



# Attitudes Toward Tetun Dili

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## Background: Tetun Dili

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- ▶ Tetun Terik > Tetun Dili > Tetun ‘Ofisial’
- ▶ Little formal linguistic documentation
  - ▶ Some early grammars of TD, dictionaries for TD and TO
- ▶ Mostly training materials for volunteers
  - ▶ Informal, self-taught
- ▶ No dedicated sociolinguistic work
- ▶ Varied descriptions in literature

# Research Questions

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- ▶ 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?

# Ideologies, Attitudes, Interaction (Stance)

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- ▶ Language ideologies

- ▶ Macro-level ‘common sense’, reside in the social consciousness, the environment for attitudes

- ▶ Language attitudes

- ▶ Individual negotiations within language ideologies (either aligned or opposed), strength negotiated in interaction, necessarily involve a degree of conflict

- ▶ Stance

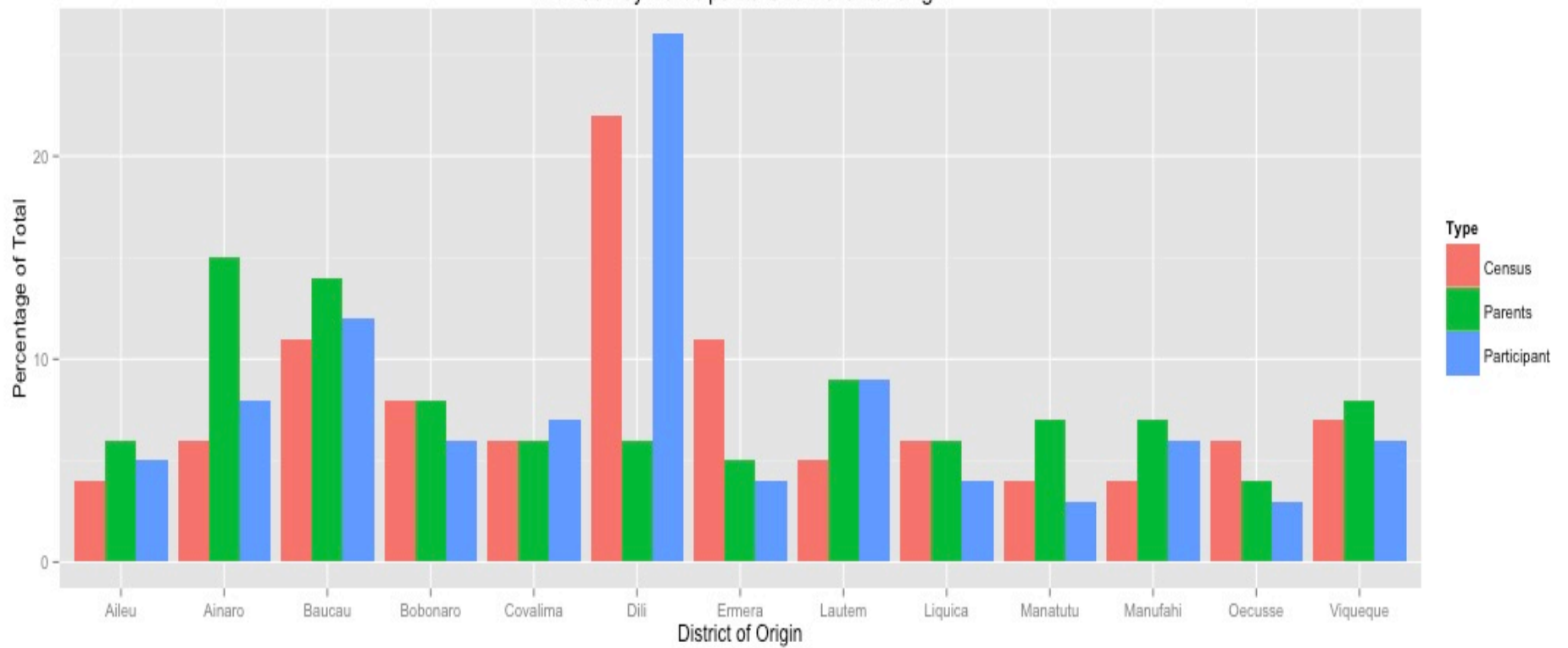
- ▶ “orientation toward an object”, mediated in several ways
  - ▶ Focuses the researcher on the micro-actions that create attitudes in interaction, adding detail and nuance to the whole image

