TEACHING FROM COUNTRY, LEARNING FROM COUNTRY

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with the assistance of Yiŋiya Guyula, Dhäŋgal Gurruwiwi, John Greatorex, Joanne Garŋgulkpuy, Kathy Guthadjaka

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The Teaching from Country program was for us the latest in a series of adventures stretching backfor nearly 40 years. Our work together started in the 1970s in remote Yolŋu (North East Arnhem Land Aboriginal) bilingual schools. It's hard to remember exactly how the notion of 'both-ways' education came to life, but we have been working on enabling two fundamentally different knowledge traditions, the Yolŋu and the 'settler Australian' to work together to produce a viable practice of contemporary Yolŋu education – for both Yolŋu and Balanda (white Australian) students. The Teaching from Country was a major initiative funded by the Australian Learning and Teaching Council. Its goal was to enable Yolŋu elders in remote places 'on country' to participate actively in university knowledge work, particularly the teaching of coursework in Yolŋu languages and culture using emerging digital technologies – laptops, dongles, Skype, screen sharers, satellites etc.

For two years now, we have been experimenting with the technologies and meeting to think through together what happens when Yolŋu knowledge seems to move from one setting to another. In June 2009, after a semester of feeling our way forward with many teaching trials from remote places[1], we held an international seminar to work through some of these questions with some international expert friends. For a few days beforehand Dhäŋgal took the international visitors to some of the places in east Arnhem land associated with her Gälpu people. On the first day we climbed to the top of Nhulun – Mount Saunders – behind the Gove hospital. We looked around as Dhäŋgal pointed out the different places some in the far distance from which she had been teaching. They were connected by the ancestral sounds of the didgeridoo belonging to her Dhuwa moiety which had wafted across the lowlands, carried by the east wind, calling people to come together from various Dhuwa[2] places. The following day we drove up the hill at Djurruwu, and Dhäŋgal stopped the Toyota and told us the same story again, this time from a new perspective. Everywhere we went there were stories, and we found people and things

1 http://learnline.cdu.edu.au/inc/tfc/trials.html
2 Everyone, everything and everywhere in the Yolŋu world belongs to one of two moieties: Dhuwa and Yirritja

which made them real, and we thought about how a knowledge system like this works when cameras and computers and satellites extend its range.

Map showing the North East Arnhem Land communities involved in 'Teaching from Country'

Introduction

Yiŋiya is a Liya-Dhälinymirr Yolŋu elder and currently lecturer in Yolŋu studies at Charles Darwin University (CDU). Dhäŋgal has long been a school teacher, and now an elder of the Gälpu people, lecturer, researcher and interpreter living on a small piece of her traditional land at Birritjimi near the huge bauxite processing plant on the Gove peninsula. Guthadjaka usually known as Gotha, after many years teaching at Shepherdson College on the mission and then the ex-mission at Galiwin'ku, led a return of her people to re-establish the remote homeland community of Gäwa in the early 1990s. She taught from her country there. Garŋgulkpuy is a Yolŋu elder and leader of the Yalu Marŋgithinyaraw Centre at Galiwin'ku[3]. Michael and John have been teachers and teacher-linguists in various places in Arnhem land, since the early 1970s and are now both academics at CDU. Helen Verran is a philosopher from the University of Melbourne who has been working with us on some of the key philosophical puzzles to emerge when different knowledge systems work together. Our efforts of course have involved many

3 www.yalu.cdu.edu.au/

other Yolŋu and nonYolŋu participants, including some international experts. We have been working together, finding problems – some technical, some political, some social or cultural – and finding solutions and ways to go on together since the 1980s and before. We were most fortunate that our work over the past 15 years has been located in the School of Australian Knowledge Systems (SAIKS) at CDU where tackling difficult and unusual problems of academic knowledge is the order of the day.

A history of CDU's engagement with Yolŋu people

The Yolŋu Studies program started at Charles Darwin University in 1995 after a year long process of negotiation with the language and culture authorities from all the major Yolŋu communities and many homelands. A group of Yolŋu elders agreed to act as an advisory group, and gave us their ideas on who should teach, what should be taught (and what should not), and how to go about it. Waymamba Gaykamaŋu (now retired but still an active part of the Teaching from Country program) was the first lecturer, and Michael Christie the first coordinator.

