Integral Strategies for Language Revitalization

edited by Justyna Olko, Tomasz Wicherkiewicz and Robert Borges

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Tomasz Wicherkiewicz, Robert Borges (eds.)

NARODOWY PROGRAM
ROZWOJU HUMANISTYKI

In memory of Helena Rozner vel Boba-Loüzkja (1928-2015)
– Grandma of all children who learn Wymysiöeryś
Death separates some in order to unite the others
Rest in peace!

Ym gydanka fum Böba-Loüzek-Hela (1928-2015)
Baba fu oła wymysiöeryśa śülkyndyn
Der tut śåt dy åna
ån dy ander troüt'å uf
Śłöf ym rü!

Pamięci Heleny Rozner od Boba-Loüzkja (1928–2015)
Babci wszystkich dzieci, które uczą się języka wilamowskiego
Śmierć rozdziela jednych,
by złączyć drugich
Spoczywaj w pokoju!

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JUSTYNA OLKO
Faculty of "Artes Liberales" University of Warsaw

TOMASZ WICHERKIEWICZ
Dept. of Language Policy and Minority Studies Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań

ROBERT BORGES
Faculty of "Artes Liberales" University of Warsaw

An Ojibwe elder, Joe Anginguash, evoked the words of one of the old members of his community who noted that "we're not losing our language, the language is losing us" (quoted in Hermes, Bang & Marin 2012: 391–392). This simple statement conveys the essence and the very reality of the processes of language endangerment, shift, and death by emphasizing the key role of both the community and individual speakers of a given language. Many scholars, education- and policy-makers tend to describe and view languages as abstract entities, embedded in specific communities of speakers but behaving, evolving and responding according to their own rights. The problems, challenges and choices made by the speakers, and, above all, their agency, are not always seen in direct relationship to the "life of a language," which only exists in the scholarly world without its speakers, enclosed in the files of language documentation. No wonder linguists have often been blamed for being enclosed in "linguistic cages" (Grenoble 2009), just like other scholars producing highly restricted knowledge "trapped inside the ivory tower."

Yet the understanding of the processes of language endangerment and death, as well as chances for the reversal, is becoming a more and more urgent challenge in our globalizing world. It is estimated that within the last five hundred years of human history around half of the world's languages have disappeared. The reasons for this are complex: the Neolithic Revolution, emergence and expansion of states and empires, many forms of colonization and discrimination and more or less complex language changes. Languages have stopped being used and have been formed and transformed all along in human history, but this relatively slow and usual process has greatly accelerated within the last decades, leading to the modern "Great Dying." It is estimated that, for example, in Australia 90% of local languages are on

the verge of becoming extinct. No less dramatic a picture can be seen on the American continent, where some 60% of native languages may have been lost within the last few decades. In the territory of the United States, over 80% of still-surviving local languages are waning and are no longer transmitted to children. Just in Mexico, depending on the criteria for classification, scholars distinguish between 60 and 200 languages – all of them currently endangered. Out of some 1500 languages spoken in South America at the dawn of European colonization, only 350 are heard today. All, except for Guarani in Paraguay, are endangered (Adelaar 2007; Evans 2007; Golla 2007; Grinevald 2007; Moore 2007; Nettle & Romaine 2000). This process is opperational in every part of the world, including Europe, where institutional protection of minority languages, which started in the 1980s and intensified in the 1990s, has still not prevented many autochthonous languages from extinction or severe endangerment. Europe, like all other parts of the world, is becoming linguistically impoverished at an alarming rate and deprived of its traditional diversity. Individual European countries have introduced language policies or legal instruments, which prevent discrimination of minority languages. The Council of Europe has successfully implemented its *Charter for Minority or Regional Languages*, which – for the first time in the history – declares Europe's linguistic diversity to be common heritage and offers a unique repertoire of language protection and promotional measures (Woehrling 2005; Dunbar & Parry 2008). All this, however, came too late and have proven to be insufficient for many endangered language communities. As many studies reveal (e.g. Wicherkiewicz 2009; Lebsanft & Wingender 2012), the instruments adopted by the turn of the 20th century significantly strengthened the condition of the strongest minority communities and their languages, bolstering a stable position in the European language constellation for Catalan, Basque, Welsh, Frisian and German as minority language in Italy, Belgium and Denmark (and a few others). The weakest language communities do face existential hazards of both an ethnolinguistic (as linguistic systems) and a sociolinguistic (as speech communities) nature. "Globalization" in the case of smaller minority languages has usually meant their progressing endangerment and their speakers shifting to a dominant language.

It is a widely described fact that each language provides a unique view into a reality and is strongly linked to traditional, often very practical, knowledge linked to local traditions and local ecosystems. Languages provide cognitive tools, structure, categorize experience, and generate and organize human knowledge. However, the reduction of linguistic resources and finally the

abandonment of a language creates empty spaces in specific cultural and social practices (Michael 2011: 136–139; Nettle & Romaine 2000: 69–71). At the same time, the accelerating disruption of stable multilingual environments based on the use of several local languages and the presence of multilingualism leads to impoverishing homogenization and proliferation of negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities. These processes, without a doubt, constitute one of the biggest societal challenges of the modern world, yet their global impact is still underestimated. A new agenda and complex tools to prevent that reduction of linguistic assets of humankind are desperately needed, particularly in case of the weakest and most imperiled language communities. The understanding of the crucial factors behind these processes and possibilities of their reversal is a special responsibility of researchers, language activists and community members, shared by many authors of this book.

While some of these processes are unfortunately irreversible, numerous endangered languages *can* be saved and safely maintained well into the future. New, efficient strategies are needed to counter and reverse widespread worldwide language shift and create spaces for the use of local languages in new economic and social circumstances. We believe this also poses special challenges for, and demands heightened awareness from external institutions and scholars that engage in revitalization programs and community-based activities. Real collaboration across academic and social boundaries, between researchers, policy-makers and local organizations, community members, teachers, physicians, or even businessmen is desperately needed.

The present volume documents some real attempts and results of different forms of collaboration and alliances that bridge many exiting gaps in language revitalization. Most of the contributions derive from papers presented during the conference on language revitalization organized in the town of Wilamowice within the framework of a team project *Endangered languages. Comprehensive models for research and revitalization*. The project, funded by the National Program for the Development of the Humanities, was carried out at the University of Warsaw, in collaboration with the Instituto de Docencia e Investigación Etnológica de Zacatecas (IDIEZ, Mexico) and Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. Its special focus is on three endangered languages – Wymysiöeryś[1] and Lemko in Poland, and Nahuatl in Mexico – so an important aim was to develop efficient models for the revitalization of each of these languages; however, an ultimate goal is a collaborative, self-reflexive search

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[1] *Wymysiöeryś* and *Wymysorys* are synonymous linguonyms.

for a more universal model for revitalization that could be applied to other endangered languages. Crucial for our approach is partnership-based, close collaboration with native speakers and their communities. Their participation helps to overcome serious limitations common to some of the typical "revitalization projects," such as the failure to recognize communities' actual needs or the undervaluing local attitudes towards language revitalization. Another important goal is to overcome the isolation of groups that struggle to preserve their languages. As numerous studies contained in this book show, in spite of the fact that languages originate in different environments or are used in distinct cultural, political and economic contexts, language communities usually share very similar problems relating to educational and ideological barriers, discrimination and marginalization. We think it is very important to provide spaces for them to exchange and discuss common experiences and goals. Thus, while a huge part of this book deals with Nahuatl, Lemko and Wymysiöeryś, its scope has been significantly enriched by introducing other languages in Europe, the Americas, and Asia. By discussing and comparing various aspects of language vitality, endangerment, maintenance and revitalization – in both diachronic and synchronic perspective – the editors hope to provide a representative overview of language constellations and strategies (to be) applied. The case studies focus on both intra- and extralinguistic aspects of revitalization, but what connects them all is the coherence between languages and their communities.

The organization of the volume reflects our focus; Wymysiöeryś, Lemko, and Nahuatl each have a dedicated section with several chapters each, followed by a section providing additional perspectives from language settings around the world, and a section specifically targeting efficient strategies for language revitalization. The first section *Wymysiöeryś: a Laboratory for Language Revitalization* contains papers about and inspired by the setting in Wilamowice. Wicherkiewicz & Olko provide a historical overview of research and documentation of the local language, Wymysiöeryś. Król discusses his personal experiences as a minority language speaker that inspired him to engage in efforts to revitalize the language. Ritchie argues that the most successful approach to revitalization of Wymysiöryś would include increasing the language's visibility across the community's physical and social spaces. Hornsby discusses young Wilamowiceans' perspectives on linguistic variation in Wymysiöeryś along traditionally defined social correlates: gender, socioeconomic status, individual families, and religious affiliation. Chromik systematizes the notion of *linguistic ideology*, identifying three levels, knowledge of which can aid in

addressing specific attitudinal issues during the revitalization process. Neels further elaborates on the topic of language attitudes with a historical overview of the dynamic circumstances that have governed language choices in Wilamowice. Finally, Żak discusses some aspects of Polish influence on Wymysiöeryś.

In the following section *Lemko: Language and Identity*, Rieger argues that thorough documentation of an array of Lemko varieties raises the level of the language's prestige while providing spatial and temporal links among the users of those varieties that act to enrich the language overall. Duć-Fajfer, with her double contribution, first illustrates the relationship between Lemko language, identity, and literature, the later of which are particularly useful for revitalization in that they provide a basis for pedagogy, corpora, and contextual dictionaries. In the second article, she argues that certain aspects of Lemko identity are constructed and reinforced within the Lemko literary tradition. Watral compares perspectives on Lemko identity, as constructed in the Lemko literature and those recorded in recent interviews with a wide range of Lemko speakers.

Nahuatl: Empowering Speakers contains a bundle of articles that discuss cooperation with Nahuatl community members in the revitalization process. De la Cruz & de la Cruz provide an initial assessment of the linguistic situation of today's Nahua communities in the municipality of Chicontepec, highlighting the circumstances and factors contributing to the increasing usage of Spanish by community members, problems faced by the native speakers in the context of the rapid language shift facing Nahuatl due to the dominance of Spanish in their communities and a proposal for counteracting and reversing language shift through efficient projects linking the academy and Nahua communities. Nava Nava describes the situation surrounding the NGO CAFAMI, which promotes the use of Nahuatl by means of a chorus that sings songs in the language. Bergier & Olko discuss language attitudes among modern Nahuatl speakers in the face of unbalanced bilingualism and the influence of Spanish. Olko & Sullivan discuss their approach revitalization, the core of which is the imperative to promote native speakers of Nahuatl to the role of protagonists who use their language as the vehicle for carrying out academic, revitalization, and teaching activities related to their language and culture. Gruda demonstrates the usefulness of colonial dictionaries for lexical enrichment of modern Nahuatl varieties in the revitalization process.

Then, *Sharing Perspectives across Language Communities* provides descriptions of additional language contexts. Dołowy-Rybińska discusses young people's attitudes and motivations for engaging in minority language activism among

the Welsh, Breton, Kaszubian, and Upper Sorbian. Jarosz presents different possibilities that have been used to write Miyakoan, a minority language in Japan, and proposes an orthographic system that accounts for phonological features that are not easily conveyed using the various Japanese scripts. Based on a series of questionnaires administered to school children, Yamasaki discusses the role of attitudes toward traditional agricultural practices among the Yucatec Maya and vitality of the language. Borges presents the sociolinguistic situation of the Coppename Kwinti in Suriname along with a discussion of multilingual feature variation and the possibility that this represents a precursor for diachronic change. Coluzzi assesses the ethnolinguistic vitality of two minority language communities in Malaysia – speakers of Bidayuh and Mah Meri – based on data obtained with a questionnaire approach, and given the relatively high vitality among both communities, he proposes a set of generalizable features that support vitality that can inform revitalization strategists.

The concluding section *In Search of Efficient Strategies* contains papers that discuss specific action plans for the most effective approaches to language revitalization. Sallabank offers an overview of theoretical aspects of language policy and planning followed by a discussion of revitalization activities and their achievements in three minority language communities on small islands in close proximity to the British Isles: Guernsey, Jersey, and the Isle of Man. Ferreira advocates the importance of developing and utilizing Language Technology in minority languages based on the example of the Minderico language in which computer programs have been successfully developed for didactic purposes. Bergier describes the results of reflective practices regarding methodologies of research that can be applied in the context of indigenous language and culture revitalization, undertaken in collaboration with indigenous organizations, communities and education institutions: The Ontario Federation of Indigenous Friendship Centers (Canada), Sámi University College (Norway) and selected Nahua communities in Tlaxcala and Puebla (Mexico). Further elaborating on this topic, Guttorm, Keskitalo & Bergier, presents excerpts from a discussion about the (re)vitalization activities taking place at the Sámi University College. Staliński demonstrates that entrepreneurial income generating activities can be fused with the popularization and revitalization of language varieties using the example of the Poznań-based hip-hop group AIFAM. Olko & Wicherkiewicz close the volume with a comprehensive proposal for an integral and inclusive approach to language revitalization in practice based on the balanced partnership

of researchers, academic institutions, activists, local/native communities and non-profit organizations.

We hope this books finds interested readers among linguists, anthropologists, historians, indigenous researchers, language activists and, above all, speakers of endangered languages who will be willing to critically evaluate, reflect and build on some of its ideas. In conclusion to this introduction, we would like to quote the words of the Lemko poet, writer and activist, Petro Murianka, recorded in one of the interviews carried out within our project. When asked about his prescription for reversing the language shift, he replied:

– What can be done? This is a rhetorical question. Just teach!
– What does it mean to teach? To teach at school?
– To teach everywhere.

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Researching, Documenting and <u>Reviving</u> Wymysiöeryś: a Historical Outline[1]

TOMASZ WICHERKIEWICZ
Dept. of Language Policy & Minority Studies
Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań

JUSTYNA OLKO
Faculty of "Artes Liberales"
University of Warsaw

Wilamowice and its history until World War II

Wilamowice is the unique home to the community of *Wymysiöeryś* – a severely endangered Germanic microlanguage, now spoken by several tens of users.

The town of Wilamowice (*Wymysoü* in Wilamowicean, *Wilmesau* in German) is located in southern Poland in the province of Silesia, county of Bielsko-Biała,[2] ca. 15 km northeastwards from the latter county seat, under current administrative division. The town itself has ca. 3 thousand inhabitants and is an executive center for a municipality[3] with a population of ca. 18 thousand.

The settlement was founded most probably around 1300 as a result of the so-called *German eastward expansion*,[4] which could have also included migrants from Germanic-speaking lands of Flanders, Friesland, or even Wallonia. The colonists founded a cluster of settlements circumjacent to Bielitz/Bielsko and Biała/Biala, on both sides of the river Biała/Bialka, which constituted a centuries-old limit between the then Duchies of Cieszyn/Teschen and

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[2] In Polish: w*ojewództwo śląskie, powiat bielski*
[3] Polish: *gmina*
[4] German: *Ostsiedlung*

Oświęcim/Auschwitz as well as Dioceses of Breslau/Wrocław and Cracow, later also between Bohemian and Polish Crowns and lands of Silesia and Lesser Poland (the latter known later as western Galicia or Austrian Poland) respectively. That bunch of colonies developed into what has been referred to as the *Bielitz-Bialaer Sprachinsel*[5] in German historical dialectology, i.e. a mixed urban-rural complex with its own cultural profile and a dialect-cluster consisting of several subvarieties being markers of both extra-and intra-group identities. The enclave broke up into the *Bielitz-Biala Sprachinsel* proper and Wilamowice (as a secondary sub-exclave) in consequence of Polonization of villages such as Pisarzowice, which has since separated Wilamowice from the village of Hałcnów/Alzen – a continual constituent of the *Sprachinsel* until the 1940s.

After the First Partition of Poland in 1772, Wilamowice remained within the Austrian crown-land of Galicia, where the impact of the socio-political, cultural and linguistic constellations and policies of the Austrian Empire formed the political/national identity of several generations of Wilamowiceans. After 1918 Wilamowice became part of the restored Polish State, while the proper *Bielitz-Biala Sprachinsel* turned into one of major German minority hubs in the Republic of Poland, with all ethno-linguistic and political consequences, i.e. a well-constructed and deep-seated German national identity developing into a unifying German political nationalism, strengthened by minority institutions (including education, political life, sport and tourism organizations, etc.) and later by the Nazi propaganda apparatus. As a result, after World War II, most of the *Sprachinsel* inhabitants shared the fate of other ethnic Germans in Poland, being persecuted, imprisoned, women raped and finally expelled to post-War Germany.[6]

The community of Wilamowice has constructed its identity mainly around the local language, tradition of the 'Austrian-Habsburg political nationhood', endogamy, own social structure patterns and economic as well as family ties, with a remarkable system of nicknames used within the community to identify its individual members. Those elements, together with a well-developed system of folk costumes, including the weaving traditions, wearing rules, nomenclature as well as commercial skills and an extensive network of trade

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[5] *Language enclave of Bielitz-Biała/Bielsko-Biała*
[6] for outlines of cultural, political and linguistic history of the *Sprachinsel* and Wilamowice see e.g. Barciak 2001; Chromik 2013; Chromik & Dolatowski 2013; Chromik & Wicherkiewicz 2013; Wicherkiewicz 2000; Wicherkiewicz 2003; Wicherkiewicz & Zieniukowa 2003; Wicherkiewicz 2013.

links within the Austrian-Hungarian Empire and Europe, have formed the constitutive markers of the actual Wilamowicean distinctiveness.

The social structure and ethno-linguistic order was infringed upon by the Nazi invasion in 1939 and then destroyed with the arrival of the Soviet Red Army in 1945 and ensuing the Polish communist administration. Numerous families in Wilamowice where ousted of their farmsteads and households by neighbors from the surrounding Polish villages with permission of local Polish authorities. One of main allegations was that the signing of the *Volksliste* by Wilamowiceans during the Nazi occupation was a declaration of allegance to the Nazis, however, places on this 'German nationality list' were freely granted by the Nazi occupants to many inhabitants – including ethnic Poles[7] – of the vicinities of Bielsko and Biała (Bielitz-Biala). The actual reason for massive appropriations of Wilamowicean property by the neighbors were old-established economic grudge and connivace for numerous forms of ethnic cleansings, excused by prior war atrocities. Worth mentioning here is the exceptionally wealthy condition of the town and its inhabitants in the times preceding the cataclysms brought by World War II.

Sociolinguistic background

Wilamowice does constitute an exceptional ethnic and linguistic enclave, actually the very last one of such a kind in the present territory of Poland. During the last seven centuries, the basic code of communication used on the local scale was the native *Wymysiöeryś* tongue, historically defined as a variety of Middle High German. The settlement formed an enclave in the region, where the means of communication was Polish, or precisely speaking variants of Polish. The Wilamowiceans had to communicate with the Polish-speaking neighbors because of their vibrant trade business. Polish, in its literary form, was used in the church and school in the town. The inhabitants also knew German (in its spoken Austrian form). This linguistic mosaic was preserved in the town till the end of 1940s. The hitherto situation of language contact turned into a language conflict at the instance of the new communist administration. The influence of the political and also, as a consequence, social and demographic factors was crucial for later

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[7] The acceptance of the *Volksliste* was voluntary (although hardly refusable) for Poles, while the alleged ethnic Germans were granted it mandatorily.

developments. The town and especially its language underwent numerous persecutions after the War, including an official ban issued on Easter 1945:

> (…) from now on, we ban any use of the local dialect – also in family and private situations, the forgoing concerns also wearing the distinct folk costumes.
>
> Those who do not comply with the present ban will be brought to severe punishment; since it is the high time to put stop to any distinctness and its lamentable results!

A steady and systematic language loss eradicated Wilamowicean from most, and eventually from all its traditional domains, from family circles to community life. *Wymysiöeryś* lost its communicative and integrative functions, a few exceptions including individual curricula, as e.g. grandchildren brought up solely by their grandparents, or displaced families.

When the linguistic and sociolinguistic research on/in Wilamowice was re-undertaken at the turn of the 1980s, *Wymysiöeryś* seemed to be in the final stage of language death: completely unknown by the youngest generation, ridiculed by the middle-aged, forgotten or placed into the communicative closet by the oldest. As one informant stated in a 1989 interview:

> We prayed: «Mountains and hills, hide us», since we've suffered so much because of our language and folk costumes. They'd better vanish forever...

The projects (cf. below) launched in the 1990s focused on documentation of Wilamowicean culture and literary output of Florian Biesik – the founder of literature in *Wymysiöeryś*. The publication of their results (e.g. Wicherkiewicz 2003), as well as recurrent presence of Wilamowice and related topics in mass-media (e.g. documentaries on Wilamowice(an) broadcast in the national TV) had ignited a sparkle of cultural recovery of/within the community. Wicherkiewicz (2000: 555) stated at that time:

> …The Wilamowiceans are only now starting to be proud of their tradition and distinctiveness. Unfortunately, they can no longer be proud of their ethnolect, since, after 750 years of existence, this smallest (or the second smallest – after Karaim) minority language in Poland faces imminent extinction which will inevitably accompany the death of its last speakers (probably within some 10 years)…

Documentation and research on Wilamowicean

The oldest known samples of Wilamowicean were quoted by rev. Franz Augustin in his 1842[8], while the first printed texts in Wilamowicean (or rather in what the author-collector considered *Wymysiöeryś*) were published by Jacob Bukowski in his 1860 anthology. Bukowski, a doctor of medicine and member of the Imperial and Royal Moravian-Silesian Society for Agricultural, Natural and Geographical Sciences, who compiled a unique collection of a few dozen folk songs and poems from Bielsko, Biała and surrounding villages. Bukowski (1860: 107–124) included there also four texts on Wilamowice, written in a standard German orthography: *A Welmeßajer Steckla*, *A Welmeßajer ai Berlin*, *Der Ochsazug o der Fostnocht ai Paris (A Welmeßajer Gespräch)*, and *A Salomon Urtel (Ai Welmeßaa)*. Worth noticing is the fact, that the second text ('a Wilamowicean in Berlin') contains one of the oldest known references to a non-German origin of Wilamowiceans (cf. Wicherkiewicz 2003 and 2013). Bukowski's collection was thereafter frequently referred to, as were the individual texts it contained. For instance, in 1913, a semi-anonymous work by F.G. & J. Sch. (1913: 127) quoted a passage from Bukowski's compilation whilst arguing for a Low-German origin of *Wymysiöeryś*. Much later, those texts were cited a series of articles on Wilamowice, published in 1970 by Walter Kuhn in consecutive issues of the regional bulletin in exile *Bielitz-Bialaer Heimatbote* (cf. below). Bukowski's anthology was reprinted in full by Wagner (1935, 1–190) in his monumental monograph of literature on and in the dialects of Bielsko-Biała enclave.

A few years before, Wilamowice was described briefly by Józef Łepkowski (a professor of archeology at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow) in his press report for *Gazeta Warszawska* (Łepkowski 1853: 4)[9] as a German settlement, Wilhelmsau, along with Hałcnów (Alcen) and Kozy. The local language was described as:

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[8] Augustin's manuscript was discovered by Bartłomiej Chromik (Warsaw University) in Katowice National Archives, Branch Żywiec [*Archiwum Państwowe w Katowicach, Oddział w Żywcu*] during a preliminary research inquiry in the framework of projects carried out at the Universities of Poznań and Warsaw and mentioned later in this text [a facsimile of the pages with Wilamowicean inclusions is available at:

http://inne-jezyki.amu.edu.pl/Frontend/LanguageSource/Details/1203].

The Polish-language translation was published as Augustin 2007.

[9] The text was found and quoted by Filip 2005: 150–151.

An archived facsimile accessible: http://ebuw.uw.edu.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=76630&from=publication

… a peculiar vernacular! something like Yiddish, something like English, but then seemingly German (…). In spite of centuries-old language contacts between Wilamowice and Hałcnów from one side and the Polish and Silesian Slavdom from the other, the former have totally preserved their Gothic asperity; this is a Germanic dialect, caught and ossified in its medieval form. Some people consider the settlers Dutch, who had arrived here during the earliest religious unrests (…). Apart from the settlers themselves, nobody understands that language. They speak Polish or German to strangers; they pray in Polish; nevertheless, they have extraordinarily preserved their embalmed dialect for ages.

The same remarks concerning the Wilamowiceans and their language were revoked in the nineteenth-century geographical compendium of the Polish (and other Slavic) lands *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich.*[10]

A representative selection of folk songs, texts and proverbs from Wilamowice was compiled as illustrative material in a short description of Wilamowicean by Młynek 1907. The volume contained religious, narrative, didactical or paroemic (song) texts — two of them provided with grammatical and lexicographical comments — as well as exemplary sentences in Wilamowicean; the spelling employed was based on Polish orthography. Ludwik Młynek, himself a teacher in the grammar-school of Wadowice and Tarnów,[11] collected all the texts from his pupils (mainly Franciszek Danek), their parents and relatives from Wilamowice. In the conclusion to his work, the author announced his intention to soon publish a "detailed dictionary and grammar" of Wilamowicean. This plan, however, seems to have proved unsuccessful.

On the initiative undertaken by Polish members of the *Wikisource* team,[12] who aim at making the monumental editions in and on Wilamowicean accessible to open public, a scanned copy of Młynek's book has been published by *Wikimedia Commons,*[13] next to e.g. works by Józef Gara.

Similarly to the above-mentioned dictionary and grammar announced by Młynek, the *Wörterbuch der Mundart von Wilamowice* prepared in manuscript by Józef Biba and Franciszek Rosner seems to be lost to scholarship. A reference to that work was made twice by Mojmir (1930: XXIII and 1936:

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[10] (1893; vol. 13: 451) http://dir.icm.edu.pl/pl/Slownik_geograficzny/Tom_XIII/45
[11] Both towns located in the region of Galicia (Lesser Poland) – 30 km and 160 km eastwards from Wilamowice respectively.
[12] Among others Adam Staliński, who also authored one of the chapters in this book
[13] https://pl.wikisource.org/wiki/Indeks:Narzecze_wilamowickie

634), where vocabulary was reported to have been prepared for Professor Jan Bystroń.

A new endeavor to comprehensively depict *Wymysiöeryś* and *Wymysoü* was undertaken by Józef Latosiński (1861–1928), a teacher and schoolmaster in Wilamowice, an amateur historian and compiler of the monumental *Monograph* (Latosiński 1909). The chapter dealing with "Customs, folk costume, occupation, character and dialect of Wilamowice" also included a grammatical outline (Latosiński 1909: 263–282) and a Polish-Wilamowicean vocabulary (Latosiński 1909: 282–319), as well as a selection of Wilamowicean songs, mostly Christmas carols. The monograph has effectively influenced, shaped and in some respects constructed the collective identity of Wilamowice in the face of nationalisms breaching through Central Europe and restructuring the identities of lands and ethnic groups. Latosiński studied the history of Wilamowice in search of facts and myths that could help in embedding the local identity – yet autonomous on a microscale – in the Polish nationhood, regaining its subjectivity and mythical blissfulness. A set of features which reinforced Wilamowiceanness as autonomous in relation to the "overbuilt" Polishness were to be the portrayed "Customs, folk costume, occupation, character and dialect of Wilamowice." The importance of Latosiński's findings of facts has been crucial for the Wilamowiceans and their group identity within the twentieth century, underlined by the fact that the *Monografia* was reprinted in 1990.

What Latosiński did for strengthening the Polishness of Wilamowice(ans) was Walter Kuhn's "mission" in respect to their Germanness (for competing language ideologies in/for Wilamowice see Chromik 2013 & Wicherkiewicz 2003: 15–19). Walter Kuhn (1903–1983), born in Bielitz, was a prominent and very productive historian and ethnographer of the German *Ostgebiete*,[14] one of founders of the research discipline called *Ostforschung* ('Eastern–European studies'), which was to and in many ways did scientifically support the German *Drang nach Osten* ('drive toward the east') and was instrumental in the planning of ethnic cleansing of local non-German populations and settlement of German colonists in order to Germanize Central and Eastern Europe. Kuhn, himself an active, involved and convinced Nazi, professor of Universities of Breslau and Hamburg, activist and supporter

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[14] The former Eastern Territories of the German Empire/Reich – the provinces/regions east of the current eastern border of Germany which were lost by Germany after both World Wars consecutively (most of the former Province of Posen and West Prussia, and further East Prussia, Farther Pomerania, East Brandenburg, Upper Silesia and majority of Lower Silesia).

of associations of 'displaced compatriots'[15] dedicated many of his papers to Bielitz-Biala and its *Sprachinsel.*[16] Although very competent from a historical point of view, the texts on Wilamowice endeavored to explicitly display the Germanness of Wilamowice, considering any other theories and ethnic myths inventions of nationalist Polish propaganda. Nevertheless, Kuhn's articles on Wilamowice may still be considered an inexhaustible source of ethnographic and folkloristic information. Worth listing are: the aforementioned series of articles by Kuhn 1970, Kuhn 1940, Kuhn 1928, Kuhn 1935, Kuhn 1967, and the recapitulating lifework – Kuhn 1981. Worth referring to is also a comprehensive bibliography of literature on the *Sprachinsel* by Kuhn & Schlauer 1930.

Another name associated with German ethnography of the region is Alfred Karasek.[17] Along with Walter Kuhn and other eminent figures of ideologically engaged German scholarship (as e.g. Mitzka 1968), Karasek laid the grounds of *Sprachinselforschung* – an interdisciplinary study of German language exclaves in Poland and Central Eastern Europe. Bielitz-Biala provided an exemplary model of the *Deutschtum im Osten.* Karasek(-Langer)'s publications went in the dozens, too. Essential for documenting the Wilamowicean language and culture were: Karasek 1925, Karasek 1927, Karasek 1931, as well as monumental sagas collections by Karasek-Langer & Strzygowski 1930, 1932 (including over 60 folk tales gathered in Wilamowice); another joint monograph by Strzygowski & Karasek (1928) contained a selection of jokes concerning Wilamowice, so did Karasek-Langer 1932. Karasek's wife and a painter, Hertha Strzygowski (1936 and 1939) authored two publications on regional folk costumes in Wilamowice.

Single samples of Wilamowicean, or minor scholarly references to the ethnolinguistic situation/history of Wilamowice were also made by the following scholars: Smólski (1910: 18–21) with linguistic references to and a text of a wedding song from Wilamowice, Kauder 1923 (whereof vol.1 contained two anecdotes on Wilamowicean) or Hanslik 1907 and 1938.

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[15] *Heimatvertriebene, Landsmannschaften*
[16] A comprehensive statement of Walter Kuhn's scholarly bibliography and output can be found e.g.: https://homepages.uni-tuebingen.de//gerd.simon/ChrKuhn.pdf.
Walter Kuhn and Alfred Karasek were referred to as 'Die Grimms der deutschen Sprachinseln im Osten' ['Brothers Grimm of the German language islands in the East'] referring to their academic achievements and folklore collecting, publishing and research on German Eastern Colonisation.
[17] (1902–1970). Published also as Karasek-Langer. Langer was the maiden name of Karasek's mother, used by the scholar in order to ideologically stress his German ethnic origin.

The interwar period also saw editing and publishing the *magna opera* for of Wilamowicean linguistics, that is to say the canonical studies of grammar and lexicon of *Wymysiöeryś*, i.e.:

– two monograph volumes (post-doctoral theses) on the grammar of Wilamowicean by Adam Kleczkowski (1883–1949), professor of German linguistics at the University of Poznań and Jagiellonian University in Cracow (Kleczkowski 1920 and 1921).

– a two-volume dictionary by Herman(n) Mojmir (1874–1919), a Wilamowice-born physician and co-organizer of Polish scouting, brother of Florian Biesik,[18] and skilled linguist and lexicographer; the dictionary (original title: *Etymologisch-vergleichendes Wörterbuch der wilamowitzischen Mundart, auf Grund des altdeutschen etymologisch-vergleichenden Wörterbuches von. O. Schade*) was editorially supervised by Professor Adam Kleczkowski (Vol. I) and Heinrich Anders (Vol. II) and published as Mojmir 1930–1936.

Thanks to the team of *Wikimedia Commons* and *Wiktionary*, the contents of the dictionary and its entries are available on-line.[19]

The above-mentioned Heinrich Anders (1904–1941), a Professor Kleczkowski's assistant at the University of Poznań, continued his studies of Wilamowicean basing on the texts created by F. Biesik. In 1933, Anders published a critical edition of *Gedichte von Florian Biesik in der Mundart von Wilamowice*, which made *Wymysiöeryś* even more famous in the world of Germanic linguistics. For instance, these are works of the trio Kleczkowski-Mojmir-Anders that inspired Weinreich (1958) to compare Wilamowicean (which he treated as one of colonial German varieties) with Yiddish. Anders' edition is also accessible on Wikimedia Commons.[20]

Besides the above-mentioned works of Walter Kuhn, worth mentioning is another historical monograph inspired by the German-Austrian expellees' associations[21], namely Wurbs 1981, where the author – in line with the German ethnohistoriography – treated Wilamowice/Wilmesau diachronicly as a secondary exclave element of the *Bielitz-Bialaer Sprachinsel*.

Except for the aforesaid post-war German or Austrian works, the long post--bellum decades saw hardly any other publications concerning Wilamowice(an)

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[18] The reasons for Herman(n) Mojmir's decision to change his family name (from Biesik) remain unclear. The relationship between brothers Florian and Herman must have been unusually bad, inasmuch Florian placed Herman(n) in the hell of his Dantean poem *Óf jer wełt*.

[19] https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Hermann_Mojmir_-S%C5%82ownik_ niemieckiej_gwary_Wilamowic and re-edited as: https://pl.wiktionary.org/wiki/ Kategoria:wilamowski_%28indeks%29.

[20] https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Gedichte_von_Florian_Biesik_in_der_Mundart_ von_Wilamowice?uselang=en

[21] *Österreichische Landsmannschaft.*

– obviously the distinctness of Wilamowiceans expressed in their language and by their costumes and folk traditions was to sink into oblivion, at least for the Polish scholarship and journalism. Nevertheless, later, between 1969 and 1996, Wilamowice and their "mysterious" "Flemish" or "Dutch" origin inspired several journalists to publish more or less reliable or startling reports on the situation of/in the town, e.g.: Stec 1969, Wielińska 1970, Imieliński 1973, Zaręba 1977, Chludzińska 1984, Siembieda 1990, Karwat 1996; see also Wicherkiewicz 1995.

In 1977, Belgian TV station made a documentary in and on Wilamowice – the 68-minute long *Een dorp van Vlamingen?* ['A village of Flemings?']. It was broadcast in the series *Kijk Mensen*[22] and does constitute a priceless record of the Wilamowicean language and culture in the stage of their commonness and even prosperity. The movie was recorded at the initiative of the Flemish dialectologist Hugo Ryckeboer from the University of Ghent, who carried out field research in Wilamowice in the 1970s and 1980s.

In 1984, H.Ryckeboer and Norbert Morciniec (professor of German and Dutch at the University of Wrocław) published two extensively documented articles (Ryckeboer 1984; Morciniec 1984) on endomythology of origin and other scholarly and folk prerequisites concerning the origin of the *Wymysiöeryś* language and ethnicity; the latter even evolved his reasoning in the Morciniec 1995 article.

At approximately the same time, Professor Morciniec's disciple, Maria Katarzyna Lasatowicz, nowadays professor at the University of Opole, carried out a research project on Wilamowicean. The result was published as Lasatowicz 1992; the volume constituting a recapitulation of most essential works on Silesian German, colonial German varieties, *Bielitz-Bialaer Sprachinsel* as well as the descriptive grammar works by Kleczkowski. The author had also carried out some field study in Wilamowice, which resulted in concise remarks on sociolinguistic and intralinguistic changes within *Wymysiöeryś*.

The turn of the 1980s marked essential changes in Poland's social, political and economic system. The initially top-down changes were to significantly influence the position, perception and role of minority communities in the new democratic order. The country and society were to restructure their self-view of a monolingual, monoethnic and homogenous state-nation.

It is the research team from the University of Poznań, lead by Professor Alfred F. Majewicz, who were first to include Wilamowicean into the research

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[22] The documentary is easily accessible on the Web.

repertoire of minority languages in Poland. For a long time, their research and studies[23] were seen as opening reports for minority studies as a new academic and policy research discipline in Poland and abroad. It is during one of pre-liminary field research tours to Wilamowice (in February 1989), when a student of the University of Poznań and Professor Majewicz's disciple, Tomasz Wicherkiewicz discovered a manuscript of Florian Biesik, then in the possession of Helena Bilczewska.[24] The first direct encounter with *Wymysiöeryś* resulted in a series of research ventures starting with a student summer camp in June 1989, when a group of students of linguistics[25] at the University in Poznań spent a week interviewing the speakers of Wilamowicean and preliminarily studying the artifacts of the local culture. During the expedition, the recently discovered manuscripts of Florian Biesik were photocopied; later edited and essentially introduced and published by Majewicz (1989).

The research and discovery results from Wilamowice were also presented in 1993 at the 5th International Conference on Minority Languages in Cardiff, Wales, and published behindhand as Wicherkiewicz 2000 and Majewicz 2000.

The research commenced in 1989, and further studies on literary Wilamowicean resulted in T. Wicherkiewicz's doctoral thesis titled *Language, Culture and People of Wilamowice in the Light of Literary Output by Florian Biesik – an Ethnolinguistic Study*, defended at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań in 1998, reedited and published as Wicherkiewicz 2003.

The year 2001 marked publication of a new monumental monograph on 'nature, history, language, culture and community of Wilamowice'. The collective work (Barciak 2001), prepared on the order of the municipality of Wilamowice, engaged a group of specialists from several academic centers in Poland and was to complement and follow up Latosiński's 1909 monograph.

The volume contains chapters on Wilamowice's:
– natural environment
– history
– folk culture and traditions

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[23] Worth mentioning here are: Majewicz 1987, Majewicz & Wicherkiewicz 1990, Majewicz & Wicherkiewicz 1998.

[24] Helena Bilczewska (1905–1993) was a local teacher, mother of Barbara Tomanek, stepmother of Jadwiga Stanecka (founder and manager of the folk ensemble *Wilamowice*), and Eugeniusz Bilczewski's widow. Eugeniusz, teacher and local activist, had preserved his manuscripts to posteriority.

[25] Anna Maria Trawińska, Dorota Woronowicz (now Professor Dorota Brzozowska/ University of Opole), Maciej Karpiński and Tomasz Wicherkiewicz (now professors of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań), accompanied by the then lecturer of Dutch, Christine Vankrunkelsven-Wróblewska.

– sociology
– religious architecture
– sigillography
– current portrait of the municipality,
– as well as two subchapters on 'language and literature' by Wicherkiewicz
  & Zieniukowa (2001) and Wicherkiewicz (2001).

The turn of the twentieth century and the following decade brought an
abundant crop of scholarly publications on Wilamowice(an), including lin-
guistic, ethnographic and historic studies: Zieniukowa & Wicherkiewicz 1997,
Wicherkiewicz 1998a, 1998b, Bittner-Szewczykowa 1999, Filip 2001, Bazielich
2001, Lipok-Bierwiaczonek 2002, Wicherkiewicz & Zieniukowa 2003, Rodak
2004, Filip 2005, Filip & Król 2009, or Danek 2009a and 2009b.

Wilamowice and its language soon started attracting scholars from many
parts of the world, who at various times carried out field research in the
town, including linguistic studies by Alexander Andrason from Reykjavik,
Iceland,[26] Carlo Ritchie from Sydney, Australia, Michael Hornsby from Wales[27]
or Rinaldo Neels from Flanders, Belgium.[28]

Alexander Andrason's specialty is the descriptive grammar of *Wymysiöeryś*;
his hitherto publications include: Andrason 2010, 2011, 2013a, 2013b, 2014a,
2014b, 2014c, 2014d. Andrason keeps on working together with Tymoteusz
Król – the results of their cooperation are joint publications: Andrason & Król
2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c.

In 2012, Rinaldo Neels, a lecturer of Dutch from the Catholic University
in Lublin, defended his doctoral thesis in sociolinguistics at the Catholic
University of Leuven (Neels 2012).

Carlo Ritchie studied Wilamowicean *in-situ* and became deeply rooted in
the community. In 2012 he presented his B.A. thesis (Ritchie 2012). Thereafter,
he also gratefully authored a book for children *Ynzer boümmüter* (Ritchie 2014).

The recent years have also marked a considerable progress in documen-
tation and archiving of the language of Wilamowice. One of them – *Poland's
Linguistic Heritage. Documentation Database for Endangered Languages* (2012–2014),
lead by Tomasz Wicherkiewicz, focused on launching a catalogued database,
which could serve as language archive for metadated and annotated language
corpora, and constitute a basis for further linguistic, ethnolinguistic and

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[26] at present at the University of Stellenbosch, South Africa
[27] at present at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań
[28] Carlo Ritchie, Michael Hornsby and Rinaldo Neels contributed to the present volume.

sociolinguistic research. In the long term, the corpora and materials collected can serve as linguistic sources in community-driven revitalization projects. The resources compiled under the project include, among others, numerous samples of Wilamowicean and its closest linguistic relative – Hałcnowian from the *Bielitz-Bialaer Sprachinsel*. The resources can be found and retrieved, with comprehensive information background in English and Polish, at: www.inne-jezyki.amu.edu.pl. The project was supported financially by the Polish National Program for Development of Humanities. The project also created an opportunity to pick out and entrust young scholars interested in Wilamowicean with project tasks. Among the results are the articles by Chromik & Wicherkiewicz 2014 or Żak 2014.[29]

The ethnolinguistic documentation of *Wymysiöeryś* has also been created, transcribed and translated within the project "Endangered languages" discussed in more detail below. These materials, focusing on language attitudes, life stories, experiences of new speakers and cultural events have been published on the project's website (www.revitalization.al.uw.edu.pl). Another project, directed by Bartłomiej Chromik (see below), is aimed to transcribe and translate a huge corpus of recordings in *Wymysiöeryś* into Polish and English, as well as to develop a contextual dictionary directly linked to these materials.

Writing Wilamowicean

Unquestionably, the title of father of literature in *Wymysiöeryś* belongs to Florian Biesik, who was born in Wilamowice in 1850 (or 1849) and died in Trieste in 1926. Having graduated from the grammar school in Wilamowice, he entered the renowned college of St. Anna in Cracow in 1863, unlike his younger brothers Herman(n)[30] and Jan, who chose the *Gimnazjum* in nearer Wadowice. After riots caused by the 1863/1864 uprising, Florian moved to St. Jacek's college, from which he was dismissed in 1866. In 1873, Biesik became a railway officer and later he moved to the Habsburg port-town of Trieste on the Adriatic Sea, as a result of the development of the Southern Railway Company (*k.k. priv. Südbahn Gesellschaft*). In Trieste, Florian climbed the ladder of a railway career, up to the post of senior officer, and married an Italian woman – Federica Giovi or Garsari. The only son Kazimierz/Casimir,

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[29] Both Bartłomiej Chromik and Andrzej Żak contributed to the present volume.
[30] As explained earlier, Hermann changed later his family name to Mojmir, most probably due to a brotherly conflict of inheritance.

also chose a railway career. Some traces of Kazimierz Biesik lead to New York (where he disembarked in 1904) and to Marburg/Maribor (currently in Slovenia), where he supposedly lived in 1933.[31] Florian Biesik maintained contacts with his family and friends in Wilamowice; most probably also visited the town (at least once in 1923), where his brother Jan resided as a retired Austrian functionary. After the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, in 1919, Trieste became an Italian city, but the retired ex-railway officer Florian decided to stay there and engaged in numerous civil activities.

From 1913, Florian Biesik wrote poetic texts in Wilamowicean, under his Wilamowicean nick-name Flora-Flora,[32] adopted as a pen-name. The poems were sent to Wilamowice in order to gather opinions pertaining to the language and particulars described in his works. To the very end of his life, Biesik wrote also numerous articles concerning Poland for local newspapers published in Trieste. In March 1926, Florian Biesik was buried at the Communal Cemetery of St. Anna in Trieste. The grave does not exist anymore.

The Wilamowicean-language writings of Florian Biesik have drawn the attention and interest of numerous scholars. A selection of shorter texts was published by the aforementioned Heinrich Anders as early as 1933[33] and contained the following:

– *Wymysau an wymysojer* [Wilamowice and Wilamowiceans] in two versions, with a didactic comment *Cy byłjén* [for instruction]
– *An dy wymysojer studanta* [to the Wilamowicean students]
– *Dy drużba* [the groomspeople]
– *Łiwy Poloncia-zyster* [a letter to 'Dear Sister-in-law Apolonia']
– *S'wymysojermakia* (a cracovienne) [the Wilamowicean girl]
– *S'wymysojerysze* [the Wilamowicean language]
– *S'Gregre-gregory* [St. Gregory's day].

Some of Biesik's poems must have been known to Professor Adam Kleczkowski, who wrote in a 1930 letter: "I have been given Biesik's poems in Wilamowicean… Very interesting, as they seem, describing a whole calendar year in Wilamowice". Anders' compilation served as source for numerous entries and addenda to Mojmir's (1930, 1936) dictionary. Anders (1933: 1–2)

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[31] Anders 1933: 1.
In 1927 a certain Olga Biesik (Casimir's wife?) was running a photo shop.
[32] In T. Król's contemporary spelling: *Fliöera-Fliöera*
[33] *Gedichte von Florian Biesik in der Mundart von Wilamowice* accessible in full: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Gedichte_von_Florian_Biesik_in_der_Mundart_von_Wilamowice?uselang=pl

wrote that the manuscripts were obtained by Professor Kleczkowski in Wilamowice, and that some other poems were in the possession of Biesik's son living at that time in Marburg in Yugoslavia. He mentioned also the existence of one more part of the manuscripts containing "an epic poem, wherein the author settles accounts with his fate, including a descent into hell" – the poem in question must have been *Óf jer wełt* found in the manuscript discovered in 1989. Another poem, *Óm mjer* earned praise among the compatriots in Wilamowice, who found it "intelligent" and "excellent". In the letter to his sister-in-law, Apolonia Biesik, he wrote: "Since I know you are a good and enlightened Wilamowicean, I am sending you a song I wrote and something else, and I am asking you to include it among the other texts; maybe somebody could print them at some time".

Eventually, Biesik's manuscript found in 1989 contained the following texts:
– *Óf jer wełt* [in the other world]
– *Óm mjer* [in the sea]
– *S'wymysojerysze* [the Wilamowicean language]
– *Dy drużba* [the groomspeople]
– *S'wymysojer mákia* [the Wilamowicean girl]
– *Dy "saison halykja"* [the seasonal saints]
– *S gre-gre-gregory* [St. Gregory's day]
– *Wymysau an wymysojer* [Wilamowice and Wilamowiceans]
– *Dy nójy póterbąwa kultur* [the new culture of butter-women]
– *S'wymysojer wunder* [the Wilamowicean wonder].

The first two represent the most mature pieces of literature in Wilamowicean. Of great importance for the Wilamowicean (constructive) ethnotheory of origin is the text *Wymysau an wymysojer* as it contains an interpretation of the founding myth of and for the community. *S'wymysojerysze* in turn is the founding text of the affirmative language attitudes toward the native *Wymysiöeryś*.

The contents of Biesik's manuscripts were printed several times. The first selection was published, as previously mentioned, by Anders (1933). A facsimile of the (re-)discovered manuscripts was edited and printed by Majewicz in 1989. The monograph by Wicherkiewicz (2003) was largely devoted to Biesik's poems, their analyses, backgrounds and circumstances. Biesik was intentionally a father of literary Wilamowicean and a conscious language planner. In the introduction to his manuscript, he wrote:

> I can serve as an example of how profoundly the dulcet Wilamowicean language remains in memory and in heart; not having used it for more than 60 years, in my old days I set to work on it, and while comparing it with other languages, I keep discovering still new values in it.
>
> Only now I have come to understand why this language without any orthography and grammar, isolated for centuries from the area of origin, could survive (…) By adopting the Polish alphabet (…) I have managed to represent quite adequately the variety of vowel sounds.
>
> (…) during hundreds of years and in the course of [our] migration, many original words have been abolished and substituted with foreign ones; they can, however, serve (…) as a source of appropriate forms for languages which, yet related, do not possess them, or have only imprecise or inaccurate words; maybe my poem *Óf jer wełt*, provided it will not perish, can significantly contribute to it.[34]

Ultimately, Florian Biesik's poems were published (as scanned manuscripts, transliterated to modern orthography and translated)[35] as part of the project *Poland's Linguistic Heritage – Documentation Database for Endangered Languages*. It seems that a century after Flora-Flora wrote his verses

> (…) to make moments free of hard labor more pleasant to my countrymen and to diminish the boredom and homesickness of those dispersed all over the world, or to remind them of their home in which they were taught prayers by their mothers (…)[36],

his input to the everlastingness of his native microlanguage and unique culture is eventually appreciated by the Wilamowicean and international community.

Florian Biesik was not the unique forerunner of written Wilamowicean. His brother, Herman(n) Mojmir, was not only a skilled lexicographer, but supposedly tried his hand at narrative texts. Unfortunately, the fate of his story referred to as *Dy Kistuoryj fum Dymek* (Mojmir 1930: XII and 1936: 635) remains unknown.

In 1923, Jan Danek-*Płaćnik* finished in manuscript his *Pamiętniki Przed rokami 1791 i bliżej roku 1819 Nastepnie roku 1849* [memoirs from before the year 1791 and around 1819 as well as 1849]. The best part was written in Polish, but the pages 69–73 contained an extended wedding oration in Wilamowicean. The

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[34] Wicherkiewicz 2003: 47
[35] http://inne-jezyki.amu.edu.pl/Frontend/Text/Details/1455
http://inne-jezyki.amu.edu.pl/Frontend/TextSource/Details/213
[36] Wicherkiewicz 2003: 48

integral manuscript has been photocopied and published on-line as a part of the project *Poland's Linguistic Heritage.*[37]

For a next writer, the community of *Wymysiöeryś* had to wait more than half a century, until Józef Gara (*Tołer-Juza*, 1929–2013) retired after his industrious labor as miner. He not only spoke and thought Wilamowicean, but also taught the first courses of the language in the 2000's (cf. below). Most of J. Gara's writings were published in print, or on-line (thanks to a long-lasting successful cooperation with *Wikimedia Polska*) as Gara 2003, 2007a and 2007b.

As documented by T. Król, minor texts in Wilamowicean have also been written by individual Wilamowiceans on various occasions; worth mentioning are those by Rozalia Hanusz, Jan Kućmierczyk, or Ingeborg Matzner-Danek.

Additionally, worth noticing are the ever-growing literary productions by Tymoteusz Krol, creative writings for children in *Wymysiöeryś* by Ritchie (2014) and Majerska (2015), both published by the Faculty of "Artes Liberales" of the University of Warsaw within the framework of the project *Endangered languages. Comprehensive models for research and Revitalization*.

Last but not least, Wilamowice, its history and language have started attracting Polish-language writers. Worth mentioning here are novels by Gawlik (2014) or a postconstructivist literary experiment by Bartnicki (2010).

Tymoteusz Król

The role of Tymoteusz Król in and for the processes of revitalization, but also in researching and documenting Wilamowicean cannot be overstated.

Born in 1993 to non-Wilamowicean parents and brought up by a *Wymysiöeryś*-speaking nanny,[38] Tymoteusz grew up as a conscious speaker, researcher and soon an ingenious revitalizer of his 'nanny-tongue' (cf. below). His language biography, language acquisition and language attitude(s) have seen and been discussed in Tymoteusz' sociolinguistic portrait by Majewicz 2014.

Tymoteusz Król has successfully standardized and introduced a coherent, relevant and efficient spelling system for *Wymysiöeryś* which is of huge importance for publishing literature, textbooks and language reference materials.

The list of works written by Tymoteusz is growing, but the present overviev would be biased without mentioning the most outstanding ones: Król 2006

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[37] http://inne-jezyki.amu.edu.pl/Frontend/LanguageSource/Details/1033
[38] Helena Rozner *fum Böba-Loüzkja* (born in 1928) passed away in July 2015.

(on Wilamowicean nicknames), Król 2011 (a poem on the origin of the first Wilamowiceans, referring and strongly tied to Florian Biesik's style and topoi), Król 2012 (a scholarly poster on female mourning clothes in Wilamowice) or Król 2013. In 2015, Tymoteusz has graduated from the Institute of German Studies at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow with B.A. thesis on *Soziolinguistische Analyse des heutigen Wilmesaurischen* (Król 2015).

As listed earlier, Tymoteusz has co-authored numerous papers and articles with Alexander Andrason (Andrason & Król 2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c), Elżbieta Filip (Filip & Król 2009) or Tomasz Wicherkiewicz. The cooperation continues in the development of teaching materials (a dictionary, a handbook, a manual), the most recent results being the pictured dictionary (Król, Majerska & Wicherkiewicz 2015) and a school-book of *Wymysiöeryś* (Król, Wicherkiewicz & Majerska 2016).

Tymoteusz Król and Justyna Majerska have also prepared and exhibited several professional expositions in Wilamowice. In 2015 they also curated a prominent exhibition *Wilamowice. Aż po życia kres* [Wilamowice – until the end of life] at the National Museum in Wrocław.

Revitalizing Wilamowicean

The above-quoted ominous summary by Wicherkiewicz (2000) or the title of a Wicherkiewicz's (1998a) article "Wir kuza ny mejr wymysojerysz (…)" ['we don't speak Wilamowicean anymore'] turned consensually into incentives, which have inspired Tymoteusz Król to counteract the death of *Wymysiöeryś*. In 2003, he founded the Circle of Wilamowicean Culture, but even before that, he had started compiling words lists and collecting folk costumes. As teenager he launched his own language archive, which currently contains ca. 800 hours of audio – and video-recordings of spoken *Wymysiöeryś* (including many speakers who already passed away).

In 2004, the first lessons of the language were organised – initially at the local school (on a fully voluntary basis) and then on private premises. The classes were attended by a dozen or so children and the teacher was Józef Gara.

Another shelter for (initially solely elements of) the language and local costumes became the local folk ensemble, founded in 1948 with the intention of preserving and maintaining Wilamowicean culture within the frames allowed by the political-administrative system at that time. The ensemble was dissolved in 1995, then revived in 2000 by the newly established Association

for Preservation of Cultural Heritage of Wilamowice, with main objective to strengthen its repertoire with local ethnic contents.

The Association also became the main advocate for the awakening for local identity and represented the community of Wilamowicean in the Polish Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages founded in 2003. The next developments included publishing books – e.g. poems and songs by Józef Gara, his *Chronicle of the town of Wymysoü* (Gara 2003, 2007a and 2007b) – as well as maintenance and promotion of traditional folklore, as e.g. the country-wide known custom of *Śmiergust* ('water plunge Easter Monday'). An example of successful bottom-up revitalization actions is the re-introduction of the male folk costume. Unlike the initiatives focusing on language, the promotion of folk costume as a marker of local identity has been supported by the local Catholic parish priest.

More initiatives have been undertaken thanks to a wide-ranging project: *Endangered languages. Comprehensive models for Research and Revitalization* (funded by the National Program for the Development of the Humanities) launched in 2013 by the Faculty of "Artes Liberales" of the University of Warsaw in collaboration with the Association *Wilamowianie* as well as scholars from Polish and foreign universities, and directed by Justyna Olko. The project has focused on three endangered languages: besides Wilamowicean/*Wymysiöeryś*, it included Nahuatl in Mexico and Lemko in Poland. The main objectives include the construction of a unique, efficient model for the revitalization of each of these languages, as well as (a) more general, universal model(s) for revitalization that could be applied to other endangered languages. The high-level goal is developing new forms of collaboration between academics and their institutions (through participatory action research and community-based research), local activists and organizations and local municipal and educational institutions, maximizing the effects of the project and bridging existing barriers.

These aims are being pursued in two ways: first, through interdisciplinary research including documentary work as well as investigation of both the cultural-historical background and the present state of the languages, and second, through close collaboration with native speakers' communities.[39] The collected resources serve to create dictionaries, grammars and manuals, among them the already mentioned booklets for children: Ritchie 2014 and Majerska 2015.

As part of the above-mentioned Project, in June 2014, the Faculty of *Artes Liberales* organized an international conference on revitalization of endangered

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[39] http://www.revitalization.al.uw.edu.pl

languages, held in the town of Wilamowice,[40] in cooperation with several other scholarly and municipal institutions. The topics of interest included, but were not limited to, cross-cultural contact, interdisciplinary collaboration, multilingualism and the protection and development of endangered languages as the sources of profound and long-lasting social benefits and innovations. That unique event was not only a space for debate and exchange of experiences among an international group of scholars and native speakers, but it also marked a milestone in the process of fostering and maintaining cultural identity of the Wilamowiceans. Therefore, the turn of 2013 and 2014 could be considered as a turning point in restoring the social prestige and symbolic sociolinguistic self-confidence to the community of Wilamowice.

In November 2013, representatives of Wilamowiceans were invited to the Polish Parliament in Warsaw as special guests for the Conference on *European and regional instruments of protecting endangered languages*.[41] The conference participants were not only acquainted with the history, situation and prospects for the language[42], but were shown samples of spoken, sung and written *Wymysiöeryś*. A special guest of the event was Cardinal Kazimierz Nycz,[43] the archbishop of Warsaw, who expressed his thanks to the community and researchers for their efforts to keep the language of Wilamowice alive, which has considerably strengthened the position of the language (revitalizers) vis-à-vis the otherwise skeptic local Catholic clergy.

The launch of the above-mentioned research project resulted also in establishing *The Wymysiöeryśy Akademyj–Accademia Wilamowicziana* in November 2013. This event marked an important new direction in the conservation of *Wymysiöeryś* and hopefully a chance for a new beginning for the language. The *Akademyj*, for the first time, brings together native speakers, academics and community members in an international partnership of co-operation and understanding with the goal of creating an academic body through which efforts in documentation and revitalization of *Wymysiöeryś* can be coordinated.

In 2011, Tymoteusz Król started teaching *Wymysiöeryś*, originally on an exclusively private base (to 5–8 pupils). Since autumn 2014, the classes were incorporated into the school curriculum in Wilamowice, so the language is

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[40] http://www.revitalization.al.uw.edu.pl/Content/Uploaded/Documents/Practical%20information-7f4c813a-0124–4661-a8b0-f731eb80b9d6.pdf

[41] http://www.sejm.gov.pl/Sejm7.nsf/komunikat.xsp?documentId=390857B270785488C-1257C2100494B9A

[42] proceedings published as Nijakowski 2014

[43] born in the neighbouring village of Stara Wieś, known in Wymysiöeryś as *Wymysdiüf*

currently taught to almost 30 children and two teachers (who are ready to take over and develop the school teaching curriculum) on the basic, intermediate and advanced levels. The presence of Wymysorys at the local school in Wilamowice is supported with direct assistance and honorary patronage of the Warsaw University Faculty of "Artes Liberales" and Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Faculty of Modern Languages and Literatures. Launching the language at the local school is a direct result of successful collaboration and alliance between local teachers and revitalizers of the language, direction of the school and municipal authorities and academic institutions; importantly, the inauguration of the *Wymysiöeryś* teaching at school was preceded by special psycholinguistic and educational workshops for children their parents and teachers carried out by Ewa Haman from the University of Warsaw. These and other specialized workshops have been designed and implemented within the aforementioned Project "Endangered languages" as part of a broader strategy for reinforcing a positive language ideology and attitudes as well as for raising the general awareness of linguistic and cultural diversity in Poland and beyond. These activities were based on the premise that essential components of language revitalization should draw on sharing psycholinguistic knowledge with parents and other members of local communities who should become aware that their "children are perfectly capable of growing up bilingual, trilingual, or even quadrilingual. But parents and mentors must create an environment where both (or all) of the languages can thrive" (Hinton 2013: 230). In addition, as part of an integral approach, the members of the Project prepared and published first materials language instruction: stories for children (Ritchie 2014; Majerska 2015), a pictorial dictionary (Król, Majerska & Wicherkiewicz 2015) and the first *Wymysiöeryś* textbook (Król, Wicherkiewicz & Majerska 2016). Owing to the creation of professional materials for language instruction, the teaching program in the school in Wilamowice will be expanded in the school year 2016/2017, with the participation of the new teacher of the language, Barbara Nawrocka, an English teacher who volunteered to learn the language with the help of Tymoteusz Król and will now take over some of the learning groups – a first step to create a prepared group of teachers in charge of language instruction. The teaching of *Wymysiöeryś* is also accompanied by classes focusing on local tradition, including customs, historical memory, songs and dances, art and crafts designed by the teachers with the support of the school head-master Mariola Dylewska-Mitoraj. Thereby, for the first time, a comprehensive language acquisition strategy for *Wymysiöeryś* has been thought-out.

Importantly, Tymoteusz Król continues language instruction, also outside the local school, leading a basic-level group embracing students who live outside Wilamowice and an advanced group regularly visiting the oldest speakers in order to practice conversations with them. The regular meetings/lessons with the oldest native speakers are also regularly organized for school groups. In addition, Justyna Majerska is in charge of language instruction for adults. The current strategy for language teaching is a local adaptation of master-apprentice and language-at-home programs, and, so far, has resulted in several fluent and semi-fluent teenage speakers of the language. In addition, thanks to the close collaboration with the municipal authorities, the recently-opened seniors' day care center in a historical building *Ochronka* ['nursery'] located in the central square of the town will be used as the first "*Wymysiöeryś* Language Nest" in the afternoon. Activities, involving the participation of the oldest and youngest generations of Wilamowiceans, will be supervised and organized by language activists, including especially new speakers of the language and junior-high students from the local school as part of their school projects focusing on local heritage.

The language instruction and promotion also develops in the closely collaborating academic milieu. In February 2016, for the first time in history, *Wymysiöeryś* also crossed the gate of the university as a regular language course taught by T. Król and B. Chromik at the Faculty of "Artes Liberales" of the University of Warsaw. The class was completely filled up shortly after the enrollment was opened. This step has that cannot be overestimated as it marks a significant rise in prestige and recognition of the language: for the original native speakers, heavily persecuted by communists authorities and its educational system and language policy, for new speakers and language learners; for the community and its stake-holders; for academic circles and students; and, finally, for the spreading of the awareness of linguistic and cultural diversity in a broader society.

Another domain, closely linked to the language teaching program and where the recent years brought significant changes in favor of the prestige of Wilamowicean, is the amateur theatre. In common opinion, particularly among the younger generations, *Wymysiöeryś* can be used solely in domains referring to the past, traditional culture, ancient customs etc. The spectacles arranged and put on stage in 2014 and 2015 – namely *Der Kliny Fjyśt* 'The Little Prince' and *Der Hobbit* 'The Hobbit' – not only proved the timeless dimension of *Wymysiöeryś* vocabulary and expressive potential, but attracted a troupe of young learners = new-speakers to master their declamatory and

stage skills in the language.[44] The spectacle *Hobbit. Hejn ȧn cyryk* was staged, entirely in *Wymysioeryś,* in the Polish Theatre in Warsaw on February 26, 2016 after two very successful performances in Wilamowice – during the International Mother Tongue Day, celebrated in Wilamowice for the first time in February 2015, and during the cultural event closing the project focusing on the creation of language-based touristic cluster (described below) in November 2015. This event has been organized by the Faculty of "Artes Liberales" and the Association "Wilamowianie" in order to promote the language, further raise its prestige and to mobilize a broader support for its revitalization. The spectacle, accompanied by the dance performance and special workshops for children, was no doubt an important step in the joint eff orts not only to keep the language alive, and promote language revitalization programs and importance of preserving the linguistic diversity in Poland. It was inaugurated by the Rector of the University of Warsaw, Marcin Pałys, and performed in the presence of many Wilamowiceans and Wilamowice municipal authorities, numerous researchers and members of the academic society, school children and teachers from Warsaw schools, university students, cultural activists and politicians.

Two other spheres of intergenerational revitalization and essential markers of Wilamowicean group memory and identity are also worth mentioning:
– the folk costumes with a highly developed system of nomenclature, weaving and wearing rules,
– the system of traditional local nicknames.

The former is being reintroduced mainly through the activities of the folk ensemble and strongly supported by the local society, while the latter links the modern Wilamowicean identity of the youth with the family and community history, kinship and social structure. The role of the two domains is currently essential in the process of upgrading the prestige (of markers) of 'Wilamowiceanness' and definitely contributes to the popularization of the language, even if these are just its individual sub-systems/elements.

As mentioned earlier, Wilamowicean has been extensively audio – and video-recorded by Tymoteusz Król and within the project *Poland's Linguistic Heritage – Documentation Database for Endangered Languages.* Tymoteusz' archives are now being catalogued and transcribed in the framework of the project *Documenting the language and cultural heritage of Wilamowice* led by Bartłomiej Chromik (Faculty of "Artes Liberales", University of Warsaw).

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[44] both translations made obviously by… Tymoteusz Król.

The project team includes prospective/potential new-speakers, providing them with a unique opportunity to deal with utterances made by the community members who passed away, to deepen their passive knowledge of *Wymysiöeryś*, to pick out and structure vocabulary, which is not used/known anymore, not to speak about technical skills of annotating current speech recordings. Eventually, the result of the project should be an open-access ethnographic and linguistic database, interconnected with other available documentation.[45] An important part of this enterprise is the direct inclusion of the new young speakers of the language as project members carry out transcriptions and translations. In November 2014, these youngsters passed the formal exam of the language at the B1 level. This is an essential step in the empowerment and preparation of native speakers for research and revitalization of *Wymysiöeryś.*

Yet another initiative, complementary to other components of the revitalization program, was carried out in 2015 with the support of the Foundation for Polish Science. The project *Creation of a touristic cluster in the Wilamowice Commune at the basis of Wymysiöeryś* was successfully carried out under the direction of Bartłomiej Chromik who won the second prize in IMPULS competition within the Skills Program. The basic reason for undertaking this project was the concern that current positive trends in sociolinguistic situation in Wilamowice may reverse, when new users of Wymysiöeryś would decide to move out of the town after completing their education. In order to prevent this situation, project members developed a strategy for creating workplaces that would stimulate the usage of Wymysiöeryś by the development of tourism. The creation of a cluster embracing the whole municipality (either Wilamowice or surrounding villages) will not only improve the economic impact of the project, but may also help to mitigate the long--lasting conflict thanks to cooperation and mutual benefits for both sites. In order to obtain following tasks, young Polish designers, ethnographers and an IT specialist were invited to collaborate on this project. Together with local activists, they designed and created the prototypes of souvenirs inspired by the culture of Wilamowice that will be handcrafted in the town – board and computer games and the system of plaques with tourist information (http://etnoprojekt.pl/2.0).

Other outcomes of the project include:

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[45] The two documentation-oriented projects have been funded by the Polish National Program for Development of the Humanities.

 – Workshop scenarios based on language and culture of Wilamowice (costume, waving, dances)
 – Website concerning tourism in Wilamowice
 – Marking out touristic paths.

The project results and products were festively presented to the community of Wilamowice at a special event in November 2015, which attracted wide coverage in the regional and national media.

Summing up, essential for launching a broad, long-term revitalization program of *Wymysiöeryś* has been the successful, exemplary and in many ways experimental collaboration between local activists and organizations, municipal government, local school and academic partners from two leading universities in Poland. The revitalization efforts also embrace international collaboration (*Wymysiöeryśy Akademyj*) and raising national and international interest and support for the language through a wide presence in local and national-level media, many forms of dissemination, conferences and workshops. The most important results of this boundary-breaking alliance include formal instruction at school and beyond, the production of teaching and reference materials, the creation of the language nest and an on-going change in language attitudes in the community and in the region. For example, some language learners come from outside the town, while teachers and students from neighboring towns participate in local cultural events linked to the revitalization of *Wymysiöeryś*, such as the mentioned 2015 celebrations of the Mother Tongue Day. The presence of the language at the University of Warsaw and in cultural events for broader public participation (the performance in the Polish Theatre) not only strengthens the recognition and positive attitude toward the revitalization of the language, but also situates the importance of the conservation of *Wymysiöeryś* in the broader context of Poland's linguistic heritage. On the other hand, it also draws academic and public attention to broader challenges associated with language endangerment and the disappearance of diversity on a more global scale.

Challenges, Prospects, Objectives

The hitherto achievements have made the community and revitalizers of *Wymysiöeryś* more aware of abundance of tasks necessary to perform in order to awaken the language and form its new-speakers. The achievements include the implementation of new forms of academic and non-academic partnership,

including an efficient way of collaboration between two leading Polish universities, local non-profit organization and activists, municipal authorities, school authorities and international group of supporting scholars. As a result, language instruction started in a local school, reestablishing language transmission marked by the development of several young neo-speakers; literary and teaching materials have been published, there have been vivid artistic and dissemination activities related to the language and with a broad community participation; there is a notable change of attitudes toward the language in the community and more broadly in Polish society, and finally, the commercialization path related to local linguistic-cultural heritage has been opened in order to make it part of the local economy by creating a touristic cluster and offering a broad range of activities promoting local language and culture. The activities will be continued within the project *Engaged humanities in Europe: Capacity building for participatory research in linguistic-cultural heritage.*[46] Essential for this enterprise is the inclusion of local language minority communities: Wilamowicean in Poland, Manx of the Isle of Man, Guernésiais of the Isle of Guernsay and Nahuatl-speaking communities in Mexico. Local activists, researchers and teachers from Wilamowice will take part in the broad capacity-building process oriented toward language revitalization. An international field school in Wilamowice (September 2016) will focus, among other themes, on the models of academic collaboration with native speakers, local authorities, organization and the school system, integrating research and practical strategies for language teaching, learning and revitalization, dealing with historical trauma and identity, and constructing a positive language ideology.

