Linguistic Typology

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with Ken over the years on the Navajo Nation. I must have had a little training in Navajo literacy by the time I met Ken in order for me to appreciate what he was instilling in us as beginning bilingual teachers. He introduced the study of linguistics to us, using the Navajo language and since then I have been studying and promoting Navajo linguistics in the name of language preservation.

The following year after meeting Ken, I was fortunate to end up in Cambridge, Mass. It was my future husband whom I followed to Cambridge where he was studying. Once we settled down, he encouraged me to contact Ken at MIT and let him know that I was interested in working further with him in Navajo linguistics. I knew then that he was already working with other native people on their languages. So when I called Ken, he was very happy to hear from me and invited me to his office. He immediately took me under his bosom and enrolled me as his student; and like everyone else he takes to his heart, he tutored, taught, and worked with me intensely for the next two years. Those years were the best academic years of my life which I cherish today. Imagine, studying and investigating Navajo grammar with Ken Hale every day! That's what I did and it was mindboggling in the most positive sense. His other native students at MIT were Paul Platero and Laverne Jeanne, both graduates of MIT. Why didn't I stay? A change of plan in my life. I got married and moved back to Arizona with my husband who entered Medicine School at the University of Arizona, in Tucson. We believed in being together and naturally I couldn't remain in Cambridge while my husband was in Arizona. I eventually completed my linguistics program in Arizona, and kept in touch with Ken.

Ken grew up in Tucson and attended the University of Arizona and he came down often as a guest lecturer. That maintained close contact with Ken since 1971. My summers were always open for whatever Ken wanted to do in Navajo. Navajo it turns out was his favorite language and any linguist familiar with the Athapaskan languages would understand why. I did find a card from him telling me this in his own words. Of course, I'm not his only Navajo follower nor his favorite as he had many Navajo students, and they know who they are, and many colleagues who were at his beck once and always ready to assist him at the Navajo workshops. The summer workshops eventually became an institute now known as The Navajo Language Academy. The Academy will continue to work with Navajo students and teachers just as it did when Ken was alive.

Navajo Language Academy

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MARYANN WILLIE. Above all, Ken Hale was a good friend to the Navajo people. I first met Ken in the summer of 1984. Along with Eloise Jelinek, we attended a conference at a branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Catalina, Arizona. Since it was my first linguistics conference, I was uncomfortable, to say the least. I remember Ken saying a few words to me in Navajo; I slightly felt better.

When he spoke those few words, it impressed me that a non-Navajo could sound like a Navajo. There was no probing of where did I come from, what clan did I belong to, or similar questions of that sort. He said something like, "We can sit here and enjoy the presentations". His speaking Navajo was not meant to impress me; it was just a welcome gesture.

I was never technically a student of Ken's, but I was a student of his when we all gathered at the Navajo Language Academy (NLA). NLA developed from an informal gathering of Navajo language teachers and Ken. Currently there are at least ten linguists who come together every summer for a month or so, and offer linguistic courses for teachers of the Navajo language.

It is at these summer gatherings that Ken gave so much of time to teach us all he knew of Navajo grammar. He didn't tell us how it worked, he opened the door to the investigation of Navajo to us.

Teaching someone how to obtain information is probably the most valuable gift that Ken gave me. He was a constant force in my career as a linguist studying her own native language, to confront and come to terms with teaching a language that was once forbidden. I miss Ken greatly not only for his expertise in Navajo, but when I need just a friend. To a Navajo, being a friend is like being a relative.

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COLETTE GRINEVALD. I will leave to others the task of articulating Ken Hale's impact on the development of typologically oriented linguistics through his groundbreaking work on numerous languages, in particular the Amerindian and Australian Aboriginal ones that he taught himself and spoke. The story I have to tell about Ken is more a personal testimonial to the multiple dimensions of this grand figure of the world of linguistics in the second half of the twentieth century: Ken as a teacher, Ken as a field linguist, Ken as a political activist, and, in everything, Ken as a superb human being. This piece is also meant to stand as a tribute to Ken on behalf of a community of linguists of a very different theoretical orientation from his own, who nevertheless shared with him so much on other grounds that they are grateful to be given the opportunity to express here both their profound sense of loss and the complex nature of part of their feelings. I know that I am speaking minimally for the linguists of the University of Oregon with whom I discussed this piece of writing, but I believe also for a much wider circle of non-generative linguists who shared with him the love of languages, the life experience of field linguistics on by and large endangered languages, and the active concern for the maintenance and revitalization of such languages.

