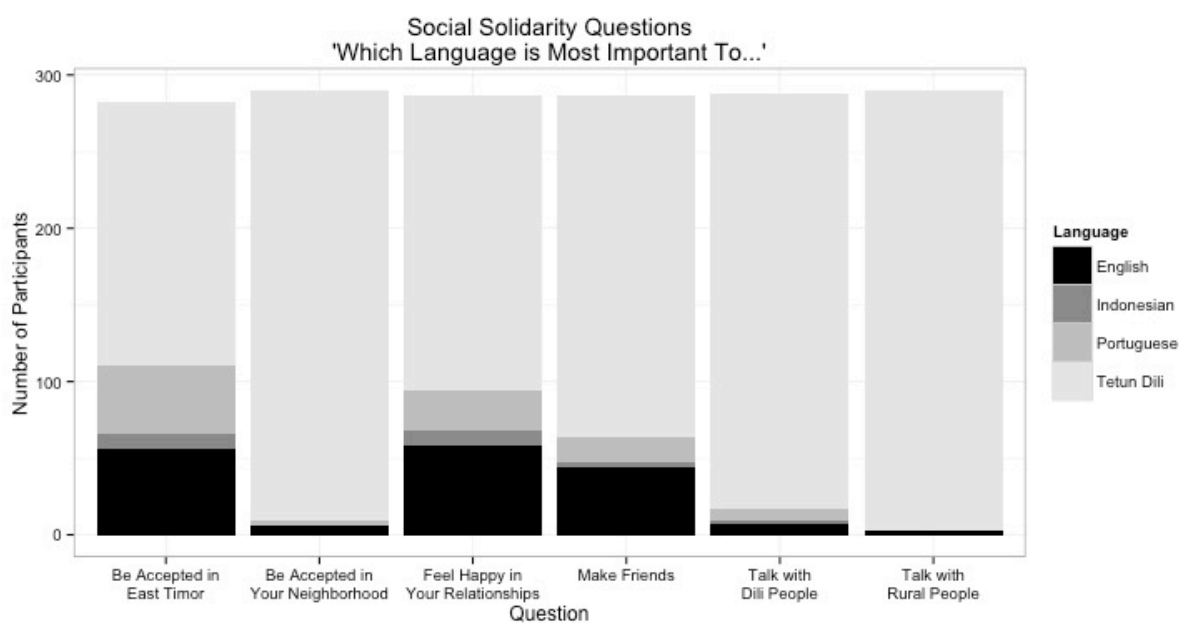
Figure 5.15 Responses to Social Solidarity Questions

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[54] This is not in line with my own experiences of school visits in the rural areas (where the majority language is usually an indigenous language of East Timor; in my school visits specifically, Fataluku and Galolen), in which my coworkers would commonly use Indonesian to speak to business owners or shopkeepers (but not to parents, teachers, or students).

5.3.2 Occupation

According to your view, choose which language is most important to… – Tuir ita nia hanoin, hili lian ida deit nebee importante liu atu…
  Q38: Be successful – Sai susesu
  Q41: Get money – Hetan osan
  Q51: Get a good job – Hetan servisu diak

Questions in this section relate specifically to linguistic factors regarding personal professional success. In Figure 5.16 below, English is strongly preferred as the language needed in order to be successful, get a good job and make money. Portuguese is also viewed as a language of success, but not necessarily as a language that will get you money or a job. Interestingly, Tetun Dili is viewed as almost as important as Portuguese as a language of success, and even more important to get a good job and make money. That Tetun Dili and English are nearly equally represented as languages to make money (and vastly overshadow Indonesian and Portuguese) may reflect the perceived growing need for English-Tetun bilingualism in the workplace. Perhaps the most surprising finding in the occupation section is the low representation of Indonesian in each question, which may also reflect the changing perception of the future of industry in East Timor, but may also be subtle cultural commentary. This question will be explored in more detail in the qualitative data in Chapter 6.
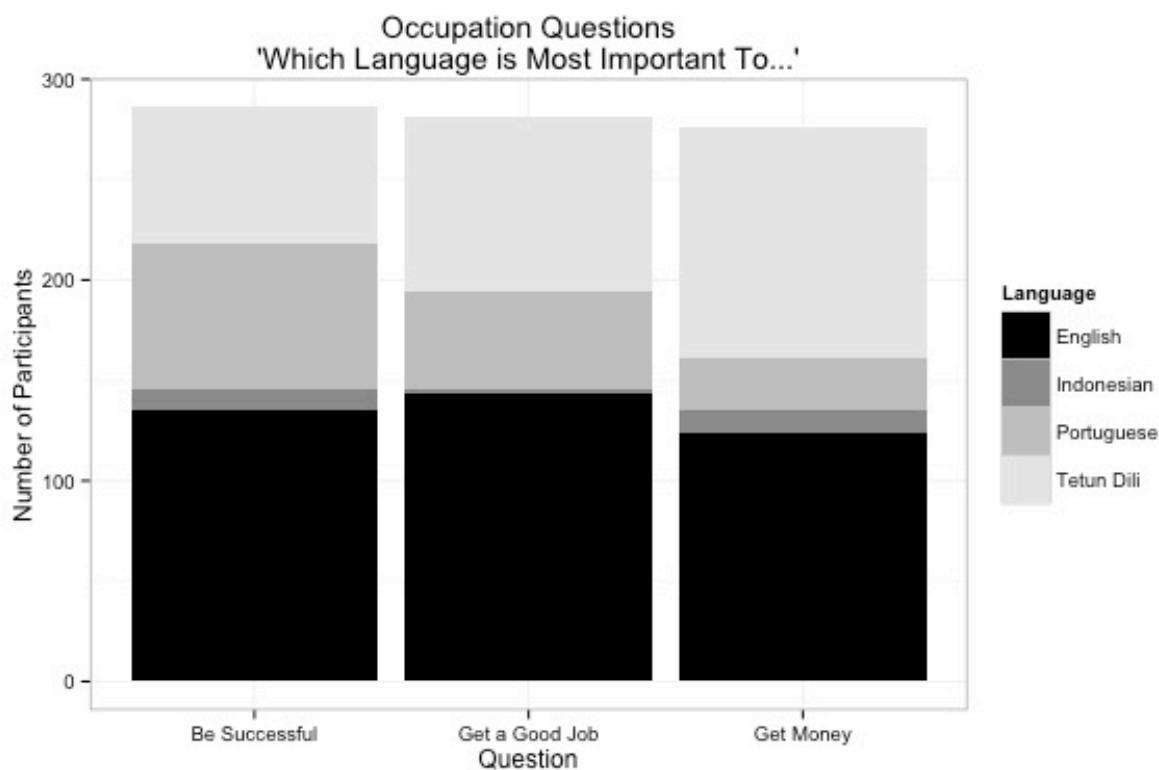
Figure 5.16 Responses to Occupation Questions

5.3.3 Education

According to your view, choose which language is most important to… – Tuir ita nia hanoin, hili lian ida deit nebee importante liu atu…
    Q39: Get a good education – Hetan edukasaun diak
    Q43: Write – Hakerek
    Q47: Talk with teachers – Koalia ho mestri/a sira
    Q52: Talk with school friends – Koalia ho kolega husi eskola

Questions in this section are related to the domain of education and show a marked shift in the role of Portuguese and English. In Figure 5.17 below, Portuguese outscores other languages as the most important to get an education, followed closely by English. It is notable that this is the only instance of Portuguese being considered the most important language in this 20-question portion of the survey. This is perhaps a nod to the previously discussed discontent with the education system in East Timor. Tetun Dili is again the most preferred language for

social interaction, even in the domain of education but the fact that Portuguese is highly rated for talking with teachers and writing reflect its position as a more 'formal' language or the language of authority. Tetun Dili is even preferred over Portuguese as the language of written communication. Indonesian again performs poorly in this section.
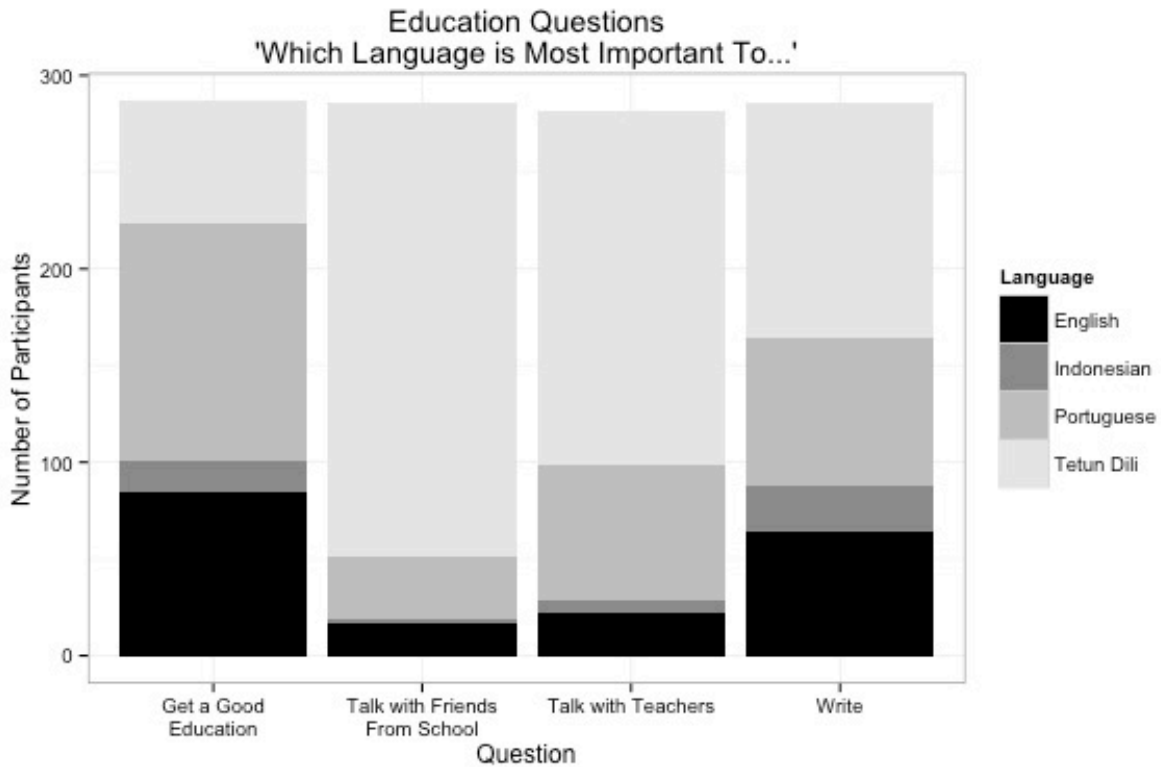
Figure 5.17 Responses to Education Questions

5.3.4 Media

According to your view, choose which language is most important to… – Tuir ita nia hanoin, hili lian ida deit nebee importante liu atu…
> Q42: Read – Lee
> Q44: Listen to the radio – Rona radio
> Q45: Watch TV – Haree TV

Questions in the section relate to the everyday experiences of Timorese in engaging with media. The inclusion of reading in this section and the exclusion of writing are due to their differing levels of daily immersion and necessity (writing is a task that is dependent on your

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education level and desire and necessity to undertake; reading is a task that is also dependent upon your education level, but is engaged in more frequently and less intentionally). In Figure 5.18 below, the perceptions of media engagement in East Timor are shown. Tetun Dili is ranked as the most important language to listen to the radio, followed by English. English, Portuguese, and Tetun Dili are fairly equally split regarding reading, each receiving between 75 and 100 votes. Indonesian makes its strongest showing in participants' reports of watching TV, with English close behind, but Tetun Dili is still the clearly preferred language. Overall, the media questions of the survey were the most varied in their responses, reflecting the highly multilingual environment.

These questions largely pattern with my own experiences of media and availability in East Timor. Local radio stations are common and proudly maintained in every district and have their roots in the resistance movement. On my first field trip in 2012, my guide and friend Solomon[55] took me to see the newly refurbished radio station in his village of Bucoli (about 3 hours east of Dili by bus), which at that time was nicer, newer, and more well-maintained than the village traditional house. On that same trip, I visited the only three bookshops in the city of Dili looking for a novel in English to no avail; they were all in Indonesian or Portuguese (this was before I discovered the robust book-trading expat culture, which boasts books in many international languages). By my most recent trip in 2016, bookshops had become more common and had begun to carry literature in many languages, including a few poetry books and religious texts in Tetun and other local languages. Most written material in East Timor comes from daily, weekly, and monthly newspapers and periodicals. Newspapers are mostly written in Tetun and cover local interest stories; the sports, business and international sections will often be copy and

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[55] a pseudonym

pasted from international sources such as Reuters. A casual reader's visual estimate would show

that most newspapers are between 60-80% Tetun, with these copy/pasted sections in Portuguese

and Indonesian.[56] The majority of television programs are on English and Indonesian language

channels received via satellite from Indonesia (it is not unusual to see a satellite dish attached to

the very same pole that supports a palm-leaf or tin roof). There are some local Timorese

channels, such as TVTL, which show programs in Tetun and Portuguese. I think it is important

to note that despite the valuation of the languages seen here, that Tetun Dili is valued so highly

relative to the availability of others highlights its importance as a lingua franca, even in media.
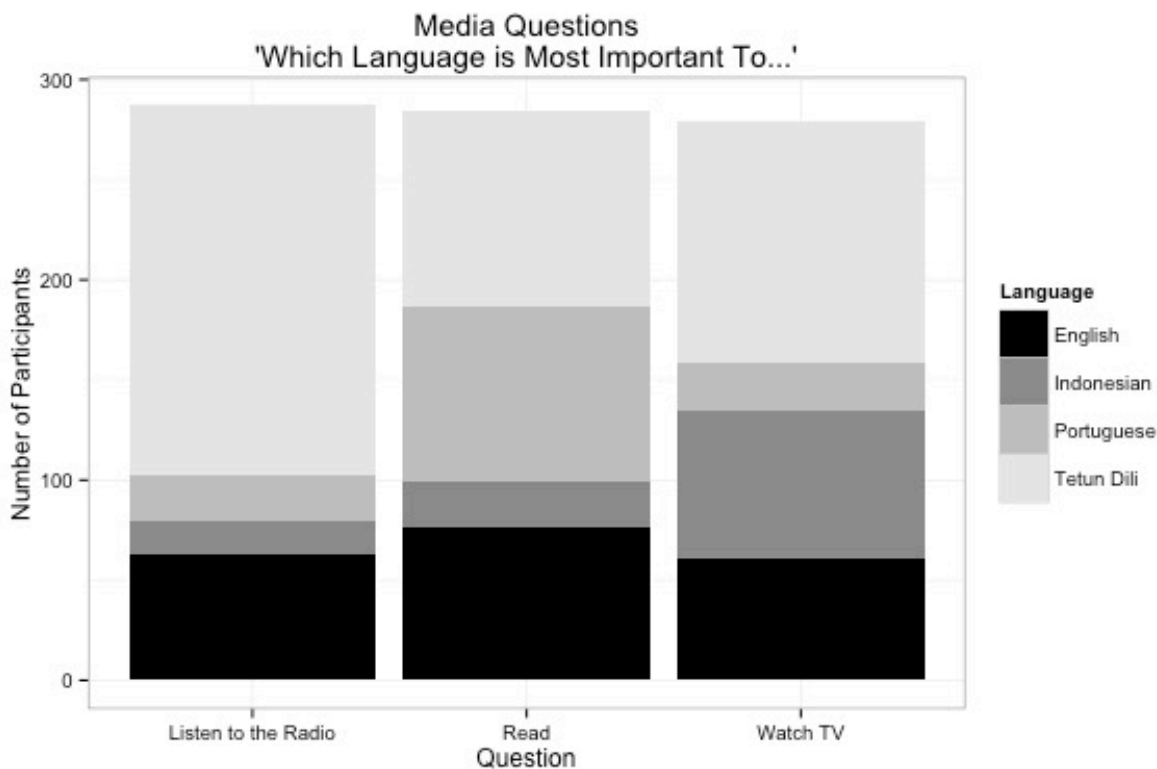
Figure 5.18 Responses to Media Questions

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[56] In my capacity at the Ministry of Education, our programs often came under media scrutiny, so reading the daily papers was an important part of the morning routine; I learned a lot from listening to my coworkers complain about the quality of the Tetun, saying that it was often unintelligible in places.

5.3.5 Domain-Specific

According to your view, choose which language is most important to… – Tuir ita nia hanoin, hili lian ida deit nebee importante liu atu…
     Q50: Talk with government officials – Koalia ho ema ofisial governu
     Q53: Go to church – Ba igreja
     Q54: Go to market – Ba merkadu
     Q55: Go to the districts – Ba foho

The questions in this section relate to specific activities that Timorese undertake with regularity. In Figure 5.19 below, Tetun is the overwhelmingly preferred language of importance for attending church services, going to the market, and travelling to the districts (or, the rural, non-Dili parts of East Timor). Indonesian is not reported in a single instance for district travel. Portuguese is not reported in a single instance for market interactions. Talking with government officials, however, sees a large spike in Portuguese, nearly at the same level as Tetun Dili. This, again, confirms Portuguese's role in East Timor as the language of governance and of formal or official interactions. Even English sees a small bump in this question, which speaks to its high-status perception and domain-linked usage. These responses are all largely in line with my own experiences, with the exception of district travel where Indonesian is not uncommon as a lingua franca. While this may be the reality I experienced, survey participants nevertheless ranked Tetun Dili above all other languages as the 'best' language of district travel, indicating its value as a connective tool within the whole of East Timor.
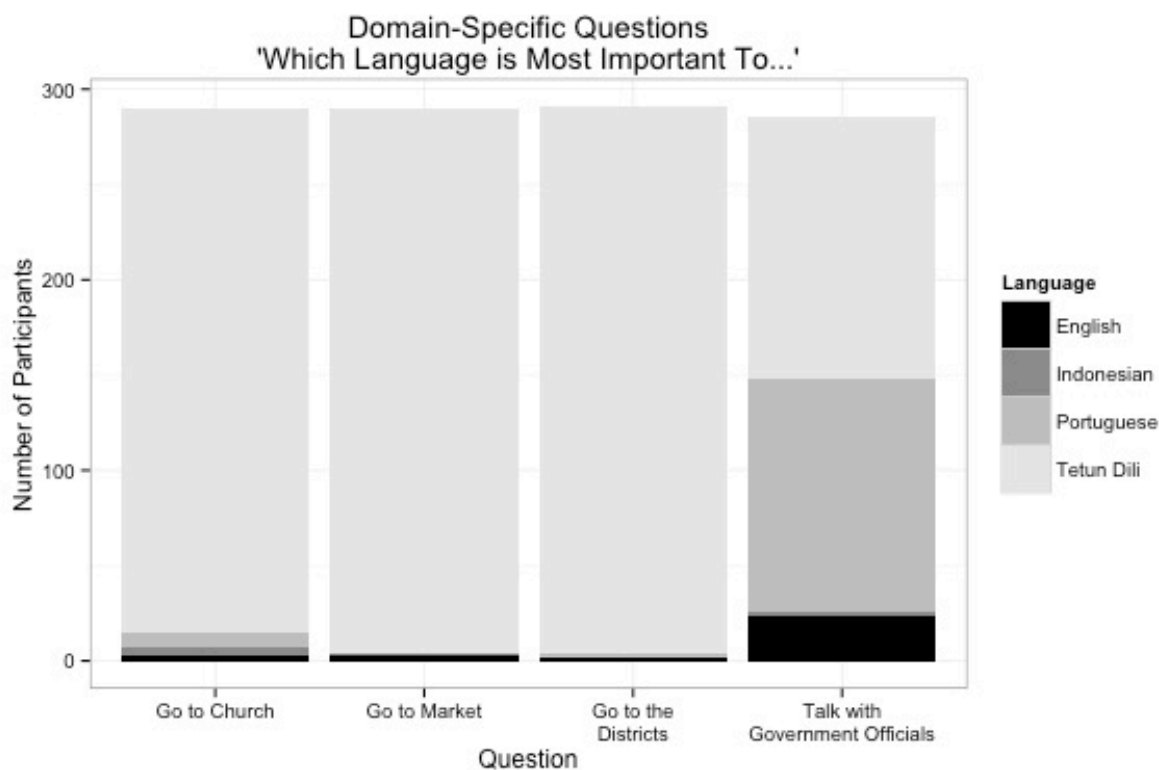
Figure 5.19 Responses to Domain-Specific Questions

5.3.6 Summary

The findings from the third section of the survey strengthen the view of Tetun Dili as a social necessity, but hint that Tetun Dili may also be viewed as economically and educationally limiting. Tetun Dili is viewed as comparatively less formal or official than Portuguese or English, showing again that some participants may be experiencing a bit of linguistic insecurity with regard to Tetun. This section also gives us a view of Dili as a city that is richly saturated in multilingual media but still sees Tetun Dili as the preferred code. The notable lack of Indonesian is not consistent with my own observations of linguistic practice, especially at the government level, in an educational context, and in some more rural areas. This suggests that participants may be using it in practice, but do not believe it is the 'best' language choice in abstraction.

5.4 Survey Section Four – Language Attitudes

     This section tabulates the responses to language attitude questions. For each question in

this section of the survey, participants were asked to agree or disagree with questions about

language in East Timor. Raw scores are given in Table 5.3 below and are discussed in further

detail in subsequent sections. Questions in this section are combined according to themes and so

this section proceeds thus: 5.4.1 Multilingualism, 5.4.2 Identity, 5.4.3 Education, and 5.4.4

Utility, followed by a summary and discussion of the responses from this section. In this section,

N/A responses (skipped or blank responses) are included to show which questions confounded

participants, as evidenced by their inability or unwillingness to commit to a response; this is not

a commentary on individuals' comprehension, only a data-type. For discussion of the

development of these questions, see section 4.2.1.2.

No.	Text	Agree	Disagree	N/A
57	It is important to know a local language.	**273**	22	6
58	It is more important to know Tetun than a local language.	**192**	102	7
59	People who know Tetun are clever.	**166**	122	13
60	Portuguese and Tetun are very different.	**215**	75	11
61	Children feel confused when they learn Portuguese and Tetun at the same time.	**218**	75	8
62	People should learn Tetun before they learn Portuguese.	**265**	30	6
63	It is more important for people to know Tetun than Portuguese.	**149**	144	8
64	Knowing Tetun can help people get work in Timor.	**199**	96	6
65	Knowing Tetun can help people get work in a foreign country.	47	**240**	14
66	Knowing many languages is just easy.	**155**	133	13
67	Knowing many languages is important.	**283**	15	3
68	Knowing only one language makes people get problems.	**183**	103	15
69	I feel sad for Timorese people that don't know Tetun.	**220**	73	8
70	Young people don't know how to speak Tetun right.	**178**	113	10
71	All Timorese people in Dili need to know Portuguese.	**207**	88	6
72	All Timorese people in the districts need to know Portuguese.	**198**	79	24
73	Portuguese, English, Indonesian, Tetun, and local languages can live together in Timor-Leste	**266**	25	10

74	Tetun is unfashionable/not attractive	28	**263**	10
75	Portuguese is more valuable than Tetun.	61	**230**	10
76	Young Timorese like to speak Tetun.	**258**	31	12
77	Older Timorese like to speak Tetun	**213**	77	11
78	Tetun is a simple language.	**269**	24	8
79	Foreigners should learn Tetun.	**282**	11	8
80	Tetun is an important part of Timorese identity.	**286**	8	7
81	If I had to choose only one language to speak, I choose Tetun.	**226**	67	8
82	I have positive feelings about Tetun.	**264**	30	7

Table 5.3 Survey Section 4, Raw Scores

5.4.1 Multilingualism

Q57: It is important to know a local language. – Ida nee importante atu hatene lian inan/lian lokal ruma.
Q58: It is more important to know Tetun than a local language. – Importante liu hodi hatene Tetun duké lian inan/lian lokal.
Q63: It is more important for people to know Tetun than Portuguese. – Nee importante liu atu ema hatene Tetun duké Portugues.
Q66: Knowing many languages is just easy. – Hatene lian barak fasil deit.
Q67: Knowing many languages is important. – Hatene lian barak importante.
Q68: Knowing only one language creates problems for people. – Hatene lian ida deit halo ema hetan susar.
Q73: Portuguese, English, Indonesian, Tetun, and local languages can live together in East Timor. – Lian Portugues, lian Ingles, lian Indonezia, lian Tetun, ho lian lokal bele hela hamutuk iha Timor-Leste.
Q81: If I had to choose only one language to speak, I choose Tetun. – Se karik hau bele hili lian ida deit atu koalia, hau hili lian Tetun.

Questions in this section deal with attitudes toward general multilingualism, the values placed on certain languages over others, the importance of multilingualism, and the role of languages in East Timor. In Figure 5.20 below, participants strongly agree that it is important to know a local Timorese language, however, many of them also agree that knowing Tetun is more important than knowing a local language, indicating again a shift away from traditional mother tongues. When the importance of learning Tetun is compared to Portuguese in Q63, even more disagreement sets in, nearly evenly dividing the participants. This nearly-even divide is not unexpected in light of the importance placed on both languages in East Timor.

Participants are also sharply divided on whether being multilingual is easy, but strongly agree that multilingualism is important. Surprisingly, over one-third of participants do not agree that monolingualism creates problems for people. This may be an effect of seeing monolingual foreigners getting with ease in East Timor, or participants may be thinking of monolinguals within East Timor, who tend to be self-sufficient subsistence farmers in the rural areas. The majority of participants agreed that the official languages, the working languages, and the local languages can agreeably share space in East Timor, although 25 participants disagreed either with the sentiment as a whole or objected to a specific language. When asked if their language choice in a hypothetical monolingual life would be Tetun, all but 67 participants agreed. For participants overall, the most confounding question concerning multilingualism was Q66 about the ease of being multilingual, garnering 13 N/A responses.
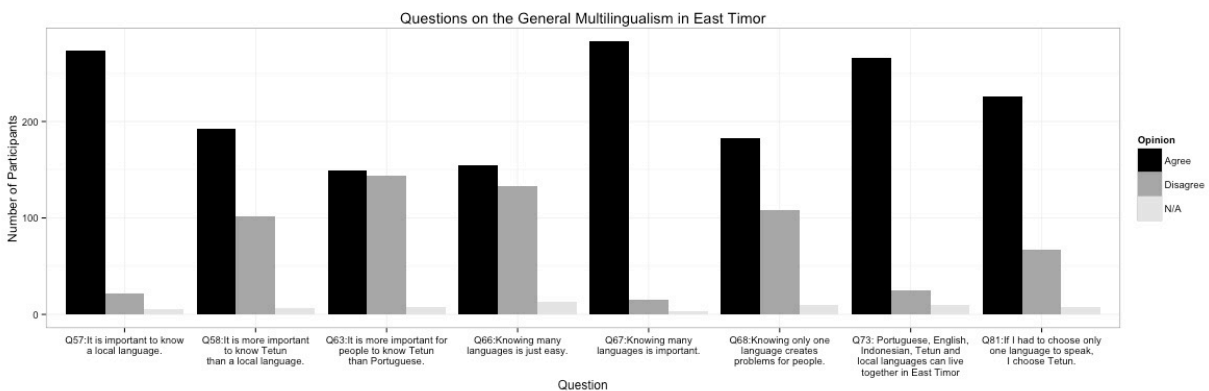
Figure 5.20 Responses to Multilingual Attitude Questions

5.4.2 Identity

Q59: People who know Tetun are clever. – Ema nebee hatene Tetun matenek.
Q69: I feel sad for Timorese people that don't know Tetun. – Hau senti tristi ba ema Timor nebee la hatene Tetun.
Q70: Young people don't know how to speak Tetun right. – Joven la hatene oinsaa koalia Tetun lo-loos.
Q71: All Timorese people in Dili need to know Portuguese. – Timor-oan hotu iha Dili presiza hatene lian Portugues.

Q72: All Timorese people in the districts need to know Portuguese. – Timor-oan hotu iha distritu presiza hatene lian Portugues.
Q74: Tetun is unfashionable/not attractive. – Lian Tetun la jeitu liu.
Q76: Young Timorese like to speak Tetun. – Joven Timor-oan sira gosta koalia Tetun.
Q77: Older Timorese like to speak Tetun. – Ema Timor nebee tinan boot liu gosta koalia Tetun.
Q80: Tetun is an important part of Timorese identity. – Lian Tetun nee parte importante identidade Timor-oan.
Q82: I feel positive about Tetun. – Hau senti positivu kona ba lian Tetun.

Questions in this section deal with identity-related language attitudes about people who speak Tetun, opinions about Tetun, and its role in East Timor. In Figure 5.21 below, participants were divided over whether they thought people who speak Tetun are clever with 55% agreeing and 40% disagreeing. Many participants also agreed that they felt sad for Timorese people who do not know Tetun, although nearly one-third either disagreed or declined to respond. The majority of participants agreed that young people don't know how to speak Tetun "properly", aligning with global stereotypes that young people are irresponsible guardians of linguistic purity, although over one-third responded in defense of the youth (this may be the recent rise of linguicism in the mainstream consciousness; see Drummond 2016 for recent work on just how aware 'the youth' are of their own linguistic practice).

Q71 and Q72 show more agreement that all Timorese people in Dili and the districts need to know Portuguese, which indicates a high value places on Portuguese (as well as Tetun) as a facet of Timorese identity. Because there are very few opportunities for Timorese in the rural areas to use Portuguese (especially compared to Dili), the fact that these two questions pattern similarly shows that this valuation can be viewed as symbolic, rather than practical. Most participants were in strong disagreement that Tetun is an unattractive or unfashionable language. The term used on the survey, '*la jeitu*', can be used to describe all manner of negative things, such as burdensome homework, classless behavior, tasteless food, a boring movie, or out-of-

fashion style.[57] This strong reaction suggests that participants responded poorly to the comparison of Tetun language to unattractive things, which reflects a strong defense of the language as well.

In Q76 and Q77, participants mostly agreed that both young and old people like to speak Tetun, although disagreement was higher for the 'older' group, showing (however slightly) that Tetun Dili may be viewed as the code of the youth. The overwhelming majority agreed that Tetun was an important part of Timorese identity, and most participants agreed that they feel positive about Tetun. For participants overall, the most confounding question in this section was Q72 concerning the role of Portuguese in the districts, garnering 24 N/A responses. Even though Q72 patterned very similarly to the preceding Q71 concerning the role of Portuguese in Dili, participants either evaluated Q72 as a repeat and therefore skipped it, or the division of 'Dili' and 'the districts' was one that perhaps required a bit more thought.
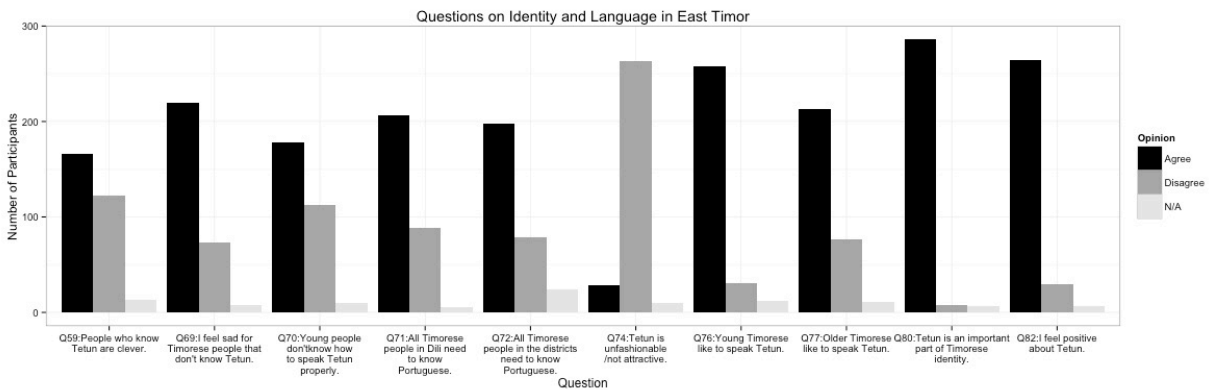
Figure 5.21 Responses to Identity Attitude Questions

5.4.3 Education

Q60: Portuguese and Tetun are very different. – Lian Portugues ho lian Tetun diferente liu.
Q61: Children feel confused when they learn Portuguese and Tetun at the same time. – Labarik sira senti konfuzaun bainhira aprende Portuges no Tetun iha tempu hanesan.

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[57] *Jeitu* is also a noun meaning 'manner, way, style'

Q62: People should learn Tetun before they learn Portuguese. – Ema tenki aprende lian Tetun antes aprende lian Portugues.
Q78: Tetun is a simple language. – Lian Tetun mak lian simples.
Q79: Foreigners should learn Tetun. – Ema malae bele aprende Tetun.

Questions in this section deal with education, language learning, and language knowledge. In Figure 5.22 below, most people agreed that Portuguese and Tetun are very different, and that people are likely to believe that children feel confused when they learn these languages at the same time (a common misconception about bilingual education).[58] In both of these questions 75 participants disagreed, but not the *same* 75 participants; only 30 of those people disagreed with both.

Most participants also agreed that Tetun should be learned before Portuguese, and that Tetun is a simple language. Perhaps because of this belief in the simplicity of Tetun and its importance to Timorese identity shown in section 5.4.2 above, the majority of participants agreed that foreigners should learn Tetun. This idea of the simplicity of Tetun and the ideologies it is situated within will be explored in more depth in sections 6.3.4 and 7.4, on the 'development' of Tetun. For participants overall, the most confounding question in this section was Q60 comparing the similarity of Portuguese and Tetun, garnering 11 N/A responses. N/A responses (skipped or blank responses) are included to show which questions confounded participants, as evidenced by their inability or unwillingness to commit to a response; this is not a comment on their comprehension of the content.

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[58] Q60 and Q61 are related and are based on arguments of dubious accuracy I heard in favor of multilingual education in my capacity as an employee of the East Timorese Ministry of Education. The argument is summarized thus: because Portuguese and Tetun are very similar, they should be easy for children to learn simultaneously.
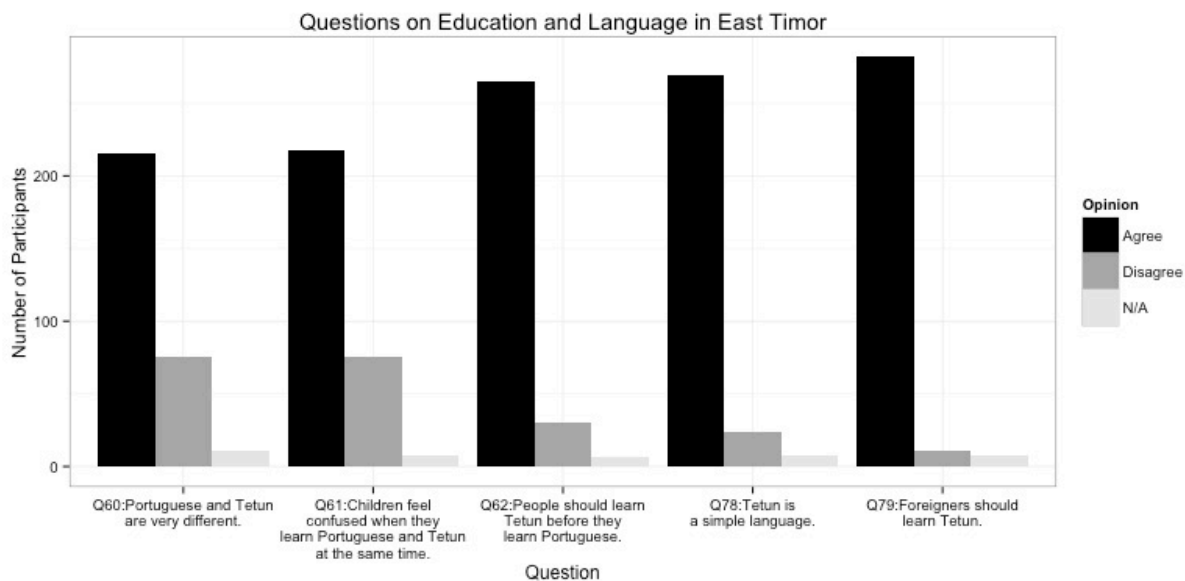
Figure 5.22 Responses to Education Attitude Questions

5.4.4 Utility

Q64: Knowing Tetun can help people get work in Timor. – Hatene Tetun bele ajuda ema hetan servisu iha Timor laran.
Q65: Knowing Tetun can help people get work in a foreign country. – Hatene Tetun bele ajuda ema hetan servisu iha rai liu.
Q75: Portuguese is more valuable than Tetun. – Lian Portugues mak vale liu duké lian Tetun.

The final questions in this section concern the utility and value of Tetun for work-related

purposes. In Figure 5.23 below, many people agreed that knowing Tetun could help one get a job

in Timor, although nearly one-third disagreed. Most participants disagreed that Tetun could help

them find work in a foreign country, which is expected as Tetun is not spoken outside of East

Timor apart from small diaspora communities in Australia and the UK. Many participants

disagreed that Portuguese was more valuable than Tetun, although 61 participants did agree. For

participants overall, the most confounding question in this section was Q65, concerning the

utility of Tetun for finding outside of Timor with 14 N/A responses. One possible explanation for

these N/A responses as well as the 47 participants who agreed is that seasonal work programs

exist in both Australia and the UK that are specifically for Timorese workers (and which are now

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threatened by the recent Brexit vote; if the UK is no longer part of the EU, Timorese' right to work there under their Portuguese passports must now be renegotiated).
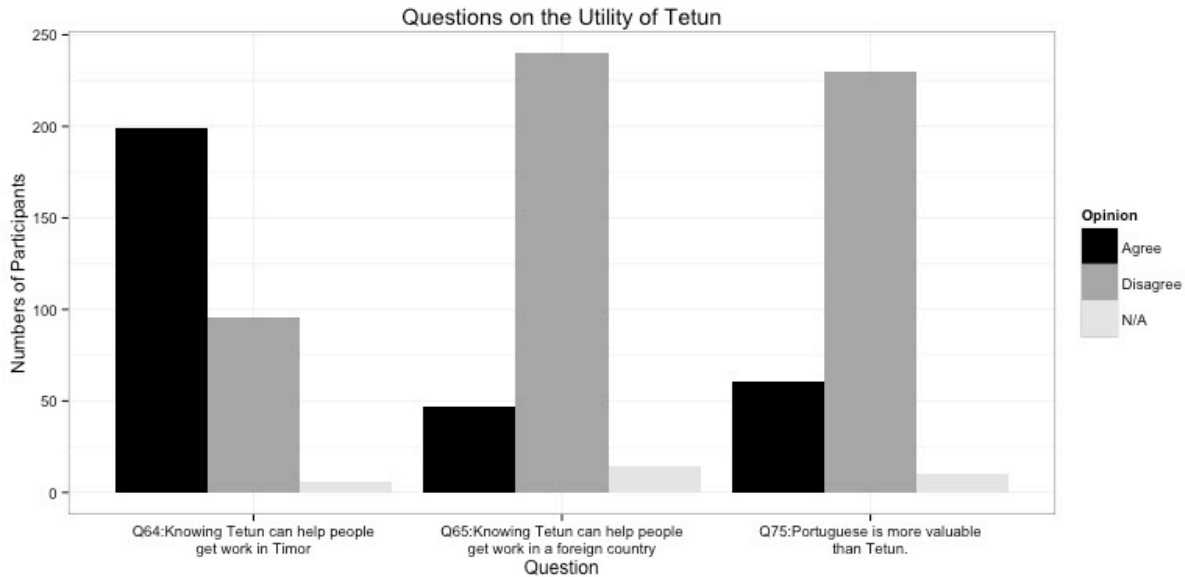
Figure 5.23 Responses to Utility Attitude Questions

5.4.5 Summary

This section of the survey begins to elucidate some specific language attitudes. As has been demonstrated in previous sections, participants value general multilingualism, as well as local languages. However, some languages are more valued than others, either for practical purposes or for identity-related reasons. Tetun is highly ranked as more valuable than local languages, and is only narrowly ranked as more valuable than Portuguese. Participants agree that being multilingual is difficult, but that being monolingual is more difficult (and not knowing Tetun is pitiable for these participants). Tetun is largely spoken by the youth, who also are perceived to not know how to speak it properly. Tetun is also perceived as a simple language, and one that, perhaps as a result of this simplicity, foreigners should learn. Furthermore,

Timorese feel positive about Tetun Dili, and recognize it as an important symbol of Timorese identity.

5.5 Section Five – Tetun Speakers

This section tabulates the responses to attitude questions about people who speak Tetun. For each questions in this section of the survey, participants were asked to strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with adjectives and traits describing people who speak Tetun. Raw scores are given in Table 5.4 below and are discussed in further detail in subsequent sections. Questions in this section are combined according to their pair relationships and so this section proceeds thus: 5.5.1 Loud, Quiet, 5.5.2 Successful, Simple, 5.5.3 Kind-hearted, Bad-tempered, 5.5.4 Feminine, Masculine, 5.5.5 Honest, Pretentious, 5.5.6 Modern, Old-fashioned, 5.5.7 Peaceful, Violent, 5.5.8 Young, Old, and 5.5.9 Rich, Poor, followed by a summary and discussion of the responses from this section. For discussion of the development of these questions, see section 4.2.1.2.

No.	Item	Really Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Really Agree	N/A
83	quiet	**194**	36	25	32	14
84	stupid	**208**	44	15	18	16
85	loud	**154**	59	43	23	22
86	kind-hearted	41	18	55	**171**	16
87	feminine	**105**	30	45	97	24
88	bad-tempered	**163**	63	30	23	22
89	masculine	**103**	30	54	91	23
90	honest	39	30	64	**146**	22
91	modern	53	38	83	**110**	17
92	old-fashioned	**135**	67	43	37	19
93	successful	34	19	74	**153**	21
94	peaceful	43	32	70	**134**	22
95	violent	**201**	21	27	31	21
96	young	62	24	55	**147**	13
97	poor	**126**	30	57	73	15
98	old	**97**	40	63	88	13

| 99 | rich | **107** | 41 | 51 | 89 | 13 |
| 100 | pretentious | **182** | 38 | 33 | 36 | 12 |

Table 5.4 Survey Section 5, Raw Scores

5.5.1 Loud, Quiet

People that can speak Tetun are people who are… – Ema bele koalia Tetun ema…
    Q85: Loud – Nakratak
    Q83: Quiet – Nonook

The two adjectives used here were intended to be opposites. The term *nakratak* can mean noisy, boisterous, always talking, sticking out, 'spastic', bristling, or attention-seeking and is a generally negative term. The term *nonook* can mean calm, peaceful, silent, noiseless, smooth, soft-spoken, or can be combined with a participle to create a phrase that means 'Shut up!'. Unlike *nakratak*, *nonook* is a more neutral than a clearly positive term. In Figure 5.24 below, participants strongly disagreed that Tetun speakers were loud but even more strongly disagreed that they were quiet. This would seem to indicate that neither quality is a trait that has a particularly strongly association with Tetun speakers. In later pairs, such as the feminine-masculine pair, participants agreed and disagreed to equal degrees, which is another way of indicating that neither quality is particularly associated with Tetun speakers. Of note is the strength of the responses, which suggests more than ambivalence toward the survey items, but does not give information as to why.
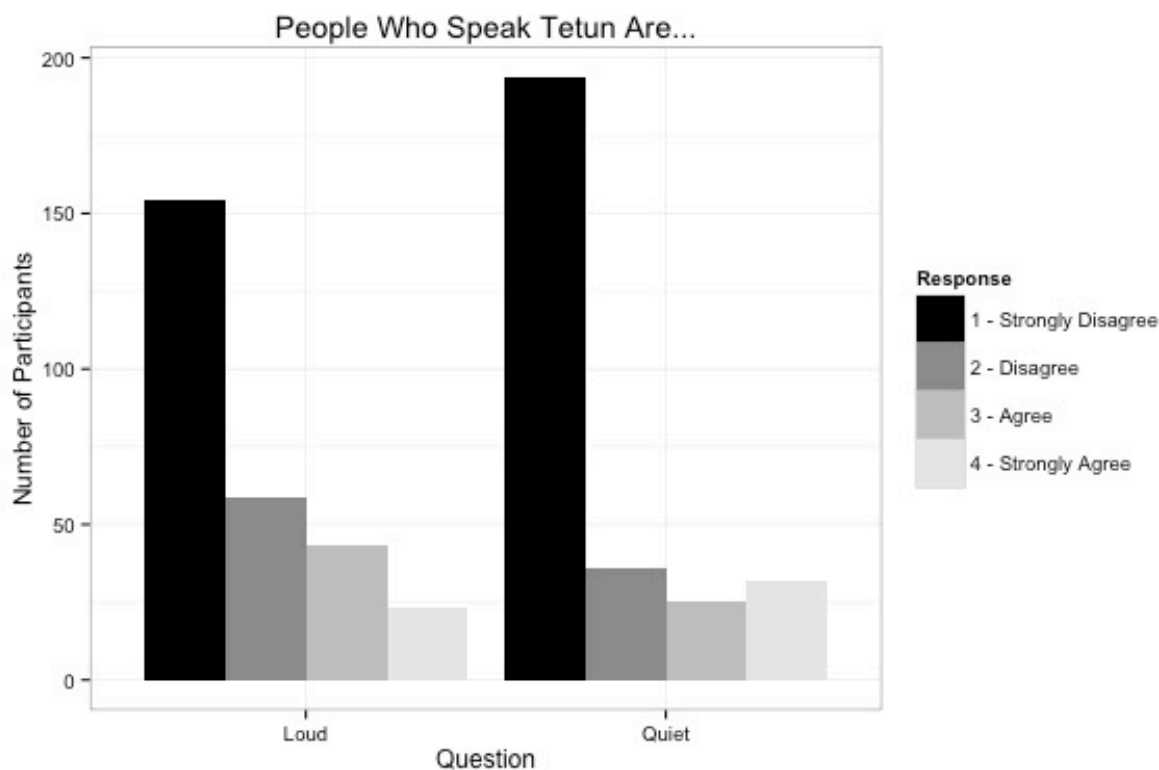
Figure 5.24 Responses Ranking Tetun Dili Speakers as Loud, Quiet

5.5.2 Simple, Successful

People that can speak Tetun are people who are… – Ema bele koalia Tetun ema…
    Q84: Simple – Beik
    Q93: Successful – Susesu

The two adjectives used here were intended to be opposites. The word *beik* is really more closely translated as stupid, idiotic, ignorant or, more politely, as simple. The term *susesu* can be used as a noun or an adjective, and can refer to a person who is successful in life, business, or something related to wellbeing due to their cleverness. *Beik* is a generally negative term, while *susesu* is a positive one. In Figure 5.25 below, most people strongly disagreed that Tetun speakers were stupid, and agreed that Tetun speakers were successful, although less strongly. This does not reflect the insecurities seen in sections 5.3 and 5.4 that Tetun is not the language of economic or educational advantage. Again, the strength of these responses gives pause.

