

Linguistic Purism in Rapa Nui Political Discourse

In recent years, new discourses and ideologies of language rights and endangerment have emerged in the context of increasingly effective indigenous and minority movements around the world. A growing pride in and appreciation for local histories, cultures, and languages have led communities to devote effort and resources to recovering, documenting, and revitalizing cultural traditions and languages and to establishing and improving bilingual and multicultural education programs.

Though these changes have generally been viewed as positive, some observers express concern that some approaches to language valuation and revitalization might inadvertently do harm, for instance by overly objectifying language in ways that arouse apprehension and opposition from locals or possibly even accelerate language loss in communities where a shift to a colonial or national language is already advanced. For example, Peter Whiteley argues that the rise of literacy-based and logocentric language ideologies in the discourse of language revitalization in Hopi and other small-scale orality-oriented societies had the unfortunate consequence of undermining spoken language use in culture and society. Despite the possibility of revitalization offered by the relatively large functioning language community that the Hopi have, he claims that recently constructed ideas of Hopi as a reified, secularized, and written language led to conflicts between generations and ambivalence and even resistance to language preservation projects by some in the community. Other studies have pointed to similar social dynamics leading to, or resulting from, language objectification.¹ This raises questions of when and why language might become so objectified and how objectification shapes the course of language and social change.

This chapter presents a study of political discourse in the bilingual, indigenous Rapa Nui community (known to outsiders as Easter Island), where the local language has in the past been marginalized and endangered by the spread of Spanish, the national

language of Chile, but where recently a large number of people have become actively engaged in indigenous and political movements. I describe and analyze the ideologies of code choice and language revalorization that have emerged and become embedded in the discourse of the Rapa Nui indigenous movement, which has focused on demands for land and political decision-making power, but not, until very recently, on language maintenance per se. I describe the recent development of linguistic purism and in particular the ways that new purist codes and ideas have been constructed by political leaders and accommodated within the community's speech style repertoire. Linguistic purism can be defined as an insistence on purity or correctness of linguistic forms and, in the case of Rapa Nui, on an avoidance of Spanish influence. I identify and contrast two salient speech styles found in Rapa Nui political discourse—syncretic and purist—and relate these discursive strategies to the contexts in which they are deployed. Syncretic speech is characterized by the simultaneous presence of multiple varieties of Rapa Nui and Spanish within and across individual utterances. I argue that Rapa Nui speakers have not only constructed syncretic, and more recently purist, speech styles, but also deploy these as *linguistic registers*² for political ends to perform stances in ways that have served to reconcile different but not necessarily mutually exclusive sets of values—those of democratic participation and those of the politics of ethnicity. The Rapa Nui case illustrates how an endangered language community has contributed to revalorizing and maintaining its language by reexpanding the domains of language use, in particular by establishing new linguistic registers, which have added extra sociolinguistic meanings to speech styles and increased the linguistic heterogeneity of their language. This case stands as a counterexample to the findings of many studies that languages tend to exhibit declining variability under the dominating influence of a spreading language.³

Joseph Errington (2003) has highlighted three salient approaches or rhetorical strategies in the discourses of language endangerment and has pointed out how they each draw on different traditions of thought about language and society—comparativist, localist, and language rights approaches. “Comparativist” approaches value linguistic diversity as an aggregate of human universal capacities, and they draw on nineteenth-century comparative philology and contemporary linguistics. “Localist” approaches draw on late-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Romanticist thought and portray language in nature, closely tied to a place, culture, and an indigenous community. Finally, an emerging approach to language valuation focuses on the concept of “language rights” and builds on the discourse of the politics of recognition with its notions of human rights, indigenous property rights, and a multicultural civic society. Though different in their reasoning and strategy, all three approaches can reify or objectify language in ways that may remove it from the context of language use. The danger that has been pointed out is that this may smother linguistic liveliness and flexibility by, for example, imposing purist standards and devaluing language-internal variation, including both synchronic and diachronic and especially variation induced by language contact.⁴

The emerging linguistic purism on Rapa Nui evokes the localist approach to language and identity and other incipient ideas about language rights. Linguistic purism can, at one level, be viewed as consistent with language status planning objectives aimed at establishing local and national recognition of Rapa Nui as a legitimate *language* whose use should be authorized and privileged in extended spheres of the island speech community. The ideology of language ownership and rights finds its

energy in a monolingual concept of language, in which collective ownership depends crucially on imagining a historical continuity of language from a time prior to contact with outsiders. Such monolingual localist conceptions have inspired emerging practices such as language policing and the elimination of Spanish elements in Rapa Nui speech. As in other contexts, one might fear that such language policing and language revitalization efforts informed by the logic of linguistic purism could have the unintended effect of generating linguistic insecurities within the ethnic community—especially among non-speakers or nonfluent speakers and learners of the Rapa Nui language (a large group in the Rapa Nui situation)—by overly objectifying the language and restricting its use to the realms of self-conscious performance.⁵

Yet in Rapa Nui this danger has remained contained. The political activists who most commonly practice purist speech have been quite deliberate and effective at shifting between purist and syncretic speech styles in flexible and strategic ways that have, thus far at least, limited the danger of such unintended consequences. Purist styles have been used mostly to enhance Rapa Nui claims over symbolic and material resources, for instance by drawing ethno-linguistic boundaries between Chileans (referred to locally as “Continentales”) and Rapa Nui in ethnically mixed contexts. Purist linguistic choice has mainly had the effect of strengthening Rapa Nui unity vis-à-vis Continental Chileans rather than marking or creating differences within the Rapa Nui community. Syncretic styles continue to dominate everyday use and political discourse among the Rapa Nui in the charged debates about staking out new claims and defining new rights as an indigenous people. Purist speech is not displacing syncretic speech styles, nor has it been aimed at that. The Rapa Nui's choice to strategically mobilize linguistic resources according to interactional contexts has served them well. Syncretic Rapa Nui serves as an effective code for everyday and political discourse with its inclusive appeal in a language community with a wide range of bilingual competences and preferences.⁶ Rapa Nui stands in contrast to communities in which linguistic purism has exacerbated social differentiations or intensified conflicts. Two important factors allowed or fostered this divergent development: the transformation of linguistic ideologies and the relatively low level of social and economic differentiation within the Rapa Nui community. As will be described in the next section, the low level of social differentiation within the Rapa Nui community is a result of the island's particular history of contact.

Sociolinguistic and political context

The early 1990s marked the beginning of a period of resurgent political activism and rapid social change on Rapa Nui. This was fed by long-standing demands for political representation and rights and catalyzed in part by democratization and political decentralization projects and the continued rapid expansion of the heritage tourism economy following the end of military rule in Chile in 1989. The struggle for land has long been central to the Rapa Nui, who were formally stripped of their land rights when Chile annexed the island in 1888.⁷ Since 1989, the Rapa Nui have succeeded in remarkably reshaping the political landscape of the island by gaining new local decision-making autonomy, land titles, and vast expansions of representation and employment in local government. The meanings of Rapa Nui identity and language

and interethnic social relations have been extensively reshaped by the struggles and successes of this indigenous movement in a relatively short period of time.

Throughout its contact history, the Rapa Nui people have had to adapt and fight to survive as a people with a distinct culture and language in the face of frequently daunting odds. Most dramatically, in the 1870s the Rapa Nui were tragically reduced to only 110 survivors from an estimated population of 3,000 to 5,000, as a result of Peruvian blackbirders' slave raids and the spread of new diseases.⁸ This demographic devastation, coupled with intensified contact with outsiders, created a significant cultural and social discontinuity, including a flattening of internal social differentiation within this community. European Catholic missionaries who stayed on the island for several years after the slave raid led a community-wide conversion to Christianity among the survivors.⁹ Chile, a young independent nation brimming with new maritime ambition following its victories over Peru and Bolivia in the War of the Pacific, sent a navy ship to annex the island in 1888.¹⁰ After failed attempts to establish a settler colony and to administer the distant island directly, the Chilean government decided to lease the entire island to a Scottish-owned company to be run as a sheep ranch. Without apparent irony or shame, this commercial venture aptly named itself the "Easter Island Exploitation Company." "La compañía," as Rapa Nui still refer to it today, transformed the devastated island into a "company state" (Porteous 1981), monopolizing resources and territorially confining Rapa Nui for more than sixty years starting in 1895 to the village lands of Hanga Roa (Hanga Roa). Over this period, the Chilean government gradually increased its control over the island's affairs, establishing a civil registry in 1915, commencing primary school instruction in 1934, and promoting cultural and linguistic assimilation. Starting in 1956, Rapa Nui was administered as a colony under Chilean navy rule, but in 1966 a nonviolent political revolt led Chile to grant islanders citizen rights.

