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## Studi sosiolinguistik bahasa Fataluku di Lautém

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## Summary

# A Sociolinguistic Study of Fataluku in Lautém

## Chapter 1

Chapter 1 introduces the research topic of this thesis and provides some background information.

**Section 1.1** contains an introduction and presents the structure of this chapter.

**Section 1.2** provides a historical and geographical overview of Timor Island and the Lautém District. Archaeological research states that Timor Island has been inhabited for at least 40.000 years. The first Chinese records date from the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. Throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Century AD the Portuguese and the Dutch fought over the possession of the island. In 1755 the island was divided into a western part under Dutch control and an eastern part under Portuguese control. In 1846 the Dutch bartered Oecusse in western Timor for Flores Island that was controlled by the Portuguese. In 1769 the administrative center moved from here to Dili in Portuguese Timor. Portuguese Timor gained independence on November 28<sup>th</sup>, 1975, but was already occupied by the military forces of the Republic of Indonesia on December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1975, after which it became an Indonesian province under the name *Timor Timur*. In 1999 president B.J. Habibie agreed in a referendum for East Timor in which the population could opt either for independence from Indonesia or for continuation as a province within the republic. On August 30<sup>th</sup>, 1999, a referendum was held under the auspices of the United Nations in which a majority voted for independence. On October 25<sup>th</sup>, 1999, the United Nations installed an administration that governed East Timor during its transition towards independence. East Timor became officially independent on May 20<sup>th</sup>, 2002 under the Portuguese and Tetum names of *Timor-Leste* and *Timor-Lorosa'e*, respectively, which both mean 'East Timor'.

East Timor's geography features two plateaus, one in Maliana in the West and one in Baucau in the East, that are separated by small lowlands. Its population descends both from Proto Malays and Papuans with only a small segment having Portuguese ancestry. There are 12 ethnic groups that according to the literature each have their own language. The majority adheres to the Roman-Catholic faith.

Lautém is the easternmost district of the country and borders in the East on the Indonesian regency of Southwest Maluku and in the West on the districts of Baucau and Viqueque. Lautém itself is a plateau surrounded by mountain ridges.

**Section 1.3** introduces the languages in Timor-Leste and Lautém District. Timor-Leste displays multilingualism in which many individuals master three or more languages: their mother tongue, Tetum and Indonesian or Portuguese. The language under investigation in this thesis is Fataluku, one of the four largest languages of the country with about 70.000 speakers. It has seven mutually intelligible dialects that are generally distinguished by their prosodies. Tetum has been a general contact language

since 1856 and became the language of literacy in the 1974 literacy program of FRETILIN. A Fataluku orthography is being worked on by the Fataluku Language Council.

**Section 1.4** elaborates on the research questions and the methodology. There are three research questions the thesis intends to answer:

- 1 How does Fataluku develop from an endangered oral language into a protected written language? What kind of problems arise in this process?
- 2 What are the changes in the linguistic landscape and the language attitudes in the Fataluku speaking regions?
- 3 What is the position of Fataluku in present adult literacy programs and how is it used in there?

This research used a combination of a survey and an ethnographic study as proposed by Blommaert (2013), using interviews, questionnaires, photographs, classroom observations and audiorecordings. It was conducted in three periods in 2010, 2011 and 2012.

**Section 1.5** provides the overall structure of the book: Chapter 1 is an introduction. Chapter 2 discusses the language policy of Timor-Leste and provides information about the languages in Lautém and the Fataluku speech community. Chapter 3 discusses the linguistic landscape of Lautém District and shows the language hierarchy in there. Chapter 4 is a study on proficiency in and use of languages and language attitudes in Lautém District. Chapter 5 investigates multilingual interactions in literacy classes in Lautém District and specifically focuses on Fataluku as a language of instruction and communication in teacher-learner interactions. Chapter 6 contains the conclusions of all previous chapters and proposes some recommendations.

## Chapter 2

Chapter 2 discusses the language policy in Timor-Leste and specifically in Lautém District.

**Section 2.1** informs that Timor-Leste is part of the so-called East Nusantara region that features both Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages. Fataluku belongs to an exclusive non-Austronesian language family that is located on the islands of Timor, Alor and Pantar.