For me knowing Ken is a long story that started at M.I.T. in 1970, when I took his field methods course. The spring course labelled "Structure of —". That year it was Micmac, with a young man called Gordon that the Micmac community had sent to Ken. They wanted Ken to teach him some linguistics so he could go back with a sketch of the language to be used in the new Micmac language teaching curriculum they were developing. I don't think Gordon was particularly interested in linguistics, but I know that it was the first time I was witness to Ken's absolute passion for language. He looked transfigured up there at the blackboard, teasing the data out of Gordon, looking absolutely excited by some sentences, muttering others to himself with delight, obviously lost to the world while focusing on making Micmac phrases come out of his lips. I am not sure too many of us students could keep up with Ken's discoveries and excitements, except maybe for John Nichols, but there was magic in the air.

Although I was officially a student at Harvard, it is to Ken that I turned the following year in absolute panic just before heading out for my first major field trip. I remember bicycling nervously down from Harvard Square to M.I.T. to go find him, with no appointment, just because he felt like the only real human being I could trust in this competitive and self-important world of Harvard and M.I.T. linguistics. I was desperate for some concrete advice about what I should or should not do once in the field, like where to live, how to find an informant (as we used to call them), and how much to pay people ... anything about the realities of fieldwork life. His response to the tension I had brought into the office was to drop what he was doing and turn to what he knew best, to teach me more linguistics. It was not at all what I had come for, but he did it with such heart that it served the purpose of calming me, by refocusing my attention towards our purpose as linguists: to reveal the complex beauty of languages.

For what I remember as a very long time, a couple of hours at least, he covered his blackboard many times over telling me everything I ever wanted to know and inquire about if I were to describe relative clauses in a language. My first and most impressive encounter with a typological guideline to the intricacies of a construction, with examples from a myriad of languages pulled out of his head and uttered with the same delight I have seen other people sip vintage wine or smoke a good cigar. And since that time, thirty years ago, I cannot lecture on relative clauses without remembering the awe I felt that day about discovering this kind of typological approach to doing fieldwork: the pleasure of knowing the kind of parameters of variation that help anticipate this or that feature and ensure a little burst of joy when the prediction works, or a pinch of challenge when it does not, in which case finding an appropriate analysis becomes then both a little harder and more exciting. Ken functioned on that kind of adrenaline, that was his fix, and he was generous in sharing it.

I did not see him after that for years because he was battling his first round of cancer while I was writing my dissertation and because, when he returned from the harrowing treatment, only his own students could work with him. It was not sure he would make it then, and I already felt the threat of the loss, of a terrible void. I resolved to at least thank him for just being who he was by dedicating my *Structure of Jacaltec* to him. I moved to the West Coast, and away from the transformational linguistics of my training years. Givón and DeLancey joined me at Oregon and we built a functional-typological department of linguistics that emphasizes work on little to undescribed languages. Whenever I taught the field methods course that stands as one of the core requirements of this graduate program, we always checked the typological characteristics of relative clauses of the language under study, and I tried myself at a Ken-like enjoyment of it.

Ten years passed before we met again in Nicaragua, through our volunteering for work in Sandinista times. From the East and the West Coast, through distinct channels, we had made our way to the same institution, CIDCA (Center for the Investigation and Documentation of the Atlantic Coast) through the same Nicaraguan linguist, Danilo Salamanca. Danilo was one of Ken's graduate students at M.I.T. and working on a dissertation about Miskitu; he had returned to his native country at the dawn of the Revolution and was working for CIDCA where he was trying to build up linguistic research programs. We participated in the founding of "Linguists for Nicaragua", an organization dedicated to teaching linguistics at the university and developing language programs with the indigenous people of the Atlantic Coast. At that time I had already started working on a language description and language revitalization project with the smallest and most vulnerable group of the region, known as the Rama Language Project. When the regional authorities asked me to duplicate this type of project with the people of Karawala, who were now requesting help with documenting and revitalizing their language further north, I recommended Ken for the job, because he kept telling me how he wished he could be out there in the field with a community project too.