The arrival of a new civil administration and the opening of regular air travel in the mid-1960s expanded economic opportunities and improved lives for most Rapa Nui. It also, however, had the immediate effect of further establishing Spanish as the dominant language of the public domain, particularly after the influx of a large number of Spanish-speaking government functionaries and their families and the introduction of new Spanish-language radio. In this period, the Rapa Nui language came to be devalued by its speakers vis-à-vis Spanish and was increasingly restricted to private, in-group, and family domains; this accelerated a community-wide language shift to Spanish. As a result, a majority of Rapa Nui children and teenagers are not fluent Rapa Nui speakers.

Language shift on the island has not always been a uniform or one-directional process, however. Though the community became increasingly integrated into Chilean economic and social life, the Rapa Nui also greatly expanded their speech style repertoire with formal and informal varieties of Chilean Spanish and Rapa Nui ways of speaking Spanish.¹¹ New syncretic ways of speaking Rapa Nui have become the clear dominant unmarked code choice for everyday communication among Rapa Nui adults. Although syncretic Rapa Nui speech was originally mostly confined to in-group private settings, by the early 1990s it was fast being adopted as an emblem of modern Rapa Nui identity and solidarity in the context of a rising indigenous movement and new Rapa Nui assertiveness in both the political and economic spheres.¹²

Today, almost three-fourths of the island remains state property (as a state farm, a national park, and other public service lands). Land disputes on Rapa Nui have consequently involved direct confrontations and negotiations between the indigenous

community and the government.¹³ Rapa Nui political activists have strategically worked to increase local political and economic control by mobilizing their kin-based networks, operating within the national political party system, and forming shifting alliances with Chilean and international nongovernmental organizations.

Public debates regarding the drafting and implementation of Chile's 1994 Indigenous Law engaged the island residents as never before in questions of who is indigenous, who represents the community, and whether and how the new law should be modified and applied. Today, the island has about thirty-eight hundred residents, about one third of whom are Continental Chileans, including many who are married to Rapa Nui. Most Rapa Nui objected to the law's very broad original definition of "indigenous" as all who habitually practiced "life styles, customs or religion" of the "ethnic group," "whose spouse is indigenous" or who "self-identified" as indigenous.¹⁴ After much debate and agitation, the Rapa Nui succeeded in having the law redrafted in 1998 to restrict Rapa Nui ethnic membership to the "right of the blood."

By the mid-1990s, large numbers of Rapa Nui were participating in local politics to such an extent that in a 1999 race to select five ethnic representatives to the Development Commission of the government, forty-five Rapa Nui (6 percent of eligible voters) competed as candidates. Oratory and kinship are two important resources in these political contests. Hundreds of people turned out regularly for meetings and other public events, and the church grounds overlooking Hanga Roa became the site for near-permanent displays of signs and protest encampments. As a result of Rapa Nui political campaigns, the Chilean Congress approved special territory status for the island, and the government's legislative proposal was discussed on the island in 2006. Syncretic speech styles became increasingly prevalent in new public forums such as village meetings. Elsewhere, I have argued that the rise and spread of syncretic speech in the context of improvements to Rapa Nui economic and political fortunes have contributed to the maintenance of the Rapa Nui language (Makihara 2004). Over a relatively short time, the Rapa Nui succeeded at remaking their language into a public language by asserting syncretic Rapa Nui and Rapa Nui Spanish as legitimate language choices in public spaces where Spanish (and in particular formal Chilean Spanish) had dominated. It is only more recently that some Rapa Nui—particularly political leaders and intellectuals—have begun to develop linguistic purism, selectively using the purist register in public speeches in lieu of syncretic Rapa Nui or Spanish.

As in many other ethnolinguistic minority group contexts, the Rapa Nui often actively sought to incorporate themselves into the contact zones created by their colonial and postcolonial encounters with others. They constructed their ethnic identity and their language first in relation to, and only recently increasingly in opposition to, outsiders and their languages. The construction of ethnolinguistic identity and community has been not only about imagining and building solidarity and homogeneity but also, at times, about selectively identifying with or differentiating from social categories in the contact zones.

The changes in language ideology that have taken place over a decade and a half on the island are remarkable. During my first visit in 1991, it was still not uncommon to hear islanders describe Rapa Nui as "only a dialect," limited in expressions and "not a language," even among people involved in local politics. Such views partly reflected the internalization of still prevalent Chilean paternalistic, assimilationist, and discriminatory attitudes, which had been widely expressed in popular

and academic writings and discourse over the earlier but still recent history of Chilean–Rapa Nui contact. A particularly jarring expression of such views can be found in a 1954 article published in Santiago in the journal *Occidente* by E. Martínez Chibbaro.¹⁵ The article stated that the Rapa Nui language was a “Polynesian dialect . . . conserved only for special circumstances by an indigenous group of no more than 800 individuals, considerably isolated from external beneficial influences and from our country.” The author also stated bluntly that “the Rapa Nui lexicon does not seem to be enough in itself” and is “eminently affective, and for the most part onomatopoeic,” going on to argue that the “conceptual content of Rapa Nui, being necessarily poor, reveals incipient forms of many illogical categories,” and that the speakers’ “mental world is extremely reduced,” as they “do not know verbal termination, even the notion of verbal time, employing simply the words ‘before’, ‘after’, and ‘now’ to determine their forms of preterit, future and present” (31–33, 35, my translations).

Linguistic syncretism in political discourse

In the 1990s, political debates and other public displays of political expression became recognized as important speech events, and syncretic Rapa Nui soon became the common code choice at these events. Syncretic Rapa Nui speech is characterized by Spanish–Rapa Nui bilingual mixtures such as code-switching and interference. Rapa Nui speakers often use the term *ture* ‘fight’ or ‘demand’ to describe their political movement, especially in the context of their demands for the return of ancestral land (*henua*) as in *ture henua* ‘land fight’.¹⁶ To outsiders, *ture henua* political events and debates often seem lively, even chaotic. Many discussions, particularly when they involve large numbers of Rapa Nui participants, are characterized not only by linguistic syncretism but also direct, often confrontational styles of argument. Speakers address each other using nicknames, kin terms, and first names without titles. Bystanders and self-appointed spokespeople often make their way into supposedly closed meetings. Even though there is a general appreciation of the rules of debate, participants often speak simultaneously, jockeying to control the speaking floor. Rapa Nui have made informality and directness in speech, dress, and other aspects of self-presentation a tradition of their own that has strongly challenged the Continental Chilean institutional dominance and the formality and respect for social hierarchy that Chilean authorities had previously found easier to uphold.