**Section 2.2** discusses language policy in East Timor during Portuguese and Indonesian times. Since Portugal only became interested in East Timor after the Second World War, there are only a few Portuguese publications on Timorese languages that date before 1940. These publications mainly served the spreading of the Roman-Catholic faith. Father Fernandes' (1964) small learners' grammar is the first study of Tetum that was the contact language within the Portuguese colonial army, albeit that Portuguese remained the official language of the colony. This language policy created an extended diglossia in which the local languages function as the low variants and Portuguese as the high variant in formal contexts. Only after the colonial administration moved from Lifau to Dili, Tetum began to function as an interethnic *lingua franca*. Since it had a comparable position as Malay in Indonesia, the Tetum variant in Dili was a logical choice as the national language in a premeditated independent East Timor. However, the absence of a literary heritage motivated FRETILIN to rather opt for Portuguese as the national language in their national language program. The abolition of Portuguese in East Timorese society during the Indonesian occupation caused it to become the language of underground resistance,

whereas the confirmation by The Vatican of Tetum as liturgical language endorsed the latter as the language of resistance ‘above ground’.

**Section 2.3** elaborates on the language policy of Timor-Leste. During the UNTAET administration (1999-2002) Tetum became acknowledged as an official language next to Portuguese. Beside the absence of a literary heritage, two other diglossic features are mentioned that weaken the position of Tetum as an official language: its low prestige and its perceived instability. In order to counter these three features, the National Institute of Linguistics (INL) was established whose primary task is to standardize the Dili variant of Tetum into Official Tetum. The publication of a monolingual Tetum dictionary and the development of the official standard spelling of Tetum were specifically meant to meet the prestige and stability requirements. All 15 local languages identified by INL are acknowledged as national languages. Since Portuguese and Tetum are still reported to be unfamiliar to many people in Oecusse and Lautém, inhabitants in these districts are for the time being exempted from the use of the co-official languages in official contexts and may use Baikenu and Fataluku instead. Portuguese in general is little known in Timor-Leste’s society, due to the Indonesian abolition strategy. As a member of the Community of Lusophone Nations, Timor-Leste is working hard to reintroduce Portuguese in society by making it a mandatory subject in primary and secondary school.

**Section 2.4** discusses the literature dealing with the five languages of Lautém District. However, one of these languages, Rusenu, seems to be already extinct. Makuva is the only indigenous Austronesian language and it is spoken in Tutuala subdistrict. Makalero is spoken in Iliomar subdistrict and Makasai in the subdistricts of Lautém (also referred to as Moro) and Luro. Fataluku is spoken throughout Lautém District, except in the districts of Luro and Iliomar. The latter three languages constitute a separate branch of the Timor-Alor-Pantar language family that eventually may be linked to the Trans New Guinea Phylum. Whereas Makalero and Makuva do not distinguish dialects, Makasai in Lautém and Fataluku distinguish two and seven dialects, respectively. Beside these languages, Tetum and Indonesian are reported to be used as an interethnic contact language in this region. Portuguese is confined to high officials in administrative contexts. In Portuguese times, Lospalos had a Chinese school where Mandarin was taught.

**Section 2.5** deals with the literature about the Fataluku speech community. The Fataluku language functions primarily as a means for the speech community to distinguish itself from other ethnolinguistic groups in Timor-Leste. Albeit that each clan is supposed to have its own sacred language, one of these sacred languages, Nisa, has been identified as a Fataluku dialect. This supports local tradition that states that Fataluku was introduced in the region by the Latuloho Ratu clan. Oral traditions are classified on a gliding scale from pure storytelling to pure singing. Just as polyphonic *Vaihoho* may be linked to a similar song type in East Flores and the Solor Archipelago North of Timor Island, Lautém and Southwest Maluku to the East of Timor Island share the same epic storytelling traditions. In performance both oral traditions – storytelling and singing – are classified along a scale from highly sacred to completely profane. The main poetical instrument in Fataluku oral traditions is lexical parallelism, the pairing of words. It is confined to ritual speech and has three pragmatic functions: (a) signaling the ritual character of the text, (b) signaling historiographical truth and (c) the scholarship of the performer. The existence of a ‘sacred language’ indicates that the initial Fataluku speech community featured an extended

diglossia where clan languages rather functioned as high variant and Fataluku as a contact language among clans. The existence of lexical parallelism in Fataluku shows that the imposition of Fataluku on all clans created a rather classic diglossia. The introduction of Portuguese and Tetum changes Fataluku diglossia back into an extended diglossia where Fataluku has become the low variant.

