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Für die Antragstellung ist keine besondere Form vorgeschrieben. Von den Antragstellern wird erwartet, dass sie eine detaillierte Darstellung ihres Vorhabens mit genauen Angaben zu den folgenden Punkten vorlegen:

- Grad der Bedrohtheit der betreffenden Sprache (aktuelle ethnographische Situation)
- Form und Ziel des Vorhabens
- Vorarbeiten
- Projektplan
- Zusammenarbeit mit der Sprachgemeinschaft

- Voraussetzungen (Durchführbarkeit vor Ort, Finanzierungsplan, Forschungsgenehmigung)

Antragsteller, die nicht der Sprachgemeinschaft angehören, sollten über gute Beziehungen zu den Sprecherinnen und Sprechern der von ihnen untersuchten Sprache verfügen. Das Projekt sollte in Übereinkunft und möglichst auch gemeinsam mit ihnen durchgeführt werden. Die GBS erwartet nach Abschluss des Projekts einen ausführlichen Bericht zum Stand der Dokumentation und zu den Ergebnissen des Projekts. Dieser Bericht wird auch im halbjährlich erscheinenden Bulletin der GBS veröffentlicht.

Einsendeschluss für Anträge ist der 15.06.2002 (Poststempel). Nach diesem Datum eingehende Anträge können nicht mehr berücksichtigt werden.

Anträge sind zu richten an die Schriftführerin der GBS, Silvia Kutscher, Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität zu Köln, D-50923 Köln.

Feldforschungsberichte von GBS-Mitgliedern

Eine bedrohte Sprache in Osttimor

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Dieser Bericht skizziert die Situation der Sprachen in Lautem, der östlichsten Region von Timor Lorosa'e (Osttimor). Er beruht auf einem kurzen Feldforschungsauf-

enthalt im Frühjahr 2001, dessen hauptsächliches Ziel die Untersuchung des Status des *Lóvaia* (auch als *Maku'a* bekannt) war, einer Sprache, deren prekäre Situation

schon seit den fünfziger Jahren bekannt ist. Auch der Status der Nationalsprache in Lautem, Tetum, wird hier angesprochen – es ist wahrscheinlich, dass ihr Gebrauch in nächster Zeit stark zunehmen wird. (Aus praktischen Gründen erscheint der zweite Teil des Berichts auf Englisch.)¹

Hintergrundinformation zur sprachlichen Situation in Osttimor

Osttimor gehört zusammen mit den südlichen Molukken und Westpapua (Irian Jaya) zu den Regionen im Pazifik, über deren sprachliche Gegebenheiten noch sehr wenig bekannt ist. Die Angaben im Standard-sprachenatlas für die Region (Wurm & Hattori 1983) sowie in Grimes (1996) beruhen weitgehend auf

¹ I would like to thank a number of people and institutions who have made this trip possible and productive. In Mehara I am very grateful to Señor Amadores Fernandes, the village head, who showed an eager interest in this project and greatly facilitated the work on Lóvaia. Señor Duarte Almeida, his wife Señora Lubania Almeida, and his younger brother Señor Fernando Almeida shared their knowledge of Lóvaia with me. John Bowden and John Hajek briefly visited the area in September 2000, established important contacts and provided me with very useful letters of introduction. The United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) in Lautem, especially Heran Song, the District Administrator, and Dariusz Rasiński were essential in providing logistic support. Last not least I am also very grateful to the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* who supported this work with a generous grant. A more comprehensive version of this report is in print and will appear as *Nikolaus P. Himmelmann & John Hajek, "A report on the current sociolinguistic situation in Lautem (East Timor)", Studies in Languages and Cultures of East Timor 4.*

Befragungen, die Arthur Capell in den vierziger Jahren unter Flüchtlingen aus Timor in Sydney durchgeführt hat (cf. Capell 1944, 1972) sowie auf nicht publizierten Aufzeichnungen des Anthropologen James Fox, der in den sechziger Jahren Teile von Osttimor besucht hat. Auch die portugiesischen Quellen sind äußerst dürftig, insbesondere wenn man bedenkt, dass die portugiesische Okkupation fast 500 Jahre gedauert hat. Hull (1998) enthält eine ausführliche kommentierte Bibliographie zu den Sprachen Osttimors. Ca. 95% der dort aufgeführten timorspezifischen Arbeiten beschäftigen sich mit dem Tetun, der traditionellen *lingua franca* des östlichen Timor (wozu auch die östlichen Teile des heutigen Westtimor gehören). Für das Tetun liegt eine ganze Reihe von Materialien vor, einschließlich einer modernen Grammatik (van Klinken 1999) und eines neuen Wörterbuchs (Hull 1999).

