

## WHAT'S NEW IN THE PACIFIC

### HAWAI'I

A film titled *Hawai'i A Voice For Sovereignty* explores the culture and spirituality of the native Hawaiian people and their connection to the land. It was first privately screened at the Nation's Capitol for politicians, authors, and members of the Hawaiian Community. The intention of filmmaker Catherine Bauknights' documentary being shown in Washington was to honor the legacy of Queen Liliuokalani who devoted her life to furthering the cause of Hawaiian rights in both Hawai'i and Washington D.C.

Since the successful Washington screening there has been world-wide coverage resulting in unprecedented requests from the public to have the film premiere in Hawai'i. Bauknights requested that the documentary be screened at the Maui Film Festival, and looks forward to being back in the homeland and sharing the documentary that contains rare interviews with Native Hawaiians. Other interviews are with Professor Kay Haunani-Trask, Senator J. Kalani English, Grammy nominee Willie K, Clifford Nae'ole, and other Hawaiian leaders, who take us into rarely seen ancient lifestyles where spirituality, culture, and care for the land form a sacred bond between humankind and the natural world. By bridging their ancient knowledge with wisdom and modern technologies such as wind, solar, and wave energy and agricultural land systems, they move towards a goal of sustainability. The film's soundtrack includes traditional Hawaiian music from some of the premier performers in the islands today. For more information, see: [www.catherinebauknights.com](http://www.catherinebauknights.com)

### JUAN FERNÁNDEZ ISLANDS, CHILE

The massive 8.8 earthquake that devastated parts of Chile on February 27, 2010 also generated huge waves along the Chilean coastline and outward to the Juan Fernández Islands, 600 km off the coast. But the 639 residents of the island's only village, Juan Bautista, were not warned about the pending disaster. The village is located at the end of a deep circular bay that served to "funnel" the waves inland, wiping out the church, school, cemetery, administration buildings, etc. Nothing was left but mud, planks, and broken glass. Most residents managed to run inland and uphill but many didn't make it before the waves hit. A pilot who flew over the ruined village reported that everything had "just disappeared." News of casualties has been slow in coming; at least five people were confirmed dead and many others were reported missing. Rapanui islanders are collecting funds and materials to send to residents of Juan Fernández.

**PACIFIC ISLAND COUNTRIES** own the last remaining healthy tuna stocks in the world and manage an area of some 30 million square kilometers, supported by the Pacific Islands Forum Fisheries Agency (FFA). FFA members are calling for tighter controls on fishing, and proposing measures to control illegal fishing such as putting independent observers on fish-

ing vessels and by increasing the surveillance of the ocean by pooling equipment. Ideas presented to the 6th Regular Session of the Western and Central Pacific Fisheries Commission (WCPFC) include ways to control illegal fishing; changes to ensure prosecutions and penalties for illegal vessels; amend measures making swordfish conservation more effective; and reduce the fishing of big-eye tuna.

*Tok Blong Pasifik*, 7(2):14

**UPCOMING CONFERENCE: "EARLY MAN AND THE OCEAN 2010: SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF OCEAN VOYAGES"** will be held September 23rd-26th, 2010 at Bygdøyenes, Oslo, Norway. Conference: 23rd-24th, September 2010. Film festival: 23rd-26th September, 2010. Contact Reidar Solsvik. <[www.kon-tiki.no](http://www.kon-tiki.no)>

## WHAT'S NEW IN HANGAROA

### THE GREAT RAPA NUI ECLIPSE OF 2010

*William Liller, Viña del Mar*

IN CASE YOU HAVEN'T HEARD, ON JULY 11 OF THIS YEAR, in Hanga Roa at exactly 8 minutes and 30 seconds past two in the afternoon local time, the new moon will totally block out the sun, at least the intensely bright disk that we see in the daylight. Seconds later the rest of the island will also be plunged into darkness, and for the next 4 minutes and 41 seconds, all that will be seen is the delicate outer solar atmosphere, the corona, and possibly a few tiny rose-colored clouds known as prominences suspended over the sun's surface. This is already being called one of the most exotic total solar eclipses in recent memory.