**Section 2.6** provides conclusions based on this literature review chapter. Language ideology – the way one thinks about the language one speaks – needs to be distinguished from language folklore – the way one thinks about a language one does not speak. ‘Sacred languages’ are supposed to be known only to a small group of specialists and ought to be hidden from the outside world. Fataluku language ideology requires the development of Fataluku, since it shields the Fataluku society from dangerous outside influences. The introduction of ‘outsider languages’ as Portuguese and Tetum, therefore, seems in principle poorly appreciated in Fataluku language ideology, because it endangers the Fataluku cultural identity.

### Chapter 3

Chapter 3 discusses the linguistic landscape in Lautém District.

**Section 3.1** introduces the concept of linguistic landscape, the languages used in public space in the form of traffic signs, commercials, billboards, names of streets and places, shop signs, graffiti and information signs on administration buildings. The linguistic landscape provides information on the form and function of literacy among the elite and grassroots communities.

**Section 3.2** discusses the research questions and methodology of the study. There are three research questions:

- 1 What is the composition of the linguistic landscape in public space with respect to the variety of languages?
- 2 What is the position of Fataluku in the linguistic landscape?
- 3 What Fataluku features emerge in the linguistic landscape?

The data underlying this chapter is based on 350 photographs. Although also pictures were taken in rural areas, most were taken in the area near the town of Lospalos. Of the 12 attested types of data, 22% occur in the form of graffiti, which is an informal writing on grassroots level, 23% are billboards and bulletin boards. Product information, small notes – in the form of stickers, etc. – and names of public buildings are 24% of all signs. Seven percent of all signs is text that does not have a fixed location, so-called ‘moving texts’ – for example tattoos. Posters, banners, façade names and commercial signs – for example shop signs – form 18% of all sign types. A remnant of the Indonesian period are border signs in Indonesian that form 4% of all sign types.

**Section 3.3** elaborates on the languages and their combinations in the signs. A majority of nearly 50% of the signs is monolingual, whereas the remainder is multilingual with about 1.5% containing five languages. About 30% of the monolingual signs features Indonesian. Portuguese, Tetum and English only, are each visible on 20% of the signs and Fataluku only, features on about 8% of the signs. The majority of bilingual signs, about 30%, contain a combination of Tetum and Portuguese, while about 15% feature a combination of Indonesian and English, which is mostly found on product information

inside and outside shops. Nearly 25% of all trilingual signs feature Tetum, Portuguese and English and about 20% display Tetum, Portuguese and Fataluku. The latter combination seems confined mainly to banners, whereas the first combination occurs in different types of signs. Only about 10% of all signs display four languages. The most preferred combination is Tetum, Portuguese and English, either with Fataluku or Indonesian. The combination with English mainly appears on banners, whereas the combination with Fataluku seems confined to shop signs and product information. Tetum and Portuguese are the languages that are shown most in Lautém's linguistic landscape. They are directly followed by English and Indonesian while Fataluku comes after them. These facts are in accordance with Timor-Leste's language policy in which Tetum and Portuguese are official languages of the state, whereas Indonesian and English are acknowledged as working languages.

**Section 3.4** discusses the position of Fataluku in Lautém's linguistic landscape. Fataluku appears mainly in multilingual signs in different language combinations (about 85%), whereas its occurrence in monolingual signs is quite restricted. Fataluku only, shows mainly in graffiti. In banners, façade texts and bulletin boards Fataluku is restricted to names of *sucos* and *aldeias*. A special case are the names on traditional houses that inform about clans and their social status. Whereas the graffiti and house names clearly show the instability of Fataluku orthography, the names of *sucos* and *aldeias* follow either the Portuguese or national orthography. Especially the graffiti may show dialectal differentiation. Specific cases where consensus appears to be lacking are the position and function of the apostrophe referring to the glottal stop, the grapheme for the palatal glide and the position of the enclitic conjunctions in writing.