For several crazy years (it was in Contra War time and in war zone) we worked out of the offices of CIDCA-Bluefields, and he became the famous "Mr Kent" that people there will talk about for a long time. He had already learned to speak Miskitu, of course, and immediately plunged into learning Ulwa, enjoying immensely the surprise effect he produced by making speeches in front of the Karawala community in both Miskitu and Ulwa. He worked tirelessly and selflessly for years: he not only produced descriptions of those languages, but organized and lead workshops for bilingual teachers, created and supported an Ulwa language team he set up to produce a dictionary of the language as well as teaching materials for the school program, raised funds (including generous contributions of his own) to build them a center in the village and to pay salaries for the team members and the bilingual school teachers, and recruited an M.I.T. graduate student (Tom Green) to work with them on a more continuous basis. Yes, he was tireless about it, to his last e-mail to me, a few weeks before his death, all about Karawala business. An academic of astonishing human and political solidarity.

That time in Nicaragua was when I started feeling funny about what I perceived as the split linguistic personality of Ken; on one hand, totally committed to the beauty and complexity of real languages that he strove to acquire and embody with an infallible dedication to the empowerment of the speakers of those languages, and, on the other hand, totally committed to a theoretical model of linguistics that makes abstraction of much of the reality of those languages and their speakers. The striking characteristic of Ken was to be fully invested in both worlds and to lead a sort of double life. He admitted living it as a sort of split brain phenomenon: as an M.I.T. theoretician deeply involved in the field in so-called "applied linguistics" projects; and as a descriptive field linguist teaching linguistics to members of indigenous communities to be a theoretician of the M.I.T. type. The degree of disconnection he felt between the two always struck me as odd, because for me the components of the whole enterprise of working on largely undescribed and endangered languages (particularly in the domain of Amerindian languages) are more organically connected to each other, from a chosen style of linguistic fieldwork, which includes a certain approach to working with speakers of those languages, to the intimate connection I maintain between descriptive work and theory building.

I came to the full realization of the nature of this split phenomenon in Ken in Nicaragua. It was the eighties by now, a good ten years after my graduate days at M.I.T. and Harvard, time by which Transformational Grammar had gone out, Extended Standard Theory was on the waning, and new forms of Generative models kept coming in. I had unhooked from hoping or trying to keep up with the evolution of the model, being too far away by then from where it all happened, and profoundly marked by my close encounter with Mayan languages. Their linguistic particularities, such as the rigid VSO word order of Jakaltek and its widespread ergativity, for instance, were keeping me busy with the issues for which the dominant theory did not offer satisfactory answers, if any at all at the time. These were challenges that Ken was well aware of, for sure, and about which he did manage to attract the attention of theoreticians of his school.

So while there in Bluefields on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua, I felt curious to get an update on the model from him, thinking I could take advantage of the ample lee time we sometimes had to cope with, when planes didn't land because of stormy weather, or when the speakers didn't show up and we could not tell if it was for that day or for longer, or when, because it was Contra War time, there was no gasoline to be had in town to go to Rama Cay or Karawala or permits to enter the zone. So as we sat and talked, in CIDCA offices, on the Bluefields landing strip or landing docks, I asked him for the essentials of the new version of generative grammar and I showed him Rama data from my notebooks to see what he saw in them. And soon I hit a wall. A combination on my part of incredulity at the kind of questions the theory he handled asked that seemed so far fetched and incongruous to me, and of personal inability to follow his demonstrations and argumentation, no matter how many times he went over them, topped off by the odd feeling of being with a man possessed with a vision I could not share. A vision he deeply believed in and that seemed to make him very happy; I could not grasp his faith, let alone share it.