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Participants tended to strongly disagree with the negative term here, but were less strong in their agreement with the positive term, so these evaluations are not quite in complimentary distribution.
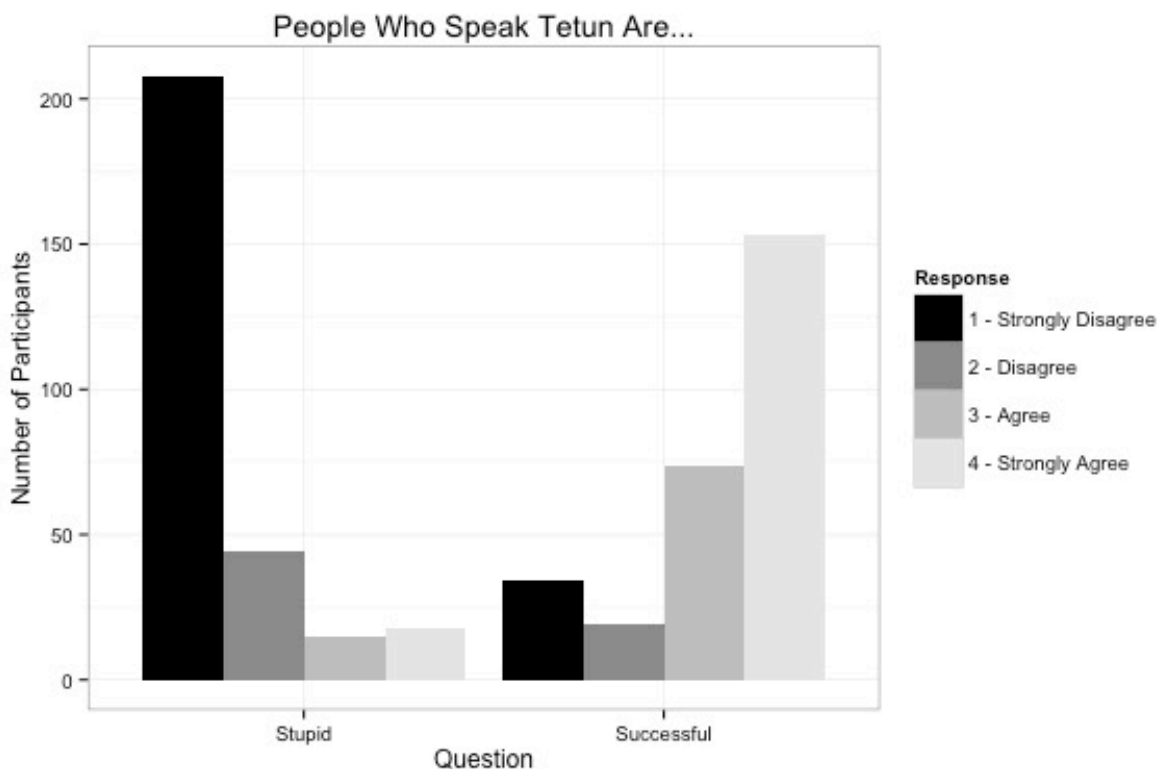
Figure 5.25 Responses Ranking Tetun Dili Speakers as Simple, Successful

5.5.3 Bad-tempered, Kind-hearted

People that can speak Tetun are people who are… – Ema bele koalia Tetun ema…
    Q88: Bad-tempered – Oin buis
    Q86: Kind-hearted – Oin midar

These two terms were used as opposites. The term *oin-buis* literally means 'face-stern' and can also be used to mean stern, severe, unfriendly, cranky, bad-tempered, ill-mannered, rude, closed or cold. The term *oin-midar* literally means 'face-sugar' and can also be used to mean sweet (of food or of disposition), kind-hearted, friendly, smiling, warm or open. *Oin-buis* is a negative trait, while *oin-midar* is a positive trait. In Figure 5.26 below, many participants

strongly disagreed or disagreed that Tetun speakers were bad-tempered, and many strongly

agreed or agreed that Tetun speakers were kind-hearted. This reflects the trend seen in section

5.4 in which the majority of participants felt positive about Tetun in that their positive feelings

about Tetun speakers are also clearly born out.
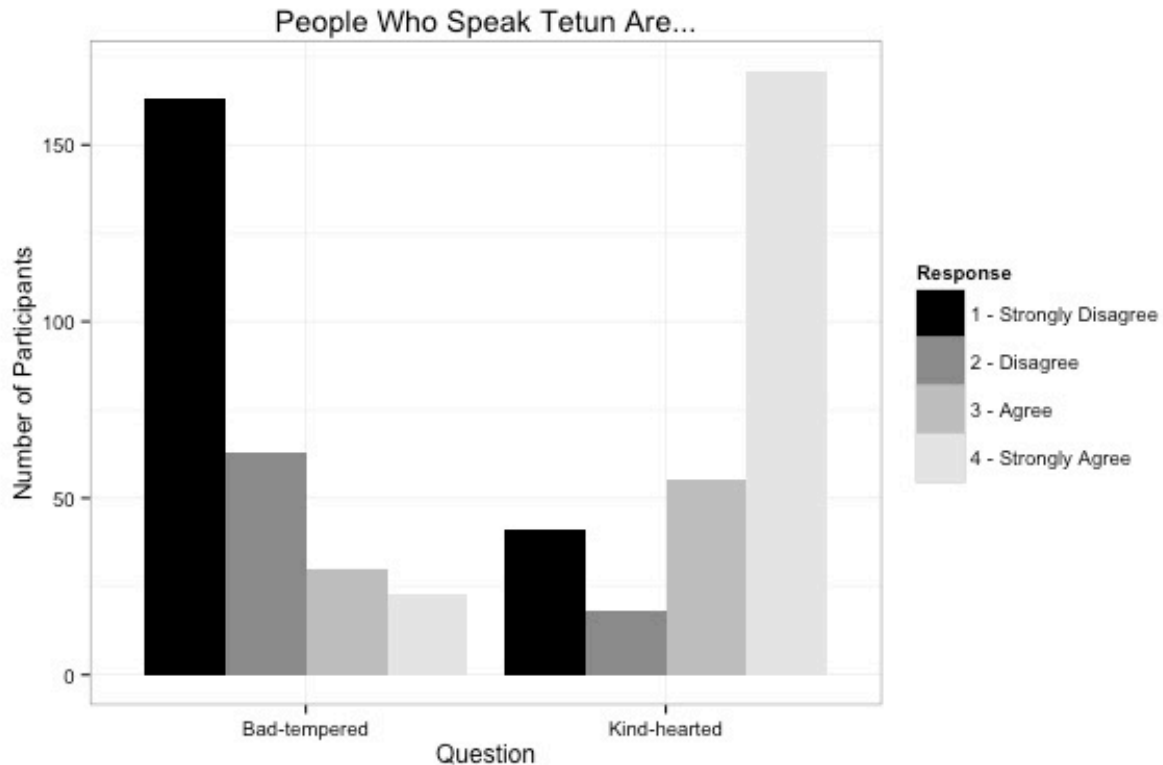
Figure 5.26 Responses Ranking Tetun Dili Speakers as Bad-tempered, Kind-hearted

5.5.4 Feminine, Masculine

People that can speak Tetun are people who are… – Ema bele koalia Tetun ema…
        Q87: Feminine – Femininu
        Q89: Masculine – Maskulinu

These two terms were used as opposites and carry many of the same associations and

stereotypes as their English counterparts. Neither term is considered a particularly negative or

positive trait. It is perhaps unsurprising then that participants were nearly evenly split on both

questions. In Figure 5.27 below, 135 participants either disagreed or strongly disagreed that

Tetun speakers were feminine, while 142 participants either agreed or strongly agreed. 133

participants either disagreed or strongly disagreed that Tetun speakers were masculine, while 145

participants either agreed or strongly agreed. The distributions of responses were also evenly

distributed along gender lines, such that women and men agreed and disagreed in equal

measures, and did not respond against or along with their own gender lines (i.e., there is no

interaction between the participant's self-reported gender and the perceived femininity or

masculinity of Tetun).
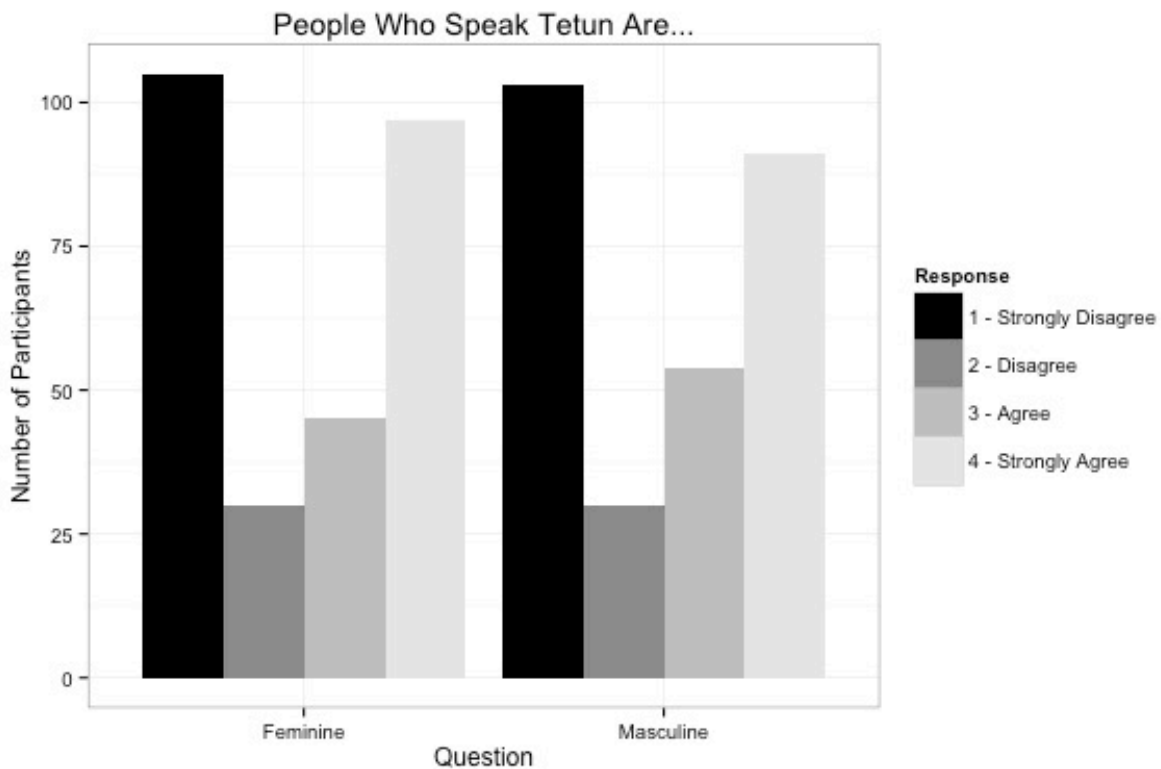
Figure 5.27 Responses Ranking Tetun Dili Speakers as Feminine, Masculine

5.5.5 Honest, Pretentious

People that can speak Tetun are people who are… – Ema bele koalia Tetun ema…
    Q90: Honest – Honestu
    Q100: Pretentious – Halo aan/loko aan

These two terms were used as opposites roughly meaning honest and dishonest. The term *honestu* is equivalent to its English counterpart and is generally considered a positive term. The term *halo aan* or *loko aan* literally means 'to make oneself', and can be translated as vain, pretentious, putting up a front, dishonest, conceited, puffed-up, full-of-oneself, insincere, two-faced, or false. Unlike *honestu*, *halo aan/loko aan* is considered a negative trait. In Figure 5.28 below, many participants agreed or strongly agreed that Tetun speakers are honest. Even more participants disagreed or strongly disagreed that Tetun speakers were pretentious or dishonest. Similar to section 5.5.2 and 5.5.3 above, participants are demonstrating clearly positive associations with Tetun speakers.
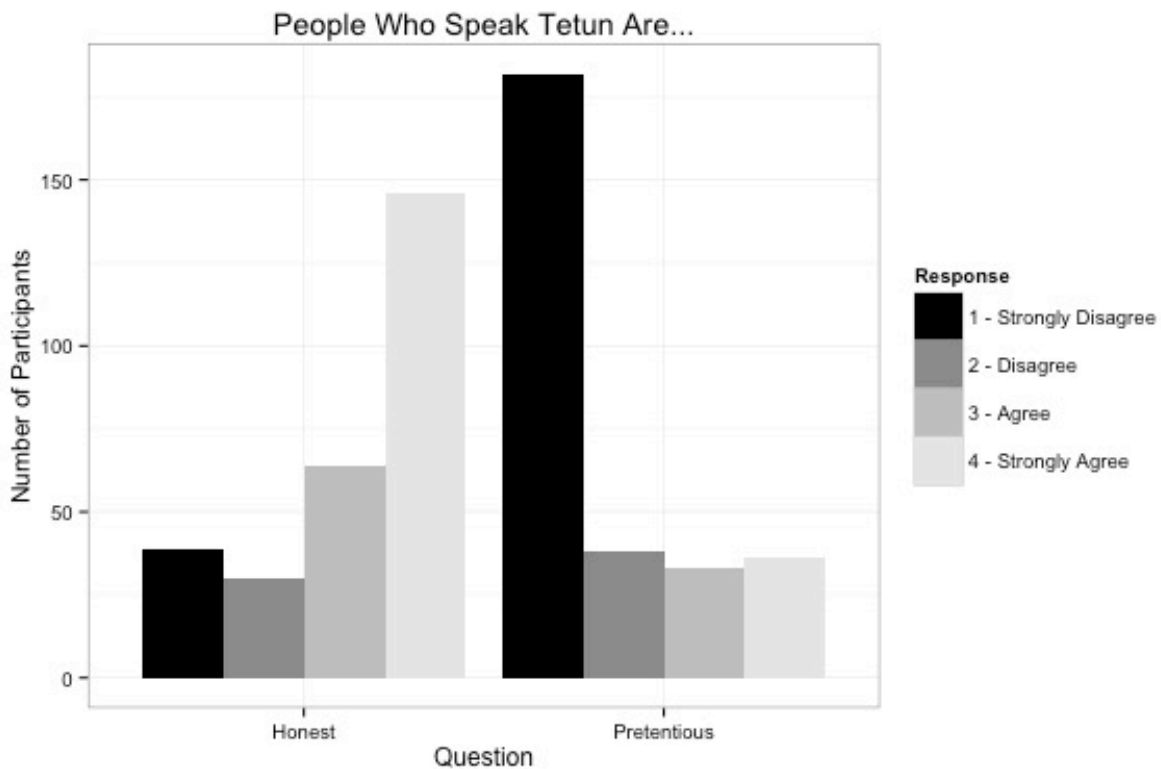
Figure 5.28 Responses Ranking Tetun Dili Speakers as Honest, Pretentious

5.5.6 Modern, Old-fashioned

People that can speak Tetun are people who are… – Ema bele koalia Tetun ema…

Q91: Modern – Modernu
Q92: Old-fashioned – Atrazadu

These two terms were used as opposites. The term *modernu* can also be used to mean new, cutting-edge, upgraded, or informed. and can describe anything from people to houses. The term *atrazadu* can be used to mean backward, old-fashioned, behind-the-times, very traditional, late or delayed. *Modernu* is considered a positive trait while *atrazadu* is not. These two terms resulted in opposite distributions in Figure 5.29 below. About two-thirds of participants agreed or strongly agreed that Tetun speakers were modern, while one-third disagreed or strongly disagreed. The majority of participants disagreed or strongly disagreed that Tetun Dili speakers were old-fashioned, with 80 participants agreeing or strongly agreeing. This is perhaps a reflection that the variety of Tetun spoken by the majority of participants has not been widely known long enough to have become perceived as old-fashioned, and because speakers often and easily adopt new terms, Tetun Dili is constantly advancing in modernity. This distribution shows that these questions elicit slightly less strong opinions in comparison to previous questions.
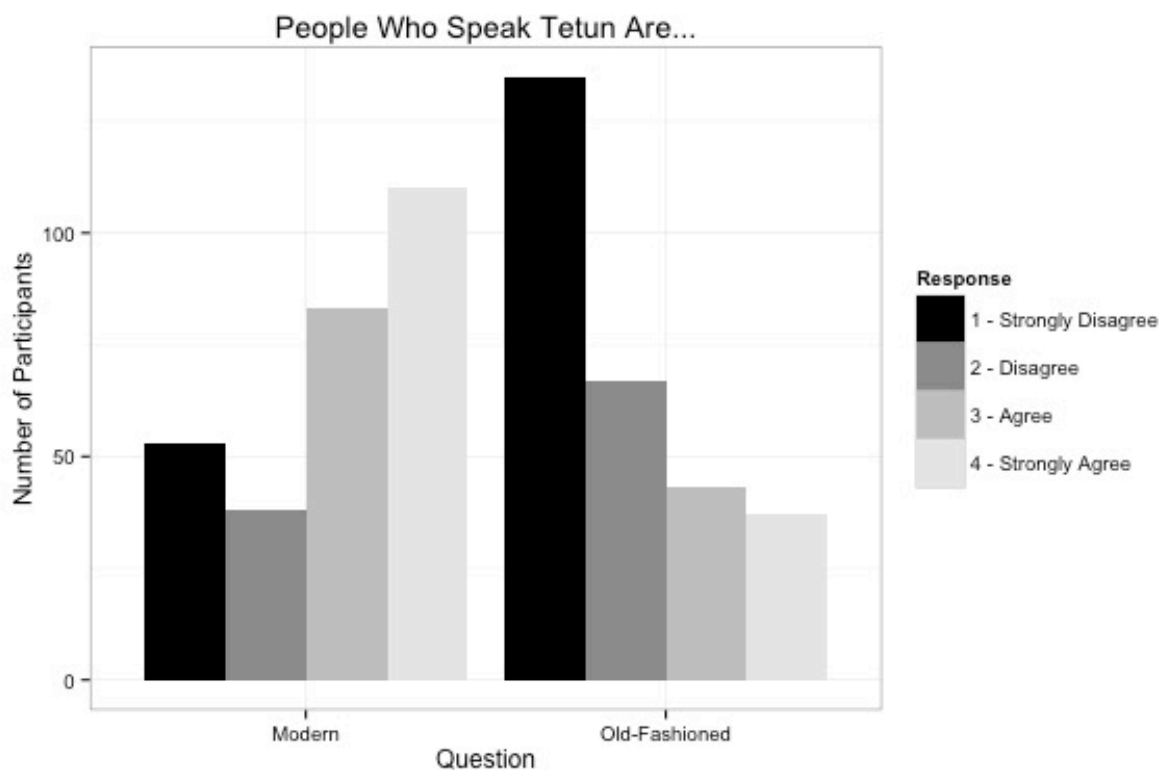
Figure 5.29 Responses Ranking Tetun Dili Speakers as Modern, Old-fashioned

5.5.7 Peaceful, Violent

People that can speak Tetun are people who are… – Ema bele koalia Tetun ema…
  Q94: Peaceful – Hakmatek
  Q95: Violent – Halo violensia

These two terms were used as opposites. The term *hakmatek* can also mean still,

peaceful, calm, restful, at peace, and is used to describe anything from people and societal

conditions, to weather or waves. The phrase *halo violensia* literally means 'make violence' and is

generally applied to social agitators, but can also mean violent or rough. *Hakmatek* is a positive

trait, while *violensia* is a negative trait. In Figure 5.30 below, participants generally agreed that

Tetun speakers were peaceful, but they were strongly convicted in their belief that Tetun

speakers were *not* violent. This response may be a reflection on events of the last half-century, in

which the main aggressors of conflict came from outside of Timor, like the Japanese in WWII

and the Indonesians during the occupation. This strongly united front may also be a reaction to the memories of the 2006 crisis, which left some lingering negative stereotypes about the safety of East Timor, and which many people frame as a highly aberrant departure from normal Timorese behavior.
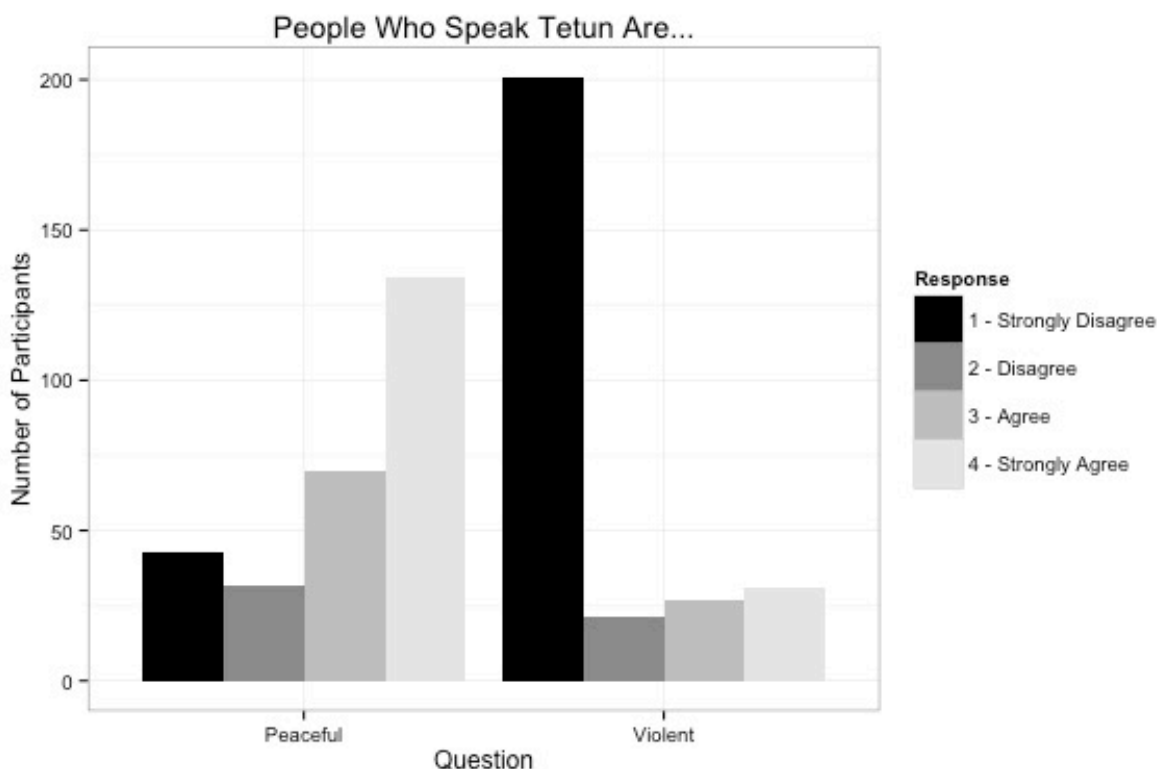
Figure 5.30 Responses Ranking Tetun Dili Speakers as Peaceful, Violent

5.5.8 Old, Young

People that can speak Tetun are people who are… – Ema bele koalia Tetun ema…
    Q98: Old – Katuas
    Q96: Young – Joven

These two terms were used as opposites. The term *katuas* can also be used to mean mature, married, older, elder, and is especially applied to men, but can also be used to refer to 'the old' in the English colloquial sense of one's elders. The term *joven*, besides meaning young, is often used to refer to 'the youth' in the English colloquial sense of 'kids these days' and is an

often-discussed topic on news broadcasts and radio shows. Neither *joven* nor *katuas* are considered particularly positive or negative traits. Figure 5.31 below shows that distributions of responses to old and young are neither opposites nor complementary. Participants were divided as to whether they agreed/strongly agreed (151) or disagreed/strongly disagreed (131) that Tetun speakers were old. On its own, this would indicate that Tetun speakers are not perceived as belonging to any particular age group; they are anyone. However, over two-thirds of participants either agreed or strongly agreed (nearly half of *all* participants strongly agreed) that Tetun speakers were young. So, while speakers of Tetun are not specifically perceived as being old, they are *definitely* perceived as being young. This is another indication of the youth of Tetun Dili, and shows that participants are aware that young people are speaking it in greater numbers than older generations. This is especially interesting in light of the question in section 5.4.2 in which the majority of participants agreed that young people do not know how to speak Tetun properly. Over one-third of participants aligned to both of these points of view—that Tetun speakers are young, *and* that the youth can't speak Tetun properly, which points to the need to examine discourses circulating by middle-aged, elders, teachers, and media about how young people talk.
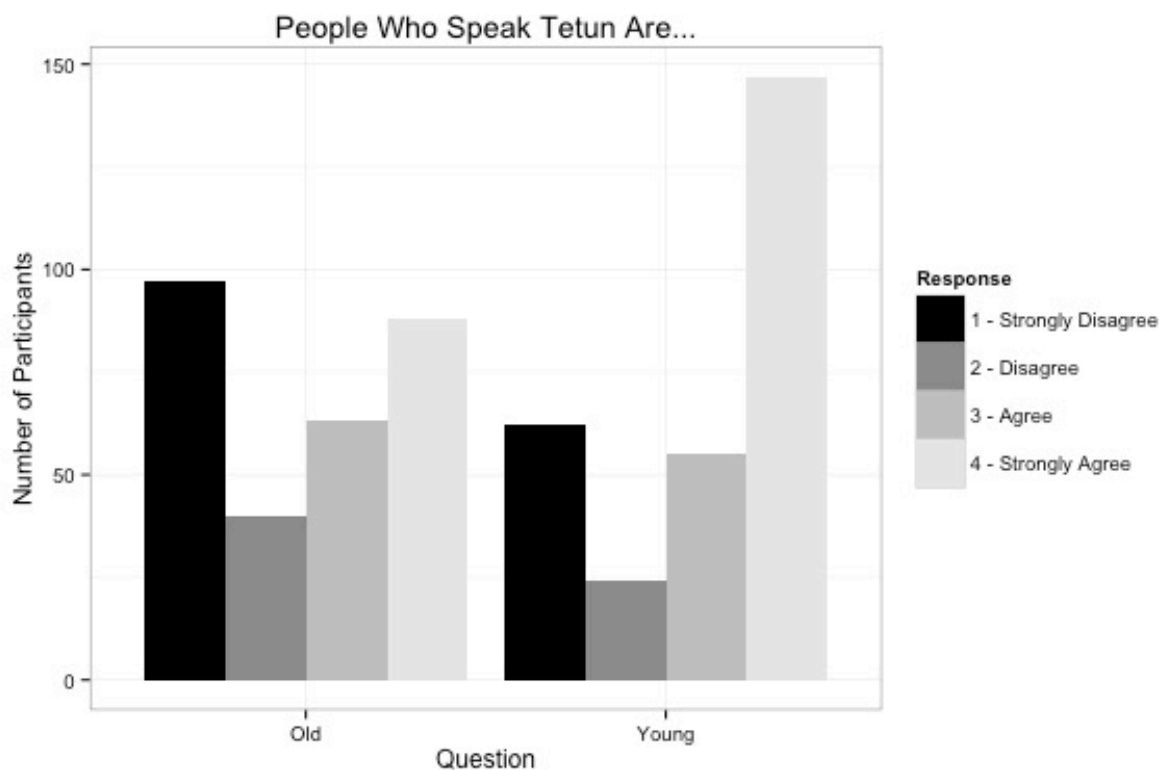
Figure 5.31 Responses Ranking Tetun Dili Speakers as Old, Young

5.5.9 Poor, Rich

People that can speak Tetun are people who are… – Ema bele koalia Tetun ema…
        Q97: Poor – Kiak
        Q99: Rich – Riku

These two terms were used as opposites. The term *kiak* can be used to mean poor or
poverty-stricken, and when combined with *oan* 'child' means orphan. *Riku* can be used to mean
rich, wealth, riches or property. *Kiak* is not a positive trait, while *riku* is. In Figure 5.32 below,
evaluations of Tetun speakers as rich and poor are similarly distributed. About half of
participants disagreed or strongly disagreed that Tetun speakers were poor, with an obvious
preference for strong disagreement. Whether Tetun speakers were considered rich was even
more polarizing, with about half disagreeing or strongly disagreeing and the other half agreeing
even more strongly than with poor. This is somewhat puzzling in light of previous questions

about the utility of Tetun for finding jobs or making money, although there may be an unspoken and unconscious comparison being made with non-Tetun speakers. Here, non-Tetun speakers may be categorized by participants as either foreigners who are 'rich' by default, or the hill people who do not live in or travel to Dili, and are therefore 'poor'. So, speakers of Tetun are not rich by international standards, but they are also not poor by local standards.
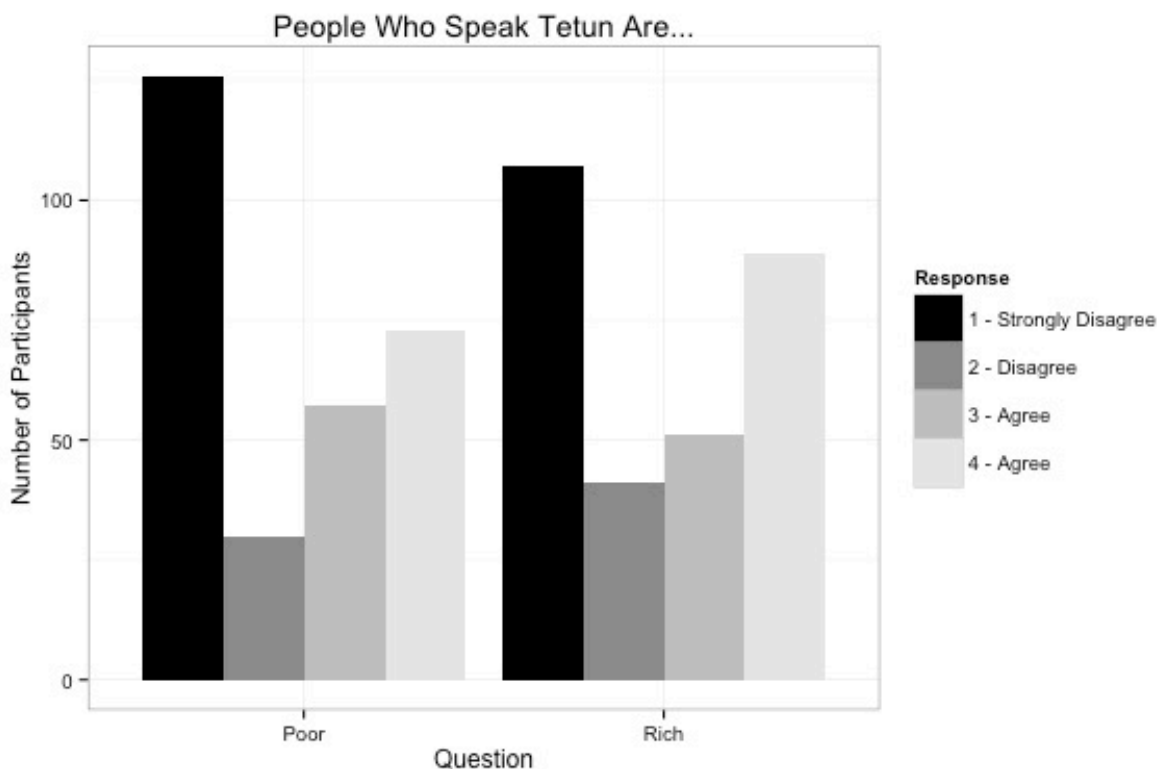
Figure 5.32 Responses Ranking Tetun Dili Speakers as Poor, Rich

5.5.10 Summary

Responses in this section outline the opinions of Timorese toward 'Tetun speakers', and reflect largely positive attitudes. Participants strongly disagreed that Tetun speakers were loud, quiet, stupid, bad-tempered, pretentious/dishonest, old-fashioned, violent, and poor. Participants were nearly equally polarized in their evaluations of Tetun speakers as feminine, masculine, old,

or rich. Participants strongly agreed that Tetun speakers were successful, kind-hearted, honest, modern, peaceful, or young.

5.6 Section Six – Language Ranking

Language	Position 1 (Simplest)	Position 2	Position 3	Position 4 (Most Difficult)	N/A
Indonesian	33	**182**	40	30	16
English	8	29	114	**124**	26
Portuguese	7	58	**123**	97	16
Tetun	**239**	17	9	28	8

Table 5.5 Survey Section 6, Raw Scores

This section tabulates responses to the survey section that tasked participants with ranking four languages in order of difficulty, from the simplest language to the most difficult. The choices were Indonesian, English, Tetun and Portuguese. For discussion of the development of these questions, see section 4.2.1.2. In Figure 5.33 below, Tetun was most often listed as the simplest language, followed by Indonesian. Portuguese and English were nearly tied as the most difficult, with English coming out as the most difficult by a narrow margin. External ideologies, media availability, familiarity and environmental salience, personal learning experiences, ideologies of complexity and "development", and motivation all influence which language a participant deems 'difficult' or 'simple'. Many of these factors are apparent throughout this survey, as Tetun is consistently ranked highly in simplicity, common usage, and ease of learning, despite its relative uselessness for personal success. This view that foreign languages are more educationally valuable or economically useful is also reflected in this task, in that not only are they difficult to learn, but are associated with things that are aspirationally difficult to attain.
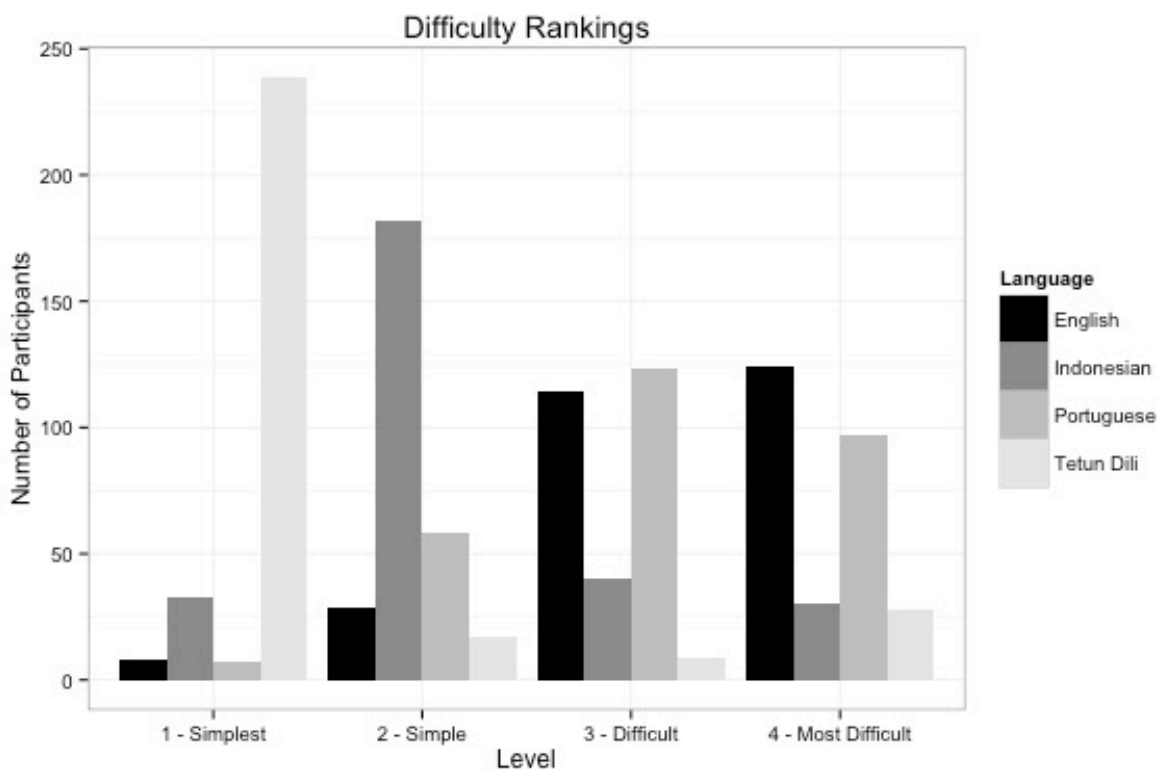
Figure 5.33 Responses Ranking Language Difficulty

5.7 Section Seven – Language Description

This section asked participants to describe Tetun using 5 words. For discussion of the development of these questions, see section 4.2.1.2. This was the only free-response section of the survey that asked participants for something other than their personal experiences, and allowed them to express opinions regarding the language itself. Unsurprisingly, the resulting data from this question is considerably varied.[59] The 1,741 words and phrases provided can be broadly described as falling under four broad categories: positive, negative, emblematic, and transgressive. The positive and negative categories refer to the evaluations inherent in the descriptions provided. The emblematic category refers to those participants who provided literal

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[59] For example, the word for 'famous', a fairly common response, was represented orthographically as *famosa*(2), *famoso*(1), *famosu*(4), *famouzu*(1), *famozo*(2), and *famozu*(5).

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examples of what Tetun is like, for example, by listing common words or phrases. The transgressive category is for the few participants who, out of boredom, irritation or playfulness, knowingly violated the spirit of the task by providing responses that were complete non sequiturs. Based on the responses from pilot surveys, I expected an occasional few of these, but it did not happen often in this study.[60]

Some of the most common positive descriptors included words like 'important'(66), 'beautiful'(32), 'good'(98), and 'awesome/beautiful'(56). There were many unique positive responses that were more detailed phrases like 'national identity', 'one's own identity', 'people understand quickly', 'used daily', and 'inside one's heart'. Some of the most common negative descriptors were words or phrases expressing difficulty in learning, writing, hearing, or understanding (61 total variations on this theme), as well as 106 expressions that Tetun is a 'simple' language (which has a different meaning than 'easy'). The negative responses also yielded many nuanced descriptive phrases such as 'it is difficult to explain scientific ideas', 'it doesn't yet use verbs',[61] 'there is no grammar', 'the grammar isn't yet finished', 'not yet complete', 'there are no verbs', 'an inferior language', 'not enough/few vocabulary', 'imitation language', 'mixed', 'difficult to implement' and 'even uneducated people can speak it'.

These responses and many others like them indicate that participants have a strong linguistic awareness and ability to talk about the language, but that their understanding of language development is that it is deliberate, not organic. These descriptions likely stem from the 'development' ideologies discussed in Chapter 3, which are reinforced by the relationship between INL and Tetun Dili. These are interesting contradictions to the generally positive ideas

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[60] This was, fortunately, limited to only one participant who wrote *TL bonita, Baucau bonita, Elia bonita*, which means 'Timor-Leste is beautiful, Baucau is beautiful, Elia is beautiful'. Elia, my research assistant, was mortified when she discovered this and tried to collect a replacement survey.
[61] Which was written in Tetun as *ladun uza verbo*, where *uza* is, in fact, a verb commonly used in Tetun (from Portuguese) meaning 'to use'

of Tetun Dili as the language of high utility and ubiquity expressed in previous questions, undercutting the complexity of the attitudes that Tetun Dili speakers have to their own language. These and all other responses are provided in Appendix D.

5.8 Conclusions and Discussion

The results of this survey have begun to outline some emergent trends. The most important and robust is the theme of Tetun as a social necessity in East Timor. It is highly ranked in nearly every social setting, and is viewed as vital for daily life in Timor. The second is the theme of Tetun as a marker of East Timorese identity. It is viewed as an important part of Timorese-ness, and Timorese have an emotional attachment to it. The third theme is that of Tetun as the target of critique. It is viewed as inappropriate in certain situations or domains, and has some negative stereotypes associated with it. The fourth theme is that of Tetun as "developing" or needing "development". This was seen in the descriptive section especially, but also in views of Tetun utility. The fifth theme is that of Tetun as the locus of insecurity, either in personal use or more directly concerning the language itself. These five emergent themes will be explored in more detail through the interview portion of the next chapter, and in the final discussion in Chapter 7.

6. Interview Results

The results of the survey in the previous chapter introduced some emergent attitudinal trends in the data. The most important and robust is the theme of Tetun as a social necessity in East Timor. It is highly ranked in nearly every social setting, and it is viewed as vital for daily life in Timor. The second is the theme of Tetun as a marker of East Timorese identity. It is viewed as an important part of Timorese-ness, and Timorese have an emotional attachment to it. The third theme is that of Tetun as the target of critique. It is viewed as inappropriate in certain situations or domains, and has some negative stereotypes associated with it and its speakers. The fourth theme is that of Tetun as "developing" or needing "development". This was especially seen in the open-ended descriptive section at the end of the survey, but also in Timorese perceptions of Tetun utility. The fifth theme is that of Tetun as the locus of insecurity, either in personal use or more directly concerning the language itself. Because survey data does not paint a complete picture of the attitudes toward Tetun Dili, these five emergent themes will be explored in more detail through the interview portion of this chapter, and in the final discussion in chapter 7. Qualitative findings expand and explain (and sometimes contradict and complicate) quantitative findings, and this chapter will introduce some confounds to the conclusions from the previous chapter.

6.1 Transcription Conventions

Interviews presented in the subsequent sections are transcribed using Du Bois (2006) Level 2 Discourse Transcription (DT2) conventions. In DT2, numbered lines correspond to intonation units (a widely used way of segmenting prosodic contours), rather than syntactic units. It is important to note that the punctuation at the end of a numbered line indicates the contour of the intonation unit (falling, continuing, or appeal/rising), and not the completion of a syntactic

unit denoted by standard orthographic practice. The relevant symbols are explained in Table 6.1

below. I deviate slightly from Du Bois by using italics to indicate a non-English word and

quotation marks to indicate that the participant is demonstrably speaking as someone else by

affecting an accent or a voice other than their own. I use these two convention in the interest of

clarity.

Symbol	Meaning
.	final intonation contour (falling)
,	continuing intonation contour (leveling)
?	appeal intonation contour (rising)
:	lengthening
-	truncated word/reset
@	laugh pulse
@word	laughed word
#syl#a#ble	unintelligible word/syllable
[ ]	overlapping speech
..	short pause (under .2 seconds)
(n.n)	times pause (greater than .2 seconds, rounded to the nearest tenth of a second
italics	foreign word
" "	speaker is quoting (or paraphrasing) someone else[62]

Table 6.1 Transcription Conventions (DT2 Modified)

6.2 Participant Profiles and Excerpts [63,64]

Thirteen interview participants are assessed in this chapter six female and seven male.

These interviews were chosen to present a diverse sample of participants and varied in age,

opinions, educational background, and occupation. One unfortunate shortcoming of this data is

that I had difficulty finding access to English-speaking Timorese over the age of 50. What

follows is a short profile of each of the twelve speakers and a table of their relevant excerpts.

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[62] The closest DT2 convention for this is <VOX> text </VOX>, which indicates that a speaker is affecting a voice of some kind. I do not use this notation here because it does not clearly indicate the speech quality present in my interviews.
[63] While I have permission from most participants to use their real names, I have elected to use pseudonyms for everyone.
[64] Every relevant excerpt mentioned in this chapter can also be found in Appendix E.

These profiles are included to familiarize the reader with each of the participants so that they may contextualize their comments. Each of these excerpts is provided in Appendix E.

Vana is a 25 year old female from Baucau district, the second most populous district of East Timor. She speaks Makasae natively and is also fluent in Tetun Dili, Indonesian, English, and is competent but has less confident fluency in Spanish and Portuguese. She lived in Dili for three years during high school before pursuing a bachelor's degree in the United States. At the time of this interview, she had been living in Dili again for three years.

Excerpt Tag	Title	Content Themes
Vana1	"Everyone grew up speaking Tetun"	1
Vana2	"Instead of coming back to their roots"	1, 2, 3, 5
Vana3	"Our real language"	2
Vana4	"They want to learn about your culture"	2
Vana5	"You find it hard to explain in Tetun"	3
Vana6	"Losing the real meaning"	3, 4
Vana7	"Not constitutionalized … or whatever"	3, 4
Vana8	"It's not *mak*, it's *maka*"	3
Vana9	"Like I find it like difficult to understand"	5
Vana10	"If I say this will he correct me?"	5
Vana11	"People be like making fun of you"	5

Table 6.2 Guide to Vana's Excerpts

Melita is a 37 year old female from Dili. She speaks Tetun Dili natively, and is fluent in English, Portuguese, Indonesian, Makasae and speaks some French. She has always lived in Dili (except during periods of conflict when she, like most residents, fled to more rural areas) and completed a degree at the Universitas Timor Timur, the national Timorese university during the time of Indonesian occupation.

Excerpt Tag	Title	Content Themes
Melita1	"Just speak in Tetun"	1
Melita2	"*Kedeketen*? Closeness?"	1
Melita3	"Something secret"	1
Melita4	"They have to be more creative"	3
Melita5	"It looks like English"	3, 4
Melita6	"One day they will pass away"	4, 5

Melita7	"Sometimes we mix up"	5
Melita8	"Tetun needs to be developed"	4

Table 6.3 Guide to Melita's Excerpts

Alicia is a 28 year old female from Dili. She speaks Tetun Dili natively, as well as English, Indonesian, Portuguese, and French. She left East Timor at the age of 14 to finish high school and pursue a bachelor's degree in Brisbane, Australia. At the time of this interview, she had been living in Dili again for six years.

Excerpt Tag	Title	Content Themes
Alicia1	"When you're outside of Timor"	1, 2
Alicia2	"It's our mother tongue language"	1, 2
Alicia3	"Don't bother"	1
Alicia4	"It's where you belong"	2
Alicia5	"Do you speak English?"	2
Alicia6	"They're like oh, it's a pidgin"	3

Table 6.4 Guide to Alicia's Excerpts

Kika[65] is a 39 year old female from Maliana. She speaks Tetun natively and is fluent in Indonesian and English and has some competence in Kemak. At the time of this interview, Kika had lived in Dili for about 20 years, except for the time she spent in Maliana during the worst of the violence in 1999, and the three and a half years she spent in New Zealand during her bachelor's degree.

Excerpt Tag	Title	Content Themes
Kika1	"Tetun is my mother tongue"	1, 2
Kika2	"People really like our country"	2
Kika3	"They're using Tetun"	1, 3
Kika4	"Languages develop"	3, 4
Kika5	"But of course you're not allowed"	3
Kika6	"Instead of doing research"	3, 4
Kika7	"Tetun is like Timorese, which is mix up"	3, 5
Kika8	"That's alright, just get it"	3

Table 6.5 Guide to Kika's Excerpts

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[65] Kika's excerpts will not be directly treated in this section, but can all be found in Appendix E.

Flora is a 39 year old female from Flores, Indonesia, who has been living in East Timor since she was three years old. She speaks Indonesian, Tetun, and a language of Flores Island natively; she is also fluent in English and has some competence in Javanese, Portuguese, and German. She has travelled extensively for her work with an international NGO and completed her bachelor's degree in Indonesia. She has lived in Dili since 2003.

Excerpt Tag	Title	Content Themes
Flora1	"Children are smart"	1
Flora2	"My neighborhood my peers around home also we speak Tetun"	1, 4
Flora3	"To be honest, all Timorese speak Tetun"	1, 2
Flora4	"We use Tetun"	1
Flora5	"They have to know Tetun first"	1
Flora6	"Meaning that they love Timor"	1, 2
Flora7	"Tetun's like the biggest mother tongue"	2, 5
Flora8	"When we learn the grammatical Tetun"	3, 4, 5

Table 6.6 Guide to Flora's Excerpts

Maris[66] is a 39 year old female from Baucau. She speaks Makasae natively, is fluent in Tetun Dili, Fataluku and Indonesian, and she is highly competent in English, Portuguese, and Waima'a. She has a high school education and some secondary teacher training experience. She works for an international NGO and has travelled to many countries in Southeast Asia for work. At the time of this interview, she had been living in Dili for almost two years.

Excerpt Tag	Title	Content Themes
Maris1	"Tetun is ok"	1
Maris2	"Every day we speak Tetun"	1, 2
Maris3	"Most of people in Timor Leste will choose Tetun"	1, 2

Table 6.7 Guide to Maris's Excerpts

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[66] Maris's excerpts will not be directly treated in this section, but can all be found in Appendix E.

Kane is a 28 year old male from Baucau. He speaks Makasae, Naueti, and Tetun Dili natively, and he is also fluent in English, Indonesian, and Portuguese. He has lived in Dili "off and on" for "twelve or thirteen years", and spent three and a half years in the United States completing a bachelor's degree at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa in. At the time of this interview, he had been back in Dili for about six months.

Excerpt Tag	Title	Content Themes
Kane1	"Dude"	1
Kane2	"It shows respect to use"	2
Kane3	"You should watch your language"	3
Kane4	"We have to admit that Tetun is not perfect"	3
Kane5	"It's just like the colloquial Tetun"	5
Kane6	"It's not [submit], it's [submit]"	3, 5

Table 6.8 Guide to Kane's Excerpts

Neto[67] is a 26 year old male from Lautem. He speaks Fataluku natively and is also fluent in Indonesian, English, Tetun Dili and Portuguese. He had not ever lived in Dili until he returned from completing his bachelor's degree at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa and the University of New Mexico in the United States. At the time of this interview, he had been living in Dili for about a year, but was preparing to leave the next month to pursue a master's degree in Singapore.

Excerpt Tag	Title	Content Themes
Leo1	"People were actually laughing"	1, 5
Leo2	"But they explained it in Tetun"	1
Leo3	Facebook news pages	1
Leo4	"I think people have different perspective on what Tetun is"	3
Leo5	"It's like past present Tetun kind of thing"	3

Table 6.9 Guide to Neto's Excerpts

Solomon is a 28 year old male from Baucau. He speaks Waima'a natively, and he is also fluent in Tetun Dili, English, Indonesian, and Portuguese. He also has past experience learning

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[67] Neto's excerpts will not be directly treated in this section, but can all be found in Appendix E.

Latin. He had not ever lived in Dili until he returned from completing his bachelor's degree at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa in the United States. At the time of this interview, he had been living in Dili for about two years.