**Section 3.5** provides conclusions based on this chapter and answers the three research questions. The linguistic landscape of Lautém District can be safely described as multilingual. Linguistic signs may feature from one language up to five languages. Fataluku only surfaces in about 25% of all linguistic signs, both monolingual and multilingual. However, Fataluku is mainly used in graffiti. In official signs it is confined to place names and alike that are written according to the Portuguese or national orthographies. The difference of spelling that shows in graffiti confirms its grassroots origin. Certain differences in writing can be explained as pronunciation differences between the dialects of the respective graffiti authors. Notwithstanding these disagreements these writings shows that Fataluku is on its way to become a written language, although an official orthography has not yet been agreed upon.

## Chapter 4

Chapter 4 discusses proficiency, use and attitudes of languages in Lautém District.

**Section 4.1** introduces the topic of this chapter: the proficiency of spoken and written languages, their use, dominance and preference in Lospalos and Tutuala, which it studies by means of a survey. This chapter circles around the following questions:

- 1 What languages can the respondents in Lautém District understand and speak?
- 2 What languages can they read and write and what languages do they prefer to read and write?
- 3 What languages do they (most often) use and for what reason do they use them in different private and public domains in social life?

Also the language attitudes towards Fataluku in relation to other languages are studied. For this purpose the following questions were added to the questionnaire:

- 1 Is Fataluku endangered and ought it to be protected or promoted?
- 2 How is the future of Fataluku judged; should it be taught in school and should information in oral and written media in this language become available?

**Section 4.2** discusses the methodology used for this survey. Beside background data as gender, age, education and alike, the questionnaire of 118 questions addresses the use of languages in oral communication in different informal and official domains, the use of languages in reading and writing in different domains, and the attitudes about language, literacy and Fataluku. The attitude questions about Fataluku were presented in the questionnaire as statements with a five-point scale that ranged from total disagreement (1) to total agreement (5). A total of 261 interviews were administered in the urban and rural subdistricts of Lospalos and Tutuala, in ten and two *aldeias* respectively. The respondents were on average 39 years old, with 60% being older than 40 years. Sixty per cent of the respondents were male. The majority of respondents – about 70% – lived in rural areas with 40% working in agriculture. About 53% of the respondents attended school for more than six years. Age, gender and location appeared to be significantly related to education. Overall, younger respondents, men and urban respondents appear to have been educated higher. In order to investigate the impact of demographics on the ability and use of both written and spoken languages, a multivariate analysis of variance with education as covariate (Mancova) was used in all analyses.

**Section 4.3** elaborates on the proficiency in the discussed languages. Forty percent of the respondents understand three languages (i.e., Fataluku, Tetum and Indonesian). Younger respondents understand and speak Tetum and Indonesian more often, whereas older male respondents more often understand and speak Portuguese. Seventy-nine percent of the respondents who attended high school (more than six years) and 54% of the ones who only attended primary school (less than six years) are proficient in Tetum; of those without any schooling 34% is proficient in Tetum. Schooling appears to have a significant main effect on the proficiency in all languages, except Fataluku, which is understood by 90% of the respondents. The ones who did not attend school (28% of all respondents) were asked about their wish for Fataluku literacy proficiency. About half of them indicated they want to read and write in Fataluku and the majority of them even in Fataluku alone. Eighty-eight percent of the illiterate respondents asked help in reading and writing mostly from (their) children, mostly for writing or reading personal letters. Respondents with at least one year of education confirmed that they could read and write in different combinations of languages, but Tetum (40%) and Indonesian (30%) are mentioned as the languages that they can read and write best. Literate respondents confirm that they read Tetum (90%) and Indonesian (78%) and are more or less equally proficient in writing them (around 85% for both). Interestingly, they report to be more capable of writing than of reading Fataluku (53%). This might be related to the habit of texting in Fataluku in which the reader has difficulties to decode someone's spelling, due to the absence of a standard orthography for Fataluku. The more educated, the more proficient one is in Tetum, Portuguese and to a lesser extent Indonesian, whereas education appears to be insignificant for literacy proficiency in Fataluku. Proficiency differences between urban and rural

areas appear to be bigger for older respondents and females, whereas differences between men and women appear to be bigger among older respondents.