The shadow cast by the moon will first touch the Earth's surface far to the west near Tonga almost two hours earlier and then sweep rapidly eastward finally leaving the Earth over the southern tip of South America just north of the Chilean city of Punta Arenas some forty minutes after passing Rapa Nui. Moving rapidly across the South Pacific, totality will avoid all significant land masses except for a sparsely-populated island, Mangaia, in the Cook Islands and a few low-lying atolls in the Tuamotu group. But the shadow will completely engulf Rapa Nui. There the elliptically-shaped shadow measuring 249 kilometers from north to south, will be zipping along at around 50 kilometers per minute. A person standing atop Maunga Poike on the eastern end of the island would see the on-rushing shadow cover the entire island in a little under a half minute.

Much has been written about the impact of total solar eclipses, even on modern day man. The psychological effect of watching the steadily encroaching moon finally and totally blot out the source of virtually all our light and energy is immense, and never forgotten. However, if you think you'd like to go, be forewarned: The Island's weather prospects are only so-so. The average July cloud amount in Rapa Nui is 56%,

and unlike the summer months when the clouds tend to form over the middle of the island, the winter skies of July can be fully overcast with the threat of drizzle and blustery winds.

A worse problem may be getting there if you haven't already made plans. Reservations for a few days before and after the eclipse have long been filled both on LAN's regularly scheduled flights and in many of the island's hotels and *residenciales*.

Perhaps LAN will catch on and add some extra flights. Eclipse watchers may have better luck finding passage on one of the several ships that will steam into the shadow's path hopefully at the right time and at the right place and in calm seas. The southern coast of the main island of Tahiti lies only some 20 km north of the northern edge of totality, and surely there will be a brisk business taxiing locals and tourists to and from the event in all manner of floating conveyances. Furthermore, the weather is expected to be somewhat more favorable with average cloud amounts dropping to 45%.

Residents in just about all of the rest of the South Pacific reaching almost to Hawai'i will be able to see the partial phases as will those in the southern parts of South America. But partial eclipses occur often and have little of the psychic impact of a totally eclipsed sun. The same can be said for lunar eclipses which take place when the moon passes into the Earth's long shadow as it does several times a year.

Of course solar eclipses have happened before on Rapa Nui, and one has to wonder what effect they had on the early inhabitants. There was a series of five total or near-total eclipses during a period of just over the years AD 762 - 772, a truly remarkable occurrence that is unique for any spot on the planet in the past two millennia. (On the average a given spot on the surface of the Earth witnesses one eclipse every 300 years.) And the eclipses just kept coming with six more hits or near-misses taking place in the next hundred years. AD 837 must have been particularly ominous: an early-morning totality passed a few kilometers south of the island in January just as Comet Halley was nearing its brightest appearance – ever. By April of that year, the tail of this famous comet stretched from zenith to horizon and, it has been predicted, the head of the comet became bright enough to cast shadows at night. Imagine! Surely by then the early Rapanui must have been greatly stressed out. One has to wonder if perhaps these unsettling events had to be the reason why the early Rapanui were motivated to carve bigger-than-ever *moai*, some facing the rising and setting solstices and equinoxes, and to carve images of comets and shining suns on prominent rocks on the island.

Much, much more information on these and other Rapanui eclipses can be found by Googling "Easter Island Solar Eclipse" (76,100 hits at the time of this writing).

The above eclipse predictions have been provided by Fred Espenak at NASA's Goddard Space Flight Center, (<http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/eclipse.html>). More on Halley's Comet and the confluence of eclipses in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries appears in my book "*The Ancient Solar Observatories of*

*Rapa Nui*" (1993) published both in English and in Spanish. Included are numerous references to further information and reading. You can read all about astronomical petroglyphs in Georgia Lee's 1992 book, *The Rock Art of Easter Island: Symbols of Power, Prayers to the Gods*. And if you can get to the Island, make sure to take with you a copy of *The Complete Guide to Easter Island*, available from the Easter Island Foundation.

**A DEVASTATING 8.8 MAGNITUDE EARTHQUAKE** hit southern Chile on February 27, 2010. The epicenter was located about 335 kilometers SW of Santiago, near Maule, and the closest cities were Chillan, Concepción and Talca. The EIF was deluged with emails and calls from people wanting to know how our friends on Rapa Nui and in mainland Chile were affected by the temblor. In the hours immediately following the quake, it was difficult to get any information due to the inability to make contact with anyone over phone or email.