Excerpt Tag	Title	Content Themes
Solomon1	"From interacting with kids"	1
Solomon2	"Just use Tetun"	1
Solomon3	"I'm more open to people who are willing to learn my language"	1, 2
Solomon4	"That's the language that you would use"	1
Solomon5	"I feel really horrible"	1, 2, 4
Solomon6	"This is Timor like this is our language"	2, 4
Solomon7	"They used to have this guideline"	3
Solomon8	"Sort of put together language"	3, 4, 5
Solomon9	"Why not waste the resources to make Tetun work?"	3, 4
Solomon10	"It can be frustrating to learn"	3, 5
Solomon11	"I try to speak Tetun in Dili accent but I can never get it right"	5

Table 6.10 Guide to Solomon's Excerpts

Joaquim[68] is a 26 year old male from Baucau. He speaks Waima'a, Makasae, and Tetun Dili natively, and he is also fluent in English, Portuguese, and Indonesian. He had lived off and on in Indonesia pursuing further education after high school, but he had not ever lived in Dili until he returned from completing his bachelor's degree at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa and the University of Virginia in the United States. At the time of this interview, he had been living in Dili for about two years.

Excerpt Tag	Title	Content Themes
Joaquim1	"We use Tetun a lot"	1
Joaquim2	"I feel kind of like secluded"	1, 2
Joaquim3	"You have to use the language that they speak"	1
Joaquim4	"First of all, it's not copying and paste what the Portuguese says"	3, 4

Table 6.11 Guide to Joaquim's Excerpts

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[68] Joaquim's excerpts will not be directly treated in this section, but can all be found in Appendix E.

Silvio is a 45 year old male from Liquica. He speaks Mambae, Tokodede, Indonesian, and Tetun Dili natively, and he is also fluent in English and Portuguese. He has been living in Dili since he was six years old, and he has spent long periods in Australia and Indonesia, pursuing higher education and job training, and in the United States, where he completed a master's degree at the University of Oklahoma.

Excerpt Tag	Title	Content Themes
Silvio1	"I didn't learn Tetun"	1
Silvio2	"A little bit Tetun to make them clear"	1
Silvio3	"We are different and one"	2
Silvio4	"They speak Tetun and yeah that's it"	3, 5
Silvio5	"We have uh INL"	4
Silvio6	"They just put Portuguese vocabularies"	4

Table 6.12 Guide to Silvio's Excerpts

Lito is a 33 year old male from the southeastern part of East Timor (he never mentions his home district, but it is likely to be Viqueque). He speaks Tetun Terik natively and is also fluent in Tetun Dili, English, Indonesian and Bunak (another local language). He lived in Dili for four years before pursuing a bachelor's degree in the United States. At the time of this interview, he had returned to Dili and had been living there for seven months.

Excerpt Tag	Title	Content Themes
Lito1	"It's fun"	1, 5
Lito2	"You wanna use Tetun or Portuguese in your daily life?"	1
Lito3	"Better now to choose Tetun"	1, 4, 5
Lito4	"*Identidade ema lokal*"	2
Lito5	"It's not good"	3, 4
Lito6	"Unconsciously I speak that language"	3
Lito7	"Not developed really well until now"	3, 4
Lito8	"Gado-gado pidgin"	3
Lito9	"The way they speak uh Tetun"	3, 5
Lito10	"They change so many like things"	4
Lito12	"When you say '*fahi matak*' they, they laughing at you"	5

Lito13	"They will say 'oh *ema foho*' or something"	5
Lito14	"Tetun Dili is a cool language"	1, 5

Table 6.13 Guide to Lito's Excerpts

Jorge is a 43 year old male from Viqueque district. He speaks Makasae, Naueti, Tetun Dili, and Indonesian natively, and is fluent in English and Portuguese. He has lived in Dili off and on for 25 years and completed an undergraduate degree at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, as well as a master's degree at the University of Waikato, New Zealand.

Excerpt Tag	Title	Content Themes
Jorge1	"You need to speak Tetun"	1
Jorge2	"Tetun is our national identity"	2, 5
Jorge3	"Index of national identity"	2, 5
Jorge4	"When we talk about Tetun, that's about people of Timor"	2
Jorge5	"Puzzling"	3, 5
Jorge6	"That's not official"	3
Jorge7	"Anti-language language policy"	3
Jorge8	"I was a bit kind of surprised"	3, 4, 5
Jorge9	"Tetunguese"	3, 4
Jorge10	"Put a kind of economic label on it"	3, 4
Jorge11	"Because it is strengthened by government decree"	4
Jorge12	"Status planning"	4
Jorge13	"Just go to Tetun one"	5
Jorge14	"Tell Jorge to…"	3

Table 6.14 Guide to Jorge's Excerpts

Speaker Name	Gender	Age	Languages
Vana	Female	25	Makasae, Tetun Dili, Indonesian, English, Spanish, Portuguese
Melita	Female	37	Tetun Dili, English, Portuguese, Indonesian, Makasae, French
Alicia	Female	28	Tetun Dili, English, Indonesian, Portuguese, French
Kika	Female	39	Tetun Dili, Indonesian, English, Kemak
Flora	Female	39	Indonesian, Tetun Dili, Flores, Javanese, Portuguese, German
Maris	Female	39	Makasae, Tetun Dili, Fataluku, Indonesian, English, Portuguese, Waima'a
Kane	Male	28	Makasae, Naueti, Tetun Dili, English, Indonesian, Portuguese

Neto	Male	26	Fataluku, Indonesian, English, Tetun Dili, Portuguese
Solomon	Male	28	Waima'a, Tetun Dili, English, Indonesian, Portuguese, Latin
Joaquim	Male	26	Waima'a, Makasae, Tetun Dili, English, Portuguese, Indonesian
Silvio	Male	45	Mambae, Tokodede, Indonesian, Tetun Dili, English, Portuguese
Lito	Male	33	Tetun Terik, Tetun Dili, English, Indonesian, Bunak
Jorge	Male	43	Makasae, Naueti, Indonesian, Tetun Dili, English, Portuguese

Table 6.15 Speaker Profiles

6.3 Interview Results: Attitudes of Timorese toward Tetun Dili

Five major attitudinal trends emerged from the interview data and will be discussed below. The most important and robust trend is the theme of Tetun as a social necessity in East Timor. It is highly ranked in nearly every social setting, and it is viewed as vital for daily life in Timor. The second is the theme of Tetun as a marker of East Timorese identity. It is viewed as an important part of Timorese-ness, and Timorese have an emotional attachment to it. The third theme is that of Tetun as the target of critique. It is viewed as inappropriate in certain situations or domains, and has some negative stereotypes associated with it. The fourth theme is that of Tetun as "developing" or needing "development". This was especially seen in the open-ended descriptive section at the end of the survey, but also in Timorese perceptions of Tetun utility. The fifth theme is that of Tetun as the locus of insecurity, either in personal use or more directly concerning the language itself. The general theme of each section is discussed by way of introduction (for example, section 6.3.1 below), and then the narrower trends within each theme are explored in detail (for example, section 6.3.1.1 below). Each of these narrow trends is first explained, and then followed by examples from the data. One exemplary excerpt is provided for each trend, such that each general theme will have between three and four text examples. Each of

these examples is contextualized and then analyzed, focusing on the employment of pronoun usage and affected voices to construct stance, as well as the way that interaction of multiple stances may be visualized using Du Bois' concept of the stance triangle.

6.3.1 Theme 1: Tetun Dili as Social Necessity

The first and strongest trend from my interview data was the idea of Tetun as a social necessity. It is highly ranked in nearly every social setting, and it is viewed as vital for daily life in Timor. This belief manifested in four interconnected ways, each of which are discussed in detail below. First, speakers made statements about the ubiquity of Tetun, establishing it as the baseline for linguistic interaction. Next, speakers established Tetun as the lingua franca in multilingual interactions, such as between parents who spoke different local languages as their mother tongue. Third, speakers established Tetun as the required language for political engagement or governmental participation, usually in opposition to another language. Fourth, speakers strongly associated competence in Tetun as an important component in establishing their own localness in Dili.

6.3.1.1 Ubiquity

The theme of the ubiquity of Tetun was usually elicited when I asked speakers to take me through their language backgrounds. I asked speakers not "how" or "when" they learned Tetun, but "if" they remembered learning it. Usually, this would lead into a discussion of the environmental salience of Tetun regardless of whether the speaker spent their life in Dili or not. Melita, Joaquim, and Kika describe Tetun as the normal language of the family during their childhood, especially with company (Appendix E: Melita1; Joaquim1; Kika1). Solomon, Maris and Flora describe learning from other kids when they were young (Appendix E: Solomon1; Maris1; Flora1). Neto and Silvio recall that it was normal for teachers to use Tetun in the

classroom, regardless of the prescribed language of instruction, and Joaquim explains that this is still important in education (Appendix E: Neto2; Silvio2; Joaquim3). Melita and Silvio dismiss Tetun as so normal in daily life that it's nearly invisible (Appendix E: Melita2; Silvio1). Melita, Neto, Solomon, Lito, Maris, and Flora describe Tetun as the vehicular language of daily interaction, especially at work (Appendix E: Melita3; Neto3; Solomon2; Lito2; Maris2; Flora2). Alicia and Flora simply describe Tetun as the currently extant lingua franca (Appendix E: Alicia2; Flora3).

While these examples are all useful in establishing the social ubiquity of Tetun, the excerpt most illustrative of this trend comes from Vana. Vana is an educated and loquacious woman who completed a bachelor's degree at the University of Hawai'i. She is a talented guitarist and singer and is not shy about performing in both formal and informal settings. A vocal advocate for LGBTQ communities in East Timor, her social consciousness sometimes sets her at odds with the more traditionally-minded members of her family and community.

Context: Vana and I were having coffee and dessert together at the Casa Vida training kitchen/restaurant, Kafe Aroma, during this interview. I asked Vana how she explains language in East Timor when she's telling people about her country. She recalls a time when she gave a presentation in a linguistics class about language diversity in East Timor. After this excerpt, she also adds that English is becoming important to the youth, but that Portuguese is still the most important language for getting a government job. She then relays how amazed her classmates were at her multilingualism, which she hadn't considered special until then.