**Section 4.4** analyses the oral uses of languages in private and public domains, e.g. at home, at work, among friends, in shops, at the market, at the *suco* administration, in church and at traditional events. Fataluku appears to dominate exclusively in traditional events. Half of the respondents report to speak only Fataluku at home. The exclusive use of Fataluku and its combination with Tetum in public spaces are reported equally often, with the exception of the church where 53% confirms to speak only Tetum. Again, younger respondents acknowledge using more Tetum and Indonesian than older respondents that report to use somewhat more Portuguese instead, albeit always in combination with other languages. Women appear to speak more often Fataluku than men who report to speak more Tetum, especially in public spaces. Rural respondents affirm to speak more Fataluku, whereas urban respondents relatively speak more Tetum, Indonesian and Portuguese. Education appears to negatively influence the use of Fataluku in favor of Tetum and to a lesser extent to Indonesian and Portuguese. Portuguese is hardly mentioned by low educated respondents. The data suggest a trend that the younger generation of women and rural respondents catch up with men and urban respondents where in the older generation men and urban respondents use Tetum more often than women and rural respondents.

**Section 4.5** discusses language use in reading and writing. Whereas hardly any of the respondents indicated to have learned it at school, Tetum is used most for reading and writing in all domains, except traditional events where Fataluku prevails. Tetum, Indonesian and Fataluku are used in text messaging. Respondents of 40 years and younger learned to read and write Indonesian, which is the second language of preference in most domains and is specifically the language of trading. Portuguese, which is only learned by older urban and educated respondents, is relatively little used and mainly in the domains of work, home, church and the *suco* office, although in the latter domain it only occurs in combination with Tetum. Older rural respondents indicate to use Indonesian rather than Portuguese. Whereas Fataluku is not known as a written language, it is relatively often mentioned in reading and writing in traditional events, text messaging and at home. At home respondents mainly engage in reading and writing text messages and letters and in reading newspapers. At work they engage in reading and writing activities and reports. In shops and on the market the respondents mainly read and write product information. At the *suco* office reading and writing is related to announcements and residence permits, whereas in church reading focuses on prayer and song books and writing relates to copying lyrics and writing announcements. Reading and writing in traditional events is confined to name lists and CVs. Home appears to be the domain in Lautém District where respondents on average read and write more than in other domains. Together with work it is the domain where literacy events are most frequent, albeit that overall there are only few in Lautém District. As can be expected, higher educated respondents are more involved in paper work than less educated respondents.

**Section 4.6** discusses attitudes about languages, Fataluku and literacy. In the first part, questions were about: which language is liked most or considered most beautiful; which language is preferred for reading and writing; which language is considered most useful for one's own and one's children's future and for the future of Timor-Leste and Lautém District? The answers show that for all questions, Tetum is most valued by all respondents, followed by Fataluku for its importance for the region and its

emotional value. Indonesian is appreciated next in line for reading and writing, while Portuguese is considered important for the future of the children and for Timor-Leste. Older respondents have a preference for Portuguese for reading and writing where younger respondents prefer Indonesian. Education has an effect on the emotional value of Fataluku and Tetum, but not on Indonesian: the less education has been received, the more Fataluku is appreciated; the more education has been received the more Tetum is appreciated instead.

Another fifteen questions were asked to investigate specific attitudes about Fataluku. Although the respondents on average agree with the statement that Fataluku needs protection, they are not afraid that Fataluku is going to disappear and the attitudes about Fataluku are in general (very) positive. The only exception is the opinion about the use of Fataluku in primary school, which reveals on average a more neutral position. Comparable to the results on proficiency and use of the languages, the attitudes about Fataluku are influenced by the demographic factors educational level, age, location and to a lesser extent gender. On average men appear to be slightly more positive than women, albeit that women rather than men favor teachers being able to understand and read Fataluku and prefer to have Fataluku in administration offices and local media. Interestingly, the data suggest that older urban and less educated people value Fataluku higher than older rural and higher educated people.