The Yolŋu Studies program won the Prime Minister's award for Australia's best tertiary teaching program in 2005, and is still at the centre of a rich diversity of teaching and research practice which recognizes, researches and implements Yolŋu ways of making, sharing and governing knowledge within academic contexts, and takes seriously the notion of mutual benefit underpinning the university's Indigenous community engagement strategies.

Research work which emerged from the Yolŋu studies program, and which preceded and underpins the Teaching from Country program, includes work on the role of digital technologies and databases in the intergenerational transmission of traditional knowledge[4] the use of digital technologies for the long term sustainability of remote Aboriginal homeland centres[5], and the professionalisation of Yolŋu researcher-consultants articulating a research methodology which remains faithful to both academic and Yolŋu knowledge practices[6].

When the Australian Learning and Teaching Council awarded the National Fellowship for Teaching from Country in 2008, we were determined from the outset to centre our work in the Yolŋu philosophies of knowledge, place, pedagogy and technology. So we began the program with a workshop in Darwin. Yolŋu knowledge authorities came together to explore the new digital technologies, to play with making digital objects and websites, to experiment with remote digital connections, and to think about what the use of remote communication technology might mean for our understanding of Yolŋu and academic knowledge and pedagogy[7].

4 www.cdu.edu.au/ik
5 www.cdu.edu.au/inc
6 www.cdu.edu.au/yaci
7 Details of the workshop can be found at www.learnline.cdu.edu.au/inc/tfc/trials01.html and transcriptions and translations of the Yolŋu philosophical work can be found at www.learnline.cdu.edu.au/inc/tfc/writings.html

Starting the program

When we felt confident in the technology, and confident that we knew what we were trying to achieve, and confident of the support of senior community members, we set up portable socio-technical configurations in several remote Arnhem Land sites. We developed a website to make the processes public and transparent, while preserving their complexity, and respecting Yolŋu ways of producing, sharing and safeguarding knowledge[8].

For each teaching session the students assemble in the SAIKS seminar room. Yiŋiya makes contact and introduces the speaker to the students. It is up to the Yolŋu elders in each case to decide what to teach about, but the session is usually planned beforehand in consultation with John and Yiŋiya. During 2009, each of these sessions was recorded, transcribed and translated, and the videos and transcriptions loaded up to the website[9]. The screenflows, transcriptions and translations reveal the thrills as well as the frustrations and disappointments of connections and 'drop outs' as the program expanded, as the teachers ventured further and further from their remote homes drawn by the stories to new (old) places, and as we began to do some teaching to interested students of Indigenous spirituality and the environment in California, and of Australian languages in Japan.

What follows is three vignettes, a little on what was said and what was taught to the rest of us and to the students, by some of the key Yolŋu involved in the program. We wanted to give something of the flavour of the teaching sessions, as well as some themes which emerged.

Gotha, Garŋgulkpuy and the Child as Knower

When we began the Teaching from Country program, we made sure that Yolŋu were invited to make their own philosophical positions clear so that our practice would not be flooded and overwhelmed by western notions of knowledge and the child. Gotha and Garŋgulkpuy both come from Yirritja moiety clan groups which (like all other Yolŋu groups) use stories of land and water to describe how children are born knowing, how they grow up learning, and how they reach agreement about going on in the world.

Garŋgulkpuy had already published a well known paper Yolŋu Balandi-wataŋumirr on the sorts of connections which make up Yolŋu identity. She was working on a governance model for the Yalu Marŋgithinyaraw centre at Galiwin'ku and making clear how the identities and commitments of Yolŋu were quite different, but complementary, depending upon the ancestral connections. To quote from the summary of her original paper:

8 www.cdu.edu.au/tfc
9 www.learnline.cdu.edu.au/inc/tfc/trials.html

> Yolŋu are distributed in distinct groups knowing their lives through their distinct ancestral songs, ceremonies, images and practices. Yolŋu from both the freshwater country and the saltwater country have the full balance of carbohydrate and meat food through their individual skills and resources, and through sharing. Our Wangurri song teaches Wangurri people how we should live our daily lives, as well as how we should see our world. It is our affiliation to particular groups and their connections to the natural and cultural world – places, species, and practices – which drives our knowledge and our behaviour. Within each group we have a particular way of talking about our collective knowledge as a clan, and we can see how that helps knowledgeable Yolŋu keep the peace by directing people to consider themselves in terms of their ancestral affiliations. Within the mother-child clan relationship our clan-based mind-sets show us how to behave responsibly as children-caretakers and as mothers (like using peaceful Yirritja seawater for sorting out problems for our shark-like Dhuwa mother's clan[10]). All Yolŋu groups have names to link their minds into ancestral practice, in every aspect of everyday life from hunting to politicking, within and between groups. Even when Yolŋu have passed away, our bodies are still sacred objects belonging to our own group[11].