The following excerpts taken from a three-hour forum to debate aspects of the Indigenous Law provide a vivid example of the use of syncretic speech at such political events. The meeting brought together the island’s Rapa Nui governor and representatives of a self-proclaimed new Council of Elders, which was challenging the existing council. Several dozen Rapa Nui attended. In Text 1, Juan Chávez, the president (C.) of the newly proclaimed Council (which many came to refer to as “Consejo Dos” or ‘Council II’) expresses his demand that his group should play a formal role in ongoing negotiations with the Chilean government concerning the modification of the Indigenous Law. After several minutes of debate with many interruptions and catcalls, the Rapa Nui governor (G.) rose to address the crowd and clarify the circumstances surrounding the government’s proposal.¹⁷

TEXT 1. Use of Syncretic Rapa Nui in Political Debate

		Translation
01	C: <i>E tiaki ena a mātou, ki tū <u>compromiso</u> era o te <u>gobierno</u> pe nei ē he aŋa mai e rāua i te <u>declaración</u>. Ko kī 'ana ho 'i e A. ko garo 'a 'ā e koe pe nei ē, mo tu 'u</i>	C: <i>We (excl.) are waiting for the <u>commitment</u> by the <u>government</u> that they would elaborate a <u>declaration</u>. A. (his fellow participant) told you and you heard that when the</i>
05	<i>mai o ra <u>decracione</u> (<u>declaración</u>), ki u 'i atu e mātou 'ana titika he <u>buka</u> (<u>busca</u>) a tātou i te <u>manera</u>, he aŋa te <u>rey</u> (<u>ley</u>) <u>āpī</u>, o que se yó, o he <u>junta</u> <u>ararua</u> <u>rey</u>, no sé. <u>Entonces</u>, ko rā</i>	<i>declaration arrives, and when we (excl.) see that it is correct, we (incl.) would <u>look</u> for the <u>way</u>, to make a new <u>law</u>, or what do I <u>know</u>, or <u>combine</u> together two <u>laws</u>, I don't <u>know</u>. Therefore, that is what we (excl.) are</i>
10	<i>me 'e te me 'e nei o mātou e tiaki atu ena, <u>incluso</u> ko ma 'u mai 'ā a mātou <u>por escrito</u> mo ai o te me 'e pahe <u>acta</u> o vānaŋa tahaŋa o puhia te vānaŋa i te <u>tokerau</u>.</i>	<i>waiting for. We (excl.) <u>even</u> brought in <u>writing</u> (petition for the declaration) for the <u>act</u>, so not just to talk for talking sake and have the words get blown away in the wind . . . [several turns of expositions by other participants]</i>
15	... G: <i>No, ko <u>acuerdo</u> 'ā pa 'i a tātou. <u>Mira</u>, el <u>problema</u> i te <u>hora</u> nei to 'oku mana 'u es el <u>siguiente</u>. . . . Te me 'e o te <u>sub-secretario</u> i <u>pía</u> mai ki a au, “<u>mire señor</u>, <u>usted</u> <u>vaya</u> a la <u>Isla de Pascua</u> y <u>materialize</u> <u>este acuerdo</u>.” ; <u>Cuál</u> es el <u>acuerdo</u>? <u>Primero</u>, el <u>gobierno</u> va a <u>estudiar</u> <u>una declaración de voluntad</u> o <u>mo</u> <u>rectifica</u> i te <u>inscripción fiscal</u> pe nei</i>	<i>G: No, (it's that) we (incl.) <u>agreed</u>. <u>Look</u>, the <u>problem</u> of the moment in my opinion is the following. . . . (This is) what the <u>sub-secretary</u> asked me “<u>look sir</u>, you go to <u>Easter Island</u> and <u>materialize</u> this <u>agreement</u>.” What is the <u>agreement</u>? First, the</i>
20	<i><u>estudiar</u> <u>una declaración de voluntad</u> o <u>mo</u> <u>rectifica</u> i te <u>inscripción fiscal</u> pe nei</i>	<i>government will study a <u>declaration of will</u> or to <u>rectify</u> the <u>fiscal inscription</u> which indicates the intention to <u>protect</u> the <u>rights</u> of the <u>Rapa Nui</u>, well, that, the <u>declaration</u> that they will study,</i>
25	<i>ē i aŋa ai te ha 'aura 'a mo <u>protege</u> i te <u>derecho</u> o te Rapa Nui, <u>bueno</u> <u>eso</u>, la <u>declaración</u> que van a <u>estudiar</u> i kī mai ena. <u>Eso</u> lo están <u>estudiando</u>, <u>ese</u> es el <u>primer</u> <u>compromiso</u> del <u>gobierno</u>.</i>	<i>(that's what) they said. They are <u>studying</u> that, that is the first <u>commitment</u> from the <u>government</u>. <u>Second</u>, within the period of <u>thirty days</u>, you go to <u>Rapa Nui</u>, within the <u>period</u> of <u>thirty days</u>, get in <u>agreement</u> to send us back the <u>modifications</u>, if you want to <u>modify</u> the <u>second</u> <u>article</u> <u>Letter C</u>, take it and <u>urgently</u> send to the <u>Congreso</u> so that it would be</i>
30	<i><u>Segundo</u>, dentro del <u>plazo</u> de <u>treinta</u> <u>días</u>, ka oho a kōrua ki Rapa Nui, dentro el <u>plazo</u> de <u>treinta</u> <u>días</u>, <u>póngase</u> de <u>acuerdo</u> ka haka-ma 'u mai te <u>modificacione</u> (<u>modificación</u>), mo haŋa</i>	<i>approved by the <u>House of Deputies</u> and <u>Senators</u>. . . .</i>
35	<i>o kōrua mo <u>modifica</u> i te <u>artículo</u> <u>segundo</u> <u>letra</u> C, he to 'o mai he haka-ma 'u <u>urgente</u>mente ki roto i te <u>Congreso</u> mo <u>aprueba</u> e te <u>Cámara</u> de <u>Diputados</u> y <u>Senadores</u>. . . .</i>	

The text illustrates the “bilingual simultaneities” (Woolard 1998b) which characterize the syncretic Rapa Nui speech style, in particular the frequent inter- and intrasentential code-switching between Rapa Nui and Spanish, Rapa Nui interferences, and the frequent use of Spanish borrowings. Except for the numerous Spanish political and legal terms, the syncretic speech in political discourse is very similar to everyday Rapa Nui speech. In both cases, there can be considerable heterogeneity in the amounts of Spanish (or Rapa Nui) elements found in utterances across individual speakers or across contexts, indexing the Chilean-ness (or Rapa Nui-ness) of the discourse segments and the characteristics of interactional contexts such as topics and conversational participants’ bilingual competences and preferences. In this example, the governor’s syncretic speech is more Hispanicized than is his own speech in other contexts or the challenging leader’s speech. Besides code-switching and interference, other forms of bilingual simultaneities such as convergence are also observed in syncretic Rapa Nui speech. Consider, for example, the following utterance, taken from a similar political meeting.

- 1) *Se mantiene pahe Consejo de Anciano 'ā.*
 ‘It’s kept (nonetheless/still) as Council of Elders’.

Though most of the morphemes are in Spanish, the utterance is syntactically congruent in both Rapa Nui and Spanish and can be interpreted as a case of convergence of Spanish and Rapa Nui morphosyntactic frames. The utterance starts with the Spanish reflexive verb, followed by the Rapa Nui adverbial and the Spanish noun phrase, and ends with the Rapa Nui postverbal particle ‘ā. This particle is normally used within the Rapa Nui verbal phrase in combination with a preverbal particle to either indicate progressive or resultative aspects,¹⁸ and its presence in this utterance adds an emphasis to the continuing status of the Council of Elders.

Syncretic Rapa Nui speech in public domains was at first considered non-standard or a reflection of imperfect Spanish skills, but over time it evolved into an oppositional linguistic strategy that challenged the institutional dominance of Spanish (Williams 1977). By extending syncretic Rapa Nui from in-group and private settings into the public arena as they pressed for political demands and wider representation, the Rapa Nui contributed to eventually breaking down the previously established “colonial diglossia”—a sociolinguistic hierarchy and associated diglossic compartmentalization of the functions of the two languages (Makihara 2004). Syncretic Rapa Nui speech in political discourse partly reflects the rising democratic participation by Rapa Nui who were, in large numbers, taking part in local politics, challenging and often taking the place of Continental Chilean administrators and appointees. Syncretic Rapa Nui in such local political domains stands in contrast with the use of Spanish, which had at that point come to be viewed as an act of accommodation on the part of bilingual Rapa Nui toward monolingual Spanish-speaking Continentals and their authority. The more recent emergence of purist Rapa Nui speech in political discourse, which I detail below, is a further development transforming the ecology of political discourse on Rapa Nui.

Development of purist Rapa Nui registers in political discourse

The use of the Rapa Nui language in public and political discourse contexts where Spanish dominated was previously mostly limited to Rapa Nui greetings. Most commonly used is the versatile one-word greeting, ‘*Iorana*, originally of Tahitian provenance (Tahitian *Iaorana*), which has been widely adopted in daily interactions and is typically the first Rapa Nui word that outsiders learn. Continental officials have also frequently adopted the Rapa Nui greetings, ‘*iorana* or ‘*iorana kōrua* in initiating and ‘*maururu* ‘thank you’ (also of Tahitian provenance) in terminating their speech otherwise conducted in Spanish.

