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Colonialism in language documentation and revitalization – the times they are a changin’?

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Overview

- Defining colonialism
 - Colonialism and Linguistics – past
 - Colonialism and Linguistics – present
 - Language documentation and revitalisation mantras
 - Linguistic heroes?
 - Models of training
 - British Museum syndrome
 - Here's the grammar of your language – pity you can't read it
 - Decolonialising spaces for languages
 - Colonialism and Linguistics – future?
-

Defining colonialism

- policy of a foreign polity seeking to extend or retain its authority over other people or territories, generally with the aim of opening trade opportunities. The colonizing country seeks to benefit whilst the colonized country or land mass ... modernizes in terms defined by the colonizers, especially in economics, religion, and health.
- domination of an indigenous majority by a minority of foreign invaders who rule in pursuit of the coloniser's interests.
- *Types:* settler colonialism, exploitation colonialism, surrogate colonialism, and internal colonialism

Defining colonialism

- *Exploitation colonialism* – few colonists, exploitation of natural resources or population as (indentured or slave) labour, typically to the benefit of colonising centre
 - *Surrogate colonialism* – settlement supported by a colonial power where most of settlers do not come from the same ethnic group as the ruling power.
 - *Internal colonialism* – uneven structural power between areas of a state, originating from within the state, e.g. control and exploitation passing from whites in colonizing country to white (or surrogate) immigrant population within a newly independent country.
-

Impact of colonialism

- spread of diseases, **unequal social relations**, **exploitation**, **enslavement**, medical advances, the **creation of new institutions**, abolitionism, improved infrastructure, and technological progress.
 - spread of colonist languages, literature and cultural institutions, **endangering or obliterating** those of local peoples.
 - Universalism – concepts developed in the colonial centre must apply everywhere; the centre is presented as the source of ostensibly enlightened policies imposed on the colonies
-

Post-colonial approaches

- Attempt to deconstruct ideologies, social roles, and political power embedded in rhetorical stances and narratives of a discipline
- Address politics of knowledge in terms of epistemology, ethics and political theory
- Aim at making clear and challenging the theories (intellectual and linguistic, social, and economic) used by colonialists to 'perceive', 'understand', and 'know' the world.
- Establish intellectual spaces for subordinated peoples to speak for themselves, in their own voices, and produce cultural discourses of philosophy, language, society and economy, balancing the imbalanced us-and-them binary power-relationship between the colonist and the colonial subjects

Example of post-colonialist critique

- Political geographers suggest that colonial behaviour was reinforced by physical mapping of the world, creating a visual separation between 'them' and 'us'. Geographers look at how space was materially and symbolically appropriated to enable colonialism
- cartography was often manipulated during the colonial era as map-makers used **rhetoric** in their formation of boundaries and in artistic representations, favouring the views of the conquering Europeans, making any map created by a non-European **inaccurate**. Harley (1989): 'The steps in making a map – selection, omission, simplification, classification, the creation of hierarchies, and 'symbolization' – are all inherently rhetorical.'
- *Key concepts*: objectification, boundedness of entities, quantification, commodification, hierarchy of values (cf. Dobrin, Austin & Nathan 2007)

Colonialism and Linguistics – past

Errington (2001: 1) “European technologies of literacy enabled missionary and non-missionary linguistic work that resulted in representations of languages [as objects abstractable from texts] as powerful **icons of spiritual, territorial, and historical hierarchies** that emerged in colonial societies. As descriptions of languages travelled from exotic colonial peripheries to European metropolises, they came under the purview of comparative philology. This disciplinary precursor to modern linguistics helped to legitimize colonial linguistic projects and legislate colonial difference on a global scale.” (emphasis added)

p2. “language difference could become a resource -- like gender, race, and class -- for figuring and naturalizing inequality in the colonial milieu”

Colonial linguistics includes mapping monolingual blocks to control uncertainties of multilingual flux and reductively standardising them for literacy and religion (thereby ranking ‘degenerate’ variants below them) – cf. Luepke 2015

Colonialism and Linguistics – past

Irvine (2008: 1) “European ideologies of language, and the conditions in which linguists’ carried out their research, influenced the resulting descriptions of African linguistic structures and the delimitation of linguistic boundaries.”