Because of the location of this quake and its magnitude, it was assumed that a tsunami would be generated that could hit Rapa Nui as strongly as it did after a 9.5 magnitude earthquake in 1960. Alerts had been issued out all over the Pacific by the Tsunami Warning Center and preparations were made as far away as Hawai'i, where 61 people were killed by the tsunami that struck Hilo after the 1960 quake. Although the February 27 quake and subsequent tsunami wreaked unimaginable havoc in mainland Chile, the tsunami that hit Rapa Nui was relatively small. Reports from the island indicated that Chilean navy personnel stationed on the island put out an advance tsunami warning to the entire population. In Hanga-roa and in outlying areas, and even in the campo, every person who could be located was informed of the potential danger. Hundreds of islanders gathered informally at the church; others went to the houses of relatives who live in higher parts of the island until the danger had passed. Some of the first reports from the island were posted on Facebook and word quickly spread that that tsunami had been relatively small and that no-one on Easter Island had been injured. Tourists were stranded for several days until regular flights were re-established. At that point visitors were being flown off the island only.



A view of the rubble from the destroyed *pirca* at Tongariki. Photo courtesy of CONAF.

According to Enrique Tucki, Administrador for CONAF of the Parque Nacional Rapa Nui, the worst damage was in the Tongariki area, where the wave destroyed a large section of the *pirca* (wall) surrounding the site and about 50 square meters of fill was destroyed as well. They calculated that the tsunami wave must have traveled about 100 m inland. At Ahu Te Pito Kura, the wall protecting the stone *maea mana* was destroyed by the wave along with a section of the rear wall of the *ahu*. Damage was difficult to evaluate as some of the wall has yet to be recovered from the sea. Walls at both sites have been repaired with the help of MOP (Chile's Ministry of Public Works).

**RAPA NUI HAS A NEW GOVERNOR:** Pedro Pablo (Petero) Edmunds Paoa, a former mayor of Hanga-roa, was appointed in March by the new President of Chile, Sebastian Piñera. The appointment of Edmunds, a member of the Christian Democrat party, upset many conservatives on the island who had sent five names of rightist candidates for the government to choose from. Edmunds was not on their list and they feel that the government failed to respect their choices. Some demonstrated in front of the local government offices and burnt an effigy of Piñera, stating that the appointment is inconsistent with the party's interest in bringing change to the region. However, the new governor stated that Easter Island will continue to be aligned with the Christian Democrats and according to Edmunds Paoa, "... if that doesn't bother Piñera's administration, then it doesn't bother me."

*La Segunda, 17 March 2010*

**TWO ARGENTINE TOURISTS** were detained at the Mataverí airport last November when it was discovered they were bringing in Ecstasy pills and LSD. They were also carrying US\$15,000. This was the third time that Ecstasy and LSD were found on passengers (mainly foreigners) arriving to Easter Island. A plan has been implemented to use detectors and drug-sniffing dogs in an effort to stop the flow of drugs and they are working with Interpol to see if those arrested have previous criminal records.

#### **EASTER ISLAND: NEW SUSTAINABLE VISITOR CENTER**

In early December, the World Monuments Fund and American Express held a press conference in Santiago, Chile, to announce plans for a sustainable visitor reception center at Easter Island's 'Orongo Ceremonial Village, "Watch-listed" in 1996 and 2000. Part of the WMF/American Express Sustainable Tourism Initiative, the center will integrate existing facilities, and incorporate solar and wind energy, as well as a rainwater recycling system. It is expected to be completed by late fall 2010 and will introduce visitors to Rapa Nui National Park, which is becoming more popular with tourists every year.

**EVALUATING PREHISTORIC TERRESTRIAL RESOURCE DEGRADATION ON RAPA NUI.** Recently funded research by the National Science Foundation brings together a highly

qualified group of international investigators led by Christopher M. Stevenson to conduct archaeological research on Rapa Nui. Team members from the United States (Oliver Chadwick, Peter Vitousek), New Zealand (Thegn Ladefoged) and Rapa Nui (Sonia Haoa) will focus on climate change, environmental degradation, and dramatic subsistence changes to develop an empirical assessment of how these may or may not have influenced pre-European contact societal collapse on Easter Island.