Vana1: "Everyone grew up speaking Tetun"
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1    VANA;    yeah so um what I presented was that um . how um-,
2             of course that Timor is very diverse when it comes to language . culture, (0.6)
3             um. (1.1)
4             but uh the interesting part is that.
5             everyone grew up speaking Tetun? (0.5)
```

6	but some people from district you know they speak their own dialect.
7	like in Ermera they will speak Mambae: or Makasae: (0.4) uh Fataluku: uh but (1.5)
8	in- in general people would be- would speak Tetun. (0.6)
9	but the:n um inter- uh the interesting thing is that. (0.4)
10	um, (0.3)
11	although people grow up speaking Tetun,
12	you know when they go to study at- you know at schools they would have to learn Indonesian. (1.2)
13	and then after the independence uh everyone is required to know,
14	to be able to be involve in the government,
15	yous- you have to be able to speak Portuguese and understand Portuguese.

The first reading of this excerpt presents Vana's overall positive stance toward Tetun Dili as part of the necessary interactions within East Timor. Vana is speaking to me as herself throughout this excerpt, with the understanding that her teacher and classmates are the phantom audience for this speech. So, even though only she and I are speaking, Vana is presenting an imagined and likely idealized version of her own speech event. She begins by explaining that East Timor is culturally and linguistically diverse. She then establishes as a given that everyone grows up speaking Tetun. Then she says that some people (from the districts- *not* Dili people) grow up speak a 'dialect' in line 6. Timorese English does not seem to have indexed the sense of marginalization in the word 'dialect' that is present in other varieties of English, and Timorese will often refer without malice to genetically unrelated and/or mutually unintelligible languages in East Timor as 'dialects'. In a list intonation, she provides some of these points of linguistic diversion, but then repeats in line 9 that people generally speak Tetun. Then, for the second time, Vana points out that something interesting is coming; that despite the fact that everyone speaks Tetun (which she repeats for the third time in line 12), they must also speak either Indonesian or Portuguese as well. Vana puts Tetun in the corner of banality and positions the other languages as opposed points of interest. To summarize, Vana is explicitly framing Tetun as being quintessentially normal, while other languages are divergent, interesting, and aberrant.

Vana does not use any first person language in this excerpt after line 1. This is likely because she is reporting a remembered description of her country from her circumstances at the time of living abroad. So, she is imagining herself talking about her country while she is not physically present, to a likely multicultural audience of people who presumably know nothing about East Timor. Throughout most of this excerpt, Vana only uses *you*-statements as filler, in the 'you knows' present in lines 6 and 13. However, she does switch to *you*-statements in line 16, which is a reflection of her attitude concerning the use of Portuguese for government engagement; her *you*-statement here strikes an almost dictatorial tone. Far more common in Vana's excerpt is her use of 'everyone' and third person *they*-statements. 'Everyone' could be considered to also include Vana, but she always refers to her countrymen as 'they', effectively excluding herself from the practices she is describing. This may indicate either that she doesn't hold these opinions, or that she doesn't consider herself a 'district' person. Like many Dili residents, Vana is originally a 'district person', so it also possible that she was aligning herself with me, a non-district person.

6.3.1.2 Social Interaction

The theme of Tetun as a requirement for interaction is also present throughout the interviews. Vana and Maris talk about the cultural heritage of Tetun (Appendix E: Vana2; Maris3). Solomon and Flora talk about the importance of *malae* (resident non-Timorese) learning Tetun in Timor (Appendix E: Solomon3; Flora5; Flora6). Solomon, Joaquim, Maris, and Flora talk about the connective power of Tetun anywhere inside Timor, and Alicia explains that it connects Timorese abroad as well (Appendix E: Solomon4; Joaquim2; Flora4; Alicia1).

While each of these excerpts contains good examples of this trend, one of the most illustrative is Alicia, in Alica2 "It's our mother tongue language". Alicia is a fast-talking woman

with extensive experience abroad. From a young age, she was sponsored to live abroad and complete her education, did an undergraduate degree in public health, and has had many opportunities to travel around the world for her government work in international relations. She is passionate about fitness, travel, and women's empowerment.

Context: Alicia and I were having coffee together during this interview at a local fair trade café called Peace Coffee. In connection with her experience travelling and living abroad, I asked Alicia how she describes Tetun to people she meets. She then comments on the larger role of Tetun as the unifying language in the context of a multilingual East Timor. After this excerpt, she continues with her hypothetical explanation by moving into the historical reasons that Portuguese and Indonesian words are still used in Tetun, and complimented me on my use of Tetun numbers when ordering coffee.

Alicia2 "It's our mother tongue language"
1	MELODY;	how do you explai:n Tetun,
2		what do you sa:y about it.
3	ALICIA;	I sa:y Tetun is definitely- it's our mother tongue language? (0.3)
4		uh is uh united us because there's thirteen (0.3) district. (0.7)
5		uh twelve district so- a- apart from Dili,
6		that people are coming from this right? (0.3)
7		so: ok thirteen dis- thirteen municipalities (0.8)
8	MELODY;	twelve other districts [@@@@]
9	ALICIA;	[exactly] (0.4)
10		that u:h they have their own dialogue? (0.3)
11		so I have to sort of gi:ve them that perspective.
12		cause you know, (0.3)
13		so: they don't, (0.6)
14		uh cause (0.3) e-even though it- the- the size of the country, (0.7)
15		Tetun it's whe:re (0.6) if I go: to: eastern part, I can speak Tetun?
16		if I go to: western part, I can speak Tetun.

The first reading of this excerpt presents Alicia's overall positive stance toward Tetun Dili as part of the necessary interactions within East Timor. Alicia is speaking as herself in this excerpt, with the understanding that she is speaking to a foreign audience that may be ignorant of

East Timor. I asked how, in her travels, she explains Tetun to people who have not heard of it. She begins by declaring that it is the mother tongue language of the Timorese that unites a diverse country. A recent vocabulary change in Timorese governance from 'districts' to 'municipalities' causes her to stumble for a few lines while making the point in line 10 that people in each district have their own way of speaking.[69] She then says that laying the groundwork of Timor's size and multilingualism is crucial in explaining the role of Tetun. Then in lines 15-16, she explicitly explains that no matter where in East Timor she goes, she can speak Tetun and operate effectively.

In contrast to Vana, Alicia uses a number of first person statements. In the beginning of her excerpt, she describes Tetun as 'our' mother tongue that unites 'us'. Then at the end, she describes her own movements in terms of *I*-statements, rather than more hypothetical *you-* or *they*-statements. Then she switches to third person when referring to non-Dili people, who speak the other local languages. She continues to use third person when providing an aside to her explanation; the 'them' and 'they' in lines 11 and 13 are in reference to her audience. Her stumbling and false starts and the use of 'you know' in lines 12-14 suggest that she is looking for a polite way to frame her audiences' ignorance about her country.[70]

6.3.1.3 Participation/Engagement

Continuing the theme of Tetun as a requirement for interaction, many participants framed Tetun as the necessary language for political engagement or governmental participation. Alicia describes the irony of the justice system not using the language understood by the majority of the Timorese population (Appendix E: Alicia3). Kane and Lito declare that if it were up to them, all

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[69] Throughout this interview, Alicia used the terms 'dialect' and 'dialogue' interchangeably to refer to the local Timorese languages.

[70] Of course, any speech disfluency could be *actual* L2 disfluencies, but Alicia is usually a very confident speaker.

government documents would be in Tetun so that all Timorese could understand them (Appendix E: Kane1; Lito3). Kika explains that even government officials who advocate the use of Portuguese in governance are conducting council and parliamentary meetings in Tetun (Appendix E: Kika3). Solomon provides a particularly useful example, when he creates a hypothetical scenario in which a Tetun-speaking person is excluded from their own judiciary hearing.

 Context: Solomon is one of the first Timorese friends I made at the University of Hawai'i, and he has been instrumental in helping coordinate my various fieldwork trips. His office in Dili was near mine, so we had lunch together prior to our interview. As we were getting ready to go back to our jobs, Solomon turned to me and said, 'you know…I think the main thing with Portuguese is that it creates distance' (paraphrased). I asked him if he wanted to formally continue the interview based on this new thought, and he said that he did. I then asked him if I could turn the recorder back on and if he would expand on that idea. He agreed, and repeated the often-expressed concern that the justice system is inaccessible because it does not operate in Tetun. After this excerpt, we continued talking about what thought processes went into the choice of Portuguese as an official language.

Solomon5 "I feel really horrible"

1	MELODY;	I'm gonna turn it back on.
2	SOLOMON;	yeah. (0.8)
3	MELODY;	can you repeat what you just said?
4	SOLOMON;	I said Portuguese creates distance becau:se, (1.1)
5		there are a lot more people speaking Tetun. (0.7)
6		but then- (0.6) things like, (0.2)
7		running into law pr- problems.
8		the la:ws are in Portuguese.
9		how I- I don't even feel that I'm apply: to it but, (0.8)
10		because that- create that gaps and th- people feel like "oh you know I'm doing something really terrible I'm in the court right now".
11		"and I don't know what they're talking about, the laws that they're reading in Portuguese"? (0.5)

12	"I don't understand it but- I must be: rea:lly:, (1.1)
13	and I feel really horrible" (0.9)
14	tha:t's you know that's that's not what we want, we want- a unity. (0.6)
15	and (1.0)
16	develop Tetun.
17	you know like if you use Portuguese? (0.6)
18	to- Portuguese is used for- people who are like,
19	"oh we're elite, we're (0.7) like up here, we speak Portuguese, and we're educated",
20	which is still?
21	in the past they- the Portuguese did that.

The first reading of this excerpt presents Solomon's overall positive stance toward Tetun Dili as part of the necessary interactions within East Timor. As is common in many of these excerpts, comments about Portuguese lead into comments about Tetun. I almost never explicitly asked about the role of Portuguese, and in this case, Solomon brought it up independently of my question. I begin by again checking that he was comfortable with my re-starting of the recorder, and I ask him to repeat the thought he had just had. He begins by saying that Portuguese creates distance, and explains in line 5 that this is because there are simply more people who speak Tetun. Even though Solomon does not expect that he himself will ever have problems appearing in a court setting (line 9), the imbalance inherent in the system concerns him. He then gives an example of this distance in lines 7-14 in which he takes on the vocal persona of an imagined person, which I call his "Tetun speaker" voice. He places himself in the persona of an unlucky, non-Portuguese speaking person who has found themselves in a court, but does not understand why they are there or what is going to happen to them. His expression of this person's feelings are so emotional that Solomon might as well have been sharing a personal story from a friend or family member. He strongly rejects this manner of judicial operation in favor of an inclusive, uniting solution- to use Tetun (line 14-16). He then firmly reiterates his opinion that Portuguese is an outdated mode of class categorization by taking on the persona of someone who speaks

Portuguese in lines 17-21. Solomon places Portuguese in a position of isolation, in stark opposition to the uniting code of Tetun.

Throughout this excerpt, Solomon changes voices and employs different strategies to illustrate his point. First, he uses *I*-statements to explain his relative distance from the problem he is about to describe. Then, in his "Tetun-speaker" voice, he is again using *I*-statements in expressing his fear and confusion. When he drops this persona in line 14, he uses two *we*-statements to passionately reject the problematic system he previously imagined himself within.[71] The command issued in line 16 to "develop Tetun" is directed at the group that Solomon imagines is responsible for this situation. In line 15 he uses a *you*-statement to clarify who the command is directed towards. The "Portuguese speaker" persona he adopts immediately after this statement may be interpreted as Solomon imitating a member of this group of dispassionate, removed elite. After this excerpt, he explains that in colonial times, only members of certain Timorese families were 'allowed' to learn Portuguese, which created a class distinction. Solomon sees this as an outdated but ongoing division that could be resolved by the use of Tetun.

6.3.1.4 Index of Dili Localness

Another common conversational thread within the theme of interactional necessity was that of Tetun Dili as especially necessary for interaction in Dili. Lito explains that Tetun Dili is fun and modern and makes you feel like you're successfully navigating the contemporary expectations for Timorese (Appendix E: Lito1). Jorge makes an offhand remark that speaking Tetun is required to interact with what he calls "town people" (Appendix E: Jorge1). Neto remembers with amusement that kids at his more cosmopolitan secondary school laughed at him because he spoke really good Indonesian, but no Tetun (Appendix E: Neto1). Insecurity about

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[71] If I were using more literary transcription practice, this would look like "*That's* not what we want, we want *unity*!"

Tetun as an index of Dili (non-)localness will be revisited in greater detail in 6.1.1.5. Excerpts in this section concentrate on positive evaluations and the social desirability of Tetun, especially within the context of Dili. Lito also illustrates both the desirability inherent in speaking Tetun, and the insecurities of not speaking it in the excerpt below.

Context: Lito and I are acquainted from the University of Hawaiʻi. He is a careful and thoughtful person, who loves to spend time at home with his young children. At the time, Lito was working as a research assistant collecting data in each of the 13 districts. He had just returned from one such district visit and was preparing for another one soon, so communication issues were on his mind. Before and after this excerpt, Lito was explaining the differences between Tetun Terik (a language he speaks natively) and Tetun Dili as well as what he views as impending language shift, especially in Dili. Lito and I discussed the implications of language shift, both within East Timor and globally. He offered this explanation of why he thinks language shift occurs in East Timor, attributing it to the desirability of Tetun, and the pressures of modernization.

Lito14 "Tetun Dili is a cool language"
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1      LITO;   I think it's the mentality now. (0.9)
2              the- (2.4)
3              people, like, (0.6)
4              Tetun Dili is a cool language? (0.8)
5              it's a cool language, people in the city who speak that language? (1.4)
6              so. (1.5)
7              you don't want to feel like you are ba:ckward person.
8              so- (0.4)
9              so you- (0.6)
10             instead of- learning your u:h (0.4) local languages? (0.6)
11             it dist- (0.4) in Dili like, (1.1)
12             we stop teaching our (0.3) our u:h (0.3) child?
13             to speak u:h our local language? (0.9)
14             that's because (0.3) we don't want our children feel like backward?
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The first reading of this excerpt presents Lito's overall positive stance toward Tetun Dili as part of the necessary interactions within East Timor, and especially in Dili. In this excerpt, Lito speaks to the importance of learning Tetun Dili by positioning it in opposition to other local languages. Tetun Dili does not fall within the category of 'local language' because it is not spoken in rural areas as a first language, and because it has more official status in comparison to the other indigenous languages of East Timor. When Tetun Dili is the stance object, he uses the word 'cool' in lines 4 and 5. When other local languages are the stance object, he uses the word 'backward' in lines 7 and 14. However, by presenting this view of Tetun Dili and local languages as the stance taken by 'people' in lines 3 and 5, Lito is not whole-heartedly eschewing his personal perception of the 'coolness' of Tetun Dili. Similarly, by using the impersonal 'you' in lines 7 and 9 and the impersonal but collective 'we/our' in lines 12, 13, and 14, Lito is aligning his own stance toward the 'backwardness' of local languages relative to Tetun Dili. He is framing the learning of Tetun Dili as undoubtedly necessary and desirable to Timorese society more generally, but his personal enthusiasm is mild and cautious. Lito makes this not only an issue of weight for himself (inclusive of others), but invokes children as well in an apparent attempt to underscore the importance of this phenomenon as both persistent and larger than an individual. To borrow from DuBois' concept of the stance triangle, Lito's monologue can be evaluated in terms of his alignment to others' stances toward Tetun Dili, as in Figure 6.1 below.

Tetun Dili

Line 7: you don't want to feel like
       you are ba:ckward person.
Line 9: so you- (0.6)

Line 3: people, like, (0.6)
Line 5: it's a cool language . people in
       the city who speak that language?
       (1.4)

Evaluates

Positions

Lito ←————————————————→ City People

Aligns

Line 12: we stop teaching our (0.3) our u:h (03.3)
        child?
Line 13: to speak u:h our local language? (0.9)
Line 14: that's because (0.3) we don't want our
        children feel like backward?

Figure 6.1 Stance Triangle presented in Lito's discourse about 'city people' in Lito14 "Tetun Dili is a cool language"

6.3.1.5 Summary of Tetun Dili as Social Necessity

The excerpts presented in the sections above exemplify the social necessity of Tetun in the minds of Timorese. Participants contextualized their experiences of language use in Timor within the understood ubiquity of Tetun as the background noise of life that is so salient it's almost invisible. They stressed the social power of Tetun for connecting with their micro and macro Timorese communities. Others described the absolute necessity of Tetun for political and governmental engagement, framing other languages as oppositional to those needs. Tetun is used as a means of situating locality, claims to cosmopolitanism, modernity, and legitimacy of identity in Dili. Together, these comments construct an attitude of Tetun as desirable, necessary, and appropriate, a view that is strengthened and complicated below.

This idea of Tetun as social necessity and the attitudes that construct it can be summarized using DuBois stance triangle. When the stance object is Tetun Dili, inerviewees in this dataset tend to position themselves either neutrally or positively towards it. They often used inclusive language like *we* and *our*, a theme that will be explored regarding identity in section 6.3.2.1 below. When the stance of the general public toward Tetun Dili is presented, interviewees align themselves with it *if* it is a positive evaluation. If it is *not* a positive evaluation, interviewees disalign themselves from it, and tend to use more generalized language such as *everyone* or *people*, creating a metaphorical distance from the negative evaluations.
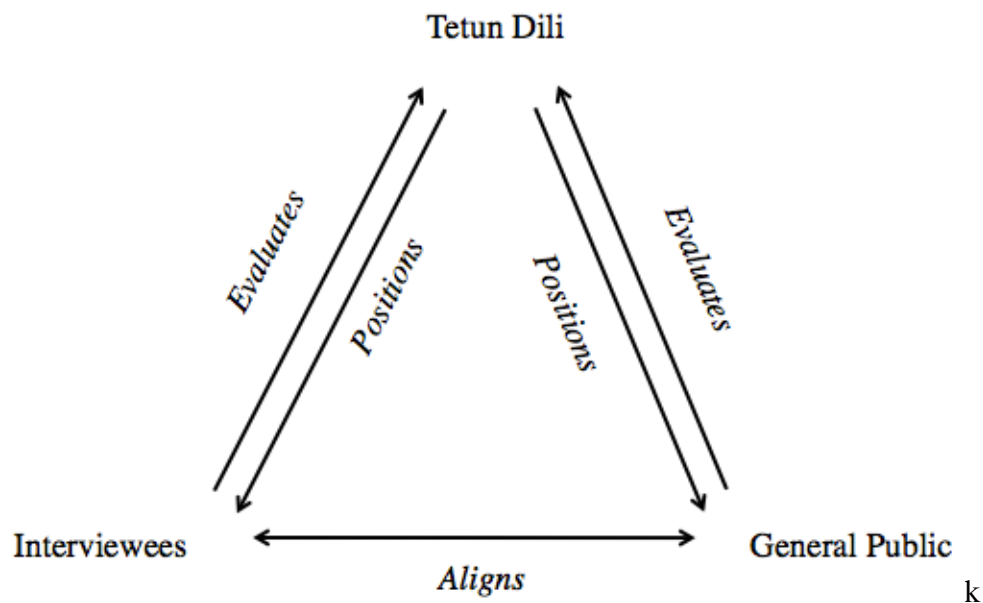
Figure 6.2 Generalized Stance Triangle for Situating Interviewees' Stances toward Tetun Dili as Social Necessity in Response to Stances of the General Public

6.3.2 Theme 2: Tetun Dili as Identity

A second common theme emergent from my interview data was the theme of Tetun Dili as an important component of Timorese identity. Three trends arose within this theme, each focusing on a different way of positioning Timorese identity within a global, local or personal

context. Many participants referred to Tetun Dili in inclusive terms as "ours" or referred to ownership and belonging. Others framed their identity as Tetun speakers in terms of their relationship to foreigners who do or do not speak Tetun. Still others used Tetun Dili as a way of situating their localness, validating their connection to other Timorese, or negotiating their sense of place within Timor and their broader global communities.

6.3.2.1 "Ours"

The theme of Tetun Dili belonging to the people of Timor arose in several ways. Vana, Alicia, Maris, and Flora all refer to Tetun as the mother tongue of East Timor, and use terms of 'belonging' to describe Timorese peoples' relationship to it (Appendix E: Vana3; Alicia2; Alicia4; Maris2; Flora7). Solomon and Jorge refer to Tetun as the ethnonym and identity of Timorese (Appendix E: Solomon6, Jorge2; Jorge3; Jorge4). One example of this sense of Tetun belonging to Timorese comes from my interview with Silvio.

Context: Silvio and I are connected in several ways. He was the first Timorese Fulbright recipient to study in the US, and I was the first American Fulbright recipient to come to East Timor; the Fulbright alumni network in East Timor is very strong, and meets often. Silvio is also the head of the English Department at UNTL, and we have worked together in that capacity in the past. In the weeks before our interview, Silvio helped coordinate a free, three-day ESL methodologies conference and workshop for Timorese teachers in which I was invited to speak.[72] As a result, Silvio and I have a social and a professional relationship, and I always enjoy his company. Our interview took place in the new English resource center at UNTL, which Silvio was very eager to show off. At the end of our interview, I asked Silvio if he wanted to make any comments about language in East Timor. He first comments on the importance of general

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[72] I was asked to repeat my talk the next day because the room was filled to capacity but interest was still high- a huge honor, and an example of the friendly-professional relationship Silvio and I had.

multilingualism, and that he was proud of the culture and heritage of multilingual East Timor. He then commented that Tetun is used in East Timor to create unity in diversity.

Silvio3 "We are different and one"
1   SILVIO;   la:nguage -is represent our culture. (0.7)
2   yeah. (1.9)
3   represent our culture so, (0.8)
4   we- even though we have a- dive:rse culture, (0.8)
5   different language, (0.6)
6   but- I am still proud- of Timorese because? (1.9)
7   we have one- united language what we call Tetun. (0.6)
8   yeah?
9   we are different? (0.6)
10   and one.

The first reading of this excerpt presents Silvio's overall positive stance toward Tetun Dili as part of the cultural identity of East Timor. One of the most immediately noticeable traits of this excerpt is Silvio' consistent use of first-person plural pronouns. He begins by saying that the languages of East Timor represent the cultures of East Timor in lines 1-3. He then carefully pauses and repeats his statement for emphasis, much the way a lecturer would pause and repeat an important point in a classroom. He expands on this in lines 4-7 saying that even though East Timor has a diverse linguistic heritage, Timorese have found a way to connect with one another by using Tetun. His long pause between lines 6 and 7 also seemed to be emphatically employed, and not because he was struggling to explain himself. Then in lines 9-10, he delivers the charming and quotable declaration, "we are different, and one," driving home the message (one that I heard *often* from educators in East Timor) that unity is possible amidst diversity, and diversity is valued above homogeneity. His use of first-person language throughout, and his explicit statement that "*we* have one, united language" emphasize the idea of Tetun belonging to Timorese.

6.3.2.2 Relationship to Foreigners

One of the more interesting ways that Timorese negotiated their identities as Tetun-speakers was in positioning Tetun in relation to foreigners. Sometimes I would directly ask participants if they knew any *malae* who learned Tetun, and how that made them feel. Other times it emerged organically in our conversations. Vana, Flora and Kika all expressed positive sentiments that when *malae* learn Tetun, it means that they value Timorese culture (Appendix E: Vana4; Flora6; Kika2). Alicia expressed that she took offense when a Portuguese person refused to learn Tetun and only wanted to engage her in Portuguese (Appendix E: Alicia5). Solomon expressed a similar sentiment to Alicia, but also his amused incredulity that some *malae* live in Timor for years without learning any Tetun (Appendix E: Solomon3). A mixture of many of these attitudes is found in the following excerpt from Kane, in which I asked him directly how he felt about *malae* learning Tetun.

Context: Kane is an acquaintance from the University of Hawai'i at Hilo who I got to know during my time in East Timor. Kane is an avid reader, and found that when he finished his degree in Hilo and was preparing to return to Dili, he did not have enough room for some of his beloved books. Knowing how difficult it can be to get quality English books in Dili, I offered to keep them and transport them down on one of my trips, and we have been friends ever since. Before this excerpt, we were talking about the various roles that Indonesian, Portuguese, English, and Tetun occupied in Timor, and I asked Kane how he thought *malae* should prioritize language learning in East Timor. He answered by telling me that he has observed *malae* that learn Tetun well but struggle if they do not know how to count in Indonesian and Portuguese. I then asked Kane to tell me more about his thoughts on *malae* who learn Tetun when he delivered the following excerpt.

Kane2 "It shows respect to us"
1   KANE;   it makes me feel good because that- that shows that they respect our identity?
             (0.5)
2   and- (1.1)
3   and I'm not- I'm not upset either when they don't learn Tetu:n but . if they do?
             (0.4)
4   it- it shows respect to us. (0.2)
5   and it just- yeah. (0.8)
6   a:nd that means they also, (0.6)
7   value the identity we ha:ve and, (0.4)
8   it's good to appreciate what- (0.5) our- (0.3) I mean oth- other people's identity.

The first reading of this excerpt presents Kane's overall positive stance toward Tetun Dili

as part of the cultural identity of East Timor. In this excerpt, Kane expresses an overall positive

and sympathetic view of foreign learners of Tetun. He positions Tetun as an important

component to Timorese identity, and says that foreigners show respect to Timorese and value

Timorese identity by engaging with the language. He does not explicitly state that Tetun is a

crucial part of the identity of all Timorese, but he does make explicit connection to it in lines 1

and 3 by introducing the idea of identity, and then adding detail to it by including that Tetun is a

part of that identity. He then places explicit value on foreigners who learn Tetun in lines 6 and 7,

making a clear connection between Timor and Tetun. That Tetun is framed as "the identity we

have" harkens back to the theme of the ubiquity of Tetun in section 6.1.1.1, and highlights the

fundamental connection Tetun has as a component of a Local Timorese identity. Kane finishes

this excerpt by making a more global comment on the importance of appreciating other peoples'

identities, presumably by learning their languages or showing respect to their cultures. Kane is a

realist, however, and does not offer criticism of people who don't learn Tetun, instead choosing

to focus positively on those who do. To put this idea in the context of Du Bois' stance triangle,

Kane is taking an evaluative stance toward Tetun Dili, assigning it the quality or value of

'Timorese identity'. He then presents *malae* as also taking an evaluative stance, assigning

'respect' to the Timorese identity (via Tetun). Inherent in the presentation of these two stances is Kane's alignment with them, represented visually in Figure 6.2 below.
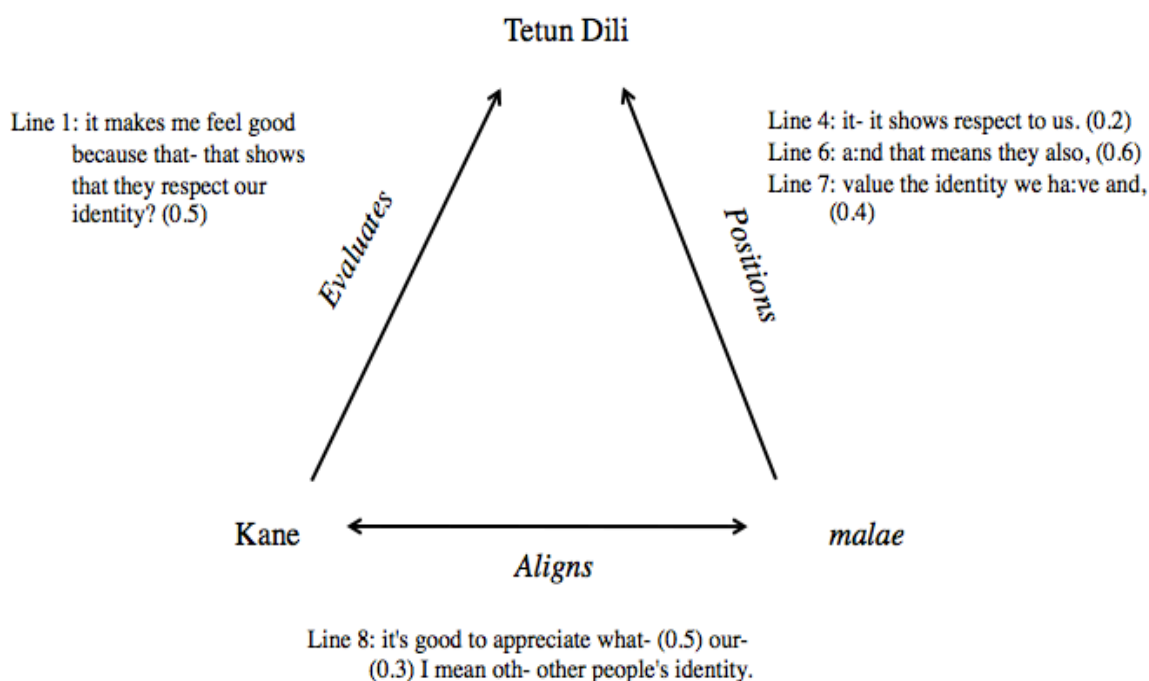
Figure 6.3 Stance Triangle presented in Kane's discourse about 'respect' in Kane2 "It shows respect to us"

6.3.2.3 Connection, Placement, Situating

Another way that participants used Tetun to construct identity was by situating it as the locus of participation, connection, or place. Vana worries that young people are shifting from Tetun to English, instead of coming back to their "roots" (Appendix E: Vana2). Alicia comments on power of Tetun to connect you to other Timorese outside of Timor (Appendix E: Alicia1). Joaquim says that he is more comfortable using Tetun because it connects him to the majority of Timorese (Appendix E: Joaquim2). Maris and Flora consider what would happen in a 'language election' of sorts, and prefer Tetun (Appendix E: Maris3; Flora3). Kika simply places Tetun in the same category as the other local languages when she says that it is her mother tongue

(Appendix E: Kika). One excerpt that intersects identity, placement, and Tetun comes from Lito, below.

Context: At the end of our interview, I asked Lito to summarize the language situation in Timor using five words. "*Identidade ema lokal*" (local people's identity) was 'one' of the words he chose, explaining that the way people speak Tetun identifies them as local people. It is interesting that this was one of the few times he felt comfortable using more Tetun than usual with me, which may be either (or both) a commentary on his perception of my competence or that he preferred to work through this idea aloud in a language more closely connected to the concept under discussion.

Lito4 "*Identidade ema lokal* – Local people's identity"

1	LITO;	*nee hanesa-*, (0.5)
	gloss	((it's lik-))
2		it's like, (0.6)
3	MELODY;	*nee hanes*[*an*]?
	gloss	((it's like?))
4	LITO;	[I]- *identidade,* (0.4) *ema lokal*. (0.3)
	gloss	((local people's identity))
5	MELODY;	*identidade ema lokal?* (0.3)
	gloss	((local people's identity))
6	LITO;	*ita bele ide:ntifika nia identidade ema lokal- tanba-,* from the way they speak?
	gloss	((you can identify someone as a local, because))
7	MELODY;	yeah. (0.4)
8	LITO;	yes. (0.7)
9		somebody come from Portugal they speak Tetun we: will notice.
10		this person (0.4)
11		he:'s not in Timor for long time (1.1)
12		yea:h it's like *identidade- ema lokal*.
	gloss	((local people's identity))

The first reading of this excerpt presents Lito's overall positive stance toward Tetun Dili as part of the cultural identity of East Timor. In this excerpt, Lito explains that Tetun (and the kind of Tetun you use) identifies a person as a local. Interestingly, he does not equate localness with Dili, but with a broader Timorese identity. He starts off this excerpt in Tetun in line 1and

then pauses and translates himself in English in line 2. I repeat his original Tetun utterance in line 3 to encourage him to continue without fear for my comprehension. This appears to be a sufficient assurance at first, and he continues more quickly in Tetun in line 6 until he has two short cutoffs and then fluidly code-switches in line 6 back to English. So, after explaining that Tetun is an identifier of local people, Lito then gives an example of what he means; however, his reference to 'somebody' in lines 9-11 is ambiguous. This could refer to a Portuguese national who has recently come to Timor (and therefore speaks only elementary Tetun) or a Timorese exile who has been away from Timor for a long time (and therefore speaks a different kind of Tetun than most people nowadays). I am inclined to believe to believe that Lito is referring to the second possibility here, given our conversation at an earlier point in the interview, in which he described an interaction he had recently had with a co-worker who fits this exact description (illustrated in Appendix E: Lito6). Regardless, Lito uses a *we*-statement in line 9 to introduce the idea that the kind of Tetun a person speaks can identify them as a Dili local or expose them as some kind of 'other', situating them both within the physical place of Timor, and the ideological space of Timorese identity.

6.3.2.4 Summary of Tetun Dili as Timorese Identity

This section focused on the relationship between Tetun and Timorese identity. Timorese participants performed identity work with relation to Tetun in three main ways. They described Tetun in terms of belonging to them as a uniting and relatable facet of the Timorese experience. They used this opportunity to situate their identities by opposing the Timorese relationship to Tetun and the *malae* relationship to Tetun. They use Tetun as a means of connecting to Timor, and situating themselves and their locality within the social structure of Dili, East Timor, and the world; in much the same way that Tetun belongs to Timorese, Timorese belong to Tetun.

Together with the examples from section 6.3.1 Tetun is emerging in this data as not only a social

necessity, but a necessity for being Timorese.

Stances presented in regard to identity can be summarized using a generalized stance

triangle. Interviewees used Tetun Dili as a conceptual orientation marker, focusing and locating

them within East Timor's social, historical, and physical space. The opposing point on this

triangle is, presumably, other Timorese and/or other Tetun Dili speakers. That interviewees

positioned themselves toward Tetun Dili *using* Tetun Dili highlights both the intersubjectivity of

stance (in that the object of orientation is also the dimension upon which orientations are honed),

but also the importance of Tetun Dili as more than simply a linguistic code.
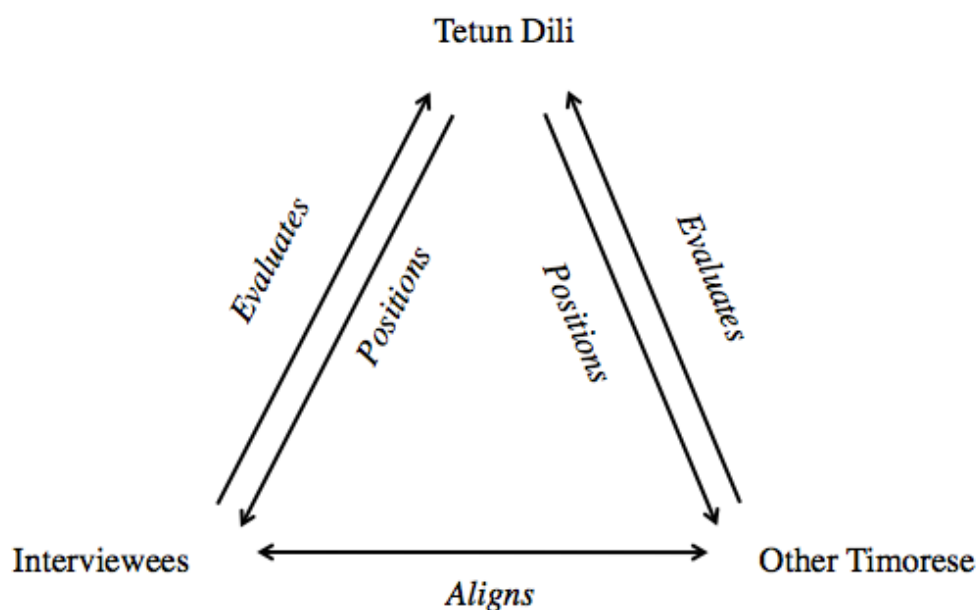
Figure 6.4 Generalized Stance Triangle for Situating Interviewees' Stances toward Tetun Dili as Identity Marker in Response to Stances of Other Timorese

6.3.3 Theme 3: Tetun Dili as Target of Critique

Among Timorese and *malae*, Tetun Dili is a popular topic of conversation and frequent

target of criticism. In this section, I have divided these critiques into three subcategories. The

first category deals with criticisms of the Tetun language itself. The second category deals with criticisms of the use of Tetun. The third category deals with criticisms of the relationship between Tetun and authoritative bodies.

6.3.3.1 Criticism of the Language Itself

One common type of critique focuses on the perceived ease or difficulty of learning Tetun Dili. Because Tetun Dili is spoken as an L2 by a large percentage of its speakers, the shared experience of learning it also brings with it an entitlement to comment on perceptions of its complexity or simplicity. For this reason, the most common critique of Tetun Dili regards the suitability, complexity, and communicative power of the language itself. Vana, Kane, Lito, and Kika all lament that sometimes Tetun lacks the vocabulary to suit their needs, and they all advocate borrowing where necessary (Appendix E: Vana5; Kane4; Lito5; Kika4). Alicia defends Tetun from people who would compare it to the 'broken English' spoken in Papua New Guinea (Appendix E: Alicia6) . Kane, Lito, and Kika lobby their critiques at the language-mixing that takes place in Timor with regards to Tetun (Appendix E: Kane6; Lito8; Kika7). Solomon criticizes Tetun for its lack of grammar, which he believes makes it frustrating for learners, and calls it "put-together" (Appendix E: Solomon10). Flora, on the other hand, criticizes the grammar as being difficult to learn, especially in comparison to speaking, in the excerpt below.

Context: Before our interview, I had never met Flora. I arrived at the office where she worked intending to interview my Irish friend from choir.[73] I soon found out that my friend was the country director of a major NGO, and he insisted that I also interview a few of his staff while I was there. He recommended Flora because she is the project leader/director of the early childhood development sector of this major NGO, and she very kindly took time out of her work

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[73] Part of my research plan included interviewing *malae* about Tetun as well, but constraints of time and space relegate that task to future work.

day to talk to me. Flora has a unique perspective on language and language-learning in East

Timor because she moved to Dili when she was a toddler and speaks two languages of Indonesia

and Tetun as her mother tongues. Before this excerpt, I had asked Flora if she had ever heard

anyone talk about needing to 'develop' Tetun and what that might mean. She confirmed that she

had but disagreed that Tetun needed development at all. However, she then contradicted herself

somewhat below in sharing an anecdote about attending a government-sponsored Tetun course.

In this course, she explains that she found the writing aspect and learning "grammatical Tetun"

or "high level" Tetun very difficult. This is either Flora offering a criticism of the way the

government is promoting the use of Tetun, or an often-repeated frustration expressed by people

whose previously-only-oral language becomes written.

Flora8 "When we learn the grammatical Tetun"
1	MELODY;	or the language needs developing? [do you?]
2	FLORA;	[actually,]
3		I just I disagree because- (0.7)
4		when I talk- in verbal you said it it's just simple. (0.5)
5		but when- in- in the writing I- I attend like six month Tetun course in TimorAid before?
6	MELODY;	[oh really] [six months]
7	FLORA;	[because] [we have yeah] supported by u:h (0.7) EU? (0.7)
8		u:m (0.6) through *(5 syllables unintelligible)*[74] (0.9)
9		uh in that government- uh through government? (0.5)
10		uh Tetun lang- Tetun project about language and i:t i:s ve:ry difficult. (0.8)
11		it is very difficult so, (0.5)
12		people saying that maybe they don't- really understand ho:w when we learn the- grammatical Tetun we only know like- speak speak is easy. (0.7)
13		but then when come to the: the high level Tetun?
14		yeah. (0.8)
15		I mean, (1.0)
16		why- (2.1)
17		I mean you have to have- big energy to learn that.

---

[74] Someone is opening and closing a door just behind us and it overpowers her speech. If I were speculating, I would say that she named a partner NGO, in which the last two syllables were the Tetun word 'Lokal'.

The first reading of this excerpt presents Flora's overall positive stance toward Tetun Dili as part of the language ecology of East Timor, but introduces a criticism. In this excerpt, Flora explains that speaking Tetun is simple, but writing it is difficult. In the lines before this excerpt, I shared that I sometimes hear people criticize Tetun for being 'too simple' asked her if she had ever heard anyone talk about the need to develop Tetun. She cut me off before I could finish the frame for this question and said that she disagreed with the assessment that Tetun is too simple in line 3. In line 4, she starts to explain her position by stating that verbally, Tetun *is* 'just simple'. Here she frames spoken Tetun (as separate from grammatical Tetun) as fundamentally accessible. Furthermore, this comment frames Tetun as nothing other than what it is, and so to some extent, immune from criticisms that it is "simple". This is something of a backhanded compliment: on the one hand, Tetun ought to be valued for what it is—a good way for people in Timor to communicate, and a language that doesn't require development, as development would belie this simplicity to some extent. On the other hand, she perceives it a fundamentally simple language that maybe tacitly doesn't have the expressive power of another more complex language (like, perhaps, her upcoming comments about grammatical Tetun). She then shifts her tone in line 5 to the difficulty of writing Tetun and shares a personal experience to bolster her claim. She talks about attending a six-month course on Tetun (despite the fact that she speaks Tetun natively) which she claims was very difficult. She then repeats that it was very difficult in line 11 before returning to the imagined group I concocted in my question and with whom she disagrees. In line 12, she says that these people must not know that 'grammatical' Tetun is very different from spoken Tetun. Especially interesting is the opposition introduced between 'they' and 'we' in line 12. Flora positions herself as part of a larger group of other Timorese who are learning 'grammatical Tetun'. This whole excerpt could be one of two things: either Flora is

offering a criticism of the way the government is promoting the use of Tetun, or she is repeating an often-expressed frustration by people whose previously-only-oral language becomes written. I am inclined to believe it is a mixture of both.[75]

6.3.3.2 Criticisms of the Use of the Language

The next common subcategory under the theme of criticism is criticism of the use of Tetun. Kane and Jorge related stories of times when someone overtly criticized their use of Tetun (Appendix E: Kane3; Jorge14). However, Vana and Jorge also offered their own criticisms of others' use of Tetun (Appendix E: Vana2; Vana6; Jorge6). Neto, Silvio and Lito also lobby criticisms about others' use of Tetun on topics ranging from monolingualism to people's accents while using it (Appendix E: Neto4; Silvio4; Lito6; Lito9). The following excerpt from Vana contains examples of an overt criticism of her own usage (from the point of view of Victor), an overt criticism of others' usage (from the point of view of Victor), and subtle criticisms of the process of "developing" Tetun (from both their points of view).

Context: In the section 6.3.1.1, Vana talked about a presentation in her linguistics class, and this excerpt gives more insight into her vibrant personality. I had asked Vana what she thought about the need to "develop" Tetun, and what that meant. She did not see a need for it exactly, but relayed a story of an interaction with Victor, offering a critique of some Tetun resources. As an aside, she expresses a desire for a "simple" dictionary to help write or speak the words that have been borrowed from Portuguese. I asked a follow-up question about what exactly Victor objects to in the dictionary, and Vana shifts into recounting moments where Victor objected to and corrected what she feels is every-day, normal Tetun.

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[75] Why should the course need six months, when Tetun has been commonly written for the last two decades? Why should written Tetun be so much more difficult that spoken Tetun? Why are they so very different in Flora's view? And if the spoken language is adequate, as she believes, then why is a six month grammar and writing course even necessary?

Vana7 "Not constitutionalized … or whatever"

1	VANA;	um, (0.4)
2		we have this- Tetun- dictionary now and, (0.4)
3		I don't have any: knowledge of it I mean I ju:st read it through but (1.0)
4		um [clears throat] interestingly one of my friends, (0.3)
5		of course you know Victor?[76] (0.6)
6		he argues that that- (0.5) Tetun that is being used in that dictionary is, (0.9)
7		u:m (0.3) he said that wo:rd- I forgot. (1.0)
8		is not constitutionalized?
9		or it's not officialized or baptised[77] or whatever, (0.5)
10		so, (0.4) um, (0.3) he, (0.5)
11		he actually disagree with- (0.5) the Tetun words that's being written in that dictionary. (0.5)
12		but [clears throat] (1.0)
13		u:h because I'm not really: you know expo:sed to you know, (0.4)
14		deve:loped underdevelop kind of- you know- version of Tetun?
15		so I'm- I'm actually very comfortable of- (0.3) you know the Tetun that I'm u:sing (0.5)
16		but um, (1.1)
17		um, (1.3)
18		I- (0.5)
19		if, (0.9)
20		if you know if (0.4)
21		if I could request I would- hope . that you know we (0.4)
22		um there's um, (1.3)
23		you know that we are provided a dictiona:ry: that- you know- a more, (0.5)
24		simple version of dictionary that can- help us you know to- (0.5)
25		be able to: you know, (1.0)
26		write or- speak- the- words that we've been borrowing from Portuguese? (0.5)
27		yeah.
28	MELODY;	yeah.
29	VANA;	[I don't know if that-]
30	MELODY;	[do you feel like there's] a right or a wrong way to speak Tetun?
31		so- so Victor clearly has a- a [very strong] opinion about it
	VANA;	[mm]
32		yeah (0.2)

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[76] As a reminder, this is a pseudonym. In the spirit of full-disclosure, it is important to note that the only time I ever felt that my life was in danger in East Timor was due to Victor's reckless driving, and while I tried to keep my feelings to myself, it is possible that this may have influenced certain portions of Vana's interview.

[77] At first glance, this word choice may seem odd. Catholicism permeates every aspect of Timorese culture and recordkeeping has always been their forte. There was a time when a Timorese couldn't apply for a passport or get married without a certificate of baptism, because Church records were the only reliable source of identification on dates of birth and parentage. So, here Vana is using baptism is used as a metaphor for 'officially sanctioned'.

33	MELODY;	was he objecting to the use or just like the writing [or?]
	VANA;	[ah]
34	MELODY;	the words themselves [or?]
35	VANA;	[I think] just just the words.
36		it just just the some of the words that's being- you know sayed in that dictionary but. (0.4)
37		I think that sentence-wi:se u:m, (0.8)
38		you know- mostly you would sa:y (0.5)
39		uh, (1.)
40		I don't know how to explain it like- for example the- (0.4)
41		the use of words u:m *mak*, (0.5)
		((focus marker))
42		or [*maka*]?
	gloss	((focus marker))
43	MELODY;	[mm] yeah (0.7)
44	VANA;	so usually I would be- I- I would say um (1.2)
45		"o:h *nia mak hatete*". (0.5)
	gloss	((he's the one who said that))
46		like "he's the one who said that". (0.7)
47		but you know if (0.9). if ah (1.)
48		[anonymizing silence 8.1 secs]
49		so but- but when- Victor actually hea:rs that you know I said like "oh *nia mak* s- *nia mak diak*", (0.2)
	gloss	((he's the one that- he's the one that's nice))
50		he would be like, (0.3)
51		"*maka* . it's not *mak* . it's *maka*". (0.7)
	gloss	((focus marker))
52		so I'm like- "what's the different between *mak* and *maka* I feel like it's just the same".
	gloss	((focus marker))
53	MELODY;	huh. (0.5)
54	VANA;	and also when I say that "oh *hau ba karaik lai*". (0.9)
	gloss	((I'm just gonna go down quickly))
55		means "I'm just- I'm gonna go a:h a:h, (1.2)
56		to see my friends who live you know down the street". (1.0)
57		Victor would argue and say that- "it's not *karaik* . it's *kraik*".
	gloss	((down)) ((down))

In this excerpt, three figures feature prominently: Vana, Victor, and an unnamed entity

who has published a dictionary. The first reading of this excerpt presents Vana's overall positive

stance toward Tetun Dili as part of the language ecology of East Timor and Victor's overall

negative stance toward the others' ideas of Tetun Dili. When I asked about development, Vana

begins by talking about a dictionary, clearly equating the idea of development with direct language intervention via publication. She distances herself from the dictionary (and its creators) somewhat in line 3, likely because she is about to relay that her boyfriend, whose opinion she is unmistakably influenced by, does not approve of it. When she first introduces Victor in line 4-11, he is criticizing the contents of the dictionary for not being "constitutionalized, officialized, or baptized" or, in other words, for not being in line with *Tetun Ofisial* as he understands it. She then distances herself from that debate in lines 12-15 by saying that she is not really exposed to the different varieties well enough to comment, but that she feels that her Tetun is perfectly adequate. This prevents her from having to explicitly disagree with Victor. In lines 16-20, Vana begins to put together a thought connecting her competence in Tetun to the way she perceives that Tetun is developing. Then in lines 21-26, seemingly apropos of nothing, she suddenly makes a request for a more comprehensive dictionary to help "us" write and speak the Portuguese words that she believes are part of the development of Tetun, which may be an attempt to include her own masked criticisms of Tetun.

In line 30, I asked a follow-up question which I find problematic, and start to repair it in favor of a better one, which is delivered in lines 33 and 34. I asked Vana what exactly Victor objected to in the dictionary, and then waited as she gave me several examples. After struggling to come up with examples of words published in the dictionary that he criticized in lines 35-42, she shared two instances of his disapproval of her spoken Tetun. In the first example, he criticized her use of the focus marker *mak*, saying that it should instead be *maka*. It is hard to know here if this is a pronunciation disagreement or something more; *maka* is the "official" version of this focus marker, but *mak* is commonly used in both speech and writing. In line 52, Vana quickly defends herself against his disagreement, in which she states that she does not

believe there is a difference between the two forms of the word. She provides a second example of Victor's criticisms in lines 54-57, where she again describes him as having corrected her. After this excerpt, she expresses her confusion, frustration, and insecurity over his criticisms (a portion of the dialogue that immediately follows this will be featured in section 6.3.5.1).

Throughout this two-minute excerpt, Vana frames Victor as the critic, and herself as the recipient of his critiques. However, a small part of her dialogue may in fact be Vana using anecdotes to mask her own criticism, especially in the beginning of the excerpt when she requests a pronunciation and spelling guide. Although as the excerpt proceeds and Vana begins to loosen up and share more stories of Victor's criticisms, it becomes clear that she is working through some of her own feelings about these events. She only uses *we*-statements in her request in lines 21-26, in which she also refers to Tetun-speakers/Timorese in first-person plural terms. When she searches for an example of what Victor disagrees with, she uses one *you*-statement in line 38, but she switches back to *I*-statements in line 44 when she thinks of her example. From that point on, she only uses *I*-statements. All of Victor's comments can be viewed as regarding Vana's compliance or non-compliance with Tetun-related policies, indicating that he, at least, has accepted and desires to adhere to these policies, and that she views him as a representation of these policies. There are several stances presented throughout this discourse, but the most important one is Vana's positive stance toward her own use of Tetun, Victor's negative stance toward her use, and her unwillingness to align herself with his stance, as seen in Figure 6.3 below.
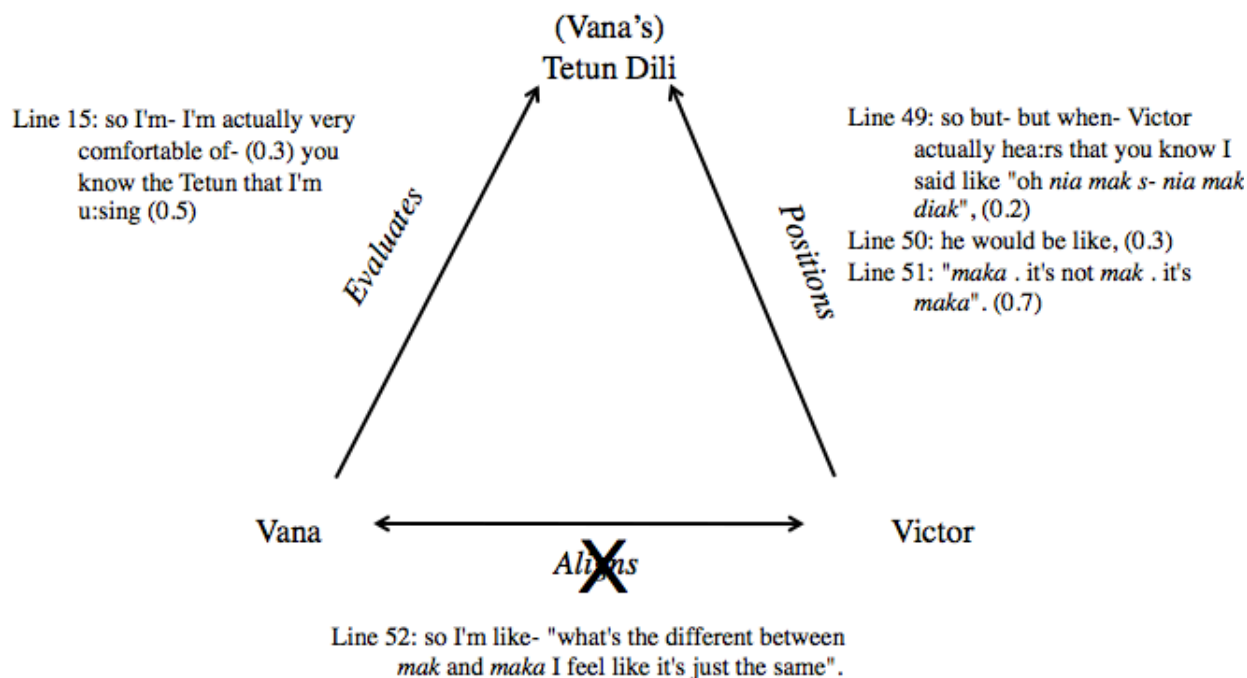
Figure 6.5 Stance Triangle presented in Vana's discourse about '*mak*' in Vana7 "Not constitutionalized … or whatever"

6.3.3.3 Criticisms of the Relationship Between the Language and Authoritative Bodies

The data presented in this subsection is meant to be interpreted as participants' criticisms of the *relationship* between Tetun and the authoritative bodies of East Timor. These authoritative bodies could be the National Institute for Linguistics (INL), the government-created body responsible for developing all the languages of East Timor; the National University of East Timor (UNTL), the academic institution within which INL is housed; or the Dili Institute of Technology (DIT), the major academic rival to UNTL, 'the government', or some unspecified 'they'. In governance as in life, those who are not in power invariably have an opinion about the way that those in power conduct their business. East Timor is a new democracy in which civic engagement in governance is very high, and with that comes a certain amount of criticism and, in the case of East Timor, demands for accountability. In my interviews, I was careful to never to directly invite criticism of any language authorities. If a participant brought up INL on their own,

I would ask "What do you see as INL's role in Timor right now?". If a participant brought up a criticism of the relationship between Tetun and governance, I would ask questions like "Do you think the government values Tetun/local languages/Portuguese at the same level as local languages/Tetun/Portuguese right now?" or "What do you see as INL's/the government's ideal role with regards to Tetun right now?" When it was possible and natural, I tried to focus the conversation on hypotheticals to prevent my participant (and myself, at times) from veering into an indulgent airing of grievances.

These criticisms manifested in a number of different ways throughout my interviews. Melita, Solomon, and Kika insist that language-related government bodies must be more pro-active in their work with and on Tetun (Appendix E: Melita4; Solomon9; Kika6). Neto, Joaquim, and Jorge explain that government 'development' of Tetun will only be realized if they take practical, applicable, and contemporary approaches (Appendix E: Neto5; Joaquim4; Jorge10). Jorge criticizes the government for attempting to control natural language development (Appendix E: Jorge5; Jorge7; Jorge8; Jorge9). Melita, Solomon, Lito, and Kika express frustration at the mixed messages they receive about how to speak and write Tetun (Appendix E: Melita5; Solomon7; Lito7; Kika3; Kika8). Kika also expresses frustrations with the relationship between Tetun and the INL orthography, the relationship between Tetun and educators, and the general relationship between how Timorese are 'allowed' to use Tetun according to the 'rules' (Appendix E: Kika5). In the excerpt below, Jorge provides insight into critiques that are more directly related to the language policies themselves, indicating that they remain unratified by some Timorese and offering some insight into the relationship between the governing body and the citizenry.

Context: Jorge is an acquaintance through the University of Hawai'i and was one of the first students after independence to participate in the UNTL scholarship program. He is from Viqueque and speaks Makasae, Naueti, and Indonesian natively, and is fluent in English and Portuguese. He has lived in Dili for 25 years and completed his undergraduate degree at the University of Hawai'i; he went on to complete a master's degree in Language Policy and Planning at the University of Waikato, New Zealand. Before this excerpt, Jorge was explaining some of the nuances of various types of laws in East Timor, especially those related to language policy and his view that there are still conflicting orthographies used for Tetun Dili because the government decree related to this was "weak". After the excerpt, Jorge laments that the INL is, in his view, strongly influenced by Portuguese-favoring language policies. He expresses concerns that some of the people involved in INL are also affiliated with *Instituto Camoes*, an institution created for the promotion of Portuguese language and culture worldwide, a situation which Jorge describes as a 'conflict of interest'.

Jorege14 "Tell Jorge to…"

1	MELODY;	yeah decree laws don't seem to have a lot of: [teeth].
2	JORGE;	[yeah]
3	MELODY;	they don't seem very [stro:ng].
4	JORGE;	[yeah decree law] is stronger, (0.3)
5		government decrees is very- kind of- is weaker, (0.6)
6		and u:h (1.4)
7		and uh it- it- was not very- detailed. (0.3)
8		u:m that everyone has to- write every- according to that and uh it, (0.4)
9		I was a bit kind of uh surprised when: some friends visited u:h Timor by u:h I think at that time I think two thousand five?
10		something?
11		and then it- (0.7)
12		my- a fo:rme:r uh . kind of professor- university professor at that time, (0.3)
13		well "tell Jorge to talk- to write Tetun according to INL standard".
14		I said uh well, "who the: who the hell am I: so that he's very- that's he's concerned abou:t me- my Tetun?" but uh- .

In this excerpt, Jorge is presenting several different points. On the surface, he is telling a story about a time when a group of foreigners came to Dili to the university he was affiliated with at that time. When this visit took place, a professor in a senior position to Jorge made a point to ensure that Jorge was behaving in accordance with recently established orthographic legislation. This monologue implies that Jorge was transgressing this policy in some way in the eyes of his senior, likely because of his personal ideological reservations about the particulars of the introduced INL standard orthography. In addition, the behavior of the professor hints at the important role that foreigners have in Dili—that their approval is so important that it is necessary to direct the behavior of a single faculty member. Another important act taking place in this discourse is Jorge's position toward INL standard Tetun Dili, which is, without the interference of his senior, as yet ambiguous. However, the position of Jorge's senior is clearly in support of the INL standard Tetun Dili as seen in line 13. By positioning himself in amused disbelief of the degree with which he is being micro-managed in lines 9 and 14, Jorge makes his stance toward INL standard Tetun Dili and his own Tetun Dili known. He perceives that his usage of Tetun Dili is being attacked as insufficient or deficient in some way, especially with regard to his compliance with the decree law, and he reacts with irritation, frustrated disbelief, and somewhat amused cynicism. To borrow again from DuBois' conceptual stance triangle, and to demonstrate the complexity of stances presented in small speech acts (and, by extension, language attitudes), the stance triangles presented below demonstrate two examples of *dis*-alignment.

(Jorge's)
Tetun Dili

Line 9: I was a bit kind of
surprised

Line 13: well "tell Jorge to talk- to
write Tetun according to INL
standard" .

Evaluates

Positions

Jorge ⟷ A former
professor

Aligns **X**

Line 14: I said uh well . "who the hell am I: so
that he's very- that's he's concerned abou:t
me- my Tetun"?

INL Standard
Tetun Dili

Line 9: I was a bit kind of
surprised
Line 14: I said uh well . "who the
hell am I: so that he's very-
that's he's concerned
abou:t me- my Tetun"?

Line 8: u:, that everyone has to- write
every- according to that and uh it,
(0.4)

Evaluates

Positions

Jorge ⟷ A former
professor

Aligns **X**

Line 13: well "tell Jorge to talk- to write Tetun
according to INL standard" .

Figure 6.6 Two Stance Triangles presented in Jorge's discourse about his own Tetun Dili
and his own (dis)alignment with INL Standard Tetun Dili in Jorge14 "Tell Jorge to…"

6.3.3.4 Summary of Tetun as Target of Critique

The criticisms expressed in this section complicate the attitudes of Tetun as social

necessity and Timorese identity explored in the previous two sections. Criticisms of Tetun were

lobbied directly at the language itself, complicating the view of its universal acceptability. Criticisms were directed at others' use of the language, threatening the legitimacy of their identities and contributing nuance to the identity work negotiated throughout these interactions. Participants situated and adjusted their positions within existing power structures by offering their own or reporting others' criticisms of the relationship between Tetun and authority. The mostly positive attitudes toward Tetun that were displayed in sections 6.3.1 and 6.3.2 are becoming obscured by the critiques shown here.

This section also marks a shift in how participants are constructing stance. Rather than using generic *people*-statements, or generalized *we-* and *our*-statements, in this section participants have used specific anecdotes and introduced other characters into their narratives. This allows participants to describe more specific attitudes regarding Tetun Dili and to *ascribe* them to the actors and characters in their lives. Attributing attitudes to specific characters also allows them to become the stand-ins for larger ideological entities. In Vana's narrative, Victor becomes proxy for the ideologies surrounding the governance of Official Tetun. In Jorge's narrative, his former professor becomes the stand-in for the larger ideological battle Jorge was facing against INL. Throughout these criticisms, participants' stances are continually refined in opposition to or in agreement with the attitudes of others, and the ideologies that those attitudes represent.

6.3.4 Theme 4: Tetun as "Developing"

As East Timor continues to slowly progress toward the demands of the Millennium Development Goals (now called the Sustainable Development Goals), the idea of development and the enormous pressure to develop pervades every sector of Timorese life. There are campaigns for everything from better sanitary practices, mapping wealth inequalities, ending

gender-based violence, filling out tax forms, and stopping illegal fishing, to improving education, recycling, obeying posted parking signs, protecting endangered species, cleaning up litter, improving annual rice harvests, vaccinating children and livestock. This mindset of development and the constant emphasis on improving East Timor extends to language practices as well. In a pilot language attitude survey I conducted in 2014, the free-response question was littered with the phrase *tenki dezenvolve*, which roughly means "must be developed". For this reason, I often asked interview participants if they had ever heard anyone say anything roughly akin to there being a need to 'develop Tetun', and what they thought this might mean. Participant responses and conversation topics focused on Tetun's relationship with Portuguese, its relationship to authoritative bodies (as discussed above), and the consequences of *not* developing Tetun.

6.3.4.1 In Relation to Portuguese

Many participants, when asked about the development of Tetun, immediately compared it to Portuguese in some way. Solomon says that the government's continual emphasis on improving Timorese people's Portuguese capacity—rather than improving the government's Tetun capacity—is causing anxiety among the population and wasting precious resources (Appendix E: Solomon5; Solomon9). Joaquim, Silvio, and Jorge all speak with a mixture of frustration, cynicism, and detached amusement at the tendency to 'develop' Tetun curriculum by using Portuguese (Appendix E: Joaquim4; Silvio6; Jorge9). Solomon and Lito agree that Portuguese is important because of historical ties, but disagree with the constant prioritization of Portuguese over Tetun in governance, trade and education (Appendix E: Solomon6; Lito3). In the excerpt below, Melita synthesizes several of these ideas; that Tetun needs development, that Portuguese is 'more developed' than Tetun, and that Portuguese is prioritized over Tetun.

Context: Melita and I are acquainted through work and her position as one of my supervisor's supervisors. At the time of this interview, we had recently been on a trip with a few other employees to do school monitoring in Manatutu and Lautem, and Melita and I roomed together. She is an engaged, educated woman, who prides herself on her community and family involvement, and she is fairly well-known throughout East Timor as such. Years ago, she was 'the face' of a voter education campaign that many people still remember. Before this excerpt, Melita was explaining some stereotypes associated with languages in East Timor to me. I did not have to bring up the idea of development with Melita, but did follow-up on it when she offered her opinion. After the excerpt, Melita laments that the INL does not take responsibility for undertaking the research that she suggests.

Melita8 "Tetun needs to be developed"

1	MELODY;	um, what about- (0.5)
2		can you talk just briefly about Tetun, about what you see as the role of Tetun? right now- in- in Timor Leste? (1.0)
3	MELITA;	well u:h, (1.8)
4		Tetun needs to be: (1.3) developed and needs to be: (0.5) more progressive? according to (0.5) the dynamic. uh, (1.0)
5		[the- the-]
6	MELODY;	[how do you]- can you explain that can you explain what, (0.7)
7		what you mean when you say deve:loped and- and how- how- how can we develop Tetun.
8	MELITA;	um, (0.4)
9		for example most of the wor:ds in Tetun are (0.3) combination of Portuguese words. (0.7)
10		and um (0.6)
11		it- it- it makes us more dependent to the Por- (0.3) the existing Portuguese words that already- (0.3) have a good structure have good- uh vocabulary, (0.4)
12		and we don't want to- (0.4) have- u:h extra efforts- to find our o:wn words (0.3) to be able to connect with our reality. (0.6)
13		u:h for example, (0.4)
14		"communication". (0.4)
15		we uh- we don't have a word "communication" we just don't read [communication].
16	MELODY;	[*komunikasaun*]. @ (0.3)
	gloss	((communication))
17	MELITA;	*obriga:du* we don't have this kind of word- (0.3) in Timor- in Tetun. (0.4)

	gloss	((thank you-masc))
18		u:h if we could do a research,
19		uh- uh- uh- a big- (0.4) ah deep research about- what is the real meaning of
	gloss	*obrigadu* in Tetun.
		((thank you-masc))
20		or we can- we can: u:m (1.1)
21		oh how to say uh (0.9)
22		take from: other: uh local lang- national [languages]?
	MELODY;:	[other- other Timorese-]
23	MELITA;	ye:s and then- promote it as- (0.7) ah Tetun.
24		our own la:nguage. (0.5)
25		otherwise u:h in the near future, (0.3)
26		uh Tetun will be:, (0.4)
27		uh, (0.5)
28		dominated by Portuguese words.

The first reading of this excerpt presents Melita's overall positive stance toward Tetun

Dili as potential tool of the developing linguistic environment of East Timor. In this excerpt,

Melita conveys her anxiety about the expressive power of the Tetun Dili language and her worry

that it is becoming more Portuguese-like. When Tetun Dili is the stance object, she says that it

needs 'development' or to be more 'progressive' in line 4. She then uses Portuguese as the stance

object in opposition to Tetun Dili by framing it as having 'good structure' and 'good vocabulary'

in line 11. These opposing situations, in her view, make Tetun Dili speakers dependent on the

Portuguese language, to such a degree that she predicts that Tetun Dili will eventually be

'dominated by Portuguese words' in line 28. However, she expresses her optimism that words

such as 'communication' or 'thank you' could easily be replaced by more native-like Timorese

words, instead of the words of Portuguese origin. This optimism is tempered by a degree of

cynicism, seen in line 12, that there is little motivation for the type of research activity that she

proposes in lines 18-24. In lines 4 and 9, Melita presents her knowledge and opinions with

certainty. By then using first person plural 'we', 'us', and 'our' throughout lines 11-24, Melita is

positioning herself in alignment with the critiques of Tetun Dili as 'needing development',

having too few words, and offering a subtle critique of the agencies that, in her view, ought to be responsible for these problems. This suggests that Melita assumes that the situation of Tetun Dili at the moment is shared knowledge within Timorese society and that her potential solution of 'doing a deep research' ought to be a shared responsibility. Moreover, in positioning Tetun Dili and Portuguese as opposed and unequal entities (in which Portuguese is framed as superior), she is in fact furthering the idea that Tetun is necessarily dependent on Portuguese for 'development'.

6.4.3.2 In Relation to Authoritative Figures

Other participants, when asked about the development of Tetun, explained that this was the responsibility of an authoritative body, such as INL. The idea that language development is the result of direct intervention is common among Timorese. In Vana's excerpt (explored above in section 6.3.3.2), the idea of developing Tetun is directly related in her mind to whether or not it is 'official' (Appendix E: Vana7). When asked about what 'development' means, Silvio instead explains the role of INL as he sees it (Appendix E: Silvio5). Flora explains that the 'development' of Tetun has made it harder in some aspects (Appendix E: FLora2; Flora8). Lito struggles with the divisive stances of different authoritative entities, especially regarding punctuation and grammar (Appendix E: Lito7). Jorge and Kika struggle with the relationship between Tetun and Tetun legislation (Appendix E: Jorge8; Kika5; Kika6). Only Kika and Lito make passing reference to language development taking place organically through interaction, rather than as a direct result of government action (Appendix E: Lito10; Kika4). In the excerpt below, Jorge explains that when he was working as a translator for the UN, he wrote some articles that were critical of INL. Under the current linguistic climate, he explains that he might reconsider publishing them, even though he still believes their content is relevant.

Context: Jorge was discussed above as the target of critique regarding his alleged non-compliance with INL standard Tetun. Before this excerpt, I asked Jorge if he saw any issues on my Tetun-language IRB consent form. He pointed out a few things that he noticed and he explained that he was familiar with INL standards of Tetun from his work as a translator for the UN. In this excerpt, Jorge was telling me about a time that he came up against an INL-related issue in his work, and as a follow-up I asked him to explain the differences between the different varieties of Tetun. Instead of giving me structural examples—which, as a Tetun Terik speaker himself, he is quite capable of doing—he explains their political differences. He explains to me that the predominant version of Tetun is "INL Tetun" because it has the backing of a government decree. Unfortunately we lost the thread of this conversation before I could ask any more follow-up questions or get an idea of the political standing of the other versions of Tetun. Given his background in language policy and planning, it is not surprising that Jorge would interpret my question in this way, but it is interesting and not likely a common reaction.

<u>Jorge11 "Because it is strengthened by the government decree"</u>
```
1    JORGE;      at certain point I- when I was there I- I wrote kind of articles, (0.3)
2                and when I revisited it again I thought "well. (0.6)
3                that may be still relevant" [but I wouldn't] say that again under, (0.7)
     MELODY;                                [@@          ]
4    JORGE;      current- kind of um environment or auspices. (0.6)
5                u:m I would say- at that time I said like- "a:h", (1.8)
6                two thousand six- something two thousand five, (0.7)
7                "anti-language language policy". @ (0.3)
8                u:h (1.2)
9                u:h [@   ]@@
     MELODY;         [@@]
10   JORGE;      etcetera but um (0.4)
11   MELODY;     can you talk a little bit about that- about the:, (0.4)
12               the INL versus sort of- the other [versions-]
13   JORGE;                                        [yeah    ] we have a lot of- kind of uh ver-
                 ver- kind of ve:rsions of Tetun.
14               uh but uh the pro- predominant one is INL? (0.8)
15               u:h because it is u:h strengthened by the: government decree?
16               uh I think two thousan:d u:h (0.4) four? (1.0)
```

17   number one or number fourteen I am not so sure.

In this excerpt, Jorge is sharing two insights into the relationship between Tetun, development and authority. At the beginning, he tells me that working for the UN but being constricted by the rules imposed by INL led him to write articles such as the one mentioned in line 7 that is directly critical of INL's attempts to develop Tetun. However, he explains that that relationship has become so oppressive that under the 'current auspices', he would probably not publish that article, even though he still believes in the content. At a later point in the interview, he explains that what he meant by 'anti-language language policy' was the explicit attempt by the government to remove the Indonesian language and borrowings in common usage in favor of their Portuguese equivalents. This is a very telling insight into the nature of political change in the last decade if Jorge, a Timorese with a professional linguistic background, is hesitant to share his dissenting opinions publicly and points to just how contentious the issue of language development in East Timor has become. The second insight Jorge shares here must be tempered somewhat by the way my question was phrased. In saying "INL versus" in line 12, I made the mistake of setting up INL in oppositional terms. However, Jorge seems mostly unfazed by this, and explains that although there are several different versions of Tetun, he believes that the dominant one is INL Tetun, *because* it is strengthened by government decree. Together, these two insights paint a picture of Tetun as the property of the governing body (in this case, INL), and that even highly qualified Timorese are not allowed to engage in debate about or participate in its growth.

6.3.4.3 Consequences

When the development of Tetun is under discussion, participants often turn to the idea of consequences. Lito worries that the lack of development fosters linguistic chaos (Appendix E:

Lito5). Jorge worries that current projects will fail and no future advances will be made without economic incentives and careful planning (Appendix E: Jorge10; Jorge12). Vana shares her concerns that if more efforts are not made to develop Tetun now, then the elderly speakers will die and take all their knowledge and potential development resources with them (Appendix E: Vana6). Most participants relayed their concerns about the consequences of *not* developing Tetun, while Melita jokes that the overdevelopment will result in a situation like English, where the spelling does not match pronunciation (Appendix E: Melita5). In the excerpt below, Melita also expresses her concern that the death of elderly Timorese will halt Tetun development.

Context: As we were wrapping up, I asked Melita is there was anything else she wanted to add to our discussion about language in Timor. After her observation about the orthography, she then expresses concern that INL is not doing enough to preserve Tetun for future generations, and that if the older generations die with their knowledge, development of Tetun will halt.

Melita6 "One day they will pass away"
```
1    MELITA;    there- there is still lacking in- in: (0.3) Tetun, (0.3)
2               of INL standard? (0.3)
3               a:nd they have to, (0.5)
4               you know- do more research on- (0.5)
5               because- because we're rich in Tetun and also, (0.3)
6               people that- u:h the- Timorese people that- rea:lly understand about- (0.4)
               Tetun words: are getting older and older? (0.3)
7               so: one day they will- pass away and then- the words- go- together with them
               so,
8               we [cannot] (0.6) develop our Tetun any more
     MELODY;        [yeah   ]
```

The first reading of this excerpt again presents Melita's overall positive stance toward Tetun Dili as part of the developing linguistic environment of East Timor. In this excerpt, Melita is expressing frustration that INL is not doing more to strengthen and preserve the legacy of Tetun. She begins by making a general statement in lines 1-2 that INL is still 'lacking', and

suggests that they engage in more research in lines 3-4. According to Melita's view, other

varieties of Tetun, especially those spoken by "Timorese people that really understand about

Tetun words" are more than sufficient to make up for any shortcomings Tetun is perceived to

have as it is currently spoken. However, she worries that the keepers of this knowledge will pass

away before INL can carry out this research, thus halting the development of Tetun. This is a

fascinating view of what language development means because it emphasizes raising up local

languages instead of foreign ones, which runs counter to even her own views at times (see

Melita8 in section 6.3.4.1 above). This excerpt again shows that language development is not

viewed as a natural, organic process, but a deliberate intervention.[78]

6.3.4.4 Summary of Tetun as "Developing"

The excerpts and examples in this section shed some light on the critiques observed in the

previous section. Timorese view Tetun as a developing entity that is dependent on, less

sophisticated than, and not as globally powerful as Portuguese, undermining the importance of

Tetun. They position the governing bodies and authoritative figures as powerful enough to

rectify the shortcomings of Tetun, but accuse them of ineptitude bordering on intentional neglect

of this important duty. Participants are very aware of the consequences of linguistic stagnation,

and that the continued emphasis on perfecting Portuguese at the expense of developing Tetun in

Timor is causing stress, anxiety, and disapproval of Tetun. So, while Tetun may be considered

the historical vehicle of social capital, the examples in this section show that Timorese view the

future with trepidation. The worry that Tetun is inadequate and a shift to some other global

language is imminent and inevitable has huge implications for the way that Timorese identity is

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[78] For some speakers, this is codified in the very language itself, and they will describe the language and their usage in terms of percentages ("10% Indonesian, 20% Portuguese" etc.)

constructed. The fear that Tetun and other local languages will be left behind as cultural artifacts is not unreasonable given the global loss of minority languages.

Like the previous section, stances regarding development presented in this section are necessary reliant on the stances of others. 'Development' is an imported concept in East Timor that has been adopted and extended by the local population, and has become their burden. Participants believe that the responsibility of development falls largely to the Timorese themselves, as seen in their stance orientations toward authoritative bodies, the association of Teutn Dili with these authoritative bodies, and their use of *we*-statements (like Melita's "we need to develop Tetun").

6.3.5 Theme 5: Tetun as Locus of Insecurity

The final emergent theme in my interviews was that of Tetun as the locus of insecurity. This insecurity emerged in relation to personal use on the part of participants, as well as a more general insecurity about Tetun. The first four themes explored in this chapter were all findings I expected to encounter from the existing literature and my own experiences in Timor. For these themes, I generally had questions prepared to probe these ideas in more depth when they arose. However, the idea that Tetun-speakers would be insecure about their use of Tetun was unexpected and I did not have any specific questions prepared to elicit these admissions.

6.3.5.1 Insecurity Related to the General Position of Tetun (Adequacy, Future, Propriety, Registers)

This category is a bit of a catch-all in comparison to the one that follows, which focuses solely on personal use. Expressions of insecurity are elusive, hard to categorize, harder to elicit, and easier to see and understand in a group than individually. Solomon, Kika, and Flora express their insecurities with what is viewed as Tetun's lack of grammar and rules, which makes it

difficult to translate (Appendix E: Solomon8; Solomon10; Kika7; Flora7). Silvio and Lito are worried that children are only speaking Tetun, implying both that it is insufficient on its own and that local languages will be replaced in the process (Appendix E: Silvio4; Lito14). Lito thinks that the unclear position of Tetun will/is creating problems in workplaces and schools (Appendix E: Lito3). Jorge expressed several times that the framing of Tetun as a 'supporting' language undermines confidence in its appropriateness (Appendix E: Jorge2; Jorge3; Jorge5; Jorge13). In the excerpt below, Vana explains how she feels when 'someone' tells her that her Tetun is not good enough.

Context: After our conversation about Victor's criticisms of her Tetun, Vana expresses some frustrations and insecurities about the confusion. As she was recounting these anecdotes, she seemed to be aware that doing so was making her feel bad, so she defended herself with a semi-confident and very hesitant statement about her competence. This excerpt immediately follows her excerpt in 6.3.3.2 about Victor's criticisms of her Tetun (Vana7 "Not constitutionalized… or whatever"). After this excerpt, she remembered yet another word that Victor had a problem with.

Vana9 "Like I find it like difficult to understand"

1	VANA;	so sometime it's kind of confusing you know like- that Tetun that you grown with, you feel that it's normal, you feel- you've so used to it, (0.5)
2		and all of a sudden someone said "it's not true" (0.8)
3	MELODY;	[huh]
	VANA;	["this is] how you're supposed to say it" (1.0)
4		so sometimes it's just- like I find it- (0.4) like difficult to understand?
5		but I- (0.4)
6		I've- I stand my: (0.3) my case I mean I'm- I'm I've- I really, (0.4)
7		um. (0.4)
8		I- I u:se whatever the words that I'm you know grew up using

The first reading of this excerpt presents Vana's overall positive stance toward Tetun Dili as part of her own linguistic repertoire. In this excerpt, Vana is appealing to me as her listener

(and friend) to validate the insecurity introduced by Victor, whose criticisms she has just been sharing. Her use of *you*-statements in line 1 focus the listener on the larger struggle she is describing and draw the listener into the struggle as, if not a participant, at the very least an active (and sympathetic) observer. By framing her critic as 'someone' in line 2, she is protecting Victor from the brunt of her frustration, but also expressing that this is a problem that is not unique to their dynamic. Her ultimate expression of frustration in line 4 is a commentary on the everyday irritation of having your language policed as well as a global comment on the difficulties of compliance with 'official' Tetun. This toleration to being language-bullied is outside of Vana's usual character, and she spends lines 5-8 to remind me of this fact about her personality, albeit hesitantly and perhaps without much conviction. Her final statement in line 8 also reaffirms her ownership (and possibly her family's ownership as well) of the language by focusing on the fact that she just uses the words she figures she used growing up. Vana again presents her own positive stance toward Tetun, the negative stance of 'someone', and her unwillingness to align herself with that stance, as shown in Figure 6.5 below.

Tetun Dili

Line 1: so sometime it's kind of
confusing you know like-
that Tetun that you grown
with, you feel that it's
normal, you feel- you've so
used to it, (0.5)

Evaluates

Positions

Line 2: and all of a sudden someone
said "it's not true". (0.8)
Line 3: ["this is] how you're supposed
to say it" (1.0)

Vana

"someone"

Aligns X

Line 4: so sometimes it's just- like I find it- (0.4)
like difficult to understand?
Line 8: I- I u:se whatever the words that I'm you
know grew up using.

Figure 6.7 Stance Triangle presented in Vana's discourse about Tetun in Vana9 "Like I find it like difficult to understand"

6.3.5.2 Insecurity Related to Personal Use

By far the majority of the insecurities that were expressed during interviews had to do with personal use of Tetun and the fear of being ridiculed either for using the wrong word or speaking with a regional accent. Vana and Kane shared a number of personal stories about being corrected by other Tetun-speakers, and how self-conscious it made them feel (Appendix E: Vana10; Kane6). Vana, Neto, and Lito also share personal stories of times that another Tetun-speaker laughed at their Tetun for one reason or another (Appendix E: Vana11; Neto1; Lito12). Melita, Lito, and Kane also shared more general insecurities about language mixing (Appendix E: Melita7; Kane5; Lito13). Interestingly, although Lito expresses his own fear of being laughed at for his Tetun accent, he shares two examples of how *he* engages in ridiculing other Tetun-

speakers based on their accents (Appendix E: Lito9). In the excerpt below, Solomon shares the

pressure he feels to do 'the Dili accent'.

Context: Before this excerpt, Solomon was explaining how you can tell where someone is

from by the way they speak Tetun. He attributes the major differences to cultural references, but

also pronunciation, and tells me proudly that he can speak Tetun with a Makasae or a Waima'a

"tone". As he explains it to me, he also gives an eloquent account of the way speech

accommodation works for him. After the excerpt, I asked him if there were any linguistic

distinctions between '*Dili oan*' and '*foho oan*' and he struggled to even understand what I was

asking, until I rephrased it a second and third time. He eventually answered that he did not think

so.

Solomon11 "I try to speak in Tetun in Dili accent but I can never get it right"

1	MELODY;	you can speak Tetun with an a:ccent. (0.5)
2	SOLOMON;	yeah.
3	MELODY;	cool.
4	SOLOMON;	but I can't- I can neve:r- I try to speak Tetun in Dili accent but I can never get
5		it right.
6	MELODY;	[really]
	SOLOMON;	[there's always my] yeah my, (0.8)
7	MELODY;	how come what- so what- sets it apart what makes it different- the Dili accent.
8	SOLOMON;	the Dili accent of-
9		one I don't have many friends: (0.6) from Dili as I did in- grow up in- in Baucau. (1.1)
10		two? (1.4)
11		I think it's very f:lu:id for peopl:e as well?
12		that you tend to speak the accent- where people are from when you're- with a group.
13		so if I:- am speaking with people from my: language, my accent will be very (1.0) Waima'a. (1.6)
14		u:h (0.4) u:h so: (0.3)
15		if- or if I speak with- people from Baucau my accent is very Makasae. (0.9)
16		if I speak with people from Dili (0.5) my accent is- sort of close to Dili,
17		I- I never get it right but, (1.6)
18		it's an accent thing.
19		[its the same] thing with any- [with other lang]uages.
	MELODY;	[yeah.] [yeah yeah.]
20		so what is it you feel like you're getting wro:ng, (0.3)

21		when you- when you try to do like a Dili accent. (0.6)
22	SOLOMON;	u:h not the words not the:,
23		I think the way you say it. (1.3)
24		and you can say like "oh *foho- @- foho oan*". (0.7)
gloss		((mountain mountain child))
25		and you can jus:t, (0.5)
26		and- yeah I mean, (1.1)
27		I live in seminary and we get- all this: like, (1.3)
28		the people, (1.0)
29		classification like they- they say "oh he's from- *foho:* he's *Dili oa:n*" and, (0.8)
gloss		((mountain Dili child))
30		all those things.

Solomon and I have been friends for many years, and I consider the repeated admission in this excerpt of his inability to mimic the Dili accent to be uncharacteristically candid. In lines 1-3, I am confirming what I think he has been telling me about accents in Tetun. Then in line 4 he offers this admission that his 'Dili accent' is not quite right, and I probe him for more information on that topic. He first attributes it to a lack of input in Baucau as compared to Dili. He then shifts into more global commentary on the way that speech accommodation works for him; when he is speaking Tetun in his own language group, his accent will be like theirs; when he is speaking Tetun in a different (but familiar) language group, his accent will be like theirs. Of note in line 15 is Solomon's association of Baucau with the Makasae language; Solomon is from Baucau, as is his language, Waima'a, and yet he still gives more space to Makasae as being 'from Baucau'. This is an indicator of the legitimacy that Solomon places on the majority languages of East Timor, an idea which is strengthened by his second admission in lines 16-17 that his 'Dili accent' is not quite right. When I asked another follow-up question, he expresses his fear of being classified as '*foho oan*' (literally 'mountain child') based on the way that he speaks Tetun. Being *foho oan* or *ema foho* carries negative connotations but is not necessarily a slur; it is comparable to the English terms hillbilly, hayseed, yokel, bumpkin, or hick. Solomon is

echoing an often expressed anxiety that when people come to Dili and speak Tetun Dili, they are under tremendous pressure not to be classified as *foho*.

6.3.5.3 Summary of Tetun as Locus of Insecurity

The insecurities expressed in this section took many forms, from the more general anxieties and worries about the appropriateness and future of Tetun, to the personal insecurities of having your Tetun criticized and misrepresenting the identity you are trying to construct. Together with the criticisms of section 6.3.3 and the echoes of development ideologies of section 6.3.4, Tetun emerges as the unique intersection of each participants' language experiences. It is a point of pride and shame, unity and division, localness and otherness.

In this section, the interconnectedness of stance, attitudes, and ideologies is vital to understanding and situating these insecurities. The insecurities themselves mostly rely upon the implied or explicit stances of others, and these others serve as both attitudinal and ideological proxies for larger issues at stake. Tetun Dili is not just the object of stance, it is the tool that participants are using to calibrate their responses to their own insecurities. Solomon's admission of difficulty in mimicking the Dili accent may represent the larger challenges he faces in finding his place in Timorese society, coming from the districts and after having then lived and studied abroad. Vana's frustration over negative reactions to her use of Tetun hints at the larger ideological struggles of her ownership of her own identity as a Timorese, and how fragile that ownership feels when your own language is beyond your control. Melita's insecurities and others' are a mixture of the ongoing challenges to identity construction in East Timor and their relationship to development and standard language ideologies.

6.4 Conclusion

The excerpts presented in section 6.3.1 exemplify the social necessity of Tetun in the minds of Timorese, stressing the ubiquity of Tetun, and its power to connect them with their micro and macro communities. It is absolute necessity for political and governmental engagement, and claims to cosmopolitanism, modernity, and legitimacy of identity in Dili. Section 6.3.2 focused on the relationship between Tetun and Timorese identity, describing Tetun in terms of belonging to Timorese as a uniting and relatable facet of the Timorese experience. Participants use Tetun as a means of connecting to Timor, and situating themselves and their locality within the social structure of Dili, East Timor, and the world. Then, in section 6.3.3, criticisms complicated the attitudes of Tetun as social necessity and Timorese identity. Directed at the language itself, users of the language, and policies related to the language, challenged the view of Tetun's universal acceptability and the legitimacy of Timorese identities. Section 6.3.4 added more details to these criticisms, showing that Timorese view Tetun as a developing entity that is dependent on, less sophisticated than, and not as globally powerful as Portuguese, undermining the importance of Tetun. The continued emphasis on Portuguese at the expense of Tetun is causing stress, anxiety, and disapproval of Tetun, casting doubt on its future and the way that Timorese identity is constructed. Finally, section 6.3.5 detailed more of the personal anxieties and global worries about the appropriateness and future of Tetun. It is a language that is under negotiation, both structurally and socially, which is both a point of pride and a source of worry. Overall, speakers tended to demonstrate alignment with positive evaluations of the language and mostly disalignment with negative evaluations, which could impact the promotion of prescriptive norms of Tetun by authoritative agencies.

Many of the stances presented throughout this section were interactive, and showed not only the stances of interviewees, but the stances of imagined individuals and groups in their social networks. These characters and groups sometimes took on the burden of ideological representation, serving as proxies for the ideologies that participants used to construct their attitudes in alignment with or opposition to. In the same way, Tetun Dili was not only the object of stance, but the dimension upon which stances were calibrated, creating the space for interviewees to explore their own orientations toward Tetun Dili itself, the authoritative bodies that govern it, their identities as Tetun Dili speakers, and their ownership of its future.

7. Summary and Implications

This dissertation uses two main investigative tools to examine attitudes concerning Tetun Dili, language attitude surveys and sociolinguistic interviews. In addition, societal attitudes and ideologies may be extrapolated and inferred from the review of Tetun and Tetun-oriented literature in Chapter 3 on the environment of the study. In Chapter 3, the historical development of Tetun Dili was explained through the lens of literary representation, examining the way Tetun Dili is described in various types of literature. In this discussion section, I will first evaluate attitudes toward Tetun Dili in relation to the relevant subtypes introduced in the literature review on attitudes presented in Chapter 2; that is, language attitudes in multilingual settings, as they relate to national identity, language policy, and education, and language attitudes as they relate to contact languages. Then, I will situate the attitude results from Chapters 5 and 6 within the relevant language ideologies discussed in Chapter 2; that is, the relationship of Tetun Dili to standard language ideologies, its relationship to the ideologies of literacy, orthography, and development, and the ideologies of Tetun Dili as a resource, problem, or right. Throughout, this chapter will connect the attitudes expressed in this dissertation to larger societal ideologies.

Language attitudes and language ideologies are not synonymous. Language ideologies make up the societal environment in which individual language attitudes reside. Language attitudes influence and are influenced by language ideologies, just as language ideologies are made up of language attitudes. Language attitudes are negotiated at the group level, through broad communicative norms; language attitudes are negotiated at the individual level, through dialogic interaction, which are investigated here with stance and survey analysis. Language ideologies are the tapestry, language attitudes the threads, and stance acts are the fingers of the weaver, manipulating the threads into place.

7.1 Attitudes Toward TD in the Context of Multilingual Settings

As in many multilingual settings, weighted valuation of languages takes place in East Timor and is seen especially in this dissertation's survey results, which explicitly asked participants to rank the utility of languages in various settings. This was also seen during the interviews, in which participants provided language evaluations through stance positioning. In sections 5.2 and 5.3, survey respondents reported Tetun Dili as the preferred language over everyday social, familial, or intimate interaction, but placed higher value on English and Portuguese as the languages of upward mobility. In the free response answers of section 5.2.2, Tetun Dili was ranked highly as a language that was 'Known Well', but participants ranked Portuguese just as highly as a 'Want To Know' language, and English even higher. In the free response answers of section 5.2.3, participants mainly wanted their children to know English and Portuguese, with hardly a mention of Tetun Dili, or any other local language of East Timor. However, in the 20 forced-choice responses of section 5.3, Tetun is the most popular choice in a variety of hypothetical contexts, losing three times to English and once to Portuguese. The four instances in which Tetun is not chosen as the preferred language are questions regarding personal success (English), good education (Portuguese), making money (English), and getting a good job (English). These rankings show that in multilingual East Timor, the utility and appropriateness of languages is perceived as unequal.

Another result unique to this multilingual situation was the trend toward language shift that Timorese are aware of and simultaneously support and fear. Survey results provide clear evidence that Timorese are not speaking traditional local languages at the same rate as their parents, instead preferring Tetun Dili. Figure 5.10 from Chapter 5 showed that every major indigenous language of East Timor is reported at lower rates as a mother tongue for participants

than for their parents. However, for Tetun Dili, that trend strongly reverses, showing that the parents' generation is not viewed as speaking Tetun Dili at the same rate as the current generation. These results could be explained away as an ideological bias of sorts, in which children are reporting an idealized memory of their parents' behaviors. It could also be the case that the parents do speak Tetun Dili, maybe even as their mother tongue, but that participants place more weight on their traditional ethnolinguistic classifiers. However, interview participants expressed many of the same observations of language shift and many of the same fears of the resulting language loss, which reinforces the survey findings. As a result, it is clear that language shift is an issue facing East Timor and its people today.

This language shift offers conflicting insights into attitudes toward Tetun Dili. On the one hand, that the shift is happening at all indicates that Timorese hold favorable views toward Tetun as the vehicle for upward mobility, or at least feel the tremendous pressures associated with *not* knowing Tetun Dili. On the other hand, they blame the language for being the catalyst of the language loss and the associated cultural obsolescence. Another way of looking at this clash of positive and negative attitudes toward Tetun Dili in the context of shifting multilingualisms is to examine the changes in the historical relationship to Tetun, the current relationship Tetun has with East Timorese, and the future of this relationship.

7.2 Attitudes Toward Tetun Dili and National Identity

The relationship between Tetun Dili and national identity elicited strong attitudes in both surveys and interviews. This data highlighted the changes from the historical relationship to Tetun to the contemporary relationship, and also showed that Timorese view the future of this relationship with uncertainty and reserve.

One observation that can be taken from the historical overview in Chapter 3 and the data presented in Chapters 5 and 6 is that the Timorese relationship to Tetun has changed and is continuing to change. Chapter 3 observed that Timorese people's historical relationships to Portuguese and to the ethnolects of East Timor were more important than their relationship to the lingua franca Tetun (as distinct in this case from the ethnolect Tetun Terik). Extensive intermarriage between ethnic groups—and the enduring exchange relationships created therein– shows that multilingualism has always been the norm, even in pre-invasion East Timor before the Indonesian language was forcibly added to the linguistic repertoire of Timorese. However, an individual's relationship to their ethnolect was a more important social factor than their relationship to the lingua franca. A Timorese person's relationship to Portuguese was also an important indicator of social and political status in both pre-invasion and Indonesian-occupied East Timor. This is evident in the early colonial literature about language in East Timor, of which many relevant passages regarding Tetun are provided in Chapter 3 of this dissertation. However, many of the indigenous languages were mentioned or described by the colonial governors or early missionaries, as well as the aptitude (and the careful selection on the part of the Portuguese administration) of the indigenous population in learning the Portuguese language. In light of this and the language shift data from Chapter 5, it is obvious that the Timorese relationship is undergoing change, and one of the most important ways this is happening is in relation to national identity.

Conclusions from my interviews and survey data show that the Timorese relationship to *being* Timorese hinges on mastery of Tetun. Jorge and Alicia make explicit claims to this effect throughout their interviews, and Solomon and others make connections to it as well. East Timor is a fledgling nation that staked its independence claim on the assertion that East Timor has a

cultural identity that is distinct from Indonesia's. With the stamp of "failed state" constantly

lurking, East Timor has a vested interest in presenting a unified front to the world.[79] One way

that the government is trying to accomplished this is through the promotion of a unified

language. There is conflict in this claim, however, because while the government may tacitly

promote Tetun as a unifying agent, it has not until recently overtly promoted it as a universally

accepted code. As a result, Timorese identity as it relates to Tetun is a recent phenomenon that is

still undergoing negotiation in the social consciousness.

One consequence of this ongoing negotiation is uncertainty and insecurity about the

current and future role of Tetun. A theme that undercut my interviews was the sense of urgency

in making Tetun 'work' for Timor, and the consequences if these campaigns failed. As discussed

above, Timorese are not blind to the shift away from local languages because they know that

Tetun is more useful in gaining social capital. But when the functionality of Tetun outstrips its

utility, the fear that Tetun's inadequacy will force its obsolescence is not unfounded (a view that

is dependent on buying into the idea that Tetun is inadequate, which some speakers aren't

comfortable with). This is noteworthy because it implies that the legitimacy of Tetun Dili as a

language is tied to the perception that it is an undeveloped—and therefore inadequate—language

on its own to serve as the language of national identity. This complex relationship to

development will be discussed further in section 7.4.

Another confound that is raised by the idea of Tetun Dili as the unifying thread of East

Timorese identity is that my data shows that it can also be used to divide. The type of Tetun that

a person speaks can be used by others to marginalize, exclude, or ridicule them. Vana, Jorge,

Neto, Kane, Lito, and Solomon all make explicit reference to their anxiety about being on the

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[79] A quick look at the media surrounding the March 2017 presidential election shows that the "failed state" moniker is very much feared by the Timorese intellectual elite.

receiving end of this type of ridicule, and their fears of being labeled *ema foho* (mountain people). Lito even shares a hypothetical story of a time that he himself has engaged in this type of ridicule. This indicates that he, at least, has mastered Tetun Dili to the extent that he can now engage in the behavior he had previously confessed to fearing. The individual shift in attitudes and power relations shown in Lito's example is a good example of the changing relationship of Timorese to Tetun Dili, and the power relationships being negotiated through its use.

In some cases, it would be easy to frame positive valuations of Tetun as a resistance or opposition to Portuguese, however, as it concerns national identity, this explanation is too simple. Some form of Tetun has been the lingua franca of Timor Island since before Western contact, and had grown in complexity and use prior to the Indonesian invasion. During the forced displacements of the Indonesian period (when entire villages were relocated to areas within a certain distance of a major road, far outside their traditional territories), the language groups of East Timor were abruptly thrown together. Before the Indonesian language had a large Timorese speaker population, Tetun was their only common language. This accidental linguistic unity was further strengthened and legitimized by the Catholic church, who had always traditionally operated in Tetun, but became a spiritual and physical support system during the Indonesian years. By the time East Timor became independent, Tetun had been the language of non-Indonesian identity for nearly three decades, and represented more of a resistance to the Indonesian language than Portuguese. For all these reasons, Tetun enjoys positive evaluations by Timorese not because they are resisting Portuguese or Indonesian, but because Tetun itself embodies a highly-valued cultural memory of shared struggle.

7.3 Attitudes towards TD and Policy; Ideologies of Tetun Dili as a Resource, Problem, or Right

The entanglement of Tetun Dili, national identity, and language policy is another important conclusion from this data. Tetun is inextricable from Timorese identity, but the publicized governance of Tetun invites questions of the governance of identity. If Tetun Dili is a proxy for Timorese identity, and it is controlled and developed by the state, then it is a question whether Timorese perceive themselves to be in control of their own identity. Additionally, to some extent Timorese are under pressure to ensure that the identity they want to present is ratified by the appropriate authorities. Many of these issues and others were raised by participants, such as Jorge, Melita, Kika, Silvio, and Neto in their comments about INL.

The Instituto Nacional de Linguistica was created by government decree in 2004 to promote and develop the languages of East Timor. They published many of the sources on Tetun Dili referenced in Chapters 2 and 3 during the early years of independence, and worked closely with Dr. Geoffrey Hull, who was a particularly prolific linguistic scholar during those early few years. However, since the departure of Dr. Hull, INL's rate of publication has plummeted. Many of my interview participants were critical of INL for being either too strict or too lax in their approaches to Tetun, claims that perhaps make more sense in light of the Timorese perception that Timor requires development (see section 6.3.4). However, I believe it is important to offer a defense on behalf of INL because they are in a uniquely difficult position. If they are too dictatorial in their 'development' and promotion of Tetun, they risk being compared to the linguistic persecution of the Indonesian occupation, when children faced cruel punishments for language violations. But on the other hand, if they are too lax in their approach, then they run the risk of being viewed as ineffective at best, and corrupt at worst.

The current director of INL, Dr. Benjamin de Araújo e Côrte-Real, holds a Master's degree in Applied Linguistics, and completed a PhD at Macquarie University (Sydney) on the topic of verbal art genres in Mambai, his mother tongue. He is a linguist, a teacher, one of the first Timorese to hold a PhD, and a Timorese who grew up and completed his schooling under the Indonesian occupation. It is not difficult to appreciate the complexity of his situation. It is easy to be critical of the role of INL and its relationship with Tetun, but it is important to remember that being 'strengthened' by a government decree, as Jorge said in his interview, can also be a hindrance (Appendix E: Jorge11). For example, anyone who wants to work for or with INL must be fluent in the two official languages, which excludes a great number of both Timorese and *malae*. In addition, without direct access to the inner workings of INL, it is impossible to know to what degree 'strengthened by' may also mean 'beholden to', which of course introduces a whole host of other political problems.[80] It is tempting to blame all of East Timor's language problems on INL, and I have probably been guilty of succumbing to this line of thinking at times, but to do so oversimplifies the intricacies of language, history, politics, and identity in East Timor.

The attitudes expressed here are all constructed and negotiated within the larger context of language ideologies. Tetun can be approached from three ideological standpoints; Tetun as resource, Tetun as problem, or Tetun as right. The changing relationship between Tetun and Timorese seems to have been dominated by each of these ideologies in turn. Historically, Tetun was used by Timorese traders, the Catholic church, and Portuguese colonial administrators as a convenient and widespread lingua franca. When the Indonesians invaded and occupied East Timor, they introduced the ideology of Tetun as problem by socializing the Indonesian language

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[80] This is certainly not for lack of access. Dr. Corte-Real is friends with the person for whom I house-sat for several months, which is more than sufficient to arrange an introduction in Dili, but we both tried to reach him by phone several times with no success.

as the language of education and punishing linguistic transgressors. When the constitution of independent East Timor was developed, the ideology of Tetun as right was introduced, and likely had a strong influence on the decision to adopt it as a co-official language (and the legislative creation of INL). However, the ideology of Tetun as problem has not fully dislodged itself from the Timorese consciousness, and the ideology of Tetun as resource has (until recently) stagnated. Recent changes in education policy and practice suggest that the ideologies of Tetun as right and Tetun as resource have begun to take root as potential tools of cultivating national identity.

7.4 Attitudes towards TD and Education; Literacy, Orthography, and Development Ideologies

Education plays an important role in the ongoing identity construction of the nation of East Timor, as well as the individual Timorese who are matriculating through the educational system. The state is charged with the development both of Tetun Dili and of young Timorese minds, and the enormous pressure to raise both of these precious entities to international standards is constant. Shah (2012) in his review of the changes to Timorese curriculum, alludes to the fact that the development ideologies that pervade East Timor allow little room for experimentation and demand immediate results. As a consequence of these ideologies and pressures, Timorese are constantly aware that their language needs to be 'improved', and that the best way to do this is to 'develop Tetun'. This gives space for the creation and perpetuation of a host of negative ideologies and attitudes, many of which are seen in the survey portion of the data. Respondents wrote that Tetun lacks 'grammar', that it does not have 'enough words' (and must borrow from more garrulous languages as a consequence), or that it is unsuitable to explain higher-level concepts (and so speakers must be bilingual in a 'higher-level' language).

Of these results, one enticing avenue of exploration is the Timorese idea of grammar. Survey participants as well as interview participants (particularly Flora and Solomon) make

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reference to the common Timorese perception that Tetun lacks grammar. Flora even talked about taking a six-month course to 'learn the grammatical Tetun', a language she has spoken for her entire life. This harkens back to the anthropological understanding of literacy discussed in Chapter 2, which challenges the concept of what counts as 'real' literacy, and holds that this is never a purely technical idea, but a political one. By sharing her experiences in taking a 'grammatical Tetun' course and her frustration that 'her' Tetun is not the same, Flora introduces the idea that Tetun itself is being deliberately managed and molded into a tool of the state. She considers this frustrating, but a step in the right direction, because such an undertaking helps to establish the legitimacy of and standardization for what is otherwise considered an unlicensed and chaotic language.

This also introduces what it might mean to Timorese for a language to have 'grammar'. Survey participants alluded to the idea that Tetun 'did not use verbs' (which will be discussed further in section 7.5 below), and that it was easy to speak but difficult to write. Solomon talks about the lack of standardization and dictionaries. These findings, along with Flora's comments, paint a picture of Tetun not as lacking 'grammar', but as lacking pedagogic resources and an established literary tradition. The fact that the reformed curriculum developed and implemented by the Ministry of Education in 2014 now explicitly teaches and operates in Tetun Dili might begin to see a top-down ideological shift force a change at the attitudinal level as well. However, persistent and pervasive negative attitudes toward using Tetun Dili as a language of initial literacy may have implications for language planning in East Timor. Language planning best practices tend to follow pre-determined plans of analysis, planning, socialization, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation. That this program has seen angry protest in the media in the first stages of implementation, combined with the findings from my survey data that

Tetun is not considered a valuable language of education, perhaps points to a failure of the socialization stage, which future policymakers should be careful to address.

Within this larger context of language ideologies, many of these ideologies of development, orthography, and literacy are exhibited in education. The pressures of development and the ideas of what it means to develop are visible in many of the interactions explored above. The ideologies that underpin the Tetun orthographic system(s) are summarized nicely by Neto and Kika, who are familiar with the reasons for the ongoing pressures of the two main systems. The INL orthography contains special characters, which make Tetun resemble Portuguese and lend it an air of establishment or legitimacy. But the INL orthography was developed before the information age had firmly taken hold of the world, and the cumbersome inconvenience of using accent marks and tildes is more easily avoidable by using the phonemic orthography championed by DIT. So, as Neto summarized in his interview, the ideologies that govern the two main Tetun orthographies are predicated on different understandings (and, it must be said, desires) of what Tetun is. While this conflict or orthographic ideologies continues in its sometimes-heated deadlock, ideologies of literacy negotiate on apace as Timorese continue to arbitrate which literacies are 'real', and who ultimately makes that decision.

7.5 Attitudes towards TD and Contact Languages; Standard Language Ideologies

The review in Chapter 3 found that Tetun Dili has been marginalized as corrupt and insufficient by historical writers, and inconsistently and non-linguistically described by modern writers, with a few notable exceptions (especially Williams-van Klinken et al. 2002a, 2002b). The marked avoidance by modern linguistic scholars to classify Tetun Dili as a contact variety is puzzling structurally, but understandable ideologically. The same avoidance is seen in

interviews, such as with Kika and Solomon who readily state that Tetun is a 'put-together' mixture of languages, but is also vehemently denied by others, such as Alicia and Jorge.[81]

Another observation from both my interviews and my off-the-record conversations in East Timor is the idea that Tetun Dili is discretely compositional; that is, the languages itself is composed of discernable and separable parts of other languages. The fact that Timorese will talk about Tetun in terms of the percentages of its linguistic makeup is an insight into just how aware they are of the historical and contemporary forces that have governed its development. This is used as a way of situating people ideologically within the education and political Timorese experience. For example, a person who tends to use a high percentage of Portuguese in their Tetun is considered elite, educated and probably well-employed, but distant and disconnected from the general Timorese population. Or, a person who tends to use a high percentage of Indonesian in their Tetun is considered less educated, and is very likely young and urban. Timorese that I have spoken to, particularly Jorge, will actually talk about one another's Tetun in these percentage terms, and sometimes attach these social judgments to them. That the language is viewed as a discretely identifiable composition of other languages contributes to the development ideologies that surround it. If Tetun Dili is 25% Portuguese and 25% Indonesian now, it perhaps stands to reason that Timorese believe it could just be a matter of legislation and socialization to force those percentages into different distributions. Further, that people recognize the percentages of Tetun that are *not* Tetun challenges the idea of Tetun as a discrete linguistic entity. If certain percentages of Tetun "belong" to other named languages and are recognized as part of different codes, what is left of Tetun to *be* Tetun?

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[81] Although Jorge's objection seems to be more focused on the idea that Tetun is a Portuguese-based creole, rather than a creole at all.

7.6 Multiple Approaches

At this point is it useful to pause and consider the importance of using both survey analysis and interview analysis. Descriptive survey statistics are an excellent way of developing an instant snapshot of a linguistic situation. Stance analysis add depth of experience to the flatness of numbers by helping to interpret the quantitative trends. Conversely, surveys offer a way of quantifying a trend that is observed in interviews by demonstrating how widespread those trends are across a general population. Sometimes the survey data and interview analyses were in agreement, sometimes not. Together, these two tools offer an expanse of knowledge that cannot be gleaned by one tool alone.

One of the best examples of this in my data is the comparison of the findings in survey Q80 and Q82, which asked participants to agree or disagree with the statement "Tetun is an important part of Timorese identity," and "I feel positive about the Tetun language." The overwhelming majority of participants agreed with these statements. On its own, these results paint a picture of Tetun as a universally important and universally approved linguistic code. However, interview analyses show that neither of these statements are true in the minds of Timorese without serious caveats. Tetun is clearly viewed as an important component of national identity, but ideologies of development, literacy, and orthography have complicated the coherence of this identity. Participants clearly feel strongly positive about Tetun, but interviews (and even other parts of the survey) reveal that this positivity does not extend to every circumstance and interaction. The benefit of using both surveys and interviews is this increased complexity of data, which fosters a richness of understanding.

Other inconsistencies between survey and interview results involve the role of Indonesian in daily life. Indonesian scores very low in all instances of forced-choice language valuation, and

is reported in predictable numbers as a language of instruction for participants who attended school during Indonesian times (which is most of them) in section 5.2.4, but is not listed as often among the most common languages that participants know well in section 5.2.2. From the survey results alone, Indonesian appears to be an uncommon and not-often-used language. However, interview results show that this is not the case. Vana, Jorge, Solomon, Neto, and Melita all recalled instances when Indonesian was used in their daily lives, and Melita even had a moment during our interview where she defaulted to Indonesian while trying to think of the idea she was trying to express in English. Together, these two data sources add detail to the nature of the relationship between Timorese people and the Indonesian language that only one source could not. In official contexts such as a survey, Timorese judge that they are not 'supposed' to choose Indonesian, but readily admit that it is commonly used in their everyday lives.

7.7 Summary

Garrett discusses language attitudes as providing the tools for how we form "the group stereotypes by which we judge other individuals, how we position ourselves within social groups, how we relate to individuals and groups other than our own" (Garrett et al. 2003:12). I believe this is born out in the Tetun data presented here. The micro-stances expressed in my interviews with Timorese participants and the attitudes that can be interpreted from the survey data form the basis of these language attitudes. However, language attitudes do not exist divorced from their contextual and ideological reality, and just as participants use stance acts to negotiate their positions within their own and others' language attitudes, they also use language attitudes to negotiate their positions within language ideologies. This discussion chapter has problematized many of the findings of my research, but it is important to remember that the majority of my findings also point to the great fondness that Timorese hold for Tetun Dili. It is

the language that connects them to their young homeland, and to one another within their lives. It is the language you use every day to talk to your neighbors, your friends, and the man selling bananas on the street corner. It is the language of intimacy and of gossip, of music and poetry, rich in metaphor and nuance, jokes and subtlety. While it may face an uncertain future, Tetun Dili is the undisputed voice of East Timor.

8. Conclusion

The driving energy of this dissertation was my desire to contribute to the literature on Tetun Dili and instill my readers with a multi-faceted understanding of the context in which it has developed. Tetun Dili is not an extensively documented language, and this dissertation combined existing descriptive literature with new research and analysis on a previously uninvestigated topic. Chapter 1 outlined the goals of the research. Chapter 2 began with a review of the literature that governs the understanding of attitudes within academia, situating this concept within linguistic study. It then summarized the role of ideologies particularly relevant to language and the relationship between the two that I am using as my framework. Chapter 3 described the environment of the study by providing a language-focused historical overview of East Timor, and integrating some of the anthropological research on Timorese culture. It then began a discussion about the different types of Tetun and descriptions of Tetun Dili in the literature of the last two centuries. Chapter 4 explained the methodologies employed to gather insight about attitudes toward Tetun Dili. Chapter 5 presented the results of the survey portion of this research. Chapter 6 presented the results of the interview portion of this research. Chapter 7 discussed the findings reported in Chapter 5 & 6, situating these attitudinal results within the relevant ideological literature.

8.1 Research Questions Revisited

It is useful at this point to revisit the original research questions presented in Chapter 1 of this dissertation and discuss how each was approached and answered.

1. *What are the most common attitudes about Tetun Dili among various groups?* The most common attitudes toward Tetun Dili presented in my data are that the language is considered a valued cultural component of Timorese identity, but that it was also the locus of

criticism and insecurity. Generally positive stances toward the connection between Tetun Dili and Timorese identity and attitudes concerning development were seen in both the surveys and interviews. Attitudes of personal insecurity regarding Tetun Dili, and conflicting attitudes toward policies and politics governing Tetun Dili were seen in the interviews. In general, groups differed very little (statistically), and their differing attitudes may be attributed to life stage and life experience.

2. *Where do these attitudes come from and how do they differ?* In the context of my research, attitudes toward Tetun Dili arose from East Timor's long history of contact; contact between the ethnolects within East Timor; between Timorese and other Southeast Asian navigators and traders; between Timorese and the Portuguese missionaries and colonial administration; between Timorese and the Indonesian occupation; between Timorese and the multinational members of the United Nations; and now the growing contact between Timorese and the global community. This contact has had demonstrable effects on both the makeup of the Tetun Dili language itself, as well as influenced societal ideologies that hold power over attitudes toward the language. The attitudes differ in their topics but also in their strength and united representation across communities.

3. *How can these attitudes be described?* Attitudes presented in this dissertation were collected and described using survey tools and interview analysis. Survey tools provided a flat, initial impression of overall positive attitudes toward Tetun Dili. This impression was detailed by inferential statistics, which showed that certain groups were more likely to agree or disagree with certain statements about Tetun Dili and Tetun Dili speakers. From this point, additional complexity to the attitudes demonstrated by the language attitude surveys was introduced through interview analysis. Interview participants demonstrated through their stance acts that

their generally positive attitudes toward Tetun Dili were dimmed somewhat by uncertainty, insecurity, and criticism. Affected voices, repetitions, hesitations, shifts in pronoun usages and general content were all used to describe the attitudes portrayed in the interview interactions.

4. *How can these attitudes be situated within the larger context of language ideologies?* Many of the individual attitudes expressed in this dissertation were reflections of or resistance to dominant societal language ideologies, because language attitudes have an interdependent relationship with language ideologies. Attitudes make up the building blocks ideologies and they influence on one another's strength. General attitudes about the valuation of Tetun Dili within its multilingual context and attitudes about its context were introduced as the basic context for situating Tetun Dili within the linguistic environment of East Timor. Attitudes toward the adequacy of Tetun Dili were easily recognizable within the context of ideologies toward development, orthography, and literacy. Attitudes toward Tetun Dili policies were situated within the ideologies of Tetun Dili as resource, problem, or right. The stance acts presented in Vana6 in section 6.3.3.2 construct both her attitude toward her variety of Tetun Dili, as well as her attitudes toward the standard language ideologies, represented, in this case, by Victor. Her stance acts construct her attitude, and her attitude is created in reaction to the societal ideology.

8.2 Summary of the Study

This study investigated language attitudes of East Timorese in regard to their national and co-official language, Tetun Dili. The study found that attitudes toward the language are generally positive, but that its future role is still undergoing tacit social negotiation. Other attitudes concerning the connection between Timorese identity, Dili Localness, and mastery of Tetun Dili revealed the linguistic insecurities held by Timorese. Within the larger context of language ideologies, Tetun Dili continues to be to locus of criticism and disagreement.

8.3 Contributions of the Study

This study contributes to the existing literature regarding Tetun Dili by providing a deeper understanding of the role of Tetun Dili as it exists right now, and future scholars with a foundation upon which to build their own research. Before this project, there were no studies specifically focused on attitudes toward Tetun Dili or other languages of East Timor, and scant sociolinguistic research of any kind. This dissertation represents the first attempt to catalogue and describe these attitudes, as well as introduce a reproducible framework for situating language attitudes within language ideologies.

East Timor is a new nation that has struggled with fierce determination to establish itself as an independent, functioning democracy. As Timorese begin to negotiate their position within the global community, they are also negotiating their identities at home. This dissertation highlights the importance of establishing the legitimacy of Tetun Dili as the lingua franca of East Timor and gives color and life to something that is a large part of being Timorese. Tetun Dili is viewed as powerful and weak, useful and purposeless, simple and complicated, personal and communal, individual and governmental, isolating and connecting. These complex and often contradictory views have emerged from this research and are a fundamental part of the attitudes and ideologies that Timorese hold toward Tetun Dili.

8.4 Directions for Future Work

This study was limited by time and scope, but one of the most important future additions to the attitude literature is to analyze language attitude interviews with *malae* regarding Tetun Dili. This analysis will lend depth to the understanding of how language ideologies in East Timor are influenced by foreign ideologies, and how *malae* attitudes change over time. Another study that would contribute to this attitudinal literature is a social network density study that correlates

contact with foreigners, media, and Timorese of other SES scores with the strength language attitudes. Of course, the draw to investigate attitudes toward Portuguese within a Timorese context is very strong, and this dissertation could serve as a foundation for future scholars to build upon. Better than all of this, however, would be a rigorous attitude study performed on any of the topics I presented throughout my dissertation performed by a *Timorese* researcher. My fervent hope is that the project I have undertaken here will lend an air of legitimacy to Tetun Dili, not only as a language, but also as an academic discipline and potentially important avenue of study.

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Appendix A: Documentation Status of the Other Languages of East Timor

Apart from the varieties of Tetun which have been described above, there are 15 languages indigenous to East Timor which are recognized by the constitution; Mambai, Makasae, Makalero, Bunak, Baikeno, Kemak, Fataluku, Galolen, Makuva, Tokodede, Habun, Bekais, and the Atauro language group, the Kawaimina language group, and the Idalaka language group. The largest of these, **Mambai** (Mambae, Manbae), is an Austronesian languages with 131,000 speakers. It is traditionally split into northern and southern dialect groups, and has at least two named dialects (Damata and Manua). Mambai has been studied by both anthropologists and linguists and among its literature are included a nuanced treatment of social and ritual exchange relationships, myths, and other oral and traditions (Traube 1986; Arauko and Pimental 2010; Hicks 1997; Traube 1980; Traube 1977; Traube 2007). Basic grammars have been published of the Ainaro dialect (Hull 2001) the Southern dialect (Hull 2003), and on the language as a whole (Sukaryana 1997; Putra 1997) as well as some phonetic studies (Fogaça and Mello 2013).

Makasae (Macasae, Makasai, Makassai, Makassae, Macassai, Ma'asae), as Timor's largest Papuan language, also has some anthropological literature (Guterres 1997; Hicks 1983; Lazarowitz 1980; Forman 1981), as well as linguistic. Two grammars have been published in Indonesian and English, (Sudiartha 1998; Huber 2008) as well as a 2011 doctoral thesis by a native speaker of the north-eastern variety of the language (Correia 2011). Makasae is one of only 4 indigenous non-Austronesian languages of East Timor and, like Mambae, is traditionally split into northern and southern dialect groups and has at least one named dialect (Sa'ani), although each *suco* seems to claim to speak their own dialect. More nuanced phonetic work by

Fogaça and do Couto (2011) indicates linguists' ongoing interest in the language. **Makalero** (Macalero, Maklere), it's Papuan neighbor, boasts a grammar (Huber 2008, 2011) and an anthropological description of their conception of the land (Huber 2014). **Bunak** (Bunaq, Búnaque, Buna`, Bunake, Mgai, Gai, Gaiq, Gaeq, Marae), also a Papuan language, has been the subject of two grammatical works (Schapper 2009; Sawardo 1996) and has at least 6 identified geographical dialects: Western Bunak, Eastern Bunak, Lamaknen (a region in West Timor), Lolotoe (a city in Bobonaro district of East Timor), Ainaro (a district of East Timor), and Manufahi (a district of East Timor). Because of its situation as a border-straddling language with West Timor, its relative isolation from the other Papuan languages, and it's unique cultural traditions (compared to its Austronesian neighbors), Bunak has been a popular anthropological subject (Louis 1972; Louis and Friedberg 1978; Sousa 2008, 2011; Schapper 2011, 2014,2015, 2016; Friedberg 1973, 1989, 2014; Fox 1992; Hicks 1987).

Baikeno (Baiqueno, Vaiqueno, Dawan, Uab Meto, Atoni), spoken exclusively in the exclave of Oecusse by several different named groups, occupies a unique space in East Timorese studies both for its geographical oddity and because it is the only indigenous language of Oecusse. It has been described in two grammars (Hull 2011, 2003; Tarno 2000) and seems to be of particular interest for historical comparison (Edwards 2016a, 2016b). It is currently one of three languages being used by the joint UNESCO-Ministry of Education mother tongue language program. Culturally, there are numerous descriptions of Baikeno descent group organization, political systems, notions of order and change, constructions of inner and outer space, and other belief systems (Nordholt 1971; Yoder 2005; Foni 2004; Banamtuan 2015; Salura and Lake 2014; Cunningham 1964, 1965; Middelkoop 1971; Brookes 1980; Rose 2016; Lammers 1948; Munandjar, Suratha and Frans 1978; Kambaru Windi and Whittaker 2012; Endraswara 2013).

Kemak (Ema, Quémaque), Bunak's neighbor and fellow border-straddler, has 3 grammars (Sadnyana 1999; Mandaru, Haan and Liufeto 1998; Artawa, Mbete and Satyawati 2013) as well as an early wordlist (Stevens 1967). There are also some descriptions of the Kemak notions of origins, group dynamics and identity (Molnar 2006, 2011b; Barreto and Silvestre 2011; Renard-Clamagirand 1982).

      Fataluku (Fataluco, Fatalukunu, Dagaga, Dagoda, Dagada) has seven dialects and has been of interest to linguists both grammatically, phonologically, and sociolinguistically (Campagnolo 1972; Heston 2014, 2015; Conceição Savio 2016; Castro and Bouza 2012; Van Engelenhoven 2009; Himmelmann and Hajek 2001). It is currently one of three languages being used by the joint UNESCO-Ministry of Education mother tongue language program. It has attracted the interest of anthropologists and ethnographers because, while Fataluku is a Papuan language, the people exhibit largely Austronesian cultural tenencies (Collins et al. 2007; Fitzpatrick and McWilliam 2013; Conceição Savio et al. 2012; McWilliam 2007, 2008, 2011; Viegas 2011; Pannell 2006; McWilliam et al. 2012; Collins 2005). Fataluku culture is also of interest to archaeologists and environmentalists for its unique geographic position in Timor Island as the locus of the country's oldest archaeological remains and the only national park, Nino Konis Santana National Park (O'Conner, Pannell and Brockwell 2013; McWilliam 2006; McClean 2014). **Galolen** (Galóli, Lo'ok, Galole, Galolen, Glolen, dialect: Talo) does not have a large body of literature, but it is nonetheless also one of three languages being used by the joint UNESCO-Ministry of Education mother tongue language program. Galolen has one colonial grammatical description, (da Silva 1900), two modern grammars (Sadnyana 1994; Hull et al. 2003), and is featured in two comparative anthropological works (Narisco, Henriques and Tilman 2012; Narisco 2013).

The **Kawaimina** group is an under-described dialect chain made up of 4 named languages: **Waima'a** (Waimoa, Waimaha, Uai Ma'a, Uaimo', **Kairui** (Karui, Cairui), **Midiki** (Mideki), and **Naueti** (Nauhete, Nauete, Naóti, Nauote, Nauoti). Of these languages, only Waima'a has any degree of documentation, consisting of a sketch grammar, a dictionary, a short phonological investigation, and a comment on the difficulty of language documentation and maintenance in East Timor (Hull 2002; Bowden et al. YEAR; Hajek and Bowden 2002, 2009). Similarly, the **Idalaka** language group consists of the named languages **Idate**, **Lakalei**, **Isni**, and **Lolein**. Of these, Idate has a grammar (Purwa 1994) and is featured in two comparative anthropological works (Collins 2006; Bovensiepen 2014). The **Atauro** language group (Wetarese, Atauro, Adabe; dialects: Rahesuk, Raklungu, Resuk/Hresuk, Dadu'a) consists of the varieties of Wetarese spoken on Atauro Island; as of this writing, the only published material is a Portuguese dictionary of Resuk (Boarccaech 2013).

Makuva (Makuwa, Maku'a, Lovaia, Lovaea) and it's recently discovered relative **Rusenu** have very little documentation because both languages are functionally extinct. Makuva has been rumored to have 50 or so speakers in the eastern extreme of the country and exists in the literature only as extinct Timorese language (T. van Engelenhoven 2005; van Wayenburg 2007; Hajek, Himmelmann and Bowden 2003; Himmelmann and Hajek 2001). Rusenu is only partially remembered in childrens' songs, some oral traditions, and counting (van Wayenburg 2007a, 2007b; van Engelenhoven YEAR). **Tokodede** (Tocodede, Tukude, Tokodé, Tocod), **Habun** (Habo), and **Bekais** (Becais, Welaun) have no documentation at all.

Appendix B: Language Attitudes Survey and Interview Question Bank

General Demographic:
Age
Gender
Ethnicity
Where were you born? Please give the name of the district and suko / if it is not in Timor, the country
How long have you been living in Timor/Dili?
Time and locations lived abroad
Education level
Parent's occupation
Parent's origin
Number of children

Malae:
Questions intended for foreign volunteers and expats.
Where did/do you work?
How long have you been here?
Where did you come from?
What are you looking forward to when you get home?
What are you nervous about when you get home?
What were your first impressions of TL?
How has that changed?
Tell me about your experiences with communication.
Tell me about challenges and difficulties you faces in TL.
Tell me about a triumph you experienced.
What are you most proud of yourself for?
Which languages sound beautiful?
Which languages sound ugly?

Timorese:
Questions intended for Timorese participants.
What is your mother tongue?
What other languages can you speak very well?
What other languages can you speak a little bit?
What is your father's language?
What is your mother's language?
What language(s) do you wish you knew better?
What language(s) do you want your children to know?
Would you like to make any comments about your mother tongue?
What language(s) did your teachers use in primary school?

What language(s) did your teachers use in secondary school?
What language(s) did your teachers use in University?
What language do you usually use to speak with your friends?
What language do you usually use to speak with your family?
What language do you usually use to speak with malae?
What language do you usually use at work?
What language do you usually use at home?
What language do you usually use at school?
Would you like to make any comments about your education in Timor-Leste?

To be successful, how important is it to know these languages? [Bahasa Indonesia, English, Portuguese, Tetun]
To get a good education, how important is it to know these languages? [Bahasa Indonesia, English, Portuguese, Tetun]
To get a good job, how important is it to know these languages? [Bahasa Indonesia, English, Portuguese, Tetun]
To be happy in your relationships, how important is it to know these languages? [Bahasa Indonesia, English, Portuguese, Tetun]
Would you like to make any comments about language and success?
What language do the children in this village learn first?
Before they start school what languages do they know?
Which language does a mother from this village speak to her child?
What language do you speak with the following people?
     parents
     grandparents
     your children
     your brothers and sisters
     children in the village
     village leaders
     h) friend's
     i) government officials
j) teachers
k) neighbors
l) people at the market
m) people in the city
How important or unimportant do you think [X] language is for people do the following?
For people to:
make friends
earn money
read
write
listen to the radio
get a job
go to church
go to market
go shopping

make phone calls
be accepted in the community
talk to friends in school
talk to teachers
talk to people in the village
talk to people outside the village
Contact with government officials

Here are some statements about Portuguese, English, Indonesian, Tetun, and local languages.
Please say whether you agree or disagree with these statements.
It is important to be able to speak a local language.
Knowing Portuguese, English, Indonesian, Tetun, and local languages makes people clever.
Children get confused when learning Portuguese and Tetun at the same time.
It is more important for people to be able to speak Tetun than Portuguese.
Speaking Tetun cannot help someone to get job or get promotion.
Speaking many languages is not difficult.
Knowing only one language gives people problems.
I feel sorry for Timorese people who cannot speak local languages.
People who can speak Portuguese are
smart/friendly/honest/successful/young/old/wealthy/poor/ violent, old-fashioned, masculine,
feminine.
People who speak Tetun or Portuguese can have more friends than those who speak local
languages.
I would like to be considered as a speaker of local languages.
All Timorese people in Dili should be able to speak Portuguese.
Portuguese, English, Indonesian, Tetun, and local languages can live together in Timor.
Tetun language is unfashionable.
I think Portuguese is more useful than Tetun.
I enjoy going to Timorese cultural events.
Timorese young people like speaking Portuguese.

Which languages sound beautiful?
Which languages sound ugly?

Do the young Timorese people speak their language correctly? If not, how do they speak it?
Is it good for Timorese children to learn to speak local languages? Why?
Is it good for Timorese children to learn to speak Tetun? Why?
Is it good for Timorese children to learn to speak Portuguese? Why?
Do you know any Timorese people who do not speak local languages any more? Is it good or
bad?
When the children of this village grow up and have their own children, do you think those
children will speak local languages? Why?
When Dili people or foreign people are around, are you embarrassed to speak your language?
In the future, do you think the next generation will speak local languages or not?

For these questions, please judge your level of competence in the language(s) you know. For each aspect of the language(s), i.e. understanding, speaking, reading and writing, please rate yourself on a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 meaning 'not at all', and 5 meaning 'perfectly'. Please circle the number that best corresponds to your competence in the language(s) you know.

I understand English

I speak English

I read English

I write English

I understand Portuguese

I speak Portuguese

I read Portuguese

I write Portuguese

I understand Indonesian

I speak Indonesian

I read Indonesian

I write Indonesian

I understand Tetun

I speak Tetun

I read Tetun

I write Tetun

I understand my mother tongue _____ (please specify)

I speak my mother tongue _____ (please specify)

I read my mother tongue _____ (please specify)

I write my mother tongue _____ (please specify)

Portuguese/English is a beautiful language.

Portuguese/English is a language that is well suited to modern society.

Portuguese/English is a language that lends itself well to expressing feelings and emotions.

Knowing Portuguese/English will increase my opportunities to find employment.

English is richer than Portuguese.

Knowing Portuguese is a significant part of Timorese cultural heritage.

Portuguese/English is a language that is important to know in order to get far in life.

Knowing Portuguese is an important part of my personal identity.

What five words do you think are the most suitable to describe Portuguese/ English/ Indonesian/ Tetun/ local languages?

What languages do you listen to on radio/TV?

What languages do you prefer to listen on radio/TV?

If only one language were available what would you prefer that language to be on the radio/TV?

When reading a newspaper or a magazine, what language would you prefer to be used in the writing of these newspapers or magazines?

What is your most reliable source of information in this country for different issues?

Appendix C: Descriptions of Tetun with Translations

Positive Descriptors:

akredito (accredited:1), atividade (activity:1), akordo (agree:1), konkorda (agree:2), setuju (agree:1), konkorda loos (agree really:1), moris (alive:4), dada ema (attract people:1), atrai (attracts:3), furak (awesome:53), furak liu (awesome –er:1), furak loos (awesome really:2), beatiful (beautiful:4), bonita (beautiful:4), cantik (beautiful:1), jeito (beautiful:3), jeitu (beautiful:18), zeitu (beautiful:2), benefisiu (beneficial:1), vanaficiu (beneficial:1), komersio (business:2), komersiu (business:1), kalma (calm:4), matek (calm:1), caracterizado (charactered:1), prasa (city variety:5), praca (city variety:1), matenek (clever:10), kolaborasaun (collaboration:1), komitmentu (commitment:1), comun (common:1), komunika (communicate:2), comunicacao (communication:1), komunikasaun (communication:5), complex (complex:1), kompostu (composite:1), konsiensia (conscience:1), kontente (content:3), kontenti (content:2), continuasaun (continuation:1), contribui (contribute:1), kontribui (contribute:1), kreativo (creative:1), kultural (cultural:1), cultura (culture:2), kultura (culture:5), ezige (demand:1), diferente (different:2), fasil liu (easier:2), facil (easy:2), fasil (easy:107), fasil rona (easy hear:2), fasil aprende (easy learn:1), fasil le (easy read:1), fasil los (easy really:3), fasil koalia (easy speak:4), facil atu rona (easy to hear:1), fasil atu rona (easy to hear:1), facil atu hatene (easy to know:1), fasil atu hatene (easy to know:3), fasil atu hatene lalais (easy to know fast:1), fasil atu aprende (easy to learn:2), fasil atu lee (easy to read:1), fasil atu koalia (easy to speak:4), fasil atu estuda (easy to study:1), fasil atu konta historia ho kolega (easy to tell story with friend:1), fasil atu komprende (easy to understand:1), fasil atu hakerek (easy to write:1), fasil hakerek (easy write:1), enkoraja (encourage:1), esensial (essential:1), esplika (explain:1), esplike (explain:1), esplikasaun (explanation:1), fasilita (facilitate:1), justo (fair:1), justu (fair:2), familiar (familiar:3), famosa (famous:2), famoso (famous:1), famosu (famous:4), famouzu (famous:1), famozo (famous:2), famozu (famous:5), lalais (fast:3), gratuito (free:1), kolega (friend:1), amizade (friendship:1), funcao (function:1), halibur (gather [people] together:1), jeral (general:1), bato'o (go further:1), diak (good:94), diak liu (good –er:1), diak ituan (good a little:1), diak ba ema atu aprende (good for people to learn:1), diak tebes (good really:2), gramatika diak (grammar good:1), gramatika la difisil (grammar not difficult:1), kapas (great:55), haksolok (happy:9), konenti (happy:1), badinas (hard-working:5), tenki ser hatene (have to know:1), rona (hear:3), rona fasil (hear easy:1), rona lalais (hear fast:1), ajuda hodi

hatene (help in order to know:1), historia (history:3), honesto (honest:18), honestu (honest:27), onesto (honest:2), honestidade (honesty:1), hau gosta los (I like really:1), identidade (identity:57), identidade nasional (identity national:1), imporante (important:62), important (important:4), inocente (innocent:1), fuan sorin (inside heart:1), intelectual (intellectual:1), interesante (interesting:7), interese (interesting:2), internacional (international:2), oin midar (kind-hearted:1), hatene (know:8), hatene lalais (know fast:1), lian (language:2), lian internasional (language international:1), lian materna (language maternal:2), lian modernu (language modern:1), lian oficial (language official:1), lian ofisial (language official:5), lian inan (language one's own:6), lian original (language original:2), lian timor (language timor:3), gosta (like:15), gosta atu aprende (like to learn:1), local (local:4), lokal (local:21), hadomi (love:5), halo ema komprende (make people understand:1), barak (many:1), barak uja iha TL (many use it in TL:1), moderno (modern:4), modernu (modern:3), nasional (national:5), nasionalismo (nationalism:1), nacionalidade (nationality:2), natural (natural:1), naturalidade (naturally:1), presiza (need:3), persiza hatene (need know:5), presiza dudu (need push:1), neutral (neutral:1), normal (normal:1), la difisil (not difficult:1), oficial (official:24), ofisial (official:4), katuas (old [people]:1), ita nia identidade (one's identity:1), nian (one's own:1), original (original:1), patriotismo (patriotism:2), dame (peace:2), paz (peace:1), ema barak hatene (people many know:2), ema barak koalia (people many speak:3), ema komprende lalais (people understand fast:1), posisaun (position:1), posivel (possible:2), pratika (practice:1), prefere (prefer:1), profisaun (profession:8), pronuncia fasil (pronunciation easy:1), lais (quick:1), hakmatek (quiet:7), nonok (quiet):1, lee (read:2), lee fasil (read easy:1), tebes (really:1), loos (really, agree:1), halimar (relax:1), respeitu (respect:1), riko (rich:1), riku (rich:4), rikus-oin (riches, rich person:1), regras (rules:1), lulik (sacred:1), satisfeito (satisfying:2), eskola (school:1), materia (school subject:2), bele koalia (should speak:1), bele comprende (should understand:1), significado (significant:1), socialismo (socialism:1), koalia (speak:9), koalia facil (speak easy:1), espesial (special:1), suseso (success:2), susesu (success:5), midar (sweet:2), simbol (symbol:1), sinbol (symbol:1), manorin (teach:1), tetun diak liu (tetun good –er:1), iha signifikadu (there is significance:1), buras (thrive:1), timorense (timorese:1), timoroan (timorese:1), hamutuk (together:1), gaya (trendy:3), comprende (understand:1), komprende (understand:14), komprende lalais (understand fast:1), uniku (unique:1), unidade (unity:5), uza loloron (use daily:5), uja barak

(use many:1), usado (used:1), uzada (used:1), uzado (used:1), util (useful:1), hakarak (want:8), servisu (work:1), joven (youth:2)

Negative Descriptors:

husik (abandon:1), moruk (bitter:1), aat (broken:1), oin buis (cold-hearted:1), kombinadu (combined:1), komplikadu (complicated:1), konfusaun (confusion:1), konsekuencia (consequences:1), dezenvolve (develop:2), dezenvolvimentu (development:1), farasku (difficult:3), dificil (difficult:11), difisil (difficult:12), difisil liu (difficult –er:1), difisil ituan (difficult a little:1), difisil atu rona (difficult to hear:1), difisil atu aprende (difficult to learn:1), difisil atu hakerek (difficult to write:1), difisil hakerek (difficult write:4), sasar hakerek (difficult write:1), difikuldade (difficulty:1), disiplina (discipline:1), deskonfia (distrust:1), lakohi (don't like:1), beik (dumb:1), strangeiro (foreigner:1), gramatika seidauk (grammar not yet:1), araska (hard:5), atrazado (hard:1) susar (hard:3), susar ituan (hard a little:1), susar atu explika idea sientifiku (hard to explain idea scientific:1), susar atu koalia (hard to speak:1), rona susar (hear hard:1), imitasaun (imitation:1), implementa susar (implement hard:1), imposivel (impossible:2), laos (indeed not:2), invisivel (invisible:1), lian menou (language inferior:2), liu (less:1), menus vocabulario (less vocabulary:1), mix (mix:1), masimenus (more or less:1), la fasil (not easy:4), la iha gramatika (there is no grammar:1), seidauk kompletu (not yet compelte:1), ladun completo (not yet complete:1), seidauk los (not yet really:2), ladun uza verbo (not yet use verb:1), laiha verbu (not exist verb:1), atrazado (old-fashioned:1), ema la escola mos bele koalia (people uneducated can also speak:1), problema (problem:1), hakribi (revile:1), hakilar (scream:1), simple (simple:2), simples (simple:103), simples atu koalia (simple to speak:1), balun difisil liu (somewhat difficult –er:1), balun seidauk hatene (somewhat not yet know:1), verbo ladun barak (verb not yet many:1), fraku (weak)

Emblematic Descriptors:

adjectivo (adjective:1), tauk (afraid:1), nudar (as:1), tanba (because:1), fiar (believe:2), boot (big:3), labarik (children:1), mai han lai (come eat:1), mai tur (come sit:1), batar (corn:1), terik (country variety:5), tanis (cry:1), laran (day:1), hemu (drink:6), han (eat:1), english (English:1), ingles (English:1), belun (friend:3), husi nebee (from where:1), bosu (full:1), hader (get up:1), ba (go:1), dader diak (good morning:1), gramatika (grammar:1), gramatiku (grammar:1), xapeo

(hat:1), manas (hot:1), hira (how much?:1), hamlaha (hungry:3), hau (I/me:4), indonesia (Indonesia:2), kemak (Kemak:1), rai (land:1), latin (Latin:1), hamnasa (laugh:4), bosok (lie:1), nunee (like this:1), hanesan (like/similar:1), kiik (little:1), doben (love:1), domin (love:3), mambae (Mambae:1), masculino (masculine:1), melayu (Melayu:1), naran (name:1), kolen (pay:1), toka (play:1), portugues (Portuguese:3), portuguese (Portuguese:2), resa (pray:1), orasaun (prayer:1), fo (rice:1), natar (rice paddy:1), halai (run:2), triste (sad:1), daruak (second:1), hare (see:2), nakdedar (shiver:1), badak (short:1), hananu (sing:1), kanta (sing:1), dukur (sleep:1), fuma (smoke:1), desporto (sports:1), bee-matan (spring:1), nakratak (stick out:1), tetun (Tetun:12), tetun prasa (Tetun city variety:1), tetun terik (Tetun country variety:1), nee (that:1), dois (two:1), lao (walk:2), bee (water:1), nebee (where:2), neebe (where:5), ba nebee (where are you going:2), namlaek (wilt:1), hakerek (write:4)

Transgressive Remarks:
baucau bonito (Baucau is beautiful), elia bonita (Elia is beautiful), tl bonito (Timor-Leste is beautiful)

????:
brami (brami:1), branim (branim:1), hakfodok (hakfodok:1), mahusuk (mahusuk:1), murak (murak:1), raok (raok:1)

Appendix D: Research Assistant Screening and Training Materials

Screening Application
for
Research Assistant
Project Title: Language in Timor-Leste (IRB ID: CHS 20417)
Principal Investigator: Melody Ann Ross

Personal Information

Full Name: _____ Age**:** _____
Nickname

Birthplace: _____
Country, District, Suku

Residence: _____
Neighborhood   *Length of time in Dili*

Home Phone: _____ Provider: ____ **TT**   **Telkomcel**   **Telemor**

Alternate Phone: _____ Provider: ____ **TT**   **Telkomcel**   **Telemor**

E-mail Address: _____

Background Information

University Major: _____   High School Specialization: _____

How long have you been studying English? _____   Age when you started learning English: _____
Years   *Months*

Where have you studied English?_____

What was your most recent English course? _____   What grade did you earn? _____

Please answer the following questions to the best of your ability.

1. What does "research" mean to you?

2. What does "honesty" mean to you?

3. What is the purpose of doing research?

Rate your abilities in each of the following languages by **circling** your level of proficiency:

Tetun

Reading / Writing	Fluent	High	Medium	Low	None
Speaking	Fluent	High	Medium	Low	None
Listening Comprehension	Fluent	High	Medium	Low	None

English

Reading / Writing	Fluent	High	Medium	Low	None
Speaking	Fluent	High	Medium	Low	None
Listening Comprehension	Fluent	High	Medium	Low	None

Indonesian

Reading / Writing	Fluent	High	Medium	Low	None
Speaking	Fluent	High	Medium	Low	None
Listening Comprehension	Fluent	High	Medium	Low	None

Portuguese

Reading / Writing	Fluent	High	Medium	Low	None
Speaking	Fluent	High	Medium	Low	None
Listening Comprehension	Fluent	High	Medium	Low	None

Other language: (please specify) _____

Reading / Writing	Fluent	High	Medium	Low	None
Speaking	Fluent	High	Medium	Low	None
Listening Comprehension	Fluent	High	Medium	Low	None

Other language: (please specify) _____

Reading / Writing	Fluent	High	Medium	Low	None
Speaking	Fluent	High	Medium	Low	None
Listening Comprehension	Fluent	High	Medium	Low	None

Do not write below this line.

Research Assistant "Language in Timor-Leste" (IRB ID: CHS20417)
Terms of Agreement

Project Summary

This project will explore individual beliefs about language and education in Timor-Leste in order to explore the sociolinguistic position of languages in Timor-Leste, and to increase the amount of cultural documentation in Timor-Leste. Another important goal of this project is to train Timorese youth in best research practices, in order to foster a sense of confidence in self-directed research projects and ownership of their research skills.

Skills and Qualifications

Required abilities and dispositions:
- ∴ High personal motivation, self-management, and attention to detail.
- ∴ Ability to take responsibility and make progress without direct supervision.
- ∴ Strong spoken and written communications skills in both English and Tetun.
- ∴ Capacity and will to learn new research methods.
- ∴ Academic and/or work experience related to the field of research, as defined by the principal investigator.
- ∴ Satisfactory academic progress, or recommendation from academic supervisor.

Preferred additional qualities:
- ∴ Strong existing computer skills, general Internet and electronic communications.
- ∴ Articulate and tactful communications skills.
- ∴ Readiness to meet and work directly with participants.
- ∴ Interest in professional development toward future graduate school or employment in advanced social research.
- ∴ High academic standing.
- ∴ Ability to communicate in Bahasa Indonesia and one (or more) Timorese national languages

Duties and Responsibilities:

The research assistant will be expected to carry out their assigned portion of the project as well as other, related duties. These duties include:
- ∴ Assist with academic research.
- ∴ Communicate regularly with supervisor to discuss research assignments.
- ∴ Attend project trainings and meetings.
- ∴ Demonstrate respect toward and cooperation with the principal investigator.
- ∴ Handle and protect confidential and sensitive data with integrity.
- ∴ Manage data collection deadlines.
- ∴ Recruit and survey 75 different participants.
- ∴ Maintain accurate records of surveys, safeguarding the confidentiality of subjects, as necessary.

Policy on Integrity

Cheating or plagiarism on any survey will not be tolerated. A research assistant found to be in violation of this integrity policy will not receive any of the benefits, monetary or otherwise, associated with this project.

Workload

Application and Interview Period (1 hour)

The research assistant is expected to complete an application and interview to determine their suitability for the project. If the principal investigator determines that the applicant is suitable for the project, the applicant will be asked to sign a contract and attend a training period.

Contract signing and training period (1 hour)

The research assistant will be asked to review the terms of the contract with the principal investigator and sign the contract. After this time, the research assistant will be briefed on the details of the project. The research assistant will learn to use the data collection instruments; for this project, these instruments shall consist of a survey and a survey log. The research assistant must be familiar with all the questions on the survey, and must understand the survey log sheet. The research assistant must agree to ask questions whenever they encounter difficulties, need help, or advice. The research assistant must agree to keep all information collected from participants confidential.

Data collection period (7 hours)

The research assistant is expected to recruit and survey 75 different participants, striving to represent a variety of demographics. The research assistant is expected to not discriminate against potential participants based on these demographics, which include but are not limited to: age, gender, education level, mother tongue, district, literacy level, religion, sexual orientation, political beliefs or others. The research assistant is expected to represent all comments and information from the participants faithfully (exactly as it is given). Information about each survey must be recorded on the survey log.

Follow-up Meeting (1 hour)

The research assistant is required to meet with the principal investigator at the completion of the data collection to review the survey results. During this time, the principal investigator will ask the research assistant a number of questions to ensure that all the surveys were collected honestly. If the primary investigator determines that the research assistant has falsified or plagiarized any of the surveys, the research assistant will **not** be eligible to receive any of the benefits of the contract, and will **not** be compensated financially.

Total: 10 hours

Benefits

∴ $125 at the completion of the project with possibility to renew.
∴ Certificate or letter of completion.
∴ Letter of recommendation or reference for scholarship or employment applications.

I certify that I (print complete name) _____ have read and understand the terms of this contract; that I agree to abide by the terms; and that I will complete the required training, data collection, and follow-up meeting by 11 July 2015.

_____ _____

Benefits Addendum

Incidental Costs

The nature of this project may require the RA to use their own resources (e.g. fuel and transportation, supplies, phone credit, etc.) or to disrupt their usual meal schedule. For this reason, the RA will be given $40 (forty dollars) at the beginning of the project to account for initial incidental expenditures. If additional serious costs arise, the RA should inform the PI.

Appendix E: Interview Transcripts

Alicia

Alicia1 "When you're outside of Timor"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37526
Location: 28:15.14 – 28:37.442
Duration: 22.302
Themes: 1, 2
Context: I asked Alicia, who has travelled and lived abroad extensively, how she describes Tetun to people she meets. She talked about the historical developments in the country that are still seen in the way Timorese use numbers from Indonesian, Portuguese, and Tetun. She then comments a second time on the larger role of Tetun as the unifying language.

1	ALICIA;	but having said that I mean you know we have this thirteen district that um that basically
2		and and also it's in a way of like you know when you're outside of Timor
3		you know when someone that's a Timorese the first thing that you say is "*diak ka lae. koalia Tetun*?" [greetings. do you speak Tetun?]

Alicia2 "It's our mother tongue language"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37526
Location: 26:18.189 – 26:57.622
Duration: 00:39.433
Themes: 1, 2
Context: I asked Alicia, who has travelled and lived abroad extensively, how she describes Tetun to people she meets. She then comments on the larger role of Tetun as the unifying language in the context of a multilingual East Timor.

1	MELODY;	how do you explai:n Tetun,
2		what do you sa:y about it.
3	ALICIA;	I sa:y Tetun is definitely- it's our mother tongue language? (0.3)
4		uh is uh united us because there's thirteen (0.3) district. (0.7)
5		uh twelve district so- a- apart from Dili,
6		that people are coming from this right? (0.3)
7		so: ok thirteen dis- thirteen municipalities (0.8)
8	MELODY;	twelve other districts [@@@@]
9	ALICIA;	[exactly] (0.4)
10		that u:h they have their own dialogue? (0.3)
11		so I have to sort of gi:ve them that perspective.
12		cause you know, (0.3)
13		so: they don't, (0.6)
14		uh cause (0.3) e-even though it- the- the size of the country, (0.7)
15		Tetun it's whe:re (0.6) if I go: to: eastern part, I can speak Tetun?
16		if I go to: western part, I can speak Tetun.

Alicia3 "Don't bother"

Location: 32:12.208 – 32:21.942
Duration: 00:09.734
Themes: 1
Context: Alicia is expressing frustration that the justice system operates in Portuguese and not in Tetun.

1	ALICIA;	it's it's a official language but listen if if you want to talk about justice to me?
2		when I don't understand what you're saying?
3		don't bother.
4		no.

Alicia4 "It's where you belong"

Location: 32:56.661 – 33:36.054
Duration: 00:39.393
Themes: 2
Context: Before this excerpt, Alicia was talking about how a person is expected to learn the language of the country they visit, giving the example of Japan and China. She then turns to small Pacific countries and expresses the disparity between visitors using local languages and locals using international languages. This was used as a segue into why Tetun is valued in Timor.

1	ALICIA;	you know so I think I think it's that it's that it's it's it's it's the ?good Timor-Leste no I think it's very uh the young generation is that they think I mean you know
2		that why Tim- Tetun is important Tetun is is it's it's it's it's it's where you belong you know it's it's your mother tongue language yes we have different dialects but it's
3		it's the language that you can communicate with your other brothers you other sisters you know you you you name it cause in Timor I mean it's very family orientated right
4		family orientated for marriage with other and the only thing that united is that *diak ka lae* you know all day you know and so these these kind of um

Alicia5 "Do you speak English?"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37526
Location: 47:24.251 – 47:44.772
Duration: 00:20.521
Themes: 2
Context: Alicia places a high value on English, and was explaining the role of English in Timor's major trade partners, Indonesia and Singapore. She expresses frustration that Portuguese visiting Timor expect her to speak Portuguese, but they don't speak Tetun. She then expresses more frustration that they won't speak English with her.

1	ALICIA;	where where a Portuguese come to us
2		asked me said like do you speak Portuguese
3		you know what I ask that do you speak Tetun @@
4		he said no
5		I'm like well
6		I don't speak you don't speak my language I don't speak your language
7		do you speak English
8		if you don't speak English then don't talk then then there's no way of cross communication

Alicia6 "They're like oh, it's a pidgin"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37526
Location: 27:50.806 – 28:09.6
Duration: 00:18.794
Themes: 3
Context: I asked Alicia, who has travelled and lived abroad extensively, how she describes Tetun to people she meets. She talked about the historical developments in the country that are still seen in the way Timorese use numbers from Indonesian, Portuguese, and Tetun. She then relates how people react to hearing that, and how she reacts to their reactions.

1	ALICIA;	so that's gives people the idea that like "ah so that is"
2		a lot of people were saying like if I talk to uh what is it PNG they're like
3		"oh it's a pidgin it's like sort of like broken English and Tet- uh" and and I was like
4		"mmm not so
5		not so"
6		it's just it's just be being dominated by this you know

Flora

Flora1 "Children are smart"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37517
Location: 05:47.031 – 06:44.556
Duration: 00:57.524
Themes: 1
Context: Flora is taking me through her language background as an Indonesian who grew up in Timor from the age of three. She speaks Indonesian and an indigenous language of Flores, but she says that she picked up Tetun from friends at school (Tetun speakers will often confuse the English words colleague/classmate/friend because in Tetun these are all called *kolega*). Flora has a background in early childhood development, so she looks at her own language learning here through a development and acquisition lens. Flora is also an outspoken advocate for mother tongue-based early childhood education, and her point at the end of this excerpt is that children with a strong background in their own mother tongue should transition easily to additive bilingualism.

1	MELODY;	do you reme:mber lear:ning Tetun? (1.1)
2		do you remember . coming here-
3	FLORA;	I can- ok-
4	MELODY;	and realizing that . there was something . @different.
5	FLORA;	yeah I mean? (0.3)
6		because my background is like all over so I learn about human development?
7	MELODY;	ah yeah.
8	FLORA;	it is also include, (0.4)
9		languages. (0.3)
10		and now my work is ECCD so . I . know . from the theory but, (0.4)
11		when I- I just . lo- u:h . look back to my developme:nt . uh, (0.5)
12		a:ges? (0.8)
13		uh, (0.3)
14		actually, (1.0)
15		before . cause I grew up here since three years old here? (0.7)
16		what . we spoke at home is Indonesian. (0.4)
17		that's the most I know. (0.4)
18		but then when I go to: . I go to learn in school it's in Indonesian, (0.4)
19		but then . I used to speak Tetun with my kids- uh with my colleagues. (0.6)
20		but- (0.7)
21		because children are sma:rt you know it's very- they pick new languages very easy, (0.4)
22		when their mother tongue is already established [so,]
	MELODY;	[yep]
23	FLORA;	this is why I think it's it's very hard- very easy for me to to transfer . to second languages . and Tetun.

Flora2 "My neighborhood my peers around home also we speak Tetun"

Context: Flora was taking me through her language background and reflecting on her motivations for learning Tetun as a child and how that has changed through her adulthood. She attended a six month course on "Official Tetun", which she describes as difficult, but repeats that speaking it is easy. At the end of this excerpt, Flora reflects on her children's linguistic competence.

1	FLORA;	nobody teach me but then . I: I: have to speak Tetun with them, (0.3)
2	MELODY;	mhm
3	FLORA;	and I li:sten. (0.6)
4		they speak Tetun . and for me Tetun is . quite ea:sy, (0.6)
5		cause you write that you- you read that. (0.8)
6		and it's not like English where it's like . uh pa:st and present tense Tetun's not like that? (0.5)
7		but actually now when I . in my ages- in my ages when I . attend in- . Tetun course? (0.5)
8		it is difficult . but in terms of verbally? (0.3)
9		it- for conversation it's very easy. (0.4)
10		so I think this is- (0.5)
11		the most that I know so, (0.4)
12		and also in my: uh, (1.2)
13		my neighborhood? (0.6)
14		uh my peers . around home also we speak Tetun every day so this is-, (0.6)
15		why I mean . uh . for me it's it's easy, (0.3)
16		now I look at my kids . they also they speak Indonesian? (0.5)
17		they speak Tetun but uh. (0.5)
18		yeah so I mean it's-

Flora3 "To be honest, all Timorese speak Tetun"

Context: I asked Flora, who has travelled extensively for her job, how she describes the language situation in Timor to people she meets. She explains that she first gives information about the country and general multilingualism, but then explains the co-official language policy. In Flora's estimation, all Timorese speak Tetun, which she backs up by citing a percentage. I followed up on this research claim, and she told me she heard it from my boss, the then-Vice Minster of

Education, Dulce Soares (who was likely citing recent census figures). For Flora, Timorese have a closer association with Tetun than Portuguese.

1	FLORA;	I always- I also explain that uh . Timor Leste's like uh, (1.0)
2		presently become a new: . new new country: and it's in Asia:, (0.4)
3		close to Indone:sia and they speak- speak uh, (0.4)
4		Timor Leste speak Tetun. (1.4)
5		I always say Tetun. (0.9)
6		Portugue:se . it's kind of official language . this decide by political but, (0.5)
7		actually to be honest all Timorese speak- (0.6) speak Tetun. (0.6)
8		and u:h there is- I don't know if you know about it there is uh: (0.6) research? (1.0)
9		about uh language using in Timor it's-. (0.7)
10		it's quite high . like ei:ghty:-si:x percent . eighty-five percent speak Tetun.

Flora4 "We use Tetun"
URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37517
Location: 23:41.071 – 24:20.318
Duration: 00:29.247
Themes: 1
Context: This interview took place in an outdoor lounge area outside Flora's office. I was observing to Flora that since I had arrived, I had heard many different languages in use around the office from the multi-national staff. I asked her to explain how language was used in her office, and what she thought the predominant lingua franca was in the office. She gives the example of accommodating to others' linguistic practice (Yana is from Indonesia and Terrence is Irish), as well as the need to encourage English practice, but says that in general everyone prefers Tetun.

1	FLORA;	yeah most of . in Tetun.
2	MELODY;	most in Tetun?
3	FLORA;	sometimes in Bahasa. (0.6)
4		like when I go with Mana Yana I speak Bahasa like- people also go with Mana speak that. (0.6)
5		but when meeting we speak- if there is like Maun Terrence- Maun Terrence like to . ask to speak in Tetun. (0.4)
6		but most of people we use u:h (0.5) English? (0.4)
7		like . community meeting we use English (0.6)
8		als- in my staff meeting we use Tetun but then . I always ask them to speak English, (0.4)
9		to say what they feel this mo:nth were the challenge just- (0.6) so they can practice.

Flora5 "They have to know Tetun first"
URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37517
Location: 27:01.320 – 27:56.837
Duration: 00:55.517
Themes: 1
Context: Flora hardly let me ask this question before providing this answer, indicating that she has a strong opinion on the subject. She has previously spoken proudly that the country director (an Irishman in his late 60s) learned Tetun right away and always encouraged the foreign staff to practice speaking in Tetun. So when I was preparing to ask her what advice she would give to new volunteers in Timor, she immediately said that they should learn Tetun, which, in her view is a practical and easily acquired skill.

1	MELODY;	so if you were going to: give some advice to: like maybe new: volunteers coming from abroad,
2	FLORA;	mm [they have] to know Tetun first.
	MELODY;	[what w-]
3	FLORA;	would you tell them to [learn Tetun]?
		[yeah] learn Tetun. (0.4)
4		because it's ea:sy, (0.4)
5		and it's also it's good for them because when . I speak in Tetun I can . describe more. (0.6)
6		with a detail and more dee- deeper. (1.0)
7		instead of speaking English. (0.4)
8		because . perhaps? (0.5)
9		my English is not really: I mean uh: it's not that yes my English is not really- (0.4)
10		I- I cannot explern- ex- explai:n any more? (0.5)
11		when I speak in Tetun so they need to-
12		at least they understand Tetun they come here they go to the communities they can directly talk to the community (0.7)
13		it's- also it's very: use- sometimes the trans- translation makes som:e (0.4) mistake in terms of understanding perception so if they know Tetun? (0.5)
14		and it- also it's ea:sy to lea:rn @so, (0.6)
15		if it's easy to learn . why: not you just make you, (0.9)
16		increase your capacity also.

Flora6 "Meaning that they love Timor"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37517
Location: 28:55.428 – 29:39.54
Duration: 00:44.112
Themes: 1, 2
Context: Near the end of our interview, Flora and I were talking about how *malae* learn Tetun and why. I asked her is she met a lot of *malae* that speak Tetun and she said that she thinks most

of them try to learn it. I asked her how that made her feel and she was effusive in her approval. This excerpt immediately follows Excerpt 8.

1	MELODY;	how does that make you feel when you meet *malae* that actually speak very good Tetun.
2	FLORA;	yeah that's for me . "wow" I mean, (0.6)
3		it's really like added value: you know and I'm "o:h" , (0.4)
4		meaning that when *malae* want to learn Tetun more . meaning that they love Timor.
5		not- (0.5)
6		it's not mean that . they: don't- the one who can't speak don't but then, (0.5)
7		that per:son know that "ok . if I- I love the country I will be part of the cult- then I should understand at least like, (0.8)
8		genera:l . languages? (0.4)
9		so when people say something like 'we:lcome' . or 'tha:nk you' . or . 'where should I go' this simple I can understand" (1.2)
10		I think most of *malae* when they come here they want to learn Tetun. (0.4)
11		only one or two: just, (0.6)
12		I don't know why but what reason but most of them they want to learn Tetun. (2.1)

Flora7 "Tetun's like the biggest mother tongue"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37517
Location: 26:03.326 – 27:01.242
Duration: 00:57.916
Themes: 2, 5
Context: asked Flora, who has travelled extensively for her job, how she describes Tetun to people she meets. She first describes the general multilingualism in East Timor and then describes how Tetun is a uniting language. Interestingly, she also expresses some insecurity about the grammatical aspects of Tetun, despite her repetition that speaking it is easy.

1	FLORA;	yeah I mean, (0.5)
2		uh, (0.7)
3		because you know like . in Timor we have if- correct me if I'm wrong but thirty: . si:x dialect? (0.5)
4	MELODY;	or something [like that yeah.]
	FLORA;	[yeah something like] that? (0.5)
5		so Tetun is like uh, (1.3)
6		the language which can unite . or-, (0.5)
7		make people connected with each other because like . when in Baucau they speak, (0.6)
8		u:h . Makasae for example in Los Palos speak Fataluku. (0.4)
9		but then they meet they speak Tetun. (0.3)
10	MELODY;	yeah.

11	FLORA;	so Tetun's like . like, (0.5)
12		it's like the bi:ggest mother tongue. (0.5)
13		mother mean- refer to Timor Leste. (0.6)
14		it u:h it's- yeah so I think? (0.4)
15		for me Tetun is uh and- . it is the language I know most. (0.6)
16		so I: I think Tetun is for us is very important? (0.6)
17		the challenge i:s not many people, (0.7)
18		understand in terms of u:h. (0.7)
19		in the: like the high language Tetun like the . grammatical things that we need to learn a lot. (0.4)
20		but for speaking? (0.4)
21		I think you know people understand even small children (0.6)

Flora8 "When we learn the grammatical Tetun"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37517
Location: 28:04.642 – 28:55.428
Duration: 00:50.786
Themes: 3, 4, 5
Context: I asked Flora if she had ever heard anyone talk about needing to 'develop' Tetun and what that might mean. She says right away that she has heard it but that she disagrees. However, she then contradicts herself somewhat in sharing this anecdote of attending a government-sponsored Tetun course. In the course, she explains that she found the writing aspect and the "grammatical Tetun" or "high level" Tetun very difficult. This is either Flora offering a criticism of the way the government is promoting the use of Tetun, or an often-repeated frustration expressed by people who's previously-only-oral language becomes written.

1	MELODY;	or the language needs developing? [do you?]
2	FLORA;	[actually,]
3		I just I disagree because- (0.7)
4		when I talk- in verbal you said it it's just simple. (0.5)
5		but when- in- in the writing I- I attend like six month Tetun course in TimorAid before?
6	MELODY;	[oh really] [six months]
7	FLORA;	[because] [we have yeah] supported by u:h (0.7) EU? (0.7)
8		u:m (0.6) through #####[82] (0.9)
9		uh in that government- uh through government? (0.5)
10		uh Tetun lang- Tetun project about language and i:t i:s ve:ry difficult. (0.8)
11		it is very difficult so, (0.5)
12		people saying that maybe they don't- really understand ho:w when we learn

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[82] *(5 syllables unintelligible)* Someone is opening and closing a door just behind us and it overpowers her speech. If I were speculating, I would say that she named a partner NGO, in which the last two syllables were the Tetun word 'Lokal'.

the- grammatical Tetun we only know like- speak speak is easy. (0.7)

13   but then when come to the: the high level Tetun?

14   yeah. (0.8)

15   I mean, (1.0)

16   why- (2.1)

17   I mean you have to have- big energy to learn that. (1.5)

Joaquim

Joaquim1 "We use Tetun a lot"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37506
Location: 06:46.662 – 07:11.756
Duration: 00:25.094
Themes: 1
Context: Joaquim was taking me through his background and telling me how he learned his carious languages. He doesn't remember learning Tetun, Indonesian, Makasae, or Waima'a, but he can identify various times in his life when each was appropriate. After this excerpt, we talked about language use at his seminary secondary school.

1	JOAQUIM;	because my dad is Waimua and my mom is Makasae.
2	MELODY;	@@ . [perfect].
	JOAQUIM;	[so] yeah. (0.6)
3		u:h but um . most of the time, (1.0)
4		when we communicate uh, (2.1)
5		u:h with our neighbors? (0.4)
6		we tend to u:se Tetun?
7	MELODY;	mhm.
8	JOAQUIM;	yeah . for example like u:h . if with my cousins and stuff? (0.5)
9	MELODY;	yeah?
10	JOAQUIM;	we we use Tetun a lot. (1.2)
11	MELODY;	do you remember lea:rning Tetun? (0.6)
12	JOAQUIM;	no.
13	MELODY;	no . do you remember learning Makasae or Waimoa?
14	JOAQUIM;	no.

Joaquim2 "I feel kind of like secluded"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37506
Location: 33:40.661 – 34:15.042
Duration: 00:34.381
Themes: 1, 2
Context: Joaquim interprets the co-official language policy to mean that he can choose one or the other (despite the fact that he speaks both). In this excerpt, he chooses Tetun, because it's a more connecting language.

1	JOAQUIM;	I thi:nk . I'm more connected . using Te:tun .than Portuguese. (1.0)
2		I feel like, (0.7)
3		because that's the thing, (0.3)
4		you know . only minority . only very little one small one- percent of Timorese population that speak Tetun. (1.2)
5		but if you [have-]

	MELODY;	[that s]peak Tetun?
6	JOAQUIM;	I mean . speak Portuguese. (1.0)
7		so I feel kind of like secluded . you know like . kind of, (2.2)
8		you know: . belong to this: . one percent group and whi:le, (1.2)
9		the vas:t, (0.7)
10		majority of our society . speaks different language I don't wa:nt that. (1.2) I wa:nt to connect with people. (0.6)

Joaquim3 "You have to use the language that they speak"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37506
Location: 41:58.913 – 42:39.878
Duration: 00:40.965
Themes: 1
Context: Joaquim works in anti-corruption, which deals frequently with financial issues. So, he tends to frame policy and governance issues as financial issues as well. In this excerpt, he is explaining the importance of mother tongue early childhood education as a bridge to later literacy in Tetun and Portuguese.

1	JOAQUIM;	because thi:s law, (1.0)
2		you know will . um, (1.6)
3		first of all . give the entitlement to, (0.7)
4		to the kids. (1.0)
5		for example how could you teach Tetun to kids in the rural area? (0.9)
6		because Portu- Tetun is not their first language or Portuguese is not the first language! (1.0)
7		you know you have to u:se the language that they: . they: . speak in order to sp- . to: to explain the concept. (2.6)
8		you know? (0.7)
9		and then . oh- I understand that you know it's going to be more expe:nsive you know . translating . you know all this boo:ks into the local languages, (0.5)
10		but, (0.7)
11		look! (1.0)
12		you want to spend the money? (0.6)
13		to educate your kids or you want to spend the money . for the corrupters.

Joaquim4 "First of all it's not copying and paste what the Portuguese says"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37506
Location: 34:34.668 – 36:12.030
Duration: 01:37.363
Themes: 3, 4

Context: Continuing our conversation about education in local languages, I asked Joaquim if he thought the government values Tetun (perhaps more than the local languages). He didn't think so, and offered his opinion as to how the government could better develop Tetun. After this excerpt, he suggests using Tetun Terik or other varieties of Tetun to replace the Portuguese words that have been borrowed into Tetun Dili.

1	MELODY;	do you think- do you feel like the government values Tetun? (0.8)
2	JOAQUIM;	I don't think so. (0.7)
3	MELODY;	no?
4	JOAQUIM;	given the government policies now no. (0.8)
5	MELODY;	can you talk a little bit about that? (0.5)
6	JOAQUIM;	it's becau:se, (1.8)
7		you know right now, (1.6)
8		all the curriculum is all written in, (0.8)
9		Portuguese. (1.6)
10		if we do really real-, (1.0)
11		value Tetun, (0.5)
12		a:s the official language as it says in the constitution, (0.6)
13		then why don't have curriculum in both languages. (1.5)
14		ok? (0.5)
15		if we wanna produce a book, (1.0)
16		or: . you know a material for a course . why don't you produce in both? (1.5)
17		yeah? (1.0)
18		first . it will facilitate . the students to . understand? (0.8)
19		second? (1.0)
20		you know it- it will be also for the: . teacher . just in case if they have difficulties: . with the Portuguese which some words are like, (0.7)
21		they still have second reference to: . you know another reference that you look up.
22	MELODY;	yeah.
23	JOAQUIM;	a:nd that- that's uh that makes me kind of sad. (0.9)
24		to see how the government, (1.6)
25		doesn't, (0.8)
26		really, (0.5)
27		value . Tetun?
28		because Tetun, (2.2)
29		is- it's a very rich . language. (0.6)
30		ok? (0.6)
31		but the thing is that why: we have to adopt . Portuguese . words. (0.7) just make it sound like Portuguese!
32		I totally-. (0.8)
33		I- I: rea:lly don't I'm uh- I'm uh- I'm uh- not a linguistic . but . you know if in my perspective? (0.6)
34		if government . is really serious . about promoting . Tetun, (1.0)
35		it's first of all. (1.2)

36	not, (0.5)
37	copying and paste what the Portuguese says and, (0.6)
38	make it sound- in- . that sound, (0.8)
39	as similar . in . Tetun.

Jorge

Jorge1 "You need to speak Tetun"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37546
Location: 52:55.81 - 53:15.085
Duration: 00:20.275
Themes: 1
Context: Jorge was taking me through his linguistic background, when I asked him how he learned Tetun. He first explained that it was just something that he acquired naturally, but later he did express some difficulty with it because if he got caught speaking it at school, he would be severely punished by having to salute the Indonesian flag on his knees for the rest of the school day.[83] Outside of school, however, Jorge paints Tetun as an absolute necessity.

1	MELODY;	what about Tetun . when did you start [learning Tetun].
	JORGE;	[Tetu:n], (0.5)
2		we:ll, (0.7)
3		when I got to: kind of a- when I went to:, (0.5)
4		u:h, (1.2)
5		well town people . so called town people . then you need to speak uh . Tetun?
6		and that, (0.4)
7		well . ah Tetun was language of the:, .
8		u:h, (0.5)
9		o:f the Catholic church at that time.
10		so,
11	MELODY;	o:h okay.

Jorge2 "Tetun is our national identity"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37546
Location: 24:02.344 – 24:53.949
Duration: 00:51.605
Themes: 2, 5
Context: There is a lot happening in this excerpt. The 'soft ideology' Jorge refers to in the first line is the that while the government may say that Tetun is to be on equal status with Portuguese, employees are rewarded with salary benefits for taking Portuguese courses, thereby promoting Portuguese over Tetun. He then abruptly switches to what he views as another attempt to undermine the legitimacy of Tetun as the national language. An article had recently been posted on Lusophonia (an online news portal for Portuguese-speaking countries) that greatly irritated Jorge, such that he brought it up a few times during our interview. This article argues that

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[83] I heard this same anecdote from 4 other participants who were all about the same age; an ANU colleague who catalogs incidents of human rights abuses perpetrated by the Indonesians in East Timor and West Papua says that this is "absolutely" considered torture by human rights watchdogs.

"Timorese nationalism was born in Portugal", and that Tetun was a Portuguese-based creole. Here he explains that Tetun is part of Timorese identity, and that labeling it a Portuguese-based creole diminished that identity. He admonishes "Portuguese in Timor" for promoting and politicizing this idea, hinting at the fragility of a Timorese identity that is still being negotiated. After this excerpt he expresses frustration at the variety of Tetun heard at the parliamentary level, calling for a corpus study to show "what kind of Tetun they are promoting in Timor".

1	JORGE;	so: . that's sort of kind of u:m, . u:m:, (1.6)
2		so:ft . ideology: . in place etcetera etcetera . say that "well oh Tetun is- is no good", (0.5)
3		but a one other thing is that- that they even think that uh . Tetun? (0.8)
4		or even Portuguese in Timor, (0.3)
5		Tetun? (0.7)
6		we need to have a kind of Tetun li:ke . *Kabuverdianu* which is kind of a creole. (0.3)
7		and uh in- in the kind of Po:rtugue:se . speaking countries' . kind of, (0.8)
8		web portal . L- Lusophone or Lusophone? (0.6)
9		says that Tetun is a creole of Portuguese! (1.4)
10		if that's the ca:se, (0.5)
11		then we:ll, (0.3)
12		it has a lot of uh kind of political: kind of implicat[ions u:h] for that as well. (0.6)
13	MELODY;	[yeah.]
14	JORGE;	in Timor people will- (0.8)
15		we are really be very proud saying that "Tetun is our national identity .
16		marker of uh national iden- identity" etcetera.
17		but if it is a creole? (1.0)
		well: . it- it- it- . it depends.

Jorge3 "Index of national identity"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37546
Location: 34:16.519 – 34:42.891
Duration: 00:26.372
Themes: 2, 5
Context: Jorge is again expressing anxiety over what he views as attacks on the legitimacy of Timorese identity. Before this excerpt, Jorge was telling me which of the people in powerful parliamentary and education positions had received a formal Portuguese education. Jorge has a few false starts and repairs that make this excerpt somewhat difficult to follow. In his first turns, he says that Tetun us used as an index of national identity. After my utterance, he again expresses anxiety that there are people in Timor who believe that Tetun is a Portuguese-based creole, and that this ideology undermines the legitimacy of Timorese identity.

1	JORGE;	I mean Po:rtuguese?
2		I mean Tetun is now the use as kind of used as index of nationa- national

		identity or whatever. (0.3)
3	MELODY;	hm. .
4	JORGE;	but um . to some point it is Portugue:se . because, (0.9)
5		u:h, (0.6)
6		Por- (0.6)
7		to so:me . Portuguese is already a creole of of- uh- Tetun is already a creole of Portuguese, (0.3)
8		and, (0.4)
9		there was also other literature saying "we:ll to some point nationalism . of Timor is made in Portugal". (0.8)
10		that is wei:rd. [but I:] read that, (0.5)
	MELODY;	[@oh @]
11	JORGE;	"well I don't understand".

Jorge4 "When we talk about Tetun, that's about people of Timor"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37546
Location: 59:19.981 – 59:19.689
Duration: 00:59.708
Themes: 2
Context: I asked Jorge, who has travelled and lived abroad extensively, how he describes Tetun to people he meets. In this excerpt, he describes "Tetun" as a Timorese ethnonym similar to English. He then amusingly suggests that if he were in a more powerful position, he would call it "Timoriana". After this excerpt, he explains his understanding of the historical development of Tetun as a vehicle of Catholicism.

1	MELODY;	how do you explai:n Tetun . to them . what do you say about it. (1.3)
2	JORGE;	u:h @@. (0.4)
3	MELODY;	h@@@, (0.3)
4	JORGE;	u:h, (0.3)
5		well I would say that li-, (0.4)
6		u:h, (0.7)
7		like, (0.5)
8		language of u:h, (1.2)
9		well if like ethnonym . Tetun as a ethnonym . the na:me . that is attached to:, (0.4)
10		to the people . ca:lled Timor . collective . people called Timor so, (0.5)
11		like English, (0.5)
12		the language of the pe- people of England is English? (1.8)
13		so we ha:ve . our own language . th- language of Timor is called Tetun! (1.0)
14		if I had? (0.3)
15		if I had any good position I may not call it as Tetun or maybe Timor- . *Timoria:na* or whatever but, .
16		for the time being? (0.7)
17		it is called Tetun. (1.1)

18	MELODY;	ok, (0.8)
19	JORGE;	yeah. (0.3)
20		so. language? (1.1)
21		u:h. (0.9)
22		is . language, (1.1)
23		kind of, (0.3)
24		bea:rs . uh kind of the identity of the people as well so? (0.7)
25		u:h. (0.3)
26		whe:n we talk about Tetun? (0.3)
27		tha:t's about people of Ti:mor.

Jorge5 "Puzzling"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37546
Location: 01:01:04.939 – 01:02:01.203
Duration: 00:56.264
Themes: 3, 5
Context: As is normal for Jorge, he talks through several ideas in this excerpt. In his first few turns, he expresses anxiety and confusion that some people consider Tetun to be a Portuguese-based creole, continuing the thread of an idea he has been returning to occasionally throughout this interview. He then presents his own evidence that Tetun is a relative of other Austronesian languages that he is familiar with, presenting similar vocabulary from Tagalog and Javanese. Then, he takes on an affected Portuguese accent of someone who is critical of the existing numerals in Tetun and is 'developing' it to match Portuguese to make the point that language policy does not necessarily dictate language use. This is a marked divergence from other participants, who view language development as a deliberate intervention that must be assimilated to.

1	JORGE;	well to say that Tetun for instance is creole of Po:rtuguese, (1.8)
2		that is a bit kind of uh, (1.1)
3		it is a bit kind of u:h . puzzling. (0.7)
4		well the- (0.3)
5		so . wha:t? (0.4)
6		so Tetun is Port- is from Portugal? (0.3)
7		I don't think so? (0.4)
8		then why: we should- . we still say *ma:nu* . in Timor *ma:nu* in Tagalog *ma:nu* in Ja:wa, (0.5)
9		Javanese, (0.9)
10		*ano:i bab:i baba:i . ma:ne* etcetera . *lima:*, (0.7)
11		why would we do-, (0.5)
12		well "we could oh well we could ca- count this word *sinku* . we want a *si:nku . dolar si:nku . kuatru si:nku . tão bom*". (0.4)
13		@but @@ (0.3)
14		well: it wi:ll take time (0.6)
15		but u:h (3.5)

16		language yeah.
17	MELODY;	yeah, [@@]
18	JORGE;	kind of [has his own] its own history as well, (0.3)
19		and language travels with the people. (0.8)
21		so you cannot deny it, (1.2)
21		language policy cannot it- simply cannot era:se . erase it. (0.5)
22		make it like a *tabula rasa:*.

Jorge6 "That's not official"

Context: I asked Jorge to explain what he views as the role of INL in Timor. He replies that it is nominally supposed to be promoting languages and cultures of East Timor, but that in practice they tend to focus on Portuguese and, to a lesser degree, Tetun. He then gives some reasons that Tetun is difficult to promote, emphasizing that not even government officials are using "Official Tetun". After this excerpt, Jorge explains that he's familiar with Official Tetun from his work as a translator. This familiarity emboldened Jorge to criticize INL's "anti-language language policy" in some articles he published ten years ago, but that he would not repeat those sentiments publicly under today's auspices. It is interesting that Jorge would criticize others' use of "official Tetun" here, since he doesn't wholeheartedly support its promotion.

1	JORGE;	I gue:ss . it's a bit uh- ha:rd . to: to promote Tetun and that, (0.6)
2		there is kind of a, (0.5)
3		weak . reception of: . Tetun promoted by INL itself. (0.7)
4		for instance if you read, (0.5)
5		uh, (1.7)
6		you have been . in Timor for quite a lot . of time and if you read Tetun, (0.8)
7		by: . for instance government official- officials . officials like, (0.9)
8		uh: minister of finance . former minister of finance Amelia Pi:res . you understand the way: (0.5)
9		they:, (0.5)
10		uh she:, (0.7)
11		she writes in Tetun, (0.6)
12		it's a lot of uh, (1.0)
13		that's not uh-, (1.0)
14		uh . in line with the . um, (0.5)
15		kind of uh Tetun, (0.8)
16		standard Tetun? .
17	MELODY;	Tetun *ofisial*?
18	JORGE;	Tetun *ofisial*, (0.5)
19		and you see recently also, (0.6)
20		uh respo:nse written response of Xana:na: . uh . to the question by Timor Po:-

	Timor Post I guess, (0.4)
21	in relation to: court case, (1.5)
22	uh, (0.4)
23	that's not . official?

Jorge7 "Anti-language language policy"

Context: Jorge mentioned earlier in this interview that he had been critical of what he called INL's "anti-language language policy". I asked him if he could explain that idea to me in more depth. He tells me that the policy to remove Indonesian goes against the established cultural tradition of code-mixing in Timor, and that it isn't the youth's fault that they use Indonesian. It is anti-language in the sense that it seeks to reduce people's extant linguistic resources based on a political ideology.

1	JORGE;	what I sai:d . what I meant by la- anti-language language policy is that-
2	MELODY;	yeah tell me more about th[at]
	JORGE;	[u:]h . well? (0.4)
3		in certain documents that if you rea:d even dictionary etcetera it said that well . "try to take out Indonesians . from young peo- young Timorese minds". (1.0)
4		you . cannot . talk about that. (0.8)
5		u:h . if you- if you- if you: . at least, (0.8)
6		if you o:h, (0.9)
7		you know that we in Timor we use . code-mi:xing . uh . code-swi:tching a lot . and uh, (1.3)
8		it's not the- . it's not a young people's . kind of problem. (0.7)
9		I may understand it in the sense that uh #er#ber#i#an[84] . concept that uh well . "as a nation we need to be . uh to have o:ne language on:e, (0.8)
10		maybe one traditi:on:, .
11	MELODY;	@@
12	JORGE;	o:n:e, (1.6)
13		language etcetera" but? (0.8)
14		well . we: also understand that- that uh, (0.3)
15		to- . the world now . we are living in a globalized uh . u:h:, (1.8)
16		world? (0.3)
17		which mea:ns that uh: . to some point? (0.5)
18		language is . dynamic . language i:s, (0.6)
19		uh . i:s: . bo:rderless.

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[84] I feel fairly confident that this word is "Weberian", with some spoonerisms, referring to Max Weber's re-conceptualization of Marx's theory of social stratification, in which Weber reflects on the importance of linguistic and cultural cohesion (Weber 1991:175).

Jorge8 "I was a bit kind of surprised"

Location: 15:51.632 – 18:31.016
Duration: 02:39.384
Themes: 3, 4, 5
Context: Expanding on his criticisms of INL's "anti-language language policy", Jorge explains how he formed that opinion and what he sees as the consequences of the policy. First he explains that the idea to remove Indonesian from "young Timorese minds" is rooted in the idea that Portuguese is preferred by the government. He then explains that the devaluation of Tetun as an "aiding language" because it is "still poor" was met with resistance. This resistance stemmed from the difficulty of learning a new language, but also from the perception that these decisions were not made democratically, or with the people's best interests at heart. Jorge finishes this excerpt by sharing an anecdote of a time that he and an unnamed Australian friend were critical of INL's approach to Tetun orthography. Jorge affects the voice of the director, Benjamin [Corte-Real] to imitate his defensive response to this criticism.

1	JORGE;	uh so: I was a bit conc- sur- uh surprised when they s- "try uh to take out Indonesian o:ne" and then-, (0.3)
2		and- the- the di:re conclusion of . that eh was . u:h, (0.8)
3		and I did- I didn't agree was that, (0.4)
4		in order to speak better Tetun first of all you need to- to speak better uh . to
5		speak uh . to speak Portuguese.
6		so that was the reason why Portuguese was [promo]ted, (0.7)
	MELODY;	[huh]
7	JORGE;	first time, (0.4)
8		uh . instead of ah . Tetun.
9	MELODY;	MELODY;: so that was their view was-
10	JORGE;	Jorge: that- that was their view, (0.3)
11		and uh . it i:s still their view . and it . not only the . uh INL's view but, (0.3)
12		a:lso, (0.5)
13		u:h . people in the government's view . that Tetun . ah can only . be helping . aiding language etcetera, (0.4)
14		a:h . Tetun itself for- some people even say that, (0.4)
15		u:h Tetun: . is still poor etcetera. (0.6)
16		uhm, (1.1)
17		but uh, (0.9)
18		uh, (1.8)
19		that was the view and I- I don't- I don't agree with that . and uh, (0.6)
20		but it is- it is taking place now in Timor . that uh in order to- to speak better . uh Tetun . first . learn Po:rtuguese so? (0.3)
21		they, (0.8)
22		uh, (0.3)
23		predominantly, (0.4)

24		u:h, (0.5)
25		promote, (0.4)
26		uh, (0.4)
27		Portuguese in a such a way, (0.8)
28		um . kind of uh . oblige . kind of people to- to learn it? (1.5)
29		and then, (0.9)
30		u:h, (1.7)
31		there is a kind of a resistance . uh . from the people as well because, (1.8)
32		uh . it is- it is- uh it is ha:rd. (0.5)
33		learning language is not that uh- . that uh- . simple that- uh, (0.5)
34		easy, (0.6)
35		uh, (0.5)
36		so that- that was the point . and uh, (1.4)
37		u:h, (2.1)
38		u:h, (1.1)
39		for the:m, (0.3)
40		u:h,(1.2)
41		Portuguese . should be: . u:h . taught first. (0.7)
42		not [Tetun].
	MELODY;	[for INL]?
43	JORGE;	yea:h . u:h . so:, (0.7)
44		I think in: . even though- even recently, (0.4)
45		they recruited s- a lot of- people I mean teachers to- to tea:ch Por- Portuguese but not Tetun right? (0.3)
46	MELODY;	mhm? (0.3)
47	JORGE;	u:h, (0.9)
48		u:h, (1.0)
49		well this is kind of um . language policy and planning that is not . so . neatly . do:ne democratically done, (0.6)
50		and even in the . orthography itself. (1.2)
51		u:h one ti:me . u:h . together with a . kind of an Australian friend we talk about kind of . orthography that should be open etcetera, (0.7)
52		you know uh should be . democratic should be . up- uh bottom-up, (0.5)
53		not uh- ins- instead of top-down? (0.8)
54		and u:h, (0.8)
55		director . I mean, (1.0)
56		of u:h INL? (0.5)
57		he knows me . uh I think also . Benjamin saying that, (1.2)
58		"there is no: su:ch . blah blah blah blah" . yeah.
59	MELODY;	@ . not happy huh?
60	JORGE;	yeah@@ . very- a bit kind of des- defensive.

Jorge9 "Tetunguese"

Location: 40:15.07 – 40:41.209
Duration: 00:26.139
Themes: 3, 4
Context: Jorge is expressing his opinion that Tetun is becoming more like Portuguese because INL isn't doing enough research to add to its vocabulary. He calls it "Tetunguese" (Tetun + Portuguese), comparing it to Spanglish and Taglish. This is interesting considering his firm viewpoint that Tetun is not a Portuguese-based creole, indicating that he may blame INL for perpetuating this stereotype.

1	JORGE;	I prefer to call it Tet- Tetunguese . cause it's Tetun: . with a lot of kind of . heavy:, (0.6)
2		lexicon of uh Portuguese? (1.2)
3		but um:, (0.3)
4		INL should do this . by, (0.9)
5		uh:, (1.7)
6		making a lot of research, (1.)
7		but uh . they are kind of confined themselves to:, (0.9)
8		u:h: . saying that "if there is no Tetun Terik then we . go for Portuguese". (1.0)

Jorge10 "Put a kind of economic label on it"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37546
Location: 44:50.536 – 45:29.637
Duration: 00:39.101
Themes: 3, 4
Context: Jorge is explaining to me his idea of how to raise the status Tetun in East Timor by providing the example of Indonesia. Before this excerpt, he was expressing that young people are still learning Indonesian because they see it as providing opportunities for secondary and post-secondary study in Indonesia, which is considered more rigorous and prestigious than in East Timor. He says that they also see that Indonesian has an economic benefit because the products that are imported into Indonesia must have Indonesian language labels, thereby creating translation jobs. Jorge expresses his view that if INL were really invested in promoting Tetun, then they would engage in these sorts of activities.

1	JORGE;	language is a problem. (1.2)
2		so they start to realize that well, (1.6)
3		"Eng- Indonesian is important"! (1.5)
4		but, (0.8)
5		basic commodities . noo:dles ri:ce . etcetera, (1.0)
6		u:h . even sm- . very- . kind of instructions . are all Indonesian, (0.3)
7		i:f, (0.8)
8		INL is working hard. (0.6)
9		e:ven . they do for- they wo:rk hard, (2.2)
10		well . say . for instance, (0.3)
11		"every instruction should be: . written in Tetun" and by: that they raise the status

of Tetun? (1.2)

| 12 | and u:h . put a kind of economic . label on it? (0.8) |
| 13 | that everythi:ng that comes into Timor should be translated into Te:tun for instance. |

Jorge11 "Because it is strengthened by the government decree"
URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37546
Location: 11:25.017 – 12:17.31
Duration: 00:52.293
Themes: 4
Context: I asked Jorge to explain the differences between the different varieties of Tetun. Instead of giving me structural examples (which, as a Tetun Terik speaker himself, I'm sure he's quite capable of doing), he explains their political differences. He explains to me that the predominant version of Tetun is "INL Tetun" because it has the backing of a government decree. Unfortunately we lost the thread of this conversation before I could ask any follow up questions or get an idea of the political standing of the other versions of Tetun. Given his background in language policy and planning, it is not surprising that Jorge would interpret my question in this way, but it is interesting and probably not a common reaction.

1	JORGE;	at certain point I- when I was there I- I wrote kind of articles, (0.3)
2		and when I revisited it again I thought "well. (0.6)
3		that may be still relevant" [but I wouldn't] say that again under, (0.7)
	MELODY;	[@@]
4	JORGE;	current- kind of um environment or auspices. (0.6)
5		u:m I would say- at that time I said like- "a:h", (1.8)
6		two thousand six- something two thousand five, (0.7)
7		"anti-language language policy". @ (0.3)
8		u:h (1.2)
9		u:h [@]@@
	MELODY;	[@@]
10	JORGE;	etcetera but um (0.4)
11	MELODY;	can you talk a little bit about that- about the:, (0.4)
12		the INL versus sort of- the other [versions-]
13	JORGE;	[yeah] we have a lot of- kind of uh ver- ver- kind of ve:rsions of Tetun.
14		uh but uh the pro- predominant one is INL? (0.8)
15		u:h because it is u:h strengthened by the: government decree?
16		uh I think two thousan:d u:h (0.4) four? (1.0)
17		number one or number fourteen I am not so sure.

Jorge12 "Status planning"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37546
Location: 21:33.226 – 23:14.109
Duration: 01:40.883

Themes: 4

Context: I asked Jorge to explain an earlier comment he made about "development and promotion" of Tetun. I told him that I heard people often talk about developing Tetun and wondered what it could mean. Instead of speculating on what the Timorese-at-large might have in mind when it comes to 'development', Jorge explicitly outlines a 4-stage language development plan, including status planning, corpus planning, policy planning, and acquisition planning. Given Jorge's background in language policy and planning, this is unsurprising, but is a very atypical Timorese response to this question. While Jorge's steps are also deliberate interventions, they are much more detailed and less focused on the shortcomings of vocabulary or orthography that other interview participants expressed. At the end of this excerpt, he somewhat sarcastically says 'you can see how well *that* has worked' (paraphrased) and we both laugh.

1   MELODY;   can I ask you what you mean when you say development of Tetun cause I do hear people talk about that a lot [Tetun needing deve:lopment].

2   JORGE;   [yeah development in:] terms of . well when we talk about in terms of language policy and planning, (0.3)

3   if uh at fi- at first if- for language- planning itself there are kind of . three or four: . stages ar:e, (0.3)

4   involved right one is kind of . um . statu:s . status planning you need to- to work a lot on status to, (0.5)

5   try to make the status of Tetun for instance and other local language in such a way . at least . in the constitu:tion or other la:ws . etcetera, (0.3)

6   but that's not enough . it should be: . in the schoo:l etcetera (0.7)

7   and then after that . corpus pla:nning right you need to have a lot of boo:ks . u:h etcetera, (0.4)

8   u:h (0.3)

9   MELODY;   thank you: perfe:ct?

10   JORGE;   standard . orthography: . etcetera etcetera and then you need to have kind of materials. (0.8)

11   u:h like acquisition planning. (0.4)

12   u:h, (0.4)

13   or language in education policy. (0.7)

14   u:h, (0.6)

15   uh when it u:h . you you . deci:de . you put in the constitution that the language- . that Tetun is an official la:nguage a national la:nguage other languages are . uh . seen as official language then you need to have, (0.5)

16   to have a clea:r policy whether . these language a:re uh just uh . u:sed . in um a kind of family domai:n social domain or even educational setting as well.

17   (0.5)

18   and you . eh if: . you put that in a schoo:l you you teach it in a school? (0.3)

19   it's- it's kind of part of, (0.7)

20   so an official language and there should be you: . you need to have a kind of

21   acquisition la- . kind of uh . planning in place, (0.3) um, (0.6)

22   you need to have a uh graded . uh reading for insta:nce . or reading etcetera

	etcetera across . disciplines . and u:h, .
23	from- even from ki:ndergarten preschoo:l up to university, (0.3)
24	you need to have tho- those in place and, (0.3)
25	uh, (0.6)
26	uh, (0.3)
27	I: think you have seen it by yourse:lf . whether it- . whether they do have all these in place.

Jorge13 "Just go to Tetun one"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37546
Location: 31:11.751 – 31:31.747
Duration: 00:19.996
Themes: 5
Context: Jorge was explaining that education and political involvement were very stratified based on economic lines. If you can afford to send you children to a Portuguese school or English school then they will be more successful. Jorge relegates the Tetun medium school to the bottom of the economic, political, and educational spectrum in East Timor, pausing on placing special emphasis on the fact that children *just* go there.

1	JORGE;	for those who cannot afford . to: . send their scho- children to: . Portuguese- either Portugue:se or . Portuguese medium, (0.5)
2		or . English medium, (0.5)
3		just go to Tetun one that- . which is public . [but], (0.5)
	MELODY;	[mhm]
4	JORGE;	the infrastructure is very bad, (0.4)
5		tea:chin:g . is very bad, (0.5)
6		teachers a:re not well trained . etcetera. (1.6)

Jorge14 "Tell Jorge to…"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37546
Location: 12:41.338 – 13:21.886
Duration: 00:40.548
Themes: 3
Context: Before this excerpt, Jorge was explaining some of the nuances of various types of laws in East Timor, especially those related to language policy and his view that there are still conflicting orthographies used for Tetun Dili because the government decree related to this was "weak". After the excerpt, Jorge laments that the INL is, in his view, strongly influenced by Portuguese-favoring language policies. He expresses concerns that some of the people involved in INL are also affiliated with *Instituto Camoes*, an institution created for the promotion of Portuguese language and culture worldwide, a situation which Jorge describes as a 'conflict of interest'.

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1    MELODY;   yeah decree laws don't seem to have a lot of:  [teeth].
2    JORGE;                                                   [yeah ]
3    MELODY;   they don't seem very   [stro:ng           ].
4    JORGE;                           [yeah decree law] is stronger, (0.3)
5              government decrees is very- kind of- is weaker, (0.6)
6              and u:h (1.4)
7              and uh it- it- was not very- detailed. (0.3)
8              u:m that everyone has to- write every- according to that and uh it, (0.4)
9              I was a bit kind of uh surprised when: some friends visited u:h Timor by u:h I
              think at that time I think two thousand five?
10             something?
11             and then it- (0.7)
12             my- a fo:rme:r uh . kind of professor- university professor at that time, (0.3)
13             well "tell Jorge to talk- to write Tetun according to INL standard".
14             I said uh well, "who the: who the hell am I: so that he's very- that's he's
              concerned abou:t me- my Tetun?" but uh- .
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Kane

Kane1 "Dude"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37489
Location: 17:37.441 – 17:59.034
Duration: 00:21.593
Themes: 1
Context: Kane and I were discussing the co-official language policy (and its practical realities), and I asked him if there were any changes that Timorese might like to see. He offered this one right away, with the implication that the lack of Tetun in actual governance hinders involvement.

1	KANE;	dude we will like- every important document in the government level we will write everything in Tetun to make it understandable
2		like I'm Timorese I'm pure Timorese but if you give me the legal document for the government I won't understand it because you need it-
3		most of them in Portuguese

Kane2 "It shows respect to us"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37489
Location: 16:55.669 – 17:18.254
Duration: 00:22.585
Themes: 2
Context: I had just asked Kane if he knew any foreigners who learned Tetun and what his thoughts were about it when he gave the response in this excerpt below. After this excerpt, he also recounted a story of another foreigner who had learned his friend's mother tongue and expressed that it pleased everyone very much.

1	KANE;	it makes me feel good because that- that shows that they respect our identity? (0.5)
2		and- (1.1)
3		and I'm not- I'm not upset either when they don't learn Tetu:n but, if they do? (0.4)
4		it- it shows respect to us. (0.2)
5		and it just- yeah. (0.8)
6		a:nd that means they also, (0.6)
7		value the identity we ha:ve and, (0.4)
8		it's good to appreciate what- (0.5) our- (0.3) I mean oth- other people's identity.

Kane3 "You should watch your language"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37489
Location: 22:47.319 – 23:44.279
Duration: 00:56.96
Themes: 3
Context: At the end of our interview, I asked Kane to summarize the language situation in five words. One of the words he chose was 'barriers', and I asked him if he could expand on that. He provided me with a couple of examples of how his communication style had changed since completing his undergraduate degree and returning to Timor. In the excerpt below, he expresses a small amount of disdain for the need for honorifics, and considers it a barrier. At the same time, he positions his friend as *also* being concerned about creating barriers by *not* using the honorifics.

1	KANE;	and then one day I helped one of my friends giving the training and I I talk to them as if I was talking in English but in Tetun
2		I say like 'you' not *ita boot* or *senyor* but I say *imi*
3		and I think they were ok but my friend was felt so uncomfortable my my friend felt so uncomfortable about it and then after we left my friend say like "I think next time you should watch your language" I was like
4		"oh why what" and like
5		"you say *imi* and it just changes their facial expression"
6		like "what's wrong with that"
7		and like "you know you have to say you should use *ita boot* or *senyors*"
8		and that really reminds me that ok I am in Timor I have to keep that status and like mention their status
9		in communication

Kane4 "We have to admit that Tetun is not perfect"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37489
Location: 14:47.383 – 15:05.224
Duration: 00:17.841
Themes: 3
Context: Our conversation had just turned to which language the government should be focusing on for the future of East Timor. Kane was firmly on the side of Tetun, but admitted that older people were likely to disagree, and then he offered the following explanation as to why (and how to overcome the shortcomings). While we were discussing this topic, Kane even said that he "didn't mind that it's recorded" before expressing his opinion, which gives some insight into just how contentious the Portuguese/Tetun relationship can be.

1	KANE;	and and like just I mean we have to admit that that Tetun is not that perfect yet and I think it's ok to borrow the language I mean the words from other languages because every language is is doing that I mean every language is doing that so why don't we do that

Kane5 "It's just like the colloquial Tetun"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37489
Location: 23:45.652 – 24:12.219
Duration: 00:26.567
Themes: 5
Context: At the end of our interview, I asked Kane to summarize the language situation in five words. On of the words he chose was 'barriers', and I asked him if he could expand on that. He provided me with a couple of examples of how his communication style had changed since completing his undergraduate degree and returning to Timor, and then he transitioned into talking about how Tetun itself can create barriers which make him feel insecure.

| 1 | KANE; | and and also like in in Tetun it's like Tetun that we we speak every day just it's like the colloquial Tetun and the formal Tetun is like has that so many Portuguese words and I |
| 2 | | I personally don't really know many of those words so sometimes I have a hard time to express what I want in Tetun and I have to use Indonesian or English so yeah yeah that's about language |

Kane6 "It's not [submit], it's [submit]"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37489
Location: 24:42.626 – 25:20.304
Duration: 00:37.678
Themes: 3, 5
Context: At the end of our interview, I asked Kane to summarize the language situation in five words. On of the words he chose was 'barriers', and I asked him if he could expand on that. He provided me with a couple of examples of how his communication style had changed since completing his undergraduate degree and returning to Timor, and then he transitioned into talking about how Tetun itself can create barriers which make him feel insecure. In this excerpt, he gives a specific example of being frustrated by the Portuguese-borrowed vocabulary.

1	KANE;	oh so there's a word *desiminasaun*
2		it's like 'dissemination'
3		and *submete* is 'submit'
4		I don't know where they got this word from but
5		like submit they say *submete* and *evalasaun dezempenyo* the oh or 'performance assessment'
6		I didn't know these those words until I started my job and I talked to people I say like
7		"*hau*," like "*oinsaa mak sira hatama sira nia proposal*" [how do they submit their proposals?]

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8   and they're like "what is oh, *la'os* '*hatama*' [it's not 'submit'] it's '*submete*' [submit]"
9   I'm like "what the heck is *submete*"

Kika

Kika1 "Tetun is my mother tongue"

Location: 04:58.604 – 06:04.964
Duration: 01:05.806
Themes: 1, 2
Context: Kika is taking me through her language background when she tells me several interesting things. First, she tells me without hesitation that Tetun is her mother tongue, then explains how this happens. Then she shares an anecdote of her mother "losing" her own mother tongue of Tetun Terik because she moved away from a Tetun Terik-speaking area and that it was replaced with Tetun. This is interesting because Maliana is not typically considered a place where Tetun Dili is the main linguistic code (it is either Bunak or Kemak); so, that Kika's mother's mother tongue was replaced with Tetun Dili even with her background in Tetun Terik and outside of a Tetun Dili speaking area is surprising. She then explains that even though her father speaks Kemak, his job as a religious teacher presumably biased his language habits in the home toward Tetun and Portuguese. She finishes this excerpt by explaining Tetun is her mother tongue and that although she knows Indonesian as well, she only spoke up to the point that she began to feel insecure about it.

1	KIKA;	yeah- basically at home we speak Tetun?
2		Tetun is my: mother tongue? (0.6)
3		even though it's like my: mo:ther is from Manatutu? (0.6)
4		she's supposed to speak Tetun Terik but she didn't cause from Manatutu she moved to Maliana? (0.6)
5		so she lost her English:. (0.3)
6		oh sh:e lost her: . mother tongue which is Tetun Terik? (0.5)
7		and my father is- . Kemak my father's Kemak but, (1.1)
8		he's not- he's li- like the um, (0.7)
9		he was the:, (0.4)
10		religious teacher so. (0.7)
11		we didn't speak . Kemak at all, .
12		but I- I can understand Kemak because, (0.5)
13		I'm: like when I was little I was surrounded by Kemak people like auntie: grandpare:nts a:nd the- friends they speak so?
14		so: I: . I don't speak Kemak but I: . understand Kemak a little bit (0.3) yeah. (0.7)
15		so, (0.7)
16		Tetun is my mother tongue and then when I went to: (0.8) start my: kindergarten in Indonesian time I start to learn a bit of (1.2) Bahasa but only up to:, (0.6)
17		grade fi:ve or si:x? (0.5)
18		re# I'm- I was brave to speak Bahasa? (0.6)
19		because of course that is not your: (1.2) language?

Kika2 "People really like our country"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37509
Location: 30:48.613 – 30:56.516
Duration: 00:07.903
Themes: 2
Context: I asked Kika how it made her feel when she met *malae* who speak Tetun very well. She expressed her pleasure and smiled while she delivered the following excerpt, and ended it with a chuckle. Kika's obvious happiness and her relating Tetun to "liking our country" expressed her believe in the strength of the relationship between Tetun and Timorese identity.

1	KIKA;	you feel like . "wow you can speak u:h this Tetun."
2		and suddenly you feel like "oh maybe this: . this: . people really like our country"?
3		something @like @that @?

Kika3 "They're using Tetun"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37509
Location: 15:02.778 – 15:29.205
Duration: 00:26.427
Themes: 1, 3
Context: Kika is expressing frustration that the government promotes the use of Portuguese but then they don't use it themselves. She shares the anecdote that on television and in person, the council of ministers and the members of parliament use Tetun to discuss and debate.

1	KIKA;	because you can notice like in the parliament? (0.8)
2		in the council of minister? (0.6)
3		who use Portuguese for their discussion (1.0)
4		nothing. (0.5)
5	MELODY;	I don't know. (0.5)
6	KIKA;	who? (0.3)
7		nothing because- I- I- I- we saw fr- from TV,
8		we didn't go to the council of ministers. (0.6)
9		but was saw from tv, (0.4)
10		and in the parliament sometimes you go there. (0.3)
11		and you can see that (0.5) no discussion in- (0.60 using Portuguese,
12	MELODY;	they're using Tetun? (0.3)
13	KIKA;	yeah it's in Tetun

Kika4 "Languages develop"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37509
Location: 20:50.09 – 21:29.514
Duration: 00:39.424
Themes: 3, 4
Context: I told Kika that sometimes I hear people talk about the need to 'develop' Tetun and asked her what that might mean. She responds matter-of-factly that "languages develop" and then explains that borrowings and influences from other languages are natural. This is a significant departure from the other participants who view vocabulary development as a deliberate process. Kika's main issues with development stem from her fundamental disagreement with the orthography system introduced by INL.

MELODY;	1	do you have any idea about what people mean when they say develop . like develop Tetun? (0.7)
KIKA;	2	I think languages develop. (0.8)
	3	so. (0.4)
	4	it's not something that Tetun is not develop of course influenced by uh- like the one or two words influenced by the- (0.3) other language I think it is something normal in language development.
	5	but of course to develop something that they have to do. (0.4)
	6	if you don't do that, (1.0)
	7	you have to- you have- since you- since you're born in Timor Leste we have our Tetun already something exist already. (0.3)
MELODY;	8	MELODY; yeah.
KIKA;	9	so how can we put that in writing? (0.7)
	10	then we just- we just have to develop, (0.6)
	11	but of course it have to be based on the right orthography (1.7)

Kika5 "But of course you're not allowed"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37509
Location: 22:41.25 – 23:16.782
Duration: 00:35.532
Themes: 3
Context: Kika is expressing frustration with figuring out how to transition the UNESCO mother tongue program into the Ministry of Education's reformed curriculum. UNESCO uses a phonetic correspondence orthography based on the principle of "one symbol, one sound", but the MoE uses the INL orthography. Kika worries that students trained to read phonetically in the UNESCO schools will apply the same principle to the INL orthography when they introduce Tetun, which is not consistently phonetic (as she illustrates).

1	KIKA;	then when you come back to Tetun, (0.4)
2		you find that "oh my god now how can I teach the stu:dents", (0.6)
3		because this- this orthography is deve:lop . I think it's like, (0.7)

4	many of the words is not consistent and is . contradict with the principle of one symbol one sound. (0.3)
5	uh one sound one symbol so yeah. (1.1)
6	we try to:- we want to simplify that but . of course you're not allowed because: . the decree law say that we have to follow everything based on, (0.9)
7	INL so:,
8	I think in the future the- (0.5) mother ton:gue children will, (1.1)
9	instead of saying '*hau*' . they will say '*ha'u*'.

Kika6 "Instead of doing research"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37509
Location: 23:28.653 – 24:03.971
Duration: 00:35.318
Themes: 3, 4
Context: I had asked Kika what she views as INL's role in Timor right now. She expresses frustration that they are not more pro-active with research and publication, especially in a way that will help the UNESCO program. After this excerpt, Kika explains that she has visited UNESCO mother tongue programs in several countries and was especially impressed with the cooperation in Thailand between the local universities, the language bodies, and the UNESCO programs. She sees this as the ideal for Timor and is critical of INL for not being more multi-faceted with regards to both Tetun and mother tongues.

1	KIKA;	I think at the moment . they are more focused on teaching that- um . INL (0.6)
2		Tetun? (0.3)
3		instead of doing research? (0.5)
4		because one . one of the articles that I found in the article I think two thousand four? .
5		April: s:omething two thousand four about that- (0.6) uh decree law about them. (0.6)
6		one of the article mention about "they have to do the research in preserving the local language." (0.5)
7		but at the moment you know, (0.5)
8		since I'm leading this program I never like, (0.7)
9		then . we never find something? (0.9)
10		uh: in terms of research from INL to support this program. (0.9)

Kika7 "Tetun is like Timorese, which is mix up"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37509
Location: 30:28.019 – 30:43.105
Duration: 00:15.086
Themes: 3, 5

Context: Kika is comically and affectionately criticizing Timorese Tetun in the below excerpt. I was trying to shift our discussion to *malae* who learn Tetun. Kika offered that she has indeed met *malae* who speak Tetun as well as Timorese, which in her estimation is to mix in Indonesian and Portuguese and English.

1	MELODY;	do you meet many *malae* who speak Tetun? (1.1)
2	KIKA;	yes I saw so- not many *malae* but I saw some malae they speak Tetun very well even their Tetun is like Timorese?
3	MELODY;	wow (0.6)
4	KIKA;	which mix up with . Portuguese mix up with . Bahasa (0.5) English . so.

Kika8 "That's alright, just get it"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37509
Location: 37:42.3 – 38:18.176
Duration: 00:35.876
Themes: 3
Context: I asked Kika how teachers were recruited at the university level and she expressed her honest ignorance and bewilderment. She shared the following anecdote about one of her own staff who is working on his thesis (something between a Western associate's degree and bachelor's degree, and the highest degree attainable in East Timor). First he was told to write it in Indonesia, but 'they' wouldn't accept it. He then resubmitted in Portuguese, but found that his supervisor couldn't understand Portuguese. He then resubmitted his thesis according to INL Tetun and found that his lecturer couldn't read that either. Kika's point here is that inconsistent application and promotion of Tetun has created problems for more than just the UNESCO problem that she runs. She finishes with a resigned but encouraging bit of advice for him to just do whatever is asked of him to get it done.

1	KIKA;	you know one of my staff he's now doing his thesis? (0.5)
2		but he told me "first I wrote- they asked me to: . write my: . thesis in um (0.6) Indonesia. (0.7)
3		but then they didn't accept it so I have to write it in Portuguese. (0.4)
4		and of course I don't know how-" (1.0)
5		I can guess how- how good is his Portuguese, (0.6)
6		and then he did it in Portuguese but the lecturer doesn't understand Portuguese. (0.8)
7		but then he- they asked him to do: to uh (0.6) his thesis in (0.6) you know in INL Tetun? (0.7)
8		but that u:h lecturer himself also doesn't really understand that (0.8) INL
9	MELODY;	Tetun?
10	KIKA;	[oh: goodness.]
		[so I said no that's] alright just get it.

Lito

Lito1 "It's fun"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37539
Location: 12:04.696 – 12:52.741
Duration: 00:48.045
Themes: 1, 5
Context: Lito was taking me through his language background, and because he speaks Tetun Terik natively, and I asked him if speaking Tetun Dili was a very different experience for him. After this excerpt, he explains the genesis of Tetun Dili and some of the differences between Tetun Dili and Tetun Terik. Lito's background as a Tetun Terik speaker puts him in a very insightful position to comment on this.

1	LITO;	Tetun Dili: is like uh, (1.)
2		it's like something like u:h . moder:n you know . fun and everybody, (0.8)
3		ah want to speak that, (0.5)
4		language, (1.0)
5		so, (2.1)
6		it's good to speak u:h . Tetun Dili . it's fun. (0.4)
7	MELODY;	it's fun?
8	LITO;	it's fun . yeah it's like you- make you feel like "ok, (0.3)
9		I: I am . um, (2.6)
10		on the . ri:ght uh, (1.4)
11		right, (0.8)
12		stage"? (0.6)
13		like now we are in this: . level? (0.4)
14		so we have to speak this language? (1.1)
15		so when you don't speak uh Tetun Dili: . and then people will, (0.7)
16		think you mi- you, (1.2)
17		you just . moved from somewhere? (0.3)
18		like . [from the vil]lage.
	MELODY;	o:h [so you're] . *ema foho*.
19	LITO;	[*ema foho*] they will say "oh *ema foho*" or something. (0.6)
	MELODY;	[@@@]
20	LITO;	yeah.

Lito2 "You wanna use Tetun or Portuguese in your daily life?"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37539
Location: 36:00.117 – 36:24.733
Duration: 00:24.616
Themes: 1

Context: Lito was expressing frustration with the variety of different approaches in government to language policy. He is very politically-minded, and is very familiar with the language platforms of the many East Timorese political parties, which he had been explaining to me. After this excerpt, he explains that the people in positions to make policy are the very same people who were either hiding/fighting in the jungle, or in exile in Portuguese-speaking countries. They will not choose Tetun because of their attachment to Portuguese from these times

1	LITO;	it's really: . hard. (0.5)
2		because-, (0.3)
3		if you d- . ask people like you- you wanna use Tetun or Portuguese . in your daily life. (0.5)
4		then . we will never say we would- we wanna use Portuguese. (1.1)
5		becaus:e u:h, (0.8)
6		we don't know that language,
7	MELODY;	sure. (0.6)
8	LITO;	yea:h so . if you ask . people? (1.5)
9		you do: . like polling? (0.5)
10		then . I thin:k most people will choose Tetun.

Lito3 "Better now to choose Tetun"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37539
Location: 54:37.23 – 55:20.814
Duration: 00:43.584
Themes: 1, 4, 5
Context: Before this excerpt, Lito was expressing the view that 'developing' Portuguese in East Timor is costly and ultimately ineffective. For these reasons, his opinion is that Tetun should be prioritized and gives an idea of how this could be done. He then also expressed frustration at the focus on language issues, because language is not the only thing learned in school. It is clear from this interaction that Lito considers course content to be more important than language of instruction.

1	LITO;	so I think it's . it's better now . to choose u:h . Tetun. (0.6)
2		and then, (1.4)
3		every documents in: . all the offices . use Tetun. (0.5)
4		anyways. (1.3)
5		Portuguese . only you can use to back up . som:e .the words: . that, (1.6)
6		in Tetun we don't have yet? (0.4)
7		you can use u:h . Portuguese? (1.2)
8		uh, (2.0)
9		then? (1.0)
10		we are all like . all Timorese in the same chapter: . then you can run a good education systems and, (0.7)
11		people will understa:nd, (1.2)
12		uh, (0.9)

13		the words and they can, (1.2)

13   the words and they can, (1.2)
14   learn science too! (0.5)
15   it's not- . the school is not . only about language though . it's about science.

Lito4 "Identidade ema lokal"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37539
Location: 50:39.815 – 51:03.449
Duration: 00:23.634
Themes: 2
Context: At the end of our interview, I asked Lito to summarize the language situation in Timor using five words. "*Identidade ema lokal*" his was 'one' of the words he chose, explaining that the way people speak Tetun identifies them as local people. It is interesting that this was one of the few times he felt comfortable using more Tetun than usual with me, which is either a commentary on my competence or that he preferred to work through this idea aloud in a language more closely connected to the concept under discussion.

1   LITO;   *nee hanesa-*, (0.5)
2   it's like, (0.6)
3   MELODY;   *nee hanes*[*an*]?
4   LITO;   [I]- *identidade,* (0.4) *ema lokal.* (0.3)
5   MELODY;   *identidade ema lokal?* (0.3)
6   LITO;   *ita bele ide:ntifika nia identidade ema lokal- tanba-,* from the way they
                 speak? ((you can identify someone as a local, because))
7   MELODY;   yeah. (0.4)
8   LITO;   yes. (0.7)
9   somebody come from Portugal they speak Tetun we: will notice . this person
                 (0.4)
10   he:'s not in Timor for long time. (1.1)
11   yea:h it's like *identidade- ema lokal*.

Lito5 "It's not good"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37539
Location: 15:41.334 – 16:32.731
Duration: 00:51.397
Themes: 3, 4
Context: I asked Lito what it means to 'develop' Tetun and he instead explained why it needed to happen, lamenting that there just aren't enough words in Tetun. After this excerpt, he compares it to Tetun Terik, in which birth order is encoded in the way you address a person, but in Tetun Dili, there is only 'older' or 'younger'.

1   LITO;   we need to develop Tetun . so, (2.1)

2		because there are so-, (0.6)
3		so many thi:ngs that, (2.5)
4		u:h:, (0.7)
5		mi:ssing . missing . fro[m: Tetun.]
6	MELODY;	[ok so it has] missing . stuff like what- what's missing.
7	LITO;	Tetun: . Dili. (2.4)
8		sometimes? (0.7)
9		like (0.5) one vocabulary? (0.6)
10		they use to describe . so many things that , (0.7)
11		in Tetun Terik? (0.9)
12		it's different vocabulary to use for . that part? (0.6)
13	MELODY;	ok
14	LITO;	so, (1.2)
15		you cannot use o:ne word for describing like sa:me thing you know?
16	MELODY;	so you mean- there's too many . synonym.
17	LITO;	yeah synonyms.
18	MELODY;	@@similar words. (0.4)
19	LITO;	yea:h . they use like a one word to describe two different things? (0.7)
20		it's no:t good and . you have to use . another . language . maybe to describe this and this? (0.8)
21		yeah.

Lito6 "Unconsciously I speak that language"

Context: Lito had been musing on the future of language in Timor, saying that it will likely still be very mixed. He was surprised at how well some children he knows are speaking Indonesian, based solely on their learning from television. He then tells me that he will throw Indonesian words into his Tetun without thinking about it. In this excerpt, it is difficult to tell who is criticizing whom. Lito considers using Indonesian numbers and day to be a normal part of speaking Tetun, but his reported interlocutor stops him and asks him to explain. This could be his interlocutor expressing his disapproval at Lito's use of Indonesian. At the same time, the fact that Lito chose this anecdote could be his own expression of disapproval at the cultural distance between himself and his interlocutor with regards to who should accommodate to whom.

1	LITO;	like when I speak . s:uddenly like I, (0.7)
2		go: s- into Indonesian word? (1.5)
3		without . like . co- unconsciously I speak that language? (0.8)
4		like today I spoke to u:h one of the men . who was actually (0.5) only speak uh Portuguese? (1.5)
5		a:nd . Tetun because he was exi:led in u:h (0.6) somewhere in a . Portuguese-

		speaking country?
6	MELODY;	oh ok
7	LITO;	and he doesn't know . a:ny Indonesian words. (0.7)
8		and I'm suddenly like "oh . *tiu . tanggal tiga mai ita ba Manatutu*" (0.8)
	gloss	((uncle, we're going to Manatutu on the third of July))
9		which mean . *tanggal tiga* means like the third of u:h July? (0.8)
	gloss	((the third day))
10		the date. (0.5)
11		and . he's like-, (1.0)
12		"wha:t is *tanggal tiga*?" (0.4)
	gloss	((the third day))
13		and then I have to check up again in in Portuguese I'm like-, (0.4)
14		"u:h *dia- . dia tres* (0.4) *dia tres*" @@@
	gloss	((day- day three day three))

Lito7 "Not developed really well until now"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37539
Location: 33:23.125 – 34:30.302
Duration: 01:07.177
Themes: 3, 4
Context: I asked Lito if he was aware the controversy that had erupted in parliament earlier that year regarding language in education. Instead, he told me about another controversy that he had encountered regarding orthography. After this excerpt, he tells me that he thinks the language controversies will continue until someone in authority chooses just one language.

1	LITO;	yes. when I work with uh:, (1.1)
2		University of New South Wales as- as a: interpreter? (1.2)
3		it's . very controversial because, (3.8)
4		the written written language? (0.6)
5		some people come up like "oh you have to use (1.0) uh: apostro:phe: . those those marks"?
6	MELODY;	so this is about Tetun.
7	LITO;	yeah . Tetun . and then some people say . "oh no you don't have to use it"?
8		(1.1)
9		and then I'm like (0.8) "oka:y"? (2.1)
10		but like . two different things. (1.1)
11		yeah. (0.7)
12		so:, (0.8)
13		and then later on like they: . also debate about, (1.4)
14		what languages we should use? (0.7)
15		cause we have so many uh:, (0.7)
16		languages and Tetun is like . I said . not developed . really well until now?
17		(1.9)
18		you have som:e . dividing issues about uh (1.7)

gra:mmar: . punctuations, (0.7)
so it's very hard.

Lito8 "Gado-gado pidgin"

Context: At the end of our interview, I asked Lito to summarize the language situation in Timor using five words. In this excerpt, he uses "gado-gado" as his first word and "pidgin" as the second. Gado-gado is an Indonesian dish that contains a little bit of everything piled onto a salad (rice, eggs, tempeh, tofu, shrimp chips, blanched vegetables and peanut sauce). Lito did an undergraduate degree at the University of Hawai'i at Hilo, so he is familiar with the development of Hawai'i Creole English (Pidgin). I was highly amused at both of these comparisons. After this excerpt, he describes how difficult it can be for people when they first come to Timor who are unfamiliar with the common practice of language-mixing (or borrowing).

1	LITO;	oh ok linguistics in- in Timor is like gado-gado? (0.9)
2		you know what- have you heard what gado-gado is [like],
3	MELODY;	[the] the dish?
4	LITO;	like the dish- the food? (1.4)
5		it's like . the mix of everything.
6	MELODY;	yeah . that's a good one.
7	LITO;	they call it gado-gado so . the language in Timor is like gado-gado. (0.8)
8		that's- that's a one? (0.9)
9		and uh:,
10	MELODY;	gado-gado good one
11	LITO;	yeah and the other one? (0.9)
12		it's gonna be like uh, (3.8)
13		pidgin? (0.3)
14	MELODY;	[pidgin?]
	LITO;	[in Hawaii?]
15	MELODY;	mkay. (0.3)
16	LITO;	yeah
17	MELODY;	like Hawaii pidgin.
18	Litp	like Hawaii . people will talk (2.7)
19		something like that
20	MELODY;	can you talk about that . can you tell me what the similarity is that you see . between . Hawaii and Timor? (0.9)
21	LITO;	in the language like the pidgin? (1.2)
22		ye:s it's like uh:, (1.4)
23		mix between uh local language and English? (1.6)
24		and then later on . like Filipinos? (1.0)
25		and then later on Japanese . so they just uh: . end up speak-, (0.8)

26		mix . those languages so, (0.7)
27		it's gonna be like uh: (1.0)
28		in Timor too . they end up like that.
29	MELODY;	alright good one.
30	LITO;	yea:h. (1.2)
31		so, (1.1)
32		that's . gonna be like that? (2.0)

Lito9 "The way they speak uh Tetun"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37539
Location: 51:53.692 – 52:17.455
Duration: 00:23.763
Themes: 3, 5
Context: In this excerpt, LITO;, who is a native speaker of Tetun Terik, is giving a few examples of the way that other accents in Tetun sound to him. He uses the examples of Makasae or Bunak mother tongue speakers, and tells me that he jokes with them by imitating their accents. In other excerpts, participants have expressed that being made fun of for your accent is a common insecurity, so it is interesting to see it from the other side.

1	LITO;	I always make . joking with u:h . people . who speak Makasae like saying that, (0.4)
2		"*nau i ho kualkuno hau nia matak sira mak hau husu*". ((speaking Tetun with an affected accent))
3	MELODY;	@@ that's what it [sounds like to you]?
4	LITO;	[yeah that's] how- they way they speak uh, (0.6)
5		Tetun yeah, (0.8)
6		so, (0.5)
7		and then @I when . I want to make joke with uh . Bunak people I will like,
8		(0.6) "*eh re re ema foti mos salamat*".
9		((speaking Tetun with an affected accent)) @ @ha it's different.

Lito10 "They change so many like things"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37539
Location: 13:06.687 – 13:53.294
Duration: 00:46.607
Themes: 4
Context: I asked Lito to tell me how he explains Tetun Dili to people who may not be familiar with it. In this excerpt, Lito explains that it began as a lingua franca, but with substantial changes from Tetun Terik to Tetun Dili (perhaps intentionally, perhaps not). After this excerpt, he says

that switching is easier for him because of his education (and thereby his linguistic awareness/competence). However, his Tetun Terik-speaking parents find Tetun Dili so difficult that they need to have someone to translate when they come into town.