Rapa Nui speakers have recently begun to address the community members in public and political speeches as ‘*mahiyo* in opening formulas of address such as the following:

- 2) *E te mahiyo, 'iorana kōrua.*
 VOCATIVE the kinsfolk greetings you (plural)
- 3) *E te mahiyo, 'iorana te mahiyo o te kāiŋa.*
 VOCATIVE the kinsfolk greetings the kinsfolk of the territory

The term ‘*mahiyo* refers to an organized group of kin people. Broadly, it could refer to all community members or, more restrictively, to Rapa Nui unilineal descent groups and the non-Rapa Nui who are now associated with them. Social anthropologist Grant McCall observed that the term denoted “a group of persons under the dominance of a particular person” and was rarely heard during his fieldwork between 1972 and 1974 (1977: 37). During my stays between 1991 and 2007, I heard the term frequently, but exclusively at public speeches. The revitalized term has been used with a sense of inclusiveness congruent with the democratization of the political climate. The term ‘*kāiŋa* originally denoted an estate occupied by a descent group, but increasingly is used to refer to the entire island. Both ‘*mahiyo* and ‘*kāiŋa* evoke the unity of the Rapa Nui and continuity in the strong connection between the land and its people.

Over time, Rapa Nui leaders and intellectuals came to make speeches in what I call a purist Rapa Nui speech style. Purist Rapa Nui is not an archaic or older form of Rapa Nui but rather a newly constructed Rapa Nui speech form characterized by speakers’ purging of Spanish elements and by the conscious Polynesianization of talk. By limiting use of this speech form to carefully chosen occasions, they have been establishing this not only as a new speech style but also as a new linguistic register. In the context of the recent indigenous and political movement, Rapa Nui purist speech styles are emerging as one of a few new registers associated with the politics of ethnicity and as a code for the speech genre of public and political oratory. The values motivating the politics of ethnicity are “enregistered” (Agha 1999) into purist speech styles by speakers and socially recognized by the community. Through the purist register, therefore, speakers voice values and stances of the ethnolinguistic group’s self-conscious reflexive authentication and differentiation from other groups.

The recent creation of purist Rapa Nui registers constitutes a second set of discursive strategies whose deployment, along with syncretic speech, has been displacing monolingual Spanish speech, particularly in political and public discourse. Unlike the syncretic speech styles whose use was extended from informal and in-group contexts to political and public settings, purist speech is a more recent style that has been constructed as a register originating within political and public contexts. The development of the purist register has involved a markedly more conscious construction and deployment on the part of the speakers. The process of negotiation and acceptance through which this new style has been diffused and circulated in the community has taken place in contexts that have been highly charged with emotional and political sentiments.

One of the earliest striking examples of the use of purist Rapa Nui as a register that I witnessed took place at a 1994 meeting between the previously mentioned Council II and an official delegation of visiting Chilean senators, with a large Rapa Nui observing audience (see Text 2). At the start of the meeting, Juan Chávez, the president of the second council (the same speaker as in Text 1), pointedly and ceremoniously addressed the monolingual Spanish-speaking Continental officials in Rapa Nui. Chávez was a successful Rapa Nui businessman who could and regularly did also speak Spanish.¹⁹ He began by explaining the wishes of the Rapa Nui community, consciously limiting himself to Rapa Nui words and pausing every couple of sentences to allow another leader of the group (T)—also a successful businessman in the local tourist industry—to translate his words into formal Chilean Spanish.

TEXT 2. Use of purist Rapa Nui at a Meeting with Continental Government Official

		<i>Translation</i>
01	C: <i>Maururu te vānaŋa o te taŋata rarahi i oho mai ai ki te roa nei o tātou, hakaroŋo mai ia tātou ture.</i>	C: <i>Thank you for the words of the many persons who have come far to us (incl.), to listen to our (incl.) demands.</i>
05	T: <i>Muchas gracias, honorables Senadores por habernos dado la oportunidad, vuestra visita y así poder expresar nuestras inquietudes.</i>	T: <i>Thank you very much, honorable senators for having given us the opportunity, your visit and so that we can express our concerns.</i>
10	C: <i>Te mātou me'e haŋa, he hakanoho i te me'e ta'ato'a nei o te hoŋa nei e makenu mai ena, 'ina he aŋiaŋi mai. Te rua, te henua ko hape 'ā. Tiene que²⁰ hakatitika rāua i te rāua me'e, he hakahoki mai i te tātou henua.</i>	C: <i>What we (excl.) want is to stop all that is moving at this moment, that we don't understand. Secondly, the land (arrangement) is incorrect. They have to straighten out their deed and return our (incl.) land.</i>
15	T: <i>Nosotros solicitamos como legítimos representantes del pueblo de Rapa Nui que por intermedio de ustedes, ver la posibilidad de parar todo proyecto que esté destinado al desarrollo de Isla de Pascua. Pues nos falta una cosa muy</i>	T: <i>We solicit as legitimate representatives of the Rapa Nui people, that through your intermediation, to see the possibility of stopping every project that is destined to the development of Easter Island. Because we need one very principal thing, which is</i>
20	<i>principal que es la tierra, por eso estamos aquí para que ustedes transmitan al</i>	<i>the land, that is why we are here so that you transmit our concern to the supreme</i>
25	<i>supremo gobierno nuestra inquietud, para que vean la solución de reconocer y restituir nuestra propiedad a la tierra que es la base de todo el desarrollo de la isla. Sin la tierra no podemos hacer nada.</i>	<i>government, so that they see the solution to recognize and return our property to the land, which is the base for all development of the island. Without the land we cannot do anything.</i>
30	C: <i>O te vānaŋa era e kī era hoko rua tātou, he pia atu au ki a kōrua ta'ato'a, te hakatere nei o te hoŋa nei e oho nei, mai te matamu'a 'ā, mai te hoŋa era o Policarpo Toro i tu'u mai ai ki nei ararua ko reva tuai era 'ā. Ko tū me'e 'ā te me'e nei e aŋa e oho nei, 'ina he me'e i kamiare. Mo rāua e u'i mai e</i>	C: <i>Regarding what has been said about how there are two (groups) of us (incl.), I ask you all, the way of doing things and thinking which we carry on at this time, since the antiquity, since when (Chilean Captain) Policarpo Toro arrived here, with the ancient flag that had already existed. What we're doing now is the same, nothing has changed. They should look</i>
35	<i>hakatitika tako'a mai.</i>	<i>after us and also straighten things for us.</i>
40	T: <i>Los quiero invitar a todos los presentes para que viajemos al pasado, situarnos en el día ocho de septiembre de mil ochociento ochenta y ocho. Justamente la iglesia que existe en Pascua, ahí fue el sitio donde se inició toda esta historia. Cuando don don Policarpo Toro tomó posesión de la isla, con la voluntad de un</i>	T: <i>I want to invite all those present so that we travel to the past, to situate ourselves in the day 8 of September of eighteen hundred eighty-eight. Exactly the church that exists on Easter. That was the place where all this history started. When Don Policarpo Toro took possession of the island, with the will of one free sovereign</i>
45	<i>pueblo libre, soberano, lo entregó a otro pueblo libre y soberano. Ya existía nuestra bandera. La bandera que tenemos, solamente es para recordar lo que pasó en esa época.</i>	<i>people, who handed to another free and sovereign people. Our flag already existed. The flag that we have raised is only to remember what happened in that period.</i>
50	C: ²¹ <i>'O ira, vānaŋa ta'e rahi ta'aku, ko te vānaŋa mau nei 'ā te tātou vānaŋa, potopoto i ha'a'au ai o roaroa te aŋa. I ruŋa i te puŋa nei te tātou me'e ta'ato'a, mai te matahiti ho'e ta'utini e ono</i>	C: <i>Therefore, it is not a lot that I want to say. What I have said is all our (incl.) words, briefly stated so not to prolong the work. In this hoŋa are all our (incl.) things (information), from the year one thousand</i>
55	<i>hānere, e va'u hānere e ono 'ahuru ma piti, mai ira ki te hoŋa nei te tātou me'e o ruŋa o te puŋa nei.</i>	<i>six hundred, eight hundred sixty-two, since that time until now our (incl.) thing (information) is in this hoŋa.</i>
60	T: <i>Por eso, quiero aclarar que mi exposición va a ser corta, porque es tiempo. Porque la historia lo dice así que esperamos una buena disposición por parte de ustedes, honorables Senadores, y lo que queremos es que el gobierno tenga</i>	T: <i>That is why, I want to clarify that my exposition will be brief, because it is time. Because history says so since eighteen</i>
65	<i>la bondad de reconocer. Y eso es todo. C: Maururu.</i>	<i>sixty-five and that we are waiting for a good disposition on your part, honorable senators, and what we want is for the government to have the goodness to recognize. And that is all. C: Thank you. (applause)</i>