Wieviele indigene Sprachen überhaupt (noch) in Osttimor gesprochen werden, ist nicht eindeutig geklärt. Die Schätzungen variieren zwischen 10 und 40 Sprachen, wobei 15-20 eine realistische Zahl sein dürfte (Hajek in press). Für mindestens fünf Sprachen werden in Grimes (1996) Sprecherzahlen unter 5000 angegeben, wobei alle Angaben als unsicher gekennzeichnet sind (Adabe 1000 (?), Maku'a 50 "in ethnic group" (?), Kairui-Midiki 2,000 (?), Nauti 1,000 (?), Waima'a 3,000 (?)). Davon wird das Maku'a (auch als Lovaia bezeichnet) in Grimes und in anderen Quellen (vgl. Hajek in press)

als “nearly extinct” kategorisiert, was sich als richtig herausgestellt hat (siehe unten).

Mindestens drei der indigenen Sprachen – Bunaq, Makasai und Fataluku – sind mit einiger Sicherheit nicht-austronesisch (‘papuanisch’), wobei ihre genaue Affiliation und insbesondere auch ihre Kontaktgeschichte unklar sind. Während man in den meisten Kontaktregionen von austronesischen und nicht-austronesischen Sprachen davon ausgehen kann, dass die Austronesier spätere Zuwanderer sind, die sich entweder mit der einheimischen Population vermengt oder diese verdrängt haben, wird bezüglich der Populationen mit nicht-austronesischen Sprachen in Osttimor darüber spekuliert, ob diese nicht erst nach der austronesischen Besiedlung dort eingedrungen sind (vgl. Wurm 1982: 261-275, Fox pers. Mitteilung).

Auch andere austronesische Sprachen in Osttimor, z.B. Waima'a und Nauti, sollen phonologisch “auffällig” in dem Sinne sein, dass sie eine für austronesische Sprachen große Anzahl ungewöhnlicher Lautphänomene aufweisen (z.B. Vokalharmonie, eine relativ große Zahl frikativer Segmente, etc.). Es wird vermutet, dass es sich dabei um Kontaktphänomene handelt: All diese Sprachen werden im Umfeld regional dominanter nicht-austronesischer Sprachen gesprochen (das nicht-austronesische Makasai z.B. ist die dominante Sprache in der östlichen Hälfte von Osttimor).

Lóvaia moribund

For Lóvaia there are a number of conflicting reports and assessments both with regard to its vitality and its genetic affiliation. During the present investigation, the following picture emerged with regard to vitality: The last generation that fully acquired the language as a child appears to be the current generation of great-grandparents. Between 5 and 8 speakers of this generation are still alive, all of them more than 70 years old. These remaining speakers and their relatives are aware of the fact that their knowledge of Lóvaia varies significantly, the greatest competence being attributed to Señor Duarte Almeida and his wife Lubania. Observations during elicitation sessions with several speakers confirmed this assessment. Interviews with some of the children of the last speakers (who are between 30 and 60 years old) made it clear that they know a few lexical items but are unable to form sentences or give complete grammatical paradigms. Reports that up to 50% of the population of Mehara would be able to understand some Lóvaia and would know at least a few basic words could not be confirmed. Instead, it appears that knowledge of Lóvaia is limited to the small group of last speakers and their closest kin, the latter never having actively acquired the language.

There are still a number of reports of further remaining speakers which could not yet be checked. Thus, for example, it is reported that there is a younger speaker in his forties who currently lives in Dili. Even if one or

other of these reports turned out to be true (and the history of language obsolescence studies is full of last speakers who are found long after the language has been declared dead) it would still appear to be warranted to consider Lóvaia a moribund language.

With regard to its genetic affiliation, it may be briefly noted here that the data collected during this trip strongly support the view expressed by John Hajek (in press) and Geoffrey Hull (1998:4f) that Lóvaia is an Austronesian language and not a non-Austronesian language as speculated by Capell (1972). This is particularly clear once the subject-marking prefixes on verbs are taken into consideration.

More technical and comprehensive information on both vitality and affiliation, including the full set of data collected for Lóvaia, will be found in a forthcoming paper to be co-authored with John Hajek and John Bowden.

Knowledge of Tetum more widespread than widely assumed

It is often stated both by natives of the Lautem district and by outsiders that within this district knowledge of Malay is more widespread than knowledge of Tetum, the new national language of Timor-Lorosa'e (*Tetum* here and throughout this note refers to *Tetun-Dili* or *Tetun-Prasa*). An in-depth testing of language proficiency may show that this assertion in fact holds true for the younger generations who went to

school during the Indonesian occupation. But informal (and obviously subjective) observation suggests that the extent of the difference in knowledge between these two languages may have been exaggerated and in any event if there ever was such a difference it is disappearing fast, with Tetum becoming the preferred *lingua franca* in this area as well.