The research to be conducted between 2010-2012 includes a program of paleo-ecological, landscape and archaeological investigations that will develop a highly resolved cultural timeline. Geomorphology, stratigraphy and geochemistry will be used to assess the history of Rapa Nui soils and to determine the impacts of erosion and sustained agriculture. The form and functional variation of various classes of rock gardens will be addressed through an analysis of environmental setting, satellite images, and precise geographical locations. Obsidian hydration dating in conjunction with radiocarbon dating will be used to determine the age of agricultural activities. Using a series of GIS-based models, these data will be analyzed to achieve a robust and comprehensive understanding of how, when and why Rapa Nui terrestrial resources changed through time and the impact that this might have had on prehistoric societal change.

The research involves empirically measuring a limited number of variables to facilitate complex modeling of the island ecology. This effort will establish whether changes in terrestrial resources were a critical factor in a pre-European contact societal collapse. The Rapa Nui context will also provide an excellent comparison to continental, large archipelago, and small Pacific "mystery island" settings and fill a critical gap in understanding the linkages and relationships between social and natural processes, and contribute to the development of the dynamic modeling of past human activity. These findings will enable social scientists to understand the impact of people both on the local island level and the wider global scale.

#### **EMILY MULLOY'S PACIFIC COLLECTION ARRIVES AT THE BIBLIOTECA WILLIAM MULLOY ON RAPA NUI**

In January 2010, Emily Ross Mulloy's grandchildren Francisco and Josefina Nahoe presented twelve boxes of her personal Pacific collection to the Biblioteca William Mulloy Library at the Sebastián Englert Museum on Rapa Nui. This recent donation includes published works in Pacific archaeology, cultural anthropology, history and ethnology, as well as early drafts of her husband's translation of Father Sebastián Englert's book, *Island at the Center of the World*. After the initial donation of her late husband's field notes and personal library in 1978, Mrs Mulloy herself collected books and media focusing on the Pacific with the intention of adding them to the Biblioteca William Mulloy. Mrs Mulloy's contributions were augmented by books in general linguistics given to Francisco Nahoe by University of Wyoming Professor Emerita, the late Dr Anne Slater, a colleague of Dr Mul-

loy's. All the books had been stored in California and were recently transferred to Rapa Nui with the donation of container space by Tito Paoa Huki and assistance from Tongariki Teave Tuki.

Emily Ross Mulloy was instrumental in the creation of the Biblioteca William Mulloy. She made her last trip to Rapa Nui for the opening of the Biblioteca William Mulloy in October, 2002. Museum director, Francisco Torres Hochstetter, and librarian, Lilián López received the collection for the Museo Antropológico Padre Sebastián Englert of Rapa Nui.

*Courtesy of Fr. Francisco Nahoe*

**THE TAPATI RAPANUI FOR 2010** was a great success, according to authorities including the PDI (The National Police of Chile). More than 4,000 tourists arrived for the celebration which, for the first time, was implemented under a plan called *Arenas Dorados* (Golden Sands). Neither crimes nor vandalism in the National Park was reported. All hotels and *residenciales* were filled to capacity and every rental vehicle on the island was taken. The article mentioned the ancestral sport of *haka pei*, and was illustrated by photographs of the usual buff islanders wearing feathered g-strings, body paint, and tattoos.

*El Mercurio de Valparaíso, 9 February 2010*

**RAPA NUI ISLANDERS STILL WAIT** for the government of Chile to respond to a vote by the island's residents for tighter control on immigration. More than 90 % of voters in a referendum say they're worried about the influx of residents from Chile, many who have come to work in the local tourism industry (an estimated 50,000 to 70,000 people visit the Island each year). Easter Islander Yan Araki says that of the about 5,000 residents on Rapa Nui, fewer than 2,000 are indigenous, and on a small island, this creates a strain on resources which disadvantages the people of the land. "For example, if I need to go to the hospital, and we have 3 or 4 doctors here on the island, for a population of 5000 people, I have to get on a waiting list, and I have to wait to get attended. Why? because there are people in front of me who are not local."

*Radio New Zealand International, Wellington; 30 October 2009*

## **‘A PO PRESENTS HOA HAKANANAI‘A**

*by Britton L. Shepardson*

SINCE 2003, ‘A PÓ – THE RAPA NUI YOUTH INVOLVEMENT Program, has provided more than fifty high school students from the Rapa Nui community with the opportunity to participate directly in conservation and research projects on their own island. The program includes classroom, laboratory, and fieldwork components, and students are encouraged to take part in all aspects of projects – from design to execution to publication.