The delivered bilingual speech had two intended audiences: the Continental Chilean senators and the Rapa Nui participants and audience. The message to the senators in purist Rapa Nui speech was largely symbolic, aimed at highlighting the cultural differences between the representatives of the state and the Rapa Nui, and at adding weight to Rapa Nui claims to self-representation and ancestral rights over their land. The propositional content of the main leader's Rapa Nui speech, however, also targets his fellow Rapa Nui as explicitly addressed recipients of the message. The speaker frequently uses the inclusive first-person pronoun *tātou* ('we' or 'our', including you) to refer to Rapa Nui (except for one occasion where the exclusive pronoun *mātou* ['we' or 'our', excluding you] was used, line 8), and he refers to the senators and Chileans in general as *rāua* 'they'. He presents claims and requests addressed at the Chilean government by explaining them to the Rapa Nui audience, and he calls on the Rapa Nui to unite (especially lines 27–35) in pressing these claims. Of course the message content and the shift in "footing" (Goffman 1981) were fully intelligible only to the Rapa Nui-speaking audience, particularly as it was not translated literally by the other member (T.) of the group. In his translation, T. in fact goes well beyond the original in establishing the identities of the parties involved and the relationships between them: (1) the speakers as "legitimate representatives of the Rapa Nui people" (lines 14–15); (2) the addressees as "honorable senators" (lines 4 and 63), intermediaries who should "transmit our concern to the supreme government" (lines 21–22) and whose "good disposition" (line 62) would lead "the government to have the goodness to recognize" our concerns (lines 64–65); and (3) the Rapa Nui audience as the "free sovereign people," who had voluntarily agreed to a treaty with another free sovereign people (lines 45–46). Through the use of these "contextualization cues" (Gumperz 1982) and politeness markers, T. skillfully establishes a horizontal alignment between Chileans and Rapa Nui, and between the senators and the leaders of his organization.²²

The juxtaposition of the speaker and the translator and of two clearly separated languages, and especially the choice of purist Rapa Nui, contributed greatly to the communicative effectiveness of the performance. Rapa Nui purist speech is a highly marked and stylized form of speech that stands in clear contrast to the syncretic speech forms common in everyday usage. Mistakes that the speaker made and self-corrected in the use of Rapa Nui numerals (lines 54–55) may have pointed to the extent to which Rapa Nui terms for large numbers had fallen into disuse in favor of Spanish numerals, and the highly self-conscious nature of his speech act. The resulting linguistic code symbolically erases traces of Spanish and Chilean influence while indexing an autonomous Rapa Nui language and community.

The debates regarding the Indigenous Law have led to a sharply raised awareness regarding the definition of indigenous persons and the status of Continental residents married to Rapa Nui. In recent times, some Rapa Nui have blamed the increasing number of migrants and temporary workers from the Continent for a loss of local culture and employment, and many have argued for restricting immigration to the island. The logic of ethnic distinction is now at times also being recursively applied to the area of language. Notions of correctness are emerging that identify Spanish elements in contemporary Rapa Nui speech as inappropriate and to be erased and replaced by Rapa Nui or Polynesian elements. This resembles what Judith

Irvine and Susan Gal (2000) call "register-stripping," referring to the replacement of Turkish words by Slavic forms in the remaking of Bulgarian and Macedonian literary languages.

By choosing to use purist Rapa Nui and erasing Spanish elements in public speeches where the audience includes monolingual Spanish-speaking Continentals, the speakers are able to fortify the ethnic boundaries between Chileans and Rapa Nui by metaphorically deploying linguistic boundaries. Though only a fraction of Rapa Nui would have full competence in purist Rapa Nui speech or would choose to use it, many Rapa Nui would be able to understand much of the semantic content and certainly the metapragmatic meaning of this type of speech. The use and acceptance of a purist Rapa Nui register relies on the shared political demands of the Rapa Nui community and the view that this form of speech symbolizes and unifies the Rapa Nui, despite significant heterogeneity in individual linguistic competence. At the same time, the new register constructs and reinforces ethnic boundaries in ways that establish new internal distinctions or hierarchies by conferring discursive authority onto the political activists, who can now claim to represent the ethnolinguistic community. By virtue of their cultural and linguistic expertise, they have illustrated and established a symbolically recognized continuity between the past and present.

Language ideologies and language maintenance on Rapa Nui

The language ideology perspective²³ views language as dynamically connecting the individual to the social. It offers a useful framework with which to understand linguistic change and the ways that heterogeneity and variability in language use emerge and are maintained or are transformed as results of the choices of individuals and social groups motivated by language ideologies. Elements of the communicative context, such as who has discursive authority, are established out of a process of negotiation.

The Rapa Nui political movements and discourse that emerged in the 1990s strongly challenged and overturned older views—particularly those devaluing Rapa Nui culture and language—and fostered a new culturalist formulation of indigenous identity and rights. The remaking of the Rapa Nui language as a public language and the expansion of the syncretic Rapa Nui in political and public arenas are important reflections of this ideological change. Leaders and participants in political movements claimed and gained discursive authority for themselves, as well as increased symbolic value for their language, through the expanded use of the Rapa Nui language—albeit in syncretic styles—in domains previously dominated by Spanish.

Some Rapa Nui advocates today argue for new language maintenance projects using the rhetoric of the politics of territory, treating language as another indigenous right.²⁴ Like their ancestral land, language is described as a resource and a form of cultural property whose inherited ownership must be recognized by, and wrestled back from, the state. Like the local Rapa Nui lobster which is threatened by extinction, language has to be protected, and local, national, and international projects for

this purpose should be managed and planned by its rightful owners, but financed by the national government as a form of restitution. Elsewhere, I have elaborated on these ideas and reproduced and discussed an allegorical account to describe the Rapa Nui language situation related to me by the late elder, Nico Haoa.²⁵ Choosing his words carefully but eloquently in purist Rapa Nui in front of an impromptu gathering of Rapa Nui bystanders, he explained how the ancestral Rapa Nui language still existed in an essential form but that it had been displaced to the top of Punapau mountain just as the island's native grasses had been driven there by the spread of foreign grasses brought in by outsiders. Just as the native grass wanted to return to grow again in its birthplace, the Rapa Nui language would return and prosper. Elaborating on this botanical metaphor connecting people, territory, language, and history, he painted an image that depicted the language as enjoying an autonomous existence and agency that stood apart from everyday language use.²⁶ His choice of purist Rapa Nui, which contrasted with the syncretic speech style of the surrounding conversations, resonated iconically with this image.

Instances of language objectification and linguistic purism in particular can be also observed outside of political meetings. The most frequent targets are Spanish lexical items, such as numbers, names of seasons, and cultural borrowings. During a 2003 visit, I observed several cases of Rapa Nui speakers commenting on the use of Spanish loanwords and Rapa Nui replacements, including lively discussions regarding the use of terms such as *roro uīra* 'brilliant brain' for 'computer' coined by a local radio announcer. Corpus planning efforts have also been launched by the Council of Elders and local schoolteachers, which yielded dictionaries and a reference grammar.²⁷ Nevertheless, many Rapa Nui find Polynesianization and de-Hispanization unnatural. As one local fisherman summarized his views, "It is perfectly fine to speak in half Chilean and half Rapa Nui; we prefer to speak so that people can understand." A popular song composed by a Rapa Nui singer in his early forties openly mocks the practice of *haka Rapa Nui*, or Rapanuization, by political and cultural leaders, as a form of 'brain washing' (*tata puoko*).²⁸

Partly because of these positive attitudes toward linguistic syncretism, the use of purist Rapa Nui registers has largely remained restricted to interethnic and public settings where the association between linguistic codes and ethnic identity remains highly salient. Speakers in such public and political events are thus very self-consciously deploying purist speech as a linguistic resource and as a register to adopt specific stances. In cultivating and using purist registers, Rapa Nui speakers are constructing and participating in new political rituals.²⁹ These serve to claim and protect the newly captured political spaces and to represent the Rapa Nui as a unified ethno-linguistic community with an ancestral right to land and other resources.