Garŋgulkpuy enlisted both her husband Wapiriny and her father Buthimaŋ to further articulate the philosophy of Yolŋu identity with regard to children. She is referring here to a diagram she drew:

> At the top right is the Wangurri water source at Dhalinybuy, and it flows out to the sea and it will flow forever. On the side of the river the grass is growing. When the water starts to well up inside the ground (the beginning of the wet season) the grass is crying (memories of wet seasons past) and the frog hears it cry and feels relieved and croaks with contentment. That's his job when the water welling up inside the land becomes the ancestral song. The water source contains the learning and teaching methodology, confidence, research that is its home. (This is only the middle of the story. The beginning is sacred and deep beneath the spring). When the water wells up inside Wangurri country, it starts to flow and it talks, agreeing, negotiating, consulting, stating and empowering, confident and unstoppable. It has the names of all its connections to other clan groups in its mouth. It knows its own path. This means that when Yolŋu advise and admonish each other, the land tells the law straight. The leaves and sticks, palm fronds and bits of paperbark the Wangurri water is carrying down the river are bits of information, knowledge, wisdom, intellectual research. Near the mouth of the river is a bar where everything comes together for agreement, and

10 All Yolŋu have a special responsibility to the clan of their mothers people. Many Wangurri clan people have mothers who come from a clan with a shark totem, whose pugnacity needs often to be smoothed over by the calm waters of their children's clan.

11 http://learnline.cdu.edu.au/Yolŋustudies/docs/garnggulkpuy.pdf

> lays down the law – so that everything on the other side will be good. The water on the other 'agreement' side is no longer rippling, it is calm Yirritja water called betj everyone comes to agreement. The way in which the land fills with water and begins to flow is like a library for Wangurri people. That's why we have the djolurr water mark painted on our foreheads for ceremonial business. Wangurri people are in the middle ready to get up and activate the water when they are needed. You need to recognize the time to rise and start moving forward taking the rubbish with you, cleaning things up, hoping for something to happen and knowing when to get up and speak: 'I am the water, I carry the sound of the sacred places'[12].

Gotha used a similar water metaphor to explain her thinking on the child's knowledge[13]. Inside a classroom, there is only a small stream of water for the children to learn from:

> 'They are just hearing the story – isn't that what you call theory? – they are not learning the *true body* of knowledge'. On her whiteboard diagram of the water flowing from source to sea, she adds lots of tributaries – the water of other clan groups (mists and spiders webs for example) which provide the richness of Yolŋu knowledge. 'Learning on country provides safety and confidence…Those children feel protected. They will stand and no barrier will stop them from the inside. But those who learn only in schools, their inner being is truly blocked. Children with breeze on their skin learn who they are from the land and its stories, and they'll know where to go. I'm not going to tell them. That's how they learn. And you will learn whether it's good or bad practice'.

On the last day of March 2009, Gotha used free screensharing software and the telephone to teach the Yolŋu studies class from her remote homeland centre at Gäwa. She showed photos of two of her great grandchildren aged about 6 and 8, off by themselves with axe and pannikin, collecting mangrove worms, then looking for signs of fresh turtle eggs which may have been laid along the beach. She wanted to make a point about confidence in the environment, and growing up in Yolŋu knowledge:

> I'll start off with my grandson Makuyuk. He is six and this is the time for turtle eggs when they come out and lay their eggs along the beach. So you can see him walking along the beach to see if he can find any turtle tracks. The end of gunmul wet season…is the time when young boys or girls go out and start looking for turtle. And it's easy for them. Birŋarr (species of turtle) is easy for little kids like four or five years old, they can find it easily because they were taught by following and listening to the old people. That's why he is on his own. He's been watching us and learning but now he can do it by himself…