Time is short… At the very beginning of the revitalization processes in 2004, the number of native speakers of Wilamowicean was ca. 130 persons. In 2015, there were less than 20, and each month is bringing sad news of individuals passing away. Most likely, very soon, Tymoteusz Król will become the only living link between the generation of native speakers and new speakers.

Apparently, the full-fledged communicative function of *Wymysiöeryś* shall not be restored, although it can become a secondary tool of communication and obviously a vivid token of local identity. This is already happening within the group of learners (prospectively the new-speakers) of Wilamowicean, who

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[46] Twinning Program of the European Commission, Horizon 2020, carried out by the Faculty of "Artes Liberales" of the University of Warsaw, the Department of Linguistics of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (SOAS) and Leiden University's Centre for Linguistics and Department of Archaeological Heritage; see: http://www.uw.edu.pl/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/gazeta-uw-1-76-2016.pdf, p. 20.

also actively participate in the theatricals, in the rehearsals and performances of the folk ensemble, as well in the *Facebook*-community, where *Wymysiöeryś* is starting to be used.

We envision the following major challenges and objectives of the language planning and policy for the language of Wilamowice:

- to make it officially recognized by the national *Law on national and ethnic minorities and the regional language* and by the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* (the recognition was already included by the Parliamentary Committee for National and Ethnic Minorities, but in 2015 the whole amendment was vetoed by the President Andrzej Duda)
- to make Wilamowicean a firm marker of strong local identity
- to identify the language education planning needs and objectives through medium – and long-term strategies, including financing perspectives, development of teaching aids, teachers' training program, etc.
- to settle the objectives of language learning, teaching and revitalization at rational and measurable, but ambitious scale, leading ultimately to a successful restoration of language use and transmission outside the school
- to complement the teaching of Wilamowicean with teaching in the language of at least few school subjects, possibly on an interchangeable basis
- to make Wilamowicean a visible and stable element of the local, municipal and county language landscape and language repertoire
- to extensively saturate the language landscape in the town with *Wymysiöeryś*
- to make Wilamowicean commonly understood (passively) in the town, through bilingualism promoted in official documents and semi-official use by local institutions (including the Municipal Office and the Church)
- to launch a local language planning program – possibly modeled after regulations adopted for e.g. Aranés in Val d'Aran (Catalunya/Spain) or Mòcheno and Cimbrian in Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol (Italy)
- to promote multilingualism in the municipality, particularly in the school community: pupils, teachers and parents[47]
- to stabilize and further normalize its corpus, i.e. vocabulary, grammar, spelling rules, etc., when possible through the *Wymysiöeryśy Akademyj– Accademia Wilamowicziana*

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[47] Workshops on psycholinguistic benefits of bi-/multilingualism have already been organized by the Warsaw University Faculty of "Artes Liberales".

- to create and maintain permanent spaces of language and cultural immersion for new speakers, starting with the language nest and a possible "language club" linked to the future museum
- to deal with the issue of historical trauma of the Wilamowiceans, its long-term consequences in language use, language attitudes and community's health[48]
- to involve the local businesses and administration in revitalization programs, e.g. through a local cultural-economic-tourist cluster
- to promote and teach Wilamowicean at courses offered by Polish universities[49]
- to make the endangered languages visible in Polish mass-media through different set of local and non-local activities, dissemination campaigns, thus making the broader society aware of Poland's linguistic diversity.[50]

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[48] This topic has been addressed for the first time in the framework of the project *Endangered languages. Comprehensive models for research and Revitalization.*

[49] Such courses (*Ethnographic sketches of Wilamowice*) have already been offered at the University of Warsaw.

[50] A number of tools have been prepared as results of national and international projects:
http://www.inne-jezyki.amu.edu.pl
http://languagesindanger.eu
http://www.revitalization.al.uw.edu.pl

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Lost in the World and Completely Lonely: What Must Be Endured by the One Who Arduously Keeps Awakening a Language

TIÖMA FUM DÖKTER (TYMOTEUSZ KRÓL)
Wymysoü

Introduction

This article is not about the history of the revitalization process of the Wymysorys language. An article like this can be found on the "Endangered languages" website.[1] It is also not a scholarly article. I am not writing here as a researcher, rather as a person who has learned about language revitalization through first-hand experience. Naturally, there have been many heartening moments that should not be dismissed or forgotten. These positive developments have been described elsewhere (Wicherkiewicz & Olko, this volume), but it is important to show the other side of the story, which has not been described in the case of Wymysorys thus far. Therefore, in this article, I will focus on some of the more problematic and difficult aspects of language revitalization.

Beginning

Around the year 2000, still a child, I became interested in Wilamowicean culture. The Wymysorys language was not present in the public sphere at that time. Then, only some elderly people spoke the language in private, and generally the younger generations knew little more than a few swear words.

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[1] http://www.revitalization.al.uw.edu.pl/wym/Wymysorys?view=47, accessed 17.04.2016.

Even my grandmother did not speak so much of the language, so you might wonder how I became involved in the revitalization. I understood, thanks to the way my grandmother brought me up, that the Wilamowicean world is a good world with its own value that sits on the brink of extinction. I decided at that point that I would not let the language disappear, and thus I began my work on the revitalization of Wymysorys, not only because of the language's inherent worth, but because it is part of my world.

Forgiven, but not forgotten

I learned Wymysorys very quickly as a child. I had a knack for the language and wanted to speak it all the time. I wanted to speak it in school, but none of my friends knew the language. Sometimes, some of the other children would even mock me for using this language and being interested in this unique culture. Children from villages surrounding Wymysoü called me names like "the German", "the Nazi", or "the Communist". They did not realize, saying these words, just how many Vilamovans suffered and died at the hands of the Nazis and communists. It was very difficult for me, but I understood why they acted as they did. The Wilamowicean children too preferred not to be associated with their heritage. I recall one school trip where I was being made fun of by children from other villages, and those from Wilamowice preferred to keep quiet about it. Even some Wilamowicean children threatened to tape my mouth shut so I would not be able to speak. This sentiment is reminiscent of the period following World War II, where parents would tape the mouths of children for speaking Wymysorys as it was dangerous at that time, and children would make fun of those who could not speak Polish well. Then, I thought that so many Wilamowiceans have suffered much worse things; I can endure this for a better future. Some of those children, seven years later, would come to my Wymysorys lessons as teenagers. After just a few years, they did not want to remember the things they had done. But like the old Wilamowiceans, *Yh ho fercejn, oder ny fergasa* 'I have forgiven, but not forgotten.'

Different from everybody

These kinds of situations are very common in the life of a child who is alone in his language world. It is easier to be like everyone else, to speak a language

that everyone else does, to play and communicate freely with others. You are normal. But for one who speaks his own language, things are not easy; he is alone. In my case, I was afraid of this, that other children will not like me, that they would not let me play with them. But I was strong-minded and refused to give up. At every step of the way, I said "I am from Wymysoü. I am Wilamowicean." Sometimes, the children from surrounding villages were very nice, but very often they had been indoctrinated by their parents or grandparents and harbored ill sentiment towards the Wilamowicean people and their language. Generally, their teachers were very nice though. On one school trip, I remember, the teachers asked me to teach some Wymysorys songs to the other children who were bored on the long bus trip – they all enjoyed singing these songs. I taught them the meaning of some of the words, and even though they have probably forgotten these songs and the words by now, they will still remember how friendly the Wilamowiceans are, even those who teased us.

Shame

Having written something about fear, I would now like to discuss shame. While I was in school in Bielsko-Biała, I told everybody I met about Wymysoü. Not every person was interested, but no one had anything negative to say about it. In the bus, it was different though. The other students who knew some Wymysorys would not speak with me in the language. One of my friends said, "I do not want to speak beacause I am ashamed of it. If you do not stop speaking Wymysorys to me, I will not talk to you at all." What should I have done? Maybe I should have stopped. Maybe. But that was not me, so I continued speaking Wymysorys. The old Wilamowiceans traveling by bus to Bielsko-Biała were very helpful in this regard, and those who did not want to speak then all speak it now. They are no longer ashamed of it.

Problems

Naturally, I have encountered many problems by speaking Wymysorys. I often spoke with old Wilamowiceans in Wymysorys on my way to school. From what I could gather on internet forums, other passengers from villages between Wymysoü and Bielsko-Biała, especially Piszrzowice, did not like

hearing it. Once, a ticket checker threatened me because she did not like to hear this Germanic language. I have not given up, however, and now I do not see them anywhere. Perhaps many other people would have given up and stopped sepaking Wymysorys because of these problems. But even then, I had already heard about what my Wilamowicean friends have suffered after WWII, and now we are free to speak our language. Should I stop because of this ticket controller? This is not possible, I thought.

My dear Wilamowicean *gyśpon* friends

When I was 10 years old, I started to visit all the native speakers of Wymysorys. Some speakers would introduce me to other speakers; I met many of them in this way. I recorded the conversations I had with them, and now there are about 700 hours of recording in this corpus. I used a number of different recording devices and microphones, which means that the quality of some of the recordings is better than others, but this documentation will be immeasurably valuable for people who will explore Wilamowicean language and culture. What is extremely important to me is that I knew these people personally; I have spoken with them, laughed with them, and cried with them.

Some anthropologists would say that an ethnographer should not be too close to his informants. Etic views are important, but no one can really understand a society well without having grown up in that society. So, what was important to my informant friends? Then, only about 60 people could speak Wymysorys, and while they were alone, with most of their families off at work or school, this revitalization provided them with a friend with whom they could speak their language. They invited me to their houses very often. One Wilamowicean woman invited me to her 90th birthday party. She told me she wanted to have someone there to speak Wymysorys with, but no one in her family knew the language.

I do not only participate in these nice parties. When one of my Wilamowicean *gyśpon* friends dies, I go to the funeral. This word *gyśpon* has a beautiful meaning behind it, one that is analogous to my relationship with the speakers of Wymysorys. In the past, some of the poorer Wilamowicean people only had a single horse, but some of the more difficult work required two horses so families would cooperate by coupling their horses and sharing the work. These people would refer to each other as *gyśpon*, and later the meaning of the word developed into something like 'best friend'. This is a similar situation to that

which has developed between me and my Wilamowicean *gyśpon* friends. At first, our acquaintance was established on the basis of mutual benefit, but the acquaintances grew into true friendships. The strong relationship that grows between two native speakers of an endangered language is very difficult to describe, but I am very happy to have experienced it.

Family

The fact that my own parents are not Wilamowicean is especially hard for me. I was raised by my grandmother and my parents, but primarily my grandmother. She was Wilamowicean, and I feel Wilamowicean too. My father is a Pole and my mother is Silesian. They do not like that I feel Wilamowicean, and we argue about identity very often. My parents have told me to "speak normally" many times as I spoke Wymysorys over the phone or to friends who were visiting. This makes me very unhappy; it is very unpleasant that I have no Wilamowicean family. I have good relations with most of my family, but I can see that they have been brought up in a different way – Polish or Silesian. But the Wilamowicean people treat me as a member of their family. This is normal; many foreign people have come to Wymysoü over the years, and when they learn the language and dress in Wilamowicean clothes, they are treated as if they were born in Wymysoü.

To *be able* and to *want* do not mean the same thing

Even most Wilamowiceans themselves do not want to probe the depths of Wymysorys. Some learn the language, and they have different levels of proficiency, but what is the absolute worst for me is that they *prefer* not to use it. When speaking among themselves, they use Polish. When abroad in regions where Wymysorys is understood (Alsace, Luxembourg, and some areas of Austria and Switzerland), they prefer English. I always speak to them in Wymysorys, but they prefer not to use it so much, perhaps because it feels like a foreign language to them. This is really a pity because it is the language of their forefathers, and I hope the situation will change for the better with the growing developments of the revitalization program.

Some of those who can speak Wymysorys even told me things like, "If you tell me I should speak Wymysorys with you, I will purposely speak Polish

to you so that you would not feel good." One of my colleagues said, "If you keep speaking Wymysorys so often, all of your friends will leave you," and many of them have. But my *gyśpon* friends stay.

Prayer

As a child, I could only pray in Polish. This is how I was growing up, and I had never thought to change it. At one time, I started to translate Polish church songs to Wymysorys and began singing them to myself. Later, I met some people who pray in Wymysorys and they taught me a few short prayers. I found *A Song of the Passion of God* in Ludwik Młynek's book; the song has been sung for many years by walking the Way of the Cross in Wymysoü. I spoke with a priest who organized the Way of the Cross with some young people, and one year, he let me say two stanzas of this song at each station, also translating them into Polish. After the event, some Wilamowiceans told me that they liked it very much and suggested that it should be repeated the next year. The priest initially agreed, but then forbade it the following year, since "no one understands it anyway." His words were so hurtful that I began to understand that I should pray in Wymysorys, and since that time, I have only prayed in Wymysorys at home. Church is still only in Polish.

On the 10th of July 2013, the Wilamowicean poet Józef Gara died. His family invited me to say some words in Wymysorys during the funeral. The priest there, however, did not like the idea. Eventually the priest agreed on the condition that I take no more than three minutes. Even though he agreed to this, on the day of the funeral as I was approaching the pulpit, he sent an alter boy with a message that I should leave without saying anything in the church. This priest has never told me why he would not allow me to talk even though we have seen each other many times since. It was very painful, and since that time, I only pray in Wymysorys, even in the church when other people pray in Polish. I have not given up.

At the funeral of my *baba* grandmother, I didn't even ask the priest about speaking in Wymysorys. As the celebration at the cemetery was ending, I took the microphone and informed those in attendance that, since my mother spoke Wymysorys, loved the language, and taught it to me, we would be saying the Lord's Prayer in Wymysorys.

Grimaces

Many people look at me with a grimace because they do not like that I am working with Wilamowicean culture. I have heard, mostly from people working in the town hall or Center of Culture in Wymysoü, that it makes no sense to teach Wymysorys, that the Wilamowicean culture should remain a relic of old times, as a folklore of the regional dance groups, as a costume and songs that should be worn and performed by people who do not care about tradition. Some foreign people have asked me what business I have to teach Wymysorys and why I do it. They suggest I do other things, things that would be better suited to earning money. But it is not just foreigners who say these things; I hear them from my parents too. I have also read many critical posts about me on websites, posts written by people working with cultural events in Wymysoü.

"A prophet has no honor in his own country." Because the Wilamowicean people have been humiliated over the last 70 years for their culture, the people humiliate me too. People, even doctors living in Wymysoü, tell me that, since I am still a student, I am nothing, and this work with Wilamowicean culture and language interferes with me becoming somebody more important. However, this was never my goal. The most important thing for me has been, and continues to be, saving my language and culture from extinction. This is the only way that people can revitalize a language. It is not a simple path to becoming an important scientist. I am sure that if it were my only intention to become someone important, I would not have started with the revitalization of Wymysorys.

Light in the shadow

If you work on something hard enough and have some success, it will get better and better. Many things have changed since Wymysoü has been recognized by people from the outside. When I won the first prize in the Country Final of the European Union Contest for Young Scientists in Poland, people began to see that success can be attained with one's own culture, even in the capital city. The more television programs and articles that were published in newspapers, the more people started to understand that Wilamowicean culture is something more than just artificial folklore. It is a part of people's lives. The more that was heard about the harassment Wilamowiceans endured

after WWII, the more young people wanted to help with the revitalization. Scientists have recognized the importance of our actions if Wilamowicean language and culture is to be saved; they have stuck around and cooperate with the community. Worth particular mention are Tomasz Wicherkiewicz (AMU Poznań), Justyna Olko and Bartłomiej Chromik (University of Warsaw), Rinaldo Neels (University of Leuven), Alexander Andrason (University of Reykjavik, Stellenbosch University), and many others.

The revitalization efforts have received financial and institutional support from the University of Warsaw and Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. Support includes the printing of language materials, further documentation, and preparing available audio data for archiving. We believe that what we are doing is important, not only for us, but also for others who would like to see Wymysorys continue to be spoken.

We were happy to receive an invitation from the Commission of Minorities and Regional Languages, but some people were against it, saying that these Wilamowicean things had developed too strongly. We decided to ignore them though, because we think that we will over come these difficulties – *per aspera ad astra*.

I always remember one very encouraging moment. At the time, I was sick and tired of the opposition to the Wilamowicean people, when I received a Facebook message from Carlo Ritchie who lived in Australia. He wanted to come to Wymysoü to learn Wymysorys, and he did. It was like medicine for me. Later, Andrzej Żak, then a high-school student from Warsaw, wrote to me that he was interested in the influence of Polish on Wymysorys. When he came to Wymysoü, I introduced him to some of my *gyśpon* friends, and he was able to start his work. In 2014, he won the country final of the European Contest for Young Scientists in Poland. It was very important, and inspiring, that in such a short time (2012–2014) there were two prize-winning projects about Wymysoü in this contest.

Loneliness

A friend from Wilamowice once wrote to me while I was away from the town, saying "do not say anything about our *village* if you want to make any friends; it will deter them." I told him that I have made most of my friends because they were interested in our *town*. And it is true; I have met many people from being Wilamowicean, not only the scholars who explore languages

and cultures, but ordinary people who started speaking to me because they were interested in Wilamowice have also become my good friends.

Still, younger speakers of Wymysorys have told me, "If we stop speaking Wymysorys, you will be alone with the scholars." But because of these last three words, the alarming word *alone* no longer seems so scary. What remains difficult for me is the fact that many of my old *gyśpon* friends pass away each year. In June 2015, my *baba* grandmother became very ill. I spoke with her almost every day until her death on the 16th of July 2015, and in these last weeks she spoke Wymysorys almost exclusively.

And so ended an important period of my life. It was very sad for me, but the fact that we were able to speak our language together helped to alleviate the pain.

Conclusion

I have not written this so that someone will be scared of engaging in language revitalization and stop working on it. Nor was my intention to complain about difficulties in my life. My intention with this piece is to show what kind of feelings the native speaker can experience when trying to revitalize his language. I wanted to convey that, although he works hard and has enough money, if no help comes from the outside, if no scholar brings him esteem, and if no one from the outside has anything positive to say, the native speaker can neither revitalize his language nor himself. The local society, the government, and the people who are against him will suppress him and the last native speaker will suffer as long as he lives, feeling sorry for not having done everything possible to protect his dear mother tongue. And he will suffer this pain alone, without scholars.

Language Visibility and Wymysorys[1]

CARLO J.W. RITCHIE
Sydney

Introduction

Wymysorys exists in the minority not only within Poland but also, its traditional *sprachraum*; the town of Wilamowice. Where the language once served as the principal spoken language of the town (Wicherkiewicz 2003) the reduced speaking population – approximately 50 speakers[2] – and the lack of communication between these speakers, has reduced the use Wymysorys to what was only recently considered a moribund state (Wicherkiewicz 2003; Moseley 2010). Wymysorys is traditionally and contemporarily almost invisible within the linguistic landscape of Wilamowice, with only limited examples of the language being used in a physical form. From the perspective of speakers however, the situation is improving, as can attested by the growing population of both new and second language speakers under the age of 25. Fieldwork in Wilamowice in 2012, 2013 and 2014 reveals that, while the number of L1 speakers decreases, there has been a steady increase in the number of fluent speakers who have learned Wymysorys as a second

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[2] The exact number is difficult to ascertain and is complicated by the increase in the numbers of semi-speakers, new-speakers. Presently no precise count exists. Ethnologue puts the figure at 70 (Lewis et al. 2015). During the authors field work in 2013 the number of fluent speakers was estimated to be closer to 40.

language, currently this number sits between 3 and 6, with the same number of younger Wilamowiceans learning the language in locally organised extra--curricular classes. At the time of writing, Wymysorys language classes in the local Gymnasium and Primary School are set to commence in October 2014, which has the potential to drastically affect the language's survivability. What remains to be seen however is the role that Wymysorys will fill within the community of Wilamowice as awareness of the language once again increases within the town.

Traditionally Wymysorys functioned in diglossia with Polish, in which Polish served all written domains while, with the exception of Church, Wymysorys served all spoken domains (Wicherkiewicz 2003; Ritchie 2012; Neels 2012). Written collections, particularly of poetry, made up the bulk of the known Wymysorys literary examples attested since the nineteenth century (Wicherkiewicz 2003). Poetry also made up the bulk of works of contemporary writer Joźef Gara (deceased 2013), whose orthography (Gara 2003) served as the basis for the recent standardisation defined and employed by author and language activist Tymoteusz Król (2009, 2011). Public written works – signage, menus, maps, monuments etc. – what this paper refers to as 'physical language,' are limited however to two town signs (non-governmental), a single sign on the town tourist centre, occasional exhibits at in the town's cultural centre and a single grave marker.[3] This is in part due to a lack of institutional support as Wymysorys hitherto has not been recognised by the Polish Government under the auspices of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Additionally, the language has yet to be approved for use in religious ceremonies. While contemporary Wymysorys writing is increasingly productive the function of Wymysorys as a written language in the public space outside of literature is, critically, limited.

The physical presence of a minority language has been demonstrated to have a marked impact of the language's survivability (Gorter et al. 2012). The absence of Wymysorys within the town of Wilamowice is detrimental to the revitalisation of the language as it reinforces a paradigm in which the Polish language exists as the language of power, status and privilege, while Wymysorys remains isolated to spoken domains. This is not to argue that Wymysorys does not enjoy significant community support and indeed, research would suggest that at least when faced with a binary decision, the majority of inhabitants of Wilamowice believe the language should be preserved and

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[3] Cf. fieldwork by the author in 2012, 2013, 2014.

encourage the teaching of children (Neels 2012) though the extent to which this support exists has yet to be examined qualitatively. The inclusion of Wymysorys in primary and middle school curricula in Wilamowice is also evidence for the improving attitude towards the language in the past decade (cf. Wicherkiewicz 2003). However, despite this support, an absence of Wymysorys in the public space of Wilamowice will continue to impact negatively on revitalisation efforts.

This paper examines the roll of language visibility in the ongoing revitalisation of Wymysorys. The first section briefly introduces the notion of language visibility and the 'linguistic landscape' and the impact of linguistic visibility on the survivability of minority languages. Current revitalisation efforts are then discussed before a detailed examination of the proposed projects of the 'language billboard' and 'functional multilingualism'.

Language Visibility

Unlike endangered animals or heritage buildings, the lack of a physical form presents an initial challenge to broadening community awareness of minority languages. While considerable effort may be made to increase the speaking population of a minority language, without a proportionate effort towards increasing the physical presence of a minority language, it will continue to be removed from the broader community. Just as important as diversifying the domains in which a minority language is spoken, is increasing the physical presence or the 'linguistic landscape' within which the language can be found. The notion of the 'linguistic landscape' is defined by Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25) as:

> The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration.

In the domains mentioned by Landry and Bourhis Wymysorys is conspicuously absent; a single commercial shop sign and two town signs, occasional exhibits and a single grave marker constitute the entirety of the physical presence of Wymysorys. This is despite the numerous Wymysorys place and street names not attested in Wilamowice's Polish signage; *end* (the western 'end' of town), *ufym rynk* ('on the rynek' the centre of town), *underym puś* ('under the bushes' the eastern side of town) (Wicherkiewicz (2003: 435); fieldwork 2012).

Whereas language in its spoken form cannot be seen, it is important to consider the impact of the absence of minority languages in the linguistic landscape of their communities. While official languages may be observed in numerous public domains, such as on signs, menus, public monuments and so on, this is not the case for all but a few minority or endangered languages. For the majority of these languages, the language found in public domains will be the same as the official national language, even in those communities where the majority speak a language other than the official; in majority Warlpiri communities in northern Australia, public notices and government signage are exclusively signed in English. In Europe, even those languages officially recognised by the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages rarely have this right extended beyond bilingual signage for town-names; Sorbian (Saxony) and Low German (Northern Germany and Brandenburg) while common in bilingual town-signs are rarely found in other public written domains, even in those areas where they are spoken by a large portion of the community, while German representation is universal (Wiggers 2006; Thaler 2009; Elle 2014). The extent to which a language is visible in the public domain may be equated with the extent to which a community is aware of the language (Schröder 2011). Increased language visibility therefore may be correlated with the chance of a language's survival. This is not to argue that language visibility is the singular factor in determining the continued vitality of a language, rather to stress the significance of language visibility in the process of language revitalisation. The reasons for the significance of language visibility can be attributed to the flow on effects of improved community awareness, public influence, linguistic tourism and economic benefits.

Improved community awareness as a consequence of improved language visibility is discussed in more detail with relation to specific revitalisation strategies later in this paper. Community involvement of both speakers and non-speakers of the language should be a paramount concern of any revitalisation strategy and have can have a direct impact in improving the situation of a minority language. Efforts to increase the physical presence of the Latgalian in Latgale (Eastern Latvia) have shown positive effects both in language attitudes of native and non-native speakers but also economic benefits for visibly pro-Latgalian businesses (Lazdiņa et al. 2013). Language visibility projects such as public signage, menus, etc. have both a symbolic outcome through acknowledging local traditional languages but also place the language within the context of non-speakers daily activities. For endangered languages in the minority, such as Wymysorys, the use of the language in

the public sphere removes the language from the idiomatic context of individual speakers and into the public domain. As a consequence the potential for public influence is also increased, however this assumes that awareness of the language is generally positively inclined.

It is important to note that positive attitudes towards increased visibility of a minority language cannot be assumed. The case of Latgalian in Latvia demonstrates the potential for positive public influence as a result of increased language visibility however this should be contrasted with significant public backlash in the Sorbian community as a result of the *A Serbsce?* campaign. This campaign was designed to broaden public awareness of the Sorbian language in Saxony, Germany, through language activism. Speakers and supporters of the Sorbian language placed stickers reading "*A Serbsce?"* ("And in Sorbian?") beneath monolingual (German) government and public signage, prompting a significant negative backlash in social and local media as well as from members of the Sorbian community itself (Lazdiņa et al. 2013). Despite this, with respect to the argument of this paper, the public debate generated by the increased profile of the Sorbian language through language activism is evidence for the impact of language visibility in stimulating community awareness.

As noted in the case of Latgalian, increased linguistic visibility has the potential effect of economic benefits through linguistic tourism. Physical language, that is, signs, monuments and those institutions that promote the use of the language (museums, galleries) have the obvious advantage in that they be transported through photographs and in the case of digital media, shared through social networks. Linguistic tourism is particularly important for the latter point, as it through this activity that awareness is also increased. The Manx language has become an important marketing tool for distinguishing the Isle of Man from other tourist destinations. The need to distinguish itself from the perspective of cultural heritage within the United Kingdom is important given that it accounts for 4.5 billion pounds of revenue across the United Kingdom annually (Rheynn Lhiasaghey Tarmynagh 2013) and tourism itself amounting to 2% of the island nation's annual income. Indeed, the prominence of Manx in the Isle of Man's "Island of Culture 2014" campaign may be seen as evidence of this fact. The relationship between language visibility and linguistic tourism may be viewed as a self-sustaining cycle; language awareness increases, linguistic tourism increases, language awareness increases. The economic advantages of language visibility are not restricted to tourism, the creation of any bi-lingual signage would require translation

and production, which if local jobs, while obvious, constitute important flow on effects for the community and create the demand for minority language speakers in a professional capacity.

Current Revitalisation Activities

The importance of engaging the broader community in initial states of reversing language shift is critical for the success of revitalisation efforts in Wymysoü (Fishman 1991). Also of importance is cooperation between language activists and the significant community of linguists, anthropologists, economists and historians who have been working with Wymysorys over the past two decades. For this reason, in 2013 the *Wymysiöeryśy Akademyj – Accademia Wilamowiciziana* (Wymysorys Academy, henceforth WA-AW) was formed, with the purpose of:

> …the continued restoration, rejuvenation and preservation of the language Wymysiöeryś and to provide a community through which these aims may be achieved.
> (Founding Declaration WA-AW 2013)

The WA-AW for the first time brings together native speakers, academics and community members in an international partnership of co-operation and understanding. The purpose of this body is to allow academics and community members to share information and to work towards common goals, rather than in isolation. The first act of the WA-AW was to formally standardise the English name of *Wymysiöeryś*, variously recorded as Wilamowicean, Vilamovian, Wymysorys, Vilamovicean and Wymysojer (Moseley 2010; Andrason 2010, 2011; Wicherkiewicz 2003; Neels 2012). From the 7th of November, 2013, the official English nomenclature *Wymysorys* has been used and has since been accepted as such by UNESCO, Ethnologue and Wikipedia. Concurrent with the standardisation of the language is the adaptation of the works of Florian Biesik into the orthography proposed by Joźef Gara (2003) and developed by Tymoteusz Król (2011). Numerous other works in Wymysorys are currently also in the process of being contemporised to this new standard so as to provide coherent learning texts for future learners.[4]

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[4] T. Król, personal communication, July 2014.

A priority of the WA-AW is to ensure that projects "of restoration, rejuvenation and preservation" (cf. above) adhere to the principal of Universal Simultaneous Co-Operation; the notion that initial projects by the WA-AW engage multiple spheres of influence (Fig. 1) and therefore multiple people within the community. Projects must aim to engage the community in multiple spheres so as to be maximally effective. This is shown in detail with regards to the 'Language Billboard' project discussed below.
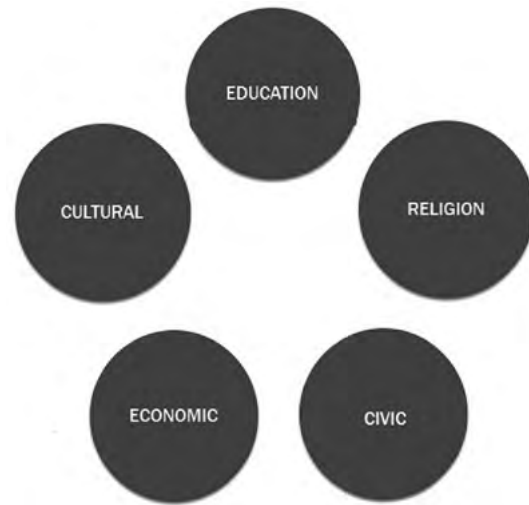
Figure 1. *The Community Spheres of Influence*

It is important to note that the revitalisation of Wymysorys is already viewed positively by the community of Wymysoü with a majority of community members believing it important to preserve the language in some form (Neels 2012). Dense community networks have been shown to inhibit both language change and language death (Milroy 1987; Melancon 2000) as such it is critical that existing community support for Wymysorys be incorporated in efforts to reverse language shift.

The most significant project undertaken by members of the WA-AW to date has been the introduction of Wymysorys in primary and middle education. Spearheaded by Justyna Olko (University of Warsaw), Tomasz Wicherkiewicz (Adam Mickiewicz University), and native speakers, Tymoteusz Król and Justyna Majerska, this project is a significant step forward in efforts to revitalise Wymysorys. This project to commenced in October 2014, with a central aim being:

> ...wsparcie dydaktyczno-pedagogiczne i metodyczne dla prowadzących zajęcia z wymysiöeryś, a dla uczestniczących nauczycieli – możliwość nauka języka
>
> […support teaching; pedagogical and methodical for teaching Wymysorys; and for participating teachers, the possibility of learning the language][5]

This project has thus far increased the numer of students reengaging with their traditional language and resulted in the staging of *The Hobbit* (*der Hobbit*) performed exclusively in Wymysorys at the State Theatre in Warsaw in Summer, 2015.

In addition, members of the WA-AW are currently engaged in the continued documentation of Wymysorys, the collation and transcription of previous documentation work and also the creation of new learning materials and literature. This includes the publication of first children's book ever written in Wymysorys, *Ynzer Boümmüter,* published in June 2014 and a pictorial dictionary, published in 2015.

Functional Multilingualism

Functional Multilingualism is the notion of universal language competency functioning across communities through code switching. Within this framework, speakers of the dominant language are encouraged not to shift in entirety to speaking a minority language rather they change the way they use their own language within their speech community. The extent of knowledge of the language is limited to what may be considered as 'Lonely-Planet competency': a small group of basic phrases used in conjunction with the learner's existing language, similar to those learned by foreign tourists from a guidebook. In this way, Functional Multilingualism allows for the broader community to engage directly with the language with relative speed and in a manner that is easy to maintain. The focus is on speaking, rather than on writing with learners encouraged to speak from the very beginning of instruction and across multiple contexts and so allows for rapid integration of the minority language across the community. Unlike immersion programmes designed to create language fluency in a short period of time, such as Sami Language Nests (Pasanen 2013), the focus of Functional Multilingualism is rather on the incorporation of a second, here, minority language, within the

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[5]   J. Olko, personal communication, August 2014.

framework of the leaner's own language. Such a situation additionally provides an initial framework for future diglossia, in the eventual hope that the minority language return to a larger, stable community of practice. Functional Multilingualism may also be thought of as 'symbolic multilingualism' as it provides for the continued acknowledgement of traditional language practice within the non-native speaking community and facilitates in this way a continued function of the minority language outside the idiomatic context of native speakers.

With regards to knowledge of the minority language a community may be divided into three groups, as shown below (Fig. 2). The 'Native' group refers to those members of the community for whom the minority language is the first language and so the group that is most likely to continue to use the language in some capacity. 'Non-Native, Community' refers to both new speakers of the language and those members of the community who do not speak the language but who are members of the broader community, either through direct engagement with traditional cultural practices or simply by living in the same area in which the language is or was once spoken. The final grouping, 'Non-Native, Non-Community' is those people living within the speaking-area who are from outside the traditional community and who have no knowledge of the language: those people that have moved to the area or tourists, for example.

NATIVE	NON-NATIVE COMMUNITY	NON-NATIVE NON-COMMUNITY

Figure 2. *Language competency across the speech community within a minority context*

The use of language between and within these groups will obviously change based on the contexts of particular languages. The situation of Wymysoü provides some insight into the complexities of the minority speech community. These observations are made on the basis the author's own field work in Wymysoü between 2012 and present. The 'Native' group in Wymysoü consisted of 41 speakers, who in almost all cases do not live with another Wymysorys speaker. As such, the extent to which Wymysorys is used, even within this group, is limited. Between the 'Native' and 'Non-Native, Community' groups the principal language used is Polish, the exception being the small number of new-speakers who will occasionally code-switch with

Wymysorys. Within the 'Non-Native, Community' group there is limited use of Wymysorys between New Speakers with the predominant language of discourse being Polish. The language used between native speakers and the 'Non-Native, Community' when communicating with 'Non-Native, Non-Community' speakers, is exclusively Polish (or an appropriate foreign language, such as English or German). Within this paradigm the expected dominance of Polish with respect to the minority language Wymysorys can be seen.

To focus on any one of these groups runs the risk of alienating potential learners or indeed, speakers of the language and so too has the potential of exacerbating the situation of language shift. Despite this, standard practice of national language education programmes is generally focused solely on Native speakers and Non-Native Community groups. In the United Kingdom, Welsh shares official status with English in Wales, where it is also afforded considerable educational, governmental and community support. To a lesser extent, Scottish Gaelic has since 2005 been recognised as "an official language of Scotland" (McCleod 2006: 6) and is afforded some educational support in Gaelic speaking areas and government support in the form of the *Bòrd na Gàidhlig* (Gaelic Language Board) established by the Gaelic Language Act 2005 (McCleod 2006). However, in both these examples, recognition and support is only for Welsh or Scottish Gaelic within the geographic confines of Wales and Scotland respectively, or, to reapply the schema used above, the geographical area historically inhabited by the 'Native' and 'Non-Native Community' groups. The situation is thereby created in which Welsh is a language of Wales and Scottish Gaelic is a language of Scotland while English is *the* language of the United Kingdom. So while a student in Wales will have access to both Welsh and English, a student from Chester, only minutes from the Welsh border, will likely learn English and perhaps some other foreign language. Regional language policy is in itself problematic in that it enforces geographical and so, social boundaries on where minority languages exist whilst maintaining the hegemony of the 'national' language. In essence, it's fine to learn and speak Welsh while you're in Wales but don't speak it in England or indeed, the broader United Kingdom.

There are obvious historical, political and cultural contributing factors in the regionalisation of minority languages which will not be examined here. However, with respect to language education, the most significant would be the obvious cost of a nation-wide minority language programme and the number of teaching staff required to fill national demands. Functional

Multilingualism removes at least the latter of these factors and to some extent the former. As the demands of Functional Multilingualism are not fluency but rather a symbolic knowledge of the basics of a language, implementation has the possibility to be relatively cost effective and does not require specialised teaching staff. Basic phrases could be incorporated in programmes designed to teach students about the various languages within their own nation, or within the framework of studying their own language. Students in Poland for example, will learn not only that the Kashubian, Wymysorys, Silesian and Lemko languages exist within Poland, as is currently taught (Wicherkiewicz 2015) but also what those languages sound like and able to use the language, albeit to a symbolic extent.

To return to Wilamowice, the implementation of functional linguistics extends the use of Wymysorys, albeit in basic form, to all three groups by incorporating "lonely-planet competency" within Polish. A proposed 12 basic phrases (Fig. 3) can be taught in a relatively small time frame and maintained though implementation across school levels, in adult learning, through community organisations and through activities such as a calendar mail-out. The obvious difficulty is providing a means of learning these phrases to 'Non-Native, Non-Community' members who would otherwise be outside the communities influence, particularly tourists. This is discussed in the next section.

welcome (hello)	skiöekumt
thank you	dank śejn
how are you?	wi hösty dih?
sorry	fercaj
good	güt
good morning	güter mügja
good afternoon	güter nömytag
good evening	güter öwyt
yes	ju
no	na
cheers	hylf göt
what is (this)	wås ej (dås)

Basic phrases in Wymysorys

Language Billboard

One of the first proposals outlined for an increased presence of Wymysorys in the Linguistic Landscape of Wilamowice is a 'Language Billboard': a minority language community noticeboard that gives physical form to the language and thereby increases language visibility. The existence of Wymysorys in a permanent physical form also provides for linguistic tourism if only as a fixed location for a photo opportunity. The Language Billboard is designed to target multiple spheres of influence and facilitates Functional Multilingualism. The language billboard additionally serves to provide 'Non-Speaking, Non-Community' individuals with access to Functional Multilingualism.

The Billboard is divided into four panels. The first panel serves as a community noticeboard with a focus on those community activities that incorporate Wymysorys in some way, dance groups, choirs, exhibitions and so forth. The community noticeboard is bilingual, including those community notices which hitherto have been exclusively in Polish, such as civic notices, religious activities and community events. The second panel provides the 12 basic phrases discussed with regards to Functional Multilingualism translated into Polish, English, German and Yiddish. The third panel displays pictures, songs, stories, painting and other creative products of Wymysorys learners of all ages and levels. For early schooling this may consist of a 'learner of the month,' while for adult learners this may be published poetry etc. This panel is regular changed and serves as a means of positive reinforcement for language learners as well as a sense of community acknowledgment. The final panel displays the number of speakers of the language. The final panel has dual significance, allowing both community and non-community members to see the critical endangerment of the language and also, providing observable proof of language revitalisation: new speakers are positively reinforced in attaining language fluency by being included in this number. Similarly, the community can be aware of the impact of their undertaking in reversing language shift.

In summary, the language billboard incorporates the Civic, Education, Religion, Economic and Cultural spheres through the following:

- Civic Sphere
  - Associates civic sphere with language
  - Promote language use by local council

- ■ Education Sphere
  - • Reinforces functional multilingualism
  - • Engages non-native, non-speaking community 'Lonely-Planet competency'
  - • Reinforcement of language learning
  - • Community acknowledgement of language learning
  - • Economic Sphere
  - • Job creation for translation
  - • Physical Language
  - • Linguistic Tourism
- ■ Cultural Sphere
  - • Promotes local cultural practices associated with use of Wymysorys
  - • Reinforces relationship of cultural groups and Wymysorys

The concept of the 'Language Billboard' may also be adapted to digital technologies, with smart phone technology able to link the private and public domains of use. Mobile applications, potentially games or picture dictionaries, could potentially provide wider access to basic phrases in Wymysorys and could be made available through digital and social media extensions, such as code scans or Twitter, Instagram or Facebook handles included on the billboard itself. This would allow people to link in with the language online and thereby increase the digital presence of Wymysorys.

Conclusion

Increased visibility equals increased chance of survival. Without broader public use of the language the process of reversing language shift is limited to the reduced context in which the language can operate. By incorporating minority languages across the physical space of the communities in which they exist, not only is awareness of the minority language improved but so to the opportunity for the use of minority languages outside of the idiomatic context of individuals. To facilitate this, revitalisation efforts should attempt to engage communities across multiple spheres of influence and so ensure that any project concerned with reversing language shift attracts the greatest number of possible community members. By approaching revitalisation strategies in this way, linguists and community activists also ensure that projects provide the greatest number of positive outcomes for the community in which the language

exists in the minority. As in the case of Wymysorys, the best strategy for revitalisation should be one that encourages and fosters simultaneous, universal co-operation and ensures that the benefits created through these strategies affect not only the minority language communities but the entire community.

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"Varieties of Variation in a Very Small Place" Revisited: Some Considerations from Wilamowice

MICHAEL HORNSBY
Centre for Celtic Studies, Faculty of English
Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań

Introduction

I open this paper with reference to the work of Nancy C. Dorian, who pioneered work in the branch of sociolinguistics that has become to be known as 'language obsolescence'. Dorian worked (and continues to work, albeit from a distance) on the moribund dialect of Gaelic in East Sutherland, Scotland. Of note are her seminal volumes on the dialect: In 1978, Dorian published her initial findings on the state of the dialect in *East Sutherland Gaelic: The dialect of the fisherfolk of Brora, Golspie, and Embo*. This was followed in 1981 with the volume entitled *Language Death*. In both works, Dorian describes and analyses the (socio)linguistic processes which this particular dialect was undergoing in such a way that her findings are readily applicable to other situations of dialect (and more broadly language) attrition. Since then, Dorian has continued to produce an impressive number and range of articles and monographs on the dialect, and her work remains an invaluable resource for scholars studying other situations of language obsolescence, in itself a burgeoning and increasingly important field, as the academic community is taking more and more scholarly interest in the disappearance of the world's linguistic diversity.

Of particular interest for scholars researching the situation of the Germanic variety known as Wilamowicean is Dorian's work on sociolinguistic variation in the Gaelic of East Sutherland. Like Wilamowice, the villages studied by Dorian, namely Brora, Golspie and Embo, were inhabited in part by speakers of an endangered linguistic variety typologically different from the surrounding

language(s), i.e. Celtic in contact with the Germanic varieties of Highland English and Scots. The two situations reveal further similarity in that both areas were relatively isolated until fairly recently, with limited interaction with the surrounding population because of varying social barriers. Furthermore, there was/is a sense of linguistic isolation as well, in that speakers of Gaelic in East Sutherland felt they had little in common, linguistically speaking, with the rest of the Gaelic-speaking world. This is due to sharp divergence in the local dialect, known as East Sutherland Gaelic (ESG), from standard and other varieties of Gaelic, according to Dorian:

> Because ESG differs so sharply from the standard language and from more westerly Gaelic dialects (with which most ESG speakers also have little active conversational experience), local speakers lack an effective external prestige norm (Dorian 1994: 674–675).

In a similar but non-linguistic way, Wilamowiceans, even though the nearby town of Hałcnów readily admit their ancestors came from Germany (Olma 1983: 8), are reluctant to ascribe their own origins to German ancestry, preferring origins myths which identify their ancestors as Flemish, Frisian or even Anglo-Saxon (Libera & Robotycki 2001; Wicherkiewicz 2003: 15–16). Thus both groups of communities form (linguistic) enclaves which display linguistic features which mark them as distinct from other speakers of their languages. This is reinforced through a sense of social isolation as well. Dorian states that the Gaelic speakers in her study experienced 'extreme social segregation' (1994: 363) from the surrounding English/Scots-speaking populations; similarly, during a semi-structured sociolinguistic interview conducted with some of the youngest 'last speakers' of Wilamowicean (March 2014) (see below for more details of the methodology employed), a sharp differentiation between the people of Wilamowice and the surrounding areas was described. The term, pauerisch ('Polish'), is used to describe Poles from the surrounding region and the term has taken negative connotations since WWII, due to historical trauma (the term 'from Poland' is now used to describe a Pole of non-local provenance).

Thus Dorian's work on an isolated variety of Gaelic which was becoming obsolescent in the 1960s and 1970s has, I argue, relevance for the study of Wilamowicean in the second decade of the twenty-first century. There remains one caveat, however. East Sutherland Gaelic never experienced any attempts at revitalization; the dialect has been studied in great depth by Dorian, in an attempt to document and analyse the linguistic processes of languages undergoing

obsolescence, but this never included a project to revive the local dialect, even if the will to do this locally had existed (and apparently it did not – Dorian does not mention any local revitalization attempts during the periods of her fieldwork). Obviously a different situation exists in Wilamowice, with a number of revitalization projects being conducted, as well as documentary linguistic projects. Nevertheless, Dorian notes her own regret in failing to notice certain types of variation during her study of East Sutherland Gaelic and the warning she gives in her 1994 article remains apt for the situation of Wilamowicean today:

> I believe I could have met the challenge posed by personal-pattern variation better if the linguistic literature had offered more warning that I might encounter this sort of variability within tiny, sharply bounded, and highly homogeneous speech communities. Providing that warning is part of the reason for presenting this study, as is urging further research in small communities where there are still children whose acquisition of this kind of variability can be studied.
>
> (Dorian 1994: 638)

Categories of Variability

In her article, Dorian enumerates the categories of variability she discovered in her fieldwork:

> Variability in the Gaelic spoken by the fisherfolk of East Sutherland and their descendants in the latter half of the 20th century took four forms. Three of these could readily have been anticipated on the basis of the linguistic literature. Two, stylistic variation and geographical variation, would in fact be anticipated in virtually any language in any location; the third, marked age – and proficiency – related variation, would certainly have been anticipated once it was established that the East Sutherland Gaelic dialect (ESG hereafter) was dying out. The considerable residue of variation that remained once style, geography, and age – and proficiency-related differences were discounted was the puzzler. In a modest number of cases it seemed truly idiosyncratic.
>
> (Dorian 1994: 634).

Dorian's (significant) contribution to the field of sociolinguistics not only confirms previous categories of variability, namely geography, and age – and proficiency-related differences, she further suggests that there is a kind of "personal-pattern variation" that does not co-vary with external social factors (Dorian 1994). Speakers are both individuals with idiosyncratic life histories as well as affiliated members of a complex array of social groups, making it

impossible to explain away all individual-based variation in terms of group norms. This is a very important consideration in terms of language obsolescence studies and one that should be accounted for in the case of Wilamowicean. Why? As the final remaining speakers of the variety become fewer and fewer, any attempts at documentation may record otherwise aberrant forms which are not explicable in terms of location, age or proficiency alone. This has implications for reviving the language, which I will discuss in more detail below.

Fieldwork and methodology

In order to investigate these categories, I conducted an extended semi-structured interview with two young speakers of Wilamowicean in March 2014. Such a selection may raise certain (reasonable) methodological questions which I will attempt to address here. First of all, the selection of the youngest cohort of speakers of the variety was a deliberate choice – these are the "heritage bearers" of the language who will retain a linguistic knowledge of Wilamowicean well into the 21st century. As young, tertiary-educated, engaged speakers of the language (they are both very active in promoting it both within the town and further afield), they are in position to give an informed, insider overview of the current linguistic situation – they have privileged access to the remaining last speakers of the language in a way that outside researchers simply do not have. My second point counters the question: why not simply investigate variation among the remaining speakers directly by engaging these last speakers in fieldwork? As I have pointed out, any "outsider" will obtain different data from that of an established member of the speech community, but more than this, as these young speakers will the only remaining speakers of the variety in the decades to come, their perceptions of variation are as important as any quantifiable data on variation gathered in previous studies.

Perceptions of variability in Wilamowice

Geography, and age- and proficiency-related differences

We begin this section with a brief survey of the three variables which Dorian described as expected: geography, and age- and proficiency-related differences. These are of course discussed in much greater detail later on

in this chapter, but suffice to say, these are categories which the research participants had little difficulty identifying. For the sake of brevity, these perceptions are summarised in the following discussion, before discussing the fourth category, idiosyncratic variability (the main focus of our interest in this part) towards the end of the discussion.

Geographical variability

Perceptible differences exist for speakers of Wilamowicean on the geographical origin of other speakers. North-east Wilamowice people speak in "another way" from the people in the centre and west of the town. In particular, people from "Underum Puś" are easily distinguishable. The features of this variability are discussed elsewhere but at this juncture we should note that the central variety, with the most number of speakers, vies with the north-eastern version (the "Underum Puś" variety) for status and prestige among speakers. The "Underum Puś" variety is the best documented but has the fewest number of speakers.

Age-related variability

The perception is: the older the speaker, the "purer" the language spoken. Such older speakers (born before 1922) demonstrate few borrowings from either German or Polish (due to not having been schooled in these languages). Furthermore, speakers who were 95 or older were identified as having the "old" accent, for example the pronunciation of 'good' as /xut/ instead of the /gut/ of comparatively younger speakers.

Proficiency-related variability

As stated above, older speakers are considered to be more proficient speakers. Proficiency is also marked by the number of translanguaging practices (or "borrowings") a proficient speaker engages in and also the morphological adaptation the speaker makes of the borrowing as in /ə kɑˈnapkə/ 'a sandwich'. Moreover, German loanwords are considered less prestigious than Polish ones, as is having "German" intonation when speaking. One particularly proficient speaker was singled out for not having a single non-established borrowing from either German or Polish and for even translating borrowings from these languages in traditional folk songs. Possible explanations might include the

more recent status of Polish as the default (or prestigious) language compared to German and also the fact that the inhabitants of Wilamowice have never considered themselves German (Chromik 2014).

Idiosyncratic variability

Research participants identified the following points of variability which individual speakers could possibly demonstrate and which could influence their linguistic behaviour:

Gender

Gender might influence speech in two ways:

1. Since girls in Wilamowice were encouraged to marry outsiders (Poles) after WWII for sociological reasons, these married speakers were less likely to have brought up their children in Wilamowicean or to have used it as the household language. They therefore would have used the language much less than otherwise would have occurred.

2. The research participants knew from older publications that women used to have a different, "sing-song" accent to men, but this has since been lost apparently and is preserved as a folk memory.

Socio-economic status

The research participants were able to identify three social groups in pre-war Wilamowice: farmers / servants / merchants and language characteristic of these different social groups might influence the way of speaking of the remaining speaker, dependent on their parents' origins. The merchant class in particular was said to speak in a particular way – notably that the children heard only "drunken speech" (!) and this influenced the way they learned Wilamowicean. The participants were also aware that professional weavers had spoken in a particular way as well and that this might be a factor of variation in contemporary speech.

Individual families

At least one large family was identified as speaking in a particular way and that a member of that family could be recognized by the way she or her speaks.

In addition, one research participant, when giving classes to children, and once it had been established that the child in question has a Wilamowicean speaking grandparent, gives additional homework to that child in consultation with the grandparent, in order for the family dialect to be preserved.

Religious influence

The research participants could identify one speaker (of the Evangelical Confession) as having a distinct preference for German loanwords over Polish.

Conclusions

As the older members of the Wilamowicean speech community become fewer and fewer in number as the 21st century progresses, so it becomes more and more imperative for the younger generations to take up the challenge of becoming speakers, if indeed that is the choice they choose to make. There are many studies which point to the affective aspect of language loss and revitalization, which is perhaps best summed in in a quotation from Fishman (1996; cited in *First Peoples' Languages and Culture, The Highest of Priorities*):

> A language long associated with the culture is best able to most exactly, most richly, with appropriate overtones [relay] the concerns, artefacts, values and interests of that culture.

How best to achieve effective revitalization is the vital question which faces language activists in Wilamowice – and the world over, of course. One point I wish to highlight is the need for younger speakers of Wilamowicean to develop an "internal voice" on which to model their speech. How many of us have, at some point, noticed that some of our favourite sayings are taken from our parents or grandparents ("…as my mother used to say", etc.). This "inner voice" is acknowledged as an important technique in L2 learning and acquisition and has been termed "inner speech" by Sokolov (1972) or "silent speech" (Edfelt 1960). Sokolov asserts that 'external speech is functionally dependent on inner speech' (1972: 65) in the inner voice prepares the public voice in formulating vague phrases, expanding upon them, trying out alternatives and monitoring draft expressions for accuracy, appropriacy and potential effect. Swain (1998) points out that our inner voice will, in the beginning, be in our L1, as was demonstrated among learners of French using their private

English voices to monitor what they were producing and then to process it. The challenge is to encourage young speakers of endangered languages, such as Wilamowicean, to develop an internal voice in Wilamowicean, and not in Polish. And one of the ways I would suggest this is possible is through younger speakers selecting an older speaker on which to model their internal voice. This will prove difficult when the numbers of fluent speakers are dwindling. But in a similar way to the master-apprentice programmes which have been used to good effect in many Native American communities, an older speaker can agree to work with a younger speaker in developing this voice. Where this is not possible, the invaluable documentation work which has been carried out on Wilamowicean can be accessed by younger speakers so they can read and hear how previous generations spoke and used the language in their locality.

This is where the concept of idiosyncratic variability comes into consideration. Individual speakers of Wilamowicean have their own particular ways of speaking (tone, accent, timbre, etc.) but also, as we have seen, features which can be classified as 'idiosyncratic variability'. In the absence of a standardized variety, attempting to reproduce the speech of an individual speaker makes good sense, in a revitalization setting. In fact, during fieldwork among speakers of minority languages in different parts of Europe, I have heard more than once that individual speakers often 'hear' another speaker's voice in their head when they are speaking the minority language. For one speaker of Livonian interviewed in Riga in 2009, the voice she heard (and tried to reproduce) was that of her grandmother. For a second-generation speaker of Polish Yiddish, living in London and interviewed in 2012, it was her father's way of speaking that she would access when speaking Yiddish – she would think how he would phrase some concept and then reproduce it in her own speech. In such situations, the linguistic idiosyncracies of the speakers being accessed were bound to be reproduced. Thus the idiosyncratic variation of these speakers might imaginably be intergenerationally transmitted, albeit in ways that were not conceivable a generation or two ago.

Whether or not to adopt such variation and make use of it, or to go down the path of language standardization, as many minority language communities have chosen as the "common sense" route, is one of the main issues that revitalizers of the Wilamowicean language face today. And if the choice is inclusivity, which variations should be incorporated? Geographical – but does the linguistic variety of one town warrant preserving differences in speech of speakers living less than one kilometre apart? Age-related – but how do you decide the language of which age cohort to include and which to discard? The

oldest speakers do not always represent the best speakers. As for idiosyncratic variation, again how should this be included? When building up a speech community, reference is often made to authenticity – to authentic speakers, to authentic language, to authentic variation. Unfortunately, if you appeal to authenticity, you also create a non-authentic category as well as a by-product, in a process termed 'deauthentication' by Mary Bucholtz in 2003. Such are the challenges many language revitalizers face at the present time in a variety of situations in Europe and beyond; the task is at a critical stage for Wilamowicean and choices and decisions being made in 2014 will have long-term repercussions for future generations of speakers of the language. Wilamowicean is fortunate in that it is being afforded opportunities which speakers of East Sutherland Gaelic never had. Let us hope the words of the poem "Wymysau an wymysojer" will remain true in the years to come as they were when they written:

> They speak excellently, even if in a strange manner,
> Anglo-Saxon with Dutch,
> That is Low German with a lot of English
> (Biesik, published in Anders 1933, quoted in translation in Wicherkiewicz 2003: 22).

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From Wilamowice to the Philosophy of Science and Back Again: Three Levels of Linguistic Ideologies[1]

BARTŁOMIEJ CHROMIK

Faculty of "Artes Liberales"
University of Warsaw

Introduction

Inspired by the case of language shift in Wilamowice, I will systematize and broaden the notion of linguistic ideologies. The ideologies will be divided into three analytic levels on the basis of how they refer to language. Special attention will be paid to the ideologies of the third level. These do not relate to language directly, but constitute a pattern that influences the way it is perceived. To illustrate the notion, I will use the example of attitudes of linguists toward biology as a role model science.

Wilamowice is a town located in southern Poland at the borderland of two historical regions, Lesser Poland and Silesia. The town's current population is c.a. 3000 people and this number has never been much larger. Wilamowice was established by settlers from western Europe in the thirteenth century. Until 1945 the basic language of communication in the town was Wymysiöeryś, a Germanic language, unique to Wilamowice. After the end of World War II, use of the language was banned and severely punished. A relative and absolute number of native speakers of Wymysiöeryś started to drop dramatically. In 2001, merely 100 people could speak Wymysiöeryś fluently (Wicherkiewicz & Zieniukowa 2001: 47). Only some 20–25 of them are still alive.

Enumeration for many reasons is not the best strategy in the assessment of endangerment of a language (Hill 2002: 127–128). Indeed, the sociolinguistic situation of Wymysiöeryś is now much better than in 2001. The language, which was a cause for concern, has become fashionable and recognized. To a large extent, it is thanks to Tymoteusz Król, who was born in 1993 and since the age of 10, has been documenting, researching, and revitalizing Wymysiöeryś. In the project "Endangered languages. Complex models for research and revitalization", our team has been able to collaborate with Tymoteusz Król and support many activities directly related to the revitalization of the language. The case of Wilamowice was treated as a "laboratory" in which we have been seeking general models of studying and reversing language attrition and shift. If we had to reduce our conclusions to a short, quasi-mathematical formula, it would look like:

Revitalization = Documentation + Education + Creation of "spaces" for use of the language + Change of linguistic ideologies

In this paper, I would like to focus on the last part of this "equation", i.e. linguistic ideologies[2]. Initially, the term may be somewhat deceptive, particularly due to two main differing views on ideology. Ideologies are seen as false theories about reality. This attitude is characteristic of Karl Popper's critical rationalism and also of the popular perception of the term (Wodak 2007: 1–2). However, the term *linguistic ideology* is reasonable only if it is understood in the context of the second, neutral way of perceiving ideology. It can be traced back to the original studies on ideology made by the philosopher Destutt de Tracy (1800), but was adopted and popularized by Karl Mannheim (1936). The simplest definition of ideology, understood in this way, is the one by Talcott Parsons, who described it as a "general system of beliefs held in common by the members of a collectivity" (1951: 349, cited in Friedrich 1989: 300). Since the revolutionary article by Michael Silverstein, which popularized the term, the field of linguistics associated with linguistic ideologies has developed rapidly. However the term itself became a victim of its own success. The multitude of definitions associated with the term *linguistic ideology* and the fact that they are partially contradictory makes its use even more difficult and blurs the idea of what

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[2] There are subtle differences in meanings of terms: linguistic ideologies and language ideologies. For the sake of clarity argument I will treat them as synonyms and only use the first one. Moreover, in order to underline the fact that linguistic ideologies are not a static frames, but are heterogeneous and dynamic, in most cases I will use the term in plural.

linguistic ideologies actually are. In this paper, I would like to systematize definitions, but also, based on the experience acquired in Wilamowice, broaden their scope. I would like to analytically distinguish three levels of linguistic ideologies.

Three levels of linguistic ideologies

The pioneering[3] definition presented by the above-mentioned Silverstein is actually a good example of what I would call the linguistic ideologies of the first level. Let me quote it (Silverstein 1979: 193).

> I do not address myself only to articulated beliefs that are incorrect or contemptible. I should clarify that ideologies about language, or linguistic ideologies, are any sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use.

The pioneering character of Silverstein's work was not based on the fact that he coined a new term or identified a new phenomenon – in fact people have thought about and discussed languages they use at least since the time of Plato and his *Cratylus* (Joseph 2000) or even earlier in India (Panini's grammar of Sanskrit) – but on the premise that linguistic ideologies have an agency. They can change the structure of the language they refer to. Such a statement was contradictory, not only to theories like structuralism or its intellectual rebellious offspring such as Chomski's generativism, but also with the relativist ideas of Boas (1911: 69). Obviously one has to remember that the changes in language structure are not deterministically implied by linguistic ideologies.

Fragmenting Silverstein's narrow definition of linguistic ideologies into parts enables us to point out the characteristics of ideal type of the first level linguistic ideology:

a) It is articulated, a precondition for articulation is awareness. Linguistic ideologies of the first level should be made explicit.
b) It is made by a user of a certain language. First level linguistic ideology may indirectly refer to foreign languages, but they can change only the structure of the language of the user.
c) It refers to a perceived language structure and use, not to the language "as such."

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[3] It should be mentioned that, although the article of Silverstein gave an impulse to the research on linguistic ideologies, the term was used before. In the field of pedagogy, it was used by Heath (1977: 53), who defined them as: *self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group.*

Among features mentioned above, the last two are the most important. A good example of linguistic ideologies of the first level comes from my own research. In rural Western Ukraine, after the collapse of communism, the neutral greeting *добрий день* ("good day"), which is a standard Ukrainian expression, was substituted with longer phrase *Слава Ісусові Христу* ("Glory to Jesus Christ"), to which one should reply *Слава навіки Богу святому* ("Glory forever to the holy God"). The use of form *добрий день* in unofficial contacts is perceived as a sign of support for the Soviet Union and the communist party, thus it is used really seldomly. Although this example seems to be "innocent", in fact the change of "language structure and use" may even lead to total language shift.

To illustrate the idea of the second level of linguistic ideologies, I have chosen the definition proposed by Irvine & Gal (2000: 35).

> the ideas with which participants and observers frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and map those understandings onto people, events, and activities that are significant to them

This definition surpasses some of the limitations of the definition proposed by Silverstein. Not only users of a certain language, but also its "observers" may be bearers and (re)creators of an ideologies concerning it. It is often emphasized that importance of the study of linguistic ideologies is based on the premise that they constitute a bridge between linguistic and social structures (Ahearn 2012: 22; Kroskrity 2004: 507). However, the general direction of influence of ideologies of the first and the second level is different. In the ideologies of the first level, as it was shown in the example about greetings in Ukraine, perceptions concerning some social phenomena may lead to a change in language use. In the ideologies of the second level, the ideas concerning language are projected on its users. In their seminal paper, Irvine & Gal described this process as *iconization* (2000: 37–38).[4] It is not difficult to find examples of such a situation. It is enough to quote the words of the famous German linguist and orientalist Max Müller, who wrote of Hawaiian, which only has 8 consonants (Kilarski & Dziubalska-Kołaczyk 2012: 281) and which seemed to him to confuse sounds, that it "is a characteristic […] of the lower stages of human speech, and reminds us of the absence of articulation in the lower stages of the animal world" (Mülller 1864:172, quoted in Kilarski & Dziubalska-Kołaczyk 2012: 294). Finally linguistic ideologies of the second level do not have to be made

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[4] Two other processes underlying the linguistic ideologies distinguished by Irvine and Gal are *fractal recursivity* and *erasure.*

explicit. Fairclough, working in the field of critical discourse analysis, claims that ideologies are most effective when their working is least noticeable (1989: 85). It is worth adding that linguistic ideologies of the second level may result in, or rather influence or catalyze, ideologies of the first level. The illustration of such a situation is the spread of uvular *r* (Parisian *r*) in the north-western Europe at the turn of seventeenth and eighteenth century. According to the popular, but contested (Howell 1986) theory of Trautmann (1880) this phonetic feature, characteristic originally for the aristocratic Parisians, who were seen then as a role-model of chic, elegance and fashion has spread to the regions where Germanic languages were spoken as another instance of imitation of aristocratic French culture by the local upper classes. Their language use started to be perceived as fashionable by the broader groups of the societies.

It is worth analytically distinguishing a subgroup of linguistic ideologies of the second level. I call them general linguistic ideologies of the second level. They do not refer to a certain linguistic variety, but to language "as such".

As already pointed out, there is no automatic causality inherent to linguistic ideologies. They rather play a mediating role between social and linguistic structure. It is even more true for the ideologies of the second level. The processes of language change in this case can be indirect, especially if the ideology is popular among the "observers" of a language. To illustrate the statement, I will create a model, which assumes intentional (erroneous) simplification that group X uses language X.

(1) Group X perceives society Y through a lens of their ideas about the language Y (linguistic ideology – iconization). Group Y, under the influence of the group X, changes its attitude toward the X language (reaction to ideology).

Either linguistic ideologies or reaction to them may lead to many different (or none) of these situations. However, at least since the beginning of the nineteenth century one pattern is very recurrent. The dominant group (very often users of a standard or colonial language), on the basis of the features of the language, perceives and treats users of different language varieties as inferior. In response, at least some members of the marginalized group, in order to avoid repressions or simply to facilitate their life, shift to a dominant language.[5] Ideologies supposedly underlying such a scheme would be described by Grillo (1989) or Dorian (1998) as "ideologies of contempt".

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[5]   Similar situations happened earlier, but the French Revolution marked the beginning of a period when standardization of a dominant language and strengthening its dominant position became an important issue of a state's policies (Dorian 1998: 5–6).

It can be argued that this kind of process occurred in Wilamowice. Until the eighteenth century there are no data/references in local chronicles or documents that would present inhabitants of the town as strange due to the language they use. The chronicler Andrzej Komoniecki, from not a very distant town of Żywiec, who wrote at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, mentioned Wilamowice several times. For example, he described the pilgrimage of the inhabitants of the town, or the difficult life of Elżbieta Foksówna, who despite severe difficulties, remained modest and honorable (Komoniecki 1987). Over a century later, another important chronicle was written in Żywiec by Karl Franz Augustin. He originated from a German-speaking family located in Moravia (now within the Czech Republic then Austro-Hungarian Empire). He was a priest in Wilamowice for a few years. The language of Wilamowice was at the center of his description, which was characteristic of a somewhat naive romantic nationalism. He wrote:

> The commune of Wilamowice has a peculiarity. The German language has remained here until the present day. From immemorial time, despite the fact that all round Polish was spoken, in the town there are remains of the old Wandals and Burgunds, who saved their German language, which naturally is now mixed with Polish (Augustin 2007: 225, 589).

Later in the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century, Wilamowice drew attention of nationalistically oriented scholars from the nearby big and rich town of Bielsko (Bielitz). They saw the inhabitants of Wilamowice as Supergermans, who although "devoid of any contact with «Germanness»", retained their archaic language "in this period of German national weakness, [when] the whole German foregrounds at the edge of the Carpathian Mountains started to yield to Polonization" (quotations from Filip 2005). However if we listen to the voices of Wilamowiceans of the same period, we would see a portrait of a phenomenon that is very seldom nowadays, a pre-nationalist community. Wilamowiceans, with their distinct language and culture, were fully aware of their separateness. However the statement "we are" was much more important for them than the answer to the question "Who are are?" (Ascherson 1996: 200–201). It is noticeable in a text that comes from a diary of Eugeniusz Bilczewski, the school director from Wilamowice:

> Our inhabitants, who had been calm, and who had regarded themselves mostly as Wilamowiceans 'Wymysöer", were suddenly faced with the request to strictly determine their nationality. Usually they said "wir sein Esterreichyn", we are

> Austrians, because we belong to Austria. All inhabitants of the Monarchy were perceived here as Austrians, and it did not depend on a language used by them (quotation from Filip 2005: 162).

During World War II, the Wilamowiceans, based on the fact that their language was identified as a dialect of German, were also perceived as Germans and forced to sign *Volksliste*.[6] Many of them died as soldiers of Wehrmacht. As a consequence, many users of *Wymysiöeryś* were persecuted for a long time in communist Poland. Intergenerational transmission stopped for a few decades, and the language itself underwent a process of simplification.

To answer the question about the origins of the idea behind the schema in (1) that has also been affecting the users of Wymysiöeryś, it is necessary to define the ideologies of the third level. In order to do so, it is first necessary to describe the relationship between science (especially linguistics) and society. Actually, we should take into account two separate but mutually bounded instances or phases of the same process. The first one is self-view of linguistics by linguists as a discipline. The second is the consequence of this self-identification, the way the linguistics or actually the part of universum described by linguistics is popularly perceived.