**Section 4.7** provides the conclusions that can be drawn from this chapter. Nearly everyone understands Fataluku in the district. A quarter reports to be proficient only in Fataluku. Years of education influence the proficiency in other languages: an increase in years of education implies an increase of proficiency in Tetum, and Indonesian or Portuguese. Differences between respondent groups are most salient with Portuguese in which proficiency is mainly reported by older, male and higher educated respondents. Most respondents appear to be very multilingual in their language use. Fataluku, with Tetum at the second place, is most used for oral communication. Fataluku is mainly used in private domains and in traditional events, whereas Tetum is used at work and in church. Portuguese, if used at all, is used only at work. Higher educated people appear to be more multilingual than lower educated people. Tetum and Indonesian are read the most overall, albeit that older respondents report to read somewhat more Portuguese. Fataluku is only dominant in traditional events, whereas Tetum is dominant in all other contexts. Literacy events appear to be very few in Lautém district. Overall, Tetum is valued highest in both emotional attitude and pragmatic attitude regarding its usefulness. Notwithstanding its seemingly decrease in use, Fataluku nevertheless scores high on most attitude questions, although questions about its implementation as a language of teaching in primary school yielded rather neutral replies. The attitudes about the four languages in general and about Fataluku in particular are influenced by the demographic factors educational level, age, location and sometimes gender. Whereas younger urban and rural respondents do not value Fataluku differently, older urban respondents value Fataluku higher than older rural respondents. The inquired domains of proficiency, language use and language attitude show a trend in which the next generation of women and rural respondents are catching up with the men and urban respondents. Notwithstanding the positive evaluation of Fataluku and its preference in oral communication, Tetum is most used and best valued in all other aspects of language use and settled easily as an official language. In Lautém district, Indonesian is used more and valued better than Portuguese, the other co-official language of the state.

## Chapter 5

Chapter 5 deals with languages used by teachers and students in Tetum adult literacy classes in Lautém District. As often in regions characterized by multilingualism, many languages are used in the classroom.

**Section 5.1** introduces the topic and informs that there are no Fataluku literacy classes in Lautém District.

**Section 5.2** discusses classroom interactions in multilingual contexts, in which both teachers and students resort diverse languages, although the national language-in-education policy imposes the use of Tetum and Portuguese only. Fataluku appears to dominate in the linguistic repertoires of the majority of the low-educated people of Lautém District. The literacy students discussed in this chapter belong to the 55% of the low educated participants who reported to only speak Fataluku.

**Section 5.3** provides information on the research questions and design. There are three questions:

- 1 What languages are used by teachers and students in classroom interaction and to what extent?
- 2 How does the use of these languages relate to Timor-Leste's language-in-education policy?
- 3 What are the reasons or functionalities of using these languages?

Data have been collected in 14 adult literacy classes in four different *aldeias*: urban Lereloho and Trinta de Agosto and urbanized Caivatxa in Lospalos subdistrict, and rural Poros in Tutuala subdistrict. The research concerned field notes of observations, transcripts of classroom audiorecordings, pictures of registered specimens of written or printed language and interviews with literacy coordinators, teachers and students. The classroom transcripts are defined here as a collection of utterances for which 'utterance' is defined as a meaningful string of words or of one word preceded and followed by a pause, while a word was determined on its occurrence in an official Tetum, Indonesian or Portuguese dictionary. For Fataluku Valentim's (2002) dictionary was used. The language with which an utterance was opened is labeled here 'main language' in which the amount of inserted languages was counted. Five categories were identified to explain these insertions: (1) reading aloud from the blackboard or student's books, (2) subject language on school related concepts, (3) instructional language related to the teaching profession and methodology, (4) additional explanation for extra elaboration of the lesson content and (5) areal features that are not specifically related to the educational process as for example terms of address and alike.

**Section 5.4** describes four case studies and analyses the results. All literacy classes studied were held in classrooms that were in bad repair. All classes used the *Hakat ba oin* manual. The Lereloho literacy class was lodged in the house of the teacher, a woman of 25 years old. Only about an hour of the scheduled 2,5 hours was taught, whereas only nine of the 25 registered students attended class. The class focused on the differentiation between capital and small letters by having the students write them on the blackboard. Nearly 90% of the teacher's main language of instruction was Fataluku. She inserted few words from Tetum and Portuguese – about 7% and 9% in all utterances, respectively – and hardly any from Indonesian. In comparison with the teacher, the students produce relatively few utterances (24 in total) that are mainly answers to the teacher. Fifty percent of them are in Portuguese and about 40% are in Fataluku. Tetum is hardly used as a main language (about 8% of all utterances). The teacher and the students mainly switch to Fataluku when using Portuguese as a main language. The amounts of

insertions of Portuguese subject language in Fataluku utterances and the insertions of Fataluku subject language in Portuguese utterances are more or less equal. Fataluku utterances are dominantly inserted by Tetum instructional language and area features (e.g. terms of address).