Irvine (2008:16) “colonization ... turns cultural traditions and genealogies into ‘ethnicity,’ turns linguistic practices into named ‘languages’ corresponding (supposedly) to ethnic groups, and interprets multilingualism as a secondary effect.”

Dobrin (2018: 1) “The missionaries’ linguistic interpretations naturalized social hierarchies and reshaped languages on a European nationalist model that takes there to be an essential isomorphism between social groups (nation states) and languages.” In addition, there is one ‘heart language’ through which Truth can be expressed (and communicated to God), cf. multilingualism

Colonialism and Linguistics – present

- Resurgence of interest in linguistic diversity since 1992, funding since 2002
- Ideology emerges of 'endangered languages' being replaced by larger, more powerful languages, including lingua francas (which had been ignored in the colonial era) through 'language shift'
- Many aspects of colonialist conceptualisations continue to be taken for granted: languages as bounded objects, hierarchical ranking of ways of speaking, one 'mother tongue', multilingualism and 'code mixing/switching' as aberrations, simple linguistic ecologies (and pragmatics and metapragmatics), need for literacy to transcribe and translate (and gloss interlinearly), GIDS to measure 'vitality'
- 'scientific' (Western) research vs. 'unscientific' ethno-linguistics – the former achieved only by study and training vs. the latter from 'tradition'
- Reproduction of hierarchical positions of 'researcher' and 'researched'

Language documentation 1

- Term widely used in late 19th and early 20th century to refer to the study of indigenous languages in the Boasian tradition, characterised by:
 - brief summer fieldwork
 - collection of texts, vocabulary and grammatical forms
 - part of broad anthropological enterprise to 'save' disappearing cultures
 - training and engagement of informants as data producers and co-authors
 - use of latest technology



- goal: production of 'Boasian trilogy': text collection, grammar, dictionary
- (much material ends up in archives but not as a goal)

Language documentation 2

- “concerned with the methods, tools, and theoretical underpinnings for compiling a representative and lasting multipurpose record of a natural language or one of its varieties” (Himmelfmann 1998)
- Features:
 - *Focus on primary data*
 - *Accountability*
 - *Long-term storage and preservation of primary data*
 - *Interdisciplinary teams*
 - *Cooperation with and direct involvement of the speech community*
- *Narrow view*: outcome is **annotated and translated corpus** of archived representative materials on use of a language, cf. DoBeS/TLA, ELAR – separate from **description** (language as system)
- *Broad view*: outcome is transparent records of a language with description and theorisation dependent (Woodbury)

Language revitalisation

- efforts to increase **language vitality** by taking action to:
 - increase the domains of use of a language and/or
 - Increase the number of speakers (often in the context of reversing language shift)
- older than language documentation (serious work began in 1970s and 1980s among Maori, Native American groups and others)
- Speech/language community members are often more interested in revitalisation than documentation
- Often assumed revitalisation = formal language learning (school lessons, immersion)

What does revitalisation involve?

- Usually driven by ‘the community’ (who are they?)
- ‘Speakers create opportunities to use the language, and address the social attitudes that triggered the abandonment of the language.’ (Anderson & Harrison 2007)
- Usually involves second language learning
- and ‘the ability to shift the language into new domains of language activity’ (Williams 1992)
 - These are ideologically-based assumptions - may be challenged!
- Is it bottom-up or top-down?

The smell of colonialism

- Both language revitalisation and documentation are riven with colonialist methods and practices, often invisible and taken for granted by the practitioners.
- Dobrin & Good 2009: “there are institutionalized dependencies between academic linguistics on the one hand, and Christian missionary organizations and their products on the other”
- For documenters, their ready-to-hand tools were created by missionaries (SIL software: Toolbox, FLEEx, WeSay, SayMore)
- For revitalisers, the education system, often historically imposed by missionaries, is frequently the locus for re-acquisition

Colonial heroes



Modern linguistic heroes?