Science: Privileged discourse

Comte, often called the father of positivism and scientism[7] (and of sociology), claimed that human thought went through three stages of development: the theological one, the metaphysical one, and the positive one (Morris 1987: 105). The categories correspond to the evolutionary stages proposed by James George Frazer (1890), one of the founding fathers of cultural anthropology, namely magic, religion, and science. In popular perception, the beginning of a rapid

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[6] The *Deutsche Volksliste*, or the German People's List, was a system of classification of inhabitants of territories occupied by Nazis during World War II. On Polish territories, which were directly incorporated to the Third Reich (Silesia, Pomerania, Greater Poland) people were very often forcibly ascribed to the list. However on the territories, which constituted General Government to be ascribed to *volksliste,* was usually a volunary act. Thus, until now a word *folksdojcz* (a person entered in *volksliste*) is a synonym for a traitor in Poland. Such an understanding of the term does not take into concideration painful experience of the people from teritories incorporated directly to the Thrid Reich. More about the *volksliste* can be found e.g. in Koehl (1957).

[7] According to Bullock & Trombley (1999: 775), scientism is "the view that the characteristic inductive methods of the natural sciences are the only source of genuine factual knowledge and, in particular, that they alone can yield true knowledge about man and society".

development of science constituted the beginning of modernity. However, thanks to the brilliant observation of Latour, anthropologist and philosopher of science, another view emerged. He claims that it was not scientific thinking itself, rather "the construction of cultural domains of 'society' and 'science' as separate and autonomous" (Bauman & Bridge 2003: 4) marked the beginning of modernity. The distinction is based on a premise that there is a divide between natural world and a social world (Latour 1993: 13). In this construct, science is not perceived as a social product, but as a reality derived from the natural world, existing independently of humans. This attitude has become predominant not only among scientists but also in the "broad layers of society" especially in Western culture.[8] It has become commonsensical. The division, however, echoes the one made centuries earlier by Parmenides, who distinguished *doxa* – opinions or beliefs that mortals can possess, and certain truth or real knowledge – *episteme*, which is only accessible to gods (Popper 1998: 1; Markus 2011: 285). Scientists have become gods of secularized modernity.

A deep analysis of the history of science enables us to trace the beginning of the process of separating science from society. In regards to (pre)linguistics, it was made by Taylor. He compared ideas about language of two English liberal thinkers, John Locke and John Horne Tooke, who lived a century later than Locke. Although Tooke has almost been forgotten now, he was very influential at that time he was scientifically active (Taylor 1990: 11). Locke claimed that an individual user always gives a meaning to words with their every use and it is a voluntary, private act (Taylor 1990: 15). This, however, made the user responsible for communication and constant improvement of the way he or she speaks. Proper communication may be secured only when rational constrains will be put on the freedom of speech (Taylor 1990: 16). This attitude makes John Locke a linguistic prescriptivist. Tooke agreed with Locke that communication is disturbed, or even sometimes impossible. However, for Tooke, this problem stems from the fact that the perfect linguistic system, independent of the will of individuals or authorities is misanalyzed or not properly understood by them. The role of linguists is to overcome this problem by discovering and describing the real meanings of words (Tooke suggested it is possible thanks to etymology), which are "facts" similar to the facts of physics or biology (Taylor 1990: 21). Linguistics and the subject of its study has become separated from the society.

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[8] However, this opinion is unfamiliar for many local epistemologies (term explained in Herzfeld 2001), particularly to these developed by communities using indigenous languages.

Linguistics, which started to see itself as empirical, natural science, was absorbing ideas and metaphors from its role model, biology, on a large scale. It is not possible to prove this statement in a short article like this. It would require a long and thorough source analysis, but the multitude of technical terms derived from biology (e.g. ontogeny and phylogeny, revitalizing language, emergence, genetic relationship, etc.) support this hypothesis. Underhill (2013: 15) claims that all our conceptions of language are metaphorically constructed, but the ones that are based on organic metaphor seem to be prevailing.

In my opinion, there were two basic biological ideas that shaped linguistics. The older of them is Linnaeus' taxonomy. According to Linneaus, its basic unit, a genus, is a separate, distinct unit, which has a distinct name and is "natural so that all would agree on [its] limits" (Raven, Berlin & Breedlove 1971: 1212). It is worth considering whether Herder's idea of one language – one nation – one state ([1772] 1960: 99–100; 1784–91: 815) (however, it is often forgotten that in Herder's [relativist] philosophy this rule went hand in hand with the idea of *Humanität*) was directly influenced by the work of Linneaus. We know that Herder knew it (Nisbet 1970: 146). It could also be true that selected Herder's ideas spread so fast, because they suited intellectual atmosphere of that time shaped by Linneaus.

Roughly a century after successive editions of Linneaus' opus magnum *Systema naturae* were published, another theory that fueled the development of linguistics emerged. After Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* was published in 1859, the theory of evolution gained instant publicity among scientists. Penetration of Darwinism into linguistics was supported by the fact that Darwin himself built parallels between complexity and perfectness of species and languages. Similarly to crinoids, marine animals that build complex constructions made of thousands of shells, but are not perceived to be perfect, languages that are:

> the most symmetrical and complex ought not to be ranked above irregular, abbreviated, and bastardised languages, which have borrowed expressive words and useful forms of construction from various conquering, conquered, or immigrant races (Darwin 1871: 61–62 cited from Joseph & Newmeyer 2012: 346).

Evolutionism and natural selection theory not only inspired the new wave of interest in the history of language, but also led many scholars (most of whom were Europeans or of European origin) to ascribe certain languages to certain rungs of "ladders of evolution". The new "scientific" pattern of perceiving

a language change replaced, at least in Europe, the older, "religious" one. According to the latter since the collapse of the Tower of Babel languages have been undergoing the process of constant degeneration.

The advance of sociolinguistics, and particularly the work of Boas, proved that those theories were false.[9] In the twentieth century, science has finally mustered the courage to painful self-reflection. The ideas brought in 1930's by Polish and Israeli scholar Ludwik Fleck (1935) were adopted and popularized by Thomas Kuhn (1962). They challenged the view that progress in science is cumulative, and what is more important from our perspective, they stated that what is scientifically true cannot be asserted only by means of objective criteria but is also determined by a "consensus of scientific community" (Kuhn), "thought collective" (Fleck), and sometimes influenced by down-to-earth mundane of its members. Such an attitude started to surpasses the modernist intellectual separation between science and society. Nonetheless, the process is far from complete. Fleck's and Kuhn's ideas resonated among only some scholars and remain virtually unknown to "broad layers of society". However, science started to be perceived not as infallible source of objective truth, but rather as a privileged knowledge, which enjoys and deserves respect.

Science. Unprivileged discourse

In a way, science is also unprivileged knowledge. In the previous section, it was argued that scientism imposed perception of science as independent from the social influence. This statement also has another side. Development of science independent of society was/is supposed to be the way through which society can become more rational. The practice, however, shows, that:

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[9] Actually the Darwin's theory was also challenged within the field of biology. In 1975, Lynn Margulis proposed the endosymbiosis theory, which says that cell organelles such as mitochondria and chloroplasts were once independent prokaryotic cells (lacking nucleus and mitochondria), which merged due to symbiosis. As the basis of this assumption, she opposed the views on evolution that focused on competition; she calls it a "quaint, but potentially dangerous aberration" (Mann 1991: 378). Instead of competition, she underlines the role of symbiosis as a driving force of evolution. At the basis of Margulis' theories, eminent medical doctor and humanist Andrzej Szczeklik wrote: "The core of English is of Germanic origin. However after 1066 it adopted many Romanic words from Old French, it made borrowings, so it went through endosymbiosis! That is just endosymbiosis and horizontal transfer of genes, what starts to cause problems in reconstructing a tree of evolution. The horizontal circles are weaving into the dominant verticalism – trees, ladders, chains" (2007: 151–152).

> Human need to experience the world as something meaningful and continuous cannot be satisfied – the system of knowledge constructed methodically, which however is too complex, too specialized, and too complicated to be used as a pocket tool for day-to-day wrestling with reality (Malewska-Szałygin 2008: 9).

Although science enjoys respect (and is privileged in this sense), due to the fact that people reshape the ideas of scientists in unexpected ways just as any other, makes science unprivileged. In the case of linguistics, this matter is fundamental. The subject of its studies language, in opposition to molecular biology or quantum mechanics, is used and experienced every day by most people. As a consequence, these people all have their own ideas and beliefs about language(s), and no specialized knowledge is required to comment the subject, even publicly. As Wolfram put it (1998: 111), "this status means that authoritative critique on the topic is not limited to those with specialized expertise". Taking this into consideration, the question how the professional linguistic knowledge is transformed by popular common senses is gaining importance.[10] The answer obviously is too complex to present it in a short paper,[11] but I will focus on the way in which organic metaphor of language is reshaped.

The research representing the field of cognitive linguistics shows that metaphors constitute a foundation of thinking. It refers either to scientific thinking (it is worth mentioning Underhill's (2013: 15) somewhat exaggerated claim again about the metaphorical character of all conceptions of language) or to commonsensical one.[12] However, except for undeniable cognitive advantages, the use of metaphors obviously has shortcomings. Metaphors reveal some aspects of a matter, but simultaneously they cover another. What is more important, in a commonsensical thinking, metaphoric relationships tend to transform into the relationships of ontological character. A language is no longer like an organism; it becomes an organism. Inspired by the title

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[10] Common sense is a vague term. I use it in a meaning close to Geertz (1983), and not as a contradiction to scientific knowledge.
[11] The brilliant study of this kind was done by Wolfram (1998). This scholar, who pioneered research on ethnic and social dialects of American English, observed public response to the so-called "Oakland Ebonics Controversy". He contrasted the content of the resolution made by the school board of Oakland (California) concerning African American Vernacular English with its understanding by linguists and popular opinion, or rather non-professional responses. The case was the subject of heated discussions in USA, in which even the highest state authorities were involved.
[12] I do not treat both modes of thinking as opposition. They are partially overlapping, but it is still possible to analytically distinguish them. There is no universal common-sense. Among many common-senses we also have common-sense of scientists.

of Ricoeur's work *La Métaphore vive* (1975), I would call this process *killing of metaphor*.[13]

An exemplification of the process is departure from seeing linguistic tax-onomies as a technical classification. In effect, as Bilaniuk (2005: 25) put it, "the division of language into labeled units appears to be even more deeply naturalized than the division of people into nations". Simultaneously, as Mary Douglas (1966) showed, taxonomy is a framework for tabooizatation. She claims that what does not suite the classification is perceived as dirty or taboo.

It is not a coincidence that in Polish, the word for *tumor* is a synonym for a neologism. It is the reason why multilingualism is overlooked or even perceived as something bad (Irvine & Gal 2000: 60–72). The cumulative effect of both processes is especially harmful for varieties that are usually called dialects. Particularly affected are these, which within linguistic continuum are located between powerful standard languages. According to the Douglas' theory, they are impure; they are monsters. It is why the technical term used by linguists has become derogatory, inferior. The practice shows that, similar to the recognition of languages, some linguistic varieties are acknowledged as dialects, usually with very bad consequences for the dialects and their users. An example of such a situation is given by Blommaert (1999: 431, quoted in Stevenson & Carl 2010: 15):

> When FRELIMO labelled the Mozambican Bantu languages "dialects", and so aligned itself with colonial discourses on African versus European languags, a whole ideological, metaphorical and associative machinery was set in motion by means of which the language, its speakers, its culture, its social structure, its ideals and aspirations were all branded as inferior to those carried by the "language" Portuguese.

The situation in which a linguistic variety is labeled a "dialect", differs however from the situation in which it is labeled a "dialect of". The latter is equivalent to incorporation of its users into another nation.

The processes described above refers to what Lippi-Green (1997: 64) described as standard language ideology. That is:

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[13] It is worth mentioning here that, in our times, one may observe the role shifting between linguists and biologists. In more popular books, biological ideas are presented by use of metaphors from the linguistics. Controversial but renowned evolutionist Dawkins wrote (2004: 24) that "One could say that the resemblance between German and Dutch is comparable to that between any pair of mammals. Human and chimpanzee DNA are so similar, they are like English spoken in two slightly different accents". Authority of modern genetics reinforces binding of language and biology.

> a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, homogenous spoken language which is imposed and maintained by dominant bloc institutions and which names as its model the written language, but which is drawn primarily from the speech of the upper, middle class

This is called the monoglot standard by Silverstein (1996). It is important to mention that this discourse is very often used in a way that harm people and is one of the causes of language endangerment.

> While overt discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity, and regional or class background is generally no longer acceptable in the international community, the marginalizing of some groups and the privileging of other continues on the basis of language, a discrimination that is justified by an ideology that naturalizes a linguistic standard (Bilaniuk 2005: 23).

Ideologies of the third level

It is a long way from the prevailing ideas of what science should be at the time of enlightenment to the resignation from using one's mother tongue in favor of nation's state standard. Nonetheless, this trip has been necessary for grasping the idea of linguistic ideologies of the third level. The length of the trip epitomizes some characters of this type of ideologies.

Linguistic ideologies of the third level or indirect linguistic ideologies are thus ideas and beliefs that do not relate to a language directly, but provide a pattern for the way it is perceived. By definition they are unintended. They emerge not at the moment they are invented, but at the time when they start to impact a way of thinking about a language or its users. Different levels of ideologies create a cascade and their effects are cumulative. Thus, ideologies of the third level influence ideologies of the second level, which may in turn have impact on the ideologies of the first level. There is no direct causality in this relation. As a matter of fact, similar ideologies of the third level in a different context may lead to very different ideologies of a lower level.

Lessons

Although the influence of linguistic ideologies of the third level on the structure of a language (including its disappearance) is indirect, it is worth

studying, especially for scholars interested in maintaining linguistic diversity, also because it is not researched very often. One reason for the fact that linguistic ideologies are not well researched is the need for interdisciplinary approaches or the ability of linguists to reach beyond the limits of their own discipline and merge their enquiries with the study of philosophy, history, economy, art, religion, or anything else that can influence a given language and its users.

The example of a set of ideologies described in this paper, the one resulting from the separation of science from society and treating biology as a role model for linguistics and having its consequences in the emergence of monoglot standard ideologies, should be treated as a source of reflection for the linguists. First of all, it evokes the second part of Silverstein's definition of linguistic ideologies (1979: 193).

> If we compare such ideologies with what goes under the name of "scientific" statements about language, we might find that in certain areas the ideological beliefs do in fact match the scientific ones, though the two will, in general, be part of divergent larger systems of discourse and enterprise

This reminds us that the fact that we are part of the academy does not make us immune to creation and spread of potentially harmful ideologies. Thus I would suggest putting much more attention into the study of the effects and implications of research. It could be an obligatory part of every research project. Since at least twenty years ago, the term *reflectivity* has gained importance in the field of anthropology. Unfortunately, very often the reflectivity is not "balanced". Much has been written about the role of anthropologists in the process of ethnographic research. But why aren't we also aware of how our research can influence our interlocutors? What is the response of society to our work and our professional discourse?

Yet another lesson from this inquiry is the necessity to either change the metaphors we use or the way they are used. Metaphors are part of outcomes of our work, which can be easily absorbed to a large extent by the popular discourse, but sometimes they are used contrary to our intentions. That is why I would propose rethinking and limiting the role of organic metaphor in our works, and try to replace them with different ones. Rather than presenting languages as organisms or species we could present "linguasphere" as a color palette and idiolect of any person as a point on this palette. This metaphor conveys the idea of linguistic continuity. The fact that different

people would perceive a different number of colors, or would see different shades as separate colors reflects relativity of the terms 'language' and 'dialect'. It is also easy to show, using a palette, how impoverishing the effects of standard monolingual ideologies or death of languages are (here I still cannot escape an organic metaphor). This metaphor also has its constraints. For example, it does not take multilingualism into account or, rather, it conceals its existence. However, this metaphor (as any other) should not be treated as a metaphor referring to a language but rather as a metaphor illustrating a specific aspect of a language.

The last paragraph is a way of answering Wolfram's call, based on the observation of reactions to Oakland Ebonics Controversy. He noticed "the need for informed knowledge about language diversity and its role in education and in public life" (1998: 109). It is a kind of paradox that nowadays, when unprecedented numbers of linguistic books and articles are published and easily accessible, this need is even bigger than almost twenty years ago when Wolfram wrote these words. Maybe we should also be obliged to write popular versions of our papers? The readers' comments to the paper about a possibility of official recognition of Wymysiöeryś as a regional language by the Polish state, which was "disliked" by 81% of people, prove that much remains to be done. The recognition of Wymysiöeryś was seen by them as a threat to the integrity of Poland, or as the effect of action of foreign forces, which are hostile to Poland ("hibernated German sects").[14]

Linguistic ideologies impact users of a minority language, their "neighbors" from local environment and a broad society. Linguists could and should influence all of these three levels. However it requires diversification of means of presenting and communicating results of enquiry.

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[14] m.interia.po/fakty/news,nld,1863735 (accessed 21.12.2015)

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Language and Identity in Wilamowice: a Complex History of Language Choices and Language Attitudes[1]

RINALDO NEELS
Catholic University of Lublin

Introduction

Defending the rights of linguistic minorities, Fishman states: "The destruction of a language is the destruction of a rooted identity" (1991: 4). With this statement, Fishman indicates that language and identity are inextricably interconnected. The fact that language, in many cases, becomes an important element of identity is not contested, but that language loss automatically implies cultural identity loss is tempered by some researchers. Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer (1998: 73) conclude the following in their own research on the Tlingit community in Alaska:

> We hear that "cultural values can only be transmitted in the language", that something "can only be done in the Native language"; that we "can't save the culture without the language". There is clearly truth to all of this, but the truth is more complicated than the cliché. The fact that 90 percent of ethnically Tlingit people do not speak Tlingit suggests that somehow "the culture" is surviving without "the language". Tlingit culture – at least in some form perceived and accepted by its members as ethnically distinct – is actually functioning without use of the ancestral or heritage language (other than in its most symbolic and decorative forms).

[1] Translated from Dutch by Luiza Basek-Neels, M.A. Thanks to Tomasz Wicherkiewicz and Justyna Olko for language corrections and general remarks.

Coupland et al. (2005) come to the same conclusion in their research on the identity, language competence and language attitudes among young people in Wales. Also Kroon (1990: 434) states:

> Although in many cases language and ethnic identity are strongly intertwined, there is no necessary or categorical relationship between them. People can, in other words, perceive themselves as members of one and the same ethnic group without sharing a common language.

There seems to be a complex relationship between language and identity. Edwards (2009: 2) explains concisely:

> ...it is clear that identity is at the heart of the person, and the group, and the connective tissue that links them. People need psychosocial 'anchors': it is as simple as that. It is also clear that identities very rarely exist singly: on the contrary, we all possess a number of identities – or facets of one overarching identity, if you prefer – the salience of which can be expected to wax and wane according to circumstance and context.

In this article, I investigate how language choices and language attitudes formed Wilamowian identity over the past 100 years (1914–2014). Since in this period Wilamowian people officially acquired another nationality four times: Austrian (1918); Polish (1918–1939) 'Volksdeutsch' (1939–1945) and Polish (1945-). I have used those chronological boundaries to depict the history of language choice and language attitudes. This paper presents the main conclusions I have made in 2012 from (1) the interviews with 41 Wymysorys native speakers and (2) surveys completed by 194, of about 2800, inhabitants of Wilamowice over the age of 14.

In my conclusion, I reflect on the survival chances of Wymysorys as far as the data from my research show. As starting point of this analyses, I use the *Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale'* (GIDS) from Fishman (1991), which was exactly developed as a theoretical model to determine the degree of the language endangerment. Fishman distinguishes 8 stages, which can be summarized[2] as follows:

Stage 8: The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.

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[2]   Summary based on Obiero (2010)

Stage 7: The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it with their elders but is not transmitting it to their children.

Stage 6: The language is used orally by all generations and children are learning the language naturally in an intergenerational context.

Stage 5: The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form throughout the community.

Stage 4: The language is used in formal education.

Stage 3: The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders.

Stage 2: The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services.

Stage 1: The language is used in education, work, mass media, government at the nationwide level.

Fishman's GIDS stems from the question how to save a language from language death. The higher the phase number the nearer is language death. The earlier the phase the more possibilities to keep or and restore the language. According to Fishman phase 6 is particularly important, not only because from that point shift in the direction of language death can be remarkably fast, but also because phase 6 gives a strong base for the language to survive and helps it to evolve into phase 5. In phase 6 there is often transmission to the youngest generation, which enhances good future prospects for the language.

Some data from interviews with native speakers

In 2008–2009, 41 native speakers of the Wymysorys language agreed to participate in interviews about language contact and language choices based on their own life experience. The youngest interviewee was 71 and the oldest 95 years old. The average age was 81.2. 31/41 of my informants had been married with somebody from Wilamowice, 31/41 of the informants had parents who were both born in Wilamowice, 7/41 were male, and one person received education higher than the primary school. The interviewees had a free choice between carrying out the interview in Polish or Wymysorys. Questions were asked by Tymoteusz Król, the youngest fluent Wymysorys speaker (born 1993). As a result, 8/41 interviews were

performed mostly (over 85%) in Wymysorys, 8/41 were mostly (over 85%) in Polish. During other interviews (25/41), there was consistent code switching. To sum up, 52% of all statements of all interviews contain some Wymysorys language data, and 48% of all statements of all interviews contain solely Polish language data.

Table 1: Frequency of the Wymysorys language use by the 41 interviewees from Neels (2012: 132)

Communication in family	Before WW II	During WW II	After WW II	Nowadays
With parents	8	9	5	–
With siblings	8	9	4	0
Informants' parents with each other	9	9	9	–
With partner	–	–	4	1
With children	–	–	2	0
Private prayer home	2	2	0	0
Unofficial public context	**Before WW II**	**During WW II**	**After WW II**	**Nowadays**
School break	5	7	0	0
With teacher out of school	1	1	0	0
Hobby environment	8	9	3	2
Contact with priest out of church	0	0	0	0
Community parties	8	9	3	2
Shop	8	9	3	0
Animals	5	6	3	0
When expressing anger	6	7	2	0
On street	8	9	3	2

Official public context	Before WW II	During WW II	After WW II	Nowadays
During lessons at school	0	2	0	0
Work	8	8	5	0
Church services	0	0	0	0
Municipal services	3	4	0	0
Legend				
0	Wymysorys is not used at all.			
1	Wymysorys is very rarely used (only few words by few people, never dominant).			
2	Wymysorys is sometimes used (not as dominant language): max. 5 informants.			
3	Wymysorys is occasionally used: max. ¼ of the informants.			
4	Code switching is noticeable (by some informants as dominant language): Wymysorys used by less than 50% of informants.			
5	Code switching on a large scale in the language community: Wymysorys is used as much as Polish (or German).			
6	Code switching as a general rule: Wymysorys is used by more than 50% of the informants; some of them use Wymysorys as a dominant language.			
7	Wymysorys used as a dominant language by more than 50% of the informants: max. ¼ of the informants do not use Wymysorys as dominant language.			
8	Wymysorys used as dominant language by most of the informants (for max. 5 informants it is not the case).			
9	Wymysorys absolutely dominant in all informants (some of the informants use occasionally Polish or German).			
10	Absolute dominance of Wymysorys, no other language used by any of the informants.			
–	No data			

During the Interwar period, Wymysorys was dominant in Wilamowian language community. All generations of the town spoke almost exclusively Wymysorys, both at home and outside home, in informal contexts such as streets, clubs and shopping. Wymysorys was the language by means of which Wilamowian people could most spontaneously express themselves and could

be 'themselves'. In the company of someone from outside of Wilamowice, most of Wymysorys speakers automatically switched into Polish. In domestic contexts, code switching happened e.g. when a monolingual Polish maid was present, when there was a visitor from outside, in the few cases of mixed marriages, and also in – not so common – family situations where a child studied outside Wilamowice and under the influence of school environment spoke consistently less Wymysorys. Private prayer was usually done in Polish; there were prayers in Polish learned from a priest or at school. Although not widely known, there are also some private prayers in Wymysorys written by Wilamowian people themselves for private use.

In official public institutional frameworks such as municipal administrative services, in church and at school Polish was used as the official language. Before World War II, most Wilamowian people were fluent in both Wymysorys and Polish; many knew also German quite well, so code switching posed no problems. Wilamowian people who could not express themselves well in Polish and could communicate in Wymysorys at the town hall. Wymysorys was never used in church. Priests preached in Polish and all sacraments were received in Polish too. During lessons at school, Wymysorys was never used, only Polish, which made it difficult for many students in the first grade. However, Wilamowian students were in mixed classes with a number of students from surrounding villages, who did not know Wymysorys, which accelerated Polish language acquisition. During school breaks, there was continuous code switching. The language in the workplace depended strongly on the nature of the work. Since vast majority of Wilamowian people had their own family farm, they spoke mainly Wymysorys. They only switched to Polish when some helpers from surrounding villages came. In factories, they usually spoke Polish because of the heterogeneous origin of the workers.

The dominant role of Wymysorys increased under German occupation. Germans considered Wymysorys to be a German dialect and for that reason most Wilamowian people became officially registered as Volksdeutsch. Germans considered Wilamowice to be an authentic German enclave where any form of 'Polishness' had to be purged. In the context of the severe Germanizing campaign, Wymysorys was regarded as a true inter-language, which could be used by those who did not master standard German yet. Standard German was the official language in municipal services, during school and in church. Official communication was in German. People with a public function, for instance priests, were forced to take a crash-course in German. The use of Polish was banned and the use of standard German in the

Wilamowian community was strongly encouraged and for official workers it was compulsory. Wymysorys was tolerated as an inter-language. Polish disappeared completely from public life and was only occasionally silently spoken by the Wilamowian people when they failed to understand one another: in mixed marriages, with a Polish maid, or with guests from outside Wilamowice. During school breaks, in stores, in the streets, even in the town hall and during lessons in the primary school, there was more Wymysorys spoken than before the outbreak of World War II. The new language situation did not pose any problem to the Wilamowian language community. They could continue to express themselves more comfortably in their traditional language and for their children almost nothing changed. Before they had learned Polish from the age of six (in the first grade) and now they learned German instead. For confession and prayers it was strongly encouraged by the German government to use German, but most adult Wilamowian people secretly continued their habit to confess in Polish. Children learned at school to pray and confess in German.

After World War II, Poland became a satellite state of the Soviet Union and Wilamowian people were immediately targeted as a collective collaborative community. Signed Volksdeutsch lists were sufficient evidence. Wymysorys was also considered by Russians and Poles to be a German dialect, which acted as further proof of their affinity to Germans. The memory of privileges received during the war by the Wilamowian population from Germans sparked attitudes of resentment among Polish-speaking inhabitants from surrounding villages and towns. After German Nazi forces had retreated from Poland and the communist Polish People's Republic was created – under the supervision of the Soviet Union, severe repressions against Wilamowian people and the elimination of all forms of 'Germaneness' began. Wilamowice had to be completely Polonized. The Wilamowian community made every effort to convince Polish communist authorities that they were not Germans, that they wanted to act loyally towards new Polish authorities and that signing of the Volksdeutsch lists happened under threat and was motivated by the will to survive and avoid persecution. Since Wymysorys became the symbol of 'Germaneness,' the Wilamowian community integrally switched into Polish in public fields. Language abandonment had to be the proof of Polish citizenship. Wymysorys disappeared almost immediately from public life, but did not disappear completely from home. Wilamowian people still used Wymysorys exclusively in the company of adults who spoke Wymysorys, but from the moment there was at least one person from outside of Wilamowice,

they switched into Polish. Different answers were given to the question "What did you feel when communists forbade you to speak Wymysorys" – of the 41 interviewees, 16 Wilamowians expressed feelings of being hurt or offended, 12 accepted the new situation as a sort of fate, 4 could keep a neutral position just accepting facts as they came out, 6 interviewees didn't give a clear answer, and 3 persons could understand the new authorities and had therefore no problems in abandoning Wymysorys.

Wymysorys was still spoken at home, but much less than before. Wymysorys was still dominantly spoken among the older generation. However, they communicated only in Polish with the youngest generation. At school children were put under pressure to speak only Polish and parents didn't want to complicate the language situation of their children for the sake of their own future possibilities. It is noteworthy to mention that some of the smallest children in the age 1–5 almost did not master Polish because of the language policy under German occupation! Especially for those children, it was important to overcome delay in their proficiency in Polish by abandoning Wymysorys and speaking to them exclusively in Polish. Children began to perceive Wymysorys as useless and did not want to learn it. There were more and more mixed marriages, which increased the reluctance towards Wymysorys. For most families the language shift from Wymysorys into Polish did not pose any problem as the older generation just continued to speak Wymysorys secretly, the school made younger generation quickly familiar with Polish, and the middle generation, especially generation of the informants of this study, language choice did not pose any problem, since they were already fluent bi – or even trilingual Wymysorys-Polish (-German). The middle generation was used to regular diglossia: they spoke Wymysorys with the oldest generation, Polish with the youngest generation, and mixed both languages while speaking with people of their own generation. About half of the informants apparently, without any problem, adjusted to the new situation. Those who had a hard time accepting it eventually complied too.

About a decade after World War II, Wilamowian people were rehabilitated and there was again more language freedom, but the young generation was no longer willing to learn Wymysorys because they saw no benefit in it. The middle generation accepted the fact that language recovery is pointless. Nearly ¾ of the informants regret that Wymysorys and Wilamowian traditions have been partly lost but at the same time they are aware that language recovery, from of the pre-war period, is impossible. Anyway, they cherish the hope that Wymysorys and Wilamowian traditions can be

preserved as a monument so that the Wilamowian community will not lose the bond with its historical roots.

Some data from surveys filled in by Wilamowian people in 2009

From the 4th to 8th August 2009 six interviewers[3] helped selected citizens of Wilamowice fill in a questionnaire and take a test. A total of 196 (out of 2800) people (men and women over 14 years old) participated in the survey; the sample percentage was thus 7% of the adult population of Wilamowice.

One week before, a meeting with the interviewers was organized in order to explain the goals of the survey and how it would be organized. One day before the survey, 3rd August 2009, the interviewers were once more instructed and each of them got to know their working area, the streets for each of the interviewers were marked on the map. We decided to knock at the houses where numbers 2 or 9 occurred (picked at random). In each of the participating households, one person was chosen on the basis of the predetermined selection scheme based on gender and age:

Table 2: from Neels (2012: 139)

	Man	Woman
< 25 years old	(1)	(2)
25–60 years old	(3)	(4)
> 60 years old	(5)	(6)

Further data will be presented in percentages % [X=194].

Table 3 presents the language shift process. Among native informants born before World War II, more than 1/4 already spoke Wymysorys rarely or never with their parents. The events during and shortly after World War II accelerated the language shift. The number of informants born in that period who hardly ever or never spoke Wymysorys with their parents tripled to more than 3/4.

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[3] Katarzyna Łasocka, Małgorzata Kuczmierczyk, Magdalena Łasocka, Justyna Majerska, Anna Sznaider, Tymoteusz Król.

The language shift continued through the next two generations. Among the generation born between 1969–1984, there was no one left who still spoke Wymysorys with his/her parents. There is some Wymysorys spoken among the elderly, but the language transfer to the younger generation has been stopped permanently.

Table 3: Frequency of use of Wymysorys (sometimes/very often) by native Wilamowians having both parents born in Wilamowice by age in 9 language situations; from Neels (2012: 144).

Age	14–24	25–40	41–60	61–70	+ 70
Birth year	1985–1995	1969–1984	1949–1968	1939–1948	Before 1939
Parents with each other	3/48 6,2%	1/21 4,7%	16/43 37,2%	8/14 57,1%	16/20 80%
Maternal grandparents with each other	10/49 20,4%	10/21 47,6%	24/41 58,5%	8/14 57,1%	17/20 85%
Paternal grandparents with each other	12/48 25%	6/21 28,5%	18/43 41,8%	8/14 57,1%	15/20 75%
Parents-grandparents	3/49 6,1%	1/21 4,7%	22/40 55%	9/14 64,2%	19/20 95%
Parents – informant	0/49 0%	0/21 0%	5/42 11,9%	3/14 21,4%	14/19 73,6
Maternal grandpa-rents – informant	2/49 4%	1/21 4,7%	7/42 16,6%	4/14 28,5%	17/20 85%
Paternal grandparents – informant	2/49 4%	0/21 0%	2/42 4,7%	4/14 28,5%	12/20 60%
Informant – oldest sister/brother	2/48 4,1%	0/19 0%	1/41 2,4%	2/14 14,2%	10/16 62,5%
Informant – youngest sister/brother	3/46 6,5%	1/19 5,2%	1/37 2,7%	1/12 8,3%	7/17 41,1%

The survey results show that the language shift in Wilamowice can be clearly presented in the implicational scale. There have been no sudden or abrupt changes. The post-war repression did not suddenly banish the language from private life, elder people continued to speak Wymysorys with each other. The events during and after World War II began the evolution of impaired language transfer to the younger generation resulting in an irreversible language death.

From 1956 parents could have begun again to speak Wymysorys with their children without the fear of communist repression. However, they did not do that. Parents sometimes spoke Wymysorys with each other, but with their children they continued to speak Polish. It seems that parents were already used to the new situation. It was definitely connected with the fact that the whole Wilamowian community, in some sense, was granted amnesty for its war past and could again profit – now under the communists – from relative welfare. They were again fully engaged in agriculture and worked in the local industry. There was no socio-psychological reason to treat Wymysorys as a fight symbol. After ten years of stagnation speaking Wymysorys with teenagers was – unconsciously – perceived as an unnecessary effort, which would demand too much time and energy. Life went on and the future of the young people was more or less guaranteed.

The imminent language death, a situation, which according to Fishman, is reached from the moment generation transmission of language data stops completely, has no negative influence on the current language attitudes and local Wilamowian sense of identity! The results of a number of variables from the survey point to the fact that strong sense of identity is present in the vast majority of Wilamowian community.

1) There is a very high level of involvement in different local cultural activities of most of the people from the Wilamowian community.
2) There is a generally high interest among the local population in publications about the history, traditions and language of Wilamowice.
3) There is a number of notable positive language attitudes. A large majority emphasized that they find it important that the traditions are not lost, including the language, and expressed their commitment to keep the traditions alive. So 3/4 of the community agrees with the proposal that children should learn Wymysorys in primary school as well as songs in Wymysorys. More than half of the local community is willing to take a basic course in Wymysorys and 90% of them say it should be organized

by the local government. 2/3 is willing to commit themselves to preserve Wymysorys as cultural heritage, and about half of the Wilamowian community would like Wymysorys to again be heard in daily life.
4) The vast majority gave a positive answer to the question about their identity. 70% consider Wilamowice to be different from other towns and 55% share the vision that Wilamowian people are 'different' than other Poles.

Nowadays, there is a cultural revival in Wilamowice. The great majority of Wilamowian people, even those who were not born in Wilamowice, find it important that Wymysorys exists as part of a local tradition. Most of the members of the community declare their readiness to help to preserve cultural heritage, including the language. However, language death appears to be unavoidable. High positive attitudes do not lead to effective learning of the language. These attitudes can be explained by the fact that people living in a community like to have the feeling that they are taking part in a unique history, and living in a community that is very 'different' from neighboring communities.

Statistical analysis carried out by the SPSS program indicates that there is no significant relationship between the general positive attitude and being native or not native Wilamowian. This means that, even among those who were not born in Wilamowice, there are many people who have high positive language attitude.

There is also no significant correlation between the attitude towards the language and actual receptive knowledge or self-reported knowledge of Wymysorys. The absence of this correlation means that high positive attitudes can be also found among those who did not know the language at all.

Neither attitudes nor actual or self-reported knowledge of Wymysorys show a significant correlation with the knowledge of Polish or foreign languages.

Gender is not connected with language skills, attitude or identity.

Both the actual knowledge of Wymysorys, as well as self-assessment, are increasing according to the age. The older the informant, the better the knowledge of Wymysorys and higher self-assessment. It is the confirmation of language shift. Attitude to the language and general interest in Wymysorys are also – but to a lesser extent – age dependent.

Both actual knowledge of Wymysorys and self-assessment are higher among indigenous Wilamowian people and farmers. However, the positive attitude to the language and interest in Wymysorys are not affected by birth and/or professional situation.

Conclusions

On the base of Fishman's GIDS-typology, it can be stated that the situation of Wymysorys before World War II was continuously 'not reliably' stable, because it was "the normal language of informal, spoken interaction among and within all three generations of the family, with Polish or German being reserved for matters of greater formality and technicality than those that are the common fare of daily family life" (Fishman 1991: 92). Fishman highlights that the sixth phase is the most factual and, at the same time, most crucial, because "the lion's share of the world's intergenerationally continuous languages are at this very stage and they continue to survive and, in most cases, even to thrive, without going on to subsequent („higher") stages" (1991: 92). At a first sight, it seems that the language history of Wilamowice is similar to language histories of other language communities where centuries long phase 6, with feeble attempt to promote the literary tradition around 1900, that created hope to reverse shift in the direction of phase 5. Shortly after World War II, Wymysorys went into phase 7 and language transfer to the youngest generation ceased. Finally, 25 years later, at the moment of finishing my own fieldwork in 2009, it seems an irreversible movement to Stage 8 has been reached.

Nowadays, modern communication tools used in Wilamowice could possibly support language heritage, but the result of employing these tools in reversing language shift, in the sense that different generations will spontaneously and frequently speak Wymysorys in daily life is far from obvious. Few decades ago, language recovery still would have been easier to attain. Currently, there is a modest revival of written tradition in Wymysorys by T. Król, J. Gara, C. Ritchie or J. Majerska), new edition of Wymysorys grammar and dictionary (Król & Andrason, in preparation; Król, Majerska & Wicherkiewicz 2015) is in progress, there is a full website with multiple resources since 2013,[4] and Wymysorys gets a lot of attention of the media. There is primary school where children can follow a basic course of Wymysorys. All these initiatives are supported by the majority of the Wilamowian community. High positive attitudes for Wymysorys and a strong sense of local identity can be observed in the community. Still, it seems unlikely that Wymysorys will be saved from language death.

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[4] www.revitalization.al.uw.edu.pl; http://www.inne-jezyki.amu.edu.pl/Frontend/Language/Details/10

The imminent of the death of the Wymysorys language did not decrease the general positive attitudes to Wymysorys or the strong local sense of identity. On the contrary, a strong need to keep Wymysorys as part of the local culture remains. Fishman's statement that "The destruction of a language is the destruction of a rooted identity" does not suit Wilamowice – if he means that speech community must speak the traditional language effectively in order not to lose its identity (Fishman 1991: 4).

With the above conclusion, we come to the question to what extent language preservation (and language recovery) are determined by attitudes. Giles, Bourhis & Taylor developed in 1977 the concept of 'ethnolinguistic vitality' (EV) to measure theoretical survival of a language within a speech community. EV is, according to them, largely determined by factors such as language status (prestige), demographic data and institutional language policy. In response to the criticism that they did not take subjective socio-psychological factors enough into account, Giles, Bourhis & Rosenthal (1981) published a list of 22 questions to measure 'subjective vitality', which complements 'objective vitality'.

To be clear, it seems that subjective factors played a very limited role in language shift in Wilamowice in the 20th century. Until World War II, there was a strong local cultural tradition in Wilamowice. Although Wymysorys was used as an informal language in the daily lives of most Wilamowian people, the language shift was already in progress. After World War II, transmission of Wymysorys to the younger generation stopped quite suddenly. However, positive attitudes towards existence of Wymysorys remained. After 1956, reversal of language shift was still within the bounds of possibility. However, only the language of cultural traditions was revived at that time, but not Wymysorys as an active language for daily use. There were songs sung in Wymysorys, but people did not speak Wymysorys with the youth. Nowadays, there are very strong positive attitudes towards the language, but the revival of Wymysorys as a language of daily life is – even though 1/3 of the community eagerly expresses the desire – not so obvious. In the case of Wilamowice, it seems that apart from the general climate of fear caused by many repressive actions by communistic authorities, also sober, economic, objective factors have contributed to the language shift from Wymysorys into Polish. Language shift already started before World War I (although in just a few families) and continued during the Interbellum and after 1956 when the climate of repression had passed and cultural traditions were revived; the youngest generation didn't seem to be motivated to learn to speak the language in an active way despite the fact some members of the oldest generation still

had not stopped speaking Wymysorys among themselves. My interviewees were asked whether they stopped speaking Wymysorys after World War II because of fear. Informant nr. 25 (°1930) gave this answer:

> Maybe not because of fear, but people were blocked and, as I have said, the youth switched immediately and completely to Polish. The elderly continued to speak Wymysorys mainly at home; they tried to avoid speaking Wymysorys in public places because Wymysorys was not seen as sympathic. There were also many immigrants after World War II … and they didn't know Wymysorys at all, so in those mixed families only Polish was spoken. But the elderly continued speaking Wymysorys among each other.

The information stated by interviewee nr. 25 is generally confirmed by the other interviews. People were afraid to speak Wymysorys openly in the years following World War II, but there were many other reasons aside from fear not to speak Wymysorys throughout the day.

Allard & Landry's (1992) view on 'beliefs' that language can be measured by means of EV bears little relevance to Wymysorys. Allard & Landry emphasize the importance of the prestige of a language, but there is no evidence that prestige has ever played a significant role in Wymysorys. Until World War II, the Wilamowian community was bilingual. Wymysorys was never, in that long period, a prestige language, but an informal language spoken among family members and close neighbors. If it was necessary to speak prestigious Polish (or German), there was code switching. The 'code switch' was a habit.

Smolicz (1992) states that 'core value' language, ethnicity and cultural identity are related one to another. He believes that as long as a language is a 'core value' of a particular cultural community, language preservation can be better guaranteed. In the case of Wilamowice, this approach seems to be rather complicated! The Wilamowice research shows that Wymysorys has always played an important role in the community, until World War II as an active communication tool, later on as part of the local history, and even today as an element to emphasize its local character and to affirm that Wilamowice is 'different from other towns.' In few decades, Wymysorys has evolved from an actively functioning, informal communication tool with little symbolic content, into a non-functional language, which is a strong symbol of individuality. Wymysorys has always been a core value for the Wilamowian community despite the language shift process. Smolicz (1992: 281) takes it into account, stating that "it is also possible for individuals who have never learned to use their parental tongue to express a positive ideological attitude

toward the language concerned. They may also be aware of its core significance for the group, and wish that they did know it. If an opportunity arose to learn the language, such individuals' ideological attitudes could be turned into tendencies through the construction and use of personal ethnic linguistic systems". That description is fully applicable to Wilamowice. Smolicz suggests that a language, which finds itself in the described state, has a chance for possible reconstruction. Theoretically, it is possible, but in practice rather unlikely for Wymysorys. Wymysorys has become an important part of the history of Wilamowice, the history as the basis on which Wilamowian identity has been formed. Anyhow, it is re-confirmed that the language shift in Wilamowice is not connected with the attitudes.

Undeniably, the events during and shortly after World War II had a major influence on language shift. It is important to emphasize the fact that the decision not to speak Wymysorys with the younger generation anymore was an explicit choice of the whole community. Fear of the authorities certainly played an important role but is not a sufficient explanation. It is impossible to measure the psychological effect that the official authorities had on Wilamowian people, but it is clear there was something more than just fear of the authorities. It is highly arguable that the German repression of Polish during the occupation (1939–1945) (indirectly) had a much larger effect on language shift than the repression of Wymysorys by the Poles afterwards. Indeed, the war generation, after six years, had Polish language deficiency. The radical change under the Polish communists, after six years of German education, must have been both mentally and practically heavy for the young people. Parents did their best to help their teens get rid of the language delay and, at the same time, avoid a language deficiency in their the youngest children. Therefore they spoke Polish with their children. For parents it was not difficult as they were perfectly bilingual.

The decision to stop transmission of Wymysorys to the youngest generation suddenly created monolingual generation. The phase of 'the semi-speaker' hardly existed (Dorian 1977). There was no intermediate, partly bilingual generation, but only imperfect L1 and much more fluent L2. In one year, a radical step was set from bilingualism to monolingualism. After ten years of upbringing in a period of repression (1945–1955) it was no longer conceivable for the youth in the 1950s to suddenly begin to speak Wymysorys. They had not learned the language as children; they were not even semi-speakers. Therefore, it was entirely pragmatic to decide to abide by the new habit of Polish monolingualism among the youth and to compensate for it by cultural

revival. That is how the importance of the actual language skills and anticipation of it can be confirmed as conditions for language preservation or language restoration (Jaspaert & Kroon 1991).

The analysis of the language shift in Wilamowice shows that the Polish language deficiency among the youth in 1945 was a very important motivation behind the choice made by perfectly bilingual parents. This decision created a monolingual generation, which was the reason why there were no active attempts made to start a reversal of language shift after 1955.

Apparently, war events did not stop the gradual, natural process of language shift, but had mainly caused its abrupt acceleration by giving a generation of 'semi-speakers' no chance to emerge. The underlying basis of all language choices made by the Wilamowian community seems to be always the same, namely social, demographic and economic realities.

Both the interviews and the survey results confirm the above statement. Whereas, according to the interviews, the main reasons of code switching from the Wymysorys into Polish at homes before World War II are: (1) presence of a maid, (2) presence of visitor from outside Wilamowice, (3) one of the parents who does not come from Wilamowice, (4) a child continuing his/her education out of Wilamowice who speaks Polish when home for the weekend with.

After World War II, general mobility, democratization of education and modernization of industry increased. The modern lifestyle led to an increasing number of mixed marriages, attendance of secondary school (which was rather exceptional before) became a general rule, and more young people were looking for a job in mixed environments.

The language shift process in Wilamowice shows many parallels with, for instance, Gaelic in Scotland. Dorian describes how small fishing communities in the course of the 20th century emerged from their isolation and how Gaelic was supplanted by English (1981); the local fishing industry was integrated into international fishing industry, (English) education was modernized, and number of mixed marriages increased. Dorian indicates the same language shift patterns for Gaelic in Scotland as there have been for Wymysorys in Wilamowice.

The Wilamowian community never had the idea to make Wymysorys a symbol of struggle against the established order. There has also never been a reason to do that because Wilamowian people have always been a well-integrated community existing in a wider society. There is also no evidence of exploitation or oppression. Loyalty to national authorities has always brought them relative prosperity. Their great adaptability explains the relative ease

with which Wilamowian people have registered themselves as Volksdeutsch during World War II, and, in 1945, the relative ease to abandon Wymysorys as a gesture of loyalty to the new Polish authorities. The period 1945–1955 was definitely a very difficult time of crisis, but afterwards the community was completely rehabilitated and Wilamowice again became a respectable, relatively affluent Polish town. Even after 1955, there was no reason to treat Wymysorys as a symbol of local opposition. Therefore, the history of Wilamowice cannot be compared with the history of e.g. the Tlingit community in Alaska, Russian minorities or the Basque minority, where language has often become a symbol of struggle against collectively felt injustice.

Nowadays, Wymysorys has only one high symbolic value: it is the language of a local community with its own history. The fact that an increasing group of people want to learn (at least the basics of) Wymysorys proves that the Wilamowian community does not want the language to completely disappear. This is definitely a basic condition for possible reversal language shift and enhances the possibility that Wymysorys will not disappear as cultural monument. However, only if in 15–20 years some of those new learners will be willing to speak Wymysorys with their children (generation transmission), will it be possible to speak about a real reversal of language shift. Many possible psycho-linguistic, economic and geographic obstacles remain. Will Wymysorys have a real practical function in daily life? Is the Wilamowian community not too small in number (2800 inhabitants)? Is Wilamowice, as language island, not too isolated by other surrounding municipalities where no one speaks nor understands Wymysorys? The Wilamowian people are faced with a big challenge!

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The Influence of the Polish Language on Wymysorys in Light of the Revitalization Process[1]

ANDRZEJ ŻAK
University of Warsaw

The aim of this paper is to present the most important questions connected with the influence of the Polish language on Wymysorys (the language of Wilamowice) – in Wymysorys *wymysiöeryśy śpröh* ('the Wilamowicean language').[2]

Wilamowice (in Wymysorys *Wymysoü*) is a small town situated in southern Poland in the administrative district of Bielsko-Biała in the province of Silesia. Wymysorys belongs to the group of West-Germanic languages. It is critically endangered because it is spoken by about 30 people in just one town. In consideration of its minority and archaic character (Zieniukowa & Wicherkiewicz 1997: 308), this Germanic linguistic enclave is an exceptionally interesting object of study for linguists.

In this paper, I will analyze both the vocabulary of Polish provenience, which create some semantic fields, and the possible grammatical features formed thanks to linguistic interactions between Polish and Wymysorys. The latter mainly refers to syntax and phonetics. Then I would like to present the present situation of loanwords in Wymysorys and compare it with two languages in which borrowings from a majority language were replaced

[2] The *Wymysiöeryśy Akademyj – Accademia Wilamowicziana* (*WAAW*), a group of researchers engaged in the documentation and revitalization of Wymysorys (the author of this chapter is also its member), recommends using the following words in English publications: *Wymysorys* ('the language of Wilamowice'), Wilamowicean (the adjective which refers to the language and culture of Wilamowice; for example: *the Wilamowicean costumes*).

– Lithuanian and Kashubian. Material gathered during research conducted by the author of this paper in Wilamowice in February and May 2013 constitutes the basis of the analysis.[3] The words that are discussed in further sections originate from the records of interviews with native speakers of Wymysorys (*informants*) – five women and two men. The conversations were recorded in the informants' houses.

It is a fact that Wymysorys is dying. In this paper, the condition of the language on the verge of the twenty-first century is presented. Polonisms that exist in the speech of today's speakers of Wymysorys are analyzed.

All examples, if not otherwise indicated, are written in accordance with the latest orthography created by T. Król in co-operation with Andrason (Król [2011]: 2).

It is assumed that the ancestors of the inhabitants of Wilamowice came to the area of Low Silesia between 1250–1300 during the first Germanic colonization of Silesia (Wicherkiewicz & Zieniukowa 2001: 491). The informants consulted believe that their forefathers descend from the Flemish people or Anglo-Saxons. Some researchers also mentioned the principality Schaumburg-Lippe as the place of their origin and the language is believed to derive from Middle High German and West Franconian dialects (Wicherkiewicz & Zieniukowa 2001: 492–493; Zieniukowa & Wicherkiewicz 1997: 308). Ritchie (2012) states that Wymysorys is connected with the Middle German dialects, however the Low German influence is also noticeable.

Through the ages Wymysorys was transmitted from generation to generation and used universally by the inhabitants of the town. The sociolinguistic situation changed after World War II. Informants related that a priest had introduced the ban on using Wymysorys and on wearing folk costumes. He also announced 'the death of the language'. The inhabitants of Wilamowice were persecuted because they were considered to be German. The people who spoke Wymysorys stopped using their language for their own and their children's safety. In the fifties of the last century, the repression ceased, but interruption in language transmission had already happened. Today only the eldest inhabitants are proficient speakers of the language and their children just understand some basic vocabulary. However, even the users of the language seldom speak Wymysorys, because their interlocutors often do not know the language. From year to year, the number of users is getting smaller. Wymysorys is critically endangered; however, in the last few years

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[3] At the time when I was writing this paper I was not aware of similar research conducted by Andrason (2014).

activities leading to the maintenance and preservation of the language have been undertaken. Wymysorys is taught (by a method called 'weak education', Dołowy-Rybińska 2011: 47) and new compositions in the language (for example Król's *S'ława fum Wilhelm*) are being written.

Analysis of the linguistic material

The local interlocutors that the author had a chance to speak with are competent two or three languages (all speak Polish and some people know German). They claim that their first language is Wymysorys and that they most often learned Polish at school or at home if their family employed Polish farm hands. It is worth considering which variety of Polish influenced Wymysorys. According to Wicherkiewicz and Zieniukowa (2001) the inhabitants of Wilamowice more often use standard Polish. However, I have detected the following dialectal Polish features in the informants' speech:[4]

- merging of the continuant of ancient long [a:] (which was different from the continuant of the ancient short [a]) with [ɔ]
- merging of the continuant of ancient long [ɛ:] (which was different from the continuant of the ancient short [ɛ]) with [ɪ]
- raised articulation before a sonorant (in a limited number of words), for example *synatorium* (in standard Polish: *sanatorium*) 'sanatorium'
- forms with ['ɛ] developed from ['ɔ] < [ɛ][5], for example *wiezła* (in standard Polish: *wiozła*) 'she carried', which result from analogy
- voicing before a sonorant, for example *brat ojca* [bradˈɔjtsa] 'father's brother'
- the synthetic form *jezdem* (standard Polish *jestem*) 'I am', created from the ancient analytic form *jest‿jeśm* 'I am' (Długosz-Kurczabowa & Dubisz 2006: 306) in which voicing took place.

The 'mazurzenie' (the dialectal change of postalveolar spirants and affricates to the dental ones: *sz cz ż dż > s c z dz* [ʃ ʧ ʒ ʤ > s ʦ z ʣ]) is not present, but it may have appeared in the past, which is evidenced by the 'szadzenie'

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[4] All sounds in the present paper are written in accordance with the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).
[5] The ancient proto-Slavonic *[ɛ] after a palatal and before a front non-palatal consonant turned into [ɔ] between the ninth and eleventh century; this vowel change occurred in some West-Slavonic languages, also in Polish and that is why it is sometimes called 'the Polish umlaut.'

(the hypercorrect pronunciation of *s c z dz* as *sz cz ż dż*, for example *szkubać* – standard Polish *skubać* 'to pluck'). We may suppose that the informants either had been learning standard Polish at school or they had used the dialect at home and then, as a result of the influence of school or the media, they got rid of the most easily noticeable (in their estimation) dialectal features. However, the above-mentioned features are present in the pronunciation of all the informants.

One of researchers working on the language, Alexander Andrason, has noted that Wymysorys maintained its Germanic structure, vocabulary and idioms and it did not absorb most of Slavonic influences (Andrason, in: Król 2011: 71). However, the influence of Polish is noticeable in the grammatical system as well as in the vocabulary of Wymysorys.

Possible influence of Polish on the grammatical system of Wymysorys

Some scholars suggest that grammatical system is closed to a certain degree. This means that it accepts foreign forms (phonemes or morphemes) with difficulty (e.g. Milewski 2009: 111–112; Ureland 2009: 283–284). However, some features of Wymysorys, a language which was surrounded by Polish, were formed thanks to the influence of the Polish language.

The first important feature, which evolved as a result of the Polish influence, is double negation (Wicherkiewicz 1998: 211).

(1) *Yhy wiöe   kå   möł ny   y   Błan.*
     I   be.PST.1SG NEG once NEG in   Bielany
     'I have never been to Bielany'

Here the influence of Polish seems pretty evident; however the double negation appears in other Low-Germanic languages, in Afrikaans (Donaldson 1993: 401) and in Yiddish.

The next interesting feature of Wymysorys is the presence of the vocative case. It existed in Proto-Indo-European (Szulc 1991: 52) and it is still present for example in Slavic and Baltic. Szulc states that the vocative case did not occur in Proto-Germanic. Its decline is explained by the transfer of accent on the radical syllable; the consequence of that was the apocope of the final sound

(Szulc 1991: 68). In Proto-Germanic the vocative forms were identical with nominative forms. It should be noticed that the vocative case was present in the extinct Germanic Gothic language (e.g. Kieckers 1960: 105). The occurrence of the vocative case in Wymysorys is limited to four words only:

(2) Nom. *büw* – 'boy'   voc. *büwy*,
    Nom. *łoüt* – 'people'   voc. *łoüty*,
    Nom. *müm* – 'aunt'   voc. *mümy*,
    Nom. *pot* – 'godmother' voc. *poty*.

It is evident that the vocative case marker is – *y* [ɪ]. In other words voc. is formally identical with the nominative case. It is worth investigating if the occurrence of the vocative case in Wymysorys is caused by the influence of the Polish language. The words that have vocative forms refer to people of the nearest environment of the speaker. The morpheme that is used for the vocative may have resulted from the need to distinguish the addressative or expressive-impressive function. However, this question undoubtedly requires further research, both synchronic and diachronic.

It may be worth mentioning that the basic form of proper nouns in Wymysorys is identical with the standard Polish form of the vocative case, for example *Zośü*, *Jaśü* (Polish nom. *Zosia* 'Sophie', voc. *Zosiu*; nom. *Jaś* 'Johnnie', voc. *Jasiu*). It seems that the occurrence of these words in Wymysorys is caused by the frequent use of the vocative forms in the nominative function in the colloquial Polish and also in the dialect of Lesser Poland.

The next matter, which is worth studying, is the occurrence of pre-palatal spirants and affricates – in particular the voiceless postalveolar spirant [ʃʲ] and the voiceless postalveolar affricate [ʧʲ] – in Wymysorys. In earlier publications (for example: Wicherkiewicz & Zieniukowa 2001) these sounds were not mentioned. In the list of sounds noted by the above-mentioned authors (Wicherkiewicz & Zieniukowa 2001: 499–500), the symbols <sz>, <ś> (which indicate the voiceless alveolar fricative [ʃ] and the voiceless palatal fricative [ɕ], respectively) and <cz>, <ć> (which indicate the voiceless alveolar affricate [ʧ] and voiceless palatal affricate [ʨ], respectively) are instead present.[6] On the basis of that article it may seem that there are two possibilities of pronouncing the above sounds in the same position: for example – *połnyś* / *połnysz* – 'Polish', *dujcz* / *dujć* – 'German'.

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[6] These sounds are present in standard Polish.

However, it is evident from the research conducted by the author of this paper that the consonant which occurs the most often, for example, in the word *szłacht / śłacht* is [ʃʲ], in most cases written as <ś> in the latest spelling. In the word *dujcz / dujć* we can hear the sound [ʧʲ] which is written mostly as <ć> in Król's spelling.

It is worth considering whether the occurrence of the above-mentioned sounds is caused by the influence of a dialect of Polish. It is well known that the process of the merge of postalveolar spirants and affricates with the palatal ones took place in the Polish dialect of Cieszyn Silesia. Consequently, the series of the prepalatal consonants [ʃʲ ʧʲ ʒʲ ʤʲ] (Dejna 1993: 106–107) was created. This merge may be explained by a Czech or Slovak influence or by a tendency to reduce the consonantal system in this dialect. The inhabitants of Wilamowice had contacts with people from Cieszyn Silesia,[7] so it is possible that the merge presented in this chapter was formed as a result of the interaction of Wymysorys and the Polish dialect of Cieszyn Silesia.

The possible influence of the Polish pronunciation on the Wymysorys is also observable in the word *cökier* – 'sugar' which is exceptionally used. The earlier (in all probability) form of this lexeme – which is more often used – sounds *cöker* (cf. German *Zucker*). The word *cökier* might be formed as a consequence of the so-called fourth palatalization of velar consonants, which occurred in Polish only, e.g. Old Polish *keł*, New Polish *kieł* [cɛw] 'fang' (Długosz-Kurczbowa & Dubisz 2006: 146–148).

The influence of Polish on the vocabulary of Wymysorys

In contradistinction to the grammatical system, the lexicon of a language is more "open". This means that a language accepts foreign words with more ease and sometimes adapts them with the help of native morphemes or phonetic changes.

In many Wilamowicean lexemes the influence of Polish dialects is noticeable. It is worth mentioning that these dialectal features are typical of Lesser Poland and of Silesia.

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[7] As we know from the interviews.

Besides words which are derived from Proto-Slavic, there are lexemes which could be called 'direct Polonisms' – it means that they have come to Polish from another language and then were probably passed to Wymysorys (e.g., *ćeku-lad* – 'chocolate' was most likely derived directly from the Polish *czekolada* and, indirectly, from the Italian *cioccolata*. These were also discussed in this paper.

Kłop ('man') is one of the most often frequent words in the language of Wilamowice. It derives from the Polish *chłop* [x-] 'peasant', which is used in a common and dialectal parlance and literally means 'man', 'husband'. The change [x] > [k] which occurs sporadically in Lesser Poland can be noticed. The form *kuopy* (in the plural) is noted in the Dictionary of Polish Dialects.[8] More words with the change [x] > [k] occur in the dialect of Podhale, e.g. *kcieć* 'to want' (Zborowski 2009: 146), *kwała* 'glory' (Zborowski 2009: 172).

There are more words from Polish dialects that refer to family members: *baba* (*babcia*) 'grandmother',[9] *bow* (*kobieta, baba*) 'woman', *dźjada* (*dziadek*) 'grand-father'. The word *bow* can serve as an example of one of the eldest consonant shifts that took place in Wymysorys, [b] > [v] (Wicherkiewicz 1998: 207). The change [a:] > [ɔ] is maybe connected with the identification of the continuant of ancient long [a:] with [ɔ].

The influence of Polish on the vocabulary of Wymysorys is observable in lexemes connected with the art of cooking, e.g. *pylyk // pyłyk* (*polewka*) 'soup', 'gruel'. The existence of two forms may be connected with the division of Wilamowice into two dialectal areas. The word *pylyk* was recorded in the west of the town; while *pyłyk* was recorded in the north-east. Two forms of the same lexeme are also observable in the case of the word *śpyrkja // śpyrka* (*skwarek, szpyrki*) 'pork crackling'. The first one occurs in the west of Wilamowice, the second in the north-east. The next word that is worth mentioning is *moćka* (which means 'sauce', 'dish made of water, flour and meat' in standard Polish). The lexeme *moczka* 'tripe and lights crumbled in sour sauce' is noted in the Dictionary of Polish dialects.[10] According to *Little dictionary of Polish dialects*,[11] *moczka* is a 'Silesian Christmas-Eve dish made of soaked honey-cake and fruits' and 'sauce made of water, flour and pepper' southern Pomerania (Wronicz 2009: 139). The similar word *omáčka* 'sauce' occurs in Czech and Slovak.[12]

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[8] *Słownik gwar polskich* (Reichan 1991-III/3 (9): 560) gives Dąbrowa Poduchowna as the place of its occurrence (not far from Iłża).
[9] Polish forms are given in parenthesis.
[10] *Słownik gwar polskich* recorded this word in the region of Cieszyn Silesia (Karłowicz 1903: 178).
[11] *Mały słownik gwar polskich*
[12] It seems that both *moczka* (*moćka*) and *omáčka* are derived from Proto-Slavic steam **mok-*, connected with Polish *moczyć* and Latin *macerare* – 'to soak' (Holub & Lyer 1978: 318).

The next lexeme related to food is *twiöeg* (*twaróg*) 'cottage cheese'. It can serve as an example of the decline of the phone [r], which occurs in the central position in a word. The lexeme *ćekulad* (*czekolada*) 'chocolate' is also a direct Polonism.

The names of fruits and vegetables in Wymysorys were also taken from Polish: *ćwikła* (*ćwikła*) 'red-beet salad with horse-radish', *kabaczek* (*kabaczek*) 'cucurbit', *kalafior* (*kalafior*) 'cauliflower', *kalarep* (*kalarepa*) 'kohlrabi', *malin* (*malina*) 'raspberry', *ogürkja* (*ogórki*) 'cucumbers', *pożyćkja* (*porzeczki*) 'currants', *ryneta* (*reneta*) 'rennet', *seler* (*seler*) 'celery', *węgierki* (*węgierki*) 'plums'. In the words: *pożyćkja* and *ryneta*, the dialectal influence is noted – the continuant of the ancient long [ɛ:] identified itself with [ɪ]. *Bańja* (*dynia*) 'pumpkin' came from the dialect as well. The word *angrös* 'gooseberry' (used apart from the word *śtahułbjer* which was taken from the standard German *Stachelbeere*) is of the Latin provenance, but it penetrated into Wymysorys via a Slavic language (cf. e.g. Czech *angrešt*).

The word *ćåj* 'tea' has been taken from Czech *čaj*. However, it is worth mentioning that the word *ty* 'tea' is more often used in Wymysorys. *Ćåj* might have been taken from Russian through Polish (cf. Russian *чай*), but this is less probable.

The next field where the influence of Polish language is noticeable is the vocabulary related to everyday situations. The following lexemes were gathered: *bezroboće* (*bezrobocie*) 'unemployment', *elektryk* (*elektryka*) 'electricity', *prond* (*prąd*) 'current', *rynta* (*renta*), 'pension', *samogün* (*samogon*) 'moonshine', *telewizjà* (*telewizja*) 'television', *telewizor* (*telewizor*), 'TV-set', *ürlop* (*urlop*) 'vacation'.

The following words are also direct Polonisms: *bryćka* (*bryczka*) 'carriage', *koüł* (*kij*) 'stick', *obrozła* (*obrazek*) 'picture'. The last word was created as a result of affixal derivation with the aid of the diminutive suffix "-ła", the Polish dialectal influence ([a:] > [ɔ]) is also noticeable.

Polonisms are present in vocabulary referring to the religious sphere: *post* (*post*) 'fast', *Wielki Post* (*Wielki Post*) 'Lent before Easter'. However, the Wilamowicean equivalents: *fost* and *Grusy Fost* are used more often. Furthermore, the expression *Grusy Fost* lit. 'great fast' is probably a calque from Polish.

The words connected with the medical field are present in Wymysorys thanks to the linguistic interaction with Polish: *synatorjum* (*sanatorium*) 'sanatorium' and *zakszep* (*zakrzep*) 'thrombus'. In the first lexeme the Polish dialectal heightening before the sonorant consonantal is present.

The following words are also direct or indirect Polonisms: *liceum* (*lyceum*) 'Polish secondary school', *studja* (*studia*) 'university studies', *złoty* (*złoty*) 'Polish monetary unit'.

It is worth adding that all the names of months (except March, Wymysorys *mieca*) were taken directly from Polish: *styczyń* (*styczeń*) 'January', *lüty* (*luty*) 'February', *kwiećyń* (*kwiecień*) 'April', *måj* (*maj*) 'May', *ćerwiec // czerwiec* (*czerwiec*) 'June', *lipiec* (*lipiec*) 'July', *siyrpiyń* (*sierpień*) 'August', *wżeśyń* (*wrzesień*) 'September', *påździernik* (*październik*) 'October', *listopåd* (*listopad*) 'November', *grudźyń* (*grudzień*) 'December'. In some lexemes the influence of Polish dialects is noticeable.

Code-mixing

One of the songs sung and quoted by users of Wymysorys is *Ufer mjedza zyct a zajonc* 'on a balk sits a hare' (Wicherkiewicz 1998) which is an example of code-mixing – interchanging **Polish** and *Wilamowicean* words. It is certainly a play on words, because the users of the language are aware of code-mixing: the "contamination" of words belonging to different language systems.

Uf-er   **mjedza**   *zyc-t*   *a*   **zajonc**
on-ART.DAT.SG   balk   sit-PRS.3SG   ART   hare
'On a balk sits a hare

Myt-a   *fis-ła*   **pomyrda-jonc**
with-DAT.PL   legs-DIM   wag-PTCP
Wagging its legs,

Gdy-by-m   taki-e   *fis-ła*   **mia-ł-a**,
if-COND-1SG   such-ACC.PL   legs-DIM   have-PST-3SG.F
If I had such legs,

To   **ja**   **by-m**   **se**   **pomyrda-ł-a.**
then   I   COND-1SG   REFL   wag-PST-3SG.F
I would wag them myself'

It is worth highlighting that (an untitled) song exists, where *Wilamowicean*, **Polish** and German verses interweave.

Måj Jåśü,   *måj   Jåśü*
my   Johnnie   my   Johnnie
'My Johnnie, my Johnnie,

Wos   hö-st   gy-mah-t
what   have-PRS.2SG   PTCP-do-PTCP
What have you done

Bo   yh   dy   ganc-y   naht
because I   ART   whole-ACC.SG.F   night.ACC.SG
Because all night

Nicht   *ho*   ge-schlaf-t
NEG   have.PRS.1SG   PTCP-sleep-PTCP
I did not fall asleep

Co   jo   się   obróc-ę
what   I   REFL   turn-FUT.1SG
Every time I turn

Troüm-t'-s   mjyr   von   djyr
dream-PRS.3SG-it   me.DAT   PREP   you.DAT
I dream of you

Ciągle   mi   się   zda-je
forever   me.DAT   REFL   appear-3SG
It is forever appearing to me

Że-ś   ty   bei   mir
that-2SG   you   PREP   me.DAT
That you are by my side

Są   ludz-ie   na   świec-ie
be.PRS.3PL   people-NOM.PL   PREP   world-LOC.SG
There are people all over the world

Und   überall
and   everywhere
And everywhere

Co   cię   obmawia-ją
that   you.ACC   backbite-PRS.3PL
Who backbite you

Fünf-tausend   Mal
five-thousand   time
Five thousand times

Nie   patrz   ty   na   ludz-i
NEG   look.IMP.2SG   you   PREP   people-ACC.PL
Do not look at the people

Ich   bin   dir   *troü*
I   be.PRS.1SG   you.DAT   faithful
I am faithful to you

Więc   dziś   ci   ślub-uję
so   today   you.DAT   promise-PRS.1SG
So today I promise

Mein   Herz   ist   *dȧjs*
my   heart   be.PRS.3SG   yours
My heart is yours'

Conclusion

Based on the language material gathered during the interviews, it can be concluded, that Polish effects both the lexical system of Wymysorys and probably its grammatical system. Many of the loanwords have dialectal provenance (of Lesser Poland or Silesia).