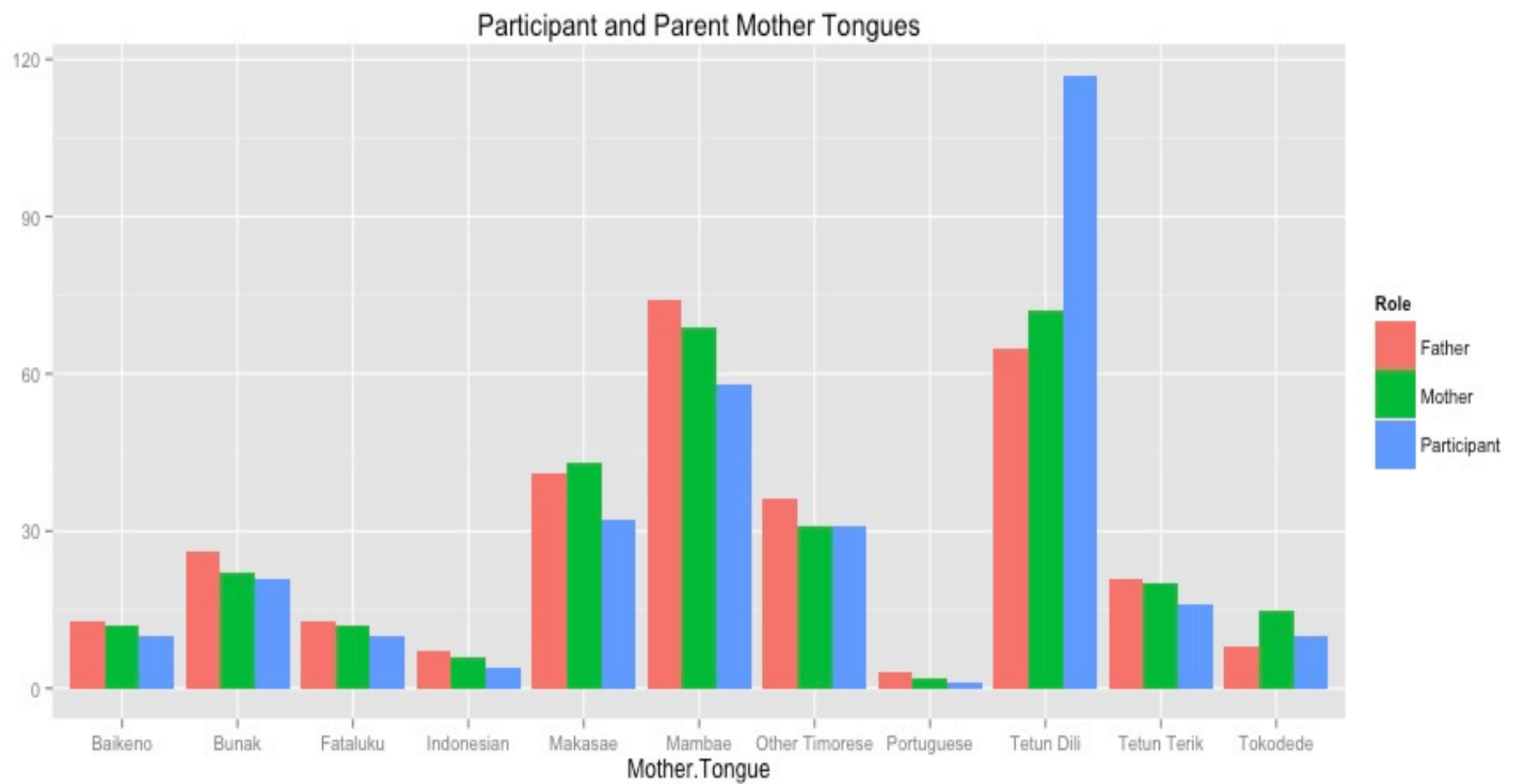
# Study 1: Surveys

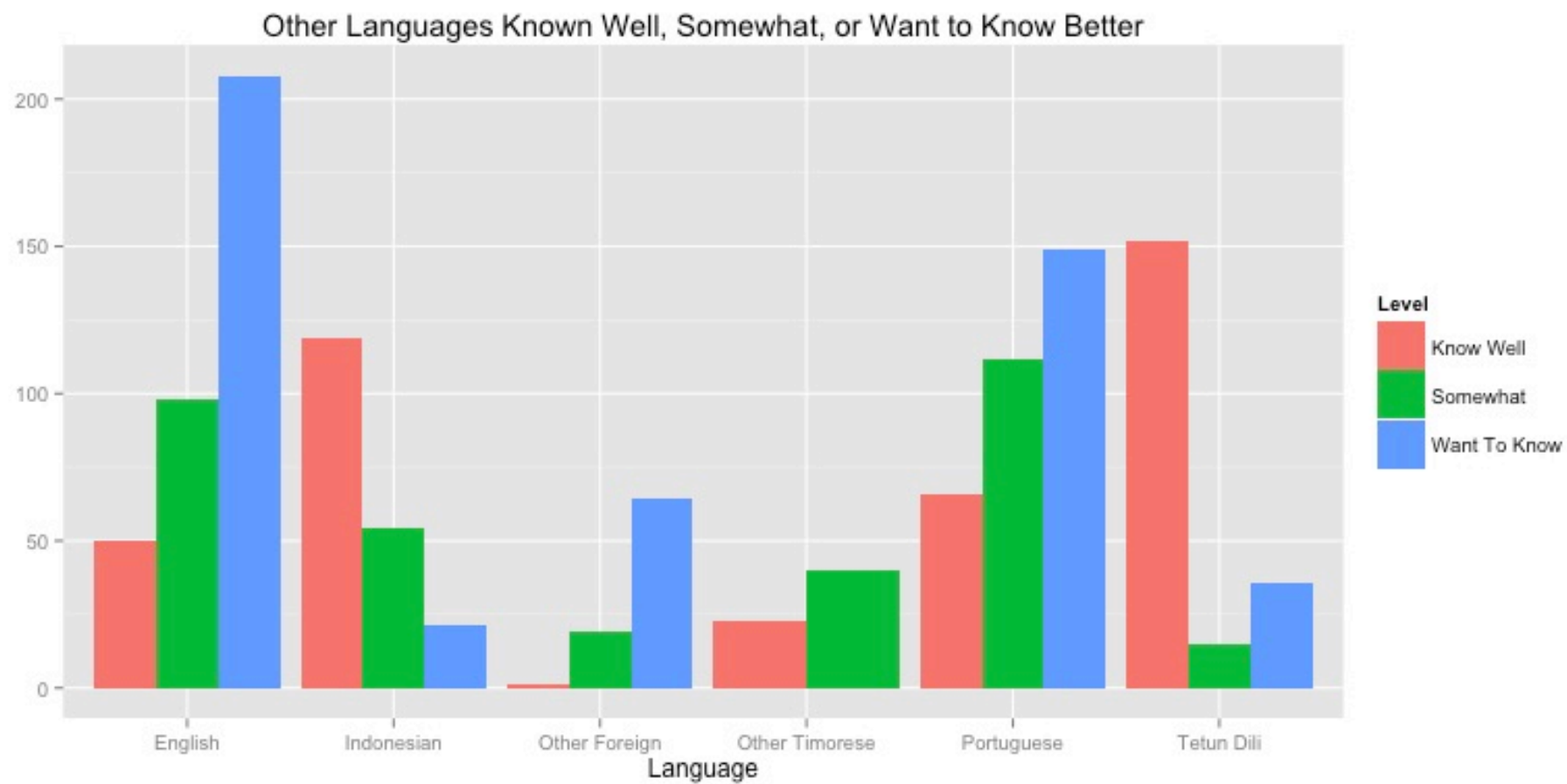
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- ▶ 301 collected
- ▶ Translated by committee
- ▶ RA training
- ▶ 100 questions
  - ▶ Demographics, Language Use (Actual), Language Use (Ideal), Language Attitudes, Tetun Speakers, Language Ranking, Language Description
- ▶ In general, positive evaluations of Tetun
- ▶ Generational shifts (1) toward settling in Dili, (2) away from speaking traditional local languages
- ▶ SES, age, gender, self-reported multilingualism, self-reported Portuguese fluency significance in linear models