Linguistic heroes, 2008

“A new documentary called *The Linguists*, airing Thursday on PBS, follows ethnographers David Harrison and Greg Anderson as they race to document endangered languages in some of the most remote corners of the world. From the plains of Siberia to the mountains of Bolivia to the tribal lands of India, Harrison and Anderson have hopscotched the globe in ... their race to capture the world's endangered languages.”

<https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=100874724>

Linguistic heroes, 2018

Sarvasy & Forker (2018: 1) *Word hunters: Unsung heroes of linguistics* – “It reflects poorly in our societies that the contributors to this volume are not household names. In fact, these career-long linguistic fieldworkers are true heroes. ... There is no public reward for heroism. ... Fieldwork – taken here as *in situ* language research – is surely the ultimate all-around challenge that a linguist can voluntarily undergo.”

Note: all the contributors are white Europeans doing research in ex-colonies

Frameworks for ethical language research



Ethical
research

Advocacy
research

Empowering
research

(Cameron, Frazer, Harvey, Rampton, and Richardson 1992)

Ethical research

“... there is a wholly proper concern to minimize damage and offset inconvenience to the researched, and to acknowledge their contributions. ... But the underlying model is one of ‘research on’ social subjects. Human subjects deserve special ethical consideration, but they no more set the researcher’s agenda than the bottle of sulphuric acid sets the chemist’s agenda.”

(Cameron, Frazer, Harvey, Rampton, and Richardson 1992, p. 14-15)

Advocacy research

“... characterized by a commitment on the part of the researcher not just to do research on subjects but research on and for subjects. Such a commitment formalizes what is actually a rather common development in field situations, where a researcher is asked to use her skills or her authority as an ‘expert’ to defend subjects’ interests, getting involved in their campaigns for healthcare or education, cultural autonomy or political and land rights, and speaking on their behalf.”

(Cameron, Frazer, Harvey, Rampton, and Richardson 1992,
p. 15)

Empowering research

“... as research **on**, **for** and **with**. One of the things we take that additional ‘with’ to imply is the use of interactive or dialogic research methods, as opposed to the distancing or objectifying strategies positivists are constrained to use. It is the centrality of interaction ‘with’ the researched that enables research to be empowering in our sense; though we understand this as a necessary rather than a sufficient condition ... we [propose three] programmatic statement[s] and then pose various questions: 4 (a) ‘Persons are not objects and should not be treated as objects.’ (b) ‘Subjects have their own agendas and research should try to address them’ (c) ‘If knowledge is worth having, it is worth sharing.’”

(Cameron, Frazer, Harvey, Rampton, and Richardson
1992, p. 22-24)

Models of collaboration and training

- Extensive discussion of “collaborative/empowerment models” (Czaykowska-Higgins 2009, Glenn 2009, Leonard & Haynes 2010) however in many documentation projects “training” involves teaching software tools like ELAN, Toolbox, FLEx or SayMore to “native speakers”
- Narrow set of computer skills that are reliant on consistent literacy (for searching) not transferable outside the tasks of transcription, translation and annotation
- *Result:* creation of “plantations” or “sweat-shops” of local workers who are given basic tasks to create standardized template computer files (using local lingua francas) then sent to non-local researchers for value-adding (using academic lingua francas and specified analytical currency, e.g. Leipzig glossing rules)

British Museum syndrome



Bringing home the linguistic bacon

Creation of large-scale digital archives (TLA, ELAR, to a lesser extent Paradisec, AILLA) to collect the outputs from grants that researchers are required to deposit and self-curate (mediated by standardized and difficult to use software tools)

Result: terabytes of things (files) only accessible to those with the necessary keys (fast internet access, knowledge of software tools to open and access files, expert knowledge to understand and manipulate the analytical metalanguage (overwhelmingly English))

Unlike (colonial) museums there are only limited catalogues, and no exhibitions, finding aides or available guides for the user to interrogate or ask for help (cf. Woodbury 2017)

Pressure for “open access”, subjugation of speaker control over their instances of language performance and use, eg. ELAR removal of “C”

Despite the rhetoric



- lone wolf linguists primarily focussed on language
- little real interdisciplinary interest
- the linguist decides what to deliver to academia and communities and produces familiar and traditional outcomes (dictionaries, orthographies, story collections, etc.)