A multiplicity of language ideologies can often be found within a community, reflecting the divergent perspectives associated with social groups that hold differing interests and positions within a society. An important contribution of recent work on language ideologies is the emphasis it places on recognizing the social origins of ideologies in power relations. Kathryn Woolard writes that language ideologies are "derived from, rooted in, reflective of, or responsive to the experience or interests of a particular social position" and exist "in service of the struggle to acquire or maintain power" and organize social relations (1998a: 6, 7).³⁰

It is from characterizations such as these—which connect different ideologies to different social positions—that several observers have generalized to warn of the potential dangers of purist linguistic ideologies in communities where local languages are being lost. As I mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, the concern is that purism might further polarize social groups within communities and create negative associations or insecurities among people who do not speak Rapa Nui or do not speak it well. Though this concern is a real one on Rapa Nui, I have sought to illustrate how ideologies can also be evoked in taking a stance or in voicing certain situationally grounded registers. This suggests that observed variability in ideology may reflect not only the positions of social groups with differing interests within a society but also political ideas variously emphasized or enacted by the same individuals across different communicative contexts. Individuals hold, order, and hierarchize linguistic ideologies or ideas in ways that may be sensitive to context. Linguistic purism on Rapa Nui has so far been accommodated into the larger and more dominant linguistic ideology of syncretism.

One of the important historical factors that may have fostered the development of this configuration is the relatively low level of social differentiation—along tribal, generational, gender, and class lines—of Rapa Nui society compared with other communities undergoing language shift. Ever since the leveling effects of the late nineteenth-century population crash, the Rapa Nui community has remained with relatively little vertical differentiation. Over the course of most of its contact history, the differentiation that developed was between the Rapa Nui and outsiders. Notwithstanding some class differentiation that has emerged in recent decades, the relatively low level of internal social differentiation has meant that there has been little evident advantage to politicizing language use or highlighting language differences within the ethnic group. This has served as the context for the transformation of linguistic ideologies and practice that I have discussed above.

In the recent postcolonial period, hierarchical language boundaries between Rapa Nui and Spanish were at first established but then challenged and blurred by the rise of syncretic linguistic practices which spread in part with the politics of democratization and the indigenous movement. The very success of the movement has now led some local leaders to develop forms of linguistic purism. If developed further, Rapa Nui linguistic purism could lead to a functional re-compartmentalization of language boundaries, with either Rapa Nui or Spanish chosen according to the situation. The question for the future is: Will this situation lead to a new form of diglossia—a form in which the Rapa Nui language is reified to approximate the superposed "high" variety in terms of its position in the sociolinguistic hierarchy, but objectified and encircled by purist language boundaries, with the consequent danger of contributing to language insecurity and hastened language loss? Or will purist Rapa Nui continue to be used selectively in mostly ritualized performances that help to preserve and recover Rapa Nui?

I am not able to predict how things will turn out. I have, however, tried to characterize the ways that different ideas about language and language use characterize modern Rapa Nui political discourse. This is not a case of two or more groups within a community with divergent socioeconomic positions holding diverse opposed ideas and expressing conflicts through language use (as in the Mexicano case described by Hill and Hill 1986). Rather, this is a case of individuals, often the same individuals,

deploying and managing purism as one of several discursive strategies. Purist Rapa Nui speech is used almost exclusively in contexts in which its participants are highly aware of a Chilean and other non-Rapa Nui audience, and mostly for the purpose of highlighting symbolic claims of Rapa Nui cultural autonomy. Yet it is syncretic Rapa Nui that continues to dominate everyday life and through which the real discussions of substance in political discourse take place. Instead of targeting purism at creating sociolinguistic boundaries within the ethnic community, for example along generational or class lines, the Rapa Nui have deployed purist registers in ways that have mostly worked to symbolically unify the ethnolinguistic community against outsiders.

Notes

Field research was supported by the National Science Foundation and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. Ivonne Calderón Haoa provided invaluable research assistance. Bambi Schieffelin, Susan Philips, and Riet Delsing offered extensive comments on earlier versions of this chapter. I am also grateful for the encouragement and comments of the participants at the Association for Social Anthropology of Oceania and at the Interdisciplinary Workshop on Language Ideology and Minority Language Communities at the University of California, San Diego, and of the other contributors to this volume.

1. Some of these studies have described the development of competing models and varieties of minority, previously vernacular, languages such as “unified Quichua” in Ecuador and “neo-Breton” in France, borne out of language maintenance or revalorization efforts in post-colonial contexts (King 2001; Kuter 1989; Timm 2003). These newly constructed varieties have tended to be standardized, based in formal schooling and literacy, and modeled after the European colonial and national languages. They have been preferred by the urban, educated, and younger bilingual speakers (or learners of the minority language). Community-internal disagreements have emerged regarding the evaluations of these varieties and their normalization efforts (Collins 1998).

2. The recent sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropology literature has struggled to define the concepts of linguistic style and register (see Agha 1998; Bell 1997; Biber and Finegan 1994; Chambers 1995; Eckert and Rickford 2001; Ferguson 1994; Halliday 1978; Labov 1972; and Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998). For the purpose of this essay, I employ the term “style” as a more general category covering linguistic varieties including what in some literature may be distinguished into “dialects” and “registers”—or user-based and use-based varieties. Choice of the term “style” rather than “linguistic variety” reflects my emphasis on the speakers’ roles in creating their orientations toward the world and the situatedness of performance through the use of linguistic varieties rather than on linguistic structure. Syncretic speech on Rapa Nui is characterized by the juxtaposition of Rapa Nui and Spanish in conversational discourse. Though co-occurring linguistic features are important for characterizing styles, the development of a style has more to do with differentiation within a system of possibilities, linking co-occurring linguistic features to social meanings, and constituting and indexing social formations such as the distinctiveness of individuals and groups in specific communicative situations (Irvine 2001). I use the term “register” to denote a more specific type of style when linguistic styles are or have become associated with social activities or practices and with persons engaged in them, and possibly with certain social stances and values.

3. See Dorian 1981, 1994b; Fishman 1965, 1967; Mougeon and Beniak 1991; and Schmidt 1985a, 1985b. The decline in variability noted in these studies refers not only to grammatical structure and domains of usage, but also to stylistic or register variation.

4. See Hill 2002; Jaffe 1999; and Maurer 2003.

5. Coulmas 1989 highlights a similar problem of “alienation of the language from the masses” when describing Sanskritization and purist Hindi language policy in India. See Dorian 1994a for a comparative discussion of the ways that conservative and purist attitudes have hampered efforts to revitalize endangered languages.

6. Makihara 2005 describes how the Rapa Nui extended-family language socialization context has contributed to maintain and cultivate Rapa Nui knowledge among dominantly Spanish-speaking children via linguistically syncretic interactions. See also Riley, chap. 4 of this volume, for an analysis of similar language socialization practices and positive attitudes toward linguistic syncretism in the Marquesas, where there has been resistance to official purist discourse.

7. See El Consejo de Jefes de Rapanui and Hotus 1988, a Rapa Nui genealogy book that provides descriptions of tribal territorial arrangements before European contact and a Rapa Nui account of the history of contact with outsiders.