The Caivatxa literacy class is lodged in the village hall and taught by a man of 42 years old. Only 1.5 hours of the scheduled 2.5 hours were taught and only seven of the registered 26 students attended class. Also here the teaching focused on the differentiation between capitals and small letters. Almost all utterances of the teacher were in Fataluku as a main language (about 95%). Factually, only Tetum occurs inserted as an additional language, although also scarcely (9.9% of all utterances). The students produced few utterances in comparison to the teacher, of which more than half (about 56%) were in Fataluku and with hardly any insertions from Tetum and Portuguese and none from Indonesian altogether. Their use of Tetum seems mainly related to the fact that the school books used are in Tetum. The only significant number of insertions concerned instructional language Fataluku to Tetum and vice versa that are explained by the fact that Fataluku was the mother tongue of the teacher and the students and Tetum the targeted language of instruction.

The Trinta de Agosto class was also lodged in the village hall and taught by a 48 year old man. Of the 27 registered students only twelve showed up. Here, class took the full 2.5 hours of scheduled time. Beside a discussion on writing capital and small letters, this class focused on numeracy by means of copying numbers written on the blackboard into notebooks. Here too, most utterances by the teacher and the students were in Fataluku: about 79% and 59% of all their utterances, respectively. In their mutual interactions, the teacher and the students also use Tetum as main language, although the students use it more frequently than the teacher: about 28% and 18% of their utterances, respectively. The students seem to use Portuguese more often as a main language than the teacher: about 13% and 2.5% of their utterances, respectively, although the number of utterances is low. Neither one appears to use Indonesian. Here, instructional language from Fataluku to Tetum and vice versa are the most dominant insertions. The other numerically salient insertions were the Tetum terms of address in Fataluku utterances that are categorized as areal features.

The Poros class was also lodged in the village hall. It was taught by a 47 years old man and took the full 2.5 hours of scheduled time. The class focused on writing capital and small letters that were copied into the notebooks from the blackboard. Only six of the registered 13 students attended class. Here, Fataluku was the only main language for both the teacher and the students, albeit that the participation of the students was confined to one utterance only. Most insertions in the teacher's utterances concerned Tetum instructional language into Fataluku and the other way around. Although less salient, insertions of Portuguese subject language into Fataluku also occur, due to the fact that Fataluku lacks the metalinguistic terminology necessary to teach about letters. The almost exclusive use of Fataluku may be linked to the rural character of this village.

**Section 5.5** formulates the conclusions that can be drawn from this chapter. It is obvious that irrespective of the fact that the classes were about Tetum literacy, Fataluku is the main language of instruction. This violates the national language-in-education policy of Tetum or Portuguese being the language of instruction that has been effectuated everywhere else in Timor-Leste. Fataluku is even the only language of instruction in rural Poros. Some Indonesian is used in Caivatxa. Portuguese is more used in Lereloho,

while in Trinta de Agosto and Caivatxa Tetum is more frequent. Although Fataluku is also their main language, students appear to use it to a lesser extent than the teachers, probably because they are mainly repeating words or utterances (in Tetum) from the blackboard or the teacher. Lautém adult literacy classes can safely be categorized as ‘communities of practice’ where all languages available are used as language of instruction by the teacher (with Fataluku outreaching all other languages) and where teachers easily switch from one language to another when required. It is its strong position in the local communities that enables its function as a *lingua franca* in classes of literacy in another language.

## Chapter 6

Chapter 6 provides the conclusions of the entire thesis and the recommendations that result from this thesis.

**Section 6.1** contains an introduction that in a condensed manner explains the structure and focus of the thesis. The study discussed several aspects of multilingualism in adult literacy in Timor-Leste, focusing on the linguistic landscape, on proficiency, use and attitudes of languages and on interaction in adult literacy classes in Lautém District. The largest language of Lautém District is Fataluku.