‘multipurpose record’

- Ideals are often not lived up to
 - lack of collaboration
 - corpora are not always representative, and may be heavily biased towards easy-to-hand ‘stimuli’ (Pear Story, Frog Story) – see following slides for ELAR
 - outputs are not always accessible – especially to communities – interfaces are problematic, even for ‘apps’ or websites that claim to be ‘user friendly’

Unrepresentative corpora



Endangered Languages Archive

Not logged in. [Login](#) | [New user](#) | [Search](#) | [Home](#)

Search

Found 46 resources in the archive (page 1 of 6)

[1](#) [2](#) [3](#) [4](#) [5](#) [6](#) [next >](#) [last >>](#)

Search ELAR

[Reset keywords](#)

Language

Avatime (Dominant) (5)
Chinese (1)
Cicipu (5)
English (6)
Gurindji Kriol (7)
Gurindji (2)
Kriol (2)
Nar (2)
Nepali (4)
Northern Arapaho (1)
Phu (1)
Sadu (1)
Spanish (4)
Yakkha (4)
Zapotec (4)

Type

Audio (31)
Deposit (3)
Document (4)
ELAN (17)
Image (2)
Text (4)
Video (10)
Zipped collection (1)

Text documentation of N|uu

Tom Güldemann

... 22 hours of audio and 10 hours of video material of the last 10 known speakers of the Nu language. Texts include folktales, personal stories, and conversations.

Cicipu documentation

Stuart McGill

... folktales, riddles, historical narratives, interviews, songs, prayers, and sermons; 9 Pear Film narratives and six hours of interlinearised time-aligned texts.

Documentation and grammatical description of Yakkha, Nepal

Diana Schackow

... documenting Yakkha, an endangered language of Nepal

▶ **FM09_a115 (Documenting Gurindji Kriol, an Australian mixed language)**

How to use search

You can search in two ways:

- enter text in the search box and press 'Search'. Search is not case sensitive, and variations of words are found, e.g. 'Village' finds 'villages' and 'Indian' finds 'India'; or
- click a keyword in the left panel to find a set of resources. Click another keyword to refine the results (a black keyword) or to find a new set (a brown keyword)

To refine your search:

- enter two or more words for results containing all those words; e.g. entering 'nigeria' and 'audio' finds the deposit *Damakawa wordlist* which includes recordings made in northern Nigeria.
- use the keywords in the left panel to browse and select further categories; e.g. if you search for 'nigeria' and 'audio', a list (under 'Tags') includes place and language names: Akoko, Ikaann, Damakawa and Sakaba. Click one to find a resource pertaining to that name

To reset search and display all keywords, press 'Reset keywords'.

Colour coding of results

Search results can include deposits, bundles (file groups within deposits) and people. These are colour coded:

▶ A deposit is a group of files that are related to a specific language or topic.



Search

Search ELAR

[Reset keywords](#)

Language

!Xo (1)
 Adelaide dialect (10)
 Avatime (Dominant) (9)
 Avatime (1)
 Brisbane dialect (10)
 Cashibo-Cacataibo (1)
 Chinese (1)
 Choguita Rarámuri (4)
 Ecuadorian Siona (1)
 English (Dominant) (1)
 English (9)
 French (5)
 Gija (6)
 Guari-Guari (8)
 Gurindji Kriol (10)
 Hupa (1)
 Ju|'hoan (1)
 Kabardian (2)
 Kibena (Kisovi) (2)
 Kibena (Nga?veta) (1)
 Kibena (8)
 Koyi rai (1)
 Kubokota (4)
 Melbourne dialect (10)
 Nalu (6)
 Northern dialect (20)

Found 196 resources in the archive (page 1 of 25)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 ... [next >](#) [last »](#)■ **Documentation and Analysis of Kabardian as Spoken in Turkey***Ayla Applebaum Bozkurt*

... documentation of Kabardian, a typologically rare and threatened Northwest Caucasian language as spoken by the Turkish Kabardian community.