```
1    LITO;       I always say like . you know Tetun Dili is like u:h . ne:w Tetun Terik. (0.7)
2                new Tetun Terik [that's- it-].
     MELODY;                     [ok        ], (0.6)
3    LITO;       so, (1.5)
4                and then, (0.9)
5                people just, (1.4)
6                started-, (0.9)
7                use . it as like . a language? (1.1)
8                because uh everybody's uh . start to use that language. (0.5)
9                for uh busine:ss and . communicatio- communicating to, (0.8)
10               other people who: . like . speak different language in Timor? (1.0)
11               so: I see it's like as a:, (1.9)
12               ne:w, (1.2)
13               form . of: . Tetun Terik. (1.0)
14               yeah . but they:, (1.8)
15               they change so many . like things? (0.8)
16               from Tetun Terik into Tetun Dili.
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Lito12 "When you say '*fahi matak*' they, they laughing at you"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37539
Location: 07:34.846 – 09:19.867
Duration: 01:45.021
Themes: 5
Context: Lito was taking me through his language background, and I was asking follow-up questions, especially his opinions regarding the relationship between Tetun Terik and Tetun Dili. Lito displays his considerable multilingual resources in the following exchange about a particular vocabulary item. He tells me that Tetun Dili uses the Portuguese borrowing *brinjela* for 'eggplant', and that if he uses the Tetun Terik term *fahi matak* for the same item, people will laugh because it in Tetun Dili, *fahi matak* literally means 'raw pig'. Interestingly, the Filipino word for 'eggplant' is *talong*, but Lito uses the Indonesian word *terong/terung*. After this exchange, he also explains that Tetun Dili speakers do not inflect verbs for person, instead using the third person singular in every instance. He also says that most Tetun Terik speakers cannot pronounce the voiced alveolar or post-alveolar fricatives [z] and [ʒ], replacing it with [s]. By these vocabulary issues, verbal inflections, and alternate pronunciations, Lito explains that he is very easily marked as a Tetun Terik speaker by Tetun Dili speakers. Perhaps the most interesting conclusion from this excerpt is that despite Lito's mastery of several different linguistic codes, getting it 'wrong' in Tetun Dili is a source of insecurity for him.

```
1    MELODY;     you also speak Tetun Dili? (0.9)
2    LITO;       ye:s Tetun Dili is like, (1.0)
```