Collected vocabulary can be grouped into several semantic fields. Appellatives are also found within words defining persons and concerning cuisine, everyday life or religion. The most frequently appearing proper nouns are the nick-names, e.g. *Płaczniczka*.

Among the oldest phonetic innovations in Wymysorys, which can be observed in gathered material there are: the decline of the central [r], change [b] > [v], decline of the final sound [a] (Wicherkiewicz 1998: 207, e.g. *malin*). What is more, the change [u] > [ʏ] (e.g. *lüty, ürlop*) and rare [a] > [i] (e.g. in late Latin word *synatorjum* present in Wymysorys thanks to the influences of Polish) are noticeable. Loanwords in *Wymysorys* have been adapted via Wilamowicean morphemes, e.g. diminutive suffixes or morpheme "gy-" (e.g.

gykonat < konan, *gywskżyśjat < wskżyśjan*). The adaptation takes place as well at the phonetic level, as in innovations mentioned above.

The influence of Polish in light of the revitalization process

The Polish component in Wymysorys is noticeable and quite large. It is important now to consider the present situation of the Polonisms analyzed in previous sections. All the grammatical features and lexical borrowings are commonly used by speakers of Wymysorys.

Loanwords are perceived as foreign elements. That is why a tendency to replace them with neologisms existed (or still exists) e.g. in a number of revitalized languages. A similar tendency is noticeable in the case of Wymysorys. In this section, I would like to present the situation of loanwords and neologisms in Wymysorys and propose what could be the future position of these words. I believe that an analysis of loanwords and neologisms in these languages can benefit Wymysorys, a language in the process of revitalization.

As far as Wymysorys is concerned, the revitalization consists of e.g. an introduction to the language in the local school (now taught by the main revitalizer, Tymoteusz Król), creation of school-books, grammar textbooks, and new literary works. In all these cases some knowledge about borrowings is very important. For instance, one ought to consider whether to include Polonisms while writing the schoolbooks or to replace them with new words.

Nowadays, while the revitalization process takes place, we can see that the situation of neologisms is changing. As it was said earlier, loanwords are commonly used by the native speakers of Wymysorys. However, the tendency to create and introduce new words or to look for Wilamowicean equivalents of borrowings comes to light during the revitalization process.

All the native speakers (apart from Tymoteusz Król) that I spoke with come from the eldest generation of inhabitants of Wilamowice. They are aware of the Germanic origin of their language and they notice evident similarities between German and Wymysorys (e.g. in the case of the following words: Wymysorys *flojma*, German *Pflaumen* 'plumps'). What is more, they consider Wymysorys 'a mixed language'[13] – according to them, there are

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[13] 91-year-old woman, interview.

lots of words supposedly derived from (or through) a number of languages: from German, Polish (e.g. Wymysorys *ogürkja*, Polish *ogórki* 'cucumbers'), Dutch (Wymysorys *roüm*, Dutch *room* 'cream'), French (Wymysorys *filićüpe* 'kind of bike', French *vélocipède* 'velocipede') or Czech (Wymysorys *ćåj*, Czech *čaj* 'tea'). Although, they realize the greatest similarity to German (or rather to Germanic languages),[14] other words (including Polish ones) are also considered foreign elements. During interviews, I inquired about the perception of borrowings from Polish and the necessity of an eventual creation of neologisms. All the informants responded that the replacement of Polonisms used since a relatively short time (they denominate things and phenomena unknown in the past) would be useful in order to "maintain the character of the language". As far as new phenomena are concerned, the interviewees apperceive the necessity of creating neologisms. Moreover, Wymysorys users would prefer loanwords from German rather than from Polish (when the creation of neologisms is not possible). Another situation is noticeable in the case of the youngest users of Wymysorys who learn the language. They believe that Polonisms help them in learning Wymysorys since Polish is always their first language.

It is very important to show how the Polonisms are perceived by native speakers of Wymysorys. It appears that there are at least four groups of loanwords: (1) words borrowed very long ago (e.g. *kłop*, *bow*) the forms of which are (somewhat) different from the original Polish words – they are perceived as "pure Wilamowicean words"; (2) an old tier of loanwords where the Polish origin is evident (e.g. *malin*) – they are perceived as "Wilamowicean words similar to Polish ones"; (3) relatively recent loanwords, which denominate things and phenomena unknown in the past, e.g. *prond*, *telewizor* that are considered "Polish words used in Wymysorys" and; (4) words used occasionally when a person forgots a Wymysorys equivalent (e.g. *wycieczka* in lieu of *rås* 'excursion', 'journey').

In the opinion of my informants, creation of neologisms would be possible in the case of words from the groups (2) and (3). When questioned, they responded that a replacement of Polonisms would be beneficial to maintain the Germanic character of Wymysorys (although the informants consider Wymysorys as "a mixture of languages"[15], they perceive its Germanic origin).

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[14] "Wymysorys is very close to German and Dutch", 91-year-old woman, interview.
[15] 93-year-old woman, interview.

In the last ten years, Wymysorys has been taught to children (first by a Wilamowicean poet Józef Gara at school and later by Tymoteusz Król in his house). Today there is still no manual and all teaching is based on Król's materials. However, a picture dictionary has been published by Król (in co-operation with Justyna Majerska and Tomasz Wicherkiewicz within the project "Endangered languages. Comprehensive Models for Research and Revitalization" carried out at the University of Warsaw). The authors had to reflect what loanwords should be taken into account there.

The authors decided on the following:

1) create some neologisms to design 'new words' (denominating objects and phenomena unknown in the past), e.g. *bóśtowatöwuł* 'keyboard'. But *de facto* the majority of these neologisms replaced Polonisms used commonly in Wymysorys, for instance: *ȧjskosta* replaced *zamrażarka* 'freezer'; *ośoükosta* replaced *telewizor* 'TV-set'; *zejp* replaced *mikrofon* 'microphone'
2) keep the majority of loanwords from groups (1) and (2) in the dictionary
3) replace some Polonisms with Germanisms (e.g. *september* – which was taken from German – in lieu of *wżeśyń* 'September')
4) promote the usage of Wymysorys archaisms (e.g. *śrȧjwbihła* in lieu of *ześyt* 'notebook' (borrowed from Polish) and *heft* 'notebook' (borrowed from German).

According to Tymoteusz Król :

> Neologisms are useful but it is best if neologisms are created by native speakers. As far as the creation of new words is concerned, it seems to me that it depends on speakers. If they say *ześyt, yhy was ny wi dos ej wymysiöeryś* 'a notebook, I do not know what it means in Wymysorys', it means that one can try to replace the word *ześyt* with a neologism (but the word *ześyt* has a Wymysorys equivalent *śrȧjbihła* or *śrȧjwbihła*). But if they consider the word *kłop* as a Wymysorys or even Flemish word, I would not change it. Anyway, it is better not to interfere a lot in the language. However, one must create new words if the some things and phenomena did not exist in the past.[16]

It may be interesting to give some thought to the future situation of loanwords and neologisms in Wymysorys. It seems that a comparison with some cases of other minority and endangered languages would be helpful. Although every case is different, some universal instruments can be used in the revitalizing process. I would like to compare two languages with Wymysorys in which borrowings from a majority language were replaced – Lithuanian and Kashubian.

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[16] Tymoteusz Król, interview.

In Lithuania, the national revival began in the later part of the 19th century. Through the ages, Lithuanian nobility and townspeople were Polonized and in the 19th century also Russified. Therefore, the Lithuanian language was used only by servants who became "a vital core of the Lithuanian nation" (*lietuvių tautos gyvybingasis branduolys*) (Zinkevičius 1992: 7). That class of society also became the basis for "the Lithuanian national revival" (*lietuvių tautinis atgimimas*) (Zinkevičius 1992: 10). During this process, which was based mostly on newspapers published in Lithuanian, e.g. 'Aušra' or 'Varpas', a number of neologisms were created. The spelling, which somewhat resembled Polish spelling in the beginning, got purified of Polish marks (e.g. <ł>) or combinations of letters (e.g. <sz>, <cz>). Let us look at some examples of the neologisms (Zinkevičius 1992):

> *añtklodė / apklõtas* 'blanket' replaced *adijãlas* (Russian *одеяло*)
> *asmuõ* 'person' replaced *asabà* (Polish *osoba*) (Smoczyński 2007: 25)
> *galvóti* 'to think' replaced *mìslyti* (from Polish *myśleć* or Belarusian *мысліць*)[17]

Most of the loanwords created during the national revival are quite widely known among Lithuanians. From interviews conducted by me with Lithuanian native speakers and examples from the Corpus of Lithuanian Language (http://tekstynas.vdu.lt/) it appears that they are also recognizable and sometimes used in colloquial Lithuanian. But first and foremost, those words function in dialects and they can be used in dialectal stylization e.g. in literature (cf. http://tekstynas.vdu.lt/).

Kashubian can serve as another example of a minority language where some neologisms have been created. This Slavic language (used in the northern part of Poland) was influenced by Polish over a long period of time. Authors of dictionaries and belles-lettres created neologisms to replace Polonisms. Now it has become the task of the Kashubian Language Board.

From my observations, it appears that neologisms are practically used by language activists, in newspapers and literature.

> *zdrzélnik* 'TV-set' replaced the word *telewizór*, borrowed from Polish
> *słёchińc* 'listener' replaced *słёchôcz* (< Polish *słuchacz*)
> *podjimizna* 'company' replaced the Polish *przedsiębiorstwo* (Pryczkowski 2011: 287–288)

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[17] However, there is another word derived from that Polish borrowing which functions in Lithuanian: *ìšmislas* ('invention', probably calque of Polish *wymysł*) which has got some negative connotations and for which there is no Lithuanian equivalent (http://tekstynas.vdu.lt/, Palionis 2004: 249).

The eldest users of Kashubian use Polonisms while neologisms are not well-known for them. However, they notice that the youngest Kashubian speakers who learnt the language at school use incomprehensible words and constructions. The situation of neologisms and loanwords in Lithuanian and Kashubian is not the same. In the case of Lithuanian, the revitalization has been completed. Neologisms are commonly used by users of the standard Lithuanian and loanwords that were preserved in dialects and used in dialectical stylization. As far as Kashubian is concerned, the revitalization is still underway. Neologisms are used by just a handful of people. Loanwords are still used in the speech community.

As Nicole Dołowy-Rybińska has justly noticed, when a minority language is stigmatized, it "is being slowly excluded from all the areas of life outside the home as a worse mean of communication. It is not used in activities related to the modern life (media, industry, law), because those domains came into minority groups from the majority world. Thus, new words are lacking and a necessary vocabulary is adopted from a majority language. That situation can – as a consequence – cause a slow folklorization of a language and of a minority culture perceived often as a relic of the past or as an ethnographic phenomenon but not as a culture with full rights" (Dołowy-Rybińska 2011: 19–20).

A possible creation of neologisms could also hinder an intergenerational cultural transmission, which is very important in revitalizing process. If a language is purified of many loanwords well known by old speakers (the youngest generation, taught a language at school, oftem only knows neologisms), an intergenerational dialogue will be disturbed and will not be so effective. Such a large interference in a language, the creation of new words and the replacement old ones, leads to birth of separate codes. A similar situation occurred in Low Sorbian. There, two different codes exist – a language used by intellectualists and activists and a 'folk' language used by 'ordinary people'. The first one originated after the Second World War. There were not a sufficient number of well-educated Low Serbians who could create manuals and materials in their language. It was necessary to engage Upper Sorbian activists who introduced lots of grammatical and lexical forms from Upper Sorbian to Low Sorbian. It is most noticeable in newspapers, where some vocabulary from 'nontraditional' life spheres is used. The language present at home is considered by its users to be their language (called *wendisch*) while the language of press and literature (in German *sorbisch*) is considered foreign and incomprehensible (Dołowy-Rybińska 2011: 281–286).

There is another question related to neologisms and loanwords. Popowska-Taborska & Dołowy-Rybińska noticed that cognitive research, which leads to reconstruction of "view of the world", is difficult if a standard version of a language (which varies from the dialectal one) is being created. The authors have asked whether the investigation of the view of the world is well-founded in that case. The standardized languages are, as a matter of fact, new languages for all its users who use its dialectal variants (Popowska-Taborska & Dołowy-Rybińska 2015).

On the ground of the above analysis, one can suppose that a similar situation could occur in the case of Wymysorys.

1. Neologisms will replace loanwords and they will be used in the standard language.
2. A stylistic level of the borrowings will change.
3. The intergenerational transmission of language can be hindered.
4. The investigation of the view of the world can be more difficult and not efficient.

Acknowledgments

Abbreviations

1 – first person, 2 – second person, 3 – third person, ACC – accusative, ART – article, COND – conditional, DAT – dative, DIM – diminutive , F – feminine, FUT – future, IMP – imperative, LOC – locative, NEG – negation, NOM – nominative, PL – plural, PREP – preposition, PRS – present, PST – past, PTCP – participle, REFL – reflexive pronoun, SG – singular

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Opracowania dialektologiczne i ich znaczenie
(na przykładzie łemkowskiego)[1]

JANUSZ RIEGER
Wydział „Artes Liberales"
Uniwersytet Warszawski

Summary

The Value of Dialectological Publications
(the Case Study of Lemko)

Each standardized language needs normative publications such as grammars, dictionaries, and literary texts. The role of dialectological publications (hence, not normative) is to show the whole richness of a language, including a range of nonstandard lexicon and grammatical features.

Dialectological dictionaries reveal, on the one hand, disappearing lexicon, and on the other hand terminology that has not yet became part of a standardized language, including more recent borrowings, neologisms, and slang words. There are a variety of Lemko dialectological dictionaries, both for the whole Lemko area and for subregions or specific villages. Some contain examples of usage of the vocabulary as is the case of an extensive dictionary of the municipality of Tylicz/Тиліч, compiled by J. Turčyn. The dictionary of Bartne/Бортне also contains encyclopedic/ethnographic entries.

Dialectological texts can play a similar role, especially when related to specific villages. Through these texts we get to know the lexicon and phraseology referring to spiritual and material culture: rites, customs, magic, architecture,

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shepherding, daily life; sometimes this is highly specialized vocabulary. Compilations of texts for the entire Lemko area at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century were made by Ivan Verhratskyi. For the southern area, extensive texts were published by Ivan Pankevyč, O. Leška, R. Šišková, and M. Mušynka. Minor texts, which concern the areas on the northern side of the Carpathian range, are being prepared for publication.

Publications of dialectal onomastics show the richness of Lemko names. Anthroponymy on the northern side of the Carpathian Mountains has been thoroughly studied (E. Wolnicz-Pawłowska), similarly to Lemko place names (Z. Stieber et al.). Similar works for the southern side of the Carpathian Mountains are missing.

Language atlases show the geographical diversification within a language, including lexicon typical for specific areas. Lemko has excellent atlas publications by Z. Stieber, V. Latta and Z. Hanudel. They reveal, among other things, a clear division into western and eastern parts on both sides of the Carpathians, as well as the existence of Lemko-Boiko borderland, also on the both sides of the range. They show strong Slovak influence in the Lemko-Slovak borderland, as well as Polish influence in the Lemko-Polish borderland.

Etymological studies explain words, which are unclear for the users of the language. For Lemko we have – still scarce – studies on Slovak and Polish loanwords as well as Hungarian and Romanian borrowings (in the area of pastoral lexicon). There are studies referring to a broader territory. It would be useful to compile existing materials into a dictionary or publications referring to specific areas of the lexicon.

These works raise the prestige of the language. According to a widely shared view, if a language is thoroughly studied, it is worth such an effort. Besides, each language, even a dialect, deserves being well documented. A better knowledge of the history of the land hidden in proper names and lexicon strengthens local patriotism, leads to a better and deeper knowledge of the local language, and favors its conservation. Terminology linked to village life, old spiritual and material culture is not only an attractive texture for creating local flavors in written or spoken texts, but also provides a bridge between new and old times.

Furthermore, the author lists existing language atlases and dictionaries, which concern specific areas, the number of registered terms, etymological and onomastic studies, and publications of dialectological texts. The Annex contains examples of encyclopedic/ethnographic entries from the dialectological dictionary of Bartne/Бортне.

Wstęp

Jest rzeczą oczywistą, że każdy język, a zwłaszcza język przechodzący proces standaryzacji, potrzebuje przede wszystkim opracowań normatywnych: gramatyk, słowników, nie mówiąc już o tekstach literackich.

Nie dla wszystkich jest jednak oczywiste znaczenie opracowań nienormatywnych, w tym dialektologicznych. Ich wartość należy rozpatrywać w dwóch aspektach. Pierwszy to pokazanie całego bogactwa języka, a więc słownictwa, gramatyki, konstrukcji. Z takiego bogactwa czerpie każdy język, w różnych okresach swego istnienia w różnym zakresie. Słowniki pokazują wyrazy, na których buduje się system leksykalny: synonimia, homonimia, antonimia, związki frazeologiczne.

Słowniki nienormatywne, a więc przede wszystkim **słowniki gwarowe**, pokazują słownictwo wspólne, ale też z jednej strony już ginące, zanikające, z drugiej takie, które jeszcze do standardu nie wchodzi, ale za jakiś czas wejść może, a więc nowsze zapożyczenia, neologizmy, wyrazy ze slangu. Istnieją łemkowskie słowniki gwarowe większe lub mniejsze, już to dla całego obszaru łemkowskiego po obydwu stronach Karpat, już to dla obszaru południowego, już to dla poszczególnych wsi. Niektóre w objaśnieniach mają tylko odpowiedniki obce (polskie, ukraińskie, niemieckie, czeskie), inne zawierają też przykłady użycia. Wiele języków słowiańskich nie ma jeszcze nowoczesnych słowników gwarowych, obejmujących cały obszar danego języka, polski czy słowacki mają tylko pierwsze tomy takich słowników. Z łemkowskich słowników gwarowych na pierwsze miejsce wysuwa się słownik Tylicza Jewhenii Turczyn, a to dzięki dużej liczbie wyrazów w nim uwzględnionych oraz dzięki przykładom użycia tych wyrazów.

W *Małym słowniku łemkowskiej wsi Bartne* podjęto próbę wprowadzenia haseł encyklopedyczno-etnograficznych, w których słowami informatorów omówiono przedmioty, czynności, zwyczaje i wierzenia (zob. Aneks).

Podobną rolę mogą odgrywać **teksty gwarowe**, zwłaszcza takie, które są powiązane z konkretnymi wsiami, co wobec zmian ludnościowych bywa trudne do zrobienia. Z tekstów gwarowych poznajemy słownictwo i frazeologię związane z kulturą duchową, a więc z obrzędami, zwyczajami, także czarami i kulturą materialną, a więc z budownictwem wiejskim, pasterstwem, życiem codziennym, słownictwo niekiedy wąsko specjalistyczne. Dawne teksty z zapisem fonetycznym pokazują dawną wymowę łemkowską, nowsze – wymowę już niekiedy bardzo zmienioną (i pozwalają pokazać, co jest dziś dla wymowy łemkowskiej typowe). Wybory tekstów dla południa i dla północy obszaru

łemkowskiego dał na przełomie XIX i XX w. Iwan Werchratski. Dla obszaru
południowego przed ostatnią wojną teksty opublikował Iwan Pankiewicz,
po wojnie – Oldřich Leška, Růžena Šišková wraz z Mykołą Muszynką. Dla
terenów po północnej stronie Karpat są już teksty przygotowane do druku.

Opracowania **onomastyki gwarowej**, a więc antroponimii (tj. nazw oso-
bowych) i toponimii, w tym ojkonimii (tj. nazw miejscowości), nazw tereno-
wych (w tym gór) oraz nazw rzek i potoków pokazują skarby nazewnictwa.
Rosnąca powszechnie ciekawość dotycząca pochodzenia własnych nazwisk,
znaczenia imion używanych w rodzinie, pochodzenia nazw miejscowości
związanych z miejscem urodzenia czy zamieszkania każą wychodzić naprze-
ciw tym oczekiwaniom. Antroponimia łemkowska jest dobrze opracowana
monograficznie, choć przydałoby się może dostępniejsze „średniej" objętości
kompendium. Podobnie jest w przypadku łemkowskich nazw miejscowości;
tu też potrzebne byłoby podobne opracowanie opisujące pochodzenie nazw
miejscowości. Brak jest opracowania obejmującego południowe stoki Karpat
tak w zakresie nazw osobowych, jak i nazw miejscowości.

Atlasy językowe pokazują geograficzne zróżnicowanie języka, cechy
i słownictwo charakterystyczne dla różnych obszarów. W przypadku
łemkowskiego po obydwu stronach Karpat widzimy wyraźny podział na
część zachodnią i wschodnią, a granica przebiega na wysokości Przełęczy
Dukielskiej, a także pogranicze łemkowsko-bojkowskie po obydwu stronach
Karpat. Atlasy pokazują też silne leksykalne wpływy słowackie na pogra-
niczu łemkowsko-słowackim oraz podobne wpływy polskie na pograniczu
łemkowsko-polskim. Łemkowski ma świetne opracowania atlasowe. *Atlas
językowy dawnej Łemkowszczyzny* Zdzisława Stiebera był pierwszym regional-
nym atlasem z obszaru językowego ukraińskiego, później pojawiły się atlasy
Wasyla Latty i Zuzany Hanudelowej dla południa Łemkowszczyzny. Kilka
punktów łemkowskich (zwłaszcza z południowej strony Karpat) znalazło się
w karpackim atlasie językowym. Potrzebne są teraz opracowania atlasowe
przeznaczone nie tylko dla językoznawców, ale też dla szerszego kręgu
czytelników, zainteresowanego areałami występowania poszczególnych
wyrazów. Nie będą to atlasy, ale mapy dotyczące określonych wyrazów
czy pojęć. Trzeba podkreślić, że opracowania przystępnie przedstawiane
nie muszą wcale tracić waloru naukowości[2].

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[2] Wydaje się, że tak właśnie udało się nam przedstawić łemkowską stabilizację akcentu na
pograniczu łemkowsko-bojkowskim (wykraczającą poza teren łemkowski) przez pokazywanie na
jednej mapie jednego wyrazu, przy czym forma z akcentem na przedostatniej sylabie oznaczona
jest kółkiem czarnym (np. *wóda*), a forma z akcentem na innej sylabie – kółkiem pustym (np. *wodá*).

Opracowania etymologiczne odpowiadają na pytania o wyrazy niejasne dla użytkownika języka, zwłaszcza niemotywowane innymi wyrazami. Dla łemkowskiego istnieją – nieliczne jeszcze – studia etymologiczne, pokazujące zwłaszcza zapożyczenia słowackie i polskie, ale także węgierskie i rumuńskie (te ostatnie zwłaszcza w zakresie leksyki pasterskiej). Są też studia, np. w zakresie rumunizmów i hungaryzmów w leksyce języków regionu karpackiego (a więc w polskim, słowackim, ukraińskim i in.), które dotyczą także obszaru łemkowskiego. Potrzebne jest zebranie tych studiów, które dotyczą łemkowskiego, czy to w postaci słowniczka ułożonego alfabetycznie, czy w postaci studiów dotyczących poszczególnych działów leksyki (pasterstwo, gospodarstwo domowe, prace w polu itd.).

Drugi aspekt takich opracowań, trudny do przecenienia, to wzmocnienie **prestiżu języka**, jaki w wielu przypadkach decydował o przetrwaniu czy odrodzeniu mowy. Często uważa się, że jeśli język jest opracowany wszechstronnie, można by rzec „thezaurusowo", to widocznie wart jest takiego opracowania. We wszystkich państwach słowiańskich obserwujemy tendencję do posiadania własnych, różnorodnych słowników gwarowych, historycznych i etymologicznych (w przypadku obydwu ostatnich wymaga się lokalizacji zapisów), atlasów gwarowych, wyborów tekstów gwarowych. Zresztą każdy język, nawet dialekt, wart jest udokumentowania.

Pilnie potrzebne jest dalsze zbieranie słownictwa gwarowego i opracowanie zarówno słowników poszczególnych wsi, jak i zbiorczego słownika gwarowego. Bardzo brakuje tekstów gwarowych z terenów po północnej stronie Karpat, a przecież w różnych archiwach znajduje się sporo nagrań. Wskazana jest też intensyfikacja studiów etymologicznych w zakresie zapożyczeń z języków i gwar sąsiednich.

Wspomniano już wyżej o zainteresowaniach użytkowników mowy pochodzeniem imion, nazwisk, nazw miejscowości, nazw terenowych. Zainteresowania te wiążą się z jednej strony z potrzebami indywidualnymi, z chęcią poznania odpowiedzi na pytania w rodzaju: „Skąd wzięło się moje nazwisko?" czy „Dlaczego moja wieś nazywa się tak, a nie inaczej?". Z drugiej strony pewne nazwy wsi i miasteczek czy nazwy gór, potoków ilustrują historię kraju, np. nazwy wsi *Rychwałd* (dziś: Owczary), *Rymanów* wskazują na obecność jakiejś kolonizacji niemieckiej, nazwa potoku *Lespedar* i nazwa góry *Kornuty* są pochodzenia rumuńskiego i mówią nam o pasterzach „wołoskich" (którzy docierali też dalej na Podhale, Śląsk i Morawy).

Zainteresowanie budzi też mniej znane słownictwo. Kiedyś na Watrze w Żdyni odbywały się konkursy znajomości wyrazów łemkowskich. Zapytałem

prowadzącego konkursy młodego człowieka, skąd brał takie mało znane wyrazy i w odpowiedzi usłyszałem, że z mojego słowniczka gwarowego (zawartego w książce *Słownictwo i nazewnictwo...*). Osoba nagrywająca przesiedleńców z Bartnego pokazała im ten słowniczek i w nagraniu słychać, jak starsza kobieta odczytuje niektóre wyrazy z komentarzem, że to ciekawa książka.

Obecność w słownictwie łemkowskim elementów obcych też mówi nam o dawnych kontaktach z innymi narodami, a więc o wspomnianych wyżej migracjach „wołoskich", o chodzeniu na żniwa „na Węgry" (tzn. na teren państwa węgierskiego: na same Węgry i na Słowację), o wzajemnych kontaktach Łemków po obydwu stronach grzbietu Karpat. Tak np. informatorka z Orabyny (słc. Jarabina) mówiła nam, że miała męża „Polaka", a to był brat naszego informatora Łemka z położonego po polskiej stronie Szczawnika. Dla przykładu podaję po kilka elementów rumuńskich, np. *meryńdzia* 'jedzenie dawane w pole czy na drogę', *klag* 'podpuszczka do zakwaszania mleka', słowackich, np. *tuni* 'tani', *statok* 'bydło' czy węgierskich (te szły często przez pośrednictwo słowackie): *bacza* 'starszy pastuch owiec, znachor', *hacza* 'źrebię'.

Naprzeciw tym zainteresowaniom wychodzą publikacje, o których mowa wyżej. A znajomość historii kraju, ukryta w nazwach własnych oraz w słownictwie, wzmacnia lokalny patriotyzm, skłania do lepszego i głębszego poznania mowy, sprzyja zachowaniu języka[3].

Dokumentacja słownictwa, często wydobywanego z informacji czy nagrań od osób z najstarszego pokolenia, sprzyja wprowadzaniu do szerszego obiegu wyrazów przez młodzież często tylko zasłyszanych („moja babcia tak mówiła"), albo wręcz archaicznych, młodszemu pokoleniu już nieznanych. Upublicznienie słownictwa z różnych stron regionu może sprzyjać rozpowszechnieniu także wyrazów lokalnych. Słownictwo związane ze wsią, z dawną kulturą materialną i duchową, stanowi nie tylko wdzięczne tworzywo do kreacji kolorytu lokalnego w różnych tekstach pisanych czy mówionych, ale stanowi także pomost pomiędzy nowymi i dawnymi czasy.

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[3] Odwołam się tu do przykładu mojego magistranta spod Sokala, który opracował gwarę i słownik swej rodzinnej wsi. Na pytanie przewodniczącego komisji, co dała mu ta praca, odpowiedział, że przestał się wstydzić swej gwary.

Atlasy językowe

Atlasy obejmujące całą Łemkowszczyznę

Zdzisław Stieber, **Atlas językowy dawnej Łemkowszczyzny**. T. I–VIII. Łódź 1956–1964 [dostępny w Internecie w ograniczonym dostępie w Repozytorium Cyfrowym Instytutów Naukowych].

Do *Atlasu* opracowałem indeks wyrazów (J. Rieger, *Indeks wyrazów do „Atlasu językowego dawnej Łemkowszczyzny" Z. Stiebera*. Łódź 1966) oraz na podstawie map i zeszytów z zapiskami zrekonstruowałem kwestionariusz, podając także wyrazy przez Z. Stiebera niemapowane (J. Rieger, *Kwestionariusz „łemkowski" Zdzisława Stiebera* (*rekonstrukcja, zapisy*). [W:] *Paralele w rozwoju słownictwa języków słowiańskich*. Ossolineum, Wrocław 1989, s. 209–233). *Atlas* obejmuje całą Łemkowszczyznę po obydwu stronach Karpat i liczy 80 punktów, przy czym siatka punktów na północy obszaru jest gęstsza niż na południu (tu tylko 8 punktów, ale tak dobranych, że pozwalają się zorientować w problematyce i podziałach terenu); pogranicze łemkowsko--bojkowskie pokazano tylko po północnej stronie Karpat. Kwestionariusz liczył niewiele ponad 400 pytań. *Atlas* przynosi ok. 1250 wyrazów z całej Łemkowszczyzny.

Atlasy gwar łemkowskich na Słowacji

Зузана Ганудель, **Лінгвістичний атлас українських говорів східної Словаччини**. T. I–II. Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo. Bratislava-Prešov 1981–1989. T. III EXCO, Пряшів 2001.

Atlas obejmuje swoim zasięgiem także zachodni skraj gwar bojkowskich i zakarpackich na terenie Słowacji. Zawiera 361 map oraz 35 map zbiorczych. *Atlas* pokazuje (szacunkowo licząc) zapewne 4000 wyrazów (w indeksach podawane są także warianty fonetyczne, co utrudnia obliczenie liczby leksemów). Mapowane są także wyrazy nowsze, np. *eternyt*.

Василь Латта, **Атлас українських говорів східної Словаччини**. Наукове i картографічне допрацювання та упорядкування З. Ганудель, I. Ріпка, М. Сополига. Словацьке педагогічне выдавництво. Братіслава – Пряшів 1991.

Atlas obejmuje swoim zasięgiem także zachodni skraj gwar bojkowskich i zakarpackich na terenie Słowacji. Zawiera 392 mapy: 193 fonetyczne, 122 morfologicznych (nr 194–315), 39 leksykalnych (nr 316–354), 37 zbiorczych

(syntetycznych). Przedstawia 800–1200 wyrazów (indeksy zawierają wiele wariantów fonetycznych i obliczenie na ich podstawie liczby leksemów może być tylko szacunkowe). Do atlasu dodano też materiał niemapowany.

Punkty łemkowskie w innych atlasach

Atlas językowy polskiego Podkarpacia

Mieczysław Małecki i Kazimierz Nitsch, **Atlas językowy polskiego Podkarpacia**. Kraków 1934.

Atlas uwzględnia 2 wsie łemkowskie: Jaworki (zapisy I. Ziłyńskiego) oraz Królik Wołoski, po ok. 500 wyrazów. Materiały te zostały uwzględnione w *Atlasie* Z. Stiebera.

Atlas gwar bojkowskich

Atlas gwar bojkowskich, *opracowany głównie na podstawie zapisów S. Hrabca przez Zespół Instytutu Słowianoznawstwa PAN pod kierunkiem Janusza Riegera*. T. I–VII. Ossolineum. Wrocław 1981–1991 [w Internecie w wolnym dostępie w Repozytorium Cyfrowym Instytutów Naukowych: http://rcin.org.pl/dlibra/publication?id=51764&tab=3, dostęp 16.04.2016].

Atlas obejmuje m.in. wschodni skraj Łemkowszczyzny i pogranicze łemkowsko-bojkowskie po obydwu stronach Karpat, a także łemkowsko--nadsańskie, wykorzystując tu także dane *Atlasu* Z. Stiebera oraz zapisy J. Riegera. Kwestionariusze liczyły 500–600 punktów. *Atlas* liczy 602 mapy, przynosi ok. 2000 wyrazów z pogranicza łemkowsko-bojkowskiego.

Atlas języka ukraińskiego

Атлас укрïнськоï мови. Т. 2: *Волинь, Наддністрянщина, Закарпаття і суміжні землі*. Ред. тому Ярослава В. Закревська. Наукова думка. Киïв 1988.

Atlas ma kilkanaście punktów łemkowskich, przeważnie po południowej stronie Karpat. Zawiera 407 map fonetycznych, morfologicznych i leksykalnych (po ponad 120 w każdym dziale oraz 20 zbiorczych – leksykalnych).

Karpacki atlas dialektologiczny

Общекарпатский диалектологический атлас. Вып. 1–7: Кишинев (1976), Москва (1981), Краков (1991), Львов (1993), Братислава (1997), Будапешт (2001), Белград – Нови Сад (2003).

Materiał zebrano według kwestionariusza liczącego 785 pytań. Atlas uwzględnia 3 punkty łemkowskie (tylko ze wschodniej połowy obszaru) i pogranicza łemkowsko-bojkowskiego (oraz 1 bojkowski) z terenu Słowacji oraz 1 z terenu Polski (Komańcza). Atlas przynosi łącznie 488 map leksykalnych, a także materiały niemapowane. Por. też tom indeksów: *Общекарпатский диалектологический атлас. Указатели*. Ред. Януш А. Ригер. Краков 2012.

Słowniki

Słowniki większych obszarów łemkowskich

Іван Верхратський, *Знадоби для пізнання угорсько-руських говорів*. Ч. II: Говори з наголосом сталим. Львів 1901.

Jest to słownik gwar łemkowskich po południowej stronie Karpat. Słownik przynosi ok. 1650 wyrazów.

Іван Верхратський, *Про говор галицьких лемків*. Львів 1902.

Jest to słownik gwar łemkowskich po północnej stronie Karpat. Słownik (na s. 388–489) przynosi ok. 3000 wyrazów.

Петро Пиртей, *Словник лемківської говірки. Матеріали для словника*. Ивано-Франківськ 1986 (1980–1986). Legnica – Wrocław 2001.

Ивано-Франківськ i daty 1980–1986 oznaczają miejsce i datę powstania rękopisu, wydanego w Legnicy w 2001 r. przez J. Starzyńskiego i P. Korobczaka w 10 numerowanych egzemplarzach; słownik jest dostępny w Internecie.

Jest to słownik opracowany na podstawie zapisów od przesiedleńców z północnej strony Karpat. Słownik przynosi ok. 19000 wyrazów (w tym także nowsze). Przy niektórych hasłach podano skrót jednej z 9 wsi, z których pochodzą informatorzy (czasem wyraz pochodzi ze słownika Werchrackiego, czasem nawet z Zakarpacia, ale skrót „Лз." pozwala nie brać tych ostatnich pod uwagę). Przykłady użycia wyrazów trafiają się rzadko.

Петро Пиртей, *Короткий словник лемківських говірок*. Упорядкувала й підготовила до друку Є. Д. Турчин. Ивано-Франківськ 2004.

Jest to skrót słownika powyżej. Ze wspomnianego wyżej słownika usunięto ok. 9000 „wyrazów notowanych w słownikach ukraińskich jako ogólnoukraińskie", a ponadto „milczkiem" wyrazy zaczerpnięte z atlasu hungaryzmów w ukraińskich gwarach Zakarpacia P. Łyzancia.

Růžena Šišková, *Areálová studie slovní zásoby rusínských nářečí východního Slovenska. Diferenční slovník*. Praha 2009.

Jest to słownik gwar łemkowskich i zachodniobojkowskich po południowej stronie Karpat. Słownik zawiera ponad 3000 wyrazów. Nierzadko podano w nim przykłady użycia. Przy każdym haśle podano skróty nazw wsi, w których zapisano wyraz.

Janusz Rieger, *Słownictwo i nazewnictwo łemkowskie*. Warszawa 1996.

Jest to słownik całego obszaru łemkowskiego (choć większość zapisów pochodzi z Łemkowszczyzny północnej). Słownik zawiera ok. 4500 wyrazów. Dla wyrazów zaczerpniętych z *Atlasu* Z. Stiebera wskazano przybliżony areał ich występowania. Przy każdym haśle zapisów własnych (o ile nie jest to wyraz ogólnie znany, jak np. *korova*) podano miejsca zapisania wyrazu. Przykłady użycia trafiają się stosunkowo rzadko. W przygotowywanym nowym wydaniu słownik wzbogacono do ponad 7000 wyrazów, podano także przykłady ich użycia.

Słowniki i słowniczki jednej lub kilku wsi na północ od Karpat

Євгенія Турчин, *Словник села Тилич на Лемківщині.* Львів 2013 [http://lemko.org/pdf/Tylicz.pdf, dostęp 16.04.2016].

Jest to wyjątkowo obszerny słownik, liczący ponad 6500 wyrazów. Hasła opatrzono przykładami użycia wyrazów.

Панцьо Стефанія, **Матеріали до словника лемківських говірок. Дієслівна лексика.** Тернопіль 1997.

Słownik zawiera ok. 600 haseł. Materiał uzyskano od przesiedleńców z 37 wsi. Hasła opatrzono przykładami użycia wyrazów. Słownik bardzo pożyteczny właśnie ze względu na przedstawienie czasowników łemkowskich.

Андрій В. Бігуняк, Олександр Г. Гойсак, *Лемківський словничок*. Тернопіль 1997.

Słownik jest oparty głównie na rękopiśmiennym słowniczku O. Hojsaka dla gwary Wysowej. Przygotowywana jest edycja, oparta na rękopisie O. Hojsaka, różniącym się od wskazanej wyżej publikacji.

Renata Bronikowska, *Dawne słownictwo zachodniołemkowskiej gwary Szczawnika koło Krynicy*. [W:] *Studia nad słownictwem gwar ukraińskich*

w Polsce. Łemkowszczyzna i gwary nadsańskie. Oprac. pod kier. Janusza Riegera. Warszawa 2002, s. 1–64.

Słowniczek zawarty w artykule liczy ok. 850 wyrazów, hasła zaopatrzono w konteksty użycia wyrazu. W opracowaniu wykorzystano nagrania M. Słoń-Nowaczek.

Katarzyna Domaradz, **Słownictwo wsi Żernica na pograniczu łemkowsko--bojkowskim**. [W:] *Studia nad słownictwem gwar ukraińskich w Polsce*. Warszawa 2002, s. 65–106.

Słowniczek zawiera ok. 650 wyrazów, hasła zaopatrzono w konteksty użycia wyrazu. W Dodatku zamieszczono 67 nowszych zapożyczeń z polskiego.

Urszula Lewicka, **Słownictwo wsi Terka na pograniczu łemkowsko-bojkowskim**. [W:] *Studia nad słownictwem gwar ukraińskich w Polsce*. Warszawa 2002, s. 107–180.

Mirosława Onyszkanycz-Kowalska, **Słowniczek gwary łemkowskiej Jawornika i Rzepedzi**. [W:] *Studia nad słownictwem gwar ukraińskich w Polsce*. Warszawa 2002, s. 181–207.

Janusz Rieger, **Leksyka środkowej Łemkowszczyzny (materiały do słownika łemkowskiego)**. „Acta Universitatis Lodzensis — Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego. Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne". Seria I, z. 51, 1979, s. 97–130.

Słownictwo zostało wykorzystane w tegoż autora *Słownictwie i nazewnictwie łemkowskim*. Słowniczek zawiera ok. 1000 wyrazów.

Janusz Rieger, **Słowniczek gwary łemkowskiej z okolic Grybowa Władysława Mossóczego**. „Slavia Orientalis", t. 37, nr 2 (1988), s. 269–288.

Słownictwo zostało wykorzystane w tegoż autora *Słownictwie i nazewnictwie łemkowskim*.

Elżbieta Rudolf-Ziółkowska, **Dawne słownictwo pogranicza bojkowsko--łemkowskiego** *(na podstawie zapisów S. Hrabca, J. Riegera, Z. Stiebera)*. [W:] *Studia nad słownictwem gwar ukraińskich w Polsce*. Warszawa 2002, s. 209–322.

Słownik, oparty głównie na zapisach S. Hrabca i J. Riegera z obydwu stron Karpat, liczy ok. 3000 wyrazów.

Janusz Rieger, **Mały słownik łemkowskiej wsi Bartne***. Opracowany głównie na podstawie nagrań Małgorzaty Słoń-Nowaczek*. Warszawa 2016.

Słownik liczy ponad 4300 haseł, zaopatrzonych w przykłady użycia; rozbudowane hasła etnograficzne, dotyczące budownictwa wiejskiego, zwyczajów, przesądów i in., pokazują dawne życie Łemków.

Słowniki i słowniczki jednej wsi na południe od Karpat

Olexa Horbatsch, ***Der Wortschatz der ukrainischen Sprachinsel Osturnia in der Zips***. [W:] Serta Slavica in memoriam Aloisii Schmaus. München 1971, s. 277–291 [przedruk w: Олекса Горбач, Зібрані статті. В. *Діялектологія*. Фотопередрук. Мюнхен 1933, s. 28–43].

Słownik przynosi ok. 1500 wyrazów z Osturni na Spiszu.

Олекса Горбач, ***Південнолемківська говірка й діялектний словник села Красний Брід бл. Меджилаборец (Пряшівщина)***. Український Вільний Університет. München 1973. (Матеріали до української діялектології, вип. 2) [przedruk w: Олекса Горбач, Зібрані статті. В. *Діялектологія*. Фотопередрук. Мюнхен 1933, s. 524–659].

Słownik przynosi ok. 3000 wyrazów z Krasnego Brodu koło Medzilaborców.

Studia etymologiczne

Pominięto tu z jednej strony opracowania ważne, ale odnoszące się do większych obszarów (np. Dumitru Crânjală, *Rumunské vlivy v Karpatech se zvlaštním zřetelem k Moravskému Valašsku*. V Praze 1938), a z drugiej – opracowania drobne.

Stanisław Bąk, ***Polonizmy w gwarze Łemków w okolicach Grybowa i Gorlic***. „Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego" z. X (1950), s. 147–149.

Michał Blicharski, ***Zachodniosłowiańskie elementy leksykalno-fonetyczne w języku Łemków***. [W:] *Zagadnienia słowotwórstwa i składni w opisie współczesnych języków słowiańskich*. Red. M. Blicharski, H. Fontański. T. 1. Katowice 1994, s. 67–70.

Зузана Ганудель, ***Польські запозичення в українських говорах східної Словаччини***. [W:] *Badania dialektów i onomastyki na pograniczu polsko-wschodniosłowiańskim*. Red. M. Kondratiuk. Białystok 1995, s. 61–66.

Йосип О. Дзендзелівський, *Українсько-західнослов'янські лексичні паралелі*. Наукова Думка. Київ 1969.

Olexa Horbatsch, ***Zu ukrainisch-slovakischen Beziehungen.*** *Slovakische Lehnwörter in drei südlemkischen Mundarten in der Ostslovakei. Slovakische Lehnwörter in drei südlemkischen Mundarten in der Ostslovakai*. [W:] K. Gutschmidt, H. Keipert, H. Rothe (Herausg.) *Slavische Studien zum XI. internationalen Slavistenkongreß in Preßburg/Bratislava*. Bausteine zur slavischen Philologie und Kulturgeschichte. Reihe A: Slavistische Forschungen. Neue Folge, Band

11: 71. Böhlau Verlag. Köln – Weimar – Wien 1993, s. 197–216 [przedruk w: O. Horbatsch, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*. VI *Lexicographie und Lexikologie* / О. Горбач, Зібрані статті. VI. Лексикографія й лексикологія. München 1993, s. 121–148].

Autor podaje zapożyczenia i paralele słowackie dla ok. 550 wyrazów, zapisanych w 3 wsiach, reprezentatywnych dla części zachodniej, środkowej i wschodniej z południowej Łemkowszczyzny. Wyrazy podano w 20 grupach tematycznych.

Петро М. Лизанець, *До питання про мадяризми в лемківському говорі*. Тези доповідей до ювілейної конференції, присвяченої 20-річчю Ужгородського державного університету. Серія мовознавча. 26–27 жовтня 1965 року. Ужгород 1965.

Janusz Rieger, *Kilka słowackich paraleli do leksyki północnołemkowskiej*. [W:] F. Czyżewski, M. Olejnik, A. Pihan-Kijasowa (red.) *Pogranicza słowiańskie w opisach językoznawczych.* Lublin – Włodawa 2015, s. 107–112.

Janusz Rieger, *Ze słownictwa pogranicza bojkowsko-łemkowskiego (rumunizmy)*. [W:] G. Friedhof, P. Kosta und M. Schütrumpf (Herausg.) *Studia slavica in honorem viri doctissimi Olexa Horbatsch. Festgabe zum 65. Geburstag.* Teil 2. Verlag Otto Sagner: München 1983, s. 131–138.

Janusz Rieger, *Jeszcze o wpływach polskich i słowackich na gwary łemkowskie (z problematyki słownictwa)*. [W:] *Studia linguistica memoriae Zdislai Stieber dedicata*. Ossolineum. Wrocław 1982, s. 151–187.

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Janusz Rieger, *Określenia żon w gwarach łemkowskich i pogranicza łemkowsko-bojkowskiego*. [W:] *Slawistyczne studia językoznawcze*. Ossolineum. Wrocław 1987, s. 299–307.

Janusz Rieger, *Problemy interferencji językowej w ukraińskich gwarach karpackich w zakresie leksyki*. [W:] *Z polskich studiów slawistycznych*. Seria VI. PWN. Warszawa 1983, s. 303–312.

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Zdzisław Stieber, *Wpływ polski i słowacki na gwary Łemków*. „Sprawozdania Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności", t. XLI (1936), s. 45–50 [przedruk w: Z. Stieber, *Świat językowy Słowian*. Warszawa 1974, s. 474–479].

Zdzisław Stieber, Stefan Hrabec, *Przyczynki do słownictwa gwar ukraińskich w Karpatach*. „Rozprawy Komisji Językowej Łódzkiego Towarzystwa Naukowego", t. IV (1956), s. 43–53 [przedruk w: Z. Stieber, *Świat językowy Słowian*. Warszawa 1974, s. 479–488].

Emil Vrabie, *Influenţă limbii române asupra limbii ukrainiene*. „Romanoslavica", t. XIV (1967), s. 109–198.

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Іван Красовський, Прізвища галицьких лемків у XVIII ст. Фундація дослідження Лемківщини (Бібліотека Лемківщини 4). Видавниче предприємство „Край". Львів 1993.

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Janusz Rieger, *Nazwy mieszkańców w gwarach łemkowskich i bojkowskich.* [W:] G. Hentschel, G. Ineichen und A. Pohl (herausg.) *Sprach – und Kulturkontakte im Polnischen*. Gesammelte Ausätze für A. de Vincenz zum 65. Geburstag. Specimina Philologiae Slavicae, Supplementband 23. Verlag Otto Sagner: München 1987, s. 341–348.

Ewa Wolnicz-Pawłowska, *Antroponimia łemkowska na tle polskim i słowackim. XVI–XIX wiek.* Instytut Slawistyki PAN. Slawistyczny Ośrodek Wydawniczy. Warszawa 1993.

Ewa Wolnicz-Pawłowska, *Osiemnastowieczne imiennictwo ukraińskie w dawnym województwie ruskim*. Ossolineum. Wrocław 1978.

Ewa Wolnicz-Pawłowska, *Z dawnej antroponimii łemkowskiej. Nazwy kobiet z sufiksem – 'anka*. [W:] *Nazwy własne a wyrazy pospolite w języku i tekście*. Zeszyty Naukowe WSP w Opolu. Seria „C". Opole 1986, s. 253–258.

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Milan Majtán, *Názvy obcí na Slovensku za ostatných dvesto rokov*. Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej Akadémie Vied. Bratislava 1972.

Władysław Makarski, *Nazwy miejscowości dawnej ziemi sanockiej*. Redakcja Wydawnictw KUL. Lublin 1986.

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Zdzisław Stieber, *Toponomastyka Łemkowszczyzny*. Cz. I *Nazwy miejscowości*. Łódzkie Towarzystwo Naukowe. Łódź 1948.

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Eugeniusz Pawłowski, *Nazwy terenowe ziemi sądeckiej*. Ossolineum. Wrocław 1984.

Janusz Rieger, *Z toponomastyki bojkowskiej i łemkowskiej*. „Slavia Orientalis", t. 15 (1966), s. 95–100, 233–243, 299–305.

Zdzisław Stieber, *Toponomastyka Łemkowszczyzny*. cz. II *Nazwy terenowe*. Łódzkie Towarzystwo Naukowe. Łódź 1949.

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Wojciech Krukar, *Uwagi hstoryczno-geograficzne do hydronimii wschodniej części Karpat polskich*. „Materiały i Sprawozdania Rzeszowskiego Ośrodka Archeologicznego". T. XXXV, Rzeszów 2014, s. 189–216.

Eugeniusz Pawłowski, *Nazwy wodne Sądecczyzny*. Kraków 1996.

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Teksty

Podano tu tylko obszerniejsze wybory tekstów gwarowych; szereg drobniejszych tekstów zamieszczają m.in. autorzy słowniczków.

Leška Oldřich, Šišková Růžena, Mykola Mušinka, *Vyprávění z Podkarpatí. Ukrajinská nářečí východního Slovenska*. Euroslavica. New York – Praha – Kyjev 1998 [tytuł też w jezyku ukraińskim: Розповіді з Підкарпаття. Українські говірки східної Словаччини].

Іван Панькевич, Українські говори Підкарпатської Руси і сумежних областей. Praha 1938 [teksty łemkowskie na s. 516–546].

Oldřich Leška, Růžena Šišková, Mikulaš Mušinka, *Vyprávení z Podkarpatí. Ukrajinská nářečí východniho Slovenska* / Розповіді з Підкарпаття. Українські говірки східної Словаччини. Euroslavica. New York – Praha – Kyjev 1998.

Teksty pochodzą z 2 punktów łemkowskich koło Medzilaborców, z 2 punktów z pogranicza łemkowsko-bojkowskiego oraz z 5 punktów bojkowskich.

Růžena Šišková, Mikulaš Mušinka, Jozef Hrušovský, *Vyprávění a písně Rusínů z východního Slovenska*. *Jihokarpatská ukrajinská nářečí v autentických záznamech.* Euroslavica. Praha 2009.

Do książki dołączono dysk CD z nagraniami tekstów i piosenek.

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Іван Верхратський, Про говор галицьких лемків. Львів 1902. [s. 164–385].

Aneks

Kilka słów o *Małym słowniku łemkowskiej wsi Bartne*

Mały słownik łemkowskiej wsi Bartne został opracowany głównie na podstawie tekstów ciągłych, nagranych przez Małgorzatę Słoń-Nowaczek, a także inne osoby zarówno w samym Bartnem, dokąd powrócili niektórzy wysiedleńcy z Zachodu, jak i w Liścu koło Legnicy, gdzie mieszka wiele rodzin, wygnanych z Bartnego. Nagrania prowadzono według kwestionariusza „łemkowskiego", uwzględniającego słownictwo ujęte w grupy tematyczne: *Wieś. Sąsiedzi. Gospodarstwo, chata. Praca w domu, potrawy* (też *ubranie i pranie*). *Sad i ogród. Zwierzęta domowe. Praca w polu. Człowiek, rodzina. Życie człowieka od kołyski do śmierci. Choroby i medycyna ludowa. Części ciała, fizjologia. Jarmarki i handel* i in. Pierwsze pytania mają mieć charakter kwestionariusza. Pytano o datę i miejsce urodzenia, gdzie urodzili się rodzice, jak wyglądało dzieciństwo, nauka w szkole, pobyty poza wsią. W obrębie poszczególnych grup tematycznych są pytania szczegółowe, np. przy Życiu społecznym jest pytanie o czas wolny i jak go spędzano, o spotkania i rozmowy, o okazje do spotkań, o goszczenie, plotki i plotkarki itd. tematykę ułożono tak, by określona leksyka znalazła się w krzyżowym ogniu pytań, by eksplorator miał swobodę w wyborze tematu w zależności od okoliczności rozmowy. Są w kwestionariuszu także pytania szczegółowe, np. „Bezpłatna pomoc (wspólna praca): *tołoka, tłik*", „Rzucać uroki – odrabiać uroki. *Bosorka (bosorkania), bosor (bosoroż)*".

Nagrania miały posłużyć do zebrania materiału do słownika całej Łemkowszczyzny, toteż w Bartnem nie „odpytano" całego kwestionariusza, ale tylko część. Sposób odpytywania, a więc nakierowywanie rozmowy, pytania szczegółowe, dobór rozmówców mówiących chętnie i ze swadą, wyjaśniających „naiwne" (w rzeczywistości przemyślane) pytania spowodowały, że udało się zebrać materiał pozwalający na opracowanie leksyki wsi w postaci słownika.

Słowniki poszczególnych wsi mają znaczenie właśnie jako słowniki lokalne: stwarzają okazję do przedstawienia większej liczby kontekstów użycia poszczególnych wyrazów, pozwalają też na podawanie obszernych tekstów, opisujących narzędzia, przedmioty, pokazujących życie na wsi, prace w domu i na gospodarce itd.

Słowniki gwarowe są zwykle słownikami dyferencjalnymi, tzn. dają wyrazy i znaczenia charakterystyczne dla danej gwary. W przypadku słownika Bartnego starano się dawać materiał w miarę pełny, tzn. zarówno wyrazy wspólne dla całego obszaru łemkowskiego, bądź jego części, jak też wyrazy

występujące tylko lokalnie. Także wyrazy wspólne i z ukraińskim, i z polskim czy ze słowackim, zapożyczenia rumuńskie, węgierskie, niemieckie. Taki słownik powinien bowiem pokazać bogactwo leksyki łemkowskiej w całej okazałości, z uwzględnieniem nie tylko form podstawowych, ale także derywatów.

Starano się ograniczyć prezentowane słownictwo do warstwy sprzed wysiedlenia w 1947 r., co jest zadaniem niełatwym, bo leksyka Łemków od tego czasu wzbogaciła się m.in. o nowsze zapożyczenia z polskiego, informatorzy wtrącają polskie zdania, wyrazy, zwroty, które są obecne w wypowiedziach ilustrujących użycie wyrazu. Niektóre wyrazy występujące w tekstach zostały z tego powodu pominięte, inne opatrzono kwalifikatorem „nowsze?". W uznaniu wyrazu za „stary" pomagają wymienione wyżej słowniki, zwłaszcza J. Turczyn i P. Pyrteja, korzystano też z konsultacji Łemków.

Ilustracje kontekstowe zdarzają się w wielu słownikach, ale warto pokazać kilka przykładów.

barłih 'brud, nieporządek'. *No barłih, nazywajut ťiż barłih: tak sidyt jak w barłozi, ne popriacze, no i tak ťiż, no* BarJZ22

betiar 'zawadiaka; huncwot, hulaka; łobuz, baciar'. *To chłopczysкiŵ takыch nazыwały, jak taki, jak to hwariat betiar bыł, to piszoł tu, piszoł tam, ne priszoł domiŵ na czas, o, za babamy piszoł, ta i den ho ne bыło, no to betiar* BarJZ22. *Tam (na weczirkы) mołodiż sia schodыła, betiarы, betiarы takы; bыli hrecznы i bыli takы o, jak teper* BarHW25. *Betiar to był taki, szto na złist zrobił daszto dakomu, o, wыbył dakoho dagde, to betiar o, zbuj, betiar, bandyta, to tak zwały* BarK1

bosorka 'czarownica' ◩ *Bosorkы to w Żыwnyj Czetwer bыłы. Lem, ja ne znam wece o bosorkach, ale ta jak jest pered Wełykodniom, Żыwnyj to Czetwer, no to tra ity rano zawczasu korowu dojity, bo jak pryde ona, udojit i jak pidete, to już mołoka ne je. No ji ja kołыsy pojimała tak jednu bosorku w Bortńim. Taka jakysa pryjszła, cy susidka, cy..., pryjszła do stajni zawczasu, wыdojiła korowu i i piszła, bo-ste piszły dojity, mołoka ne je. No ji sia nazыwała bosorka.* [To wyste ne zimały bosorku?] *Zimałam ja, jak iszła od nas. Piszłam dojity, już mołoka ne bыło* BarJZ22

dwiniata, też **dzwiniata** 'dwojaki do noszenia jedzenia (w pole)' ◩ [Nosyły] *w takych dzwiniatoch, takы dzwiniata bыły. Takie było uľanы, wыrychtuwanы specjaľnы, to bylï dwi totы girы, w jednim jedno, w druhim druhi, a tu iszczy było taki prykładok, to jasznycia była* BarJS18. *Dzwiniata sia zwały, dwa takы totы były w kupi hłыnianы, no i zbanoczkы dakы mały takы bilszy, meńszy, i tak nosыły to, szto zhotowыły* BarAK20. *Bыły taky, szto sia zwały dwiniata, szto jeden horneczok i druhyj horneczok tak, i tak sia trymało, a tu takie uszko było, to tak w jedni ruci nius dwoje ideł, idło na pole no* BarMK20

krijda 'zgrabione siano'. *Sino jak już pryjschło, no to zhrabuwaly do takoj krijdы. Krijda taka, no sino tam pozberaly na taku jednu kupu i to sia nazywala krijda, a potim tam stawialy kopu, no h tim miscï* BarPW12. *Jak perewernuł, poťim hrabaly do krijdы takyj, do krijdы. Krijda – kupka sinia taka, pozhrabuwał tak, jak było meńsze, żeby kridu, żeby kipku można było ułożыty jednu, jakbы było szto, a i to nosył daleko tam jedno na druhe, żeby jak nie było szto, ta żebы było szto* BarJS18

oczы 'oczy', lpoj. **oko**. *Persze tu nazywały gamba, oczы, ołosia* BarPW12. *Het tak jak, jak wïdno okom teper siahneme* BarIP13 ◇ **de oczы prowadiat** 'gdzie oczy prowadzą'. *De tia oczы prowadiat, tam sia iszło za hribom, no* BarIP13 ◇ **poza oczы** 'nie wprost'. *Tiż tak radil, że to jest nianio abo mama, a tak „teścio", to on tak już poza oczы jakbы, no* BarPW12 ◇ **do oczыj** 'w oczy'. *Tak do oczy ne można było powisty, bo to ťiż obraza* BarK1 ◇ **z oczы** 'urok', dosłownie 'z oczu'. *Oj jim zachworiła, z oczы-m dostała, wrokы. Ditynu to sia tak chowało, żebы nichto ne wydił, żeby z oczы ne dostało. Tela małe, żeby z oczы ne dostało, że dakomu ne chotiło chowaty, ta zdochło* BarIP13. *To takie z oczy dostane od druhoho człoeka, z oczy dostane i zachworije, ja sam mał takie* BarJS18 → *czarы, wrokы*

wżыcznyk 'półka z dziurkami na łyżki'. *I wżыcznyk był takyj, szto wżyći skladaly, tam dirkы take byly, to specjaľno było zroblene na wżyci. Pomyly, poczystyly i tam skladaly; ŵżyci był, ŵżycznïk* BarJS18. *Na wżyci bыł wżыcznyk takyj* BarAK20

Z **haseł encyklopedyczno-etnograficznych**, pokazujących użycie wyrazu w kontekście zwyczaju, pokażę tu kilka krótszych, a zainteresowanych obszerniejszymi odsyłam do *Słownika*.

bryndza, *bryńdzia* 'bryndza, ser z owczego mleka wysuszony i osolony, często długo przechowywany'. *Robyłï bryndzu, sыr* BarIP13. *Bryńdzia taka była dobra, to mama ciłu taku ďiżku na zymu tej bryńdzi nam składała* BarMK20. *Składałï, to bыł sыr abo bryndza, tak samo bыł sыr, ałe to już bыł owczyj sыr, tak, to z mołoka owczoho ï klagało sia* BarMW23. *Robyły najpersze hrudku taku, a poťim to kыrszыły, dawały soly, i prykładały, zrobyła sia taka bryndza* BarPK23 ◪ *Takie teľatko zarizaly, szto iszczy ne jiło sino, to wypołokały joho żołudok, i ono mało taki syr. I tot żołudoczok on mał tonisi iszczy, bo to było maleńke teľatko, żeby iszczy sino ne ne iło. I toto wypułokaly, wysuszyly, i toto rozmoczyly h horniatku, i pustyly do mołoka tepłoho. I odrazu stiało i robyła sia tota hrudka. Położył na tepło, ta jak h nas na pecu, to od razu sia stiało, i sołodinij syr był, sołodinij, I to sia ne cidyło joho na druszľaku, tylko musiła byty leniana szmata. To już było specjaľne takij miszok zroblenyj był, że tu, o take o, tu był uzkyj a tu szyrszyj, miszok. No ji składały na hornec, na hornec druszľak, i do toho nasypaly toho syra, i ono, ne, ne dusyly ho, lem wiszaly na sztosï, żeby ono samo swojom syłom odťikało. I totu żeńtyciu, tak nazywały żentycia, to pyly stare lude, bo bo to było sołodiné, takie sołodkie. No ji tot syr to taki*

był, że jak ho jił, to skrypiło h ustach, no. I tot, totu hrudku nazywaly i składaly try, sztyry. I poťim było kamianyj hornoczok albo derewiane take – ďiżeczka, i pokyrszyly, posolyly i pryłożyly micno deńkom bukowom, i kamenyk położyły, żeby było micno pry toh`o, i za try, sztyry dny naskładaly tych, narobyly no, i to sia zwala bryńdzia. Ono pobylo od ľita do oseny, i h oseny tota bryńdzia to była do honorowoho jidła, ji do perohiŵ, do bandur dawały. To było barz tuste, uci majut barz tuste mołoko. No i na hostynu tak bryńdzi, o. To już bryńdzia, to było sztosy, żeby bryńdziu. I taki syr od toho mołoko ne zdawaly, lem robyly syr BaK4

korowiarka 'rodzaj zabawy'. *Chodyły na rużnы: bil, na korowiarke* BarIP13 ◨
To było takie korowiarka: piszoł korowы pastí, to wыhnał wszytko z chыżы, ďiŵkы, wszytko wыhnał z chыżы remeniom, musiło wszytko iti po śnizi koło chыżы tam, bo toh`o, bo win korowы pas. Ony korowы sut, no. A poťim jak, ne znam cy tam chtosï był, chto jich prohaniał, mi sia zdaje dalše. To poťim jak pryjszły do chыżы, to wszytko omaczane, ośniżone, bo win pas korowы i hnał od chыżы dalše, a daľsze była zïma, zamitia, no. no ale poťim już piszoł win do chыżы i już totы korowы piszły do chыżы, ałe wыmerzły sia tak że... [Ne było, że dojity korowu nahaniał?] A było, do stajni tak, wydysz, że podojit korowы, do chыżы, bo treba dojity korowы. Ta jak zaczał ťiż dojity korowы, to ji tak tu wыszczypał, wыszczypał. Jak już totu zdojił, aha, druha już toto no, to kotra była taka łahidna, że sia ne swaryła ďiŵka, że toto, to jej mało, a kotra była taka że sia pohniwała abo szto, to jej tak wыszczypaŵ, jak tak jej wydojił tu, za koľina o, i takie było BarK4

kosyty 'kosić'. *Kosamy kosyly* BarJS18. *Gazdynia wыnesła sыr jak kosyły* BarMK20 ◨ *Koły sia kosyt? Początkom, no, na piw czerwcia. Na piw czerwcia sia zaczыnat i sia kosyt tak do piw serpnia nawet. Druhij raz tu sia ne kosyło, w nas pasły. W nas sia druhyj raz kosyło konыcz. Konycz sia rodył tu. Ałe to wszytko kosamí sia kosyło. Gazdynia ma[ł]a totu robotu... a tu rano chłopu jisty nesti, bo kosył kosou. Kosył tam na kopenia, no ałe jisty tam nosyła baba. Jak już pokosyły to perehaniałï, doroha bыła popid samyj ľis, i perehaniały tu* BarIP13. *A to kosyłï sino. Sam kłepał totu kosu, ostrył, no i kosyłi. Chłopы kosíłi, a oni, ta kositi bыło leksze, ale to je, ta jak toh`o, żena pidberała, to ona o dwoje, bo zwożył, jak skosił, to ne kosił ta jak na bik, żebы na wałok letiło, tilko kosił na zerno, na ścius tak. I ona iszła ï pidberała tak, o tu tu jednom rukom pid spodom, a druhom powercha, ï do sebe jak już sia ji mistyło tilko do ruk, no to towdï już bыł snopok. Tiażka praca bыła, ï sia namuczыła, a tot szto kosił, to tomu bыło łeksze, bo win na stojaczы, win sia tam ne zhыnał, jak mał dobru kosu to, to mu iszło, i siłu jak mał, ï zdorowia. Jak powiazały, to kłały w takы desiatkы zerno. Cy to z żыtom tak robyłï, a owes cy jarec to kosíłi już na wałkы tak, to już żinkы ne pidberały, tilko chłopы kosyłi, i na wałkы, ï pobыło tam den, dwa dny na sonci i perewartały na druhu storonu. Iszły tam z hrabeľinkami ï pidsuwałi pid toh`o,*

*pid to toto, wałoczok ï perewernułi na druhu storonu, ono jak wыschło to piźnijsze,
uważałi że już suche, no to iszłi i wiazały, hrabľami toto. To zależało od pohodы bыło,
jak bыła dobra pohoda to try dny, jeden den na jednu storonu, druhyj den na druhyj,
na tretij den wiazały, jak już wyschło to i odrazu toto wozyłi do domu jak suche bыło,
odrazu, zwiazałi, w tot samyj den hwozyłi. A żыto musiło postajati tam paru dny,
tыżden, bo ono sorowe bыło, ne bыło perewernute, tiko bыło sorowe wiazane. Ale
żыto skoro wыsychało* BarOK21. *Tak, kosыły kosami ï na wałkы, snopы* BarMP23
◇ **kosyty za** (**piatыj**, **desiatыj**...) **snip** 'kosić, otrzymując jako wynagrodzenie
określony snopek'. *Tam do pana chodyły za desiatyj snip kosyti* BarIP13. *Takы
ľude, szto mały mało poľa, to chodyły kosyty, to ne znam, cy za treťij cy za pjatyj
snip, ne znam za kotryj snip* BarAK20. *Na desiatyj snip jem kosyła. Desiat: dewiat
panowы a desiatyj sobi* BarMP23 → *kosec, koszыnia, pokosyty*

    olij 'olej'. *Oľij, oľij takyj, szto doma tiż robyłi. Z łenu bыł oľij* BarPW12. *Iszczy
oľij, oľijom sia mastyło, oľijom no* BarMK20. *Ja iszczy daju soły, try łyżky oľiju*
BarMP23 ◨ *Bыła taka oľijarnia i spuszczaly tam, jak prïchodyl już, ta jak teper,
pist, to już iszly. Paru mało stupu, to toẃkły, muka sia robyła z toho. No ji tak sija-
ly, i poťim muku tam totu wezly do oľijarni, nu ji spuszczaly. Z takoho pľacka, jak
obkrowuwała, to bыła ľitra toho oľiju, to sia kapustu mastyło, teper onï robľat pokust
tyj z toho oľiju* BarJS18 ▲ *Oľij, z łenu sia natoẃkło toho, bыłi takы stupы specjalny
do toho. Doma jak prywezłi, perewaryłi, tot makuch, szto został z toho łenu... oľij
wыdusiłï, a makuch został, to towkłi, dawałi dla chudoby do siczkы, nawet smaczne
barz bыło dla chudobы, a oľij bыł barz dobryj, tot łenianyj. To paru ľitor tak, że bez
jake dwa, try misiaci to starczыło dos toho, bo to bыło takie tuste do toh`o, był smacz-
niszyj, ne takyj oľij jak...* BarOK21 ▲ *Oľij z lenu. To suszыły tot len, mołotyt sia
ho ne dało, bo nym sia zaľep´i młynec, lem toẃkły w takыch stupach, toẃkły, sijały
tu muku... Do toho de robľat tot oľij, to win dawał do tyj mukы wodы, i tam treba
misyty ta jak kisto na haluszkы, i dawał na taku blachu tot`o, i tam hrił toto, do jakoj
temperatury to ja już tam ne znam, hrił, miszał toto, i poťim dawał do sukna, i do tyj
oľijarńi, i tam abo na śrubu bыło o to, szto wыtyskało, a jak nie to klynы takы bыły,
i oľij ťiuk* BarPK23 ▲ *Doma, tam w Bortnim, to my sijały łen i tot łen sia zberało,
toẃkło, i sia z tych simenok sia wpuszczało... Bыła taka chata* [!], *szto bыła oľijarnia,
i sia oľij robyło z toho. I tot oľij sia perewaryło doma, i tak my toj oľij wżywały h nas*
BarMK20 → *jidżynia*
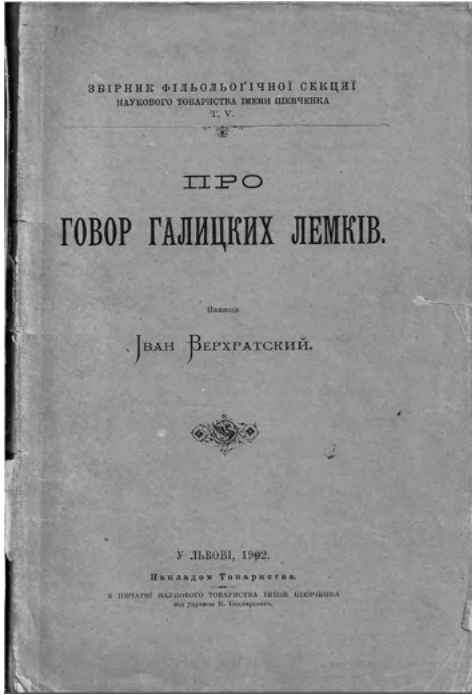
Monografia gwary Łemków
Iwana Werchratskiego
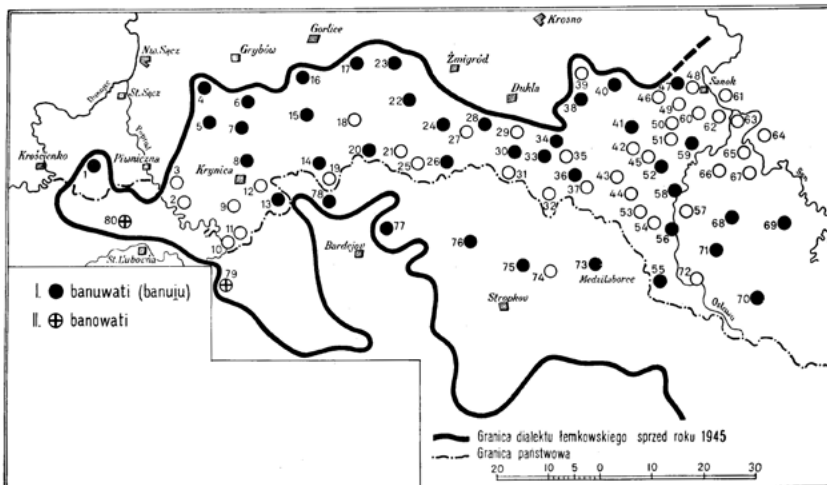
Mapa z *Atlasu językowego dawnej Łemkowszczyzny* Zdzisława Stiebera

Atlas gwar łemkowskich na Słowacji Zuzany Hanudel

Słownictwo i nazewnictwo łemkowskie Janusza Riegera
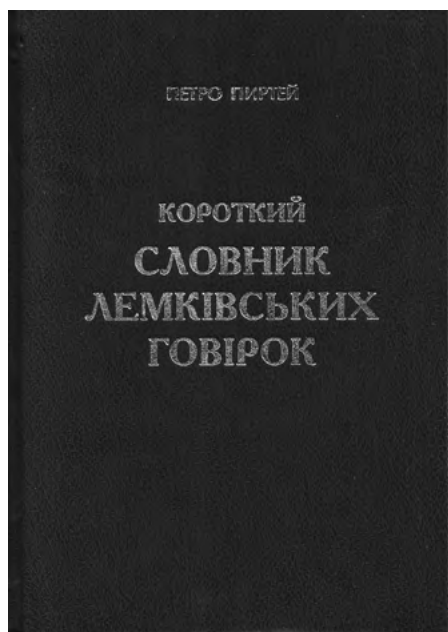
Słownik gwar łemkowskich Petra Pyrteja

Słownik gwar łemkowskich
na Słowacji Růženy Šiškovej
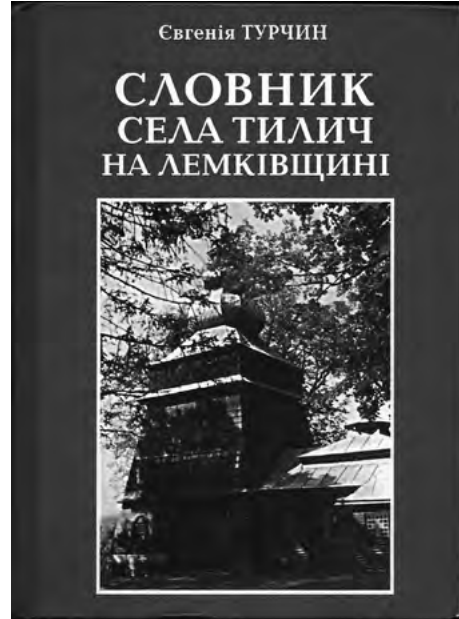
Słownik wsi Tylicz Jewhenii
Turczyn
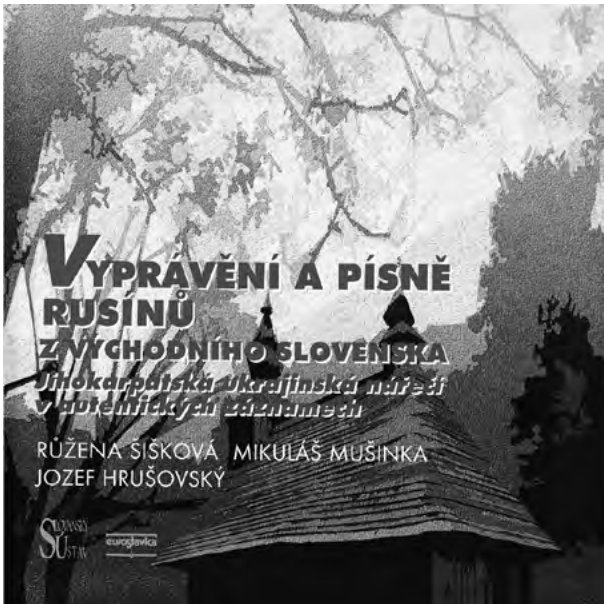
Teksty i piosenki
Łemków na Słowacji

Literatura a proces rozwoju i rewitalizacja tożsamości językowej na przykładzie literatury łemkowskiej[1]

OŁENA DUĆ-FAJFER
Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków

Summary

Literature and the Proces of Development and Revitalization of Language Identity: the Case of Lemko Literature

In this text, I attempt to define the relationship between language and literature in a processual, multi-faceted way. The most important here are references to identity that form a triad: language-text-identity. Viewing these relationships through the texts, which I consider Lemko literature, is useful for revitalization of endangered languages based on or inspired by performative literary activities, for using literature for pedagogical purposes or for creating language corpora and contextual dictionaries.