■ **Documentation of Rongga***I Wayan Arka*

... Rongga has 4,000 speakers in the villages Tanarata, Bamo, Watunggene and Waelengga, on Flores Island, Indonesia. Data collected includes audio and visual recordings of interviews and observations and linguistic descriptions ...

■ **The painter's eye, the painter's voice: language, art and landscape in the Gija world***Frances Kofod*

The painter's eye, the painter's voice: language, art and landscape in the Gija world

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Corpus accessibility – I found it, what now?

Cicipu documentation

[Home](#) [Resources](#)

Found 60 bundles in this deposit with keyword **ELAN** (page 1 of 8)


1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 [next](#) [last](#)

▼ **Discussion of chieftancy**

svgd001.eaf Access protocol: **URCS**

[Download](#)

svgd001.001.mpg Access protocol: **URCS**



00:05 00:17

[Download](#)

Search this deposit

[Reset keywords](#)

Access protocol

URCS (60)

Language

[more](#)

Cicipu (58)
Tidipo (5)
Tikula (3)
Tirisino (6)
Damakawa
[more...](#)

Type

ELAN x
Audio (60)
Image (8)
Transcriber (3)
Video (10)
Document
Text
XML
Zipped collection

Tags

Kezzeme (2)
Photo
Photos

Genre


[more](#)

Deposit status

✓ **Curated:**
Resources online and curated

Depositor

Stuart McGill




Nationality: UK
Affiliation: School of Oriental and African Studies

Your access

Your roles: **URCS**

Tools

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Languages and archives

Deumert & Storch (2019)

“linguists’ practices [when they document and archive] reflect a number of old colonial epistemes ... [and] are also deeply embedded in unequal North-South relations, creating archives that are meaningful for linguists and other experts, but that are disconnected from the lived realities of speaking.” (p. 103)

“language archives represent language in the form of ordered and clean data; they are artefacts of the academic process, *not* language as lived and everyday practice ... the gaps, the silences, the very ordinariness of language, its everydayness, disappears once language (intangible heritage) is moved into materiality (tangible heritage)” (p. 105)

“language archives are the heritage of their creators, not that of speakers” (p. 111)

Language-as-archive

“in order to understand language-as-archive, we need not only look at the colonial origins of the discipline, with its focus on ‘capturing’ the language of the other (Southern, poor, in-need-of-assistance, outside of Northern knowledge production etc.), but also the economic structures of the neo-liberal university that requires scholars to raise their own funding via external grant agencies. ... Safeguarding and archiving language ensures that particular agendas of professionals of the North are achieved. ... We need to recognize that there are other – and perhaps less problematic – ways of supporting diversity than the creation of language archives.” (p. 113)

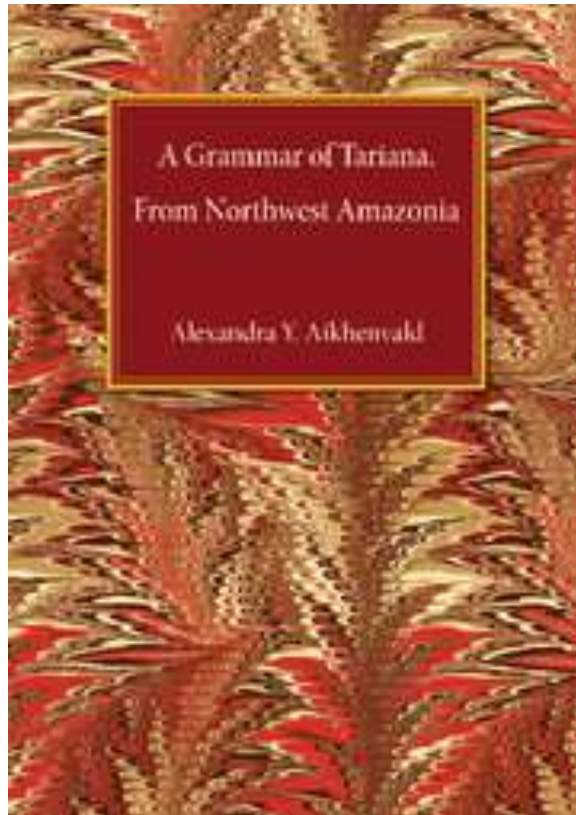
Nathan 2009 wrote of *archivism*: the archival tail wagging the linguist dog (archive formats and software driving research goals/methods)

Can we now speak of *grantivism*: granters setting agendas for linguists?