Comparison of 2015 Census District Populations  
With Survey Participants' and Parents' Origin









# Study 1: Surveys: 5 Emergent Trends

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- ▶ 1. Tetun as social necessity
  - ▶ Highly preferred in every social situation
- ▶ 2. Tetun as marker of East Timorese identity
  - ▶ Component of Timorese-ness, emotional attachment
- ▶ 3. Tetun as target of critique
  - ▶ Inappropriate in some domains, negative stereotypes
- ▶ 4. Tetun as “developing”
  - ▶ Descriptions, views on utility
- ▶ 5. Tetun as locus of insecurity
  - ▶ Descriptions, contradictory attitudes

## Study 2: Interviews

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### Participants

Vana	25yo F
Alicia	28yo F
Melita	37yo F
Kika	39yo F
Flora	39yo F
Maris	39yo F
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Neto	26yo M
Joaquim	26yo M
Kane	28yo M
Solomon	28yo M
Lito	33yo M
Jorge	43yo M
Silvio	45yo M

### Methodology

- ▶ Word-of-mouth
- ▶ Always started in English; sometimes include some Tetun later into interview
- ▶ Conversational
- ▶ Around an hour each
- ▶ Private or semi-private settings
- ▶ Metadata, notes, archived
- ▶ Content and stance analysis

## Study 2: Interviews

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- ▶ Theme 1: Tetun as social necessity
  - ▶ Ubiquity, the background norm, the invisible air
  - ▶ In multilingual interaction, between Timorese and *malae*
  - ▶ Participation/engagement in politics and governance
  - ▶ Index of Dili localness, urban identity

## Study 2: Interviews

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- ▶ Theme 2: Tetun as marker of East Timorese identity
  - ▶ “Ours” – Tetun belongs to Timorese, Timorese belong to Tetun
  - ▶ Relationship to *malae*; equivalence between learning Tetun and respecting Timorese identity, culture
  - ▶ Connection, Placement, Situating

## Study 2: Interviews

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- ▶ Theme 3: Tetun as target of critique
  - ▶ Criticism of the language itself; suitability, complexity, simplicity
  - ▶ Criticism of the use of the language; style choices, vocabulary choices, accents
  - ▶ Criticisms of the relationship between the language and authoritative bodies; not doing enough, not doing it right

## Study 2: Interviews

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- ▶ Theme 4: Tetun as “developing”
  - ▶ In relation to Portuguese; comparisons and frustrations
  - ▶ In relation to authoritative figures; responsibility, intervention, ‘official’-ness
  - ▶ Consequences; lack of development, over-development

## Study 2: Interviews

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- ▶ Theme 5: Tetun as locus of insecurity
  - ▶ Insecurity related to the general position of Tetun; adequacy, future, propriety, registers
  - ▶ Insecurity related to personal use; ‘wrong’ words, regional accents

Vana7 “Not constitutionalized ... or whatever” (1)

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? (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 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)



Vana7 “Not constitutionalized ... or whatever” (2)

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*?  
((focus marker))