My reflection focuses on several related areas in which language and literature are most closely linked:

1. Declarative-propagandistic – confirming, on the level of content and rhetoric, the value and quality of the mother tongue. Lemko literature has numerous texts like this, starting from the classical work by Matwij Astriab *Kilka sliv o lemkivskij besidi* through declarations and invocation by Iwan Rusenko: „toż szanujme nasze słowo" ("Let's respect our speech") to

contemporary declarations and appeals by Petro Murianka "I am writing (...) because this is my language, the language of my parents and my children."

2. Creating a literary tradition – giving a tongue the status of a written language with all its consequences. Textual memory versus ritual memory, history writing, narrativizing, changing social hierarchies relationships, creating a literary standard, are such acts of literature, which are the consequences of literacy as such. They are significant both for Lemko history and for modernity.

3. Constructing a symbolic universe, community, nation – my point of departure is a well-known assertion that nations are the creations of the writings of intellectual elites, who coined projects of national homelands from available historical, ethnographic, geographic (often falsified) material, interpreted and recorded. By showing the ways and contents employed for constructing the Lemko symbolic universe, the evolution of certain indicators of separation and unification, depending on historical-political context, I reach the current state of bringing the dispersed community together. The role of the language in these projects constructing and reconstructing the community is of outmost importance.

4. Making possible opposition against dominant discourses of the kind of *appriopriation*, *abrogation*, and *mimicry*. These forms of actions by minority languages against the dominant language, conceptualized in postcolonial discourse, can also be seen in Lemko textuality through a series of rhetorical tropes that construct the distance and awareness of the mechanisms of domination, questioning the exceptional status of the center.

5. Having performative dimension – Lemko literature, similarly to literatures of other societies lacking institutional support for the conservation and development of their cultures and shaping of identity, has strong performative dimension. It often has to be the "army and fleet" that is secured for dominant societies by their statue institutions.

I also describe the current state and shape of Lemko literature, its peculiar hybridity, bilingualism, existing in-between. This is the result of assimilation or a weakening linguistic condition of this literature. However, Lemko literature may also turn out to be an asset possible to employ in revitalization strategies based on a deepened awareness and distance. In the conclusions, I list these areas of the textual world of the Lemkos, which are currently able to animate the Lemko language also in other, extra-literary functional spheres. A huge role is played by modern media, especially Internet, but also oral transmission, present mainly during Lemko festivals.

Wstępne oczywistości

> Gdy jakiś naród ze swej wewnętrznej istoty umożliwia swemu językowi jako narzędziu wszelkiej jego ludzkiej działalności, wolność rozwoju – to zarazem szuka i dosięga samej rzeczy, czyli czegoś innego i wyższego, a dochodząc do tego drogą poetyckiej twórczości i dociekliwych przeczuć, zarazem oddziaływa znów na język, Jeśli nawet pierwsze, choćby nawet surowe i nie ukształtowane jeszcze próby umysłowego wysiłku opatrzymy mianem literatury, to widzimy, że język zawsze towarzyszy jej zgodnym krokiem, a więc, że jedno jest nierozerwalnie z drugim związane (Humboldt 1965: 65).

Powiązanie literatury z językiem, który jest jej tworzywem i bazą środków wyrazu artystycznego, jest na tyle oczywiste, iż zbędne wydają się mi rozważania na ten temat. Mówimy tu jednak o języku zagrożonym, mniejszościowym i wynikającej z tej właśnie jego pozycji i statusu specyfiki literatury w tymże języku tworzonej. Sformułuję zatem bezpośrednio zasadnicze dla tego tekstu pytanie o rolę literatury w kształtowaniu, zachowaniu i rozwoju języka mniejszościowego, a tym samym o możliwości wykorzystania jej w świadomych strategiach rewitalizacyjnych, kiedy zagrożenie zanikiem języka staje się wysokie. Prowadzone wokół tego pytania rozważania, w powołaniu na główny materiał egzemplifikacyjny, jaki stanowi tu literatura łemkowska, zmierzają ku wyodrębnieniu pewnych pól operacyjnych możliwych do wykorzystania w działaniach i programach rewitalizacyjnych o szerszym i głębszym strategicznie zakroju. Mam na myśli takie działania, które wymagają nie tylko wiedzy, znajomości języka, ale przede wszystkim – trudnej zazwyczaj do osiągnięcia – świadomości specyfiki dyskursów mniejszościowych, podporządkowanych; świadomości odmienności mechanizmów i roli społecznej takich dyskursów w stosunku do paradygmatów i kanonów centrowych. Bez niej zazwyczaj nieświadomie powielamy tylko pewne utrwalone schematy działań misyjnych, kolonizujących, uniwersalizujących struktury dominacyjne w jak najlepszej wierze, tylko zwykle z przeciwnym do zamierzonego skutkiem. Literatura, piśmiennictwo danej społeczności – w znacznym stopniu podobnie jak folklor słowny, ale też w znacznym stopniu odmiennie, z wykorzystaniem zasobów strategiczno-ideowych pisma – tworzy najbardziej wewnętrzny dyskurs tej społeczności (Duć-Fajfer 2012: 10), dlatego skuteczność świadomego strategicznego wykorzystania jej w procesie rewitalizacyjnym jest wysoka, co zamierzam zasygnalizować, wybierając tylko pewne obszary wskaźnikowe, jawnie zaznaczające się w wybranej przeze mnie literaturze.

Aktualny status języka łemkowskiego określany jest jako stan pośredni pomiędzy zagrożeniem a poważnym zagrożeniem (Wicherkiewicz 2011), co

oznacza, że w coraz wyższym stopniu zanika naturalny międzypokoleniowy przekaz języka, a najmłodsze pokolenie jego użytkowników kurczy się liczebnie w szybkim tempie, choć spotyka się jeszcze rodziny używające języka łemkowskiego jako wyłącznego w kontaktach rodzinnych także w odniesieniu do najmłodszych członków. W spisie powszechnym z 2001 r. 5605 osób określiło język łemkowski jako swój ojczysty, czyli prawie wszyscy, którzy zadeklarowali narodowość łemkowską (5850). Natomiast podczas spisu w 2011 r. liczby te znacznie się różniły. Narodowość łemkowską zadeklarowało 9640 obywateli polskich, a tylko 6279 podało język łemkowski jako swój ojczysty (Czwarty raport 2013).

Szybko postępująca asymilacja językowa oraz tożsamościowa Łemków związana jest w wysokim stopniu z ich rozproszeniem w wyniku akcji wysiedleńczych przeprowadzonych w latach 1945–47 (Misiło 1996; Misiło 1999; Misiło b.r.w) w ramach rozwijanej przez PRL strategii monoetniczności (Duć-Fajfer 2001a). Z liczącej ok. 120 tys. osób wspólnoty etnicznej, w zwarty sposób zamieszkującej terytorium Beskidu Niskiego i Sądeckiego (Струмінський 1988, I, II), ok. 70% przesiedlono na Ukrainę, pozostałych na ziemie poniemieckie w zachodniej i północnej Polsce.

Jednym z najistotniejszych podejmowanych po 1989 r. działań mających na celu zachowanie i rozwój języka łemkowskiego było przede wszystkim uznanie jego statusu jako samodzielnego języka mniejszościowego, a nie gwary czy dialektu ukraińskiego, a w związku z tym postawienie go w szeregu innych języków mniejszościowych w Polsce, korzystających z praw określonych w *Ustawie z dnia 6 stycznia 2005 r. o mniejszościach narodowych i etnicznych oraz o języku regionalnym* (Ustawa 2005) oraz w *Europejskiej karcie języków regionalnych lub mniejszościowych* (Europejska Karta 1992). Od 1991 r. język łemkowski nauczany jest w systemie szkolnym (Duć-Fajfer 2006), a od 2001 r. funkcjonuje specjalność filologiczna kształcąca w zakresie języka rusińsko-łemkowskiego na poziomie uniwersyteckim (Ватраль 2011). Od 1989 r. wydawany jest regularnie dwumiesięcznik w języku łemkowskim, od 2005 r. łemkoznawczy rocznik naukowy, w którym udział języka łemkowskiego wynosi ponad 50% (Duć-Fajfer 2014). Od roku 2011 funkcjonuje radio internetowe transmitujące 24 godziny na dobę program w języku łemkowskim (Медвідь 2014). Dziewięć miejscowości na Łemkowynie oznakowanych jest paralelnie z polskimi także łemkowskimi nazwami[2]. Corocznie wydawanych

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[2] Jest to miejscowość Bielanka/ Білянка w gminie Gorlice oraz 8 miejscwości: Blecharka/ Бліхнарка, Gładyszów/ Гладышів, Konieczna/ Конечна, Kunkowa/ Кункова, Nowica/ Новиця, Regietów/ Реґєтів, Ropki/ Ріпкы i Zdynia/ Ждыня w gminie Uście Gorlickie.

jest kilka książek w języku łemkowskim. Nie jest to pełna lista i daleko jej do tego, jednak w tym miejscu zakończę wyliczankę efektów korzystania z praw językowych przez Łemków, zaznaczając, iż w Polsce korzystanie z takich praw jest prawie wyłącznie zależne od aktywności i inicjatyw wspólnoty mniejszościowej. Syndrom, który został określony mianem „skolonizowanego kolonizatora" (Gosk 2010) decyduje, iż podejmowane w Polsce wsparcie dla języków mniejszościowych jest obciążone wielu ambiwalencjami i w sporym zakresie opiera się na działaniach pozorowanych i mało skutecznych (Duć-Fajfer 2015a; Wicherkiewicz 2011a). Znalezienie się Łemków wśród siedmiu wspólnot korzystających z największej liczby praw językowych w Polsce jest zasługą aktywnych elit tej społeczności, w tym w największej mierze ludzi pióra, którzy właśnie przy pomocy tego środka/narzędzia/ instytucji, jakim jest literatura/piśmienność, pielęgnują i dbają o rozwój języka ojczystego swej wspólnoty, podnosząc jego status, chroniąc przed asymilacją, kształtując i chroniąc rodzimy językowy obraz świata, system wartości, uniwersum symboliczne, pamięć wspólnotową, a także rozwijając szereg innych aspektów, które budują triadę język-tekst-tożsamość.

Świadomość wpływu literatury na tożsamość etniczną, w tym językową, jej roli konstrukcyjnej, magazynującej, reprezentacyjnej, ideowej, etycznej, mobilizującej w zachowaniu i rozwoju języka ojczystego wspólnoty, pozwala wyprecyzować te aspekty tekstualnego świata, które są możliwe do wykorzystania w strategiach rewitalizacyjnych i rozwojowych języka. W wypadku języka i literatury łemkowskiej szczególnie nośne strategicznie w tym zakresie są następujące aspekty:

Aspekt deklaracyjno-propagandowy

Tak skrótowo określam jeden z najbardziej jawnych i bezpośrednich sposobów wpływania przez teksty literackie na zachowania językowe, kształtowanie statusu języka ojczystego, świadomość jego jakości i wartości, odrębności i wyłączności. Najstarsze teksty zapisane w języku ruskim o cechach łemkowskich pochodzą z XVI w. (Дзвінка 1988) i potrzeba czy przyczyna takiego zapisu jest godna refleksji, która zasługuje na odrębny tekst. Natomiast stadium rozwoju piśmiennictwa, które można już w pełni określić jako literaturę łemkowską, przypada na II połowę XIX w. Wtedy właśnie powstały pierwsze stereotypy i manifesty dotyczące języka łemkowskiego. Jednym z najbardziej znaczących i trwałych stereotypów, wykorzystywanych przez

przeciwników emancypacji etnicznej i językowej Łemków, była opublikowana w 1860 r. w tekście *Русины-Лемки* (Rusini-Łemkowie) teza Aleksija Torońskiego (Тороньскій 1860), głosząca, iż język łemkowski jest „zepsutym" (przez obce wpływy) językiem ruskim. Bardzo ostro zaprotestował przeciw tej tezie w polemicznym tekście *Кôлька слôвъ о лемковскôй бесѣдѣ* („Kilka słów o łemkowskim języku") opublikowanym w 1871 r. Matwij Astriab (Астрябъ 1871), który swym tekstem i poglądami ukształtował równie trwałe, a przede wszystkim mocno i „płomiennie" uargumentowane stanowisko o samodzielności i archaiczności języka łemkowskiego w stosunku do otaczających go innych języków – w tym głównie wielko – i małoruskiego. Tekst napisany w żywym, ludowym języku łemkowskim (co było dosyć wyjątkowe na tle powszechnie używanego wówczas przez twórców łemkowskich „jazyczija"), po ponad stu latach od swego powstania został odkryty i użyty na nowo do ciągle podejmowanej tekstualnie nobilitacji języka łemkowskiego przez znanego współczesnego twórcę Petra Muriankę, a za nim również przez innych autorów łemkowskich.

W okresie międzywojennym, czasie daleko zaawansowanych działań emancypacyjnych, poeci, zwłaszcza czołowy „budziciel" tego okresu, Iwan Rusenko, liryczną retoryką agitacyjno-patriotyczną, podnosili wartość i rangę języka łemkowskiego jako ojczystego. W wierszach-odezwach język wskazywany jest jako jeden z najważniejszych wyznaczników „swojego", czyli tożsamości:

Лем шануйме вшытко своє	To-ż szanujmy wszystko swoje
Бо своє то – святе,	Bo swoje to – święte
Свою віру і бесіду	Swoją wiarę i swój język
Хоц і не богату. (Rusenko 2010: 45)	Choć biedą przygięte (przeł. H. D.-F.)

Po tragedii wysiedleńczej, w konfrontacji z narzucanym językiem wyższym, literackim, czyli ukraińskim, nadal przekonuje Rusenko rodaków do niezastąpionej wartości rodzimej „besidy":

Нам бесіда наша мила,	Dla nas język nasz – najmilszy,
Хоц і кус неграматычна,	Choć ubogi z wielu przyczyn,
Рідна мама нас навчыла –	Matka nas go nauczyła –
Аджеж своя, не пожычна.	Swój więc, nikt go nie pożyczył
(Rusenko 2010: 117),	(przeł. Petro Trochanowski)

gorzko konstatując w tym kontekście aktualny stan swej wspólnoty:

Тож шануйме рідне слово	Więc szanujmy nasze słowo
Од велика аж до мала,	Zachowajmy jego postać
Вшытко інче мы втратили,	Wszystko inne straciliśmy
Лем бесіда нам остала.	Tylko język nam pozostał
(Rusenko 2010: 118)	(przeł. Petro Trochanowski)

Nie spotkały się te odezwy z obojętnością, ani w Rusenkowym pokoleniu, ani w pokoleniach następnych. Współczesny redaktor zbiorowego wydania utworów Rusenki, jego wierny uczeń, Petro Murianka, nie mniej gorliwie niż Mistrz przekonuje w swej lirycznej, wspomnieniowej, eseistycznej i innej twórczości o niezastąpionej pozycji języka ojczystego:

> Piszę po łemkowsku. Wprawdzie pierwszą swą rymowankę napisałem po polsku, wprawdzie los (...) tak zrządził, że nauczyłem się rosyjskiego i ukraińskiego i w tych właśnie językach stworzyłem pierwsze rzeczy, które umownie można nazwać wierszami. Wcześnie jednak zrozumiałem, że wszystkie te uczone i wielkie języki za małe są, by poprzez nie oddać, wypowiedzieć łemkowski ból, tęsknotę i wszystko inne... Piszę po łemkowsku, bo w każdym innym języku łemkowskie symbole, synonimy i cała obrazowość stają się drewniane. Piszę po łemkowsku, bo w moim odczuciu tylko po łemkowsku sokół naprawdę cierpi z godnością, jodła szumi tęsknotą, a pieśń szuhaja jest niepowtarzalna. Piszę po łemkowsku, bo brzmi on dla mnie najpiękniej.
>
> I dlatego jeszcze pisze po łemkowsku, że jest to język mojej matki i mojego ojca. Bo jest to język mój i m o i c h d z i e c i (Trochanowski 1987: 13).

Przy braku instytucjonalnego przymusu szkolnego wobec języka ojczystego, przy braku możliwości awansu społecznego dzięki znajomości tego języka, takie teksty, odwołujące się do wartości pierwszych i niezbywalnych, powiązanych z ojcem i matką, i całym wymiarem emocjonalnym ojczystości, muszą zastąpić czynnik nakazu czy ekonomii czynnikiem emocjonalno-etosowym.

Aspekt upiśmiennienia – dający językowi atuty pisma z wszystkimi konsekwencjami jego działania

W naszych obszarach cywilizacyjnych społeczności bezpiśmienne wydają się całkiem pozbawione możliwości rozwojowych. Jest to klasyczne myślenie człowieka piśmiennego, który do tego stopnia jest zdeterminowany kulturowym i świadomościowym wymiarem piśmienności, iż, jak twierdzi Walter Ong, ma nawet „skłonność, by uniwersum komunikacji i myśli oralnej pojmować nie inaczej niż jako wariant uniwersum piśmienności" (Ong 1992: 22).

A cóż bardziej odnosi się do pisma/piśmiennictwa niż literatura.

> Podstawową konsekwencją nazwy „literatura" jest to, że „litera", którą w sobie mieści, nieuchronnie wiąże się z pismem, a ściślej – z pismem alfabetycznym (Godlewski 2008: 323).

Obszar Łemkowyny stosunkowo wcześnie wygenerował grono osób piśmiennych, którzy wykształceni byli także, a czasem przede wszystkim, w języku ruskim. Pisania i czytania bowiem w tym języku uczono już co najmniej od XVI w. w dosyć licznych szkołach przyparafialnych (Adamczyk 1988; Duć-Fajer 2006). Łemkowskie cechy językowe spotykane są w wielu księgach cerkiewnych, przepisywanych zapewne przez „piśców" wywodzących się z obszaru nazwanego później Łemkowyną. W tych gatunkach literatury cerkiewnej, które ukierunkowane były na wyjaśnianie ludowi prawd wiary, np. w ewangeliach czy psałterzach pouczających, w zbiorach pieśni religijnych (Гнатюк 2000), w zapisywanych na marginesach ksiąg cerkiewnych krótkich tekstach o charakterze świeckim, już w XVI czy XVII w. występuje zapisana wersja żywej mowy ludowej określonej później jako łemkowska. Język ten spotykany jest też w dokumentach świeckich, np. w znanych *Aktach seła Odrechowa* (Керницкий, Купчинский 1970). Dosyć wcześnie doczekał się też literatury przekładowej. Najbardziej znanym autorem przekładów był żyjący w XVIII w. Ioann Prysłopskij z Kamiannej, który przełożył na łemkowską wersję języka ruskiego *Pszłterz Dawidów* (Огієнко 1930), obszerne fragmenty *Magnum Speculum Exemplorum*, ponoć też wszystkie Ewangelie, żywoty świętych i inne teksty (Дзвінка 1988, 383–385). Z tego samego czasu pochodzi anonimowy przekład *Gestae Romanorum* i sporo innych tekstów tłumaczonych bezpośrednio z łaciny lub za pośrednictwem języka polskiego (Дзвінка 1988: 385–387).

Paradoksalnie, kiedy rozpoczęło się kształtowanie początków ideowych etnosu/narodu łemkowskiego (II poł. XIX w.), co uważane jest za bezpośredni efekt piśmienności (Duć-Fajfer 2012), łemkowska inteligencja w większości wypadków nie wyraziła tych idei przy pomocy języka ludu, tylko przy pomocy języka „knyżnoho" – języka ksiąg, zwanego jazyczijem. Zatem na efekty etniczne, które zwykle uzyskuje naród na bazie języka literatury, trzeba było czekać do 1911 r. Wtedy to zaczyna wychodzić pierwsze w całości łemkowskojęzyczne czasopismo „Лемко" (1911–1914) z odpowiednio i świadomie już kształtowanym rozumieniem znaczenia piśmienności w języ-ku ojczystym (Duć-Fajfer 2001: 285–294). To będzie właśnie to narzędzie, które zapoczątkuje trwający po dzień dzisiejszy proces „uliterackowiania" języka łemkowskiego.

Znawcy relacji język-pismo-literatura zwracają uwagę na kilka istotnych dla nas aspektów:
1. Pismo stało się jednym z najważniejszych narzędzi sprawowania władzy i ustalania dominacji (Levi-Strauss 2003).
2. Stwarzając cichego czytelnika, alienowało go z wspólnoty rodzinnej, a rów-nocześnie wpisywało w szerszy krąg wyznawców wspólnej idei (Riesman 2003: 398, 399). Pismo zmieniło rodzaj pamięci wspólnotowej z rytualnej (charakterystycznej dla wspólnot oralnych) w tekstualną, tym samym budując myślenie historyczne. Teksty wymagały interpretacji, co zmieniło hierarchię społeczną, ustaloną w społecznościach oralnych przez kategorię wieku, na hierarchię związaną z wykształceniem (Assmann 2008: 108–109).
3. Pismo spowodowało uznanie określonych form językowych za poprawne, obowiązujące i emblematyczne dla narodu. Język standardowy, określany też jako literacki, powstawał, jak to podkreśla Einar Haugen, w ścisłym związku z rozwojem piśmiennictwa i narastaniem poczucia wspólnoty narodowej (Haugen 1980).

Język standardowy – powtórzmy za Miłowitem Kunińskim – spełnia co najmniej 4 istotne funkcje wspólnotowe:
1. jednoczącą – w wymiarze łączenia różnych dialektów, co umożliwia integrację szerszej zbiorowości jako wspólnoty narodowej
2. separującą – wytwarzającą granice wobec innych języków, co jest pod-stawą konstytuowania siebie i budowania więzi emocjonalnych
3. prestiżową – opartą o przeświadczenie, że język standardowy to dowód wyższej organizacji społecznej, dający prawo do państwa narodowego i równy statut wśród innych języków

4.   ramy odniesienia – stworzenie normy, która posłuży ocenie poprawności stosowanych form zarówno własnej odmiany języka, jak i innych języków (Kuniński 2000: 13).

Zatem użycie języka standardowego indeksuje tożsamość, przywiązanie, lojalność, odpowiedniość, status.

Tautologicznie wręcz brzmi stwierdzenie, iż język literacki kształtowany jest przez literaturę. Podkreśla to chociażby Maria Bobrownicka w odniesieniu do polszczyzny.

> polszczyzna [...] szlifowała i doskonaliła swój styl poprzez praktykę literacką, nie zaś przez sztywne kodyfikatory, towarzyszyła ewolucji kultury politycznej, a tym samym wzmacnianiu i utrwalaniu narodowej samowiedzy (Bobrownicka 2000: 22).

W wypadku języka łemkowskiego trwająca ponad sto lat nieprzerwana praktyka literacka doprowadziła do systemowych działań kodyfikacyjnych, prowadzonych po roku 1989 (choć za takie można pewnie uznać już pierwsze podręczniki do języka łemkowskiego, wydane w 1934 r. i cały proces edukacyjny w tym języku w latach 1934–1938). Język łemkowski stał się literackim dzięki literaturze tworzonej w tym języku.

Aktualnie trwają zaawansowane działania standaryzacyjne, weryfikowane i potwierdzane przez uzus piśmienniczy. Zarówno *Gramatyka języka łemkowskiego* (Fontański, Chomiak 2000), podręczniki do nauczania tego języka, jak i przygotowywany *Słownik kontekstualny języka łemkowskiego* (Масляна 2014) bazują przede wszystkim na przykładach i formach czerpanych z literatury, z tekstów pisanych.

Umiejętność pisania w skodyfikowanym języku łemkowskim, możliwa obecnie do przyswojenia w szkole (choć nie wszystkie dzieci mają dostęp do takiej możliwości), traktowana jest jako wyznacznik świadomego zaangażowania w łemkowskość i na pewnych internetowych forach dyskusyjnych czy w młodzieżowych grupach towarzyskich jest cechą elitarną. Przykładem działań mobilizujących do znajomości pisanego języka łemkowskiego jest chociażby ogłoszony latem 2014 r. w radiu internetowym lem.fm. nabór na bezpłatny tygodniowy obóz w „Łemkowskiej Zagrodzie Edukacyjnej". Warunkiem uczestnictwa młodzieży w wieku 12–17 lat miała być znajomość „cyrylicy". Na pytanie, co robić w sytuacji, gdy ktoś nie zna cyrylicy, redaktorka radia lem.fm odpowiedziała – do sierpnia pozostało jeszcze dwa miesiące; Łemkowie są zdolni – można się nauczyć. Choć organizatorzy wierzyli, że wyznaczony warunek stanie się czynnikiem mobilizującym do nauki pisania

i czytania w języku łemkowskim, musieli na pewnym etapie wycofać się z niego, gdyż ograniczał on znacznie liczbę kandydatów do uczestnictwa w obozie edukacyjnym.

Znamienne, że w toczących się na forach internetowych dyskusjach i sporach tożsamościowo-dominacyjnych, częstym argumentem w ocenie wartości rozmówcy jest znajomość (używanie) bądź nieużywanie w wypowiedziach języka łemkowskiego (pisanego cyrylicą).

Najbardziej płomienna mowa w obronie cyrylicy – wobec postawionej propozycji zapisu języka rusińskiego „łacinką" – wybrzmiała na II Kongresie Języka Rusińskiego (1992) słowami łemkowskiego poety.

Kiedy w 2014 r. powołano nowego reprezentanta mniejszości łemkowskiej w Komisji Wspólnej Rządu i Mniejszości Narodowych i Etnicznych, jeden z najbardziej zasłużoych działaczy i twórców kultury łemkowskiej zapytał mnie, czy umie on pisać po łemkowsku. Było to w zasadzie jedyne pytanie, które wg pytającego pozwala określić kompetencje reprezentanta.

Redaktor naczelny Radia lem.fm. informował oficjalnie, przewodniczący jakich organizacji łemkowskich odpowiadają na jego pisma, ankiety, pytania w języku łemkowskim. Wśród tych łemkopiśmiennych wymienił Stowarzyszenie Młodzieży Łemkowskiej „Czuha". Symptomatyczne, że reprezentanci młodzieży okazują się bardziej świadomymi i konsekwentnymi użytkownikami języka, niż działacze o dłuższym stażu organizacyjnym i życiowym. Nie bez znaczenia jest tu zapewne fakt, iż mamy do czynienia z pokoleniem, które miało możliwość uczenia się języka w szkole czy nawet na uczelni. To młodzieżowe stowarzyszenie ma na swym koncie m.in. konsekwentne i skuteczne przeprowadzenie procedury konsultacyjnej w kilkunastu miejscowościach na Łemkowynie, efektem czego są wspomniane nazwy łemkowskojęzyczne na tablicach informacyjnych w dziewięciu miejscowościach w powiecie gorlickim.

Podkreślić trzeba, że bardzo wielu Łemków, znających jeszcze w wystarczającym stopniu i posługujących się w konwersacji łemkowskim językiem mówionym, nie umie pisać czy czytać po łemkowsku. Rodzi się zatem pytanie o sens wydawania łemkowskojęzycznych periodyków i książek. Konsekwentnie realizującym te zadania autorom, redaktorom, wydawcom, przyświeca idea rewitalizacyjna. Pismo łemkowskie będzie potrzebne, jeśli będzie co w nim czytać. Zaprzestanie wydawania pozycji łemkowskojęzycznych to z całą pewnością śmierć języka pisanego, a stopniowo (jak można przypuszczać) też języka mówionego.

Aspekt budowania uniwersum symbolicznego, wspólnoty, narodu

> Zdecydowana większość współczesnych teoretyków i historyków ruchów narodowych zgodna jest w tym, że nowoczesne narody europejskie są wytworami literatury i ideologii. Budziciele, wieszcze, prorocy, filologowie, historycy, tworzyli piórem projekty narodowych ojczyzn z takiego materiału, jaki był im dostępny: językowego, etnograficznego, historycznego i który skwapliwie wzbogacali wyobraźnią mityczną, a jeśli było potrzeba, to i literackimi falsyfikatami (Jedlicki 1987: 52).

Przytoczone słowa Jerzego Jedlickiego, skrótowo ujmują to, co określiłam tu jako aspekt realacji etniczność-literatura, który najogólniej można by nazwać aspektem konstrukcyjnym. Tworzenie piórem projektu narodowej ojczyzny w przypadku elit łemkowskich zapoczątkowane zostało szeregiem szkiców etnograficzno-historycznych i językoznawczych, które ukazywały specyfikę kultury, w tym mowy ludowej Łemków, wyznaczając jednocześnie granice Łemkowskiej Rusi (Duć-Fajfer 2001: 75–97). Ich celem było podkreślanie osobliwości tego regionu i wypełnianie przestrzeni uznanej za swoją łemkowskim materiałem folklorystycznym, co na dalszym etapie tekstualnych doprecyzowań tożsamościowych wykorzystane zostało jako baza ojczystości, w której już nie ma podziału: lud i my – inteligenci. Pojawia się kategoria etniczna Łemkowie i ich kraj Łemkowyna. Jej wyodrębnienie dokonuje się w znacznym stopniu na bazie zaznaczanej odrębności językowej. Widzimy to we wspomnianych szkicach (chociażby Astriab, Toronskij, Chylak). Wyraźna manifestacja świadomości etnicznej zawarta została w odredakcyjnym artykule, motywującym wydawanie w 1911 r. dwutygodnika „Łemko". Powołano się w nim na liczne głosy domagające się takiego czasopisma, a to z przyczyny właśnie odrębności Łemkowyny od innych części Rusi. Odrębność językowa została podkreślona jako szczególnie ważna

> Уже долгое время раздавались на Лемковщинѣ голоса, требующіе изданія для этой страны Руси, хотя бы маленькой газеты. Требовали этого многіе лемки, такъ какъ Лемковщина находится въ нѣсколько другихъ условіяхъ, нежели остальные уголки нашей Галицкой Руси. Поэтому многое, что для остальной Галицкой Руси важно – для Лемковщины – безпредметно. **Мало того! Русскій лемковскій говоръ значительно различается отъ говоровъ, употребляемыхъ въ другихъ частяхъ Руси** (...) Этими – именно – обстоятельствами объясняется, что принимаемся за изданіе

предлежащей газетки „Лемко", на страницахъ которой будемъ обсуждать вопросы, относящіеся преимущественно къ Лемковщинѣ, и издавать её будемъ на языкѣ, приближенномъ къ лемковскому говору (…) („Отъ Редакціи" 1911: 1).

Od dłuższego już czasu na Łemkowynie odzywały się głosy domagające się wydawania dla tej krainy Rusi małej chociażby gazety. Domagało się tego wielu Łemków, ponieważ Łemkowyna znajduje się w nieco odmiennych okolicznościach niż pozostałe zakątki naszej Rusi galicyjskiej. Dlatego też wiele z tego, co dla pozostałej Rusi galicyjskiej jest ważne, dla Łemkowyny jest bezprzedmiotowe. Mało tego! Ruska gwara łemkowska znacznie się różni od gwar używanych w innych częściach Rusi […] Te właśnie okoliczności zdecydowały o tym, że przystępujemy do wydawania gazety „Łemko", na stronicach której będziemy rozważać problemy dotyczące głównie Łemkowyny i wydawać ją będziemy w języku zbliżonym do gwary łemkowskiej (przeł. H. D.-F.).

Tak też pozostanie i w kolejnych tekstach konstruujących ojczyznę Łemków. Cytowany już międzywojenny budziciel – Nauczyciel Łemków – Rusenko, pisząc np, iż Łemkowie, jak i inne narody, mają wszystko swoje, potrzebne do poczucia podmiotowości etnicznej, język stawia na pierwszym miejscu.

Мы своє маме, як і другы	Jak inni, wszystko swoje mamy
Свої звычаі і бесіду,	Swój własny język i zwyczaje,
І свої гунькы, свої чугы	Swoje piosenki, swe czuhanie,
Свої співанкы, свою біду	Własnej nam biedy też dostaje
(Русенко 2010: 43)	(przeł. H. D.-F.)

Kiedy po mroźnym okresie PRL-owskim i ukrainizacyjnym jednocześnie Łemkom udało się rozpalić pierwsze Watry (1983), ich społeczny rezonans odczuwany był w dużym stopniu przez język ojczysty. W wydawanej pierwszej powojennej łemkowskojęzycznej, niezależnej od cenzury UTSK jednodniówce „Голос Ватры" zamieszczono list od matki młodego „watrowicza", który z ziem zachodnich przyjechał w góry, by wziąć udział w tym możliwym po wielu latach niemożliwości symbolicznym spotkaniu Łemków. Matka pisze, że wyjechał na Watrę polskojęzyczny, wrócił łemkowskojęzyczny.

Teksty powysiedleńcze nie konstruują narodu, jak XIX-wieczne i między-wojenne. W świadomości społecznej naród istnieje, tylko „rozrzucony" po całym świecie", zatem trzeba go scalić, a tym samym ocalić. Aktywność kon-struktorska ludzi pióra w tym czasie jest nie mniejsza niż przy XIX-wiecznych początkach działań narodotwórczych. Ich zadaniem jest stworzenie mitu

reinwencyjnego, pozwalającego odczytać się wspólnotowo w nowej sytuacji, po diametralnej zmianie, po wielkim kataklizmie czy *exodusie* (jak to formułują teksty literackie). Język znów znajduje się w czołówce narracyjnych przywołań i odwołań spajających, utożsamiających, wyrażajacych wspólnotę. Słynna broszura Jarosława Huńki *Łemkowie – dzisiaj* (Huńka [1985]) jest manifestacyjnym oświadczeniem w imieniu wspólnoty: jesteśmy, choć miało nas nie być. Jesteśmy dzięki uporczywości rodziców, którzy uczyli swe dzieci języka łemkowskiego.

> (...) coś jest w tym cichym, spokojnym, wesołym narodzie, który gnie się w dziejowych wichurach, ale ciągle nie daje się złamać. Po każdej burzy to tu, to tam ktoś wstaje i zaczyna się rozglądać. Gdzież to są nasi? Czy jeszcze ktoś został?
>
> Z o s t a ł!!!
>
> Oto wstają „młode, granitowe szeregi".
>
> Pamiętam, jak płakali moi rodzice, gdy ujrzeli w telewizji zespół „Łemkowynę". „Boże drogi, myśleliśmy wówczas po wojnie, ze to już koniec, że **nigdy nie usłyszymy łemkowskiej mowy**. Że nas szlag trafi w ciągu pięciu-dziesięciu lat".
>
> Z przedziwnym jednak uporem, wbrew wszelkiej logice i rozpaczliwej beznadziei ludzie ci **uczyli swoje dzieci łemkowskiego języka.**
>
> Przekazali nam tyle, ile wiedzieli sami i ile mogli... (Huńka [1985])

Jest to swoisty paradygmat tekstu powysiedleńczego. Jego różnorakie odmiany – liryczne, dokumentalne, dramatyczne, autoprezentacyjne, itp. do chwili obecnej konstruują tekstualny opór przeciw zanikaniu. Tak bowiem jak tworzenie piórem narodowych ojczyzn, również przeciwstawienie się ich uśmierceniu, dokonuje się nie inaczej jak piórem.

Aspekt umożliwienia działań opozycyjnych wobec dominujących dyskursów

Język jako tworzywo literackie i literatura jako utwór językowy, mając szczególną moc dyskursywną, używane są też w świadomych strategiach opozycyjnych wobec dyskursów dominujących. Dotychczas przywoływałam raczej działania wprost, dokonywane przez teksty literackie. Tutaj wskażę działania nicujące, parodiujące, podważające pozycję centrów, wskazywane w studiach postkolonialnych jako bardziej skuteczny sposób na wyzwolenie się spod dominacji i uzyskanie własnego głosu, który, pomimo że kwestionowany,

ciągle możliwy jest do usłyszenia. *Abrogation* (czyli uchylenie, anulowanie dominującej, obowiązującej normy), *appriopriation* (zawłaszczenie w celu nadania nowych, własnych cech i funkcji), *mimicra* (naśladowanie centrum, mające na celu podważenie wyjątkowości jego pozycji) to najważniejsze strategie postkolonialne, które można wskazać w przypadku współczesnych (i jak się okazuje, nie tylko współczesnych) tekstów łemkowskich.

Negacja norm, pojęć, taksonomii centrowych najprostsza jest do ukazania w stosowaniu nazw własnych także w tekstach polskojęzycznych: np. Łemkowyna, a nie Łemkowszczyzna, w nazwach geograficznych i topograficznych, np. Uście Ruskie (gdy obecnie obowiązująca forma to Uście Gorlickie), Biłcarewa (obecna urzędowa nazwa to Binczarowa), Zelarka (symboliczna góra często pojawiająca się w literaturze, figurująca na współczesnych mapach jako Jaworze), w pewnych pojęciach historycznych, np. panowanie Austrii, a nie zabory, ziemie poniemieckie, a nie odzyskane, stosowanie tzw. dwojenia (zwracania się do kogoś w liczbie mnogiej „wy", a nie „ty") w wypadku osób starszych czy obcych. Doskonałym przykładem jest tu *A Wisła dalej płynie* Petra Murianki (Murianka 2007), z celową niepoprawnością językową, wprowadzaną po to, by oddać obcość języka dominującego dla myślącego po łemkowsku autora.

Z kolei zawłaszczenie języka dokonuje się zarówno bezpośrednio, jak i pośrednio. Wielu twórców łemkowskich posługuje się świadomie językiem polskim, by uzyskać skuteczność przekazu. Przykładowo wiersz Pawła Stefanowskiego:

> panowie,
> to wyście
> nam uczynili
> za bardzo
> z lewa
> a jam
> nie kamień
> lud mój z roli
> panowie
> to boli (Stefanowski 1991: 51)

nie miałby takiego efektu retorycznego, gdyby był napisany tylko po łemkowsku. Murianka, używając w swych wspomnieniach *A Wisła dalej płynie* języka polskiego, motywuje to następującą dedykacją "Sąsiadom naszym Polakom, z nadzieją – że zechcą przeczytać i zrozumieć – poświęcam" (Murianka 2007: 5).

W dyskursie postkolonialnym jednak *appriopriation* rozumiane jest nie tylko w taki dosłowny sposób. Akcentuje się bardziej zawłaszczenie języka dominacji, czyli teorii, historii, pisma, normatywności, a więc tych dyskursów, przy pomocy których zachodnioeuropejskie centra wyznaczyły swą dominację nad resztą świata. Czy Łemkowie tylko zapożyczają mechanizmy i struktury tych dyskursów, czy wypełniają je własnymi formami i pojęciami, jest to kwestia dwuznaczna, którą można zamknąć stwierdzeniem, że jest i tak, i tak. Samo ich rozwijanie na bazie własnego języka etnicznego nie tylko podnosi jego status, przyczynia się do awansu, ale też wnosi własne językowe obrazy świata. Z kolei hermetyczność językowa tych dyskursów, ich "uniwersalność" (w znaczeniu europejskim), w bardzo niewielkim stopniu wpuszcza tam nie swoje struktury myślowe, swoistość języków podporządkowanych. Zawłaszczenie i podważenie przez parodię dyskursu naukowego doskonale ilustruje tekst młodego łemkowskiego prozaika Paula Ksenycza *Łemkowie w pytaniach i odpowiedziach* (Ksenycz 2002)*.* Z całą powagą przynależną "obiektywnej" wypowiedzi sparodiowane zostały w nim dysputy i rozważania "naukowe" na temat etnogenezy Łemków oraz ich statusu etnicznego.

Mamy też w powysiedleńczej literaturze łemkowskiej świetne przykłady mimikrowania centrów, ich instytucjonalnej, militarnej, formalnej władzy. Zagrożenie zawarte w mimikrze nie wynika z jawnego oporu, ale ze sposobu sugerowania, że podobieństwo naśladującej tożsamości do kolonizującego nie jest całkowite. „Prawie taka sama, ale nie biała" (Bhabha 2010: 86) kultura jest zawsze potencjalnie i strategicznie powstańcza, destabilizująca kolonialny dyskurs. Jak to się robi, pokazał Murianka w wierszu *Brandenburska Brama:*

В моім маленькым краю	W moim maleńkim kraju
фан не вішают	flag nie wieszają
на монументах	na monumentach
В моім маленькым краю	W moim maleńkim kraju
далеко деси там	gdzieś tam daleko
на *Лемковині*	na Łemkowynie
до фан лем вітер	do flag wiatr tylko
а монументом	a monumentem
горы сині	góry sine
В моім маленькым краю	W moim maleńkim kraju
Надії не мают *дивізий*	nadzieje nie mają dywizji

Та до цна подібні	Lecz do cna podobnie
жыют	żyją
і вмерают (Murianka 2003: 87)	i umierają (Murianka 2003: 88)

Najbardziej podważające wyjątkowość centrum jest tu owo stwierdzenie przedstawiciela „małego kraju", że dzieje się w nim „do cna podobnie". W tym właśnie tkwi destabilizująca siła mimikry. Mało tego, mowa jest tu o nadziejach, które nie mają dywizji, czyli o takich pragnieniach, na realizację których w centrach pracują całe „armie", a u „małych", choć bez dywizji, „do cna podobnie/żyją/i umierają". A zatem to, co centra widzą jako swe osiągnięcie, dzięki całym sztabom instytucji i środkom, w „maleńkich krajach" też istnieje i to właśnie podobnie, choć bez siłowego zaplecza.

Wskazane tu wyrywkowo działania literackie podnoszą status języka, otwierają jego możliwości ekspresyjno-komunikacyjne, specjalizacyjne, nicują struktury dominacji. Pokazują, że język łemkowski też może obsługiwać różne sfery funkcjonalne i wyjaśniać świat w sposób dyskursywny, że nie jest to funkcja wyłącznie tzw. „języków wyższych".

Aspekt preformatywności

Literatura łemkowska z samej swojej pozycji skazana jest – żeby tak rzec – na performatywność, czyli takie działania, które mają kształtować rzeczywistość. Moce przyczynowe zawarte w języku, jego funkcja sprawcza wyrażająca się w działaniu słów, ma coś wspólnego z magią. Słowo w kulturach oralnych, mające moc zaklęcia, działa performatywnie, zwłaszcza w bezpośredniej sytuacji komunikacyjnej nadawca-tekst-odbiorca. W kulturze łemkowskiej, pozbawionej większości instytucji, na bazie których konstruują się centra, bliskiej w wysokim jeszcze stopniu kulturom oralnym, słowo, jeśli nawet pierwotnie zapisane, często przeznaczone jest do głoszenia (recytowania). Taki charakter ma większość wierszy Pawła Stefanowskiego. Ich performatywność, jest bliska ludowemu zaklinaniu rzeczywistości, jak np. w tym wierszu:

Была і є	Była i jest
Лемковина	Łemkowyna
был пра-пра	był pra-pra
єст няньо і я	jest ojciec i ja
і буде наш край	i będzie nasz kraj

все жывий	zawsze żywy
Справ нашых	Spraw naszych
тяг дальший	ciąg dalszy
быти мусит	być musi
так хотят	tak chcą
Руснакы	Rusnacy
рускы святы	ruscy święci
я	ja
i серца вашы	i serca wasze
З іконостасу	Z ikonostasu
выйдут героі нашы	wyjdą bohaterowie nasi
(Stefanowski 1985: 29)	(przeł. H. D.-F.)

W działanie i moc słowa, które potrafi zmienić wszystko, co stało się nie
tak, a to „nie tak" jest głównym tematem powysiedleńczej liryki łemkowskiej,
wierzy każdy w zasadzie twórca łemkowski. Moc tym razem słowa zapisa-
nego demonstruje wielokrotnie Władysław Graban:

> Zapisać słowa
> to z tak wielu znaczeń
> ułożyć bryłę przestrzeni
> spiąć obręczą
> rozsypane pejzaże
> odnaleźć ludzi
> i zapytać ich
> to wasza mowa? (Graban 1995: 45)

W jego apelu liryczno-performatywnym: „Łemku/ (…) gdzie dzikie chasz-
cze/ (…) siedliska nowe wznoście" (Graban 1995: 37) mieści się zapewne
przekonanie, czy raczej wiara w bezpośrednie działanie słów, które ciągle
przemawiają jeszcze na swojej osnowie, bo walka o jej niezatracenie w tym
działaniu słowno-literackim przecież się toczy.

Jeszcze inaczej performatywność słowa opowiadanego, snutego i wyczaro-
wywującego rzeczywistość nieznaną, która miała się stać jedyną rzeczywisto-
ścią dla pokoleń poza nią zrodzonych (taki jest wymóg mitu reinwencyjnego),
wyraża w swych wspomnieniach Murianka:

Gdy tylko ojciec wyprzągł konie, w cebrzyku uczynił ręce mniej czarnymi, zjadł chleb z czosnkiem, otarł wąsy i wziął mnie wreszcie na kolana – wszystko zaczynało żyć. W tamtej dalekiej ziemi. I nikt mnie nie przekona, ze była gdziekolwiek ziemia piękniejsza, ziemia weselsza. Gdyby była, tato powiedziałby mi o niej (Murianka 1987: 5).

Murianka, już jako poeta, dzianie się performatywne, sprawczość słowa, widzi zresztą poza swoim wolicjonalnym udziałem. To sprawczość nie przez niego osiągana:

A то,	A to
же пишу	że piszę
То лем	To tylko
Лемковина	Łemkowyna
пришла гу мі колиси	przyszła ku mnie kiedyś
дiткнула мойого серця	dotknęła mojego serca
повiла	i rzekła
пиш (Murianka 1989: 114)	pisz

By nie przytaczać szeregu jeszcze kolejnych przykładów słowa zmieniającego rzeczywistość, zamknę całość rozważań wierszykiem napisanym przez matkę dla synka, by mógł wystąpić z nim na konkursie recytacji dla dzieci podczas Łemkowskiej Watry. Jest on doskonałą ilustracją charakteru wierszyków, jakimi współcześni twórcy próbują kształtować wyobraźnię i emocje dziecięce, by ewokowały one długie trwanie pewnych wartości kulturowych, tak niezbędne dla istnienia etnosów zagrożonych.

Моя мамця мі повiдат	Moja mamcia tak mi mówi
Росний сынку, росний скоро	Rożsni synku, rośnij zdrowo
Най ти крылця ся гартуют	Mocne skrzydła niech Cię niosą
Боронити нашы Горы	Byś mógł bronić Gór przestworu
Моя мамця мі чытала	Moja mamcia mi czytała
О тых Лемках, славных предках	O tych Łemkach, sławnych przodkach
Што ся в орлы заминили	Którzy w orły przemienieni
Пред гадином ползаючом	Przed gadziną pełzającą
Честно Горы боронили	Stali bronić swojej ziemi
Моє серце мі повiдат	Moje serce obiecuje
Покля бити буде в груди	Póki w piersiach jego bicie

Все кохало буде Горы   Zawsze miłość Górom odda
Не покохат земель другых   Nie odejdzie od nich skrycie

Хоц нас мало ся остало   Choć niewiele nas zostało
Розшмареных гет по світі   W całym świecie rozproszonych
Прирікаме орлам-предкам   Przyrzekamy orłom przodkom
Лемковину боронити[3]   Łemkowynie przyjść w obronie
                                        (przeł. H. D.-F.)

Ile osób z pokolenia kształtowanego przez takie teksty przekaże język jako
zaklęcie trwałości świata łemkowskiego swoim dzieciom, wnukom? Te fakty,
dane, statystyki zaświadczą o mocy performatywnej współczesnej literatury
łemkowskiej, jej sprawczości rewitalizacyjnej. Prognozowanie w tym zakresie
jest bardzo trudne. Jednakże, z całą pewnością literatura łemkowska, zarów-
no dawna, jak i współczesna, niesie w sobie znaczne wspólnotowe obligacje
i zastępuje wielokrotnie to, w co w społecznościach centrowych wprzęgnięto
szereg instytucji, czyli przysłowiowe „armie i floty".

Kondycja współczesnej literatury łemkowskiej

Wobec postawionych tez i wysuniętych koncepcji sprawczości społecz-
nej i tożsamościowej, a zwłaszcza językowej, dyskursu literackiego, należy
chociażby skrótowo zasygnalizować, określić aktualną kondycję literatury
łemkowskiej. Powysiedleńcza literatura łemkowska, bo z takiej perspektywy
najwłaściwiej jest rozpoznawać jej współczesny status, wyraźnie dzieli się na
dwa okresy, z cezurą przypadającą na połowę lat dziewięćdziesiątych XX w.
W pierwszym z tych okresów literatura stanowiła bazę instytucjonalną rze-
czywistości, która cechowała się formalnym niebytem. To ona kształtowała
bardzo skutecznie mit reinwencyjny, który był w stanie ocalić i przetranspo-
nować na bardzo zmienioną i zmieniającą się rzeczywistość łemkowskie jądro
kulturowe ugruntowane w ojczystym języku. Na tyle dynamicznie oswajała
przemiany dyslokacyjne, że potrafiła swą mocą reinwencyjną powstrzymać
destrukcję uniwersum symbolicznego, esencjalizując tradycyjny świat ze

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[3] Tekst ten powstał na potrzeby konkursu recytacji dla dzieci na Łemkowskiej Watrze na Obczyźnie.
Jedna z osób, której został udostępniony maszynopis, rozpropagowała go w środowisku Rusinów
na Słowacji i został on zamieszczony pod jej nazwiskiem w podręczniku do języka rusińskiego,
wydanego na Słowacji.

ścisłym układem sacrum/ Łemkowyna – profanum/ obczyzna (Duć-Fajfer 1994). Dyskurs literacki, w pełni wykorzystując potencjał środków, zarówno prymarnego jak i wtórnego systemu modelującego (zgodnie z rozumieniem tych pojęć przez tartusko-moskiewskich semiotyków), zadziałał z całym impetem w okresie przemian politycznych w Polsce. Wprowadził wspólnotę mocno zdziesiątkowaną liczebnie, ale istotowo skrystalizowaną wokół ideowych wyznaczników łemkowskości w nowe, posttotalitarne, ale też postmodernistyczne realia społeczne i kulturowe. One to określiły rolę i kondycję literatury w drugim powysiedleńczym okresie.

Jeśli okres pierwszy kształtował mit reinwencyjny wykorzystując głównie aspekt emocjonalny i sakralizującą, esencjalną moc mitu, to od lat dziewięćdziesiątych coraz wyraźniej zaczynają dochodzić do głosu świadomościowe strategie mniejszościowe. Oparte są one na wiedzy i rozumieniu swej mniejszościowej pozycji, praw z niej wynikających i wartości płynących z odmienności i osobliwości kulturowej. Główny nacisk w tych strategiach kładzie się na dokumentowanie i utrwalanie pozostałości faktograficznych gruntu kulturowego, który podlega tym samym weryfikacji, odmityzowaniu, a równocześnie staje się budulcem, bardziej realnego, nie tylko przez pryzmat traumy przyjmowanego dziedzictwa, zaplecza tożsamościowego. Od połowy lat dziewięćdziesiątych miejsce prawie wyłącznej w pierwszym okresie liryki zaczynają powoli zajmować wspomnienia czy oparte na wspomnieniach i dokumentach monografie przedwysiedleńczych wsi łemkowskich. Jest to konsekwentny proces rewitalizacyjny, gdyż wsie te zaczynają na nowo istnieć, ale nie w znaczeniu emocjonalno-mitycznym, tylko jako udokumentowany byt, kapitał wiedzy o przeszłości z istotnym znaczeniem dla współczesności. Podobnie działa też przywracanie do „użytku" tekstów kulturowych z przeszłości, przede wszystkim literatury, która (wobec braku nauczania języka ojczystego) nie jest znana współczesnym Łemkom. W rzeczywistości, w której pojawia się możliwość namiastkowych instytucjonalnych działań, a przede wszystkim świadomość praw kulturowych, literatura nie musi już być wyłączną strażniczką pamięci i etosu trwania. Dlatego traci swą esencjalność, nabiera tych walorów, które w opinii Jonathana Cullera uruchamiane są przez paradoksy. Literatura może być narzędziem ideologicznym, skłaniającym do podporządkowania się hierarchicznej strukturze społecznej, a równocześnie dziedziną, w której demaskuje się ideologię i mobilizuje się do jej zakwestionowania. Może być czynnikiem alienacyjnym (dzięki samotnej lekturze) ze świata aktywności i działania, ale też podstawą buntów, wzywania do podważenia autorytetów i obowiązującego porządku społecznego.

Jako instytucja i narzędzie społecznego oddziaływania jest tworem bardzo złożonym i różnorodnym:

> Dzieło literackie może ośmieszyć, sparodiować, odmalować w formie zaskakującej, odstręczającej fikcji każdy dogmat, każdą wiarę i każdą wartość […] Literatura potrafi dowieść bezsensu wszystkiego, co do tej pory uważano za sensowne, przekroczyć granice, dokonać transformacji, kwestionując tym samym zasadność i stosowność dowolnego pojęcia (Culler 1998: 51).

Literatura jako jeden z dyskursów kulturowych wzmacniana jest obecnie przez inne dyskursy: medialny, naukowy, oświatowy, historyczny, które zgodnie ze swym mechanizmem sprawczo-modelującym, bazując na języku naturalnym, etnicznym, przyczyniają się do jego rewitalizacji w różnych sferach funkcjonalanych. Rozszerzają zatem pole dla prowadzenia programowych strategii rewitalizacyjnych. Stając się w dużej mierze bytami hybrydycznymi (Duć-Fajfer 2015; Duć-Fajfer 2015a), prowadzą świadomą grę (z) własną hybrydycznością, umykając tym samym prostych klasyfikacji i przyporządkowań, czyli zdominowania. W postmodernistycznym polu kulturowym uzyskują wiele atutów, które są po stronie bytów zmarginalizowanych i niesformalizowanych. Są zatem istotną bazą możliwości i strategii rewitalizacyjnych.

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Allocating identity – Versus, Against, Above, in Spite of: the Lemko Becoming in Galicia[1]

HELENA DUĆ-FAJFER
Jagiellonian University, Kraków

In the present paper, I do not attempt to tackle theoretical challenges. I was inspired by two voices, which, in a certain sense, provoke the performative dimension of my reflections and observations concerning presence versus absence.

The first is the voice of Homi K. Bhabha: "For the critic must attempt to fully realize, and take responsibility for, the unspoken, unrepresented pasts that haunt the historical present" (1994: 18). The second is a quote by Kenneth White, who is considered a founder of geopoetics: "We are living in times of profound cultural change. And we need those, who will go further, draw maps from scratch and show new paths" (quoted in Kronenberg n.d.).

Regarding the "Galician polyphony," which presupposes identity evocation (voice), based on a penetration of space (places), I stand for unhearable yet present voice/voices, which are either listened to but not always heard, or completely unlistened to, drowned out, and ignored, while they "haunt the present."

As a long-term researcher of modern minority discourses in the Galician space, I have attempted to find the phonic pathway which has never become

dominant or sufficiently significant in the polyphony of the Galician and post--Galician area among many identities whose voices are more or less audible/dominant. What makes this pathway even more interesting is that it has never disappeared, and it is still searching for a textual and ritual representation to express itself, causing astonishment, surprise, and curiosity, while posing a number of questions.

Meanings and denotations

Perhaps I will be accused of ahistoricism when using the term "Lemko" in reference to the Galician times, whereas "it is commonly known" that Galicia was inhabited by Poles, Rusyns, Ukrainians, Germans, Jews, and a few other, less visible nations, such as Armenians and Karaims. However, it is also known that during that time and in that territory, modern nations, ethnic identities, and political and spatial worldviews were shaped; new boundaries and a new understanding of the concepts of "same" and "other" were determined, and new subjects and ethnic discourses were developed. I will focus on the Galician times since the mid-nineteenth century, when the emergence of an identity, which later on will be clearly attributed to the "Lemko" ethnonym, started to be visible and tangible in the texts that, according to my evaluation and classification, can be acknowledged as Lemko literature (Duć-Fajfer 2001).

The performative role of texts in the increasing awareness of processual becoming of the Lemko ethnos is not any different from – as agreed upon by nation theoreticians – most of the pen-made projects of national homelands.[2] Typically for an anthropological approach, the first to appear was the identity mirror, that is, the act of noticing a certain cultural and geographic area by romantic enthusiasts of folk communities, later called folklorists. They did not name the area because the name had probably already existed, as indicated by nicknames of this area's inhabitants, used by those who inhabited neighboring territories. However, they did write that name down and ascribed

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[2] I will quote an excerpt from the statement of Prof. Jerzy Jedlicki, which I always have at hand whenever I want to demonstrate unquestionable relations between ethnicity and literature: "The vast majority of contemporary theoreticians and historians have agreed that modern European nations are products of literature and ideology. Awakeners, seers, prophets, philologists, and historians wrote the projects of national homelands using available linguistic, ethnographic and historical material, which they eagerly enriched with mythical imagination, and – if needed – with literary fraud" (1987: 52).

certain characteristics to it, thus empowering the area, its inhabitants, and their culture to create a separate ethnographic entity.[3]

If the inhabitants who occupied the aforementioned cultural area were only an oral community, the external texts would not influence them significantly. Here, however, mostly textual mechanisms were operating, and unlike the ritual ones, they require interpretation and discursive-ness.[4] Since at least sixteenth century, – as confirmed by research on education in Lemkovyna – a considerable percentage of peasant children in Karpathian villages (especially in the western part of the territory later called Lemkovyna) were able to read and write (Duć-Fajfer 2005).[5] Some of them were schooled in a higher education system, mainly in seminaries, at university theological faculties, and less frequently other educational institutions. As a result, by the nineteenth century there was a highly interrelated intelligentsia group, which, had developed a specific cultural model, and was connected by descent, activities and sentimental attachment to an area assigned by ethnographers and folklorists to the Lemko people.[6] In the society described as a society of "a peasant and an orthodox priest," this group, consisting mainly of Greek Catholic clergy, played specific roles. Ludwik Kolankowski (1909: 12–13) perceived them in the following way:

> The great role of the Rusyn clergy emanates from its social status among its nation. It is a numerous, wealthy, intelligentsia stratum, to which the Polish society cannot even aspire. The presbytery of a Rusyn parish priest is a great national facility, it is a workspace which is all the more efficient because it is bound together with its society by a thousand ties.

It is an interesting observation and, it seems to me, not an overstatement, although one can also come across contrary opinions. It probably depended on the region and the comparative perspective used.

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[3]   A famous Slovakian ethnographer, Jan Čaplovič, is considered to be the first to use the term "Lemko" to describe the Rusyns from northeastern Hungary (who are culturally identical to the Lemkos inhabiting the northern part of Carpathians). He introduced the name in his work *Etnografické pozorovania z Uhorska z roku 1820* (cf. Sopoliga 1992: 250). In regard to the Galician territory, the name "Lemkos" was probably first used by Josyf Łewyckij in 1831, in the preface of his linguistic work *Grammatik der ruthenischen oder kleinrussischen sprache in Galizien* (Łewyckij 1934). Later on, the Lemkos, their culture, and language were described by Wincenty Pol, Oskar Kolber, Dionizy Zubrzycki, Izydor Kopernicki, Seweryn Udziela, among others.
[4]   See the distinction between textual and ritual coherence in the work of Assman 2008: 108–109.
[5]   Sources and statistics confirming my theses are presented therein.
[6]   For more information about this group, see: Duć-Fajfer 2000 and 2001.

However, these characteristics raise a number of important questions. What was the meaning of the term "Rusyn clergy" in the context of the term "Lemko"? What is the meaning of one's "nation" and "national facility," and finally, what is referred to by "society"? It is not possible to answer these questions briefly. However, it is necessary to include some remarks here to determine the range of understanding of certain names and concepts in the nineteenth century in our area of interest. For a long time, Rusynness in Galicia was more a religious and cultural concept with a mythical function rather than an ethnic category. It was not until the mid-nineteenth century that, under the influence of many mirrors and eversions, this category was formulated as a counter-narration in opposition to Polishness, viewed through a national lens.[7] During the early stages of this oppositional process of nation-building, Rusynness, which evolved from being mostly a mythical category into a form of ethnic discourse, formed an ideological and cultural basis. It was important, though – as it turned out – not fully viable, to gain narrative coherence of this discourse. The split of both identity concepts and national programs based on them, which took place among Galician Rusyns, was caused by a variety of factors that will not be discussed here. Part of the intelligentsia society continued to follow the conservative model of wide Rus. Another part began to shape a radical Ukrainian program, and yet another part followed the Russophile direction.[8]

Originating in the area of Lemkovyna, where the Rusynness, surrounded by the Western Slavic cultures needed to be especially nurtured and essentialized in order to preserve its distinctiveness, the intelligentsia held on to its archaic, sacral, and mythical model. Affiliation with the party of the so called old or hard Rusyns was associated not only with the opposition against Polishness, but also against the sense of East-Ukrainianness which was developing fast in Galicia, and was generally viewed as a separatist program, aimed at destroying the all-Rusyn mythical unity. When the Ukrainian program dominated the views of the East Galician intelligentsia (at the end of the nineteenth century), it was noted that the territories of Carpathian Rus were "falling behind." As a result, the Ukrainian national activists began an intense "awareness" campaign, run mainly by the Greek Catholic Church. By the end of the nineteenth

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[7]   Jan Kieniewicz (2008: 216) notices that "Ukraine could elevate to the level of nation only against Poland"

[8]   There is a vast historical literature concerning national movements in the Habsburg monarchy and especially in mid-nineteenth century Galicia and earlier, see: Duć-Fajfer 2001 (chapter I, footnotes 50–57), Osadczy 2007 (bibliography), Wójtowicz-Huber 2008 (bibliography).

century, as one of the Ukrainian authors puts it, "a deliberate and consistent Ukrainization of clergy and parishes (…) began in Lemkovyna" (Шах 1960: 316). The first reading rooms of *Prosvita* were established together with the first branch of *Silski Hospodar*, the District School Union (as a part of the National School Union) and the *Lemko Bank*.

This campaign, however, faced strong resistance, which was quite explicitly described as the "Russophile haze" (Тарнович 1936), and later, as a Polish intrigue. The issue, nevertheless, was not that simple. For the Ukrainian radicals (even nowadays), it would be difficult to see, and all the more accept the development of a new identity based on a spatial and folkloristic marker, which would initially be expressed via subtle geopoetic discourse, before its emergence as a parallel ethnic program in the beginning of the twentieth century.