Granting agencies calling the tune

- In many ways, the formal requirements of documentation granters are driving research agendas, especially for less powerful and early career researchers like students and post-docs
- Desiderata of number of hours of recording and transcription/annotation hang over fieldworkers, driving them to meet the promises they made in their grant applications (and, for students, often at odds with their dissertation research agendas)
- Researchers are often forced to record video, even where they lack the skills or the contexts where it makes sense to do so (and speakers have to 'perform' like the images from the Colonial centre that they see on films or television, rather than 'chaotic' more naturalistic performances)
- The captured 'stuff' then has to be processed and uploaded using arcane and user-unfriendly software – failure to do so can result in threats, withholding of money, or punishment for future grantees

The linguists' main course

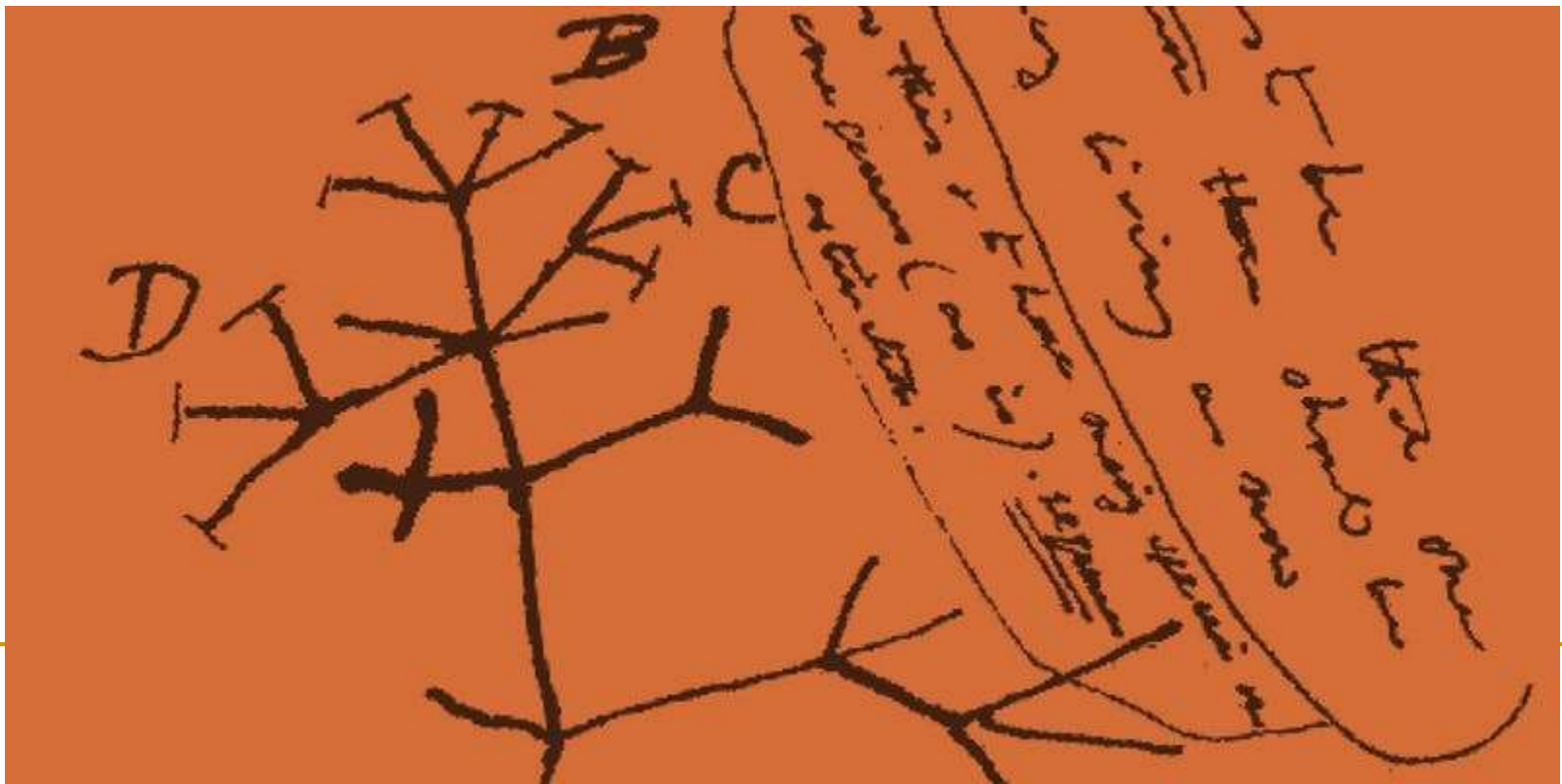


Here's the grammar of your language – pity you can't read it

- Most academic products for endangered languages (e.g. grammars, dictionaries, articles, teaching materials, apps) are written in a metalanguage that the speaker communities cannot access, replicating colonial hierarchies of language and power
- Creation of monolingual materials and metalanguage has a long history (going back to Ancient Greeks, Romans, Sanskrit grammarians) and exists for state languages, both large (e.g. English, Malay, Swahili) and small (e.g. Samoan school grammar, Mari reference grammar, Somali, Bislama grammar)
- Rare to find monolingual materials for non-state languages, but cf. Poerwadarminta 1939 “Baoesastra Djawa”, Q'anjob'al and K'ichee' monolingual grammars (Guatemala), Chatino (Mexico) monolingual dictionary, Luqa (Solomon Islands) monolingual teaching books

Public lecture 27 November 2018