8. See Maude 1981; McCall [1980] 1994; and Routledge [1919] 1998.

9. A French missionary first stayed on the island for nine months in 1864 and returned with others in 1866 to continue mission work in the midst of the population collapse. Aided by three Mangarevan Christians, they used Tuamotuan language and the Tahitian sermons while learning Rapa Nui and developing a Rapa Nui catechism. The missionaries eventually left the island in 1871, as a result of their rivalry and confrontations with a French planter. By the end of the 1870s, the missionaries and the planter had taken or sent more than half of the remaining Rapa Nui to the islands of Mangareva, Tahiti, and Mo’orea, where many were indentured to work on plantations (Anguita 1988; H. Fischer 2005; S. Fischer [1999] 2001). The Rapa Nui catechists returning from their training in Mangareva and Mo’orea continued the work of European missionaries until the arrival from Chile in 1935 of a German Capuchin missionary Sebastian Englert, who also served as the naval chaplain until 1969.

10. The Chilean annexation of Easter Island took place the same year that Germany, Britain, and France added Nauru, the Cook Islands, and the Futuna Islands, respectively, as colonies under their control. Ten years later, the United States would annex Hawai’i and, as a result of the Spanish-American War, gain control over Guam and other territories. France, which had earlier annexed the Marquesas in 1840s (see Riley, chap. 4 of this volume), proceeded through the 1880s to annex other eastern Polynesian island groups such as the Society Islands (e.g., Tahiti, Mo’orea), the Gambier Islands (Mangareva), and the Tuamotus Islands.

11. See Makihara 2005.

12. This situation contrasts, for example, with language use and ideology in the trilingual (Tewa, Navaho, and English) speech community of Arizona Tewa (described by Kroskrity 1993, 2000), where the indigenous practices of strict compartmentalization and purism have been largely maintained.

13. This stands in contrast to the case of the Mapuche, the largest indigenous group in Chile, with approximately one million people, where the struggle to recover native lands has been complicated by the fact that many lands in dispute are now held by private individuals and forestry and electricity companies. The high rates of Mapuche dislocation and rural-to-urban migration over many decades has also complicated collective action to reclaim land. Aylwin and Castillo 1990 provide a useful and detailed discussion of Chilean laws affecting indigenous communities including the Mapuche and Rapa Nui (see also, e.g., Aylwin 2002 and FIDH 2003 on the Mapuche).

14. Ministerio de Planificación y Cooperación [1993] 1998: 31–33, 35, my translation. In community meetings, some Rapa Nui complained, for example, that such a law would make a Continental person Rapa Nui because “he goes fishing, cooks on fire [*tanu ahi* style], or goes to the local [Catholic] church” or “eats *taro*, knows how to say ‘*iorana koe* [a greeting], dances *tumure*, and lives here [on the island].”

15. E. Martínez Chibbaro's father was part of a twelve-day Chilean scientific expedition to Easter Island in 1911, then spent a year and a half on the island as the resident observer at the meteorological station and published a Rapa Nui word list. See Martínez Y. 1913.

16. The local courthouse, which was established on the island in 1966, is also referred to as *hare ture*. The word *ture* is thought to have been first introduced to refer to 'law' (from Hebrew *torah* 'sacred law') into Tahitian, the first Polynesian language to have been given a written form by European missionaries (Ellis [1833] 1859: 3:176).

17. Rapa Nui elements are in italics, transcribed using a single closing quote ['] for the glottal stop, [ŋ] for the velar nasal, and a macron for the five long vowels. Spanish elements are underlined and a close-to-standard Spanish orthography is used except where forms significantly diverge from standard Spanish, which are provided in parentheses. Relatively well assimilated Spanish borrowings are in italics and underlined, non-Spanish borrowings are italicized and dot underlined. Translations are also italicized or underlined to reflect the original code choice. The following abbreviations are used in this chapter: excl. for exclusive pronoun, incl. for inclusive pronoun.

18. One of two preverbal articles can be used with the postverbal article 'ā: *e* for a progressive aspect and *ko* for a resultative aspect.

19. His political organization was later transformed and renamed as the "Rapa Nui Parliament." In addition to being a political leader and successful businessman, Chávez also contributed to language and cultural educational programs at the local school. He passed away in 2006.

20. See Makihara 2001 for a discussion of the mechanisms of adaptation of Spanish elements in Rapa Nui speech, which includes that of the introduction of a modal construction of obligation (*tiene que*) and its syntactic adaptation.

21. *Puka*, *ta'utini*, *hānere*, and *hora* are derived from English for book, thousand, hundred, and hour.

22. See Schieffelin, chapter 7 of this volume, for a discussion of translation as a metapragmatic activity involving differing cultural assumptions about personhood, power, identity, and theory of mind.

23. See Makihara and Schieffelin, chapter 1, for a discussion of this perspective.

24. In contrast, the leaders of the 'Maya movement' in Guatemala and of the Corsican nationalist movement in France focused on language at the early stages of their activism. England 2003 describes the strategic choice that Maya leaders made to focus on language rather than on political issues in order to depoliticize language issues in the face of severe military government repression in the mid-1980s (see also Brown 1998). Jaffe 1999 describes the rather different configuration of political economic and cultural contexts that led Corsican activists to make language the primary focus of their political discourse beginning in the late 1960s and 1970s.

25. Nico Haoa ran one of the largest local tourist inns, and was also a member of the second Council of Elders. He was also a key participant in the local language documentation projects. He passed away in 2003 (see Makihara 2004).

26. See Stasch, chapter 5 of this volume, for a discussion of the Korowai worldview, which links language, land, and categories of people, and of how Korowai speakers attribute physical and metaphysical force to linguistic forms. Handman, chapter 8, discusses the SIL notions of "people groups," each of which has a (local vernacular) "heart language" that the SIL thinks is crucial to the success of missionary activities in Papua New Guinea.

27. Comisión para la Estructuración de la Lengua Rapanui 1996, 2000; Hernández Sallés et al. 2001.

28. Emerging awareness of language boundaries concerns more than the conceptual differentiation between Rapa Nui and Spanish. For example, the same Rapa Nui singer declared to me that there were four language varieties on the island: (1) Rapa Nui, (2) Pascuense

(Sp. 'Easter Islander' for Spanish spoken on the island), (3) *Tire* (Sp. borrowing from Chile for Chilean Spanish), and (4) *Español* (Spanish 'Spanish'). This illustrates awareness of local versus Chilean versus supranational varieties of Spanish.

29. Steven Lukes defines ritual as "rule-governed activity of a symbolic character which draws the attention of its participants to objects of thought and feeling which they hold to be of special significance" (1975: 291).

30. See Hill and Hill 1986 and Hill 1998 for relevant discussions on internal social hierarchies, language ideologies, and the development of code differentiation in the Malinche towns of central Mexico.