A place in topographic space as an awareness category

Division of space according to groups/communities/nations who inhabit it is underpinned by autochthonic theories together with etiological and ethnogenetic myths. It serves the purpose of space usurpation and gives rise to its cultural/ethnic interpretations. Putting a grid of cultural meanings over geographic space requires continuous textual negotiations, identity validations, competition, exclusion, and usurpation. Textual attempts of the Lemko community to negotiate and reflect upon identity and space, which started to gain visibility around the mid-nineteenth century, were confronted not only with external discourses, but also – and perhaps most of all – with their own allocations and questions revolving around the change of the permanence field. When the Rusynness, being a strong, essential category thanks to its mythical foundation, it lost its power, which earlier gave rise to unreflective identifications. Its peripheral areas had to face the necessity of increased reflection driven by ambiguously directed projections and aspirations. For the time being, I will leave aside the two obvious centers, which were rejected by the Rusynness in its effort to make itself coherent. Instead, I will concentrate on a difficult, and newly emerging configuration with the Ukrainianness placed at the center of the southern Rusynness, including Galicia.

The Rusynness did not convert its mythical power into a strength of a modern political center. This role was taken over, quite radically, by the concept of Ukrainianness, which influenced most of the lands inhabited by the Rusyns of the Ukrainian province in Russia and Eastern Galicia. Some peripheral areas of Rusynness – included in this concept in accordance with the idea of Ukrainian reunification – resisted the new center, finding strength in rejecting their peripheral character by using the borderland potential.[9]

We have thus come to a point where the becoming of awareness, based on a symbolically filled real space, must have been effectuated by interpenetration of competing, ambivalent compact contents and cultural trends, which took a form of locative discourse versus, in opposition to, beyond, against all that had attempted to seize this territory using its own system of symbols.

Strategies of fitting into space

The basic ambivalence, which extracted and defined the proto-Lemko discourse (it is difficult to define it as Lemko at this stage), was the tension between the desire to hold on to the old/permanent cultural and mental order, and the changes in progress. The reduction of the category of Rus', its hybridization and transformation, provoked its defenders to follow the "salvation" imperative. The idea of Lemko Rus' encompassed sentimental, ethnographic, historical and spatial factors, which were grouped in an anti--centric configuration, obtained in a number of ways.
– Polemical (unassigned, anti-colonial, appropriating)
– Ironizing (distancing, contesting, abrogative)
– Mimetic (questioning uniqueness, creating a new subject)
The third way would relate to the idea of Lemkovyna, which evolved from Lemko Rus' during the on-going process of emancipation. It emerged through the establishment of the first Lemko journal in 1911 called Łemko.[10] The act of its foundation was motivated by the distinctness of Lemkovyna from the other areas of Galician Rus'.[11]

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[9] I understand borderland as, most simply, the interweaving of different, mutually competitive cultural values in a particular territory – a process which creates a new cultural quality.

[10] Initially a bi-weekly, over time it became a Lemko-centered weekly, published in the Lemko language between 1911 and 1914 (first in Lviv, then in Nowy Sącz and Gorlice).

[11] It was explicitly expressed in editorial notes, included in the first issue of the journal, which reads as follows: "Уже долгое время раздавались на Лемковщинѣ голоса, требующіе изданія для этой страны Руси, хотя бы маленькой газеты. Требовали этого многіе лемки, такъ какъ

I will focus here on the process of identity idea spatial allocation, ethnic space conceptualization, creation of cultural places (places of memory[12]/ethnic places[13]) as well as boundary formation seen as certain textual constructing and constituting strategies.

To position oneself versus-against

An important starting point for textual representation of ethnicized space in Lemkovyna was the publication of numerous historical and geographic essays as well as linguistic descriptions (Duć-Fajfer 2001: 75–97), whose development was driven by the need to specify the particularity of one's group, to recognize oneself versus. Versus what?

Firstly and basically – versus other groups and their historical identity narration, within their own counter-narration, which uses the spatial-locative factor to create the vision of autochthonism (versus, for instance, the 1846 work by a Polish historian Wacław Aleksander Maciejowski *The Original History of Poland and Lithuania* – concerning Rusyn settlement in the districts of Muszyna and Jasło, which had only begun in the times of Kazimierz the Great[14]). In the process of developing the Cyril-&-Methodius – mission concept among the inhabitants of the Beskids along both sides of the Carpathian Mountains (in view of the Baptism of Poland and the Baptism of Rus', which

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Лемковщина находится въ нѣсколько другихъ условіяхъ, нежели остальные уголки нашей Галицкой Руси. Поэтому многое, что *для остальной Галицкой Руси важно – для Лемковщины* – безпредметно. Мало того! Русскій лемковскій говоръ значительно различается отъ говоровъ, употребляемыхъ въ другихъ частяхъ Руси ... Этими – именно – обстоятельствами объясняется, что принимаемся за изданіе предлежащей газетки „Лемко," на страницах которой будемъ обсуждать вопросы, относящіеся преимущественно къ Лемковщинѣ, и издавать её будемъ на языкѣ, приближенномъ къ лемковскому говору." "For a long time there have been voices in Lemkovyna demanding that at least a small newspaper is published in this area of Rus'. Many Lemkos demanded it because Lemkovyna finds itself under different circumstances than the other corners of our Galician Rus'. Hence, much of what is important to the rest of Galician Rus' is of no concern to Lemkovyna. Furthermore, the Rusyn dialect of the Lemkos is very different from the dialects used in other parts of Rus' ... These circumstances brought us to start publishing the 'Lemko' journal, whose pages will be dedicated mainly to the problems of Lemkovyna, and we will publish it in a language close to the Lemko dialect." (Отъ Редакціи… 1911: 1).

[12] In Pierre Nora's understanding, that is as "any material or ideal signifying unit which, by the will of people or the work of time, has been converted in a symbolic part of heritage, remembered by a community" (Nora 1984–1992: II, 2226, quoted from Kończał 2009: 211).

[13] Ethnic place are understood as "not so much geographic frameworks for the activities of ethnic communities, but rather as a spatial context for various types of regulations and practices of collective identity construction" (Bukowski, Lubaś & Nowak 2010: 27).

[14] It is an opposition from the essay by Крыницкій (1853: 15–20).

occurred almost a hundred years later). In quoting/producing the founding legends of localities (especially the towns of Tylicz and Muszyna), situated in the northern and southern parts of the Carpathian Mountains, in the Beskids. When pointing to the traces of Orthodox churches in various localities which neighbored Ruthenian villages, where, at that time (in the nineteenth century) churches could be found[15] (versus the dominant Polish legendary, historical and spatial narration).

This is how "one's own space" is created, and through positioning itself "versus" (which often means "against" other ethnic indicators), it bears the mark of ethnic space, according to a basic rule of communicating differences. Its name and the name of its inhabitants are gradually being clarified, beginning with geographic and administrative names such as: the Muszyna deanery, the Muszyna state, the Beskid Sądecki mountains and Jasło region, as well as terms such as "тутєйшо-гôрскій рускій нарôдъ Сандецкого округа" (Крыницкій 1853: 82) (the local-mountain Rusyn people of district of Sącz, which appear in the essay (see footnote 20) of Mykhail Krynycki, and ending with the ethnonym "Lemko-Rusyns," used by Alexiy Toronski (in the essay by the same title – see footnote 21). The territory would be referred to as Lemko Rus', Lemkôvshchyna (later on Lemkovyna), for instance, in numerous essays by Vladimir Khiliak (e.g. Хилякъ 1869a, 1869b, 1871a, 1871b, 1872, 1880, 1889a, 1889b, 1889c, 1890a, 1890b), and often signed with his nickname – "Lemko." Matviy Astriab, a history student at Kiev University at that time (1871), consistently uses the name "Lemkos" to refer to his countrymen. His work Кôлька слôвъ о лемкôвскôй бесѣдѣ (*A Few Words on the Lemko Language*; Астрябъ 1871) is a manifestation of contemporary awareness and a radical ethnic approach.

Positioning oneself versus and against is one of the simplest and the most basic strategies of its kind. Obviously, we can use a set of tools here, language, figures of speech, forms of discourse and theories taken from the ones we position ourselves versus or against. It is enough to provide them with their own signs, meanings, symbolic systems, which often result in creation of the negative. It is a binary and essentializing relation. It is, thus, much more difficult to position oneself above.

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[15] In particular, such narrations can be found in the essay by Mykhail Krynycki but they also occur in almost all Lemko ethnographic and historical essays which were written in the second half of the nineteenth century.

To reintegrate the ethnos vertically – above

I understand this type of ethnic space development as a necessity to ideologically and conceptually build a core or a basis above a certain ground, which can be easily defined in its visually-factual dimension, taken for granted as natural equipment and connected to the land. This ground is usually delimited by a certain type of landscape and topography, but also by the location of villages and a specific character of the folk culture strictly associated with living and farming conditions. On the level of discourse, these factors are used to formulate the categories of endemism and nativeness and have great negotiative significance, especially in case of communities that are denied the right to have a history.

The foreign folklorists' descriptions – Polish, Hungarian, Slovakian, Ukrainian – filled this nativeness with all the necessary parameters to establish *terra nostra*. These parameters were ready to be used in one's own narration, in accordance with a well-known rhetoric, found in the romantic repertoire of "national repository." One should bear in mind, though, that what was appealing to the nobility – because it was seen from a privileged position in the upper reaches of society, with all its historical and mental supply of a "natural" class distance – was a much more complex process for a member of the intelligentsia who was moving up the social ladder. He had to explore and narratively confirm this foundation as his own identity capital, (or symbolic capital, as put by Bourdieu) and he needed to seal up the fissures, perform reevaluations, and overcome a series of aporias and ambiguities.

In order to understand the discursive situation of those who descended from common people but were not commoners anymore, often for only a few generations, we would have to reach for the concept of hybrid identity from the repertoire of post-colonial discourse. Throughout the process of creation of religious Rusyn intelligentsia, they joined in the Polishness-Rusynness binary configuration on a certain level of national imagology development, just to find themselves at the margin, and fairly soon in opposition to a dominant current of this Rusynness-Ukrainianness. In fact, we should not consider a double, but at least a triple exteriority, while preserving a significant distinction between strength, expressiveness, and thereby motivation and counter-narrative power of the respective substantialnesses (because not all of them can be defined as "centers").

As representatives of the Galician-Rusyn intelligentsia (which was the only coherent self-definition during the Galician period), they could take

part in a wider "we," external to Polishness, which generally did not cause ambivalence. This made it simple to label and to support a we/they division.[16] However, the exteriority in relations to Ukrainianness demanded much narrowing down, or, to put it more graphically, sharpening the "we" category.

The idea of wide Rus' or all – Rus' could not be the basis for excluding the Ukrainianness, because it originated in Rusynnes and referred to it. The sharpening of ones' own identity references could occur only on the basis of a core, which, by the right of ownership/exclusivity, would exclude the others from ownership. Nevertheless, in relation to this core, the folk and rural cultural base, a member of the Galician-Rusyn intelligentsia – even if he originated from the area that was delineated by it – still located himself on the outside.

This is where the ideological construction of "above" began. The nineteenth-century Lemko literary texts attest to discursive difficulty of the integration into a symbolic "we" that would have an oppositional power in relation to already shaped, and more or less powerful subjectivities. This "we" could constitute the essence of identity, through an appropriate interpretation, sign attribution, and ethnical meaning. We observe the next steps, which could be defined as a strategy to reduce the foreignness.

Aleksij Toronskiy's famous essay Русины-Лемкы reflects the game of acknowledgement, played to determine who these Lemko people are – native of the Beskids, living in an admirable way, creating a specific, rich culture – in relation to "us" (the Galician – Rusyn intelligentsia). They were referred to as "the people who are our fellow tribesmen in faith, customs and speech, but of whom we know very little" ("народъ по вѣрѣ, обычаямъ и бесѣдѣ намъ соплємнный, о которомъ мы однакъ вєсьма мало знаємъ"; Тороньскій 1860: 389). The whole essay is characterized by a number of classification ambivalences. They are like all the other Rusyns: "The Lemkos, like the whole Rusyn nation, have a gift for music" ("Лемки, якъ весь народъ рускїй, суть весьма пѣвучїи"; Тороньскій 1860: 404) but their language is a "spoiled Rusyn speech" ("Бесѣда Лемкôвъ єсть испорчена руска"; Тороньскій 1860: 423). On the other hand, they differ from the other Rusyn groups, they appear as a separate people: "The Lemkos, as mountain people, should differ from the inhabitants of Podole because of their short, light clothing, but their clothes make them stand out even among other mountain peoples" ("Лемки, оуже

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[16] Although, obviously there are also many works of Lemko literature dedicated to complex relations between family, friends, and neighbors in the situation where the Ruthenian patriotism was associated with excluding isolation, seen as the only way to liberate oneself from the Polish domination (cf. Полянскій, 1916).

якъ горняки, должны своимъ короткимъ, легкимъ одѣнïємъ отъ Подолянъ различатися; но они отъ прочихъ горнякôвъ одеждою розличают ся" Тороньскій 1860: 418).

Toronskiy wrote about the Lemkos with a great deal of affection and admiration for their individual and social character traits, claiming that he had lived the happiest moments among them and emphasizing that "this small branch of the Rusyn nation, which has never renounced its roots, is also noteworthy" ("и она малая вѣтвъ народа руского не чуждавшаяся никогда своего корєня, оуваженïя достойна"; Тороньскій 1860: 428). Nevertheless, his thesis concerning a worse/spoiled Rusynness of the Lemko people became the basis for the evaluation of his essay.

The hybridity, which characterized the culture of Lemkos and which gave rise to Toronskiy's thesis, was gradually intensifying and generating concepts of "spoiled language and culture," confronted with an imaginary model of "pure," central Rusynness. The biographic-emotional declaration of the author-narrator changed the configuration of these distances and judgments, as the textual representation drew closer to the folk core. The essay "Кôлька слôвъ о лемкôвскôй бесѣдѣ," written as a polemic against Toronskiy's theses, is still based on a distance between a member of the intelligentsia (the one who put on "dresses," or long pants) and a peasant (a ploughman). This critique, however, weakens the position of the former for the benefit of the latter. The echoes of the *Narodnik* Movement and the peasant mania tell Astriab to see and declare the Rusyn nativeness instantaneously, here, where "locals/our people/Rusyns" live:

> ми ся видитъ, же намъ, што въ сукняхъ, можь бы лѣпше цѣнити нашихъ бѣдолакôвъ плугатарей, якъ мы ихъ цѣниме: намъ бы не ганьбити ихъ за ихъ звычаи и за ихъ бесѣду, але имъ дякувати, же хоцъ они все працювали бôльше на другихъ, якъ на себе, а не забывали нигда своей ôтцевской стрѣхи и своей материнской бесѣды, працували-же завсе – а-завсе добрѣ и чесно, были добрыми и чесними Руснаками и не зганьбили нигда доброго и чесного руского свого мена (Астрябъ 1871: 202).

> It seems to me that we, who wear dresses, should value our peasant ploughmen more than we do: we shouldn't disgrace them for their customs and language, rather we should be grateful to them for, although they have always worked more for others than for themselves, they have never forgotten their fathers' thatched roofs and their mother tongue, they kept on doing their work well and honestly, they were good and honest Rusyns and they have never disgraced their good and honest Rusyn name.

Toronskiy's questioning of the quality of the most significant expression of the national spirit – the language[17] – gained axiological hyperbolization. It is noteworthy that, when confronted with the already acknowledged Rusyn languages, the lesser and the greater Rusyn, the Lemko *besida* (speech, language) has an independent status with a surplus of antiquity, hence, with primordiality and long-lastingness – the qualities which are so important for cultural evaluation.

The distance between a member of intelligentsia and a peasant has been further reduced in the next stages in the autobiographical texts of Mykolai Malyniak, an author who came from a poor peasant family from Kamianna. He signed his works with a nickname Камянинъ – Римлянинъ (Roman from Kamianna) because it was in Rome where he was awarded his two doctorate degrees (in theology and philosophy). His works are characterized by acute argumentation. He reminisces about his childhood, spent in a poor peasant hut, and all the other consequences of his peasant descent, in a very open and direct way. He points out that the best days of his life were spent in this hut and that his suffering began when he went to school, where he was mocked and humiliated because of his origins. Not only does he criticize the intelligentsia, and especially clergy, but also religious institutions as well as the morality, injustice, and hypocrisy of the high church officials. He is also critical towards the Galician Rusyns from the Eastern Galicia and he clearly favors the Hutsul peasantry.

As a result of these textual approximations, there are two parallel terms in the ethnonymic nomenclature: *Rusyn* (Galician) and *Lemko*. Both of them can refer to a member of intelligentsia as well as a peasant. The territory defined (directly or by default) in texts as the Lemko Rus'/Lemkôvshchyna is realistically filled by a society composed by peasants, a clergyman and his family, a deacon, a teacher-deacon or a teacher, an innkeeper (usually a Jew) and a few Gypsy families. It is structured and bound by community ties and it recognizes itself in a specific symbolic universe. Such space – resulting from a vertical identity construction, taking place above the ground – appears especially clearly in the novels of Vladymir Khiliak, Aleksij Toronskiy, and Petro Polanskiy, marked symptomatically by the ethnic places' specificity.

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[17] As it was believed by the nineteenth century national homeland's constructors, who followed Herder's line of thought.

To get one's own way – allocating against

Perhaps the most symptomatic and successively significant way to allocate identity is derived from an intuitive recognition of the strategic effectiveness of certain textual activities and also emanates from the subjective specificity of the allocation itself. It is the allocation against, which by its own semantics, communicates that something has violated the existing order and that it has occurred regardless of and paying no attention to the status quo, in spite of something.

The impetus of the binary counterstrike (easy to weaken by the self--evidence of the ability to master the borrowed tools), inner consolidation and ethnic space construction are necessary and essentializing steps. These steps, however, were not decisive in determining audibility/non-audibility, endurance, continuity, and a singular persistence of the Lemko voice. This peculiar evasive discourse – resulting from, and influencing the process of allocating against – creates a weak and strained, but persistent and lasting modality, which will be the basis for the Lemko ethos of endurance dominating this community's literature.

As pointed out very clearly by Bhabha, hybridity has a significant strategic potential, which – as I would like to add – has been made one of the most basic dimensions of Lemko "becoming" by implementing the "against" strategy with the use of the frontier location: "Hybridity represents that ambivalent 'turn' of the discriminated subject into the terrifying, exorbitant object of paranoid classification – a disturbing questioning of the images and presences of authority" (Bhabha 1994: 112).

Dariusz Skórczewski, who uses this concept to pinpoint "hybrids in the Polish-Ukrainian melting pot," highlighted the essence of this 'turn' "the process of assigning and determining meanings, which leads the colonized [subordinate – H.D.-F.] subject to obtain self-knowledge, including his own status in the colonialist [dominant – H. D.-F.] process" (2013: 267).

Like Semenko in *The silver dream of Salomea*, the nineteenth-century Lemko writers, and especially the most prominent one among them Vladimir Khiliak, participated "humbly" in the game of domination markings, in order to shift the meanings to create ruptures, allowing laughter, irony and sometimes mockery to sneak in easily. They did so with great awareness, which entailed potential for parody.

Let us quote here a characteristic excerpt from Khiliak's narration, which attempts to allocate the representation of Lemkoness in the field of

Ukrainianness-dominated Rusynnes. Nevertheless, through identity reflection, it gains the value of an ethnic place. The essay "Свадебныи звычаи у *Лемковъ*" ("The Wedding Customs of Lemkos"*)* is an excellent example. From the beginning, the author accuses himself of being tacky because of documenting and publishing such poor quality materials, as wedding customs of the Lemkos.

Persuaded by a friend, he decides to publish them after all, even though he realizes that they lack the dramatic quality of the weddings by the Bug River, the poetic atmosphere cherished by "the daughters of Ukraine." The author knows that not only does the Lemko folk genius despise the rules of poetics, but it is forced to borrow rhythm and expressions from the neighboring Slovak people. He also knows that the Beskid speech sounds ugly and unpleasant because of the accent as well as incorrect grammatical structure.

The echo of Toronskiy's descriptions can be easily found in these assertions. The author falls in with dominant, derogatory opinions that consistently view the Lemko space as worse. He repeats them and apparently takes them for granted:

> Я дальше знаю, що по причинѣ наведенныхъ недостатковъ, чтеніе «свадебныхъ звычаевъ у *Лемковъ*» будетъ немилосердно нудное, но противъ всѣхъ возможныхъ упрековъ и недовольствій изъ стороны почтеннѣйшыхъ читателей, вооружился я уже напередъ стоичною равнодушностію (Хилякъ 1871a: 5).

> I also know that, because of the abovementioned flaws, reading "The wedding customs of Lemkos" will be extremely difficult, but I have already prepared myself to face all possible criticism and signs of discontent with stolid indifference.

It is a perfect illustration of the "against." Against poor quality, I still introduce my subjectivity into the very discourse that attempts to exclude it as inferior. Khiliak can be considered a master of this game of mimicry, simulation, and hence, the shifting of meanings. The goal is to question the authority, which is seemingly acknowledged, but the act of fissural ironizing frees the subordinate from its power, and hence, opens the possibility to become independently or to become "against."

The Lemko world as portrayed in Khiliak's work is a world of paradoxical humiliation and elevation. It is its weakness and its power. One cannot question, negate, or enslave a world that adjusts to these positions itself, that is, becomes hybrid (ambivalent/self-contradicting) and thereby free of its own will. The following quote is from the number one position from the canon

of Lemko classics – *Gallows Hill* (Шыбеничний Верхъ; Іеронимъ Анонимъ (Владиір Хилякъ) 1882)*.* In the introduction, the author/narrator talks with the reader (a member of the Galician-Russian intelligentsia, characterized by a "higher taste," situated somewhere in the "Podolian marshes") and falls in with his taste and evaluation:

> Ты навѣрно, любезнѣйшій читатель, не посѣтилъ подбескидских странъ. Не дивуюсь тому, ибо, если бы та закутина русской земли отличалась изящною красотою природы или необыкновеннымъ явленіемъ физическимъ, навѣрно не укрылась бы она предъ пристрастнымъ любопытствомъ сплиноватого Англичанина – и ты, читая панегирикъ въ заграничныхъ часописяхъ, не выдержалъ бы, чтобы съ чужинцами не отдати признательность природою украшеной землѣ русской. Но на несчастье такъ не есть.
>
> Нужденная Лемковщина не имѣетъ ничего, чѣмъ бы могла принадити къ себѣ якого туриста; окрестность всюда стереотипна, гора и лѣсъ, лѣсъ и гора, а одна и другая однообразны. И села, между ними положенныи, почту ничѣмъ не розличаются, Всюда тѣ же хаты однообразныи, тягнущіися вздолжь потока, всюда церковця деревяна, съ трема червоными куполами, одна управа полева, овесь рѣдонькій, картофля низенькая, луги скупенькіи… Понимаешь, что переходити подобную страну одному – страшно скучится, и што мнѣ пріятный былъ бы товарищ въ дорозѣ. Прото не внѣми мнѣ во зло, если я тебе, любезнѣйшій читатель, умильно въ сопутники приглашаю (Іеронимъ Анонимъ (Владиір Хилякъ) 1882: 1).
>
> You, dear reader, have surely not been to the Beskid land. It does not surprise me, because if this corner of the Rusyn land was exceptional for its outstanding natural beauty and remarkable environmental peculiarities, it would certainly not hide from the leer of a gloomy Englishman – and you, while reading a panegyric in a foreign journal, would not resist to pay homage to the nature – embellished Rusyn land, along with other foreigners. Unfortunately, it is not so.
>
> Poor Lemkovyna cannot offer anything appealing that could lure a tourist. The area is trivial, with mountains and forests, forests and mountains everywhere, all looking alike. And the villages, situated in between, are indistinguishable. The same cottages everywhere scattered along the stream, small, wooden Orthodox churches with three domes, flat soil, thin oat, poor looking potatoes, sparse meadows… You can understand dear reader, that it is awfully boring to travel such a land alone and I'd be happy to have a companion. Therefore, please don't hold it against me, my most esteemed reader, if I humbly invite you to accompany me on this journey.

Once more, against all said, or repeated in the dominant discourse, the author/narrator draws this discourse (thinking with a right to be voiced)

into the world which is undoubtedly his, and which, after such introduction – causing (self) mediocrity and (self) degradation – can face any "haughtiness" without any consequences and without causing concerns about forcible destruction. Thus, the abolished authority frees the space from the usurpation, domination of the outer center.

Other textual strategies of becoming against are used by Petro Polanskiy, especially in his *Carpathian short stories* (Карпатскіи Новелли – Поляньскій 1988). His short stories can be considered an exemplary fulfillment of the postcolonial demand to abolish the colonizer's dominance, which should avoid ostentatious slogans, use simple categories, explanatory myths, and explicit historical narrations (Павлишин 1993: 116–117). Translated into a few Western European languages, Polanski's *Carpatian short stories* describe the Carpathian cultural space as embedded in a peculiar ahistoricism, timelessness, without the use of ethnic, ethnographic, national terms. Such an approach makes it impossible to question this unclassified space. The only spatially-cultural term used is the term "Carpathian" which also means native to the author:

> Передаючи читателямъ новелли изъ жизни народа въ Карпатахъ, я яко уроженецъ тыхъ-же Карпатъ, не могу не зазначити на тôмъ мѣстци одного всегда такъ пожелаємого явленія, состоящого въ томъ, що народъ той въ противоположности до зникающой вообще у иныхъ народовъ національной типовости, задержалъ до тепер прелесть своєй незатронутой еще типовой отдѣльности; уважаючи же дальше головнѣйшою основою новеллистики, сюжетъ поднятый изъ народа въ котромнебудъ изъ его слоєвъ, я томужъ моему отечественному карпатскому народу посвящаю послѣдующіи въ обохъ томахъ новелли и новелетты (Поляньскій 1988: "Предисловіе")

> By handing over to the reader these short stories depicting the life of the Carpathian nation, I, who was born in the Carpathians, must stress one phenomenon, which has always remained desirable, namely the fact that this nation has preserved up until now a charm of its still intact typical distinctiveness, unlike the nationalist typicality which is disappearing among other nations, while still taking the nation-related thread, or any of its layers, as the most significant basis for the short-story writing. To this nation, I dedicate the novellas and novelettes comprised consecutively within these two volumes.

Ivan Franko, in his attempt to question the voice which expresses the community self in a non-classificatory way, has written the following of Polansky: "про Карпати, їх місцевости і жильців виявляє просто фантастичну незнайомість, мішаючи презабавно лемківщину, мадярщину і румунщину

при характеристиці истиці прим., гуцульського села” (“His ignorance in regard to the Carpathians, their towns and inhabitants is phenomenal, as he hilariously blends Lemko, Hugarian and Romanian elements together, while depicting e.g. a Hutsul village”; Франко 1910: 312). Paradoxically, this allegation refers to the fact that the novellas lack elements that make such questioning possible.

New maps?

To sum up, I would like to ask: can the Lemko narration, noticeable in literary discourse, be considered “the unspoken, unrepresented pasts that haunt the historical present?”

I think that, in regard to this fundamental issue, the hybridity thesis can be played out well. The Lemko discourse, which is inherently hybrid, has not been/is not a silence or a lack of representation. It has had its representative continuity from the mid-nineteenth century up until now. Nevertheless, it was/is inaudible to a large extent. This hybridity, escaping the power of the dominant voices, at the same time evoked the inability to hear what had not been qualified properly. It takes sensitive ears tuned to polyphony to capture sounds that are located beyond the acknowledged register of meanings. The meeting of these ears with the Lemko “against” may result in “drawing new maps,” not geopolitical, but the geopoetic ones.

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Postawy względem języka łemkowskiego – wzór i jego realizacja[1]

MARTA WATRAL
Faculty of Philology
Jagiellonian University, Kraków

Summary

Attitudes toward the Lemko language: the model and its realization

The paper discusses and compares two models of language attitudes of Lemko speakers' language attitudes: an idealistic one based on the literary concept created by Petro Trochanowski (Murianka) and pragmatic one, which is reconstructed from the statements of Lemko language speakers.

For the Lemkos, as a very small ethnic group (approx. 10,000 individuals), myths, symbols, and allegories that protect their identity against assimilation are very important. Nowadays, since Lemkos no longer have their homeland, Lemkowyna (which they lost after World War II, during Operation Vistula), and they still do not have institutions that ensure the development and continuance of their culture, literature is a crucial source of models of being a Lemko. The author of this article reconstructs one of those models from Petro Trochanowski's literary texts. She claims that Trochanowski is the most important and most influential contemporary Lemko writer and activist. For that reason, she chose him to show the essence of Lemko identity and exemplary attitude towards the Lemko language.

Trochanowski's model is based on indigenous Lemko heritage, which was transmitted to him by his parents (Lemkos who lived most of their lives in Lemkowyna and they can be the source of true Lemko identity) and which he wants to preserve through his actions and literature. He considers the Lemko language, which still has the power of creating bonds and generating significant values for the Lemko ethnos, as the only possible tool to understand and love the lost homeland. To preserve this language, Lemkos have to (according to Trochanowski) stop viewing it as an imperfect tool or a medium that is not good enough to communicate on every level of everyday life. They have to start (or find in themselves) to truly love this important element of their identity and take care of it. The first of the statements refers to a common stereotype that being "different" is not a value, but a stigma. After forced resettlement (Operation Vistula), the Lemkos are still afraid to express their distinct identity. Because of that, they created hybrid identities (an extreme case of which is the total denial of their origin) to help them to assimilate and leave behind the trauma they experienced. Trochanowski represents a very different attitude, conceiving his role for the Lemko community as a teacher who has to give his people an example how to be proud of their heritage. The paradigm of being a Lemko, which he expressed in his first manifesto in 1987 (*Lemko's word about himself and his nation* – Trochanowski 1987), nowadays (in 2015) is still up to date and Trochanowski's literary works still realize it. This paradigm is based on memory (the cannot forget about their history), love (a very specific concept of love, which contains awareness of their origin as well as a deep need to reach out to its essence, and the unconditional need to save these values for future generations), and responsibility (also for safeguarding the original Lemko language). The responsibility for the language is very important for Trochanowski because (he claims) only when the Lemkos develop the need to speak and write in correct (consistent with the generated standard) language in themselves will the future of the Lemko identity (which is based on the language) be safe.

Trochanowski's concept/model is some kind of utopia, an ideal way to preserve the Lemko heritage for a very long time. The author of this paper confronts the model described above with linguistic practice. Gathered during field interviews, this research material shows the whole spectrum of attitudes towards the Lemko language.

Interviews confirm that there is a group of Lemkos who still do not (or no longer) value their Lemko identity. The reasons for this attitude (according to respondents' opinions), apart from fear, include the status position of the Lemko language (and every other minority language) in Poland. Lemko is not the language of social advancement and promotion. There are very few

media outlets in this language; there is no Lemko television, or even colour-ful books for children (apart from one or two). That is why, in Poland, it is simply easier to speak Polish. Choosing another language is some kind of manifesto that requires determination and awareness. The interviews also reveal an example of extreme version of that kind of attitude – a total denial and separation from the roots (one of the respondents says explicitly that its origin does not matter to him). On the contrary, there is a group of respondents who are proud of being a Lemko and who care enough to use the Lemko language in their everyday live. This group consists of mainly activists and teachers – people who consciously choose to work for the Lemko community.

In the analysed material, the author has not found many examples of love of Lemko linguistic heritage (according to Trochanowski's concept), except for a statement of a Lemko language teacher who talked about her students. This is an exemplary attitude – students are not upset when other children make fun about their language because they know its value well.

In the interviews there are some references to linguistic correctness. Respondents point out that it is difficult to maintain the native Lemko language in the Polish environment. Even though there are families that only use the Lemko language in communication with each other, it has already come under heavy influence of Polish. Presently, there is also a harmful myth, which suggests that it will be difficult for a Lemko child (who before going to school speaks only Lemko) to adapt to the Polish language environment, that it causes considerable problems in his or her development. Finally, the author compares those two models described in the introduction, concluding that Trochanowski's idealistic model is the only hope for the survival of the Lemko language. She emphasizes that – which is also confirmed by the interviews – interlingual interference leads to the increasing assimilation of the Lemko language because it is too weak to defend itself.

Wstęp

> Попрі тым – де, як де, але в сучасных лемківсκых выданях вступне слово може ся аж і придати. Хоцбы для тых, найчастійше з того поколіня, не памятаючых уж Краю і автентычной культуры вітців, для тых обкуреных, як черешні на морговици, порогом обчых доріг. Істніє в однесіню до них цілком оправдане підозріня, же не будут певны – ци вміщене медже тыма окладинками є вытвором етнічной групы даякого народу, ци тіж окремного народу. Одкале оно – тото підозріня?

Прочытувал єм нераз ріжны вступы до тематычных выдань, писани інчыма языками нич "тота" решта. І не было бы в тым ничого аж так дивного (на примір – німецкє выданя Іляды і Одысеі), кєд бы не факт, же оны вступны слова старали ся переконати, што ціла «решта» належыт до языка «вступців».

Oprócz tego – gdzie jak gdzie, ale we współczesnych łemkowskich wydaniach słowo wstępne może się nawet przydać. Choćby tym, głównie z tego pokolenia, niepamiętającym już Kraju i autentycznej kultury ojców, tym przykurzonym, jak czereśnie przy polach, prochem obcych dróg. Istnieje w odniesieniu do nich bardzo prawdopodobne podejrzenie, że nie będą pewni, czy to, co jest zamieszczone między tymi okładkami, jest wytworem etnicznej grupy jakiegoś narodu, czy też osobnego narodu. Skąd takie podejrzenie?

Nieraz czytałem różne wstępy do tematycznych wydań, pisane innym językiem niż „ta" reszta. I nie byłoby w tym nic aż tak dziwnego (jak na przykład niemieckie wydania *Iliady* i *Odysei*), gdyby nie fakt, że owe słowa wstępne starały się przekonać, że cała „reszta" należy do języka autorów tych wstępów (Trochanowski 1995: 3; tłum. M.W.).

Cytowany fragment pochodzi ze wstępu do łemkowskojęzycznej publikacji z 1995 roku, która zbiera w sobie poezję pisaną przez Łemków, kierowaną do łemkowskich dzieci. Jednak redaktor tej antologii, Petro Trochanowski (Murianka)[2], nie zwraca się w przysługującym mu słowie wstępnym tylko do najmłodszych. Tak konstruuje tekst otwierający, by, oprócz oczywistych kwestii organizujących zawartość książki, przemycić w nim także istotny aspekt ideologiczny, który ma wyznaczyć klucz do dalszej lektury.

W przytoczonym fragmencie Trochanowski nakreśla sytuację języka łemkowskiego i rysuje jego zagrożenia. Wychodzi od precyzyjnego nazwania publikacji „wydaniem łemkowskim". W odniesieniu do każdego języka, który jest językiem urzędowym w państwie, ma za sobą instytucje i grono wyedukowanych w tym języku ludzi, bez trudu rozpoznających swój kod, można by to uznać za informację niepotrzebną. W tym wypadku jednak redaktor podkreśla, że zwraca się do grupy, która znalazła się w sytuacji tak zawikłanej, że problematyczna i niejednoznaczna może być nawet wstępna identyfikacja zapisanego w jej kodzie językowym tekstu. Wynika to z nieścisłości w identyfikacji tożsamościowej. Trochanowski pisze ten wstęp dla Łemków, którzy rekonstruują swoją łemkowskość nie z pierwotnego autentycznego rdzenia (który dla pisarza jest autonomiczny, rusiński), tylko ze sztucznych

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[2] Trochanowski to nazwisko rodowe autora, w praktyce literackiej posługuje się także pseudonimami. Ich wybór zależy w dużej mierze od postawy, jaką przyjmuje w danym tekście. Manifesty światopoglądowe, teksty publicystyczne itp. sygnuje nazwiskiem, teksty liryczne (także te, które należy odczytywać przez klucz symboliczny), literackie formy bycia aktywistą łemkowskim podpisuje jako Petro Murianka, teksty dedykowane łemkowskim dzieciom pisze jako уйко Петро (wujek Petro). W artykule używam nazwiska i pseudonimu (Murianka) zamiennie.

źródeł dostarczanych przez retorykę propagandową, która Łemków widzi jako grupę etniczną narodu ukraińskiego. Ta niepewność co do źródeł własnej tożsamości jest według Trochanowskiego jednym z głównych zagrożeń dla języka łemkowskiego. Grupa, która po akcji „Wisła" straciła kontakt ze swoim krajem ojczystym i została skazana na dostosowanie się do nowych kryteriów bytowania wymuszających asymilację, potrzebuje, zdaniem pisarza, bardzo mocnego, niezachwianego, pewnego fundamentu do rekonstrukcji rdzennej łemkowskości. Bez niego Łemkowie nie będą w stanie zachować swojego ojczystego języka, co nie tyle będzie wynikiem ich złej woli, co braku standardu, systemu odniesień, źródeł, czyli wypracowanego systemu weryfikacji poprawności i autentyczności językowej. Trochanowski w cytowanym fragmencie daje wyraz obawie przed zamazywaniem się istotnych granic między tożsamościami etnicznymi, gdyż wychodzi z założenia, że i tak już słaba mniejszość łemkowska nie ma szans wyjść z takich konfrontacji bez szwanku.

Zestawienie konkretnego modelu rewitalizacji języka, za który przyjmuję dalej opisany model Petra Trochanowskiego, z praktyką językową reprezentowaną przez wywiady zebrane podczas badań terenowych projektu *Ginące języki*, w zamierzeniu ma pokazać, jak język łemkowski radzi sobie w sytuacji podporządkowania i postępującej asymilacji.

Wzór

Petro Trochanowski (Murianka) jest najbardziej znanym twórcą łemkowskim. W pojęciu twórca zawieram różnorodność aktywności na polu mniejszościowym – Trochanowski jest (i podaję tu tylko te profesje, które pozostawiły po sobie ślady literackie): pisarzem, poetą, dramaturgiem, redaktorem, felietonistą, dziennikarzem, tłumaczem, biografistą, przez długi czas był także nauczycielem języka łemkowskiego. Jego twórczość literacka i aktywność na polu mniejszościowym to jeden z nielicznych łemkowskich głosów wchodzących w obręb dyskursu centrowego. Funkcjonowanie jako wzór postawy skoncentrowanej na zachowaniu łemkowskiej etniczności, tożsamości, języka jest w przypadku Murianki tożsame z byciem swoistego rodzaju eksponatem łemkowskości, który skupia w sobie uniwersalne dla tej społeczności symbole, jest autentycznym nośnikiem pamięci o źródłach etnosu. Z tych względów wyróżniam literacki model rewitalizacji łemkowskiej przestrzeni kulturowej Petra Murianki (Trochanowskiego) jako wzorcowy i na nim opieram omówienie postaw wobec języka łemkowskiego.

Analizę tekstów literackich Murianki (obejmujących poezję, prozę, manifesty, formy dramatyczne, artykuły w czasopismach, felietony, teksty użytkowe, autorskie projekty podręczników, teksty powstałe w czasie wieloletniej pracy nauczyciela języka łemkowskiego i teksty wstępne do łemkowskojęzycznych wydań) jestem zmuszona zawęzić tylko do wybranych pozycji, jednak zaznaczam, że w moim przekonaniu wszystkie formy pisane stworzone przez Trochanowskiego wpisują się w spójny model rewitalizacyjny wypracowany już w pierwszych próbach tekstowych pisarza.

Przydatny w rekonstrukcji tego modelu jest przede wszystkim polskojęzyczny[3] manifest *Słowo Łemka o sobie i swoim narodzie* (Trochanowski 1987: 5–15) opublikowany w kwartalniku „Regiony" w 1987 roku. Z racji przynależności gatunkowej programowo zawiera najważniejsze postulaty dotyczące troski o zachowanie języka, a przez to kultury łemkowskiej. Manifest Trochanowskiego zapisany jest jako swoisty strumień świadomości, w którym najdotkliwsze łemkowskie traumy (utrata ojczyzny, wysiedlenia i ich konsekwencje, język propagandy zacierający niuanse, krzywdzący dla narodu łemkowskiego, wyzwalający w nim poczucie, że los łemkowski jest karą za grzechy) powracają w toku narracji i są przepracowywane cały czas na nowo, jakby autor szukał odpowiednich słów w języku polskim na precyzyjne dookreślenie tego, czym jest łemkowskość i dlaczego tak ważne dla sąsiadów Polaków jest zrozumienie jej fundamentów. Taka organizacja tekstu to także znaczący zabieg estetyczny. Poetyckie obrazy Łemkowyny wprowadzane do tekstu za pomocą metafory barwiących kamyków połyskujących w górskim strumieniu oraz w opowieściach rodziców, Trochanowski przeplata z bolesnymi faktami ze świata zewnętrznego, tworząc kolaż elementów łemkowskiej tożsamości i jednocześnie w najdotkliwszy z możliwych sposobów uprawdopodabniając zapisywane słowa. Ze względu na to poniższy fragment o języku jest czymś więcej niż manifestem własnego wyboru. Brzmi jak prawdziwy, świadomy, przemyślany, głęboki wyraz własnej tożsamości:

> Piszę po łemkowsku. Wprawdzie pierwszą swoją rymowankę napisałem po polsku, wprawdzie los (jeśli przypisać mu taką rolę, a nie sobie) tak zrządził, że nauczyłem się rosyjskiego i ukraińskiego i w tych właśnie językach stworzyłem pierwsze rzeczy, które umownie nazwać można wierszami. Wcześnie jednak

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[3] W języku polskim Petro Trochanowski napisał także powieść biograficzną *A Wisła dalej płynie*. Również w tym przypadku wybór języka podyktowany był potrzebą komunikacji z sąsiadami (Polakami), stąd też dedykacja książki brzmi: „Sąsiadom naszym, Polakom, z wiarą – że zechcą przeczytać i spróbują zrozumieć, poświęcam" (Murianka 2007).

zrozumiałem, że te uczone i wielkie języki za małe są, by przez nie oddać, wypowiedzieć łemkowski ból, tęsknotę i wszystko inne. […]

Piszę po łemkowsku, bo w każdym innym języku łemkowskie symbole, synonimy i cała obrazowość stają się drewniane. Piszę po łemkowsku, bo w moim odczuciu tylko po łemkowsku sokół naprawdę cierpi z godnością, jodła szumi tęsknotą, a pieśń szuhaja jest niepowtarzalna. Piszę po łemkowsku, bo brzmi on dla mnie najpiękniej.

I dlatego jeszcze, a może przede wszystkim, piszę po łemkowsku, dlatego że jest to język mojej matki i mojego ojca. Bo jest to język mój i moich dzieci (Trochanowski 1987: 13–14).

Z powyższej deklaracji można zrekonstruować myślenie Petra Murianki (Trochanowskiego) o języku ojczystym, które stanowi podstawę tworzonego przez niego programu odpominania i umacniania języka przodków. Pierwszym argumentem, którym tłumaczy determinację swojego wyboru, Trochanowski próbuje odwrócić panujące wśród Łemków przekonanie o gorszości, słabości, niewystarczalności, prastości, prostocie ich ojczystego języka. Według pisarza takie przekonanie, ciągle pokutujące w straumatyzowanym łemkowskim narodzie, nie daje możliwości docenienia ogromnej roli, jaką w kształtowaniu tożsamości etnicznej ma rdzenny, autentyczny ojczysty język. O tym, że świadomość tego stanu rzeczy jest dla Murianki fundamentalna, świadczyć mogą pierwsze słowa manifestu *Słowo Łemka…*:

Kultury każdego osiadłego, mniej lub więcej cywilizowanego narodu nie sposób widzieć w oderwaniu od korzeni, od ziemi ojczystej. Tworzona pieśń, wiersz, ikona czerpią inspirację, wyrastają z otaczającego cię świata. Świata, który kochasz i poprzez tę właśnie, może i podświadomą miłość – tworzysz (Trochanowski 1987: 5).

Trochanowski wychodzi z założenia, że twórcza moc języka jest nadzieją na zachowanie rozbitej przez wysiedlenia łemkowskości. W sytuacji, w której zrekonstruowanie struktury życia sprzed 1947 roku jest niemożliwe, bo nie da się zebrać wszystkich wysiedlonych łemkowskich rodzin z powrotem na górzystej Łemkowynie i odzyskać etosu trwania w pierwotnej wersji, język pozostaje funkcjonalnym i ważnym narzędziem w zatrzymaniu procesu destrukcji łemkowskiego etnosu. Z tego względu Murianka podkreśla bardzo wyraźnie ważność i moc tego kodu porozumiewania się. Skontrastowanie go z językiem dominującym (polskim) oraz innymi „uczonymi" (czyli wykształconymi na tyle, że teoretycznie można w nich powiedzieć wszystko na wszystkie możliwe tematy) językami i przewrotne odwrócenie

relacji słaby–mocny jest jedną z metod, którą Murianka konsekwentnie sto-
suje, by wzbudzić w Łemkach poczucie dumy z języka ojczystego. Ten sam
propagandowy zabieg prezentuje poniższy fragment:

> Мал єм колиси щестя чути, будуюче для нас, професорскє твердджыня, же
> кєд бы 50-мілийоновий, высоко розвинений французкій нарід розселити
> помедже міліярдовых Кытайців, лишыти без єдной свойой книжкы – за
> піл столітя лем брак жаб посвідчал бы о ренетычній іх там бытности.

> Miałem kiedyś szczęście usłyszeć budujące dla nas, profesorskie stwierdzenie,
> że jeśli by pięćdziesięciomilionowy, wysoko rozwinięty naród francuski roz-
> proszyć między miliardowych Chińczyków i zostawić bez ani jednej swojej
> książki – za pół stulecia tylko brak żab zaświadczałby o genetycznej ich tam
> bytności (Trochanowski 1992: 1, tłum. M.W.).

Dowartościowaniu języka łemkowskiego w świadomości Łemków służy
podkreślanie, przypominanie, udowadnianie przez Trochanowskiego, że jest
to język autonomiczny, istniejący samodzielnie, niewymagający uzasadnienia
w innych językach. Stąd też, wracając do inicjalnego cytatu, kompulsywna
wręcz potrzeba wykorzystywania każdej możliwej sposobności do podkre-
ślenia tych faktów. W założeniu Trochanowskiego jedynie przez tego rodzaju
pracę u podstaw możliwe będzie wytworzenie w łemkowskim narodzie,
opozycyjnego do istniejącego, przekonania o sile i mocy ich własnej, niepo-
życzonej od nikogo, niebędącej wyrazem ich podporządkowania, a raczej
manifestem autonomii, kultury. Z tego względu wstęp do antologii poezji
dziecięcej pisarz naznacza zdecydowanym przekazem:

> Заходит потреба тото зробити. Жебы повісти, што доєдно словечко, як
> зо вступу, так і – важнійшых – за ним текстів, написане єст в лемківскій
> одмині русинского ЯАЗЫКА, котрий не є нияком окрайцьом, ци окраіном
> чогоси там більшого, важнійшого, а є самым собом.

> Zachodzi potrzeba, by to zrobić. By powiedzieć, że każde słóweczko, zarówno
> ze wstępu, jak i – ważniejszych – za nim tekstów, jest napisane w łemkowskiej
> odmianie rusińskiego JĘZYKA, który nie jest żadnym skrawkiem czy okraw-
> kiem czegoś tam większego, ważniejszego, a samym sobą (Trochanowski
> 1995: 4; tłum. M.W.).

Umocnienie pozycji języka łemkowskiego jest podstawą w rewitalizacyj-
nym modelu Murianki. Kolejnym etapem, który można wyznaczyć w oparciu
o przywołany fragment *Słowa Łemka…*, jest obudzenie w Łemkach pierwotnej,
szczerej, silnej miłości do własnej mowy, poczucia przynależności do tego
kodu językowego. Trochanowski niejednokrotnie odnosi się do uczuciowego,

pozarozumowego, pierwotnego aspektu łemkowskości, wierzy, że każdy Łemko ma w sobie pierwiastek miłości do Ojczyzny i nawet jeśli ginie on, przykurzony, wśród pragmatycznych wyborów sprzyjających asymilacji, to da się go odzyskać i zrekonstruować. Idealistyczne myślenie Murianki oparte jest zawsze na tym samym przekonaniu – Łemko, który pragnie pozostać Łemkiem, będzie robił wszystko, by uratować dla siebie i swoich dzieci kulturę przodków. Murianka bardzo wierzy w tych Łemków, pomaga im jak tylko może, by mieli na czym odbudowywać swoją łemkowskość. O tym, jak bardzo zależy mu na sferze odczuwania tożsamości i że to w niej pokłada nadzieje na dobrowolne, świadome i konsekwentne trwanie w łemkowskości, może świadczyć konstrukcja jego autorskiego projektu elementarza do nauki łemkowskiego *А я знам азбуку. Лемківскій буквар* (Murianka 2003). Słowo wstępne do dzieci (uczniów) kreuje na przypowieść o miłości do Ojczyzny, w której lokuje podstawowe wyznaczniki-symbole przestrzeni bliskiej, swojskiej, bezpiecznej. Murianka powołuje się także na autorytet, który przedstawia zaczynającym naukę swojego języka Łemkom:

> Давно, давно тому чул єм од старого, сивого діда повіджыня: „камін росне”. „А бесідує?” зьвідал єм діда. „Так, бесідує!” – одповіл мі дідо. „Та кєд не німий аж і камін, певні мают свою бесіду і потічкы, лісы, травы, квітя?” – мучыл єм дале сивого діда. Товды він рюк: „Вшытко на сьвіті свою бесіду має.”. І додал: „Лем треба кохати, лем треба ся навчыти розуміти...”.
>
> Dawno, dawno temu usłyszałem od starego, siwego dziada powiedzenie: „kamień rośnie”. „A mówi?” zapytałem. „Tak, mówi!” – odpowiedział mi dziadek. „Skoro nawet kamień nie jest niemy, to pewnie mają swoją mowę i potoki, lasy, trawy, kwiaty?” – męczyłem dalej siwego starca. Wtedy on rzekł: „Wszystko na świecie ma swoją mowę”. I dodał: „Tylko trzeba kochać, tylko trzeba się nauczyć ją rozumieć…” (Murianka 2003: 5; tłum. M.W.).

Wprowadzonym w ten sposób w stan ciekawości i zasłuchania (zgodny z paradygmatem opowiadania, przekazywania opowieści) dzieciom Murianka w kolejnym akapicie podaje wzór postawy, która umożliwi im dotarcie do ich indywidualnej prawdy:

> Вслухувал єм ся не раз, як бедут зо собом розмову Горы Бескіды, што од віків далеких небо підперают в рідным нашым краю. Здавало ся мі, же навчыл єм ся розуміти шум дерев і черкіт потічків. І был єм щесливий. Такє диво може ся сполнити і Вам, Діти. Лем треба міцно, барз міцно кохати.
>
> І іщы єдно. Конечні треба навчыти ся азбукы, вчыти ся і вчыти нашой богатой, прекрасной лемківской бесіды. Інакше нашы Горы не зрозуміют Вас.

Nieraz wsłuchiwałem się, jak wiodą ze sobą rozmowy Góry Beskidy, które od dawnych wieków podpierają niebo w naszym ojczystym kraju. Zdawało mi się, że nauczyłem się rozumieć szum drzew i szmer strumyków. I byłem szczęśliwy. Takie cuda mogą się przytrafić i Wam, Dzieci. Tylko trzeba mocno, bardzo mocno kochać.

I jeszcze jedno. Koniecznie trzeba nauczyć się alfabetu, uczyć się i uczyć naszego bogatego, pięknego języka. Inaczej nasze Góry nie zrozumieją Was (Murianka 2003: 5; tłum. M.W.).

Rozumienie Gór, czyli rozumienie przestrzeni kulturowej, możliwość czerpania z nich siły, którą zachowuje się dla przyszłych pokoleń – to wszystko, według Murianki, zawiera się w języku. Gdzieś między bukwami А i Я, przechodząc przez serię czytanek i wierszyków, mały Łemko ma pokochać coś, co tkwi w nim bardzo głęboko, a do czego przez żaden inny kod językowy nie będzie miał dostępu. To bardzo osobliwy koncept – rozbudzić w najmłodszym pokoleniu ciepłe, przyjazne uczucia, powołując się na obraz ich własnych domowych arkadii, powiązać ten obraz z baśniowym przedstawieniem mowy natury i obiecać, że rodzimy kraj będzie mogło się zrozumieć, zachować dla siebie i przez to osiągnąć szczęście, jeśli podejmie się wyzwanie nauki języka. I wcale nie jest to myślenie naiwne, właśnie na takich uczuciach budowana jest współczesna tożsamość łemkowska. Literacki dorobek powysiedleńczych pokoleń Łemków bazuje na tej nostalgii (Duć-Fajfer 2002: 26–40).

Ostatni z przywołanych fragmentów uruchamia także kolejną bardzo ważną dla Trochanowskiego kwestię – poprawności językowej. Model tożsamości łemkowskiej nie może opierać się, zdaniem autora, na formach przybliżonych, niepewnych, niekonkretnych, bo takimi można bardzo łatwo manipulować i, zgodnie z obawami zawartymi w inicjalnym cytacie, wmawiać im inne pochodzenie, podważać ich autonomię. Z tego względu napominanie Łemków w kwestiach poprawności językowej nie jest ze strony Murianki próbą podważenia ich kompetencji[4], ale staraniem o to, by wypracować w nich nawyk dbania o to, co jest ich największą wartością. Także po to, by wyeliminować przekonanie o bylejakości i gorszości tego kodu. W słowie wstępnym kierowanym do rodziców zaznacza to bardzo wyraźnie:

Прото і в Вашу силу вірю, силу тіла і духа вшыткых Вас, прожываючых в землях далекых, Вас – котры ждали сте роками на лемківскій буквар, і Вас

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[4] To kwestia w dalszym ciągu bardzo drażliwa. Przeprowadzana obecnie kodyfikacja języka łemkowskiego oraz jego rewitalizacja w formie jak najbardziej zbliżonej do rdzennej pozwalają dostrzec bardzo wyraźnie proces asymilacji, a Łemkowie bardzo niechętnie przyznają się do robienia błędów w swoim własnym języku.

– котрым трафит він до рук несподівано, нежджано. Буквар позволит Вам самым, Родиче, скоригувати власны знаня в однесіню до рідной бесіди. Та передовшыткым поможе плекати покін Матери, Вітців Вашых в серцях Вашых *Діточок*. Кєд того прагнете, кєд не обоятне Вам – ци по віках тырваня слово Матери-*Лемкыні* жыло буде, або ні.

Dlatego i w Waszą siłę wierzę, siłę ciała i ducha wszystkich Was, żyjących na dalekich ziemiach, Was – którzy lata czekaliście na łemkowski elementarz, i Was – którym trafi on do rąk niespodziewanie, nieoczekiwanie. Elementarz pozwoli Wam samym, Rodzice, skorygować własną wiedzę w odniesieniu do ojczystej mowy. Ale przede wszystkim pomoże oddawać pokłon Matce, Ojców Waszych w sercach Waszych Dzieci. Jeśli tylko tego pragniecie, jeśli nie jest Wam obojętne – czy po wiekach trwania słowo Matki-Łemkini będzie żyło, czy nie (Murianka 2003: 4; tłum. M.W.).

Rekonstruowany z przywołanego fragmentu *Słowa Łemka…* model, którego dwa fundamenty (odczarowanie negatywnych stereotypów ciążących na języku łemkowskim i wzbudzenie szczerej autentycznej miłości do ojczyzny, której oczywistym następstwem będzie szczególna troska o własne dziedzictwo kulturowe) zostały już opisane, zakłada również kompleksowe działania na rzecz zachowania przekazu międzypokoleniowego. Trochanowski podkreśla, że kod, którym posługują się wszyscy członkowie wielopokoleniowej rodziny nie może zostać zapomniany, aby jego użytkownicy zawsze mieli świadomość przynależności do tego kodu i nie odczuwali potrzeby szukania jego substytutów w kontaktach między sobą. W czytankach *Elementarza łemkowskiego* symbolem takiego przekazu jest postać mędrca – dziadka Justyna:

Дідо Юстин

Дідо Юстин має вісемдесят сім років. Сивы баюсы сігают му поза бороду. Волосы так само сивы-білы, дістают рамен. Давно, даво, в молодости, дідо Юстин был югасом. Знає оповідати розмаіты історіі. Діти ради слухают діда Юстина.

Dziadek Justyn

Dziadek Justyn ma osiemdziesiąt siedem lat. Siwe wąsy sięgają mu poza brodę. Włosy tak samo siwe-białe, dosięgają ramion. Dawno, dawno, w młodości, dziadek Justyn był juhasem. Opowiada rozmaite historie. Dzieci z chęcią słuchają dziadka Justyna (Murianka 2003: 61; tłum. M.W.).

Wprowadzając postać dziadka-mędrca do narracji *Elementarza*, Murianka chce wypracować w jego młodych odbiorcach nawyk słuchania i opowiadania. Moment, w którym zaczyna się opowieść, ma zapisać się w świadomości młodych Łemków jako wprowadzenie do przestrzeni organizowanej przez czas sakralny, do rytuałów, które mają zostać częścią ich codziennego

życia. Opowieść ma być również, w zamyśle Murianki, wartością, którą się chroni przez zapomnieniem, bo w opowieści (i teraz już tylko w niej) można przekazywać to, co ocalało z przedwysiedleńczego świata. W *Słowie Łemka…* przestrzeń rodzimej Łemkowyny została wprowadzona zgodnie z takim samym modelem:

> Gdy tylko ojciec wyprzęgał konie, w cebrzyku uczynił ręce mniej czarnymi, zjadł chleb z czosnkiem, otarł wąsy i wziął mnie wreszcie na kolana – wszystko zaczynało żyć. W tamtej dalekiej ziemi. I nikt mnie nie przekona, że była gdziekolwiek ziemia piękniejsza, ziemia weselsza. Gdyby była, tato powiedziałby mi o niej. I mama skinęłaby na potwierdzenie, że tak jest istotnie. Nie było nigdzie ziemi piękniejszej, ziemi weselszej. Niż tamta daleka, bardzo daleka (Trochanowski 1987: 5).

Pielęgnowanie przekazu międzypokoleniowego, a co za tym idzie, rytuału inicjacji w łemkowską przestrzeń kulturową, która odżywa wtedy, gdy zostanie opowiedziana, jest konieczne dla przetrwania łemkowskiego etnosu. Dla Łemków, którzy po wysiedleniach próbowali się odnaleźć w nowej rzeczywistości, sam fakt opowiadania był już swoistą deklaracją ideową. Deklaracją przynależności do dawnej ojczyzny i niezgody na zaistniałą sytuację. Kultywowanie przekazu między pokoleniami było gwarantem trwania kultury, jednak w formie coraz bardziej idealizowanej. To ważne, bo działacze tacy jak Petro Murianka byli w stanie ożywić ten idealny i skończony konstrukt w sytuacji powysiedleńczej i na nim odbudowywać autentyczne trwanie łemkowskiej grupy etnicznej.

Realizacja

Za źródło przykładowych postaw językowych wśród Łemków przyjmuję wywiady przeprowadzone w lipcu 2014 r. podczas badań terenowych projektu *Ginące języki. Kompleksowe modele badań i rewitalizacji*[5]. Zostały one przeprowadzone w miejscowościach Uście Gorlickie, Regietów i Krynica z udziałem przedstawicieli wszystkich grup wiekowych, od dzieci w wieku szkolnym

[5] Badania zostały przeprowadzone przez Ołenę Duć-Fajfer i Justynę Olko w ramach projektu finansowanego w ramach Narodowego Programu Rozwoju Humanistyki (patrz przypis 1) Korzystam z łemkowskojęzycznej transkrypcji tych wywiadów opracowanej przez Annę Maślaną. Przywołane fragmenty podaję w przekładzie własnym. Cytaty, które przytaczam, uznaję za prezentację postaw, a nie jednostkowych opinii, dlatego nie podpisuję ich imieniem i nazwiskiem osoby wypowiadającej.

po osoby należące do najstarszego pokolenia. Uznaję je za funkcjonalne za względu na to, że zawierają w sobie głosy reprezentatywnych typów użytkowników języka łemkowskiego: nauczycieli języka, aktywistów łemkowskich, nie-Łemków mówiących po łemkowsku, Łemków niemówiących po łemkowsku, nie-Łemków, którzy nauczyli się języka i działają w łemkowskich inicjatywach, dzieci wychowanych w łemkowskich rodzinach, z którymi rodzice rozmawiają lub nie rozmawiają w ojczystym języku, Łemków, którzy pielęgnują swoje korzenie i takich, którzy nie przywiązują do nich wagi i czują się przede wszystkim Polakami. Należy jednak zaznaczyć, że mimo prezentacji różnorodności postaw, materiał źródłowy nie wyczerpuje tematu (brak w nim na przykład głosów Łemków żyjących na Zachodzie).

Podążając szlakiem wytyczonym przez model Petra Trochanowskiego, analizę rozpoczynam od zdiagnozowania pozycji języka łemkowskiego w świadomości jego użytkowników. Bazować będę na klarujących się z wypowiedzi opozycjach, bo, w moim przekonaniu, mogą one stanowić zarys nadziei i zagrożeń dla trwania języka łemkowskiego.

Postawy negatywne wobec języka łemkowskiego wynikają m.in., zgodnie z zaznaczonymi we wcześniejszym rozdziale obawami Petra Murianki, z przekonania, że jest to język gorszy, mało wartościowy. Jeden z rozmówców stwierdza:

> Не вшытҡы, але барз велька част не чує... вартости того языка!
> Nie wszyscy, ale bardzo duża część nie czuje… wartości tego języka[6]!

W powyższej wypowiedzi znajduje potwierdzenie sygnalizowane już przekonanie Trochanowskiego, że brak troski natywnych użytkowników o język ojczysty doprowadzi do jego destrukcji. W wypowiedziach ten problem jest często podejmowany, rozmówcy starają się także wytłumaczyć źródła takiej postawy. Wśród nich podają przede wszystkim fakt, że współcześnie nie da się uwolnić od wpływów języka centrowego (w tym przypadku polskiego), bo jest to język telewizji, gazet, interesujących książek, Internetu. Stąd też, z czysto pragmatycznych przyczyn, język łemkowski nie stanowi dla niego realnego zagrożenia. W wypowiedziach prezentujących pozytywne i pełne troski odniesienia do języka brzmią tożsame do założeń Trochanowskiego opinie – dopiero w momencie, w którym mowa ojczysta będzie przez Łemków widziana jako wartość nadrzędna, jako cząstka duchowości, o którą trzeba szczególne dbać, będzie można być o trwanie tego języka spokojnym.

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[6] Materiały zebrane podczas badań terenowych.

Kolejna z wypowiedzi trafnie podsumowuje problem nierównych zależności między językiem mniejszościowym a centrowym:

> То не выглядат добрі и то не єст мудре, же Лемко свого языка не знат и гадат по польскы. А котрий Поляк гадат по лемківскы?

> To nie wygląda dobrze i nie jest to mądre, że Łemko nie zna swojego języka i mówi po polsku. A który Polak mówi po łemkowsku[7]?

Wnioskując z analizowanych wypowiedzi, sytuacja, w której Łemkowie zmieniają język w obecności Polaków, jest bardzo częsta. Dzieje się to nawet wtedy, gdy język łemkowski jest przez wszystkich rozumiany i nie jest czynnikiem wykluczającym z rozmowy. Niektórzy przedstawiciele mniejszości łemkowskiej niechętnie posługują się swoim językiem w przestrzeni publicznej, oznaczając ją jako ściśle polskojęzyczną. Momentów, w których Łemkowie muszą (w swoim odczuciu) pilnować się pod względem językowym, jest w codziennym życiu bardzo wiele, Polacy jednak nie muszą iść na tego rodzaju kompromisy, bo posługują się językiem urzędowym, wszystkim (także przedstawicielom mniejszości łemkowskiej) znanym. Można wyznaczyć grupę natywnych użytkowników języka łemkowskiego (co pokaże dalsza analiza), którzy sami siebie skazują na ten niekorzystny kompromis. Ze względu na to, że nie przywiązują wagi do swojego języka, nie widzą w tego typu sytuacjach faktycznego zagrożenia. W rozmowach pojawiają się głosy krytyczne względem takich postaw. Jeden z rozmówców proponuje taką ich diagnozę:

> Як ходит о люди, не ма то значыня ци хтоси є освіченый, ци ні. Як штоси чує и уважа, же для нього то є важне, то робит так, жебы внуки бесідували по нашому. Можна заувважыти, же більшіст тых, котрых діти и внуки бесідуют по нашому, то люде, котры мают освіту. Зас на селі, хоц бы могло ся тото тримати ліпше, бо вшыткы медже собом мешкают, то люде уж ся мучат и „mówią" до внуків заміст „бесідувати". Хоц мож не вшытко є страчене, бо як такы люде видят когоси, хто прикладат до того велику увагу, то переходят уж на лемківскій.

> Jak chodzi o ludzi, to nie ma znaczenia, czy ktoś jest wykształcony, czy nie. Jak to czuje i uważa, że jest to dla niego ważne, to robi tak, żeby jego wnuki mówiły w swoim ojczystym języku. Można zauważyć, że większość tych, których dzieci i wnuki mówią w języku ojczystym, to ludzie wykształceni. Choć mogłoby się wydawać, że na wsi lepiej mógłby się ten przekaz zachować, bo wszyscy między swoimi mieszkają, to ludzie tu się męczą i „mówią" do wnuków zamiast „бесідувати" (mówić po łemkowsku). Choć może nie wszystko jest jeszcze

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[7] Materiały zebrane podczas badań terenowych.

stracone, bo jak tacy ludzie widzą kogoś, kto przykłada do tego dużą wagę, to przechodzą na łemkowski[8].

Cytowana wypowiedź jest kolejnym potwierdzeniem tezy Murianki – Łemko, który ma w sobie mocne i niezachwiane przekonanie, że jego język jest wartością samą w sobie, o którą w obliczu postępującej asymilacji musi szczególnie się starać, nie będzie szukał do tego dodatkowych motywacji czy potwierdzenia tego wyboru w pragmatycznie rozumianych korzyściach. Jednak, co sugeruje autor tej wypowiedzi, wymaga to dużej samokontroli i determinacji.

Денекотры уважают, же лемківскій то непотрібний язык. Вшытко залежыт од того як твердо чловек до того підходит. Як підходит твердо, то неє клопоту. Стрічат ся знаємого в Горлицях в склепі, при касі. Пані рахує, а мы бесідуєме по свойому. Пані порахувала, мы сме побесідували и уж. В інчым припадку затримує ся когоси на улици, наоколо праві никого неє. Як ся повіст „добриден", то він ся озерат, ци припадком хтоси не чує. Бо ся „добриден" повіло, а ні „dzień dobry". То є смішне.

Niektórzy uważają, że łemkowski jest językiem niepotrzebnym. Wszystko zależy od tego, jak zdecydowanie człowiek do tego podchodzi. Jak jest zdecydowany (twardy), to nie ma problemu. Spotyka się znajomego w Gorlicach w sklepie przy kasie. Pani liczy, a my rozmawiamy w naszym języku. Pani policzyła, my porozmawialiśmy i już. W innym przypadku zatrzymuje się kogoś na ulicy, dookoła prawie nikogo nie ma. Jak się powie добриден (dzień dobry w języku łemkowskim), to on się ogląda, czy przypadkiem ktoś tego nie słyszy. Bo się добриден powiedziało, a nie dzień dobry[9].

Do wymienionych już kwestii problematycznych można dodać zasygnalizowany w powyższym przykładzie podświadomy, silnie zakorzeniony strach przed używaniem języka łemkowskiego. Z jednej strony wynika on z dziedziczonej po Akcji „Wisła" traumy, z drugiej – z przekonania, że inny od obowiązującego w państwie język stygmatyzuje jego użytkowników jako obywateli gorszych, drugiej kategorii.

Oprócz diagnoz i podsumowań postaw wynikających z samokrytyki i refleksji nad sytuacją językową Łemków, w omawianych wywiadach pojawiają się także klarowne i zdecydowane postawy negatywne wobec języka łemkowskiego:

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[8] Materiały zebrane podczas badań terenowych.
[9] Materiały zebrane podczas badań terenowych.

– А як ся навчат лемківского і будут до вас бесідувати, то як будете одповідати?

– По польскы. Не єм заінтересувана лемківскым языком. Вродила єм ся на Лемковині, мам лемківскы коріня, але не мам потреби переказувати того далі. Не інтересує мя тото. Але як они будут хтіти, то добрі, не бороню ім того, не бесідую, же не можут быти пролемківскы, же не можут бавити ся в греко-православны і місцевы воєнкы. Прошу барз. Мя тото не інтересує.

– Ale jak (pani dzieci) nauczą się łemkowskiego i będą w tym języku do pani mówić, to jak będzie im pani odpowiadać?

– Po polsku. Nie jestem zainteresowana językiem łemkowskim. Urodziłam się na Łemkowynie, mam łemkowskie korzenie, ale nie mam potrzeby przekazywania tego dalej. Nie interesuje mnie to. Ale jak one będą chciały, to dobrze, nie bronię im tego, nie mówię, że nie mogą być prołemkowskie, że nie mogą się bawić w te greko-prawosławne i miejscowe wojenki. Proszę bardzo. Mnie to nie interesuje[10].