3		it's like uh . new version of Tetun Terik. (0.5)
4		so they just change it to Tetun Dili and they speak- make it differe:nt uh . accents?
5	MELODY;	and you've . you also speak Tetun Dili? (0.8)
6	LITO;	yes . [just]
	MELODY;	[is it] easy or hard? since you also speak Tetun Terik. (1.1)
7	LITO;	sometime it's hard because uh, (0.6)
8		for examples uh some . some of the: . Tetun Terik, (1.1)
9		words? (3.4)
10		it's like . they don't u:se in Dili any more . because it's like an o:ld vocabulary? (1.0)
11		so it's really . and . like . some words are like, (1.2)
12		in Dili they don't . even know like . that word . like, (0.7)
13		uh for examples like u:h (2.5)
14		how can I say? (0.7)
15		uh (1.9)
16		*brinjela*? (1.3)
17		*brinjela* is a fruit? (0.6)
18	MELODY;	it's a fruit?
19	LITO;	fruit? .
20	MELODY;	okay
21	LITO;	uh (1.4)
22		how can I say in E:nglish I- I forgot in English.
23	MELODY;	it's alright. (0.6)
24	LITO;	it's uh in . Tetun Dili *brinjela* but in my language we call it *fahi matak*.
25	MELODY;	yeah [brinjela's] like Portuguese.
	LITO;	[*fahi matak*]
26		yeah. (0.4)
27		*fahi matak* uh . means u:h, (0.9)
28		if you describe it in uh, (0.9)
29		two words . *fahi* means pigs . *matak* is mean . raw . so like raw pigs. (0.6)
30		so, (0.6)
31		it's uh . it's quite funny for Di:li people because . when you say *fahi matak* the:y . they laughing at you. (0.4)
32		cause you say *fahi matak*. (0.6)
33		yeah *brinjela* .
34	MELODY;	*brinjela*
35	LITO;	yeah .
36	MELODY;	I bet that word is-,
37	LITO;	it's called . uh in Filipino they call it uh . *terong*? (0.5)
38	MELODY;	*terong* . o:h. is it eggplant?
39	LITO;	eggplant yes. (0.7)
40		eggplant.