In 2009, students of ‘a pó completed an entirely new project. Students elected to create a short video regarding Hoa Hakananai‘a, the ornately-carved basalt moai that was

hauled away from the island in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and is now on display in the British Museum in London.

Students began in August of 2009 by researching archived documents, reports, and images of Hoa Hakananai‘a in the Mulloy Library within the Padre Sebastián Englert Anthropological Museum on Rapa Nui. Students then developed a comprehensive storyline for the video, gathered archived images, created original digital photographs and digital video from around the island for use in the video, wrote the script, and recorded the narration. Editing of the video continued until January of 2010.

Hoa Hakananai‘a plays a particularly important role in Rapa Nui's prehistory, being one of the few tangible links between the famous megalithic statue tradition and the subsequent transition to the *tangata manu* or birdman cult. The statue also plays a prominent role in the challenges Rapa Nui faces today in cultural conservation and heritage management. Before being relocated to Europe, this 2.4-meter statue resided inside one of the manmade structures in the ceremonial village of ‘Orongo, perched majestically atop the rim of the Rano Kau volcanic crater.

Hoa Hakananai‘a is, arguably, the most intricately-detailed and best-preserved statue ever carved in Rapa Nui prehistory. Why such a central piece of the island's prehistory remains in the hands of a museum more than 13,000 kilometers across the globe, and why the Italian Fondazione Mare Nostrum and fashion mogul Louis Vuitton are now attempting to remove yet another *moai* from Rapa Nui, are amongst the many mysteries of Easter Island.

The ‘a pó student video has been entered in the Society for American Archaeology's 2010 short video contest (to watch the video, visit [www.terevaka.net/apo/video\\_en.html](http://www.terevaka.net/apo/video_en.html)). To support future educational projects of ‘a pó or for more information, please contact Brett at [bls@terevaka.net](mailto:bls@terevaka.net).

**WHAT'S NEW AT THE MAPSE:** The Museo Antropológico P. Sebastián Englert on Rapa Nui celebrated their 36<sup>th</sup> anniversary in October of 2009. They continue to sponsor a multitude of interesting programs and events. Several EIF members have been featured speakers. In September, Burkhard Vogt and Sonia Haoa gave a presentation about ancestral techniques and the use of water.

October was a busy month at the MAPSE. Riet Delsing spoke about New Horizons on Rapa Nui, Polynesian Cultural Policies in a Latin-American Nation-State. The Rapa Nui Youth Orchestra performed pieces by Handel, Bach, Vivaldi, Pachelbel, Beethoven, Chopin and Debussy, and important historical events that coincided with the dates of these works were discussed. The Semana de Ciencia or Week of Science, held presentations for both adults and children on the topics of lunar exploration, eclipses, phases of the moon, craters, and molecular and astrobiology.

In November the Chilean poet Guillermo García gave a presentation on the book *En Fin de Modo Que*. Oscar Cuevas Rivadeneira, artist in residence on Rapa Nui, had a pictorial exhibition "Manaroa Moana" in December. An interesting

historical documentary, *Hay Mana*, about the islanders who participated in the raising of the first *moai* at Anakena with the Heyerdahl Expedition, was also shown in December.

January 2010 included several *kai kai* programs for children led by Isabel Pakarati who has been instrumental in keeping this tradition alive on the island. A photographic exhibition *Ojos de Rapa Nui* by Francisco Javier Hernández Vásquez also took place in January. A new DVD about the evolution of surfing on Rapa Nui over that past 30 years, *Haka Ngaru*, was launched in January. A photographic exhibition by German photographer Stephanie Pauly, *Ha Ere Mai Mo Ūi* opened in February. Ana Maria Rojas gave a presentation called *La Naturaleza Tejida* about textile objects in the collection of the Museo de Historia Natural in Santiago and in the Museo Fonck in Viña del Mar. In March, Andrea Seelenfreund gave a talk about new tools for mapping the ancient migrations in the Pacific using genetic analyses of plants.

As always, we commend the MAPSE for offering such unique and varied programs for both the islanders and visitors to Rapa Nui.