12 http://learnline.cdu.edu.au/inc/tfc/docs/Garmak_Gularri_161208.pdf
13 http://learnline.cdu.edu.au/inc/tfc/docs/TFC_Gotha_Oct_2008.pdf

Earlier, John had also been speaking with Daymaŋu, Gotha's son-in-law, well known painter and ceremonial leader, and grandfather of the two boys, asking him if he might be interested to talk to the class about his art. Yolŋu mothers-in-law must never speak to, look at, say the name of, or be in the same space as sons-in-law, and vice versa. But they still care for and respect each other. Not long after we started with lots of cutting in and out of sounds and screens, Gotha mentioned to John that her son-in-law, was hovering outside the door waiting to talk. Young Makuyuk was in the room. Only momentarily distracted by the camera and peering at the students in Darwin, he soon found himself in the familiar role of helping his great grandmother out one door and his grandfather in the other one, and then, when someone accidentally hung up the phone, ushering out his grandfather and in his great grandmother to set up the sound again, and then the grandfather back in. Meanwhile in Darwin John had enlisted Yiŋiya's help to talk with the old man, and Michael was videoing the proceedings in Darwin and trying to explain to the students about the avoidance rules which gave rise to all the to-ing and fro-ing. Daymaŋu talked for a long time in complex old language, John doing his best to interpret what he was saying, Yiŋiya doing his best to slow him down, Michael with the video camera trying to record, assist, explain, choreograph. The students were mostly silent and open mouthed, sometimes laughing a little at the chaos. There was a great deal of calling out over the internet, as well as negotiations on both sides of the divide – all of them kinship based in an important sense, and all of them working together to bring to life a particular something – not directly or deliberately a teaching as such, but more a presence which gave everyone the opportunity to be themselves and watch the Yolŋu world continue to unfold.

Yiŋiya Guyula and the environment as knowledge

Yiŋiya Guyula is a Liya-Dhälinymirr man and lecturer in Yolŋu studies at Charles Darwin University. According to Yiŋiya, Teaching from Country is:

> …different to the education you get in the classrooms because the classrooms don't talk to you. We're learning out there under a tree, we're learning out there in the bush walking around, the trees are always communicating with you. The hills, the land, the air are always communicating, teaching you, and understands every need that Yolŋu children have to go through[14].

The land, in other words, has a particular agency in the work of bringing up Yolŋu children in the knowledge of their environment. Throughout the program as Yolŋu elders beamed into the classroom from their remote locations every Tuesday and Wednesday afternoon, Yiŋiya had been rather frustrated, being trapped in Darwin at the classroom end.

14 http://learnline.cdu.edu.au/inc/tfc/docs/TFC_Yingiya%20Oct2008.pdf

He had some key sites in mind, one at Badayapdy where lies an ancient canoe left by his turtle hunting ancestors. We eventually found a good time for him and John and a student to drive 700km from Darwin to his ancestral land and spend a few days teaching from country. There is no satellite connectivity in those parts, so we rented out a very expensive remote satellite receiver[15].

Badaypaday turned out to be unworkable – too many weak links in the chains which held the communications together, flattening batteries, cloudy weather, marginal connectivity. We heard Yiŋiya say, 'It feels great, Now that I'm here I feel the story is all coming together'. Then he cut out.

Two days later he was at another of his ancestral sites: this time a sacred well formed by the Djaŋ'kawu sisters who traveled across the land leaving behind fresh water bubbling up in many springs, species of plants and animals and many different groups of Dhuwa people, languages, songs, ceremonies, stories and more. Yiŋiya was teaching from a sacred Djaŋ'kawu water hole on his ancestral land at a place called Dhamiyaka. He had brought with him his older brother and some younger men, and they were connecting up with the students in Santa Clara, California:

> This is my older brother, his name is Galaŋarawuy – just wave if you can. [The students wave, Galaŋarawuy waves]. He's the senior custodian and landowner of this particular land. We're standing in a sacred waterhole which is towards over there…it's very very deep with a bit of jungle and a waterhole. The story here is about the ancestors that walked all the way from the east [Yiŋiya points the video camera to the east], landed in a canoe, and they came over, and the story our old people has is about the sacred waterhole here which was struck by a sacred digging stick by the two sisters and out came the bubbling water.