At some point we tried to write a paper together on what I had come to call the relational pre-verbs of Rama, because, once he had read my original manuscript on it, he had immediately pulled out of his head examples of other languages with pre-verbs, and we had started brainstorming about this phenomenon common to many Amerindian languages. I had envisioned a typologically oriented paper on the different degrees of grammaticalization of those pre-verbs, from simply discursively cliticized ones to incorporated ones, to lexicalized ones, constructed around examples of various languages we knew well between the two of us. What we produced was a schizophrenic paper, his part cast into generativist parlance, mine in a functional-typological bent; in the end somewhat of a two-headed monster. The anonymous, but clearly generative, reviewers only commented on his part of the paper: their comments and suggestions made him furious, while I was miffed that my attempt at demonstrating an interesting cline of grammaticalization had been royally ignored. We agreed never to try writing linguistics together again.

But we stayed friends, feeling bound by our shared awe for and delight in the beauty and diversity of the languages of the world, the multiple links of our respective Nicaraguan projects, and our coordinated efforts at raising the issue of the responsibility of the linguistic community towards the alarming situation of language endangerment. A little like family members feeling close and sharing much, but avoiding taboo discussions at the dinner table; in our case avoiding talking about linguistic theory, our version of a taboo religious topic. What has made this exercise of writing an homage to Ken a complex one for me is exactly that, to face the kind of ambivalence his choice of linguistics inspired in me, with the result that the deep sense of loss is tinged with a sense of regret. And I know that I am far from being alone in having such feelings about him.

The regret is that he did not return to his native South West, to head his own kind of department, and to develop his own brand of linguistics, one that would have done fuller justice to the spirit of those languages that he was so masterful at learning. Linguistics more freely bottom up, with a better balanced ebb and flow between theoretical model and realities of the languages, in all their wealth, making the model adapt to them as much as trying to make them fit in a model originally not designed for them. More linguistics in the spirit of his groundbreaking non-configurationality work that so profoundly shifted paradigms. First layer of regret therefore, for me, for us functional-typologists, that interactions with him on a professional level were limited by our respective theoretical choices. And maybe another layer of regret, more in the form of sadness for me, in the feeling that he may not have even gotten among his chosen local peers as much genuine recognition and respect as he deserved, of the kind that, for instance, would have impressed on the first year M.I.T. students of his syntax course how unique and valuable his profound knowledge of languages was. Of those of us that visited him in his office over the years, from all parts of the U.S. or Australia, I cannot be the only one to have cringed about that and other indices of his odd status there. Although he clearly chose to remain there, as much for professional as for personal reasons.

One of his stated reasons to stay at M.I.T. was the freedom he was given to develop his work, and the institutional support he received for many of his special projects. One of them was that of training native speakers of Amerindian languages: to this effect he put on hold his own work for several years, dedicating himself to the goal of seeing them through their doctorate. A magnificent example of commitment to the cause of Native American languages, and yet at the heart of this enterprise, a cause for me for yet another layer of regret or sadness, because of a perceived miscasting between the irreproachable intention, the formidable cast of linguists and speakers, and the type of linguistics training; another instance of contradiction between spending an enormous amount of energy with the goal of empowering members of linguistic communities but doing it through training in a reductive and disempowering kind of linguistics. A very delicate issue so close to his heart that he could not face discussing it openly, although he never ceased to worry about it as he kept opening up other training programs for native speakers in the South West of the U.S. and in Central America more focused towards the needs of the communities. This issue of what kind of training is a pressing issue as more attention is being given today to the documentation of endangered languages and to the role of native speakers in the enterprise of their maintenance and revitalization. What type of linguistics would be the most appropriate for the daunting task ahead, and how to teach it? What linguistics would really do justice to those languages, what linguistics for their full documentation and what linguistics for their maintenance or revitalization? Ken certainly did his part, in an admirable way, in raising those issues and leading the way, by throwing himself with full energy into doing whatever he believed was in his power, steadfastly, for decades. And all the indigenous communities he came in contact with are grateful to him for it. He has now left us the questions to ponder in this twenty-first century.