Cytowany fragment jest przykładem postawy, która zakłada całkowite odrzucenie tożsamości łemkowskiej. W przypadku tej rozmówczyni jest to świadoma (bo zna swoje pochodzenie, nie wypiera go), przemyślana decyzja, podjęta po przeprowadzeniu się do miasta.

Powyższy przykład postawy nie jest odosobniony w narracji stworzonej przez analizowane wywiady. Moment, w którym opuszcza się przestrzeń łemkowskojęzyczną (np. rodzinną wieś), jest przez rozmówców definiowany jako moment graniczny – po wyjeździe już nie mówi się po łemkowsku nawet w obrębie rodziny:

Так, так є. Як діти выіхают, то уж не бесідуют. Тяжко. Телевізія, школы – всяди лем по польскы!

Tak, tak jest. Jak dzieci wyjadą, to już nie mówią. Ciężko jest. Telewizja, szkoły – wszędzie mówi się tylko po polsku[11]!

Odmiennie skrajną względem powyższej jest postawa modelowa (zgodnie z zamierzeniem Murianki), w której Łemkowie nie boją się mówić w swoim języku, wręcz przeciwnie, czują się niekomfortowo, jeśli także wewnątrz ich środowiska pojawiają się głosy, by nadmiernie się z tym faktem nie afiszować:

Дуже Лемків думат, же пресадні демонструє ся, кым ся єст. „Ідеш улицьом і мусиш афішувати ся з тым лемківскым?”. Бо мы сме повинны шептати…

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[10] Materiały zebrane podczas badań terenowych.
[11] Materiały zebrane podczas badań terenowych.

Wielu Łemków uważa, że aż przesadnie demonstrujemy, kim jesteśmy. „Idziesz ulicą i musisz afiszować się z tym łemkowskim?". Tak jakbyśmy powinni tylko szeptać…

A także:

– Певно, же так. Мы ся не крыєме, же на што ден бесідуєме по лемківскы.
– Неє ся з чым крыти.

– Тіж так думам. Але не вшыткы так думают.
– Pewnie, że tak. My się nie kryjemy z tym, że na co dzień rozmawiamy po łemkowsku.
– Nie ma z czym się kryć.
– Też tak myślę. Ale nie wszyscy myślą tak samo[12].

W wywiadach pojawiają się także stwierdzenia, że po łemkowsku nie da się mówić o wszystkim, bo rodzinny przekaz międzypokoleniowy nie obejmuje wszystkich sfer życia. Z tej przyczyny może dochodzić do sytuacji, w której zaraz po wyjściu z cerkwi (przestrzeni łemkowskojęzycznej) łemkowskie dzieci rozmawiają ze sobą po polsku na przykład o tym, co działo się w szkole (bo w niej funkcjonują w języku polskim i w swoim ojczystym kodzie nie znajdują narzędzi do nazywania zjawisk właściwych tej przestrzeni). Paralelną sytuację opisuje wypowiedź o dziecięcych zabawach w sklep – pomimo tego, że dzieci są wychowane w języku łemkowskim i tylko tym posługują się w domu, w czasie zabawy w sklep (kojarzony tylko z językiem polskim) przechodzą na inny kod językowy.

Ze względu na to, że omawiane wywiady koncentrowały się głównie na kwestiach posługiwania bądź nieposługiwania się językiem łemkowskim i diagnozowania rozpoznanych stanów, niewiele pojawia się w nich wątków bezpośrednio odnoszących się do uczuciowej sfery tożsamości (uczuciowej w rozumieniu Trochanowskiego). Pojawia się jednak głos nauczycielki języka łemkowskiego, który przedstawia podejście jej uczniów do nauki języka ojczystego:

Малы діти інакше розумуют. Они то одберают так: мы сме Лемкы, а преціж каждий Лемко ходит на лемківскій. (…) Діти си самы, як оборону, глядают тых аргументів.І найдуют іх: знаме чытати кырилицю. Як, на приклад, войдут Полякы до нашой лемківской клясы, то сміют ся з них: „Што ту єст написане?". „Не знаш чытати? Прочытай си! Треба ся было вчыти!".

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[12] Materiały zebrane podczas badań terenowych.

Самы си глядают потверджыня того, же єст то придатне.

Małe dzieci inaczej myślą. One to odbierają tak: jesteśmy Łemkami, a przecież każdy Łemko chodzi na łemkowski. (…) Dzieci same, jak obrony, szukają takich argumentów. I znajdują je: umiemy czytać cyrylicę. Jak na przykład wejdą Polacy do naszej łemkowskiej klasy, to śmieją się z nich: „ – Co tu jest napisane? – Co, nie umiesz czytać? Przeczytaj sobie! Trzeba się było uczyć!". Sami sobie szukają potwierdzenia tego, że nauka łemkowskiego jest przydatna[13].

Przytoczona wypowiedź może być przykładem idealnej realizacji zamierzeń Murianki z *Elementarza łemkowskiego* – młodzi Łemkowie są dumni ze swojego języka i dzięki temu nie ulegają złośliwym komentarzom kolegów. Okazuje się zatem, że taki model jest możliwy do wypracowania. Należy jednak podkreślić specyficzne okoliczności, w jakich wytworzył się taki model postawy – język łemkowski ma status przedmiotu (tak jak język polski czy matematyka), lekcje prowadzi nauczycielka, którą funkcjonowanie w określonej instytucji (szkole) stawia na pozycji autorytetu i w związku z tym uczniowie postrzegają te zajęcia zgodnie z wypracowanym w trakcie doświadczenia szkolnego schematem. Wypowiedzi dzieci i młodzieży w wieku szkolnym (zapisane w materiale, który analizuję) umieszczone w kontekście np. domowym nie zawierają już w sobie tej świadomej dumy z posługiwania się językiem łemkowskim.

W trakcie rozmów podjęty został również temat poprawności językowej:

– Што можна зробити? То єст реторычне звіданя. Найнормальнійша справа – треба вчыти!

– Што то значыт вчыти? В школі вчыти?

– Вчыти всяди. Треба бы може організувати такы усвідомлюючы стрічы, там де є дуже люди. На приклад на Ватрі. Амфітеатр буде гучал, бо буде злий, же то страта часу, они і так знают бесідувати, але і так треба бесідувати. Такій є світ, єст така тенденция. Єст то хворота, як Лемкы бесідуют медже собом по польски. Треба бы єй выліычти усвідомлюючы, цілий час і всяди звертаючы увагу. Цілий час і всяди, лем розумно.

– Co można zrobić? To jest pytanie retoryczne. Najnormalniejsza sprawa – trzeba uczyć!

– Co to znaczy uczyć? W szkole uczyć?

– Wszędzie uczyć. Może by trzeba organizować takie uświadamiające spotkania, tam gdzie jest dużo Łemków. Na przykład na Watrze. Amfiteatr będzie huczał, bo będzie zły, że to strata czasu, oni i jak znają język, ale i tak trzeba to mówić. Taki jest świat, taka jest tendencja. To jest choroba, jak Łemkowie

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[13] Materiały zebrane podczas badań terenowych.

mówią między sobą po polsku. Trzeba ją wyleczyć, uświadamiając, cały czas i wszędzie zwracając uwagę. Cały czas i wszędzie, tylko rozumnie[14].

W przytoczonym fragmencie rozmowy widać postawę działacza – osoby, która na sprawę łemkowską patrzy globalnie, ze świadomością dziejących się procesów asymilacyjnych, cały czas jednak mającą nadzieję na poprawę faktycznego stanu i jak najdłuższe utrzymanie przy życiu swojego dziedzictwa kulturowego.

Analiza materiałów źródłowych pokazuje, że najbardziej problematyczną i przez to najczęściej podejmowaną w rozmowach kwestią jest zachowanie przekazu międzypokoleniowego. Rozmówcy wskazują na takie czynniki, jak trudności w utrzymaniu tego przekazu w polskojęzycznej rzeczywistości, problemy z utrzymaniem w dzieciach nawyku mówienia po łemkowsku („jak było małe, mówiło, a teraz przestało" bądź odwrotnie), niekonsekwencję ze strony rodziców/dziadków w rozmawianiu po łemkowsku itp.

Не знам ци є так, же не реплікуют? Єднак діти ся старают одповідати по лемківскы. Барз часто єст так, же старшы бесідуют по лемківскы, а діти бесідуют уж по польскы. Думам, же причином може быти школа і телевізія. Як сут діти і лем част є двоязычна, а векшіст польскоязычна, то вшыткы забавы, лекции, спільна бесіда сут ведены в польскым языку, як універсальным.

Nie wiem, czy jest tak, że nie powtarzają? Jednak dzieci starają się odpowiadać po łemkowsku. Bardzo często jest tak, że starsi mówią po łemkowsku, a dzieci mówią już po polsku. Myślę, że przyczyną może być szkoła i telewizja. Jak tylko część uczniów jest dwujęzyczna, a większość polskojęzyczna, to wszystkie zabawy, lekcje, wspólne rozmowy są prowadzone w języku polskim, jako uniwersalnym[15].

Rozmówcy wskazują także na fakt, że sytuacja, w której dziecko mówi tylko po polsku, nawet gdy rodzice zwracają się do niego po łemkowsku, jest akceptowana w środowisku, bo „tak jest łatwiej". Do tego dochodzą jeszcze wspomniane już przekonania, że język łemkowski jest niewystarczający do komunikacji we wszystkich sferach codziennego życia, a także strach przed tym, by dziecko wychowane łemkowskojęzycznie nie miało problemów w szkole, w której będzie musiało funkcjonować w języku polskim. W wywiadach pojawiają się głosy obalające tę teorię:

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[14] Materiały zebrane podczas badań terenowych.
[15] Materiały zebrane podczas badań terenowych.

Бесідують, же як ся дітина по нашому вчит, то пак ма проблемы по польскы ся навчити. Маме внучку, котра ма 3,5 рока и она все бесідувала по нашому, бо выхована з дідами, бо векшіст часу перебывала ту, не в Кракові. И она тепер крас бесідує по польскы

Mówią, że jak się dziecko uczy naszego języka ojczystego, to potem ma problemy z nauką polskiego. Mamy wnuczkę, która ma 3,5 roku i ona cały czas mówiła po łemkowsku, bo wychowywała się z dziadkami, bo większość czasu przebywała tutaj, a nie w Krakowie. I ona teraz pięknie mówi po polsku[16].

Zdarzają się także sytuacje odwrotne, kiedy to dziecko napomina swojego rodzica, który zaczyna mówić po polsku. Jest to możliwe jednak tylko w przypadku rodzin, które są konsekwentnie łemkowskojęzyczne i wprowadzenie do wzajemnej komunikacji języka polskiego jest jasnym sygnałem nieprawidłowości w porozumiewaniu się:

– Дам примір. Ульця мала з вісем років, Андийко мал з десят років. Іхали сме потягом до Щеціна. Всіли сме до пределу и загадал єм до них по польскы.
– I дал єс раду.
– Але яка была іх реакция! Они смотрили на мене як на бортака. Одраз єм ся зорєнтувал, што єст гране и зачал єм до них по лемківскы бесідувати. Як бы мі повіли: „Што няню, вы здуріли?".
– Dam przykład. Ulcia miała siedem lat, Andryjko dziesięć. Jechaliśmy pociągiem do Szczecina. Wsiedliśmy do przedziału i zagadałem do nich po polsku.
– I dałeś radę.
– Ale jaka była ich reakcja! Patrzyli na mnie jak na wariata. Od razu się zorientowałem, co jest grane i zacząłem do nich mówić po łemkowsku. Jakby mi powiedzieli: „Czyś ty tato zgłupiał?"[17].

Rozmówcy podają także sposoby na reaktywację wspólnoty międzypokoleniowej, wprowadzenie komunikacji w języku ojczystym jako rodzinnego rytuału. Jeden z nich zakłada wykorzystanie łemkowskojęzycznych mediów do stworzenia sytuacji, w którą uwikłani będą wszyscy członkowie rodziny:

Діти любят як они выступують, як ся іх награват. Потім цілыма родинами слухают. Може якыса така інтернетова телевізія, тіж жебы ся виділи. Барз то іх мотивує. І мотивує цілу родину. Як ся прирыхтують, то потім самы ся обзерают, як гарді вышли...

Dzieci lubią, gdy one występują, gdy się je nagrywa. Potem całymi rodzinami słuchają. Może jakaś taka telewizja internetowa, żeby się też widzieli. To ich bardzo motywuje. I motywuje całą rodzinę. Jeśli się przygotują, to potem sami się oglądają, jak dobrze wypadli…[18]

Oprócz tego pomocne są przemyślane zadania domowe, zadawane uczniom języka łemkowskiego:

> Старам ся тіж іх вчыти свідомости і привязаня. Залежыт як ся іх дорогы поточат. Дуже на певно даст. Бесідувала єм до Анны, же даю ім задачу: 15 минут бесідувати дома по лемківскы. Є такій проблем, же сут барз спольонізуваны. Хцу спровокувати родичів, жебы ся навчыли з дітми ґадати. І то єст домова задача. Як таких не задаю, але прошу 15 минут побесідувати по лемківскы. І старают ся! То дає ефекти. През співанкы, на приклад, іх вчу. (…) Тым способом глядают наступных, жебы і мене навчыти.

> Staram się też uczyć świadomości i przywiązania. Zależy, jak się ich drogi potoczą. To na pewno dużo da. Mówiłam Annie, że daję im zadanie: 15 minut rozmowy w domu po łemkowsku. Jest taki problem, że oni są bardzo spolonizowani. Chcę sprowokować rodziców, żeby się nauczyli z dziećmi rozmawiać po łemkowsku. I to jest zadanie domowe. Jako takich nie zadaję, ale proszę, żeby przez 15 minut rozmawiali po łemkowsku. I starają się! To daje efekty. Uczę ich też na przykład przez piosenki. Tym sposobem szukają następnych, żeby i mnie nauczyć[19].

Wnioski

Językowi łemkowskiemu udało się przetrwać wysiedlenia i bardzo długi czas formalnego nieistnienia[20], jednak nie w pierwotnej formie. Łatwość, z jaką przychodzi jego natywnym użytkownikom upraszczanie go do języka polskiego (ze względów pragmatycznych) i ukraińskiego (ze względów ideologicznych), jest dużym zagrożeniem dla jego autonomicznego statusu. Choć wpływy i interferencje międzyjęzykowe są nieuniknione, szczególnie w sytuacji Łemków żyjących w rozproszeniu i bez żadnych instytucji, które mogłyby być niekwestionowanym i szanowanym autorytetem językowym, to

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[18] Materiały zebrane podczas badań terenowych.
[19] Materiały zebrane podczas badań terenowych.
[20] W czasach PRL-u Łemkowie nie byli uznaną mniejszością w Polsce. Ich uznanie prawne nastąpiło dopiero w 2005 roku. W *Ustawie z dnia 6 stycznia 2005 r. o mniejszościach narodowych i etnicznych oraz o języku regionalnym* są wymienieni jako mniejszość etniczna.

należy podkreślić, że w wypadku języka łemkowskiego wzajemne zależności doprowadzają *de facto* do uzależnienia i, co za tym idzie, szybkiej i często nieodwracalnej asymilacji. Z własnego doświadczenia wiem, że rodziny, którym udało się zachować łemkowskojęzyczny przekaz międzypokoleniowy (co jest zjawiskiem pozytywnym i bardzo pożądanym), straciły w codziennej komunikacji przekazany przez poprzednie pokolenia rdzeń języka i obecnie posługują się polsko-łemkowską hybrydą, która z języka łemkowskiego zachowała jedynie formy gramatyczne (w ograniczonej formie), a leksykę pożycza już przede wszystkim z centrowego języka polskiego. W takiej perspektywie wielokrotnie akcentowany postulat Murianki dbałości o poprawność językową jest cały czas aktualny. Analiza rozmów z faktycznymi (potencjalnymi) użytkownikami języka łemkowskiego pokazała, jak wiele sfer poprawnej komunikacji jest zagrożonych. Trzy fundamenty istnienia języka łemkowskiego zrekonstruowane na potrzeby tej pracy z literackiego modelu Petra Trochanowskiego – duma z języka, miłość do tego, co łemkowskie, i dbałość o przekaz międzypokoleniowy – cały czas funkcjonują w łemkowskim etnosie, jednak w coraz bardziej okrojonej formie.

Przeprowadzona analiza pokazuje także, jak bardzo zradykalizowały się postawy wobec języka. Wynika to z trwającego od czasu wysiedleń procesu tożsamościotwórczego, który wymagał od Łemków jasnej deklaracji ideowej. Wybór dbania o łemkowskość wiązał się z przyjęciem postawy aktywnej, stąd też biografie łemkowskich twórców zawierają w sobie silnie zarysowany wątek działania na rzecz swojej społeczności. Opozycyjna do tej postawa zakłada całkowite odcięcie się od łemkowskich korzeni, zaprzestanie identyfikacji z rodzimą przestrzenią kulturową. Jednym z efektów takich decyzji tożsamościowych jest kształtowanie rodzin-hybryd, w których możliwe jest funkcjonowanie z takim samym pochodzeniem w zupełnie różnym poczuciu przynależności etnicznej/narodowej.

Współczesny język łemkowski (tak jak i nowoczesna tożsamość łemkowska) jest cały czas w stanie kodyfikacji. Prace rewitalizacyjne podejmowane w środowisku akademickim (projekty związane z istnieniem filologii rosyjskiej z językiem rusińsko-łemkowskim na Uniwersytecie Pedagogicznym w Krakowie) mają na celu zachowanie rdzennego słownictwa łemkowskiego i umocnienie wypracowanego do tej pory standardu. Bardzo ważnym elementem tego procesu są działania poprzez literaturę, którego przykładem posłużyłam się w tym artykule. Łemkowie są zatem dobrze uzbrojeni w rewitalizacyjny oręż, trudno jednak osądzić, jak bardzo okaże się funkcjonalny w kształtowaniu ich postaw tożsamościowych.

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Поставы взглядом лемківского языка – взір і його реалізация[21]

МАРТА ВАТРАЛЬ
Філологічний Выділ
Ягайлоньскій Університет в Кракові

Вступ

> Попрі тым – де, як де, але в сучасных лемківскых выданях вступне слово може ся аж і придати. Хоцбы для тых, найчастійше з мого поколіня, не памятаючых уж Краю і автентычной культуры вітців, для тых обкуреных, як черешні на торговици, порохом обчых доріг. Істніє бо в однесіню до них цілком оправдане підозріня, же не будут певны – ци вміщене медже тыма окладинками є вытвором етнічной групы даякого народу, ци тіж окремого народу. Одкале оно – тото підозріня?
>
> Прочытувал єм нераз ріжны вступы до тематычных выдань, писаны інчыма языками нич „тота" решта. І не было бы в тым ничого аж так дивного (на примір – німецькє выданя Іліяды і Одысеі), кєд бы не факт, же оны вступны слова старали ся переконати, што ціла „решта" належыт до языка „вступців" (Trochanowski 1995: 3).

Цитуваний урывок походит зо вступу до лемківскоязычной публикациі з 1995 р., котра містит в собі поезию писану Лемками, скєровану до лемківскых діти. Єднак редактор той антологіі, Петро Трохановскій[22], не

[22] Трохановскій то рідне мено автора, в літературной практиці хоснує тіж псевдоніми. Іх выбір є звязаний з поставом, яку писатель принимат в окрисленым тексті. Світооглядовы маніфесты, журналістычны тексты, ітп. підписує назвиском, ліричны тексты (тіж епіцкы, котры треба одчытувати через символрчный кюч), літературны формы бытя лемківбым діячом пише як Петро Мурянка, до лемківскых діти звертат ся в літератуных текстах як уйко Петро. В дописі хосную рідне мено і псевдоніму Мурянка замінні.

звертат ся в прислугуючым му вводным слові *лем* до наймолодшых. Так конструує тот текст, жебы, окрем очывидных квестий орґанізуючых зміст книжкы, переказати в ним тіж сутьовий ідеолоґічний аспект, котрий має вызначыти ключ до дальшой лектуры.

В приведеным урывку Трохановскій рысує ситуацию лемківского языка і означа його загорожыня. Выходит од прецизийного названя публикациі „лемківскым выданьом", што в однесіню до каждого языка, котрий єст урядовым языком в державі, має за собом інституциі і групу вывченых в тым языку люди, без труду розпознаючых свій код, можна бы принятти за непотрібну інформацию. Єднак в тым припадку редактор підкрыслят, же звертат ся до групы, котра нашла ся в так тяжкій ситуациі, же проблематычна і неєднозначна може быти навет вступна ідентыфікация записаного в ей языковым коді тексту. Єст то результат непрецизийности в достоменностьовій ідентыфікациі. Трохановскій пише тот вступ *для Лемків*, котры реконструуют свою лемківскіст не з первістной автентычной основы (котра єст для писателя автономічна, русиньска), *лем зо штучных джерел достарчаных пропаґандовом реторыком*, котра видит Лемків як етнічну групу украіньского народу. Тота непевніст што до джерел власной достоменности єст подля Трохановского єдным з головных загорожынь для лемківского языка. Група, котра по акциі „Вісла" втратила контакт зо свойом рідном краіном і была сказана на достосуваня ся до новых критерий бытуваня, вымушаючых асиміляцию потрібує, на думку писателя, барз міцного, певного фундаменту до реконструкциі лемківскости. Без него Лемкы не будут в силі сохранити свого рідного языка, што не буде результатом іх злой воли, а браком стандарду, системы однесінь, джерел, то значыт выпрацуваной системы верифікациі языковой правильности і автентычности. Трохановскій в цитуваным урывку дає выраз обаві пред замазуваньом ся сутьовых границ медже етнічныма достоменностями, прото же выходит з заложыня, же і так уж слаба лемківска меншына не має шанс выйти з таких конфронтаций без шванку.

Сопоставліня конкретного моделю ревіталізациі языка, за котрий принимам *дальше описаний модель Петра Трохановского*, з языковом практыком репрезентуваном інтервю, якы были зобраны в часі тереновых дослідживынь проєкту Загыбаючы языкы, має вказати, як лемківскій язык радит собі в ситуациі підпорядкуваня і поступуючой асиміляциі.

Взір

Петро Трохановскій (Мурянка) єст найвыдатнійшым лемківскым творцьом. В тым припадку поняття творця містит в собі вшелеякы активности на меншыновым поли – Трохановскій єст (і подаю ту лем тоты професиі, котры *лишыли по собі літературны сліды*): писательом, поетом, драматургом, редактором, фелєтоністом, журналістом, тлумачом, біографістом, долгы рокы был тіж учительом лемківского языка. Його літературна творчіст і активніст на меншыновым поли сут єдным з нечисленных лемківскых голосів входячих в обшыр центрового дискурсу. Фунгуваня як взір поставы сконцентруваной на сохранінью лемківской етнічности, достоменности, языка в припадку Мурянкы рівнат ся з бытьом свого рода експонатом лемківскости, котрий зосереджат в собі універсальны для того соспільства символы, єст автентычным носительом памяти о джерелах етносу. З тых взглядів выріжням літературний модель ревіталізациі лемківского культурового простору Петра Мурянкы як взірцьовий і на ним операм омовліня постав взглядом лемківского языка.

Аналізу літературных текстів Мурянкы (поезия, проза, маніфесты, драматычны формы, статі в часописах, фелєтоны, авторскы проєкты підручників, тексты, котры возникли в часі вельорічной праци як учитель лемківского языка, вводны слова до лемківскоязычных выдань) змушена єм ограничыти лем до выбраных позиций, зазначам єднак, же подля мене вшыткы писаны формы створены Трохановскым вписуют ся в спійний ревіталізацийний модель выпрацуваний уж в першых текстовых пробах писателя.

Функцийональний в реконструкциі того моделю єст предо вшыткым польскоязычний[23] маніфест *Słowo Łemka o sobie i swoim narodzie* (Trochanowski 1987: 5–15) опублікуваний в квартальнику „Regiony" в 1987 р. З причыны жанровой приналежности програмово місит в собі найважнійшы постуляты в стараннях о сохраніня языка, а през тото *лемківской культуры*. Маніфест Трохановского єст записаний як свого рода поток свідомости, в котрым найтяжшы лемківскы травмы (втрачена отчызна, выселіня і іх консеквенциі, язык пропаганды, затераючий нюансы, кривдячий для лемківского народу, выкликаючий в ним почутя, же лемківска доля єст

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[23] В польскым языку Петро Трохановскій написал тіж біографічну повіст *A Wisła dalej płynie*. Выбір языка, так як і в тым припадку мотывуваний был потребом комунікациі з сусідами (Поляками), одтале тіж дедикация книжкы: *Sąsiadom naszym, Polakom, z wiarą – że zechcą przeczytać i spróbują zrozumieć, poświęcam* (Murianka 2007).

каром за гріхы) вертают в ході наррации і сут перерабляны цілий час на
ново, якбы автор глядал одповідніх слів в польскым языку на прецизийне
доокрисліня того, чым єст лемківскіст і чом так важне для сусідів Поляків
єст зрозуміля ей фундаментів. Така організация тексту єст тіж значучым
естетычным середком. Поетычны образы Лемковины вводжены до тексту
при помочи метафоры мінячых ся камени блищачых в гірскым потоці
і в оповіданях родичів, Трохановскій переплітат з болістныма фактами
з зовнішнього світа, творячы коляж елементів лемківской достоменности
і єдночасно в найбарже прикрий з можливых способів справляючы, же
записаны слова стают ся правдоподібны. Зо взгляду на тото, нижше вка-
заний урывок о языку єст чымси веце як маніфестом власного выбору.
Звучыт як правдивий, свідомий, передуманий, глубокій прояв власной
достоменности:

> Piszę po łemkowsku. Wprawdzie pierwszą swoją rymowankę napisałem po
> polsku, wprawdzie los (jeśli przypisać mu taką rolę, a nie sobie) tak zrządził, że
> nauczyłem się rosyjskiego i ukraińskiego i w tych właśnie językach stworzyłem
> pierwsze rzeczy, które umownie nazwać można wierszami. Wcześnie jednak
> zrozumiałem, że te uczone i wielkie języki za małe są, by przez nie oddać,
> wypowiedzieć łemkowski ból, tęsknotę i wszystko inne. […]
>
> Piszę po łemkowsku, bo w każdym innym języku łemkowskie symbole, syno-
> nimy i cała obrazowość stają się drewniane. Piszę po łemkowsku, bo w moim
> odczuciu tylko po łemkowsku sokół naprawdę cierpi z godnością, jodła szumi
> tęsknotą, a pieśń szuhaja jest niepowtarzalna. Piszę po łemkowsku, bo brzmi
> on dla mnie najpiękniej.
>
> I dlatego jeszcze, a może przede wszystkim, piszę po łemkowsku, dlatego
> że jest to język mojej matki i mojego ojca. Bo jest to język mój i moich dzieci
> (Trochanowski 1987: 13–14).

З той декляраци і можна зреконструувати думаня Петра Мурянкы
о материньскым языку, котре становит основу до твореного ним проґраму
одпоминаня і зміцняня языка предків. Першым аргументом, котрий
тлумачыт детермінацию свого выбору, Трохановскій прібує одвернути
істніюче серед Лемків переконаня, же іх рідний язык єст гіршый, слабший,
простий, зацофаний. Подля писателя таке переконаня, фурт тырваюче
в свідомости стравматызуваного лемківского народу, не дає можливости
доцінити ролі, котру в творіню етнічной достоменности має автентычний
рідний язык. Про тото, же свідоміст такого стану річы єст для Мурякны
основна, свідчыти можут першы слова маніфесту *Słowo Łemka*…:

Kultury każdego osiadłego, mniej lub więcej cywilizowanego narodu nie sposób widzieć w oderwaniu od korzeni, od ziemi ojczystej. Tworzona pieśń, wiersz, ikona czerpią inspirację, wyrastają z otaczającego cię świata. Świata, który kochasz i poprzez tę właśnie, może i podświadomą miłość – tworzysz (Trochanowski 1987: 5).

Трохановскій выходит з заложыня, же творча сила языка єст надійом на сохраніня розбитой выселінями лемківскости. В ситуации, в котрій зреконстууваня структуры жытя спред 1947 р. єст неможливе, бо не даст ся зобрати вшыткых выселеных лемківских родин зас в горах, на Лемковині і одзыскати етосу тырваня в первістній версіі, язык остає функцийональным і важным нарядьом в затриману деструкциі лемківского етносу. З того взгляду Мурянка підкрислят барз выразні значыня і силу того коду комунікуваня ся. Сопоставлíня го з домінуючым (польскым) языком і інчыма „вченыма“ (то значит так розвиненыма, дослідженыма, же можна в них повісти вшытко на вшыткы можливы темы) языками і особливе одверніня реляциі слабий – сильний єст єдном з метод, котру Мурянка консеквентні стосує, жебы розбудити в Лемках почутя гордости з рідной бесіды. Тот сам пропаґандовый фортель презентує слідуючий урывок:

Мал єм колиси щестя чути, будуюче для нас, професорскє тверджыня, же кєд бы 50-мілийоновый, высоко розвинений французкій нарід розселити помедже міліярдовых Кытайців, лишыти без єдной свойой книжкы – за піл століта лем брак жаб посвідчал бы о ґенетычній іх там бытности (Trochanowski 1992: 1).

Жебы надати іщы векшу вартіст лемківскому языкови в свідомости Лемків Трохановскій підкрислят, припоминат і дає доказ тому, же єст то автономічний язык, істніючий самодільні, невымагаючий обґрунтуваня в інчых языках. Одтале тіж, вертаючы до ініцияльного цитату, компульсывна потреба выкорыстуваня каждой можливой способности до підкрисліня тых фактів. В заложыню Трохановского лем през того рода роботу у основ можливе буде вытворíня в лемківскым народі, опозицийного до істніючого, переконаня о силі іх власной, не пожыченой од никого, небудучой проявом іх підпорядкуваня, а радше маніфестом, автономіі, культуры. З того взгляду вступ до антологіі дітячой поезиі писатель назначат рішучым переказом:

Заходит потреба тото зробити. Жебы повісти, што доєдно словечко, як зо вступу, так і – важнійшых – за ним текстів, написане єст в лемківській

одмині русинского ЯЗЫКА, котрий неє нияком окрайцьом, ци окраіном чогоси там більшого, важнійшого, а є самым собом (Trochanowski 1995: 4).

Зміцніня позициі лемківского языка єст основом в ревіталізацийным моделю Мурянки. Наступным етапом, котрий можна вызначыти з приведеного урывка *Słowa Łemka…* єст розбуджыня в Лемках первістной, щырой, сильной любови, почутя приналежности до того языкового коду. Трохановскій не раз односит ся до учутьового, позарозумового, первістного аспекту лемківскости, він вірит, же каждий Лемко має в собі любов до Отчызны і навет кєд она гыне, обкурена, серед прагматычных выборів сприяючых асимиляциі, то даст ся ю одзыскати і зреконструувати. Ідеалістычне думаня Мурянки оперте єст все на тым самым переконаню – Лемко, котрий хоче быти Лемком, буде робил вшытко, жебы вратувати для себе і своіх діти культуру предків. Мурянка має велику віру в тых Лемків, помагат ім як лем єст в силі, жебы мали на чым одбудувати свою лемківскіст. Про тото, як барз залежыт му на сфері одчуваня достоменности і же то в ній покладат надію на добровільне, свідоме і консеквентне тырваня в лемківскости може свідчыти конструкция його авторского проєкту букваря до вчыня лемківского *А я знам азбуку. Лемківскій буквар* (Murianka 2003). Вводне слово до діти – школярів креує на приповіску про любов до Отчызны, в котрій льокує основны вызначники-символы близкого, свойского, безпечного простору. Мурянка покликує ся тіж на авторитет, котрий представлят зачынаючым вчыня свого языка Лемкам:

Давно, давно тому чул єм од старого, сивого діда повіджыня: „камін росне". „А бесідує?" звідал єм діда. „Так, бесідує!" – одповіл мі дідо. „Та кєд не німий аж і камін, певні мают свою бесіду і потічки, лісы, травы, квітя?" – мучыл єм дале сивого діда. Товды він рюк: „Вшытко на сьвіті свою бесіду має.". І додал: „Лем треба кохати, лем треба ся навчыти розуміти..." (Murianka 2003: 5).

Введеным в тот спосіб в стан заінтересуваня і заслуханя (згідний з парадигмом оповіданя, переказуваня оповісти) дітям Мурянка в наступным абзаци подає взір поставы, котра даст ім можніст дотерти до іх індивідуальной правды:

Вслухувал єм ся не раз, як ведут зо собом розмову Горы Бескіды, што од віків далеких небо підперают в рідным нашым краю. Здавало ся мі, же навчыл єм ся розуміти шум дерев і черкіт потічків. І был єм щесливий.

Такє диво може ся сполнити і Вам, Діти. Лем треба міцно, барз міцно кохати.

І іщы єдно. Конечні треба навчити ся азбукы, вчыти ся і вчыти нашой богатой, прекрасной лемківской бесіды. Інакше нашы Горы не зрозуміют Вас (Murianka 2003: 5).

Пониманя Гір, то значыт пониманя культурового простору, можніст черпаня з них силы, котру пак передає ся наступным поколіням – тото вшытко, подля Мурянкы, заперат ся в язку. Деси медже буквами А і Я, переходячы през шор чытанок і вершыків, малий Лемко має полюбити штоси, што єст сховане в ним барз глубоко, а до чого не буде мал доступу через інчий языковий код. То дост особливий концепт – розбудити в наймолодшым поколіню теплы, приязны чутя, покликуючы ся на образ іх власных домашніх аркадий, повязати тот образ з байковым представліньом бесіды природы і обіцяти, же тото вшытко буде могло ся зрозуміти, оставити для себе і през тото осягнути щестя, коли ся буде вчыло рідного языка. І не єст то взагалі наівне думаня, бо на таких чутях будувана єст сучасна лемківска достоменніст. Літературний доробок повыселенчых поколінь Лемків базує на тій ностальгіі (Duć-Fajfer 2002: 26–40).

Остатній з приведеных урывків порушат тіж барз важну для Трохановского квестию – языковой правильности. Модель лемківской достоменности не може операти ся, на думку автора, на непевных, неконкретных, лем зближеных формах, бо такыма можна барз легко маніпулювати і, згідні з обавами поміщенема в ініцияльным цитаті, нашмаряти ім інче походжыня, квестийонувати іх автономію. З той причыны напоминаня Лемків в квестиях языковой правильности не єст зо стороны Мурянкы пробом квестийонуваня іх компетенций[24], лем стараньом, жебы выпрацувати в них звык дбаня про тото, што єст іх найвекшом вартістю. Тіж прото, жебы выелімінувати переконаня о гіршости того коду. В вводным слові кєруваным до Родичів зазначат тото барз выразні:

Прото і в Вашу силу вірю, силу тіла і духа вшыткых Вас, прожываючых в землях далекых, Вас – котры ждали сте роками на лемківскій буквар, і Вас – котрым трафит він до рук несподівано, неждано. Буквар позволит

Вам самым, Родиче, скоригувати власны знаня в однесіню до рідной бесіды. Та передовшыткым поможе плекати покін Матери, Вітців Вашых в серцях Вашых *Діточок*. Кєд того прагнеме, кєд не обоятне Вам – ци по віках тырваня слово Матери-Лемкыні жыло буде, або ні (Murianka 2003: 4).

Реконстууваний з прикликаного урывка *Słowa Łemka…* модель, котрого два фундаменты (одчаруваня неґатывных стереотыпів, котры тяжат на лемківскым язику, і розбуджыня щырой автентычной любови до отчызны, очывидным результатом котрой буде особливе плеканя власного культурового дідицтва) были уж описаны, закладат тіж комплексовы діяня на річ сохраніня меджепоколіньового переказу. Трохановскій підкрислят, же код, котрым послугуют ся вшыткы члены вельопоколіньовой родины не може быти призабытий, бо його хоснувателі все будут мати свідоміст приналежности до того коду і не будут одчувати потребы гляданя його замінників в контактах медже собом. В чытанках *Лемківского букваря* символом такого переказу єст мудрец – дідо Юстин:

Дідо Юстин

Дідо Юстин має вісемдесят сім років. Сивы баюсы сігают му поза бороду. Волосы так само сивы-билы, дістают рамен. Давно, давно, в молодости, дідо Юстин был юґасом. Знає оповідати розмаіты істориі. Діти ради слухают діда Юстина (Murianka 2003: 61).

През введіня діда – мудреця до наррациі *Букваря*, Мурянка хоче выпрацувати в його молодых одберачах звык слуханя і оповіданя. Хвиля, в котрій зачынат ся оповіст має вписати ся в свідоміст молодых Лемків як введіня до простору орґанізуваного през сакральний час, до рытуалів, котры мают стати ся частьом іх штоденного жытя. Оповіст має быти тіж, подля Мурянки, вартістю, котру хоронит ся пред забытьом, бо в оповісти (і тепер уж не лем в ній) можна переказувати тото, што перетырвало з передвыселенчого світа. В *Słowie Łemka…* простір рідной Лемковины был введений згідні з такым самым модельом:

Gdy tylko ojciec wyprzęgał konie, w cebrzyku uczynił ręce mniej czarnymi, zjadł chleb z czosnkiem, otarł wąsy i wziął mnie wreszcie na kolana – wszystko zaczynało żyć. W tamtej dalekiej ziemi. I nikt mnie nie przekona, że była gdziekolwiek ziemia piękniejsza, ziemia weselsza. Gdyby była, tato powiedziałby mi o niej. I mama skinęłaby na potwierdzenie, że tak jest istotnie. Nie było nigdzie ziemi piękniejszej, ziemi weselszej. Niż tamta daleka, bardzo daleka (Trochanowski 1987: 5).

Плеканя меджепоколіньового переказу, а што за тым іде рытуалу ініціяции в лемківскій культуровий простір, котрий ожыват товды, коли єст оповідженый, єст необхідне *для перетырваня лемківского етносу*. Для Лемків, котры по выселінях прібували однайти ся в новій реальности, сам факт оповіданя был уж свого рода ідеовом декляраційом. Декляраційом приналежности до давной отчызны і незгоды на заістнілу ситуацию. Продолжаня переказу медже поколінями было ґарантом тырваня культуры, єднак в формі штораз барже ідеалізуваній. То важне, прото же діяче такы як Петро Мурянка были в силі ожывити тот ідеальный і скінчений конструкт в повыселенчій ситуаци і на ним одбудовувати автентычне тырваня лемківской етнічной групы.

Реалізация

За джерело прикладовых языковых постав серед Лемків принимам інтервю переведены в липцю 2014 р. в часі тереновых дослідижынь проєкту Загыбаючы языкы[25]. Принимам іх за функцийональны зо взгляду на тото, же сут то голосы репрезентативных тыпів хоснователи лемківского языка: учытели языка, лемківских актывістів, не-Лемків бесідуючых по лемківскы, Лемків не бесідуючых по лемківскы, не-Лемків, котры навчыли ся языка і діют в лемківскых ініциятивах, діти выхованых в лемківскых родинах, з котрыма родиче бесідуют і не бесідуют в рідным языку, Лемків, котры дбают про свої корені і такых, котры не привязуют до них вагы і чуют ся предо вшыткым Поляками. Треба єднак підкрислити, же мимо презентаци ріжнорідности постав, джерельный материял не єст достаточный (брак в ним на приклад голосів Лемків жыючых на чужыні).

Згідні з ключом поданым модельом Петра Трохановского, аналізу зачынам од здиягнозуваня позиции лемківского языка в свідомости його хоснователи. Буду базувала на кляруючых ся з выповіди опозициях, прото же, на мою думку, можут они становити зарыс надії і загорожынь для тырваня лемківского языка.

Негатывни поставы в однесіню до лемківского языка сут результатом, згідні з зазначеныма во вчаснійшым розділі обавами Петра Мурянкы, переконаня, же єст то гірший, менше вартістный язык. Єден з бесідуючых стверджат:

Не вшыткы, але барз велька част не чує... вартости того языка[26]!

В приведеній выповіди находит потвердджыня сигналізуване уж переконаня Трохановского, же брак дбалости хоснуватели про рідний язык, доведе до його деструкциі. В выповідях тот проблем є часто підниманий, респонденты старают ся вытлумачыти одкале бере ся така постава. Як причыну подают, медже інчыма, домінацию, в тым припадку, польского языка, бо єст то язык телевізиі, газет, інтересуючых книжок, Інтернету. Одже з чысто прагматычных причын, лемківскій язык не єст для него реальным загорожыньом. Прото допіро в хвили, в котрій рідна бесіда буде принимана Лемками як нарядна вартіст, частка духовости, про котру треба особливо дбати (як хтіл бы Петро Трохановскій), буде можна быти о тырваня того языка спокійным.

Наступна з выповіди трафні пісумовує проблем залежности медже меншыновым а центровым языком:

То не выглядат добрі і то не єст мудре, же Лемко свого языка не знат і ґадат по польскы. А котрий Поляк ґадат по лемківскы[27]?

Як выникат з аналізуваных выповіди, ситуация, в котрій Лемкы зміняют язык в присутности Поляків єст барз часта. Діє ся так навет товды, коли лемківскій язык єст през вшыткых пониманий і не єст фактором выключаючым з бесіды. Денекотры представникы лемківской меншыны неохочо послугуют ся свойом бесідом в публичным просторі, означаючы го як лем польскоязычний. Хвиль, в котрых Лемкы мусят (в своім одчутю) пильнувати ся під языковым взглядом єст в штоденным жытю барз вельо, Полякы єднак не мусят іти на того рода компроміси, прото же послугуют ся урядовым языком, вшыткым (тіж представникам лемківской меншыны) знаным. Можна вызначыти групу хоснуватели лемківского языка (што вкаже дальша аналіза), котры самы сказуют ся на тот некорыстний компроміс. Зо взгляду на тото, же не привязуют ваги до свойого языка, не видят в того рода ситуациях реального загорожыня. В бесідах появляют ся критычны голосы в однесіню до таких постав. Єден з респондентів пропонує таку іх диягнозу:

Як ходит о люди, не ма то значыня ци хтоси є освічений, ци ні. Як штоси чує і уважа, же для нього то є важне, то робит так, жебы внуки бесідували по нашому. Можна зауважыти, же більшіст тых, котрых діти і внуки бесідуют по нашому, то люде, котры мают освіту. Зас на селі, хоц бы могло ся тото тримати ліпше, бо вшыткы медже собом мешкают, то люде уж ся мучат і „mówią” до внуків заміст „бесідувати”. Хоц мож не вшытко є страчене, бо як такы люде видят когоси, хто прикладат до того велику увагу, то переходят уж на лемківскій[28].

Цитувана выповід є наступным потверджыньом тезы Мурянки – Лемко, котрий має в собі тверде переконаня, же його язык єст вартістю самом в собі, про котру мусит особливо дбати беручи до уваги поступуючу асиміляцію, не буде глядал до того додатковых мотываций, ци потверджыня того выбору в прагматычні пониманых корыстях. Єднак, што підкрислят автор той выповіды, треба до того великой детермінаци і самоконтроли.

Денекотры уважают, же лемківскій то непотрібний язык. Вшытко залежыт од того як твердо чловек до того підходит. Як підходит твердо, то неє клопоту. Стрічат ся знаємого в Горлицях в склепі, при касі. Пані рахує, а мы бесідуєме по свойому. Пані порахувала, мы сме побесідували і уж. В інчым припадку затримує ся когоси на улици, наоколо праві никого неє. Як ся повіст „добриден”, то він ся озерат, ци припадком хтоси не чує. Бо ся „добриден” повіло, а ні „dzień dobry”. То є смішне[29].

До выміненых уж проблемовых квестий можна зарахувати, симптоматычні поміщений в цитуваній выповіди, страх перед хоснуваньом лемківского языка. Бере ся він з єдной страны з травмы Акциі „Вісла” спадкобраной през наступны поколіня, з другой – з певности, же інчий од обовязуючого в державі язык стигматизує його хоснувателів як гіршых.

Окрем диягноз і підсумувань постав выникаючых з самокритыкы і рефлексий над языковом ситуацийом Лемків, в аналізуваных інтервю появляют ся тіж кляровны і рішучы негатывны поставы в однесіню до лемківского языка:

– А як ся навчат лемківского і будут до вас бесідувати, то як будете одповідати?
– По польскы. Не єм заінтересувана лемківским языком. Вродила єм ся на Лемковині, мам лемківскы коріня, але не мам потребы переказувати того далі. Не інтересує мя тото. Але як они будут хтіти, то добрі, не бороню ім

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[28] Материялы зобраны підчас тереновых досліджынь.
[29] Материялы зобраны підчас тереновых досліджынь.

того, не бесідую, же не можут быти пролемківски, же не можут бавити ся в греко-православны і місцевы военкы. Прошу барз. Мя тото не інтересує[30].

Цитуваний урывок єст прикладом поставы, котра закладат цілковите одшмаріня лемківской достоменности. В припадку той респондентки єст то свідоме, передумане рішыня, підняте по перенесіню ся до міста.

Выжше вказаний приклад поставы не єст єдиний в наррации, котра створена єст аналізуванима інтервю. Хвиля, в котрій лишат ся лемківскоязычний простір (нп. рідне село) єст през респондентів дефініюваная як граничний момент – по выызді уж не бесідує ся по лемківски навет в родинным кругу:

Так, так є. Як діти выыхают, то уж не бесідуют. Тяжко. Телевізия, школы – всяди лем по польскы[31]!

Цілком інчом як выжше вказана єст модельова постава (згідна з заміром Мурянкы), в котрій Лемкы не боят ся бесідувати по свому, наопак, не єст ім добрі з тым, же тіж внутрі іх середовиска появляют ся голосы, жебы надто ся з тым фактом не афішувати:

Дуже Лемків думат, же пресадні демонструє ся, кым ся єст. „Ідеш улицьом і мусиш афішувати ся з тым лемківскым?". Бо мы сме повинны шептати…

А тіж:

– Певно, же так. Мы ся не крыєме, же на што ден бесідуєме по лемківски.
– Неє ся з чым крыти.
– Тіж так думам. Але не вшыткы так думают[32].

В інтервю появляют ся тіж ствердджыня, же по лемківски не даст ся бесідувати о вшыткым, прото же родинний меджепоколіньовий переказ не обнимат вшыткых сфер жытя. З той причыны може доходити до ситуации, в котрій зараз по выході з церквы (лемківскоязычного простору) лемківскы діти бесідуют медже собом по польскы на приклад о тым, што было в школі (бо в ній фунгуют в польскым языку і в своім рідным

кодi не находят нарядя до называня явиск властивых для того простору). Паралельну ситуацию описує выповiд о дiтячых забавах в склеп – мимо того, же дiти сут выхованi в лемкiвскым языку i лем ним послугуют ся дома, в часi забавы в склеп (котрий асоцiює ся з польскым языком) переходят на iнчий языковий код.

Зо взгляду на тото, же аналiзуваны iнтервю зосереджали ся головнi на квестиях хоснуваня, або нехоснуваня лемкiвского языка i диягнозуваня розпознаных станiв, невельо появлят ся в них тем безпосередньо односячых ся до той сферы достоменности, котра звязана єст з чутями (чутями в розумiню Трохановского). Появлят ся єднак голос учительки лемкiвского языка, котрий представлят пiдхiд єй учеников до вчыня рiдной бесiды:

> Малы дiти iнакше розумуют. Они то одберают так: мы сме Лемкы, а прецiж каждий Лемко ходит на лемкiвскiй. (…) Дiти си самы, як оборону, глядают тых аргумилiв.I найдуют iх: знаме чытати кырилицю. Як, на приклад, войдут Полякы до нашой лемкiвской клясы, то смiют ся з них: „Што ту єст написане?". „Не знаш чытати? Прочытай си! Треба ся было вчыти!". Самы си глядают потверджыня того, же єст то придатне[33].

Приведена выповiд може быти прикладом iдеальной реалiзации замiрiв Мурянки з *Лемкiвского букваря* – молоды Лемкы гордят ся своiм языком i дякы тому не звертают увагы на прикры коментарi колеґiв. Вказує ся, же такiй модель даст ся выпрацувати, але одраз треба допрецизувати контекст, в котрым ся тото повело. В тым припадку лемкiвскiй язык ма статус шкiльного предмету, занятя веде учителька, котра, згiднi зо шкiльным етосом, фунґує в тым просторi як авторитет. Помiщены в нп. домашнiм котекстi выповiды дiти i молодiжы (записаны в наґранях, котры аналiзую) не мают уж в собi такой гордости зо знаня языка i бесiдуваня по лемкiвскы.

В часi бесiд пiднято тiж тему языковой правильности:

> – Што можна зробити? То єст реторычне звiдана. Найнормальнiйша справа – треба вчыти!
>
> – Што то значыт вчыти? В школi вчыти?
>
> – Вчыти всяди. Треба бы може орґанiзувати такы усвiдомлюючы стрiчы, там де є дуже люди. На приклад на Ватрi. Амфiтеатр буде гучал, бо буде злий, же то страта часу, они i так знают бесiдувати, але i так треба бесiдувати. Такiй є свiт, єст така тенденция. Єст то хворота, як Лемкы бесiдуют медже

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[33] Материялы зобраны пiдчас тереновых дослiджынь.

собом по польскы. Треба бы єй вылічыти усвідомлюючы, цілий час і всяди звертаючы увагу. Цілий час і всяди, лем розумно[34].

В прикликаным урывку бесіды видно поставу діяча – особы, котра на *лемківскій* проблем смотрит ґлобальні, зо свідомістю діючых ся асиміляцийных процесів, цілий час єднак маючу надію на поправу фактычного стану і як найдолжше утриманя при жытю свого культурового дідицтва.

Аналіза джерельных материялів вказує, же найбарже проблематычном і през тото найчастійше підниманом в бесідах квестийом єст сохраніня меджепоколіньового переказу. Респонденты звертают увагу на такы квестиі як: трудности в утриманю того переказу в польскоязычній реальности, проблемы з утриманьом в дітях звыку бесідувания по лемківскы (як дітина была мала бесідувала, тепер уж ні, або наопак), неконсеквенцию зо стороны родичів/ діда і бабы в бесідуваню по лемківскы ітп.

Не знам ци є так, же не реплікуют? Єднак діти ся старают одповідати по лемківскы. Барз часто єст так, же старшы бесідуют по лемківскы, а діти бесідуют уж по польскы. Думам, же причином може быти школа і телевізия. Як сут діти і лем част є двоязычна, а векшіст польскоязычна, то вшыткы забавы, лекции, спільна бесіда сут ведены в польскым языку, як універсальным[35].

Респонденты вказуют тіж на факт, же ситуацию, в котрій дітина бесідує лем по польскы, навет, кєд родиче звертают ся до ней по лемківскы ся акцептує в середовиску, бо „так єст легше". Доходят до того іщы, зазначене уж переконаня, же в лемківскым языку не можна ся добесідувати во вшыткых сферах штоденного жытя, а тіж страх пред тым, жебы дітина выхована в лемківскым языку не мала проблемів в школі, в котрій буде мусіла фунґувати в польскым языку. В інтервю появляют ся голосы вказуючы безпідставніст той теориі:

Бесідуют, же як ся дітина по нашому вчыт, то пак ма проблемы по польскы ся навчыти. Маме внучку, котра ма 3,5 рока і она все бесідувала по нашому, бо выхована з дідами, бо векшіст часу перебывала ту, не в Кракові. І она тепер крас бесідує по польскы[36].

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[34] Материялы зобраны підчас тереновых досліджынь.
[35] Материялы зобраны підчас тереновых досліджынь.
[36] Материялы зобраны підчас тереновых досліджынь.

Мают місце тіж і противны ситуациі, в котрых дітина напоминат свого родича, котрий зачынат бесідувати по польскы. Єст то можливе лем в припадку родин, котры сут консеквентні лемківскоязычны і введіня до бесіды польского языка єст сигналом неправильности в комунікации:

> – Дам примір. Ульця мала з вісем років, Андийко мал з десят років. Іхали сме потягом до Щеціна. Всіли сме до преділу і загадал єм до них по польскы.
> – І дал єс раду.
> – Але яка была іх реакция! Они смотрили на мене як на бортака. Одраз єм ся зорєнтувал, што єст гране і зачал єм до них по лемківскы бесідувати. Як бы мі повіли: „Што няню, вы здуріли?"[37].

Респонденты подают тіж способы на реактывацию меджепоколіньовой спільноты, введіня комунікации в рідным языку як родинного рытуалу. Єден з них закладат выкорыстана лемківскоязычных медий до створіня ситуациі, в котрій возмут участ вшыткы члены родины:

> Діти любят як они выступуют, як ся іх нагриват. Потім цілыма родинами слухают. Може якыса така інтернетова телевізия, тіж жебы ся виділи. Барз то іх мотивує. І мотивує цілу родину. Як ся прирыхтуют, то потім самы ся обзерают, як гарді вышли... [38]

Окрем того помічны сут передуманы домашні задачы, задаваны ученикам лемківского языка:

> Старам ся тіж іх вчыти свідомости і привязаня. Залежыт як ся іх дорогы поточат. Дуже на певно даст. Бесідувала єм до Анны, же даю ім задачу: 15 минут бесідувати дома по лемківскы. Є такій проблем, же сут барз спольонізуваны. Хцу справокувати родичів, жебы ся навчыли з дітми гадати. І то єст домова задача. Як такых не задаю, але прошу 15 минут побесідувати по лемківскы. І старают ся! То дає ефекти. През співанки, на приклад, іх вчу. (…) Тым способом глядают наступных, жебы і мене навчыти.

Внескы

Лемківскій язык перетырвал выселіня і барз долгій час формального неістнуваня[39], єднак не в первістній формі. Легкіст з яком приходит йго хоснувателям упращаня го до польского языка (з прагматычных взглядів) і україньского (з ідеологічных взглядів) єст великым загорожыньом для йго автномічного статусу. Хоцкі не даст ся выабстагувати лемківского языка з меджеязыковых інтерференций, то треба підкрислити, же сут они для слабшого і непідпертого державныма інституциями языка маленькой меншыны барз небезпечны. Аналіза бесід з фактычныма (потенцияльныма) хоснувателями того языка вказала, як вельо сфер правильной комунікациі єст загороженых. Три фундаменты істніня лемківского языка зреконструувани на потребу той працы з літературного моделю Петра Трохановского – гордіст з языка, любов до того, што лемківскє і плеканя меджепоколіньового переказу цілий час фунгуют в лемківскым етносі, єднак в штораз барже окроєній формі.

Переведена аналіза вказує тіж, як барз зрадикалізували ся поставы в однесіню до языка. Єст то результат процесу творіня ся достоменности, котрий діє ся од часу выселінь і котрий вымагал од Лемків ясной ідеовой деклярациі. Выбір дбаня про лемківскіст вязал ся з принятьом активной поставы, прото біографіі лемківскых творців містят в собі міцно зарысувани мотыв діяня на річ свойго соспільства. Опозицийна до той постава закладат цілковите одтятя ся од лемківскых корени, не ідентыфікуваня ся з рідным культуровым простором. Єдным з результатів таких достоменностьовых рішынь єст формуваня родин-гыбрыд, в котрых можливе єст фунгуваня з таким самым походжыньом в цілком ріжным почутю етнічной/ нацийоналной приналежности.

Сучасний лемківскій язык (так як і новочасня лемківска достоменніст) єст цілий час в стані кодифікациі. Ревіталізацийны працы підниманы в академіцкым вымірі (проєкты звязаны з істніньом російской філології з русиньско-лемківскым языком на Педагогічным Університелі в Кракові) мают на ціли сохраніня рідной лемківской лексикы і зміцніня выпрацуваного до того часу стандарду. Барз важным елементом того процесу сут діяня попрез літературу, што вказане остало дякы тій статі. Лемкы сут адже добрі озброєны в ревіталізацийне оружя, трудно єднак ствердити, на ківко вкаже ся оно функцийональне в формуваню іх достоменностьовых постав.

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[39] В часах ПНР Лемкы не были вызнаном меншыном в Польщи. Іх правне вызнаня пришло допіро в 2005 р. В Уставі з дня 6 січня 2005 р. про нацийональны і етнічны меншыны і про реґіональний язык сут вымінены як етнічна меншына.

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Interviews collected during field research Endangered Languages project.

Perspectivas sobre la revitalización de la lengua náhuatl en la Huasteca Veracruzana[1]

ABELARDO DE LA CRUZ   EDUARDO DE LA CRUZ
Instituto de Docencia e Investigación Etnológica de Zacatecas, Mexico

Summary

Perspectives on the Revitalization of the Nahuatl Language in the Huasteca Veracruzana

The present paper begins with a review of the importance of the Nahuatl language in the teaching, research and revitalization activities carried out by the Nahuas in the twentieth century. It also provides an initial assessment of the linguistic situation of today's Nahua communities in the municipality of Chicontepec, highlighting the circumstances and factors contributing to the increasing usage of Spanish by community members. We also discuss the problems faced by the native speakers in the context of the rapid language shift facing Nahuatl due to the dominance of Spanish in their communities, pointing out the possible impact of efforts of speakers and non-speakers to preserve the language. Finally, we develop a proposal for counteracting and reversing language shift through efficient projects linking the academy and Nahua communities, which aim to create links and revitalize Nahuatl in the region of Chicontepec. Both authors of the paper are native speakers of Nahuatl, born and raised in the Huasteca Veracruzana, who have long-term experience in teaching, studying and revitalizing their language.

La enseñanza del náhuatl

El siglo XX vio la apertura de la enseñanza de la lengua náhuatl por hablantes natos, en varias instituciones universitarias mexicanas. En la década de 1940, Luz Jiménez, una mujer nahua de Milpa Alta, Distrito Federal, se convierte en profesora del México City College, antecedente de la actual Universidad de las Américas, quien enseñaba náhuatl en compañía del antropólogo norteamericano Robert H. Barlow (Villanueva Hernández 2000: 27). A partir de los años cincuenta, en el ámbito de la educación indígena, surge la figura del profesor bilingüe en México, reclutado para castellanizar a las comunidades indígenas más apartadas e inaccesibles del país (Hernández 2009). Años más tarde, emergen los intelectuales indígenas, formados de las campañas de alfabetización, y producto de una ruptura del movimiento estudiantil de 1968, pero con conciencia plena de la problemática lingüística y de identidad que se trataba de redimir (Hernández 2009: 21). En los años ochenta, surge el poeta nahua de la Huasteca Veracruzana, Natalio Hernández, profesor bilingüe de carrera, que a través de su poesía cuestionaba y criticaba los resultados de la alfabetización en perjuicio de las lenguas originarias. A través de sus obras literarias contribuyó a la enseñanza y a la literatura náhuatl y lo llevó a un ámbito internacional. Desde el siglo XX hasta la fecha actual hay más presencia de enseñanza de la lengua náhuatl en varias instituciones tanto públicas como privadas, en el país y en el extranjero, a cargo de nuevos intelectuales nahuas.

La historia de la enseñanza de las lenguas mexicanas ha demostrado que no sólo los investigadores, mayormente mestizos o extranjeros, son quienes han enseñado la lengua náhuatl y han transmitido a otras culturas e instituciones los estudios que se están llevando a cabo en México, sino que también los mismos hablantes, con formación universitaria, han participado en la enseñanza de la lengua materna. La primera década del nuevo siglo fue decisiva para los estudios nahuas en México. Nahuas de varias partes del país, con variantes lingüísticas, iniciaron con mucho ahínco su preparación universitaria y penetraron cada vez más en varias disciplinas científicas. En el año 2001 se creó la Coordinación General de Educación Intercultural y Bilingüe de la Secretaría de Educación Pública,[2] y a partir de ella, se crearon universidades interculturales en varios estados del país; tal es el caso de la Universidad Intercultural Veracruzana.[3] Las facultades de algunas universidades

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[2] http://eib.sep.gob.mx/cgeib/difusion/
[3] http://www.uv.mx/uvi/

públicas también integraron en sus *planes curriculares* la enseñanza de alguna lengua indígena; sin embargo, este proceso ha tenido un lento desarrollo. En el ámbito privado se gestaron asociaciones civiles en el país con objetivos de incluir hablantes de lenguas indígenas y de manera conjunta desarrollar la docencia y la investigación. En el 2002 el Congreso de la Unión creó la primera Ley General de Derechos Lingüísticos de los Pueblos Indígenas.[4] Esta normatividad fortaleció la conciencia nacional de las personas de los pueblos originarios a partir del reconocimiento de su idioma como lengua nacional y con validez frente al español. A partir de los años cincuenta, en la Huasteca Veracruzana la lengua náhuatl ha sido objeto de investigación desde varios enfoques relacionados con su variante lingüística; sin embargo, los resultados de las investigaciones no han tenido ningún impacto positivo en la preservación ni en la revitalización de la lengua. "No basta con regresar Cds o kilos de papel impreso a las comunidades, materiales que tienen poca resonancia y pertinencia en los ámbitos comunitarios" (Flores Farfán 2013: 17). A partir de esta problemática, la labor de los investigadores funcionó como una pista de despegue para algunos hablantes, despertando su interés en realizar estudios universitarios y formarse en el campo de la enseñanza y posteriormente en la investigación. La única condición para que los hablantes pudieran llevar a cabo sus estudios era dejar la comunidad natal y emigrar a otro estado. Una de las universidades de llegada fue la Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, que desde 1990 tiene estudiantes de lengua náhuatl en sus diferentes programas académicos, la mayoría de procedencia de la Huasteca Veracruzana.

El uso de la lengua

La lengua náhuatl es una de las lenguas que cuenta con mayor población en México. Para las comunidades indígenas del país, hablar una lengua indígena no representa nada prestigioso. Por el contrario, como consecuencia de las políticas de alfabetización que se han llevado a cabo desde la creación de la Secretaría de Educación Pública en México, para los mismos hablantes nativos representa un "*da lo mismo*" el ser usuario de una lengua indígena, debido a su poca importancia. Los hablantes de lenguas indígenas en México han desvalorado sus idiomas: para la gran mayoría de ellos su lengua tiene un uso práctico únicamente en la comunidad pero no representa ningún

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4 http://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/ref/lgdlpi.htm

valor al mudarse a una ciudad. En el momento en que los hablantes de las comunidades de la Huasteca Veracruzana deciden salir de la comunidad, siguen el modelo de arribar a las grandes ciudades, como el Distrito Federal, Monterrey o Guadalajara. Estas ciudades concentran en sus áreas periféricas a los hablantes de varias lenguas indígenas, quienes, como una manera de sobrevivir, trabajan en las fábricas o en el trabajo doméstico. Mientras las personas se acostumbran al ritmo de vida en las ciudades, de manera paulatina la lengua materna cae en desuso hasta el punto en el cual las personas abandonan su lengua y al retornar a sus comunidades de origen se convierten en hablantes pasivos. En las comunidades del Municipio de Chicontepec, sólo una pequeña minoría de hablantes decide continuar sus estudios universitarios. Los estudiantes eligen programas académicos como derecho, educación y contaduría y optan por realizar sus estudios en la Universidad Veracruzana, la Universidad Autónoma de Tampico, la Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León y la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. Sin embargo, durante su preparación universitaria, también llegan a la desvaloración de su lengua materna. En la convivencia con los demás estudiantes y profesores, y ante el miedo al rechazo y la discriminación, optan por alguna carrera que remedie su identidad como hablantes de una lengua. Pocas son las excepciones de estudiantes que continúan usando y desarrollando su lengua en el ámbito universitario.

Enseñar náhuatl en diferentes instituciones beneficia a la expansión internacional de la lengua; sin embargo, no representa nada favorable para las comunidades indígenas, si no se lleva a cabo ningún proyecto de revitalización con los hablantes. Consideramos que a partir de tomar en cuenta la participación activa de las comunidades indígenas, las nuevas generaciones pueden verse impulsados a continuar hablando la lengua materna y a contribuir a la valorización positiva y al aumento del autoestima en los hablantes. Cuando un nativohablante llega a estudiar su lengua y su cultura, cambia el papel tradicional de "objeto de estudio a agente de estudio y contrarresta el complejo lingüístico de que sólo las lenguas extranjeras son el móvil para alcanzar un buen desarrollo profesional e intelectual" (De la Cruz de la Cruz 2015: 2). Los investigadores como James Lockhart y Richard Andrews muy posiblemente pensaban que en algún futuro de la historia los hablantes de náhuatl reivindicarán su lengua y su cultura integrándolas en su trabajo diario. Por ello, consideramos que ellos estarían muy elogiados al ver que lo que ellos comenzaron y que no vieron finalizar con todos los resultados de sus esfuerzos, sea llevado a cabo por los propios nahuas. Hoy día recuperamos

nuestra herencia cultural que empezó a reprimirse a partir de la conquista, así como nuestra lengua, que sufre el intenso ataque de las políticas lingüísticas mexicanas iniciadas en el siglo XX. Actualmente la enseñanza del náhuatl como segundo idioma ha sido retomada por hablantes de diferentes áreas dialectales de México con ayuda fundamental de instituciones públicas y privadas. La labor docente debe continuar fortaleciéndose e inspirando a más nativohablantes para que puedan contribuir a la enseñanza y a la investigación como expertos en más disciplinas como la antropología, la lingüística y la filología. Con la aportación de más nativohablantes e instituciones se pueden emprender novedosos proyectos de revitalización en las comunidades nahuas de Chicontepec.

Hoy día la lengua náhuatl está siendo estudiada por investigadores y estudiantes extranjeros de todo el mundo quienes exploran la lengua y la cultura de manera interdisciplinaria o haciendo investigaciones específicas sobre ceremonias, los procesos agrícolas, los procesos de embarazo, por mencionar sólo algunas. El interés de estudiar la lengua a nivel de país en México es mínimo. Las universidades extranjeras de los Estados Unidos y otras del mundo entero muestran mayor interés en el estudio del náhuatl y ante ello surge la siguiente cuestión: ¿Por qué actualmente la lengua náhuatl, tanto en sus variantes coloniales como modernas, está siendo fuertemente estudiado e investigado? Se puede responder a esta pregunta desde diferentes puntos de vista y se pueden hacer los siguientes comentarios. En primer lugar, destaca la aportación de los estudiantes e investigadores cuyas investigaciones se relacionan con la historia, la antropología y la literatura colonial. Estos estudios utilizan como fuentes los códices mesoamericanos y documentos escritos en náhuatl en la época colonial. Debido a eso los investigadores tienen la necesidad de aprender el náhuatl clásico y el moderno. En segundo lugar, en el campo de la enseñanza del náhuatl asisten estudiantes con conciencia de la desaparición de las lenguas minoritarias. Estos investigadores documentan las lenguas indígenas y las ceremonias que se llevan a cabo en las comunidades nahuas. Para este propósito también resulta necesario aprender a hablar el náhuatl que sirve de vehículo para visitar en alguna ocasión una comunidad indígena. Y por último, están los estudiantes quienes quieren aprender el idioma náhuatl sin ningún fin inmediato. La gran mayoría son los estudiantes nacidos en el extranjero de padres mexicanos quienes estudian la lengua náhuatl, lo hacen con el único objetivo de conocer más de sus raíces mexicanas, lo que les brinda una identidad en el extranjero. Así, la difusión del náhuatl a nivel internacional aumenta el interés en el ámbito de la academia.

Los medios de comunicación y las redes sociales como Facebook y YouTube también funcionan como plataformas de interacción entre hablantes que viven en la comunidad y los que viven en las ciudades. Los artistas utilizan las plataformas gratuitas de internet para difundir la lengua a través de la música y el canto, tal como lo hace el cantautor Crispín Martínez Rosas, originario de la Huasteca Veracruzana y el cantautor Erick de Jesús, quien siendo un mestizo estudia la lengua y la cultura nahua de Guerrero y lo expresa a través de sus obras musicales. Todas aquellas aportaciones contribuyen a que la lengua náhuatl tenga más presencia en todo el mundo; sin embargo, por la rapidez con la que avanza el desplazamiento lingüístico, apenas llegan a hacer frente a la problemática. Ahora los esfuerzos deben avanzar en trazar una línea recta y abarcar a una meta de más importancia: enfocarse a los hablantes en las comunidades indígenas. En este contexto un ejemplo de vincular los ámbitos académico y local es la contribución de Eduardo de la Cruz Cruz en su libro *Tototatahhuan ininixtlamatiliz* (De la Cruz Cruz 2015). Esta obra se basa en las narraciones originales de los habitantes de una comunidad nahua que el autor logró recopilar a través de visitas constantes, registrándolas como voces nahuas de la comunidad de Tecomate, en la región de Chicontepec. Ahora la comunidad cuenta con una obra, dirigida especialmente a los niños para que conozcan las historias populares de su pueblo a partir de la literatura en lengua náhuatl.