## WHAT'S NEW ELSEWHERE

### GERMANY'S HISTORIC "FESTIVAL OF LANGUAGES" HIGHLIGHTS RAPANUI

*Steven Roger Fischer  
Auckland, New Zealand*

EASTER ISLAND'S INDIGENOUS TONGUE FEATURED prominently at history's largest and longest gathering dedicated to the languages of the world. Bremen's "Festival der Sprachen" ("Festival of Languages") – held between 17 September and 7 October 2009 at Germany's famous Hanseatic metropolis of 700,000 – combined a marathon of fifteen separate linguistic conferences (c. 160 presentations) with public events, special lectures, "language days" and exciting performance arts.

It was the brainchild of Prof. Dr. Thomas Stolz, Chair of Linguistics at the University of Bremen, who also guaranteed that the "Festival of Languages" offered everything from crash tutorials in Portuguese, Russian, Finnish, Arabic and fifteen other languages (all in one day!), to classes in Spanish cooking, body-language dance, and a history of the world's writing systems with an accompanying exhibition of various scripts – including Easter Island's *rongorongo* – in the University Library.

In a separate conference on language contact, Dr. Miki Makihara of Queens College, City University of New York, presented a paper on "Rapa Nui and Spanish in Contact". In another, dedicated to Guam's Chamorro language, Dr. Steven Roger Fischer of the Institute of Polynesian Languages and Literatures, Auckland, New Zealand, spoke on "Sources for the Old Rapanui Language of Easter Island." To engage the general public in particular, a special series of weekly lec-

tures on language was concurrently offered at Bremen's lovely 16th-century "Haus der Wissenschaft" ("House of Science") alongside the city's main mediaeval cathedral; as a special invitee and co-organizer of the "Festival of Languages", Dr. Fischer delivered, in German, to an elderly audience of about eighty, the lecture "Die Entzifferung der Osterinselschrift" ("The Decipherment of the Easter Island Script").

It was a thrilling schedule for all. There was a Catalonian Day, a Chinese Day, a Ladin Day (about the Romansch language of the Swiss valleys), a Turkish Day, an African Day ... then Pole, Maltese, French, Chamorro, Luxembourgish, Lower German, Mediterranean, Uzbek, Canadian-Québec, Amerindian, and many more. For three entire weeks it was a linguist's dream-come-true.

And historic "firsts" occurred as well. A genuine "Tower of Babel" rose to the occasion: a five-meter-high (18 ft) structure in four tiers, of 6,500 identical wooden blocks, was erected before Bremen's celebrated Science Center, each one of the blocks having been inscribed in bold letters – by a group of secondary-school volunteers and by assisting linguists – with the name of one of the world's languages ... with Rapanui again featured. On another day, Prof. Dr. Stolz and Dr. Fischer, using a sound system and assisted by a small group of graduate students, read out the names of over 6,500 separate languages inside a brightly new and cavernous shopping mall alongside the river Weser, as surprised shoppers stopped, stared, and asked questions about language: the whole point of the event. A cheer rang out when Rapanui's name resounded in the fourth hour. The whole "Guinness-worthy first" lasted five and a half hours.

Hundreds attended the "Festival of Languages". All of Bremen was enthused for three whole weeks. Indeed, there was no mistaking that the general profile of language, language study, language engagement, the crucial role of language in society was heightened throughout the larger community. Several new language societies were founded during the "Festival of Languages". Several different volumes of the academic proceedings will be published in 2011. Perhaps of most prominent significance was the official founding of VICES: The International Center for the Study and Teaching of Lesser-Used Languages, by Prof. Dr. Stolz, his wife and colleague Dr. Christel Stolz, Dr. Dónall Ó Riagáin of Ireland, and Dr. Fischer of New Zealand. This new linguistic center, dedicated to the world's smaller and, mainly but not exclusively, endangered languages, will be based at the University of Bremen, and Rapanui will again be an important member of its program.

The "Festival of Languages" had set a high goal from the very beginning. "I wish to achieve," Prof. Dr. Stolz had told a journalist before the grand opening, "that language is understood to be omnipresent and inalienable, and that linguistics is appreciated as the authoritative discipline in this regard."

It had taken two full years of planning, coordination, fundraising, and management before the doors finally opened in Bremen to the world's leading linguists. Another two years