So in the end we must accept the fact that it is in the Boston area, at M.I.T., that Ken chose to spend his career, from where he developed the productive and exemplary life we know him to have had. This piece of writing is meant as a tribute to him from further away and in a different tone from other more canonical obituaries. It speaks of the sense of loss felt from the other coast, from Oregon in particular, where functional-typological linguists were always happy to receive him, as a fellow field linguist of exceptional human quality. T. Givón dedicated the 2001 second edition of his syntax book "to Ken Hale, a linguist's linguist, a cowboy's cowboy". It is also for me a salute from the other side of oceans to Ken the "linguist for Nicaragua" and Ken the linguist of the 1992 panels on endangered languages, the one of the LSA meetings and the one of the International Congress of Linguists in Quebec. Brilliant, tortured, courageous, honest, and generous to a fault. Gone too soon.

Encouraged by the editor of this journal to write this obituary in a personal tone and to articulate the complex feelings of loss and regret I have attempted to put into words I must admit to another wave of stage fright, of the kind of the years of "Linguists for Nicaragua", when we were facing, in the field at this revolutionary time, the demands of local communities and local institutions, and back home, the resistance of academic colleagues uncertain about the appropriateness of raising at national and international linguistics meetings the issues we were raising: bringing forward the topic of "endangered languages" and articulating it, beyond their mere linguistic aspect, within their socio-linguistic, political, and ethical contexts. A decade has passed, it is 2002 now: the way we have come along on that issue, often following his lead! And now for us, the way that remains to be walked, without him but inspired by him.

After several years of fieldwork on the Atlantic Coast, the issue had come up of finding us, the gringo linguists, Indian names. The day I told Ken that the Ramas had finally settled on *ngulik ngarngaringma* 'yellow headed parrot' for me, he smiled and replied that he had a name ready for himself, if anybody ever asked him. He would have liked his to be *usus*, the Miskitu word for 'black buzzard', or rather 'zopilote', a Spanish word of indigenous origin he liked very much. He was aware that people would not think it was a good name for such a respected elder, for the "Mr Kent" of the Ulwa project, but that was the name of his choice. Because, he told me, he had always liked them, from way back in his childhood, for the way they stood on the top of houses, watching down, spreading their wings after the rain to dry them in the sun. He probably would never have envisaged being present in this journal, but I like to think the buzzard/zopilote must be smiling from wherever he circles now, seeing his name in it.

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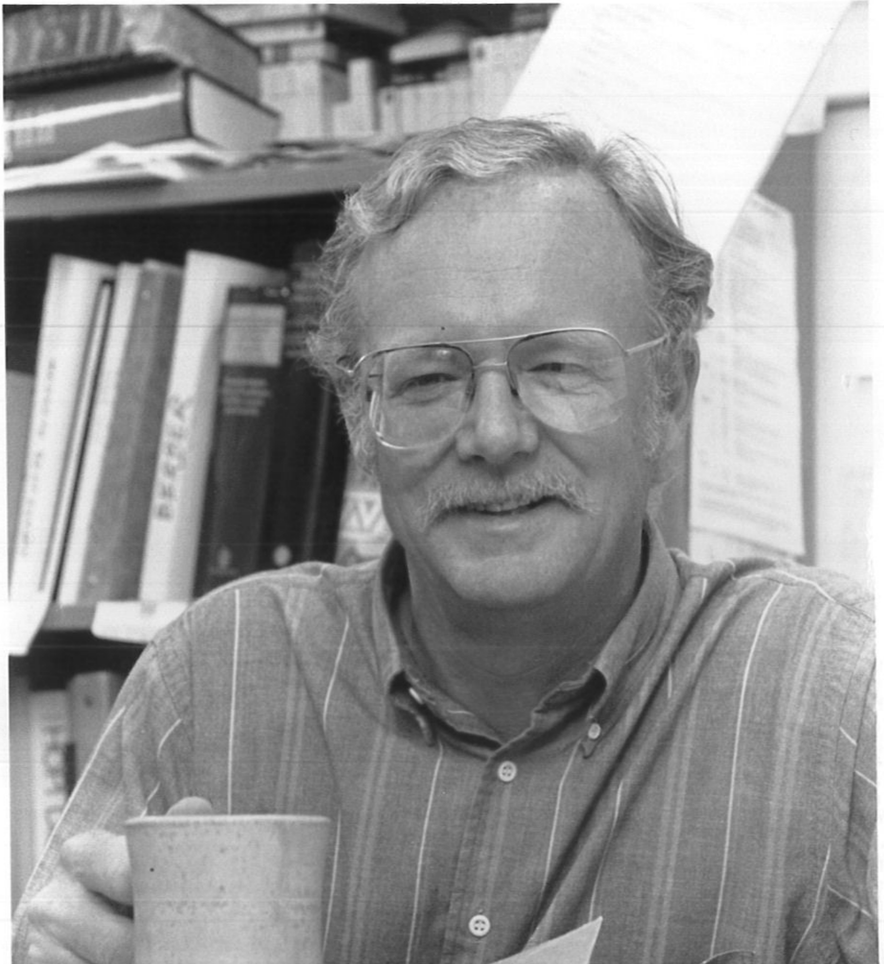
PETER K. AUSTIN. Ken Hale's involvement with the study of Australian languages began in 1959–61 when he undertook fieldwork in central, western, and northern Australia on a US National Science Foundation grant. Hale collected primary documentation on scores of languages, partly in collaboration with his mate Geoffrey N. O'Grady, and carried out in-depth studies of a number of them, especially Warlpiri and Lardil. Ken returned to Australia in 1966–67, 1974, 1981, 1994, and 1996 (and had planned a visit for May 2001 that had to be cancelled when he became too ill), carrying out further fieldwork, advising government on establishing bilingual education programs, presenting conference papers, teaching at the 1994 Australian Linguistic Institute, advising language programs, interpreting at a land claim hearing, delivering bilingual dictionaries to Aboriginal communities, and just talking to Aboriginal people in their own languages. In 1975–76 he arranged for Robin Japanangka Granites, a Warlpiri speaker, to visit him in Boston, and over the period 1976 to