References

- Agha, Asif. 1998. Stereotypes and Registers of Honorific Language. *Language in Society* 27 (2): 151–193.
- . 1999. Register. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 9 (1–2): 216–219.
- Anguita, Patricia. 1988. L'insertion des Rapanui à Tahiti et Moorea (1871–1920). *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Océaniques* 20 (8): 21–39.
- Aylwin, José. 2002. *Tierra y territorio Mapuche: Un Análisis desde una mirada histórico jurídica*. Mapu Territoriality Project, Institute for Indigenous Studies, University of La Frontera.
- Aylwin, José, and Eduardo Castillo. 1990. *Legislación sobre indígenas en Chile a través de la historia*. Programa de Derechos Humanos y Pueblos Indígenas, Comisión Chilena de Derechos Humanos.
- Bell, Allan. 1997. Language Style as Audience Design. In *Sociolinguistics: A Reader*, ed. Nikolas Coupland and Adam Jaworski, pp. 240–250. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Biber, Douglas, and Edward Finegan, eds. 1994. *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Brown, R. McKenna. 1998. Mayan Language Revitalization in Guatemala. In *The Life of Our Language: Kaqchikel Maya Maintenance, Shift, and Revitalization*, ed. Susan Garzon, R. McKenna Brown, Julia Becker Richards, and Wuqu' (Arnulfo Simón) Ajpub', pp. 155–170. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Chambers, Jack K. 1995. *Sociolinguistic Theory: Linguistic Variation and Its Social Significance*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Collins, James. 1998. Our Ideologies and Theirs. In *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*, ed. Bambi Schieffelin, Kathryn Woolard, and Paul Kroskrity, pp. 256–270. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Comisión para la Estructuración de la Lengua Rapanui. 1996. *Gramática fundamental de la lengua Rapanui*. Santiago, Chile: La Nación.
- . 2000. *Diccionario etimológico Rapanui-Español*. Valparaíso, Chile: Puntángelos Universidad de Playa Ancha Editorial.
- Coulmas, Florian. 1989. Language Adaptation. In *Language Adaptation*, ed. Florian Coulmas, pp. 1–25. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Dorian, Nancy C. 1981. *Language Death: The Life Cycle of a Scottish Gaelic Dialect*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
- . 1994a. Purism vs. Compromise in Language Revitalization and Language Revival. *Language in Society* 23: 479–494.
- . 1994b. Stylistic Variation in a Language Restricted to Private-Sphere Use. In *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register*, ed. Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan, pp. 217–232. New York: Oxford University Press.
- l'ickert, Penelope, and John R. Rickford, eds. 2001. *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- El Consejo de Jefes de Rapanui, and Alberto Hotus. 1988. *Te mau hatu 'o Rapa Nui: Los soberanos de Rapa Nui; Pasado, presente y futuro*. Santiago, Chile: Editorial Emisión; Centro de Estudios Políticos Latinoamericanos Simón Bolívar.
- Ellis, William. [1833] 1859. *Polynesian Researches during a Residence of Nearly Eight Years in the Society and Sandwich Islands*. 4 vols. 2nd ed. London: Henry G. Bohn.
- England, Nora C. 2003. Mayan Language Revival and Revitalization Politics: Linguists and Linguistic Ideologies. *American Anthropologist* 105 (4): 733–743.
- Errington, Joseph. 2003. Getting Language Rights: The Rhetorics of Language Endangerment and Loss. *American Anthropologist* 105 (4): 723–732.
- Ferguson, Charles A. 1994. Dialect, Register, and Genre: Working Assumptions about Conventionalization. In *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register*, ed. Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan, pp. 15–30. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- FIDH, International Federation for Human Rights. 2003. *The Mapuche People: Between Oblivion and Exclusion*. Paris: FIDH (International Federation for Human Rights).
- Fischer, Hermann. [1999] 2001. *Sombras sobre Rapa Nui: Alegato por un pueblo olvidado*. Translated by Luisa Ludwig. Santiago, Chile: LOM Ediciones.
- Fischer, Steven R. 2005. *Island at the End of the World: The Turbulent History of Easter Island*. London: Reaktion Books.
- Fishman, Joshua A. 1965. Who Speaks What Language to Whom and When. *La Linguistique* 2: 67–88.
- . 1967. Bilingualism with and without Diglossia; Diglossia with and without Bilingualism. *Journal of Social Issues* 23 (2): 29–38.
- Goffman, Erving. 1981. *Forms of Talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Gumperz, John J. 1982. *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1978. *Language as Social Semiotic: The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning*. Baltimore: University Park Press.
- Hernández Sallés, Arturo, Nelly Ramos Pizarro, Kava Calderón Tuki, Viki Haoa Cardinali, Lina Hotu Hey, Catalina Hey Paoa, Christian Madariaga Paoa, Jacqueline Rapu Tuki, David Teao Hey, Alicia Teao Tuki, and Carolina Tuki Pakarati. 2001. *Diccionario ilustrado: Rapa Nui, Español, Inglés, Francés*. Santiago, Chile: Pehuén Editores.
- Hill, Jane H. 1998. “Today There Is No Respect”: Nostalgia, “Respect,” and Oppositional Discourse in Mexicano (Nahuatl) Language Ideology. In *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*, ed. Bambi Schieffelin, Kathryn Woolard, and Paul Kroskrity, pp. 68–86. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 2002. “Expert Rhetorics” in Advocacy for Endangered Languages: Who Is Listening, and What Do They Hear? *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 12 (2): 119–133.
- Hill, Jane H., and Kenneth C. Hill. 1986. *Speaking Mexicano: Dynamics of Syncretic Language in Central Mexico*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Irvine, Judith T. 2001. “Style” as Distinctiveness: The Culture and Ideology of Linguistic Differentiation. In *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation*, ed. Penelope Eckert and John R. Rickford, pp. 21–43. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Irvine, Judith T., and Susan Gal. 2000. Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation. In *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Politics, and Identities*, ed. Paul V. Kroskrity, pp. 35–83. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.
- Jaffe, Alexandra. 1999. *Ideologies in Action: Language Politics on Corsica*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- King, Kendall A. 2001. *Language Revitalization Processes and Prospects: Quichua in the Ecuadorian Andes*. Tonawana, NY: Multilingual Matters.
- Kroskrity, Paul V. 1993. *Language, History, and Identity: Ethnolinguistic Studies of the Arizona Tewa*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- . 2000. Language Ideologies in the Expression and Representation of Arizona Tewa Ethnic Identity. In *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Politics, and Identities*, ed. Paul Kroskrity, pp. 329–359. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.
- Kuter, Lois. 1989. Breton vs. French: Language and the Opposition of Political, Economic, Social, and Cultural Values. In *Investigating Obsolescence: Studies in Language Contraction and Death*, ed. Nancy C. Dorian, pp. 75–89. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Labov, William. 1972. *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Lukes, Steven. 1975. Political Ritual and Social Integration. *Sociology* 9 (2): 289–308.
- Makihara, Miki. 2001. Modern Rapanui Adaptation of Spanish Elements. *Oceanic Linguistics* 40 (2): 191–222.
- . 2004. Linguistic Syncretism and Language Ideologies: Transforming Sociolinguistic Hierarchy on Rapa Nui (Easter Island). *American Anthropologist* 106 (3): 529–540.
- . 2005. Rapa Nui Ways of Speaking Spanish: Language Shift and Socialization on Easter Island. *Language in Society* 34 (5): 727–762.
- Martínez Chibbaro, E. 1954. El Rapa-Nui, lengua pascuense. *Occidente* May: 31–35.
- Martínez Y., Edgardo. 1913. *Vocabulario de la lengua Rapa-Nui*. Santiago, Chile: Instituto Central Meteorológico y Geofísico de Chile.
- Maude, Harry E. 1981. *Slavers in Paradise: The Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862–1864*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Maurer, Bill. 2003. Comment: Got Language? Law, Property, and the Anthropological Imagination. *American Anthropologist* 105 (4): 775–781.
- McCall, Grant. 1977. Reaction to Disaster: Continuity and Change in Rapanui Social Organization. Ph.D. diss., Australian National University.
- . [1980] 1994. *Rapanui: Tradition and Survival on Easter Island*. 2nd ed. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Ministerio de Planificación y Cooperación. [1993] 1998. Ley N° 19.253 Ley Indígena. Modified in Ley 19.587 (Nov. 13, 1998, ed.).
- Mougeon, Raymond, and Edouard Beniak. 1991. *Linguistic Consequences of Language Contact and Restriction: The Case of French in Ontario, Canada*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Porteous, J. Douglas. 1981. *The Modernization of Easter Island*. Victoria, B.C.: Department of Geography, University of Victoria.
- Routledge, Katherine P. [1919] 1998. *The Mystery of Easter Island: The Story of an Expedition*. Kempton, IL: Adventures Unlimited Press.
- Schmidt, Annette. 1985a. The Fate of Ergativity in Dying Dyirbal. *Language* 61 (2): 378–396.
- . 1985b. *Young People's Dyirbal: An Example of Language Death from Australia*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Timm, Lenora A. 2003. Breton at a Crossroads: Looking Back, Moving Forward. *E-Keltoi* 2: 25–62.
- Whiteley, Peter. 2003. Do “Language Rights” Serve Indigenous Interests? Some Hopi and Other Queries. *American Anthropologist* 105 (4): 712–722.
- Williams, Raymond. 1977. *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wolfram, Walt, and Natalie Schilling-Estes, eds. 1998. *American English: Dialects and Variation*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Woolard, Kathryn A. 1998a. Introduction. Language Ideology as a Field of Inquiry. In *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*, ed. Bambi B. Schieffelin, Kathryn A. Woolard, and Paul V. Kroskrity, pp. 3–47. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 1998b. Simultaneity and Bivalency as Strategies in Bilingualism. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 8 (1): 3–29.