Dr Alpheaus Graham Zobule, Founder and Director of *Kulu Language Institute* of the Solomon Islands, recounts a decades-long project that has allowed speakers of a vernacular tongue (Luqa) to study their own language in that language – an inspirational story of teaching literacy to strengthen an indigenous language.



Decolonialising spaces for languages

There have been some interesting recent examples of creating academic and research spaces for endangered and minority languages.

Juan Carlos Reyes Gomez delivered a lecture at ENGHUM summer school in Leiden 2017 on “Community strategies for the strengthening and development of the Ayuuk language” in Ayuuk (Mexico)



Decolonialising spaces for languages

- Justyna Olko (Warsaw) organized a session at 2018 American Society for Ethnohistory: *Protecting Land and Water, Cherishing Language*, where researchers presented talks in Nahuatl, Mixtec, and Zápotec with Powerpoint showing English and Spanish translations
- Justyna Olko (2018) describes cultural documentation project in Mexico led by indigenous researchers and carried out entirely in Nahuatl
- Justyna Olko and John Sullivan have organised classes in Nahuatl speaking areas of Mexico reading classical texts so that contemporary speakers have a space to learn and discuss (1) their heritage, (2) the agency of their ancestors in response to Colonial government

Non-academic responses

Communities and individuals have responded by:

- Language revitalisation initiatives to increase domains of use and/or increase number of speakers, often through education or grass-roots activities (master-apprentice, language nests, language camps). This has often resulted in development of educational materials, mostly “grey literature” with limited distribution
- Engagement in language exchange through social media, especially Twitter, Facebook and WhatsApp or WeChat, involving hundreds of languages. Most material is siloed within closed groups and within the platforms, and not accessible outside but cf. Indigenous Tweets and Indigenous Blogs