Then Galaŋarawuy tells his story in his Djambarrpuyŋu language which Yiŋiya interprets for the students:

> This place is called Dhamiyaka and it's mine…This is a sacred place. Our two ancestors called the Djaŋ'kawu created this land…

And later Yiŋiya added:

> When I'm teaching in the uni or going out to places teaching either through a website through Skype and taking people to sites I don't do it under my own control or authority I always let my old people know, the leaders of my clan so we all agree and

15 trials 19 and 20 http://learnline.cdu.edu.au/inc/tfc/trials.html

> it's something we use for the next generation for the future so always consult with my people before I actually go and do something. So that's the way it's going to be. That's the way it always has been. It is the final senior leader in the clan gives us the final authority to go ahead and even to go ahead and conduct the ceremonies, it's got to be under his power[16].

So teaching from country allowed Yiŋiya to depend upon the agency of the environment – the trees, the breezes, the water – as well as the authority of his elders and support of his younger clansmen. In the Canberra seminar[17] he put it this way:

> It's the Closing the Gap…when I first came up with a computer, a laptop, and the cameras and I said there must be a way where we can communicate and educate the non-indigenous people about there are spirits on the land, the images, the wind, the waters and actually standing on the land itself it empowers you to tell the stories, not only you are speaking but the whole land of our ancestors and the spirits of our forefathers.…We're trying to use technologies and to educate our children where we can keep the stories, the songs, for our generations to come…for both our children later on and those who want to learn and to work with us so we can better understand each other about the land and the culture of the Aboriginal…We would like the non-indigenous Australians or the whole community in the world to understand why we cry when we sing. When we tell a story on the land and the hairs on the back stands up, there must be spirits, it must be alive. That's the story we're trying to get across to people, that we understand and the language and the stories and songs that we sing is really alive and it's part of us[18].

Dhäŋgal and the University student of Yolŋu knowledge

Dhäŋgal emphasized the role of kin connections within and between clan groups. When asked what she felt she wanted to teach the students, she said, quite remarkably, that she wanted 'to teach them who they really are'. Here is an excerpt from an interview with Michael, in English, where we talked about what Teaching from Country might achieve:

> M: And what would you be interested to teach about?
>
> Dh: I'd teach students to really know about themselves, who they are, and in ways of explaining through the Yolŋu side, to see things which are good about what's within themselves, to know who each person really is, and what they can achieve from the

16 http://learnline.cdu.edu.au/inc/tfc/trials24.html
17 Yiŋiya was invited to speak at AIATSIS Conference 2009: Perspectives on urban life: connections and reconnections
18 From the transcript of the presentation made to the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Canberra, 30th Sept 2009

teachings from the Yolŋu perspective.

M: And that's for Balanda (white Australian) students as well?

D: That's for Balanda students as well. First of all they have to find out for themselves who they really are.

M: And your telling your story from yourself will help them to do that?

Dh: That's right.

M: How?

Dh: Because I'll be at home and feel that – what you would call – the power within. And any person that has the knowledge to pass things to other people that a lot of people miss out on by themselves, who they really are and what they should achieve[19].

Dhäŋgal sees this work as crucially important: helping students take themselves seriously as learners, to respect their own integrity as learners involved in serious and significant collaborations over knowledge and identity which are quite different from those understandings of knowledge which are embedded in most university teaching and research. The knowledge and identity resources of Yiŋiya's and Dhäŋgal's traditional country strengthened their ability to help students understand themselves.

Dhäŋgal belongs to the Gälpu language group, and together with her brother, a famous yidaki (didgeridoo) master, runs a small tourism and yidaki business. The focus of her teaching was more upon connectedness with family and the environment.

She never taught alone. Whenever she was in front of the camera with her family, she would introduce them. It was always a mixture of fun and some quite serious business. The first session[20] was held in front of a giant poster of Elvis Presley who has been a Gälpu adopted son since the 1960s. Even before the session started she had spotted a couple of her kinfolk in the seminar room in Darwin, and she had been talking in previous sessions about the olive python – a highly significant totemic identity. So while she was explaining her kinship, she was also performing it, pointing out to her friend at Birritjimi that her Gälpu aunt was in the audience in Darwin ('Say hello to your aunt!'), she introduced about a dozen of her family connecting them to the people in Darwin to the olive python, to Elvis Presley and to a nonAboriginal student Alice, long ago adopted as a relation, whom she also spotted in the audience. Weeks later at the international seminar, when Yiŋiya was showing a picture of men holding a giant python she

19 http://learnline.cdu.edu.au/inc/tfc/docs/TFC_Dhanggal_October_2008.pdf
20 http://learnline.cdu.edu.au/inc/tfc/trials13.html

exclaimed (referring to herself and her father's sister in the audience): 'We *are* that!'[21].