1997 supervised four doctoral dissertations at MIT on topics in Australian languages. He generously made his fieldnotes and recordings available to others, and much of his primary material has found its way into the publications of other scholars (for a listing see Nash 2001). His door at Building 20 at MIT (and house in Lexington) was always open to visiting Australian scholars and students, and he gave much of his time to sharing ideas and advising us on our research. The Australianist linguistic community celebrated Ken's contributions in Simpson et al. (eds.) (2001), a volume that we were able to present to him just before his untimely death.

Ken's interests in Australian languages were wide-ranging, covering both structural areas such as phonology, morpho-syntax, and lexical semantics, as well as speech registers, language play, historical linguistics and language relationships, bilingual education, and language endangerment. His work moved back and forth (as Yengoyan 2001 notes) from a focus on the particular in language analysis and description to concern for typological generalisation and the search for universals. His paradigm was that of Chomskyan generative grammar yet his writings in many ways challenged the very foundational assumptions of that model. He sought, not always successfully, to find ways to salvage the model, and in doing so opened up new vistas for typological and descriptive research.

Ken published on Australian languages from 1962 to 2001 on a wide range of descriptive, typological, historical, and theoretical topics. In many of his writings Ken raised problems and issues for typology and generative grammar and we find ideas in his publications that predate now well accepted analyses, such as his 1973 paper on person marking in Warlpiri that foreshadowed the DP hypothesis that treats determiners as the heads of noun phrases (Blake 2001). His research on non-configurationality, tentatively presented at first in 1979, but more forcefully later, challenged the underpinnings of the generative paradigm that all languages have VP constituents and consequent phrase structure subject–object asymmetries. Less well known but perhaps as important is his seminal 1976 paper on "adjoined relative clauses" in Australian languages that shows that recursion in these languages is based on adjunction, not embedding – the consequences of this for typological and generative understandings of anaphoric binding and control have yet to be fully worked out. Similarly, his 1973 paper on "deep-surface canonical disparities" has relevance to optimality theory that needs to be explored. He pointed to the importance of understanding part–whole relations in a 1981 paper that has stimulated recent typological research on secondary predication.

At a personal level Ken was gentle, humble, generous, and respectful. In the 1960's white Australians thought he was a "Communist stirrer" for treating Aborigines as equals and learning their languages. Aboriginal people found him remarkable because he was a *Japanangka* able to "talk language" with all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