**Section 6.2** displays the overall conclusions of the thesis.

Chapter one introduces the Portuguese, Indonesian and post-Indonesian, independent periods in Timor-Leste’s history. Timor-Leste’s inhabitants are typically multilingual and often master three languages: their mother tongue, Tetum and Indonesian or Portuguese. Fataluku is the language of the largest ethnic group in Lautém District and has seven dialects. It is an endangered oral language that is however on the brink of becoming a written language.

Chapter two informs about the non-Austronesian origin of Fataluku, whereas Tetum is an Austronesian language introduced in Lautém District by Catholic missionaries during the Portuguese and Indonesian periods. Portugal’s language policy created an extended diglossia in which Portuguese was the high variant and the local language the low variant. During the Vatican administration of the Roman-Catholic Church in the Indonesian province of *Timor Timur*, Tetum was acknowledged as liturgical language and after the Independence became acknowledged in the Constitution as the nation’s official language next to Portuguese.

Chapter three discusses the multilingual visible linguistic landscape of Lautém District. The discussed linguistic signs display eleven different languages. Twenty-five percent of all signs feature Fataluku, whether they are monolingual or multilingual, which is quite a high amount for a language that lacks a definite orthography. Fataluku is mostly found in graffiti, but also surfaces in names of *sucos* and alike. Although these names are Fataluku, they are written with either Tetum, Portuguese or Indonesian spelling. Writing in Fataluku opens the possibility of using Fatalakuku not only at a grassroots level, but also in more formal contexts like primary school and adult literacy education. To become a language of literacy, Fataluku ought to be developed by the State, for which a special Fataluku Linguistics branch of the National Institute of Linguistics might be helpful.

Chapter four focuses on the proficiency, use and attitudes of languages in spoken and written communication in Lautém District, taking into consideration education, age, location and gender.

Almost all respondents confirm to speak and understand Fataluku. Whereas the majority also understands Tetum and Indonesian, Portuguese appears to be little known. In fact, Portuguese seems confined to educated older males in urban locations. The amount of years of education appears to influence multilingualism. Fataluku is the main language used in oral communication in public and private domains, whereas Tetum and Indonesian are the main languages for reading and writing. Interestingly, almost nobody has learnt how to write Tetum. Next to education, age and location have an impact on language proficiency, use and attitudes. Younger respondents and urban ones use Tetum more and Fataluku less. A trend can be seen in the data as well: the traditional differences between urban and rural, and between men and women, are changing. Rural respondents and women are catching up with the urban ones and with men. Tetum appears to easily achieve its official status and function as a language that unifies the ethnolinguistically diverse people.

Chapter five discusses adult literacy classes in two subdistricts in Lautém District. Even though the classes were about Tetum literacy, Fataluku appears to be the main language of communication. In the utterances of the teachers, Tetum was inserted the most, followed by some Portuguese and Indonesian. Their Tetum utterances were mainly inserted with Fataluku. Also the students mainly used Fataluku. Overall it can be said that, next to Tetum, Fataluku appeared strong in the studied domains. In linguistic signs it mainly occurred in graffiti and house names, whereas in private domains and in literacy classes it functions as the main language of communication. Through its development of a purely oral language into a written language, Fataluku might become qualified as a language of instruction. The attitude towards the Fataluku language is quite positive, because it constitutes an identity feature of its community.

**Section 6.3** provides three separate recommendations:

- 1 There is only a limited body of research on the national languages in Timor-Leste. In order to be able to consider the use of these languages both in formal and non-formal education more research is needed on the linguistic structure of these languages, on their uses and on the language attitudes of their users. Therefore the present research of Fataluku needs to be continued more broadly and needs to be expended to other languages in Timor-Leste as well.
- 2 The National Institute of Linguistics should be facilitated to enable the use of written text in Fataluku and other languages at all officially recognized universities in Timor-Leste. This includes the development of specific orthographies for each language independently.
- 3 In the further development of language-in-education policies, the local communities should play an important role. The government should consider involving native speakers of Fataluku and other languages in the development and implementation of its language policies.