Language	🔼 Users	🔼 Tweets	▼ Top User	🔼 Tweets	🔼 First Tweet	🔼
Euskara	17052	10664821	berria	131815	eastigarraga	
Kiswahili	1296	8413349	radiomaisha	169950	issamichuzi	
Cymraeg	14273	5698636	newyddcymraeg	100353	meigwilym	
Kreyòl Ayisyen	14270	5604681	amour109	80701	tichrist	
Gaeilge	13719	2596781	aonghusoha	105259	imeall	
Kapampangan	1379	2183819	keeyttguevarra	21764	desperada	
Frysk	2712	1439821	petrakramer	464477	eetweetje	
Setswana	314	817857	sesutho	55484	WameDre	
Asturianu	779	637236	iyangc	38880	Pingarates	
Hausa	1331	461283	bbchausa	49726	mojaam	
Ikinyarwanda	289	451935	TweetRwanda	60099	kwitob	
Gàidhlig	1842	368405	sconewt	27303	Seumas	
Soomaaliga	558	309362	BBCSomali	19451	HaPpYMaXaMeD	
Yorùbá	2239	297132	jag_bros	9001	kojere	
Boarisch	5	229809	bayernuhr	223452	steffkellerband	
Igbo	1180	217592	IgboBible	19299	Igbopeople	
Aragonés	187	185220	MTrujilloBerges	16756	jesmar	
Māori	619	151594	maonewt	29810	DigitalMaori	
Gaelg	288	110444	glvold	40479	greinneyder	
Brezhoneg	553	91286	YKastell	13319	strangeland	
Lingua Latina	72	89840	Vallensis	18220	henduu14	
Davvisámegiella	234	70713	YleSapmi	15324	kirstiguvsam	
Chamoru	65	68101	chanewtest	25699	Aufhebung	

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Blog

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Language	🚩 Blogs ▾	Posts 🚩	Words 🚩	Top Blog	🚩
Cymraeg	278	28286	6741085	BlogMenai.com	
Gaeilge	188	17651	4358526	Smaointe Fánacha Aonghusa	
ཨོ་རྩ་སྐད་	78	6104	1063911	ཨོ་རྩ་སྐད་ཨོ་རྩ་སྐད་	
Gàidhlig	74	3274	571331	Gàidhlig – cha bhithinn às a h-aonais!	
Occitan	69	8626	2541720	Democracia per Occitània	
יִידיש	51	2651	832754	קטלא קניא	
Føroyskt	45	10818	3049278	birk	
Aragonés	45	5854	840940	Tierra de barrenaus	
Hausa	42	3097	2089253	Kimiyya da Fasahar Sadarwa!	
Kreyòl Ayisyen	41	2594	653575	..	
Afaan Oromoo	40	2509	906516	Oromo Free Speech	
Furlan	35	8493	1332595	UNE VÔS ZOVINE, UNE VÔS LIBARE!! blog di Christian Romanini	
Ikinyarwanda	35	3843	1474499	Rwandan News	
Tetun	33	17581	8600742	TIMOR AGORA	
Brezhoneg	29	1635	688535	BREZHONEG DIGOR	
Kapampangan	27	1077	1218643	Kapampangan English Bible	
Удмурт	23	1134	217000	мынам малпанъёсы	
Davvisámegiella	22	3578	466985	villle.se	
Bicol	22	820	686553	An Libro Ni Mormon (An Saro Pang Tipan Ni Jesucristo)	
Papiamentu	21	4357	1097799	Curacao Softball	
Frysk	21	5142	1117462	Stikelstekker	
vakaViti	19	141	101507	Nai Vola vanua kei Yacata	
Māori	17	254	64175	Los Fairhalls en Extranjero	

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Colonialism and Linguistics – the future?

- Despite the rhetoric of “empowerment research” creating multifunctional outputs for multiple audiences through collaboration, much of the work in language documentation and revitalisation continues colonial ideologies and histories
- Recently there have been some initiatives that suggest decolonialisation of research spaces and research outcomes may be possible; hegemonies of multilingualism have been queried
- However, the audit culture of current academia that values certain kinds of products written in a limited number of large languages creates institutional barriers to change
- Also, the dominant culture of academic conferences and meetings and existing structural barriers to entry for women, minorities and early career researchers also mean that it will be difficult to create post-colonial real world spaces for minority languages and their speakers to fully participate. This does not mean we should not try

The times they are a changin'?

- Perhaps, a little, in recent times
- But we need to challenge and question current rhetorics and behaviours that perpetuate world views and hegemonies that originate in colonial histories of the distant and more recent past
- Even if, or especially if, this makes some people uncomfortable
- Thank you!

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