Lito13 "they will say 'oh *ema foho*' or something"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37539
Location:
Duration:
Themes: 5
Context: I asked Lito if he enjoyed speaking Tetun Dili, since he is a native Tetun Terik speaker. He explains that it is fun, but also necessary to assimilate to Dili culture. Being labeled as *ema foho* is something that many participants expressed anxiety about; it isn't necessarily a slur or an overt insult, but it sets a person apart from the educated, upwardly mobile Dili culture.

```
1     LITO;         so when you don't speak uh . Tetun Dili . and then people will, (0.7)
2                   think you mi- you, (1.0)
3                   you just . moved from somewhere like,
4     MELODY;   o:h s[o you're          ] . ema foho.
5     LITO;             [from the village]
6     MELODY;   [@@@@              ]
7     LITO;         [ema foho they will] say "oh ema foho" or @something. (0.6)
8                   yea:h.
```

Lito14 "Tetun Dili is a cool language"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37539
Location: 26:56.376 – 27:33.946
Duration: 00:37.57
Themes: 1, 5
Context: Before and after this excerpt, Lito was explaining the differences between Tetun Terik and Tetun Dili as well as what he views as impending language shift, especially in Dili. Lito and I discussed the implications of language shift, both within East Timor and globally. He offered this explanation of why he thinks language shift occurs in East Timor, attributing it to the desirability of Tetun, and the pressures of modernization.

```
1     LITO;       I think it's the mentality now. (0.9)
2                 the-, (2.4)
3                 people . like, (0.6)
4                 Tetun Dili is a cool language? (0.8)
5                 it's a cool language . people in the city who speak that language? (1.4)
6                 so. (1.5)
7                 you don't want to feel like you are ba:ckward person.
8                 so-, (0.4)
9                 so you-, (0.6)
10                instead of- learning your u:h, (0.4)
11                local languages? (0.6)
12                it dist- (0.4)
```

13	in Di:li like, (1.1)
14	we stop teaching ou:r . our u:h . child?
15	to speak u:h our local language? (0.9)
16	that's becau:se . we don't want our children feel like backward?

Maris

Maris1 "Tetun is ok"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37518
Location: 09:41.163 – 09:48.06
Duration: 00:06.897
Themes: 1
Context: Maris was taking me through her language background when I asked how she learned Tetun. She explained that her teachers would hit her hands with a switch or force her to walk on her knees all day if she was caught speaking her mother tongue (instead of Indonesian). She then explains that Tetun was given a pass because many of the teachers also spoke it, so she learned both Indonesian and Tetun very quickly in her early childhood.

```
1    MARIS;    Tetun is ok because- because, (0.5)
2              my neighbor? (0.5)
3              my neighbor is . always use Tetun so I know . Tetun.
```

Maris2 "Every day we speak Tetun"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37518
Location: 14:35.651 – 15:54.085
Duration: 01:18.434
Themes: 1, 2
Context: Despite Maris' competence in English, she was self-conscious throughout the interview and answered all my questions very directly, without much conversational meandering. As a result, we progressed very quickly through many topics, as can be seen in the excerpt below. Here I was trying to get Maris to explain how she describes the language situation in Timor when she goes abroad and meets new people for work. Maris first expresses that multilingualism creates a complicated situation, and then repeats her viewpoint that Portuguese is difficult and Tetun is easy because it is more common.

```
1    MELOD;    what- how do you explai:n . the language situation in Timor to them.
2              what do you say? (1.2)
3    MARIS;    ah yes:. (0.4)
4              yeah sometimes I say that . "in Timor Leste we are compli:ca:ted with
              languages because we have ma:ny many language", (0.7)
5              so . some languages we are not- (05.) understand, (0.5)
6              like Portuguese Portuguese is our, (0.6)
7              u:h you know ou:r, (0.6)
8              u:h, (1.7)
9              national language yeah? (1.0)
10             but- (0.9)
11             I don't know I don't-, (0.8)
12             really kno:w it, (0.8)
```

13		the Portuguese. (1.6)
14		yeah.
15	MELOD;	what else do you [say.]
	MARIS;	[that]'s why I say that- (0.6)
16		Tetun is ok. (1.2)
17		yeah because Tetun is our . uh mother lang- our mother tongue in every day we speak Tetun so it's easy for us. (1.4)
18		yeah. (0.3)
19	MELOD;	how do you descri:be Tetun. (0.7)
20		how do you- what do you sa:y about that language the history or the sounds how do you describe it. (1.8)
21	MARIS;	u:m? (2.2)
22		Tetun is:, (1.8)
23		yeah it's- it's about the sound? (0.8)
24		yeah if you:, (1.1)
25		yeah it's the sound, (0.6)
26		because it's, (0.9)
27		you know we: . when we was, (0.4)
28		the:, (0.4)
29		child? we already hear?
30	MELOD;	mhm
31	MARIS;	and then it's easy for us to:, (0.3)
32		to learn. (0.7)

Maris3 "Most of people in Timor Leste will choose Tetun"
URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37518
Location: 23:09.73 – 24:07.56
Duration: 00:57.83
Themes: 1, 2
Context: Near the end of our interview, I asked Maris if there was anything else she'd like to add. I sometimes ask the exact question in the excerpt below, so I was surprised when she volunteered it. Basically, she said that she believes that if the government held a language referendum, she believes that the people would choose Tetun.