43 MELODY; [mm ] yeah (0.7)

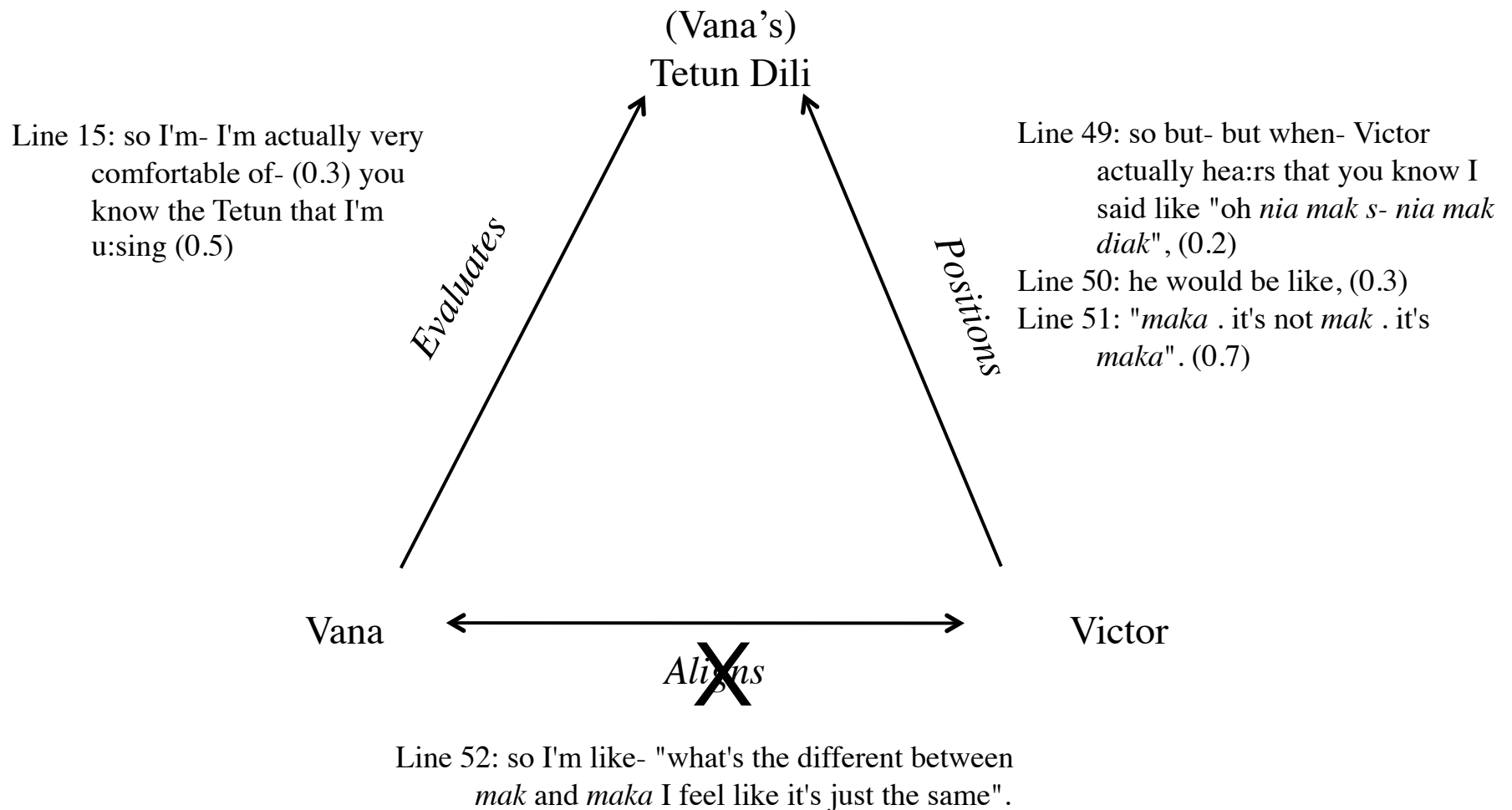
44 VANA; so usually I would be- I- I would say um (1.2)



Vana7 “Not constitutionalized ... or whatever” (3)

- 45 "o:h *nia mak hatete*". (0.5)  
((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)  
((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)  
((focus marker))
- 52 so I'm like- "what's the different between *mak* and *maka* I feel like it's just the same".  
((focus marker))
- 53 MELODY; huh. (0.5)
- 54 VANA; and also when I say that "oh *hau ba karaik lai*". (0.9)  
((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*".  
((down)) ((down))

Figure 6.3 Stance Triangle presented in Vana's discourse about '*mak*' in Vana7  
 "Not constitutionalized... or whatever"



# Ideological Underpinnings

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- ▶ Ideologies of Literacy, Orthography, Development
  - ▶ What is literacy? Whose literacy counts? Who decides?
- ▶ Ideologies of National Identity
  - ▶ What is the relationship between Tetun as government property and Tetun as identity?
- ▶ Standard language ideologies
- ▶ Ideologies of language-as-resource, language-as-problem, language-as-right

# Contributions

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- ▶ Reproduceable framework for situating language attitudes within language ideologies
- ▶ Contributions to Tetun Dili scholarship
  - ▶ Legitimacy of Tetun Dili as a field of study
  - ▶ Attitudinal work on East Timor
- ▶ Greater understanding of Timorese desires for their linguistic future
  - ▶ Positive attitudes, emotional attachment
  - ▶ Language shift, language insecurity
  - ▶ Development

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