The basic observation is this: For the younger generations (roughly: people below the age of 45), proficiency in one language appears to go hand in hand with proficiency in the other. That is, people who speak fluent Malay also appear to speak fluent Tetum. And conversely, those who speak little or no Malay also appear to know little or no Tetum (since I do not speak Tetum my judgement of the fluency in Tetum is admittedly a very superficial one but the speakers themselves always confirmed my impression when explicitly asked about their proficiency in either variety). For older generations, a similar observation holds with regard to Tetum and Portuguese in that a high proficiency in Portuguese usually goes hand in hand with a high proficiency in Tetum.

The explanation for this pattern appears to be the same in both instances: Those who have a high proficiency in Tetum and Malay/Portuguese have usually spent extensive periods of time in Dili attending high school or university or training seminars by various government and private institutions (this was

already a well established pattern in Portuguese times although the number of people receiving higher and more in-depth education and training at that time was clearly much lower than in Indonesian times). While in Dili, they would have learnt and used Tetum in order to be part of the in-group communication among Timorese. And those who never left their native area may have learnt some Portuguese or Malay in school but never had much reason to use it since everyday life was, and still is, conducted in Fataluku (or Makalero (Maklere) in the Iliomar subdistrict). Note that the influence of Malay via the media, in particular television, was rather limited since public electricity has been available for just a couple of years and only in the subdistricts of Lospalos and Tutuala (there are no electricity lines yet in the other three subdistricts Iliomar, Luro and Moro (Parlamento)). On the other hand, almost everyone would know a little bit of Tetum since Tetum has been used as a church language throughout the area for quite some time.

Among the observations supporting the view that Tetum is making strong progress in becoming the *lingua franca* of the area are the following:

The members of the Timor Lorosa'e Polisía (TLPS), the emerging Timorese police force who at present assist the international police officers (CIVPOL) on their patrols and often act as interpreters, consistently use Tetum when speaking to locals with whom they do

not share the native language (for example, a Fataluku police officer in Makalero or Makasae territory) even though they are also highly fluent in Malay. I happened to be present on a number of such occasions and while I would be speaking Malay to the third party the Timorese police officer would use Tetum (this, incidentally, is one of the settings where proficiency in both Tetum and Malay could be observed and cross-checked with a fluent speaker of Tetum).

During a meeting for local political leaders and representatives of various local organisations which was organised by UNTAET (United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor) to discuss the upcoming elections for the constitutional assembly it was obvious that the ca. 150 local representatives considered Tetum the appropriate medium for discussion. Perhaps most telling in this regard was the fact that while the UNTAET representative used Malay (or more precisely, English which was then translated into Malay) and the politicians from Dili which sat on the podium also used Malay in moderating and elaborating the presentation by the UNTAET representative, the local representatives insisted on asking their questions and delivering their comments in Tetum (which caused a certain amount of confusion since the UNTAET interpreter did not know Tetum). Not surprisingly then the lively and extensive discussion among the Timorese which followed the official presentations was exclusively conducted in Tetum, the sole exception being a short address

by a FRETRELIN representative who used Portuguese.

Among younger people (15-30 years olds) it was repeatedly observed that whenever a conversation among Timorese involved someone who did not know the local language (Fataluku) one would switch to Tetum rather than to some other shared local language or to Malay. Such a switch even happened in those instances where some of the Fataluku speakers were not able to fully participate in the ensuing communicative interaction because their Tetum was not fluent enough. Interestingly, rather than turning away from the conversation these speakers would remain present in the background and eagerly observe the ongoing interaction, obviously attempting to pick up as much Tetum as possible.

It is not yet clear which consequences the strong identification with, and high prestige of, the national language attested in these observations will have for the vitality of local languages such as Fataluku or Makalero (the latter being spoken only by a fairly small population in the subdistrict of Iliomar). To date Fataluku and Makalero appear to be fairly vigorous in that they are used in a broad range of domains and by all generations. Their high vitality is probably due to the fact that their use was a symbol of resistance against the Indonesian occupation. The current change in the linguistic ecology, with a widely accepted national language Tetum and the official language Portuguese, may

very well lead to a rapid decline in the use of the local languages, in scenarios not unlike the ones observed for smaller language communities in Indonesia (cf., for example, Florey 1991, Himmelmann forthc., Wolff forthc.). Or, to put this more strongly, if one wanted to avoid a rapid decline in the use of local languages this is the time to start with some proactive measures such as developing some basic literacy materials etc. (see also Hajek in press).

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