When invited with Yiŋiya to make a presentation, to a seminar at the Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies in Canberra, they showed a screen capture video of what the students in Darwin had seen on the large screen at CDU as Dhäŋgal taught from her home at Birritjimi just a few days earlier, just before her well-known brother had left for overseas. Here's an excerpt from Dhäŋgal's commentary watching the video of her teaching session:

> That's my brother Djalu. Everyone in the world knows him, he's playing in Italy at the moment, he's playing a yidaki[22] [sound of music in background] throughout the land and back to where we live, that's the 'home journey' of the yidaki that I told the students. (She had been telling the story of how the sound of the different yidaki echoing across the country bring different clan groups into a ceremonial connectedness with each other.) And this other one is my nephew Vernon who has taken up playing that music, he's now 18 but he picked it up when he was small, and you can see my little grandson standing on my brother's side there. So that's the whole story I told the students. The families are curious about what's going on and I took my laptop and sat outside where I normally sit and talk with my families and I said this one is interesting so everyone had a look to see what's happening, and I told them to Hello to the class that I was talking to. And the kids are very curious about it so that has given them the opportunity to know what is happening with technologies nowadays.

It was this unforced growing into knowledge through relationship that Dhäŋgal had hoped for her white Australian students. Yiŋiya explaining how this works, emphasised both the oblique agency of the elders, and the importance of timing.

> The [elders] never tell you. It's just a matter of participating and concentrating. When they are doing their song, when they are participating in ceremonies, that's when they are telling you and there's no second chances. You just learn it. But if you're actually born gifted…you already start to pick up automatically that you are the right person for that song. If you still don't know what you're doing then you're not the right person. The right person just triggers up and picks up everything first go[23].

Each time the screen stopped buzzing and flickering and opened up to a place, a face, a

21 http://learnline.cdu.edu.au/inc/tfc/docs/tfc_Yolŋu_Panel.pdf
22 didgeridoo
23 http://learnline.cdu.edu.au/inc/tfc/docs/TFC_Yingiya%20Oct2008.pdf

moment, these opportunities for 'participating and concentrating' arose, not only for the students but for the small groups clustered around the cameras and screens at the other end.

Postcolonial knowledge work in a University

In these short excerpts we have seen four quite different people explaining and performing their ancestral knowledge in confusing and frustrating contexts. Yet as they all point out, these contexts are no more confusing or frustrating than a classroom. In the same way that each place is unique – with its particular ancestral story, its different connections with other people and places, different owners and managers of its stories and ceremonies – so from each site emerged a unique socio-technical configuration of hardware, software, connectivity, spaces, images, elders, kin networks, children and passers-by. Some trial sites failed despite a huge amount of effort, others emerged successfully almost spontaneously. Success was more a function of ongoing shared experience, seized opportunity, good faith, nurturing and serendipity than of detailed planning.

And what are we to make of that success? We found Yolŋu participating in our work in many complex and often hidden ways – from senior elders sitting silently in the background supervising the use of knowledge for which they are the ultimate custodians – to young children who keep the technology going or act as go-betweens for elders who – for kinship reasons – must not meet or speak to each other.

We were learning without being taught. Knowledge was unfolding through the screen and we had the rare privilege of rethinking so many of the settled categories through which we have for so long understood our work: like place, knowledge, and the postcolonial.

From that work emerged equally interesting if not more practical challenges. For example our accountability to our students and their assessment; our accountability to our Yolŋu colleagues on country. Who and how should Yolŋu knowledge authorities be paid by the academy? Where is the intellectual property when we can't distinguish between knowledge and its context? If texts perform rather than represent, is it futile or dangerous to attempt English translation? What are the ethical issues here? And how does this work relate to other projects elsewhere?

Some of these critical issues are taken up in other papers in this volume.