1	MARIS;	maybe: . our government, (0.5)
2		uh: some day, (0.6)
3		be:, (1.4)
4		they deci:de to:, (1.1)
5		to make . election? (1.0)
6		about the language . for example. (1.2)
7		yeah. (0.3)
8		u:h for example they:, (0.6)
9		would learn? (0.3)
10		three language. (0.5)

11		for example English? (0.8)
12		Tetun? (0.9)
13		and Bahasa. (1.2)
14		and I will choose English, (0.7)
15		if not I will choose Tetun (0.4)
16	MELOD;	@
17	MARIS;	yeah . so not not Portugue:se . yeah. (0.9)
18	MELOD;	what do you think . would happen . if if they were to hold another election like that and . Timorese were able to vote to have to [on the language]
19	MARIS;	[yeah because we may]be,
		(0.4)
20	MELOD;	we have many language so its-, (1.0)
21		what do you think would happen. (0.3)
22		do you think people would choose Tetun or would they choose . Fatalu:ku: or,
	MARIS;	(0.5)
23		yeah they will choose Tetun. (0.7)
24		yeah. (0.9)
25		mo:st of peo:ple Timor Leste will choose Tetun I think (3.6)

Melita

Melita1 "Just speak in Tetun"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37508
Location: 17:26.428 – 17:34.503
Duration: 00:08.075
Themes: 1
Context: Melita had been taking me through her linguistic background, intimating that her learning of Portuguese was somewhat clandestine through her parents and rogue bishops through the school system. She says that her parents both spoke Portuguese, Makasae and Tetun, but did not speak Indonesian, so when visitors came they used Tetun.

1	MELITA;	ah at home yes
2	MELODY;	at home?
3	MELITA;	at home we eh speak Portuguese but when we have visits we have guests then we . just speak in Tetun

Melita2 "*Kedekaten*? Closeness?"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37508
Location: 41:41.544 – 42:05.254
Duration: 00:23.71
Themes: 1
Context: I had asked Melita to describe the language situation in Timor using five words. One of the words she wanted to use was 'closeness'. Interestingly, she was momentarily stumped for the English word, but produced the same word in Indonesian readily. She emphasized that Tetun is just "normal", but that local languages like Makasae are special.

1	MELITA;	what do you call uh I don't know how to say in in English but *kedekatan* [Ind] is 'closeness'?
2	MELODY;	closeness?
3	MELITA;	closeness like um if I speak uh if I find someone that speak Tetun I feel oh it's normal but if I find someone that can speak Makasae and suddenly both of us can connected

Melita3 "Something secret"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37508
Location: 43:54.896 – 44:05.589
Duration: 00:10.693
Themes: 1

Context: Expanding on her descriptions of the language situation in Timor, Melita again refers to the everyday banality of Tetun as the expected and accepted daily code. She then laughingly admits that she and another coworker sometimes use their mother tongue as a secret code.

| 1 | MELITA; | well in the office we only speak Tetun but then uh like Mana Ana when we travel if we want to speak any uh something secret @then @we @just @speak @in @Makasae |

Melita4 "They have to be more creative"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37508
Location: 46:24.001 – 47:35.898
Duration: 01:11.897
Themes: 3
Context: Melita is explaining the role of the Instituto Nacional do Linguistica in the standardization and development of Tetun. She is expressing frustration that they aren't doing enough, and also that they are creating their own variety of 'INL Tetun'. Melita thinks that with more research, Timorese languages (such as other varieties of Tetun) would be sufficient to develop Tetun. This is especially close to Melita's heart in her position on the directorial staff of the Timorese commission for UNESCO, which advocates for mother tongue-based multilingualism (which occasionally butts heads with the goals of INL).

1	MELITA;	so we are like INL they have to be more creative more um dynamic in this process so uh the the process that they already have in terms of standardizing the Tetun
2	MELODY;	what is INL doing right now what is what is INL's role right now
3	MELITA;	well actually INL doesn't really uh pay- eh mo- do extra efforts to do research to find the new words to find new meanings in in Tetun itself uh
4		because there there is a law that regulates uh that the uh ah
5		"INL is the only standardized Tetun uh so that everyone should use this INL uh INL uh Tetun"
6		so this uh also gives uh oh co counter productive for other organizations or individuals who would like to make uh do a deep research on Tetun because we are rich in very rich in Tetun words
7		unless uh word words that uh technologically we don't have in in Timor

Melita5 "It looks like English"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37508
Location: 48:24.417 – 48:56.74

Duration: 00:32.323
Themes: 3, 4
Context: As we were wrapping up, I asked Melita if there was anything else she wanted to add to our discussion about language in Timor. She made the amusing observation that INL Tetun is becoming like English, because it doesn't respect the "one symbol, one sound" principle in linguistics that English famously violates as well. The word in question below is pronounced [ne.be:] in everyday speech, but the INL spelling may confuse some readers into thinking that it is pronounced [neʔe.be].

1	MELITA;	u:h ye:ah one thing is. that um, according to the linguistics, uh that- uh . Tetun that they INL is developing?
2		uh . looks like E:nglish
3		for example uh . write something else and read something else.
4		for example *nebee*? it's writing "ne'ebe:".
5	MELODY;	"ne'ebe".
6	MELITA;	"ne'ebe". but then you read *nebee*. uh,
7	MELODY;	so it's like English, becau:se the word doesn't look . the way that it sounds.
8	MELITA;	ye:s yes.

Melita6 "One day they will pass away"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37508
Location: 49:07.967 – 49:38.495
Duration: 00:30.528
Themes: 4, 5
Context: As we were wrapping up, I asked Melita is there was anything else she wanted to add to our discussion about language in Timor. After her observation about the orthography, she then expresses concern that INL is not doing enough to preserve Tetun for future generations, and that if the older generations die with their knowledge, development of Tetun will halt. This excerpt again shows that language development is not viewed as a natural, organic process, but a deliberate intervention.

1	MELITA;	there- there is still lacking in- in: (0.3) Tetun, (0.3)
2		of INL standard? (0.3)
3		a:nd they have to, (0.5)
4		you know- do more research on- (0.5)
5		because- because we're rich in Tetun and also, (0.3)
6		people that- u:h the- Timorese people that- rea:lly understand about- (0.4) Tetun words: are getting older and older? (0.3)
7		so: one day they will- pass away and then- the words- go- together with them so,
8		we [cannot] (0.6) develop our Tetun any more
	MELODY;	[yeah]

Melita7 "Sometimes we mix up"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37508
Location: 18:53.303 – 19:47.129
Duration: 00:53.826
Themes: 5
Context: Melita is explaining to me the way that language works in her home. She proudly states that they only speak two languages, but in a later portion of the interview, she tells me that her children are quite fluent in Indonesian because of television, English because of iPad games, and Tetun Terik because their father speaks it and "it's quite similar to Tetun Dili". Here she expresses some insecurity about 'mixing up' Tetun and Portuguese when helping her children with their homework. Her children attend a Portuguese school.

1	MELITA;	yes um . uh . my kids . we . now at home we speak only two language. uh Portuguese and English em uh . Portuguese and Tetun.
2		but sometimes we mix the like uh depends on the situation uh . my- like
3		but majority of uh . the majority of ours- communication in- in- in- in at home it's it's Tetun.
4		sometimes we mix up uh, Portuguese and Tetun?
5		like for example my my son when they have um . they have uh homeworks
6		then I have to help them . so we need- really need to communicate in- in- in Portuguese h- uh
7		with their- their uh . teachers at school they communicate in Portuguese
8		but then we are not . trying to uh . avoid Tetun in our communication

Melita8 "Tetun needs to be developed"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37508
Location: 44:11.782 – 45:51.014
Duration: 01:39.232
Themes: 4
Context:

1	MELODY;	um, what about- (0.5)
2		can you talk just briefly about Tetun, about what you see as the role of Tetun? right now- in- in Timor Leste? (1.0)
3	MELITA;	well u:h, (1.8)
4		Tetun needs to be: (1.3) developed and needs to be: (0.5) more progressive? according to (0.5) the dynamic. uh, (1.0)
5		[the- the-]
6	MELODY;	[how do you]- can you explain that can you explain what, (0.7)
7		what you mean when you say deve:loped and- and how- how- how can we

		develop Tetun.
8	MELITA;	um, (0.4)
9		for example most of the wor:ds in Tetun are (0.3) combination of Portuguese words. (0.7)
10		and um (0.6)
11		it- it- it makes us more dependent to the Por- (0.3) the existing Portuguese words that already- (0.3) have a good structure have good- uh vocabulary, (0.4)
12		and we don't want to- (0.4) have- u:h extra efforts- to find our o:wn words (0.3) to be able to connect with our reality. (0.6)
13		u:h for example, (0.4)
14		"communication". (0.4)
15		we uh- we don't have a word "communication" we just don't read [communication].
16	MELODY;	[*komunikasaun*]. @ (0.3)
	gloss	((communication))
17	MELITA;	*obriga:du* we don't have this kind of word- (0.3) in Timor- in Tetun. (0.4)
	gloss	((thank you-masc))
18		u:h if we could do a research,
19		uh- uh- uh- a big- (0.4) ah deep research about- what is the real meaning of
	gloss	*obrigadu* in Tetun.
		((thank you-masc))
20		or we can- we can: u:m (1.1)
21		oh how to say uh (0.9)
22		take from: other: uh local lang- national [languages]?
	MELODY;:	[other- other Timorese-]
23	MELITA;	ye:s and then- promote it as- (0.7) ah Tetun.
24		our own la:nguage. (0.5)
25		otherwise u:h in the near future, (0.3)
26		uh Tetun will be:, (0.4)
27		uh, (0.5)
28		dominated by Portuguese words.

Neto

Neto1 "People were actually laughing"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37491
Location: 07:54.298 – 08:13.827
Duration: 00:19.529
Themes: 1, 5
Context: Neto was bringing me through his language background and how he learned the five languages that he speaks. He told me that Indonesian was something that he's just always been exposed to, along with his mother tongue of Fataluku, but that Tetun and English he learned in high school. Tetun came with significantly more social pressure, as he describes below. This was my first interview with a Timorese participant. Before this interview, I had not considered that a Timorese person could make it to the high school level without speaking Tetun, and this was something I asked about in every interview that followed.

1	NETO;	first year I was just like speaking Indonesia even though my Indonesian was really good those people were actually laughing
2	MELODY;	they were what- they would laughing at you?
3	NETO;	yeah
4	MELODY;	why
5	NETO;	they were laughing at you because um I don't know how to speak Tetun and I just speak p- just spoke Indonesian

Neto2 "But they explained it in Tetun"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37491
Location: 10:04.965 – 10:26.012
Duration: 00:21.047
Themes: 1
Context: Neto and I were talking about his experiences with language learning in high school and I asked him about his teachers. Because his home district is considered a traditional stronghold of the Portuguese language, I assumed he would have some competence in Portuguese and that his teachers would as well. I was surprised to learn that his teachers used Tetun to explain the lessons. After this excerpt he told me that his younger siblings speak Portuguese well, but that he is only confident in reading it.

1	NETO;	oh yeah yeah yeah some people some people spoke some some teachers spoke Indonesia and some some some teachers spoke Tetun
2		even though the lesson is in Indonesian (mmhmm) but they explained it in Tetun
3	MELODY;	what about Portuguese
4	NETO;	no
5		they don't use Portuguese

| 6 | | sometimes s- s- ok well they have this Portuguese class but then they explain it in Tetun |

Neto3 Facebook news pages

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37491
Location: 30:45.194 – 31:05.358
Duration: 00:20.164
Themes: 1
Context: Neto told me that his preferred and most reliable source of news in Timor were Facebook news groups and pages. I asked him to comment more broadly on the language use by his Facebook friends and he expressed that they trended toward multilingualism with a preference for Tetun

1	NETO;	Tet- Tetun they use Tetun mostly Tetun and English maybe it's depend on like like friends (yeah) um but
2		I I see Tetun and English rarely I see Portuguese though although
3		sometimes expat expat group sometimes they use Portuguese no?

Neto4 "I think people have different perspective on what Tetun language is"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37491
Location: 35:06.356 – 35:53.212
Duration: 00:46.856
Themes: 3
Context: Neto was telling me about a translation job he had been working on from English to Tetun and some of the challenges he faced with that job. Neto is a personal friend, and this commentary was a continuation of a conversation we had been having the night before. After this excerpt, I asked him to expand on the idea that different people have different perspectives of Tetun and he related it to their knowledge of Portuguese.

1	NETO;	yeah yeah I have dictionary that I refer to but like I'm just I'm just very complicated because
2		um Tetun is one language and it is in Timor we all be using Tetun but
3		we are creating different auto- orth- what ortho-
4	MELODY;	orthographies
5	NETO;	Neto: orthography just only one single language and I just thought it's it's um
6		it's not good because they're being competitive and we're gonna make people confused uh to learn Tetun
7	MELODY;	Melody: so why do you think this happened
8		the the orthography problem why do you think this happened
9	NETO;	Neto: I think people have different perspective on what Tetun language is

Neto5 "It's like past present Tetun kind of thing"

Location: 38:20.924 – 39:25.86
Duration:01:04.936
Themes: 3
Context: Neto was telling me about different accents in Tetun and their ideological origins. He gave me a few examples and I asked him what the main difference it. In this excerpt, he labels the different accents of Tetun as 'INL Tetun' and 'DIT Tetun'.

1   NETO;   yeah so I think the difference is like past present Tetun kind of thing
     MELODY;   so which one is which
     NETO;   um so INL this is my personal view INL I think its past and DIT I think they're mostly using like current Tetun languages
     MELODY;   ok what makes you say that
     NETO;   what makes me say that
                 because the spelling is different
                 because deet DIT doesn't have like this accent and things apostrophe and things like that
     MELODY;   yeah
     NETO;   um INL mostly use that and like people like let's say *ofisial*
                 people who are who are um um speak Portuguese very well in the past they'd actually pronounce *ofisiau* ((affected nasalization))
                 but like people like currently they say *ofisial* that's all

Silvio

Silvio1 "I didn't learn Tetun"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37538
Location: 03:29.233 – 04:07.565
Duration: 00:38.332
Themes: 1
Context: Silvio was taking me through his language background, and I asked if he remembered learning the various languages that he is fluent in. He doesn't remember learning his native languages of Mambae and Tokodede, but does remember having to learn Indonesian when he entered primary school in the late 1970s. He does not remember Tetun, instead referring to it as a household lingua franca.

1	MELODY;	do you remember the: . the process of learning Tetun or was that something you've always: . kind of known. (0.5)
2	SILVIO;	Tetun I think it's uh: I didn't- I:, (0.9)
3		I didn't learn: . Tetun but, (0.6)
4		we: . speak Tetun:, (1.0)
5		uh what they call Tetun Dili . [in our] hou- home?
	MELODY;	[Tetun Dili]
6		ok. .
7	SILVIO;	with my parents so: at that time I think . I learn from that. (0.3)
8	MELODY;	[ok.]
	SILVIO;	[yeah] because . even though my: uh . parents my: . father and mother they are . from uh different dialects?
9	MELODY;	mhm.
10	SILVIO;	but uh we use Tetun as u:h,
11	MELODY;	like the common:,
12	SILVIO;	yeah . as a language that uh we: can communicate . within our family . @yeah.

Silvio2 "A little bit Tetun to make them clear"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37538
Location: 21:58.531 – 22:15.611
Duration: 00:17.08
Themes: 1
Context: Silvio was talking about some of the frustrating issues with language in his job as the director of the English department at the National University of East Timor. When the university re-opened in the mid 2000s, the materials left behind were all in Indonesian, but there were no Indonesian nationals left in the country to use them. Very few Timorese had teaching qualifications, and Silvio is explaining how things have progressed in his view.

1	SILVIO;	I totally use English in my classes. (0.7)
2		I didn't us:e . Bahasa Indonesia or Tetun,
3	MELODY;	oh wow. (0.4)
4	SILVIO;	yeah . sometimes just . maybe ten percent Bahasa Indonesia just to: explain
		[sometimes].
	MELODY;	[explain something?]
5	SILVIO;	students the they are confusing? (0.5)
6		us:e . a little bit Tetun jus:t . to make them clear . about that.

Silvio3 "We are different and one"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37538
Location: 44:53.222 – 45:17.864
Duration: 00:24.642
Themes: 2
Context: As we were finishing up, I asked Silvio if there was anything else he wanted to tell me about language in Timor, or anything he thought I might ask but we didn't get to. He finished with this really touching view of unity in diversity.

1	SILVIO;	la:nguage -is represent our culture. (0.7)
2		yeah. (1.9)
3		represent our culture so, (0.8)
4		we- even though we have a- dive:rse culture, (0.8)
5		different language, (0.6)
6		but- I am still proud- of Timorese because? (1.9)
7		we have one- united language what we call Tetun. (0.6)
8		yeah?
9		we are different? (0.6)
10		and one.

Silvio4 "They speak Tetun and yeah that's it"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37538
Location: 33:33.228 – 34:00.256
Duration: 00:27.028
Themes: 3, 5
Context: Silvio was explaining why he thinks it is important for Timorese children to learn to read and write their mother tongues /local languages (as well as speak). He expresses his concerns that Tetun is responsible for the language shift that he believes is happening rapidly in Dili, and elsewhere in Timor. After this excerpt, he worries that the oral languages will disappear if the government doesn't undertake direct intervention.

| 1 | SILVIO; | and I can . I tell you in the parents now in Dili . and everywhere in Timor . |

		they don't speak local language any more they don't speak dialect any more. (1.0)
2		[yeah] . they don't speak.
	MELODY;	[sa:d.]
3		what are they speaking instead?
4	SILVIO;	they speak Tetun.
5	MELODY;	just speak Tetun?
6	SILVIO;	they speak Tetun and they, (0.8)
7		yeah that's it! .
8		it's Tetun that's the- yeah. (0.6)
9		only some parents in the districts . they speak . their lo- their uh local language.
10	MELODY;	yeah
11	SILVIO;	yeah . so . I'm wo:rrying.

Silvio5 "We have uh INL"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37538
Location: 41:42.800 – 42:36.104
Duration: 00:53.304
Themes: 4
Context: I told Silvio that I had sometimes heard people talk about developing Tetun, and I asked him what he thought it meant to develop Tetun. Instead of expressing his own opinion, he instead explained his understanding of the role of INL. Silvio is very proud of the university where he works, so he also explains how his university is involved in the work of 'developing' Tetun. The Tetun department was only in its 4th semester at the time of this interview, so Silvio was excitedly anticipating the results.

1	SILVIO;	we have uh INL institute of nationa:l . language . uh . national language institute . here? (1.6)
2		they a:re . u:h . working on: . developing Tetun . and uh: . try to:, (0.9) find som:e . vocabulary words: . grammar: they are preparing some .
3		dictionarie:s and books:, (0.3)
4		and also they are, (1.0)
5		teaching, (1.0)
6		u:h . teachers . who teach Tetun uh . in the dis- in the districts?
7		((Melody cough 0.6))
8		and also: . two thousan:d . thirteen . we: open, (0.6)
9		new department . here what we call: . Tetun department?
10	MELODY;	oh really?
11	SILVIO;	yeah we have Tetun department . yeah yeah English department and then-, . we expect that uh: . this . Tetu- Tetun department will produce, (0.6)
12		Tetun course . teach Tetun in: . in the future yeah.

Silvio6 "They just put Portuguese vocabularies"

Themes: 4
Context: Silvio was taking me through his extensive knowledge of the religious history of East Timor, especially as it concerned education (he teaches a course on the history of education in East Timor). He explained that Tetun as we know it today originated from the mixture created by the Portuguese missionaries, who chose to use Tetun because it was the most widely spoken language on the island when they arrived. He then explains that it became more common because the local colonial governors were using it to communicate to their employees.

1	SILVIO;	they are converting to . Catholics, (0.8)
2		so that's why: . started at that time, (2.0)
3		the missionaries choose that language they learn the language . and then they . try to, (0.8)
4		us:e, .
5	MELODY;	yeah.
6	SILVIO;	this language translate the: . bibles.
7	MELODY;	mhm (0.4)
8	SILVIO;	they translate the bibles, (0.8)
9		an:d . they found out that . some words not exist . in uh . @Tetun.
10	MELODY;	@right
11	SILVIO;	so they- they just- . put . Portuguese vocabularies into that.
12	MELODY;	so they made it into [a little bit] of a mix.
	SILVIO;	[mix it]
13		mi:x it up. (0.8)
14		and started at that- at- at that time . they are an- they- . a new language coming in. (0.8)
15		what they call Tetun Prasa or Tetun Dili. .
16	MELODY;	[yeah]
	SILVIO;	[right now] the new language coming in and . because of the priest . they are . using that translation of the, (0.8)
17		Tetun? (0.9)
18		into:, (1.7)
19		mix up Tetun and Portuguese in uh in uh [Tetun mix.] (0.9)
	MELODY;	[doing their @best]
20	SILVIO;	and uh this language . the- Tetun language is the one, (0.7)
21		n:- normally: . use by: the . Portugue:s:e uh . employees? .
22		they call- at that time- the Portuguese time they call: Portuguese . employees.

Solomon

Solomon1 "From interacting with kids"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37494
Location: 09:29.743 – 09:49.282
Duration: 00:19.539
Themes: 1
Context: Solomon was taking me through his language background and I was asking him various questions about his memories of learning. He did not speak Tetun at home, and even though his mother is a school teacher, he describes speaking Tetun with them as "weird" even now. After this excerpt, he clarifies that the teachers were all Indonesians, so he spoke Tetun with the teachers' kids because that was their common language. He later attended an ecumenical preparatory school where the students' lingua franca was usually Tetun.

1	MELODY;	do you remember learning Tetun or was that something you grew up with?
2	SOLOMON;	that's u:h I don't remember learning it but,
3		I think that's my parents never, (0.7)
4		taught me at home. (0.6)
5		that's something that I learned from: . interacting with . kids like teacher's kids . uh, (1.3)
6		yeah . or in sch- in: seminary.

Solomon2 "Just use Tetun"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37494
Location: 20:16.137 – 20:46.118
Duration: 00:29.981
Themes: 1
Context: Solomon works as a researcher and writer for an important and long-established local NGO that focuses on governmental monitoring and analysis. Founded by an American expat, it is staffed almost entirely by Timorese. I asked him what languages he uses at work with his colleagues, and Solomon expresses that it's mostly Tetun, depending on the situation. He gives me an example and justification for switching into Tetun, although in a later excerpt, he will express frustration with Tetun for the opposite reason.

1	SOLOMON;	we use Tetun . yeah.
2	MELODY;	yeah?
3	SOLOMON;	um everyone's:, (1.3)
4		everyone speaks Tetun so we just use Tetun. (1.6)
5		I:, (1.1)
6		we tend to e- everyone also everyone can speak English so, (1.0)

7		it depends on the occasion sometimes we have meetings with: . other: . visitors? (0.6)
8		u:h, (0.6)
9		*malae* visitors and we just speak in: . English and . then if they couldn't . get . our words . correct then we just start . switching to Tetun @again @@

Solomon3 "I'm more open to people who are willing to learn my language"
URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37494
Location: 23:24.502 – 24:22.645
Duration: 00:58.143
Themes: 1, 2
Context: In continuing our conversation about language use in the workplace, Solomon was telling me about his non-Timorese co-worker Miles, and how well his efforts to learn Tetun were going despite his relatively short experience in Timor. I asked him how he felt about that and he responded with the excerpt below. Solomon then contrasts his feelings about Miles (and other Tetun learners more generally) with *malae* who stay in Timor for a long time and never learn any Tetun, explaining that they just use Indonesian. He jokingly offers to name some people with the assumption that I will know who they are, but I decline.

1	SOLOMON;	I think people are . making effort to:, (1.6)
2		to learn: . my language. (0.5)
3		and I: . I tend to:, (1.9)
4		va:l- (0.4)
5		not value? (2.1)
6		i'm more open to people who: who are willing to learn my language. (0.4) than people who . don't want to learn my language. (0.6)
7	MELODY;	are there people who don't? (2.3)
8	SOLOMON;	there: . you- you fi:nd? (0.9)
9		there are people who lived here for a long time but never learned Tetun. (2.0)
10	MELODY;	@how. @@ (1.0)
11	SOLOMON;	specific example [you don't want that]
	MELODY;	[no: yeah:]
12	SOLOMON;	I don't wanna mention names,
13	MELODY;	no no you don't have to say anything and- I- . I can see how you can get by but, (0.8)
14	SOLOMON;	you could- you could probably get by: a little bit. (2.2)
15		and- but- there are a- a lot of *malae* also understand Indonesian so sometimes it'll be like "oh instead of learning these new language I can just use Indonesian because then those people can speak Indonesian," (1.0)
16		so that . helps I mean? (1.8)

Solomon4 "That's the language that you would use"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37494
Location: 31:29.639 – 32:40.701
Duration: 01:11.062
Themes: 1
Context: Solomon and I were discussing the different emphasis placed on the different official and working languages of East Timor. I asked him what he though was most important for the future, and he started with the most important languages for the present and then worked his way to the future.

1	SOLOMON;	I think . the main thing is:, (1.0)
2		everyone needs to have good working knowledge of: . of Tetun. (0.7)
3		cause that's the language that you would u:se to speak . to: . people from other districts like people from the next village or, (1.7)
4		u:m, (1.0)
5		other languages:? (2.5)
6		well I guess the government is emphasizing peopl:e . to: . learn Portuguese. (2.5)
7		but we don't have a system that, (1.4)
8		helps:, (1.6)
9		like gro:w our general interests and so- I- I don't know.
10		we're very far from Portugu- Port- from Portugal. (1.1)
11		we:, (1.1)
		yeah I don't know it- it will take a lo:t . long time for us to learn Portuguese. (1.1)
		and I think there is also- for me: to learn Portuguese there is also that, (1.9)
		thing about "well it's a colo- colonial language". (2.4)
		so: . it- it's important to learn Tetun . for everyone.
		uh: . Eng- English? (1.0)
		i:s: . it is important probably for later?

Solomon5 "I feel really horrible"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37494
Location: 56:04.542 – 56:58.569
Duration: 00:54.026
Themes: 1, 2, 4
Context: As we were finishing up, Solomon turned to me and said, "you know…. I think the main thing with Portuguese is that it creates distance" (paraphrased). I asked him if I could turn

the recorder back on and if he would expand on that idea. He did, and repeated the often-expressed concern that the justice system is inaccessible because it doesn't operate in Tetun.

1	MELODY;	I'm gonna turn it back on.
2	SOLOMON;	yeah. (0.8)
3	MELODY;	can you repeat what you just said?
4	SOLOMON;	I said Portuguese creates distance becau:se, (1.1)
5		there are a lot more people speaking Tetun. (0.7)
6		but then- (0.6) things like, (0.2)
7		running into law pr- problems.
8		the la:ws are in Portuguese.
9		how I- I don't even feel that I'm apply: to it but, (0.8)
10		because that- create that gaps and th- people feel like "oh you know I'm doing something really terrible I'm in the court right now".
11		"and I don't know what they're talking about, the laws that they're reading in Portuguese"? (0.5)
12		"I don't understand it but- I must be: rea:lly:, (1.1)
13		and I feel really horrible" (0.9)
14		tha:t's you know that's that's not what we want, we want- a unity. (0.6)
15		and (1.0)
16		develop Tetun.
17		you know like if you use Portuguese? (0.6)
18		to- Portuguese is used for- people who are like,
19		"oh we're elite, we're (0.7) like up here, we speak Portuguese, and we're educated",
20		which is still?
21		in the past they- the Portuguese did that.

Solomon6 "This is Timor like this is our language"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37494
Location: 34:13.264 – 34:53.525
Duration: 00:40.261
Themes: 2, 4
Context: Solomon was explaining the various uses and importance of certain languages at various stages throughout a typical Timorese person's life. I asked him if he had to pick just one, which would be the most important.

1	SOLOMON;	I think . Tetun is I still stick with Tetun I mean it's important to know English it's important to know Portuguese . because we have, (2.5)
2		uh: . ties: with Portugal. (0.5)
3		but that's- that's . the only thing that's thing that's . main thing. (2.0)
4		but it's important to have our own languages like it's important to have Tetun. (0.6)
5		and, (1.4)

6		if we don't develop that language, (1.1)
7		I mean:, (1.2)
8		like I can't see ho:w (1.1) we: (1.1) we can:, (2.1)
9		cause essentially that's something that we say: . "this is Timor . like this is . our . language". (2.6)

Solomon7 "They used to have this guideline"

Themes: 3
Context: Solomon was expressing frustration with the mixture of orthographies present in various (we were actually critiquing the mural on the wall beside us at my job), when he segued into the need to prioritize Tetun over the other languages. It is possible that he was offering a gentle criticism of my role in East Timor at the time, in my capacity with the mother-tongue based multilingualism monitoring and evaluation team at UNESCO, which mostly focused on developing literacy in three local languages at the pre-primary and early primary level. This is not an uncommon sentiment, but what was uncommon was his relating this to the way that the Indonesian government 'developed' the Indonesian language during the occupation. My very poorly timed coughing cut him off before he could expand any further on this idea. After this excerpt he switched to complaining about inconsistency of acronyms (and new or uncommon acronyms that no one could possibly understand on their own).

1	SOLOMON;	there is . a lot of mixing and you need to develop one if you want to develop . other: . languages as the m- mother of instruction . you have to start with Tetun. (0.6)
2		cause, (0.7)
3		if you have al- already have that s-, (1.3)
4		s- uh structure or standardized Tetun . one and you translate a document and . publish all the English material- oh the um other materials in Tetun, (1.5)
5		and it said "this is the standard and every . material from now on they have to use this guideline of how to write that and how to use accents and how to", (0.6)
6		we used to have that in Indones-
7	MELODY;	((cough cough)) you had that for Indonesian?
8	SOLOMON;	yeah.

Solomon8 "Sort of put together language"

Themes: 3, 4, 5
Context: One of my interview questions was to ask people if they ever had trouble with expressing a concept or idea in Tetun and had to use other languages. Solomon said that he had the opposite problem; that translating from English to Tetun sometimes stumped him. This may be an expression of his own notions of linguistic purity, because he explains that some people will mix Portuguese or Indonesian into their Tetun, but he tries to "get as close as [he] can". His main frustration in this excerpt is that Tetun does not have as exact terminology as English. After this excerpt, we both tried to think of some examples but couldn't, so we moved on.

1	SOLOMON;	yeah there are expressions in English that you cannot . translate into Tetun . and I . try to find, (1.8)
2		the closest, (0.9)
3		thi:ng that we have in Tetun to . translate it? (1.2)
4		but even tha:t . sometimes . we: . cause Tetun: is uh, (2.7)
5		it's Tetun that we're using now . is uh: sort of . put together language . it has a mixture of Portuguese, (2.5)
6		uh I think Indonesian a little bit people now speak us:e . mixed with Indonesian language? (1.6)
7		so:, (3.0)
8		uh I- you try- I try to get as close as I can but it- it's always- it's different . with English with English like one word . that's specifically: . this word is specific situations. (0.5)
9		but in Tetun it's more flexible . you can use the same word to describe many . things.

Solomon9 "Why not waste the resources to make Tetun work?"

Themes: 3, 4
Context: Earlier in the interview, Solomon mentioned something about the need to develop Tetun. He has a background in journalism and works in development research and analysis, so this is an issue that he thinks about often. I asked him to expand on the comments he made earlier, and he expressed the view that the government needs to make deliberate interventions in the development of Tetun, especially with regards to language materials and language spelling. After the excerpt, I asked him who should be responsible for this type of work, and he tells me that the government should do it because it is too "messy" when left up to the people.

1	SOLOMON;	I think it's important to develop . Tetun because, (2.0)
2		we:'ve . we have- Tetun is: spoken in: some other di- districts already. (1.6)
3		and, (1.9)
		and it's . like the- that Tetun: . we call it Tetun Terik is spoken in um southern side and
		and everyone speaks it so instead of wasting all the resources trying to make Portuguese work for for Timor why not waste the resources to make
4	MELODY;	Tetun work for us for the language that we have already started speaking it's
5		yeah so how do you see that going I mean if you were gonna invest a lot
	SOLOMON;	of resources in in developing Tetun if what would you personally do like
6		what do you think needs to be done
		there should be systems put in place or ministry of education policies uh
7		in dessimin- making or producing materials
		like writing or uh I don't know start translating all the other lack of
8		materials like science materials book into Tetun
		um because then if you start translating it then you can come up with oh
9		the terms that we can use and also it's just um
10	MELODY;	standardize it cause we don't have a standardized Tetun we need to
	SOLOMON;	emphasize on choose one standard the one Tetun and make it standard
		is that referring to spelling or
		spelling yeah spelling mainly spelling uh and also because we feel that
11		Tetun is is our language we get to do whatever with it but no if you want to use it for education if you want to use it for for like as a official language you need to have a standardized Tetun
		because you cannot publish one thing in there are a lot of publications that
12		you read it and there're a lot of versions of translations we're like oh this one is using accents this one doesn't but this one use double A instead of
	MELODY;	just put a uh apostrophe on the top
		we need to start just use choose one and focus on [developing that one]
		[who's-]

Solomon10 "It can be frustrating to learn"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37494
Location: 25:24.09 – 26:42.234
Duration: 01:18.144
Themes: 3, 5
Context: We were talking about language learning in general, and then about language learning in East Timor. I asked Solomon if he'd heard people say that Tetun was easy to learn. I was about to ask him another question when he cut in with this comments about the lack of grammar. After this excerpt, he talked about language transfer issues that are apparent to other Timorese

when they are using Tetun with one another (which Solomon attributes to the different structures of their mother tongues), and then he talks about accents in Tetun.

1	SOLOMON;	I suppose I've heard people say that it is very easy and more people say it is very hard
2	MELODY;	what do you think
3	SOLOMON;	but some people find it more difficult than others um
		I think because Tetun is very flexible it can be frustrating to learn but once
4		you get the basic things down I think you're ok to get by with it
5	MELODY;	let's see
6	SOLOMON;	we can cause we don't have grammar and we don't have any we have
		things written in Tetun but structure you probably know more than I do but when we speak
7		you know there's a structure to the language but when we speak it's much more like mixture of
8		yeah I can throw in the subject all the way at the end
9		and that's just the thing to cause in at in my office we have other colleagues who come from different different um districts and they speak like for example Fataluku
10		and I speak Waima'a we're use when we do translation you can see like ok your translation is very different compared to my translation

Solomon11 "I try to speak in Tetun in Dili accent but I can never get it right"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37494
Location: 28:21.654 – 29:47.01
Duration: 01:25.356
Themes: 5
Before this excerpt, Solomon was explaining how you can tell where someone is from by the way they speak Tetun. He attributes the major differences to cultural references, but also pronunciation, and tells me proudly that he can speak Tetun with a Makasae or a Waima'a "tone". As he explains it to me, he also gives an eloquent account of the way speech accommodation works for him.

1	MELODY;	you can speak Tetun with an a:ccent. (0.5)
2	SOLOMON;	yeah.
3	MELODY;	cool.
4	SOLOMON;	but I can't- I can neve:r- I try to speak Tetun in Dili accent but I can never get
5		it right.
6	MELODY;	[really]
	SOLOMON;	[there's always my] yeah my, (0.8)
7	MELODY;	how come what- so what- sets it apart what makes it different- the Dili accent.
8	SOLOMON;	the Dili accent of- .
9		one I don't have many friends: (0.6) from Dili as I did in- grow up in- in

		Baucau. (1.1)
10		two? (1.4)
11		I think it's very f:lu:id for peopl:e as well?
12		that you tend to speak the accent- where people are from when you're- with a group.
13		so if I:- am speaking with people from my: language, my accent will be very (1.0) Waima'a. (1.6)
14		u:h (0.4) u:h so: (0.3)
15		if- or if I speak with- people from Baucau my accent is very Makasae. (0.9)
16		if I speak with people from Dili (0.5) my accent is- sort of close to Dili,
17		I- I never get it right but, (1.6)
18		it's an accent thing.
19		[its the same] thing with any- [with other lang]uages.
	MELODY;	[yeah.] [yeah yeah.]
20		so what is it you feel like you're getting wro:ng, (0.3)
21		when you- when you try to do like a Dili accent. (0.6)
22	SOLOMON;	u:h not the words not the:,
23		I think the way you say it. (1.3)
24		and you can say like "oh *foho- @- foho oan*". (0.7)
	gloss	((mountain mountain child))
25		and you can jus:t, (0.5)
26		and- yeah I mean, (1.1)
27		I live in seminary and we get- all this: like, (1.3)
28		the people, (1.0)
29		classification like they- they say "oh he's from- *foho:* he's *Dili oa:n*" and, (0.8)
	gloss	((mountain Dili child))
30		all those things.

Vana

Vana1 "Everyone grew up speaking Tetun"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37505
Location: 14:29.565 – 15:16.466
Duration: 00:46.901
Context: In response to the question "how do you explain how language works when you're telling people about your country," Vana is telling me about a presentation she gave in a linguistics class about language diversity in East Timor. After this excerpt, she also adds that English is becoming important to the youth, but that Portuguese is still the most important language for getting a government job. She then relays how amazed her classmates were at her multilingualism.
Themes: 1

1	VANA;	yeah so um what I presented was that um . how um-,
2		of course that Timor is very diverse when it comes to language . culture, (0.6)
3		um. (1.1)
4		but uh the interesting part is that.
5		everyone grew up speaking Tetun? (0.5)
6		but some people from district you know they speak their own dialect.
7		like in Ermera they will speak Mambae: or Makasae: (0.4) uh Fataluku: uh
8		but (1.5)
9		in- in general people would be- would speak Tetun. (0.6)
10		but the:n um inter- uh the interesting thing is that. (0.4)
11		um, (0.3)
12		although people grow up speaking Tetun,
13		you know when they go to study at- you know at schools they would have to learn Indonesian. (1.2)
14		and then after the independence uh everyone is required to know,
15		to be able to be involve in the government,
16		yous- you have to be able to speak Portuguese and understand Portuguese.

Vana2 "Instead of coming back to their roots"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37505
Location: 34:34.29 – 34.45.053
Duration: 00:10.763
Context: This was at the end of the interview, when I asked Vana to describe the language situation in Timor using 5 words- she chose 'dilemma' and then expanded on that thought.
Themes: 1, 2, 3, 5

1	VANA;	like how or dilemma I would say dilemma it's like how
2		people are slowly moving from Tetun to English instead of you know coming

back to their roots

Vana3 "Our real language"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37505
Location: 19:54.711 – 20:15.598
Duration: 00:20.887
Context: Vana has just finished telling me that she has gone through a transition of language appreciation in the last few years. She used to be ashamed to speak her mother tongue (Makasae), and preferred to speak to other Timorese friends (from uni) in English. Now she is proud of her mother tongue and wants to use it more. In this excerpt, she is applying that to other people, and to Tetun. After this excerpt, she tells me a story of recent travel to Venilale (in Baucau), in which she asked people how they felt about their mother tongues. They said that they were very proud of it because it's their identity. Vana lumps the mother tongues and Tetun together after that and repeats that "even though schools are using more Portuguese, I hope that the younger generation will use more Makasae and Tetun and others" (paraphrased).
Themes: 2

1   VANA;   I hope that you know like in the generation to come you know people would would speak more Tetun
2   because that's . um . like that's our real you know language . <yeah> and if if we just . if we stop speaking it like
3   like slowly we can we would be losing you know the . the meaning of the language and we would be slowly . losing the language itself . and um - @

Vana4 "They want to learn about your culture"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37505
Location: 29:21.629 – 29:53.548
Duration: 00:31.919
Context: I had just asked Vana if she knew any *malae* who were learning Tetun and what she thought about it. She gave me the specific example of her best friend's boyfriend Miles, and then she mused about it more generally. After the excerpt, she compares it to her own experience of learning English, and why she became more helpful to Miles by slowing her speech down when he was listening.
Themes: 2

1   VANA;   but um I'm had so many um interaction with *malae* who wants to learn to Tetun and I um
2   before I don't really pay attention to it but now I'm starting to pay attention and I feel like I'm very grateful and um uh and
3   at some point you know you show your appreciation towards them you know like they want to learn about your culture and

4   like for some people they would think "why do *malae* would" you know
           "would want to learn about us" you know "our language our culture" but

Vana5 "You find it hard to explain in Tetun"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37505
Location: 17:58.337 – 18:15.654
Duration: 00:17.317
Context: Vana and I were swapping stories about code-switching in our workplaces, and she offered a tentative explanation for why it happens.
Themes: 3

1   VANA;   but . sometimes like some words in Tetun . it's . like .
2   you . you find it hard to explain in Tetun and like you sometime so you you use
3   either Portuguese Indonesian or ah . or English instead to explain that . so I think that's-
4   MELODY;   does that happen pretty often?
5   VANA;   yeah.

Vana6 "Losing the real meaning"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37505
Location: 19:24.902 – 19:54.711
Duration: 00:29.809
Context: After I asked her to expand on a statement she'd made earlier about wanting to promote the use of Tetun more, Vana is clarifying with a very gentle critique of people who don't try to use Tetun more and instead code-switch.
Themes: 3, 4

1   VANA;   um I think it's because um we are slowly . this is like like this is what I've my perspective .
2   we are slowly . um losing . the real meaning of the language itself . um in a sense that . you know we just .
3   um . @ I don't know how to explain it but
4   sometime like you can see people . feel com- so comfortable you can actually sense that like they feel so comfortable speaking .
5   in English or Portuguese rather than speaking in Tetun .

Vana7 "Not constitutionalized … or whatever"

Location: 21:36.781 – 23:59.506 (silence: 23:26.264 – 23:34.298)
Duration: 02:22.725 (silence: 00:08.034)
Context: I had asked Vana what she thought about the need to "develop" Tetun, and what that meant. She didn't see a need for it exactly, but relayed a story from her then-boyfriend offering a critique of some Tetun resources. She then expresses a desire for a "simple" dictionary to help write or speak the words that have been borrowed from Portuguese. Following that, Vana shifts into recounting moments where Victor objected to and corrected what she feels is everyday, normal Tetun.
Themes: 3, 4

1	VANA;	um, (0.4)
2		we have this- Tetun- dictionary now and, (0.4)
3		I don't have any: knowledge of it I mean I ju:st read it through but (1.0)
4		um [clears throat] interestingly one of my friends, (0.3)
5		of course you know Victor?[85] (0.6)
6		he argues that that- (0.5) Tetun that is being used in that dictionary is, (0.9)
7		u:m (0.3) he said that wo:rd- I forgot. (1.0)
8		is not constitutionalized?
9		or it's not officialized or baptised[86] or whatever, (0.5)
10		so, (0.4) um, (0.3) he, (0.5)
11		he actually disagree with- (0.5) the Tetun words that's being written in that dictionary. (0.5)
12		but [clears throat] (1.0)
13		u:h because I'm not really: you know expo:sed to you know, (0.4)
14		deve:loped underdevelop kind of- you know- version of Tetun?
15		so I'm- I'm actually very comfortable of- (0.3) you know the Tetun that I'm u:sing (0.5)
16		but um, (1.1)
17		um, (1.3)
18		I- (0.5)
19		if, (0.9)
20		if you know if (0.4)
21		if I could request I would- hope . that you know we (0.4)
22		um there's um, (1.3)

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[85] As a reminder, this is a pseudonym. In the spirit of full-disclosure, it is important to note that the only time I ever felt that my life was in danger in East Timor was due to Victor's reckless driving, and while I tried to keep my feelings to myself, it is possible that this may have influenced certain portions of Vana's interview.

[86] At first glance, this word choice may seem odd. Catholicism permeates every aspect of Timorese culture and recordkeeping has always been their forte. There was a time when a Timorese couldn't apply for a passport or get married without a certificate of baptism, because Church records were the only reliable source of identification on dates of birth and parentage. So, here Vana is using baptism is used as a metaphor for 'officially sanctioned'.

23		you know that we are provided a dictiona:ry: that- you know- a more, (0.5)
24		simple version of dictionary that can- help us you know to- (0.5)
25		be able to: you know, (1.0)
26		write or- speak- the- words that we've been borrowing from Portuguese? (0.5)
27		yeah.
28	MELODY;	yeah.
29	VANA;	[I don't know if that-]
30	MELODY;	[do you feel like there's] a right or a wrong way to speak Tetun?
31		so- so Victor clearly has a- a [very strong] opinion about it
	VANA;	[mm]
32		yeah (0.2)
33	MELODY;	was he objecting to the use or just like the writing [or?]
	VANA;	[ah]
34	MELODY;	the words themselves [or?]
35	VANA;	[I think] just just the words.
36		it just just the some of the words that's being- you know sayed in that dictionary but. (0.4)
37		I think that sentence-wi:se u:m, (0.8)
38		you know- mostly you would sa:y (0.5)
39		uh, (1.0)
40		I don't know how to explain it like- for example the- (0.4)
41		the use of words u:m *mak*, (0.5)
		((focus marker))
42		or [*maka*]?
gloss		((focus marker))
43	MELODY;	[mm] yeah (0.7)
44	VANA;	so usually I would be- I- I would say um (1.2)
45		"o:h *nia mak hatete*". (0.5)
gloss		((he's the one who said that))
46		like "he's the one who said that". (0.7)
47		but you know if (0.9). if ah (1.)
48		((anonymizing silence 8.0 secs))
49		so but- but when- Victor actually hea:rs that you know I said like "oh *nia mak* s- *nia mak diak*", (0.2)
gloss		((he's the one that- he's the one that's nice))
50		he would be like, (0.3)
51		"*maka* . it's not *mak* . it's *maka*". (0.7)
gloss		((focus marker))
52		so I'm like- "what's the different between *mak* and *maka* I feel like it's just the same".
gloss		((focus marker))
53	MELODY;	huh. (0.5)
54	VANA;	and also when I say that "oh *hau ba karaik lai*". (0.9)
gloss		((I'm just gonna go down quickly))
55		means "I'm just- I'm gonna go a:h a:h, (1.2)

56		to see my friends who live you know down the street". (1.0)
57		Victor would argue and say that- "it's not *karaik* . it's *kraik*".
gloss		((down)) ((down))

Vana9 "Like I find it like difficult to understand"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37505
Location: 23:59.506 – 24:24.048
Duration: 00:24.542
Context: After our conversation about Victor's criticisms of her Tetun, Vana expresses some frustrations and insecurities about the confusion. As she was recounting these anecdotes, she seemed to be aware that it was making her feel bad, so she defended herself with a semi-confident and very hesitant statement about her competence. After this excerpt, she remembered yet another word that Victor had a problem with.
Themes: 5

1	VANA;	so sometime it's kind of confusing you know like- that Tetun that you grown with, you feel that it's normal, you feel- you've so used to it, (0.5)
2		and all of a sudden someone said "it's not true" (0.8)
3	MELODY;	[huh]
	VANA;	["this is] how you're supposed to say it" (1.0)
4		so sometimes it's just- like I find it- (0.4) like difficult to understand?
5		but I- (0.4)
6		I've- I stand my: (0.3) my case I mean I'm- I'm I've- I really, (0.4)
7		um. (0.4)
8		I- I u:se whatever the words that I'm you know grew up using

Vana10 "If I say this will he correct me?"

URL/DOI: http://hdl.handle.net/10125/37505
Location: 25:39.950 – 26:04.437
Duration: 00:24.487
Context: After all this talk of Victor's criticisms of Vana, I offered some examples of when my Texas English has drawn critique from other English speakers. Vana comments on how he makes her feel self-conscious, so she just shuts up when he's around. Afterwards, I asked her if she thought this was unique to him or if other people also police her Tetun and she said it was just him.
Themes: 5

| 1 | VANA; | it kind of puts you in a . conscious . state of . mind . sort of times just . wait- "if I say this will he correct me?" . |
| | | or- "if I do this will he correct me?" like that- it- it kinda put you in that situation . so sometimes – |

like . if I see him around I be like "nope . I'm not gonna say anything" <yeah> . just wait until he leaves I'm gonna be like . voice out whatever I have in my mind

Vana11 "People be like making fun of you"

Context: Vana explained to me that even though she had started out feeling insecure about her mother tongue, at some point she made a dramatic shift in favor of using it. I asked her to reflect on some of the causes of her initial embarrassment.
Themes: 5

1	MELODY;	so you've really made a change you said you started off feeling embarrassed and now you <mhm> feel really proud so can you <yeah> .
2		do you think you can identify the source of the embarrassment? what what made you <*um> feel embarrassed about it?
3	VANA;	because before .(cough).
4		people from different districts have have different accent . and like for me from Baucau . me and Helder
5		um we're from Bau- Baucau we have our own duh uh accent .
6		and Leo from Lospalos has him own his own accent .
7		so you know when you come here to Dili when you start speaking with that accent people be like making fun of you
8		and they would be like "oh you're actually from *foho*"
9	MELODY;	*ema foho*
10	VANA;	yeah "*ema foho* you're not *ema Dili*" .
11		so like that would be you know . some like that is something that you know kind of like that would like embarrass you you know if you start .
12		speaking in accent or speaking in you know other dialect .