En la mayoría de las comunidades de Chicontepec, de donde somos originarios, hay una gran urgencia de emprender proyectos de revitalización lingüística, debido al proceso de desplazamiento del náhuatl que se está acelerando. Según Campbell y Muntzel las lenguas mueren de tres maneras diferentes. El primero es la muerte violenta que se da por represiones políticas, las cuales tienen como efecto que las personas dejan de hablar su lengua materna como una manera de salvaguardarse. La segunda forma es una muerte gradual que pasa de forma escalonada durante un proceso de transición a una lengua dominante; ocurre generalmente cuando una lengua está en contacto constante y desequilibrado con otra. Y la última es la muerte de abajo hacia arriba que ocurre cuando la lengua empieza a perder uso en diferentes espacios, llegando a ser reducida a las situaciones altamente ritualizadas (Campbell, Lyle y Muntzel 1989). El problema lingüístico en las comunidades de Chicontepec radica en que sólo las personas mayores de cincuenta años se mantienen como hablantes monolingües de la lengua náhuatl; por el lado opuesto, las personas menores de cincuenta años son completamente bilingües con mayor predominio de la lengua castellana.

Probablemente cuando las personas de edad avanzada mueran, el español habrá completamente desplazado a la lengua náhuatl, si no se realiza ningún programa estratégico inmediato y eficiente. Entre los años 1980 y 1990 los jóvenes nahuas del municipio de Chicontepec empezaron las migraciones del campo a la ciudad, con el objetivo de tener un mejor nivel de vida. Después del 1990, algunos, aunque no muchos alumnos decidieron salir de la comunidad para estudiar su licenciatura en alguna ciudad. Al permanecer en las ciudades, los participantes en ambas migraciones se convertían en hablantes pasivos. En la actualidad cada comunidad indígena de Chicontepec cuenta con profesionistas o estudiantes universitarios quienes realizan sus estudios en una universidad del país. Ellos podrían participar como agentes revitalizadores de lengua náhuatl en su propia comunidad. Para que los colaboradores y futuros activistas indígenas puedan llevar a cabo sus tareas, es necesario que reciban capacitaciones realizadas por hablantes nativos, incluso de otras variantes, que ya cuenten con suficiente experiencia y estén participando en la revitalización del náhuatl en sus pueblos. Los colaboradores pueden trabajar de manera directa con los miembros de su comunidad, en conjunto con las autoridades comunitarias. Asimismo deberían colaborar con las escuelas primarias, secundarias y preparatorias que pueden ser espacios adecuados para fomentar el uso de la lengua náhuatl por los estudiantes de origen nahua.

El trabajo de los colaboradores y activistas puede ir más allá, pero lo fundamental sería empezar a diseñar modelos de revitalización en conjunto con los hablantes. Los colaboradores, mientras estén inmersos en las tareas de revitalización, también pueden llevar a cabo documentación lingüística. En el trabajo de campo se pueden hacer entrevistas a las personas y luego realizar trabajos de transcripción y posteriormente análisis lingüísticos del léxico, que, a su vez, puedan ayudar a crear materiales didácticos y literarios en la lengua náhuatl. Para ello también se vuelve necesario una capacitación en programas computacionales como el PRAAT y el ELAN, herramientas diseñadas para la documentación lingüística. De estos trabajos surgen datos que ayudarían a entender y a estimar el grado de influencia mutua que hay entre el español y el náhuatl, y como resultado de ello se pueden abarcar con mayor precisión y eficiencia los problemas lingüísticos y el desuso paulatino de la lengua. A partir de estos programas colaborativos enfocados en las comunidades, el náhuatl empezaría a fortalecerse y llegaría a recuperar más cobertura en los espacios sociales.

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Retención y revitalización del náhuatl a través del arte

REFUGIO NAVA NAVA
Universidad Autónoma de Tlaxcala

Summary

Maintenance and Revitalization of Nahuatl through Art

In this paper, I analyze the process of construction and consolidation of indigenous identity by a group of women belonging to the Centro de Atención a la Familia Migrante Indígena (CAFAMI), located in San Francisco Tetlanohcan, Tlaxcala, Mexico. These women formed a choir and they sing popular songs translated into Nahuatl, their mother tongue. The group, known as Sohuameh Matlalcueyetl, *Women from the Mountain* or Sohuameh Citlalimeh, *Women Stars*, is made up of wives, mothers and sisters of men who have migrated to the United States. CAFAMI is a non-governmental organization that offers support to women in this situation by inviting them to take part in different projects, such as growing medicinal plants, group discussions to propose modifications to state laws in order to protect and recognize the civil rights of migrants who cross the state of Tlaxcala on their journey to the United States, and the reinforcement of local identity.

Tetlanohcan is a municipality in the state of Tlaxcala where 14% of the population is bilingual; they speak Nahuatl as a mother tongue and Spanish as a second language. Most of those who use the indigenous language are above 65. Young adults are passive bilinguals and the younger generation and particularly children are mostly monolingual in Spanish. Nahuatl is the

language of the home and with very close relatives who have the habitus (Bourdieu 1979) to communicate in the language. Nahuatl is not the language of the public sphere, and when many Nahuatl speakers are asked in public about their linguistic repertoire, they deny speaking it. In this context, it was a major challenge for the women from CAFAMI to show themselves in public as Nahuatl singers and speakers.

The group has existed for seven years, and during this time, they have performed on several stages in Mexico and the United States, presenting their songs and plays. They sing well-known songs that have been popular in Spanish and a few songs collected and translated in the early post-conquest period. Translation of the songs is done in a workshop headed by the director of the choir who is a member of the Nahua culture of the same region, but from a different town in the state of Tlaxcala.

In order to write and rehearse their plays, they have received help and support from well-known writers and directors such as Daniel Carlton who wrote *La Casa Rosa* "The Pink House," one of the most successful plays the CAFAMI women have ever performed, which is about the problems migrants encounter with their families in pursuit of their dreams.

In the beginning, it was easier to perform in states and communities outside their hometown. There was less pressure to show themselves as indigenous people outside their own community. The big challenge was to sing in their hometown.

The first time they sang in their community, the audience was made up of their husbands, sons, daughters and grandchildren. Their ritual families, such as godchildren and *comadres*, were also there. As I have stated, the indigenous language is devoted to the home and it is not regular practice to revitalize the language in the community. Because of that, the women were nervous and apprehensive about the audience's reaction. Once they were introduced, everybody applauded them. They felt more confident to complete their performance. After the event, they met with their families, and everybody was happy, not only because of the artistic discovery, but also because of the fact that singing in Nahuatl was not an easy thing to do. All the women talked with their families about the language and the fact of using their mother tongue in public. They saw the situation as the right to use one's own language, but some members of their families were reluctant to accept that idea based on previous experiences of social discrimination they had suffered in the past. The women were caught in the middle, since on the one hand they received constant support and recognition from audiences, especially in the United

States, and on the other hand they struggled to convince some members of their own families, not only to accept the fact that the choir had the right to sing in Nahuatl, but also to include their families in the fight for the preservation and revitalization of the language.

Art has been a powerful tool for these women. Through art they gained insight into the importance of fighting against language loss. Their activism gained arguments as the group become more and more famous. Meeting people from other countries helped them realize of the wealth of their language. They learned that it was in their mother tongue where their sense of imagination was created. Women shared these arguments with their families and members of the community. Once the group became famous, they were invited to major events in their town, perhaps the biggest when they were invited to sing at the Mass celebrated by the bishop of Tlaxcala on Oct. 4, the day of the patron saint of their town. At that ceremony, in front of hundreds of people from Tetlanohcan, the bishop congratulated the members of the choir for singing in their language.

All of these experiences led the women to become activists for their language. In the process, they had to reformulate and reorganize their Native identity. Their empowerment came from their experience outside the community, but their biggest challenge has been to practice and promote that identity in their own community.

Introducción

En este capítulo se analiza un proceso de construcción y consolidación de la identidad indígena llevado a cabo por un grupo de mujeres que participan en el Centron de Atención a la Familia Migrante Indígena (CAFAMI) de San Francisco Tetlanohcan, Tlaxcala, quienes formaron un coro en lengua náhuatl con impacto a nivel local, nacional e internacional. El CAFAMI es un proyecto que busca fortalecer la identidad de mujeres cuyos esposos, padres o hijos han emigrado a los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica en busca de trabajo. Estas mujeres participan en talleres que promueven el crecimiento personal en cuatro áreas: la primera se denomina "Justicia social y económica", en esta área las mujeres se dedican a cultivar y procesar plantas medicinales para elaborar productos como jabones, aceites y pomadas; la segunda, "Abogacía", tiene el objetivo de organizar a un grupo de personas para proponer modificaciones a la ley de Migración en el Estado de Tlaxcala, así se lucha contra la

criminalización a los migrantes, esta iniciativa fue el comienzo de la Asamblea Popular de Migrantes (APOFAM); un área más, "Educación popular" está encaminada a la revitalización de la identidad originaria a través de la lengua, la danza y el teatro, ahí surgió el coro en náhuatl. Finalmente la cuarta esfera de acción se denomina "Comunicación", para ello se abrió un canal en Vimeo donde se suben videos semanales, entrevistas y saludos para crear un puente de comunicación binacional entre México y Estados Unidos (Antonia Zamora, Comunicación personal).

El coro en lengua indígena ha tenido un impacto en distintos niveles. Por un lado, como el trabajo se lleva a cabo mayoritariamente en náhuatl y dado que el nivel de proficiencia en lengua indígena es distinto entre las participantes, a lo largo de 7 años se han experimentado procesos de retención y revitalización del náhuatl no sólo entre las integrantes del grupo, sino también entre los miembros de sus familias.

De la experiencia llevada a cabo en el CAFAMI se pueden extraer importantes conclusiones. Por un lado, destaca la importancia de que el proyecto haya sido llevado a cabo por miembros de la propia comunidad. En este sentido, es altamente útil conocer el proceso que realizaron estas personas para convertirse en agentes revitalizadores. Enfrentar a su propia comunidad es uno de los retos más fuertes que evidencia el grado de conciencia positiva que han alcanzado respecto a su lengua y constituye una prueba de fuego para realizar un trabajo validado por su propio medio.

Finalmente se observa que, de un esfuerzo revitalizador, en un contexto como el aquí descrito, no puede esperarse que de inmediato la gente empiece a utilizar la lengua indígena. Existen etapas previas que deben ser trabajadas antes de que la lengua irrumpa como vehículo de comunicación y manifestación de una identidad indígena. En primer lugar, se observa un dinamismo en la revisión de las ideologías lingüísticas vigentes en la comunidad. Este esfuerzo reelabora el valor de lengua indígena a partir del trabajo lingüístico que realizan las integrantes del coro que resultan ser sus madres, hermanas, vecinas, comadres, etc. En este proceso de reconstrucción, se ha encontrado, entre otras cosas, que los significados socializados por los agentes revitalizadores no son necesariamente los mismos que construye la población meta y que los nuevos significados de la lengua indígena están elaborados a partir de la propia experiencia de los sujetos y el imaginario que hoy se difunde sobre el fenómeno multicultural. Por ello, cada generación reacciona diferente ante el mismo esfuerzo revitalizador.

Metodología

En la investigación aquí reportada se precisa la mención de los conceptos de Emic y Etic (Harris 1980). La necesidad de estos conceptos radica en el hecho que el autor de este capítulo es miembro de la cultura náhuatl y aunque pertece a otra comunidad, comparte el imaginario de las hablantes con quienes trabaja. Es el traductor al náhuatl de los temas musicales, profesor de lengua indígena del grupo y director del coro. En segundo lugar, las opiniones vertidas por las integrantes del grupo sobre su proceso de reconstrucción de la identidad indígena y la evaluación del impacto en su familia y comunidad, la llevan a cabo en sesiones de trabajo que forman parte de la organización cotidiana del coro, sin embargo, dado que en todo momento se tuvo en mente, por parte del investigador, documentar este proceso, se prepararon cuestionarios que guiaron la discusión para cada etapa de la evaluación. Esto significa que parte de la información utilizada para este capítulo tuvo dos propósitos, por un lado, sirvió de base para la toma de decisiones respecto al buen funcionamiento del coro y, por el otro, contribuyó a la formación de un conjunto de datos para una investigación longitudinal.

Los conceptos de emic y etic son importantes porque quienes hablan son los propios participantes del proceso y quien escribe el capítulo intenta mantener una doble identidad, por un lado, él también forma parte del coro, pertenece a la región nahua donde el grupo tiene impacto y mantiene una militancia en pro de la revitalización lingüística; y por otro lado, intenta describir el fenómeno desde un posicionamiento científico, procurando encarnar una voz crítica, congruente con los requisitos del trabajo académico.

Realizadas las precisiones pertinentes, en los siguientes apartados se describe el aparato metodológico utilizado para reunir los datos de la presente investigación:

Los participantes

Las participantes directas de esta investigación son las integrantes del coro *Soameh Matlalcueyetl* y *Soameh Citlalimeh* que en la actualidad tiene un promedio de 30 participantes. El coro es uno sólo pero a lo largo de 7 años ha tenido dos nombres, el primer grupo integrado por 12 mujeres se denominó *Soameh Matlalcueyetl* y el segundo grupo, con más de 20 participantes mujeres y un varón fue conocido como *Soameh Citlalimeh*, existe ahora un

tercer grupo que ha mantenido el mismo nombre. Aunque se identifican tres grupos, algunas mujeres han permanecido en el grupo desde el inicio, otras se ha ido integrando en distintas épocas.

Levantamiento de los datos

La información utilizada en esta investigación se generó en 3 momentos:

a) Sesiones de trabajo en las que se evaluaba cada una de las actuaciones o eventos en los que se participaba.

Después de cada actuación se realiza una sesión en la que se comentan los detalles de la participación, la evaluación que las propias participantes hacen de su trabajo y su interpretación sobre la reacción de la gente. Se ha observado que estas sesiones de trabajo son muy productivas ya que motiva a las integrantes del coro a reflexionar y construir significados sobre su propio desempeño. Estos comentarios, así como parte de los ensayos se han grabado en audio y en ocasiones en video para elaborar un documental que dé cuenta de todo el trabajo realizado.

La toma de decisiones se lleva a cabo entre las integrantes del coro y el director. Para realizar este proceso, ambas partes aportan elementos valorativos sobre la pertinencia de una nueva canción o la solicitud de la gente para compartir la letra de las traducciones. Este proceso, que parece simple, es uno de los momentos en que las integrantes del coro llevan a cabo una profunda reflexión y es precisamente esta reflexividad la que más aporta elementos para consolidar su identidad indígena.

b) Entrevistas con otros investigadores

Las integrantes del coro han dado muchas entrevistas, ya sea en el CAFAMI o en los sitios donde se han presentado. Estas entrevistas son solicitadas tanto por los comunicadores como por investigadores que ha conocido el proyecto. A pesar de que en ocasiones las entrevistas no son específicamente sobre la labor del coro, sino sobre otro tema relacionado con la lengua indígena, ellas derivan sus comentarios a partir de su experiencia como integrantes de la agrupación coral.

c) Una entrevista con cada participante

Se entrevistó a cada participante para conocer su experiencia con la lengua indígena previa a su incorporación al coro y su proceso de construcción de su identidad pública como hablante de náhuatl. Esta entrevista, llevada a cabo cuando el grupo ya contaba con gran reconocimiento, permitió que las integrantes del coro hablaran de los principales retos que tuvieron que enfrentar para mostrarse ante su familia y su comunidad hablando la lengua indígena y utilizando el traje indígena que había quedado en desuso desde hace aproximadamente 50 años.

La lengua de investigación

Las sesiones de trabajo se llevan a cabo mayoritariamente en náhuatl, sin embargo como hemos señalado, también forman parte del grupo un número de mujeres que están empezando a revitalizar su uso del náhuatl y otras que están aprendiendo desde los niveles más básicos. Por ello, las entrevistas se realizaron en la lengua de preferencia de las participantes y las citas que se incluyen en la sección de análisis y discusión, se presentan en la lengua en la que fueron dichas.

La historia del coro en lengua náhuatl

El coro se formó con un grupo de mujeres, esposas, hijas y hermanas de personas que ha emigrado por motivos de trabajo a los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica. La razón de este agrupamiento tan particular reside en que todas ellas participan en las actividades culturales y educativas del Centro de Atención a la Familia Migrante Indígena (CAFAMI). Éste es un proyecto del Instituto de Investigación y Práctica Social, A. C., (IPSOCULTA), fundado en 2001 por Marco Castillo, su director y un grupo de antropólogos de la BUAP entre quienes se encontraban José Ángel Ledesma Grimaldo, Javier Puga, Ramón Cruz, Héctor Nava Flores, Mauricio Estrada, Norberto Castillo, Elin León, acompañados por Javier Rodríguez quien es originario de la comunidad.

En una segunda etapa participaron psicólogos de la UAT como Alejandra Moreno, Aidé Bernal, Aldo Yañez, Yazmín Xochicale y Alejandra Cortés, entre otros. En la tercera etapa, Manuela Cuapio es nombrada directora general del CAFAMI y el equipo operativo se integra por Gustavo Rugerio González, Alejandra Moreno, Itzel Polo Mendieta, José Raúl Saldaña, Tanya Isidoro Morales, Antonia Zamora Garza, Areli Atriano y voluntarios extranjeros como Stephanie

Bifolco, Kate Barut, Paul Gordon, Daniel Carlton, Rebecca Savage, Edward MacCarthy, Alison y Ruth Hernández (Antonia Zamora, comunicación personal)

Las actividades del CAFAMI han estado coordinadas por jóvenes, mujeres y hombres que organizan distintos talleres. Esta organización tiene múltiples objetivos, dos de ellos son: a) promover que las personas se organicen como grupo cultural para participar en la defensa de los derechos humanos de la población emigrante, y b) reflexionar sobre el valor de su cultura local y promoverla a nivel local, nacional e internacional.

Por invitación de una de las coordinadoras del CAFAMI, en 2007, se organizó el primer taller de lengua náhuatl. Al conocer a la población meta, se encontró que la mayoría de las 12 mujeres que entonces asistían, eran bilingües náhuatl – español, en diferentes niveles y con distintas ideologías para mostrarse como hablantes bilingües. Por lo tanto, a la par de otros talleres que conformaban la oferta de la institución, cada miércoles, durante dos horas nos reuníamos a hablar en náhuatl sobre distintos temas como la agricultura, la vida en la comunidad cuando eran niñas, las celebraciones del pueblo, etc. En ese año, 2007, estas mujeres ya se encontraban preparando su primer viaje a los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica. El propósito de ese viaje era participar en un evento cultural llevando como número principal el baile de carnaval, así como una muestra de plantas medicinales y alimentos. Tres meses antes de partir surgió la inquietud de incorporar alguna manifestación en lengua indígena, entre las participantes se mencionó como posibilidad el canto. Ante la premura del tiempo y sin mucha experiencia en el tema se buscó una canción en náhuatl. Al no encontrar una canción vigente en lengua indígena, se procedió a realizar una traducción libre de la canción denominada "El quelite".

En septiembre de 2008, el grupo denominado *Soameh Matlalcueyetl* partió a los Estados Unidos. El efecto de su participación como grupo organizado en torno a una problemática social: la migración, ha sido ampliamente documentado en notas informativas, artículos, capítulos de libro y tesis de grado, entre otros (Hernández 2011; Hemley-Bronstein 2013), por ello, en este capítulo se abordará exclusivamente el tema de la lengua indígena.

Se presentaron con su danza de carnaval en el Festival de la Identidad Americana y cantaron *In quiquiltzin*, *el quelite* con sus familiares. Al regresar de su viaje, su perspectiva sobre la lengua indígena empezó a fortalecerse, el proyecto del taller de náhuatl cambió a petición de las integrantes y se convirtió formalmente en el coro en lengua náhuatl *Soameh Matlalcueyetl*. Se hicieron versiones de Las mañanitas, El cielito lindo, Amor eterno, entre otras. En los siguientes años el coro tuvo nuevas integrantes y un nuevo nombre: *Soameh Citlalimeh*.

Durante los siguientes años, el grupo ha viajado dos veces más a los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica. Han sido apoyadas por personalidades como Daniel Carlton quien escribió y dirigió "La Casa Rosa, una de las obras emblemáticas que las mujeres de CAFAMI han presentado en varios teatros. Los contactos que el director del IPSOCULTA y de las coordinadoras del CAFAMI les han permitido tener un recorrido más amplio en ese país.

En México, el coro ha actuado en tres tipos de eventos. Por un lado han sido invitadas constantemente a eventos culturales organizados por distintas instituciones. Entre ellas se encuentran La universidad Autónoma de Tlaxcala, El Instituto Tlaxcalteca de la Cultura y el Seminario Mayor de Tlaxcala. Por otro lado, han se han presentado en eventos de organizaciones de la sociedad civil, y finalmente y, tal vez de manera más importante, en festejos familiares tales como cumpleaños o fiestas particulares.

El canto en lengua náhuatl en épocas pasadas en esta región

No hemos encontrado evidencia a nivel de comunidad de que el canto en náhuatl estuviera ampliamente difundido en épocas pasadas, sin embargo, sí hay indicios, entre algunas familias, de que esta lengua se usaba para cantar canciones de cuna a los niños. Dos hermanas, integrantes del coro, Doña Silvestra y Doña Carmen Cuapio Téxis, de 50 y 54 años de edad, señalaron que ellas se acordaban de una canción que les cantaba su abuelita. Al entonarla ante el grupo, descubrimos que es un canto que utiliza la tonada de la canción navideña *A la rororó*, pero con referentes locales. La versión nahua que ellas aportaron y su traducción al español se presentan a continuación:

Versión recordada por las hablantes	Traducción
A la rorro, niño, a la rorrorró, xomococochiti, yocmo xomochoquil, amo oncan ca monantzin, oyah Señora Santa Ana ¿Tlen ocmocuilito? ce momanzanahtzin	A la rorro, niño, a la rorrorró, Duérmase, ya no llore, No está su mamá Fue a la [ciudad donde se venera a] la Señora Santa Ana ¿Qué fue a traer? una manzana para ti

Este canto es una versión en la que se incorporan prácticas locales y referentes geográficos de la región. La ciudad más importante de la zona nahua de Tlaxcala se llama Santa Ana Chiautempan y allí se venera a la imagen de la Señora Santa Ana, esa es la referencia que se encuentra en el canto. En el pasado, todas las compras se hacían en esa ciudad y, de hecho, hoy en día se instala un mercado muy grande el día domingo donde la gente de la región va a realizar sus compras de comida. Por ello es que en la melodía se señala que la madre del bebé fue a Santa Ana [Chiautempan] a traer una manzana.

Aparte de este canto, no hemos encontrado evidencia escrita u oral de que la lengua indígena se haya usado en el canto o en la religión en tiempos recientes. Sin embargo, algunas participantes del coro señalan que entre los contemporáneos de sus abuelitos conocieron personas que sabían decir en náhuatl la oración que se utiliza para persignarse, otras conocieron a personas que rezaban el Ave María y algunas más señalan tener recuerdos de personas que solían decir fragmentos de poesías en náhuatl. Sobre el uso de la lengua indígena en la religión, se precisa llevar a cabo una investigación profunda que aporte elementos para entender hasta qué fecha se utilizó el náhuatl y se empezó a decir misa en latín, ya que una de las participantes del coro, de 74 años de edad, declara que ella todavía tuvo la oportunidad de asistir a las misas en esta lengua, misma que nadie entendía y de la cual sólo se aprendían los rezos.

La reconstrucción de la identidad nahua entre las integrantes del coro y el impacto en sus familias

Llama la atención el proceso que las integrantes del coro han experimentado debido a las características de desplazamiento del náhuatl de la comunidad. De acuerdo con datos del INEGI (2010) del total de los habitantes del municipio, sólo el 14% se declara como hablante de lengua indígena. Este porcentaje cobra todavía más relevancia cuando se observa la distribución de hablantes por quinquenio de edad:

San Francisco Tetlanohcan
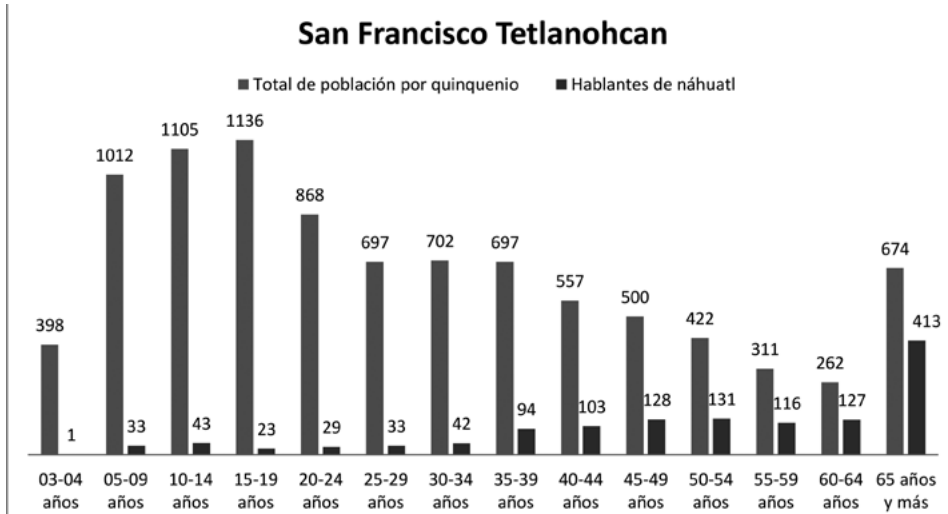
Edad	Total de la población	Número de hablantes de náhuatl	Porcentaje
03–04 años	398	1	0.25%
05–09 años	1, 012	33	3.26%
10–14 años	1, 105	43	3.89%
15–19 años	1, 136	23	2.02%
20–24 años	868	29	3.34%
25–29 años	697	33	4.73%
30–34 años	702	42	5.98%
35–39 años	697	94	13.48%
40–44 años	557	103	18.49%
45–49 años	500	128	25.6%
50–54 años	422	131	31.04%
55–59 años	311	116	37.29%
60–64 años	262	127	48.47%
65 años y más	674	413	61.27%

En este contexto, el proceso de fortalecimiento de la identidad indígena entre las integrantes del coro quienes pertenecen a distintos grupos de edad nos puede aportar información para emprender mejores proyecto de revitalización lingüística, por ello en los siguientes apartados se analizan algunas de las etapas de dicho proceso.

El náhuatl en la infancia de las participantes

Las integrantes del coro son hablantes de náhuatl con distintos niveles de proficiencia. Las hay desde hablantes cuyo discurso es fluido en lengua indígena, hasta bilingües pasivas quienes comprenden el náhuatl pero no se animan a hablarlo por falta de práctica. Entre las hablantes con menor dominio del náhuatl, un tema central es el imaginario que ellas tienen de la lengua que por distintas razones no pudieron desarrollar en forma oral y los retos que ahora enfrentan al tratar de activarlo:

> Cuando era niña, nosotras hablábamos en español pero una abuelita que ya murió siempre nos decía: ¿Quen otixton, noconeuh?, ¿Quen ticah, María? [¿Cómo amaneciste hijo mío?, ¿Cómo estás, María?] (Mujer de 44 años).

> Empecé a hablar un poco el náhuatl, antes que me casara, mi mamá nos decía que fuéramos a traer leña (Mujer de 50 años).

> Yo la verdad, a mí siempre me hablaron así, en español, siempre. Mis abuelitos, hasta donde yo recuerdo, los papás de mi mamá me hablaban en español y yo los escuchaba que ellos hablaban náhuatl, mis abuelitos por parte de mi papá nos querían hablar así igual pero en náhuatl pero a mi papá nunca le gustó. No le gustaba que nos hablaran así porque yo creo era un pecado que nos hablaran náhuatl, pero nosotros a través del tiempo, al trabajar con otras personas cuidando niños, oíamos como hablaban y fuimos aprendiendo algo (Mujer de 62 años).

> Axtoh oniczaloh español, huan niman ihcuac oniccaquiya in nomama, onictlahtlaniaya tlen oquihtohuaya [Primero aprendí español y luego cuando escuchaba a mi mamá hablar náhuatl, le preguntaba qué decía] (Mujer de 50 años).

> Nochpocauh amo oquimatiya tlahtoz, ompa tochan amo otlahtoaya huan nican oczaloco. [Mi hija no sabía hablar en náhuatl, allá en nuestra casa no hablaba esta lengua, aquí la vino a aprender] (Mujer de 74 años).

Estos ejemplos muestran que algunas participantes fueron socializadas con el discurso que favorecía al español, debido entre otras cosas, a las exigencias de la escuela monolingüe en lengua nacional. Sin embargo, los padres

y abuelos sí se permitían hablar a los niños en lengua indígena. Esta práctica permitió que cultivaran un dominio del náhuatl en dos sentidos, por un lado desarrollaron una competencia comunicativa básica consistente en participar en el saludo y pequeñas intervenciones orales pero muy fuerte en términos de la comprensión; y por otro lado, dado que el náhuatl lo utilizaban para hablar con sus padres y abuelitos, desarrollaron un valor afectivo muy grande hacia esta lengua. Ello explica, en gran medida, que al incorporarse a una comunidad de práctica como es el coro, no expresaran tanta resistencia para empezar a utilizar de manera oral su lengua indígena ya que a través de ella evocan sentimientos.

Algunas integrantes del coro son bilingües pasivas o casi monolingües en español, al cuestionar a estas nuevas integrantes sobre su reacción al saber que entre las actividades del CAFAMI se encontraba un coro que trabajaba en náhuatl, esto fue lo que señalaron:

> Cuando las vi por primera vez, me gustó y dije: qué bonito es, ¿por qué a mi papá nunca le gustó que habláramos náhuatl? (Mujer de 62 años).
>
> Me dijeron aquí enseñan náhuatl, dije: me interesa aprender porque mi bisabuela hablaba náhuatl (Mujer de 38 años).
>
> Me gusta mucho, es una lengua muy hermosa, a mí me encanta este dialecto, incluso hay muchas palabras que me cuestan entenderlas y aprenderlas pero en mi casa practico (Mujer de 36 años).

Lo que las participantes del grupo denominan como "aprender", en muchos casos significa empezar a utilizarlo en un contexto social. No es que efectivamente no conocieran la lengua, sino que están pasando de un manejo pasivo a uno de uso efectivo.

El canto en lengua indígena

En párrafos anteriores se ha descrito el proceso a través del cual se fue construyendo la idea de cantar y conformar el repertorio vocal del grupo, sin embargo, hace falta documentar lo que las propias participantes señalan respecto al significado y reacción de cantar en lengua indígena:

> Se siente muy hermoso, lo que pasa es que se transforma uno, al menos en mi caso yo siento que estoy en otro lado, no digamos aquí, con la gente que

me rodea, sino que estoy en un…en una situación muy diferente, o a veces en lugares que…que va diciendo la canción (Mujer de 36 años).

Nechpactia quen timocuicatiyah, in gentehtzitzin quinpactiaya nohuihqui. Ye nin in tehhuan. [Me gusta como cantamos, a la gente también le gusta. Esto es lo que somos nosotras] (Mujer de 49 años).

A mí, me gusta cantar, solita si usted quiere, yo he cantado por ejemplo en Calnahuac, yo le canté a la virgen solita sus Mañanitas, le pedí permiso al sacristán, le dije: deme permiso que yo quiero cantarle sus Mañanitas, pero yo quiero cantar enfrente de ella, me dijo: pase, la acompañamos, le dije es que yo las voy a cantar en náhuatl. y les gustó mucho (Mujer de 38 años).

Como se ha señalado anteriormente, varias de las integrantes del grupo participan en el coro de la iglesia cantando en español, por ello, se les cuestionó si había alguna diferencia entre cantar en español y cantar en náhuatl. Estas son algunas de sus opiniones:

Yo he sentido la diferencia porque en español se siente de una manera y en náhuatl se siente otra manera, es otra situación, otra circunstancia, se siente uno, ¿cómo decirlo?, como en contacto directo a nuestro padre (Dios), eso es lo que yo siento(Mujer de 38 años).

Ocachi cualli cuac timocuicatiah nahuatl. Cuacualtzin mocaqui, noyolo quipiya… ¿Quen nimitzonilliz? Miec…miec paquiliz, gusto. [Es mejor cuando cantamos en náhuatl, se escucha hermoso, mi corazón tiene… ¿cómo le diré?, tiene mucho… mucha alegría, gusto] (Mujer de 54 años).

Reacciones de la familia de las integrantes del coro al mostrarse como hablantes y cantantes de náhuatl

La construcción de una identidad indígena fuerte entre las integrantes del coro ha tomado tiempo y abrevado en distintas fuentes. Por un lado, está el discurso revitalizador socializado por el director del coro y los coordinadores de los distintos talleres a los que han asistido, sin embargo, pese a la orientación eminentemente culturalista que estas experiencias de aprendizaje han tenido, considero que lo que más ha influido en ellas es la pregunta sobre su identidad. Esta pregunta surge al momento de presentarse con otros grupos tanto dentro como fuera del país. El discurso imperante en todos estos eventos cuestiona aquello original, autentico que cada grupo presenta. Lo distintivo que cada colectivo lleva como capital. Al plantearse estas preguntas y al

observar que otros grupos tienen un discurso para defender sus identidades, las integrantes de este coro han construido argumentos para enfrentarse a su entorno. Las participantes reportan diversos tipos de reacciones, las más reacias hacia la lengua indígena son las de los adolescentes y adultos jóvenes, las más favorables y alentadoras son las de los niños y entre los propios adultos se encuentran opiniones solidarias pero no siempre con la manifestación de querer también asumirse como hablante de náhuatl.

> Mi hijo me dijo: Mami, ¿no te da pena hablar eso? y le dije: ¿estás mal de tu cabeza, cómo me va a dar pena?, si es algo tradicional y es algo que no se debe perder, que es de nuestra cultura, o sea es nuestra cultura el náhuatl, que yo a lo mejor no les enseñé a hablar eso pero yo, yo sí me gusta (Mujer de 38 años).

Esta cita muestra que las integrantes del coro ya no permiten ser silenciadas ni siquiera por sus propios hijos, ellas han construido una serie de argumentos con los cuales defienden el uso de la lengua indígena. Lo que me interesa hacer notar es que sus argumentos derivan de la propia reflexión al vivir distintas experiencias y no sólo de la socialización de estas perspectivas por parte de los coordinadores del grupo.

La recepción más cálida hacia la lengua náhuatl es la que se encuentra entre los niños, esto muestra que debemos repensar nuestras ideologías sobre la edad a la cual los hablantes se empiezan a negar a aprender una lengua indígena. Llevamos algunas décadas diciendo que los niños y los jóvenes no quieren aprender los idiomas autóctonos porque les da pena, pero también llevamos ya décadas en que estamos difundiendo una ideología de mayor respeto a las lenguas indígenas. Si bien no podemos señalar que las opiniones negativas hacia la lengua indígena han terminado, tampoco podemos aceptar, sin discusión, que todo el esfuerzo realizado por diferentes instituciones para otorgar un mayor reconocimiento a las lenguas originarias no haya tenido algún tipo de efecto. Por ello, sugiero llevar a cabo mayor investigación sobre las ideologías lingüísticas manejadas por los niños. Por lo pronto, las nietas y nietos de las integrantes del coro muestran interés no sólo por aprender a cantar, sino también por hablar la lengua indígena:

> Cuando mi nieta me vio en la televisión me dijo: abuelita, no sabía que eras artista, ¿por qué nunca me dijiste?, yo quiero que me enseñes a cantar en náhuatl (Mujer de 68 años).
>
> Les dije a mis hijos: van a escuchar lo que yo aprendí, ¿qué aprendió? [preguntaron ellos] las mañanitas [contesté] y les empecé a cantar, a cantar, a cantar

y entonces una nietecita de allá [de los Estados Unidos] igual ya cantaba y un mi nietecito, en su cumpleaños, me dijo: abuelita, cántame en tu náhuatl, cántame las mañanitas, le dije: sí, y se las canté (Mujer de 50 años).

Entre los impactos que las integrantes del coro han tenido en su familia destaca el hecho de que el náhuatl se ha vuelto tema de plática entre sus miembros. Dado que las participantes tienen que ensayar en su casa, generalmente ante la presencia de algunos de sus familiares, los más pequeños, aquellos que no asocian la lengua indígena con valores negativos, practican con sus abuelitas de manera voluntaria y disfrutan el llevar a cabo esta actividad. Una de las integrantes del coro lo apunta de la siguiente manera:

En mi casa tenemos un estéreo, entonces para practicar pongo mi disco y me pongo a cantar, a veces cuando está la música de mis hijos, mi nieta la más pequeña les dice: ya quiten su disco, ya nos toca a nosotras, vamos a poner el disco de mi abuelita y yo voy a cantar con ella (Mujer de 48 años).

Por otro lado, las integrantes del coro han encontrado apoyo entre los miembros de su familia para continuar con el proyecto revitalizador:

Cuando llega la hora de ir al CAFAMI y mi esposo ve pasar a las señoras, me dice: apúrate, ya se van las señoras, deja lo que estás haciendo, ve para que aprendas más y luego nos enseñes. Al rato terminas tu trabajo (Mujer de 50 años).

Mi hijo el mayor, cuando le platiqué lo que hacíamos me dice: que bueno, mamá que te interese eso, no sólo te entretienes, también aprendes. Está bien que vayas (Mujer de 54 años).

La primera vez que me vieron con mi traje tradicional, al siguiente día fui a comprar pan y unos vecinos me dijeron: no nos habías dicho que estabas en el grupo de teatro y canto, se ven bien, lo hacen bien, échenle ganas porque hace falta que no se pierda esta lengua (Mujer de 22 años).

La actuación en náhuatl frente a su propia comunidad

Después de conformado el grupo, las integrantes del coro tuvieron el reto mayor: cantar en su propia comunidad. Para ello, ellas decidieron que a partir de entonces utilizarían el vestido tradicional de sus antepasados. Este traje

consta de falda negra de percal, blusa blanca con bordados de varios tipos, ceñidor y rebozo. Ninguna persona actualmente usa esa ropa como atuendo cotidiano u ocasional. Las mujeres mayores de cincuenta años señalan que esa es la ropa que usaban algunas de sus abuelitas pero que ninguna de ellas la llegó a utilizar en su niñez.

Llevadas a cabo varias presentaciones fuera de la comunidad pero dentro del país, llegó el momento de actuar en su propio pueblo, para dicha presentación tuvieron como invitados especiales a los miembros de sus propias familias. Esta experiencia fue definitiva en el fortalecimiento de su identidad autóctona, pues implicaba mostrarse como defensoras y practicantes de la cultura y la lengua indígenas, ésta es la lectura de este momento por parte de las integrantes del coro:

> Esa primera vez que nosotras cantamos y presentamos, fue canto y obra, aquí en el centro del pueblo, quería que me tragara la tierra porque era con nuestros propios paisanos, porque con muchas personas escuchábamos que nos decían que cómo que a estas alturas están aprendiendo náhuatl y cuando esas personas supieron que nos íbamos a los Estados Unidos por el teatro y el canto dijeron: ¿Cómo es que la hicieron?, Sí la hicieron (Mujer de 62 años).

Esta primera cita, muestra la necesidad de las participantes para validar su trabajo frente a la propia comunidad pues habiéndose difundido su participación en un grupo de teatro y de canto, existía la inquietud por conocer los resultados. Al anunciar que con ese capital se iban a los Estados Unidos, se valida el trabajo: *sí la hicieron* [triunfaron]. En esta misma línea, otras de las participantes señalan:

> Sentí una pena y unos nervios. No sé de quién me largaba pero tenía un miedo y una pena, yo ya no sabía ni dónde meter la cara de tanto sudor, pero, nos enfrentamos al pueblo y entonces al final, cuando nos vieron, nos escucharon y todo, el pueblo también nos aplaudió y nos felicitó [nos dijeron] que… ¡qué bueno!, que nosotras éramos unas mujeres emprendedoras y que se admiraban porque nosotros nos aventábamos a enfrentarnos a nuestro propio pueblo, el presidente nos dijo… y las amistades que están más cerca de nosotras nos apreciaron, nos aplaudieron, nos felicitaron y nos desearon buen viaje porque en ese momento se anunció que íbamos a los Estados Unidos (Mujer de 62 años).

> Cuando tehhuan, tehhuan oticpresentarohqueh in obrah, pos neh onechmacac miec … ¿quen niquihtoz?, nipinahuaya nechittaz nocompadre, nechittaz nochpocauh, nechittaz novecinahhuan, nechittaz noprima, axan yocmo, axan mazqui

nechittazqueh yocmo, yocmo nipinahua, yonitlazaloh quenin nitlahtoz huan nimocuicatiz ixpan miyec gente, mazqui nechittah yocmo nipinahua, porque neh n(iquih)tohua para yehhuan este quihtozqueh: ah pos quema, cuacualtzin huan neh nohuihqui n(i)tlazaloz.

[Cuando nosotras, nosotras presentamos la obra, pues a mí me dio mucho… ¿Cómo podría decir?, me daba pena que me viera mi compadre, que me viera mi hija, que me vieran mis vecinas, que me viera mi prima, ahora ya no (me da pena). Ahora aunque me vean ya no, ya no me da pena, ya aprendí cómo hablar y cantar frente a mucha gente. Aunque me vean ya no me da pena porque yo digo (lo hacemos) para que ellos digan: ah pues, en verdad es bello y yo también aprenderé náhuatl] (Mujer de 50 años).

Estos extractos de conversaciones muestran que varias de las decisiones que tomamos como habitantes de regiones bilingües están basadas en hipótesis, por ejemplo, no enseñamos a nuestros hijos a hablar la lengua indígena porque pensamos que va a ser señalado aún dentro de la propia comunidad. Sin embrago, esa hipótesis, si bien fundada en experiencias reales sufridas en el pasado, habla de otra época y de niños en otras circunstancias y contexto distinto. Nuestras hipótesis no se basan en hechos que ocurran en momentos actuales porque prácticamente no hay niños que hablen la lengua para saber algunas de las verdaderas reacciones de los miembros de la comunidad. Las voces que se ha presentado en esta sección, muestran que al inicio tenía temor, sin embargo, al ver que todos las felicitaban pasaron del miedo y la vergüenza a la confianza y al reconocimiento. Esta actitud se fortaleció en sus siguientes presentaciones.

Las actuaciones en los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica

En los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica, las primeras actuaciones las llevaron a cabo ante miembros de su propia comunidad, en eventos religiosos y familiares, posteriormente se presentaron en escenarios para un público más amplio y diverso. Ante la aceptación recibida no sólo creó su confianza, sino que descubrieron nuevos elementos que posteriormente les permitieron argumentar su posición respecto a la lengua náhuatl en sus vidas:

Una de las primeras veces que cantamos ya con gente y no sólo con nuestras familias de allá [los Estados Unidos] fue en la celebración que se hace de

nuestro Santo Patrón [San Francisco]. Allá no lo celebran en una iglesia como acá, allá lo hacen en un salón y va mucha gente, no sólo los de aquí que están allá, ellos invitan a la gente de otras comunidades. Estuvimos allá desde el 17 de septiembre y el 4 de octubre, el mero día de San Francisquito le cantamos en náhuatl en el salón que se llama "La Noche Mía". La gente nos aplaudió mucho, nos dijeron que… qué bonito. Que, qué bien que continuábamos esa tradición, les gustó mucho, dijeron que no lo dejáramos de practicar. Que nos iban a invitar otro año. Yo me sentí bien, al menos, yo antes tenía pena cuando yo hablaba así o cuando me decían: canta, no, yo me chiviaba, y ahora no, ahora les canto a mis hijos o… los cantos que aprendo, yo llego y los canto y les digo mira aprendimos esto, y los canto yo, ya no me da vergüenza cantarlos (Mujer de 52 años).

Ihcuac otimocuicatihqueh ompa Nueva York, otechfelicitarohqueh, tanto aplauso, techilliayah que techfelicitaroah huan quemman occeppa tiyazqueh, techilliayah: bienvenidos a Nueva York, pues otechrecibirohqueh cualli.

[Cuando cantamos allá en Nueva York, nos felicitaron mucho, nos aplaudieron mucho, nos decían que nos felicitaban y [nos preguntaban] que cuándo iríamos otra vez, nos decían: bienvenidos a Nueva York, pues, nos recibieron bien] (Mujer de 74 años).

Cuando cantamos en Estados Unidos, la gente habló muy bonito, nos dijeron que cantábamos muy bonito y que ellos no habían escuchado eso, ¿cómo le diré?, me sentí tan, así como… como sorprendida vaya, porque cuando nos escuchaba así, nos aplaudieron tanto y dije: ¿qué tanto les gustó que nos aplaudieron tanto? y luego nos hacían repetirlo, me sentí emocionada, no sé, soñada, No tenía palabras para explicar a mi familia. Les dije: si vieran que yo jamás pensé, yo me he subido a foros de la escuela, pero así como yo me vi entre luces, entre gente, entre cortinas y todo, cuando empezamos los teatros, cuando fuimos a la universidad (de Yale) pues nos veían todos los maestros y alumnos y tanto aplauso que nos dieron, tanta felicitación, no me la creí. Yo pienso que nos admiraron porque al ver que nosotras íbamos, como… ya estamos viejas, nos vemos gastadas, yo creo al ver dirán: esas, como… como, yo así me catalogo, yo me decía, bueno la gente y la gente nos aplaude bastante , ¿qué tanto, tan bonito vieron todos esto?, les gustó bastante. Nos decían: las admiramos porque a esta edad de ustedes, aprender esto, una maestra nos dijo que la palabra náhuatl suena a inglés, dije, ah caray, le dije: pues yo no puedo aprender el inglés, sin embargo mi lengua sí. Entonces digo es lo que les admiraba, nos decían las admiramos porque ustedes, a estas alturas, que ustedes aprendan y nos traigan algo para que toda esa juventud o sea el público de estudiantes les decían, esta juventud les traen como … un mensaje de nuestras tradiciones, de nuestro México (Mujer de 60 años).

Después de innumerables conciertos en México, de organizar y participar en una misa bilingüe cada mes en la parroquia de San Francisco Tetlanohcan, de tres estancias en los Estados Unidos y un cuarto viaje en puerta y del inicio de trabajos independientes por parte de las integrantes del coro como la

formación de coros infantiles o sesiones esporádicas con familiares y amigos para compartir los cantos y hablar en náhuatl con otras personas, el coro *Soameh Matlacueyetl*, *Soameh Citlalimeh* no se siente triunfalista respecto al impacto de este movimiento en la comunidad, ni piensa que su trabajo ha terminado. En primer lugar reconoce el impacto que este proyecto ha tenido al observar que el número de feligreses que asisten a la misa bilingüe ha aumentado, que mayores grupos apoyan su trabajo y que el tema de la lengua indígena y su importancia se ha puesto sobre la mesa de discusión familiar con nuevos argumentos, sin embargo, existe la clara conciencia de que en la comunidad existen personas con distintas opiniones sobre el mantenimiento de la lengua náhuatl pero que las integrantes del coro han desarrollado un entendimiento y una puesta en marcha para vivir y reproducir su cultura indígena en sus contextos más inmediatos. Esta idea se resume en la siguiente cita expresada por la participante de mayor edad en el grupo:

> Miequeh tlacatzitzin, zohuatzitzin quinpactia huan occequintin amo quinpactia porque tehhuan timomacah cuentah pero in tehhuan t(ic)matih tlen t(tic)chihuah.
>
> [A muchos hombres y mujeres les gusta (que se promocioné el náhuatl) y a otros no. Nosotras nos damos cuenta, sin embargo, nosotras sabemos lo que estamos haciendo] (Mujer 75 años).

Conclusión

La formación y consolidación del coro en lengua indígena de San Francisco Tetlanohcan, Tlaxcala, perteneciente al CAFAMI permitió a un grupo de mujeres de entre 22 y 75 años de edad reelaborar y defender algunos aspectos de su identidad indígena. Este proceso de reelaboración se fue dando a medida que fueron presentándose ante audiencias locales, nacionales e internacionales. La investigación evidencia que no basta con socializar conceptos revitalizadores para que un grupo de hablantes tome la decisión de reactivar o iniciar a utilizar la lengua que fue de sus ancestros, existe la necesidad de enriquecer este proceso con otros componentes. En el caso concreto, además del resultado de una reflexión permanente llevada a cabo entre los miembros del grupo con la guía de los coordinadores del CAFAMI y el director del coro, parte de la validación provino de personas ajenas al grupo quienes valoraron el trabajo llevado a cabo por las integrantes del coro. En este contexto, destaca el hecho de que uno de los mayores retos, por lo menos en zonas de desplazamiento

tan avanzadas como la aquí descrita, es mostrarse ante los miembros de su propia comunidad como hablante y promotor del uso de la lengua indígena. Los nuevos hablantes tienen menor presión para presentarse como indígenas fuera de sus comunidades que dentro de ellas ya que eso implica abrir el espacio para el escrutinio de la identidad que se pretende desplegar.

El proceso de fortalecimiento de la identidad aquí analizado muestra la importancia de trabajar con grupos de distintas edades ya que eso permite, entre otros, dos aspectos importantes; por un lado, se socializan y enriquecen distintas posturas derivadas del imaginario de cada grupo de edad y, por el otro, se comparte la lectura que cada grupo de las integrantes del grupo realiza sobre el impacto de una determinada acción llevada a cabo. Hacia afuera del grupo, el tener colectivos heterogéneos contribuye a desdibujar la idea de que las lenguas indígenas son sólo para un determinado grupo de edad.

El trabajo del coro ha tenido impacto en varios niveles. En términos personales, cada participante construyó, a distintos niveles, un imaginario que le permite mostrarse como hablante de lengua náhuatl y contar con la capacidad de construir argumentos para defender esa postura en distintos contextos. Gracias a la formación integral que ofrece el CAFAMI, las participantes cuentan con información de tipo legal y cultural que les permite defender sus posturas desde diferentes trincheras. Este proceso de empoderamiento no se observa solamente en el terreno de la defensa y promoción de la lengua indígena, sino también en otros temas como la salvaguarda de los derechos humanos de los migrantes, una de las causas primordiales de la lucha que promueve el CAFAMI.

En el mismo sentido, a nivel individual, cada participante ha avanzado un paso más en la activación, reactivación o refuncionalización de su competencia en náhuatl. Es notorio el caso de aquellas mujeres que a pesar de haber nacido y crecido en hogares bilingües, no hubieran desarrollado su competencia oral en esta lengua. Al incorporarse al CAFAMI y descubrir que allí había una comunidad de trabajo en la que podían reactivar el conocimiento de su idioma, no sólo a través del canto, sino también en las conversaciones entre sus miembros, varias de ellas lo hicieron y ahora están utilizando su lengua indígena en algunas oportunidades. En este terreno hace falta un mayor trabajo para que las integrantes del grupo abran nuevos espacios de uso independientemente de las instalaciones del CAFAMI y usen su lengua indígena en la calle o al coincidir en algún lugar.

En el terreno de la refuncionalización, algunas mujeres mayores de 50 años quienes desde que entraron al CAFAMI ya eran hablantes competentes en

náhuatl, han ampliado sus contextos de uso en varios ámbitos, el más notorio, el uso del náhuatl para presentar a su grupo ante sus audiencias. Esto ocurre ya que la presentación que se hace del grupo en cada actuación se lleva a cabo en lengua indígena. Al inicio del trabajo con el coro, esta responsabilidad caía exclusivamente en aquellas mujeres cuyo náhuatl era fluido, sin embrago, a medida que otras personas fueron reactivando su manejo de la lengua, cada participante tiene la posibilidad participar en esta tarea.

A nivel comunitario, se observa una mayor discusión y aceptación de que el náhuatl forma parte importante del capital cultural del pueblo. Este hecho se puede constatar en dos hechos, por un lado, el coro es invitado a participar en algunos eventos importantes de la comunidad y por el otro, al asistir a los conciertos y a las misas en forma bilingüe respaldan la labor del grupo y se inscriben como participantes de este movimiento sin que necesariamente se muestren como hablantes productivos de la lengua indígena.

Finalmente, se identifican cinco aspectos en los que se puede contribuir al estudio de la retención y revitalización de una lengua indígena:

a) Llevar a cabo una investigación sobre las posibles causas que llevaron al desplazamiento.

Los procesos de revitalización también deben considerar las causas o las maneras en que se generó el desplazamiento. En el contexto mexicano, hace falta investigación más minuciosa para entender las características concretas de los distintos contextos en los que las lenguas indígenas han perdido espacios de uso así como las estrategias de resistencia utilizadas por los que se han mantenido como hablantes en esos mismos escenarios. En el caso de Tetlanohcan, lugar del que proceden las integrantes del coro, destacan las distintas lecturas que cada generación tiene sobre la importancia de mantener la lengua indígena o los motivos por los cuales se precisa dejar de utilizarlas. En el estudio se descubrió que, por lo menos entre la población adulta de entre los 40 y 75 años, la lengua indígena, pese a estar estigmatizada, evocaba recuerdos afectivos muy valiosos de la niñez de estas personas así como de sus seres queridos, particularmente de sus abuelitos. Esta fuente de inspiración y motivación les permitió que, una vez construido un espacio libre de prejuicios sobre el uso de la lengua, las integrantes del grupo se atrevieran a empezar a utilizar su lengua indígena como medio de comunicación entre algunas de ellas, pese a su limitada competencia en su dominio.

Este hallazgo, nos permite hipotetizar que en la medida en que se conozcan detalles del proceso de desplazamiento, particularizando la manera en que cada generación vivió este hecho, mejores estrategias de intervención se podrían proponer.

b) Crear oportunidades de aprendizaje de la lengua acordes con las características de la comunidad.

Los proyectos de revitalización deberán diseñarse, preferentemente, a partir de prácticas sociales que la comunidad realiza o realizaba en lengua indígena. De alguna manera hacer empatar procesos de recuperación lingüística con procesos de recuperación cultural más amplios. Esto no significa que no se use la lengua indígena para las innovaciones que la propia cultura ha realizado, sin embargo, desde la perspectiva de los propios hablantes, la cultura es más significativa en la lengua en la que fue acuñada, por ello, cuando se aborda una práctica o contenido cultural propio de ese lengua, no hace falta tratar de encontrar o construir un vocabulario para verbalizarlos pues la lengua contiene precisamente los elementos necesarios para dar cuenta de ese aspecto. En el caso del trabajo realizado en el CAFAMI más que un proyecto previamente planeado, el coro surgió como una iniciativa de la propia experiencia de las integrantes del grupo que a su vez participan en coros de la iglesia, esta primera decisión se enriqueció cuando las participantes relacionaron el canto con algunas interacciones que ellas llevaron a cabo con sus abuelitas. Posteriormente, ellas resignificaron esta relación al implementarlas con sus propias nietas y empezar una nueva historia personal en la que el canto se volvió pieza de encuentro, conocimiento y crecimiento cultural compartido.

c) No trabajar de manera aislada sino incrustar el proyecto revitalizador dentro de las prácticas cotidianas de la comunidad.

El proyecto de revitalización no debe ser un ejercicio aislado de la vida de la comunidad, sino que debe formar parte de ella, a pesar de que puede no involucrar a todos sus habitantes. La experiencia aquí documentada muestra que un elemento central de un proceso de este tipo es la validación social que se alcanza al exhibir no sólo el proyecto, sino el posicionamiento concreto de las personas que participan en él. El que los que participan en el proyecto enfrenten a los otros miembros de la comunidad, investidos

en la identidad de hablantes de la lengua autóctona y promotores de su mantenimiento no es fácil, sin embargo, es necesaria para incidir en un mayor número de persona. Por ello, no ayuda mucho al mantenimiento etnolingüístico, el que se formen grupos cerrados que aprendan la lengua y la utilicen sólo entre ellos, pues el objetivo es convertirse en usuario de ese idioma y tratar de utilizarlo en todos los espacios posibles dentro de la comunidad y con el mayor número de hablantes. Esto requiere un proceso paulatino de crecimiento en la identidad indígena pues la conducta que se está promoviendo está en clara oposición a lo que la comunidad ha adoptado como práctica lingüística cotidiana.

d) Manejar el proyecto como un conjunto de acciones con metas inmediatas, pero con una clara concepción de que la revitalización es una tarea de muy largo plazo.

Revitalizar una lengua es un proceso muy largo de esfuerzos permanentes, por ello, los proyectos que persiguen este propósito deben fijarse metas en distintas etapas. Poner en marcha el proyecto y evaluarlo de forma permanente debe considerarse fundamental. La experiencia obtenida con el coro en lengua náhuatl muestra que antes de que la gente empiece a usar su lengua ocurren etapas que sirven para andamiar tal conducta. Por otro lado, a nivel social o comunitario, también van ocurriendo etapas de logro significativas antes de que el náhuatl sea utilizado, hasta el momento, el tema de la lengua indígena se ha vuelto un tema de plática. Varios sectores de la comunidad apoyan la promoción que el coro hace de la lengua indígena y acepta participar en sus eventos. Esta participación no puede considerarse como imparcial ya que ser audiencia de un concierto o asistir a la misa el domingo en que las encargadas son el grupo del CAFAMI implica estar consciente de que el servicio religioso ocurrirá en forma bilingüe. Desde esta perspectiva, si bien el objetivo es lograr que las personas reactiven o inicien el uso de su lengua indígena, no se pueden perder de vista las etapas intermedias que son fundamentales para construir el imaginario que posibilitará que el objetivo principal se cumpla.

e) Incorporar a los participantes del grupo en tareas fundamentales que les implique una búsqueda de argumentos para proponer nuevas etapas del proyecto y defender de manera autónoma las acciones realizadas.

Este proyecto mostró que en la medida en que los participantes toman responsabilidades, ellos comienzan a dibujar un proyecto más propio y a elaborar argumentos que derivan de su experiencia. De esta manera, la población meta se apropia del proyecto y comienza a ordenar algunas acciones de acuerdo con la lógica de la comunidad. Este aspecto es fundamental ya que no hay poder humano que logre que una persona lleve a cabo una práctica de manera voluntaria sin que esté convencida de ello. Reactivar o empezar a hablar la lengua de los ancestros es más que un derecho, es abrazar una forma particular de vivir y eso sólo se logra con la voluntad y la decisión de ser miembro de esa cultura a pesar de las presiones de otros grupos.

La experiencia vivida en el CAFAMI nos ha permitido entender algunos aspectos fundamentales que pueden iluminar el diseño de programas de revitalización de lenguas indígenas.

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"Is My Nahuatl Coherent?" A Comparative Analysis of Language Attitudes Among Modern Speakers of Nahuatl[1]

ALEKSANDRA BERGIER JUSTYNA OLKO
Faculty of "Artes Liberales"
University of Warsaw

Introduction: Nahua communities and their speakers

In 2014 during a collaborative work on linguistic documentation of a local, highly endangered variety of Nahuatl, a 35-year-old native speaker of this language asked one of the authors of this paper a surprising question: *¿Tiene mi nahuatl coherencia?* 'Is my Nahuatl coherent?' He is a fully proficient and fluent speaker of Nahuatl from a town located in the municipality of San Andres Cholula, Puebla. He was also a highly active and self-confident participant in the Nahuatl Winter Institute we organized in Cholula, Mexico in January 2014, for both native speakers of Nahuatl and non-native students of the language. Self-confident and comfortably using his variant while communicating with the speakers from other Nahua communities, he participated in field research in one of the Nahuatl-speaking towns in the state of Puebla where he actually conducted and managed recorded conversations with local community members. However, when we transcribed, analyzed and translated recordings made with his participation, he expressed uncertainty and concern about the grammatical "correctness" and sense of his speech, expecting verification

and evaluation by a non-native researcher and much less proficient speaker of his language. When we pursued this topic, it turned out that his doubts were provoked by ideas to which he was exposed almost during his entire life, namely that the current Nahuatl is no longer a language, but a degenerated "dialect," impoverished and mutilated by the contact with Spanish. Needless to add, it had weak, if any, connection to the prestigious language of the Aztecs. This native speaker started to discover that affinity during our workshops while reading colonial Nahuatl texts from the region, discussing them in modern Nahuatl and using contemporary lexical and grammatical resources from local modern varieties of the language to understand better and fully translate old documents. It is also significant that our collaborator is the youngest active speaker in his hometown. He was raised by monolingual mother and when he went to preschool he only knew five expressions in Spanish. He was stigmatized as the speaker of Nahuatl, both by teachers and classmates from the same community, to the degree that he decided to abandon the school before entering junior-high. It was only later in his life that he met persons in the big city of Puebla who appreciated his language skills and became a more self-confident and declared speaker of the language. However, it is also symptomatic that his wife, who understands the variant perfectly and often serves as the translator of her spouse, remains an entirely passive speaker. Also their children, living together in a household with a Nahuatl-speaking grandmother, who takes care of them, do not speak Nahuatl.

The situation described here is common for numerous Nahua communities, especially those located in more urbanized and less isolated areas. Nahuatl is the language of long history as well as of huge cultural and political significance. The earliest evidence in historical sources links it to the powerful empire of Teotihuacan thriving in central Mexico in the first half of the first millennium AD and then to the Toltec state ca. 850–1100 AD. Later on, it became the dominant language of the Aztec empire that collapsed as a result of the Spanish conquest. For centuries Nahuatl was used as a *lingua franca* throughout Mesoamerica. This role continued for a time after the arrival of the Spaniards, when the language thrived in new colonial contexts being widely used for administrative and religious purposes, including in regions where other native tongues held majority status. Nahuatl was the first indigenous language in the New World to become alphabetized and used not only by Spaniards, but also by native communities themselves up to the nineteenth century. Along with the language itself and despite long-term Hispanization, Nahua communities have been able to preserve much of its preconquest and

colonial tradition, including features of sociopolitical organization, religious beliefs and rituals.

Despite this unique heritage, the continuity between pre-Hispanic Aztec culture and modern Nahua communities is not widely recognized in Mexico; the native speakers of Nahuatl are largely deprived of historical identity or are just starting to explore and discover it. In the vast majority of Nahua communities, intergenerational language transmission has drastically slowed down or ceased during the several last decades; at the same time, the number of passive speakers has greatly increased in generations below 50–40 years of age. Many factors have contributed to this situation: the national educational policy of Hispanization in which school curriculum is in most cases entirely in Spanish; negative language attitudes leading most of the parents to decide to abandon the transmission of their mother tongue to children; absence of indigenous language programming in the mass media; migration and disintegration of traditional economic sustainability of indigenous communities. As a result, depending on a specific region and community, today Nahuatl can be described as "disappearing" (shifting rapidly to Spanish with an overall decrease in the proportion of intergenerational transfer), "moribund" (no transmission to children) or "nearly extinct," (with few speakers of the oldest generation left; Grenoble & Whaley 2006: 18).

Methodology and goals of the present research

The present paper explores the language attitudes of the Nahua people, based on the information collected in the localities of San Miguel Xaltipan and Santa María de Tlacatecpan in the Contla municipality and San Francisco Tetlanohcan, all in the state of Tlaxcala as well as in the area of Sierra Negra (the locality of Tepeyoloc, Cinco Señores, Coxcatlan and Pala in the state of Puebla). These areas were selected due to their contrastive sociolinguistic situation, which brings about a comparative attitudinal analysis. In the two regions, distinct, though mutually intelligible variants of the language are spoken. Some differences are manifest on the phonetic level, lexicon and morphosyntax, as well as the specific developments associated with contact-induced language change. Whereas Tlaxcalan communities are strongly urbanized and surrounded by Spanish-speaking towns, those in

Sierra Negra retain more features of traditional economy and have been generally less exposed to the communication with outside. In terms of the sociolinguistic situation, in contrast to the situation in the fairly isolated mountain region of Sierra Negra, characterized by a relatively high number of active speakers, the Contla and Tetlanohcan municipality localities are currently facing an imminent threat of language extinction, with a rapidly diminishing intergenerational language transmission. The material from these two regions has been significantly enriched by additional communication with members of other Nahua communities, Nahua intellectuals as well as participants of different monolingual, interdialectal events we have organized in 2014 and 2015.

The research was designed to meet four main objectives:
- Determine the attitudes towards the heritage[2] language and its domains of use in the Nahua communities chosen for the purpose of this study,
- Explore the factors which enhance and disrupt the Nahuatl language continuity,
- Compare the language attitudes in areas with distinct sociolinguistic profiles,
- Gather internal, community-based recommendations in regards to strengthening the heritage language transmission.

The study participants were selected according to the age group criteria, self-identification as active, passive or non-speakers as well as their availability to be interviewed during the research time period. The questions that guided this research were developed taking into account the goals of this study and the specifics of the situation of the interviewees and their Nahuatl language competence. As a result, a slightly different set of questions was developed for each age group as well as for active, passive and non-speakers. This is reflected in the quantitative analysis results because the number of the participants who were asked specific questions varies according to the person's age and sociolinguistic profile. These interviews were carried out in Spanish. We also relied on more informal interviews and conversations regarding the theme of language attitudes, in which there was no strict set of questions, but conversation was developed more spontaneously or a specific

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2 The term "heritage language" refers to "indigenous heritage languages" defined by Fishman (2001) as languages of the peoples native to the Americas.

speaker talked freely about her/his own experience; these interviews were mainly carried out in Nahuatl.

The information included in this report is anonymous. Informed consent was obtained by explanation of the project's goals and an Information Package was provided to the study participants. A consent form at the end of this package was signed by the study participants.

All material was recorded and transcribed. We have grouped the data from transcribed interviews around major thematic categories used in the questionnaires. The data analysis and the identification of relevant topics was performed through the use of open coding within a thematic analysis approach. Formal interviews based on questionnaires included 45 participants (24 males and 21 females) aged between 7 and 83. Out of 45 interviewees, 21 came from the localities situated in the Sierra Negra area and 24 were residents of Tlaxcalan communities. We have compared our results with earlier sociolinguistic research in Nahua communities, taking into account possible developments and changes in language attitudes and language use during the last three decades. We have also drawn on complementary ethnohistorical and ethnolinguistic data in our interpretation of the sociolinguistic situation.

Key findings of the qualitative analysis

Children aged 11–15

The group of interviewees aged between 11 and 15 covers a heterogeneous population, ranging from non-speakers and passive bilinguals in the municipality of Contla, Tlaxcala to active Nahuatl speakers in the fairly isolated rural areas in the mountain region of Sierra Negra, Puebla, where Nahuatl is the dominant language of social interaction. The study results in this and other age groups were organized according to the locality and speaker type.

The children interviewed in the Contla municipality were mostly non--speakers or passive speakers who reported having a limited or very poor command of the language, reflected in their ability to understand simple utterances and speak only up to 10 words in Nahuatl. All of the 8 interviewees have attended school and are able to read and write in Spanish, which was identified as their first language. Their parents are bilingual in Spanish and Nahuatl but rarely communicate with the children using the latter on a daily

basis, although they do speak it among themselves and with other relatives. Half of the children who are non-speakers reported that some of their family members (parents, grandparents, uncles or aunts) make occasional attempts to help them understand/learn the language at home. When asked about their perception about the use of Nahuatl language within the community, the children identified elderly people and older adults as the most frequent Nahuatl speakers. According to the children, there are no people in the community who communicate using Nahuatl exclusively. The children are the ones who speak only in Spanish. Teenagers and young adults occasionally speak Nahuatl and their level of Nahuatl comprehension sometimes involves various communicative domains but they are mostly perceived as passive bilinguals with little or no active command of the language. The dominant language of social interactions, as perceived by the majority of the children, is Spanish and it is the language used in the school contexts (classes, breaks, communication with other pupils and teachers). Some children stated that their teachers occasionally require them to perform translations into Nahuatl and for that purpose they seek the assistance of their grandparents. From time to time, the interviewees hear their parents speak the heritage language when they come to pick the children up from school. They reported having listened to people speaking both Nahuatl and Spanish at home, in the streets, at the market, in the church, or during farming activities. Two of the children reported hearing the differences in the way of speaking between their parents and their grandparents. Their answers indicate that the grandparents use more expressive speech; they correct the parents who mispronounce the words in Nahuatl. For the majority of the children, the language of choice is Spanish because they are familiar with it and they use it with ease. One of the interviewees stated that Spanish is better because currently it is a dominant language of communication in comparison with Nahuatl, which was "used in the past." On the other hand, the study participants declared that they would assist Nahuatl classes in their community if they were given such opportunity. For the majority of the children who are non-speakers it is fairly important to learn Nahuatl and they justified this need by a variety of reasons reflected in the following quotes: "it is good to know various languages"; "it (Nahuatl) is very different"; "the language is useful to talk with the grandparents"; "sometimes the teachers speak to you in Nahuatl and then you don't understand them"; "to understand others"; "because of the culture"; "because of the past and how the adults used to talk with their parents"; "because it is a traditional language, nothing more." Among the children who were asked

if they would like their own children to know Nahuatl in the future, only one person stated that "perhaps it would be better to just talk to them about the language and not teach them." The rest of the children had a positive outlook on the matter. When asked to explain why he would like his future children to know the heritage language, one of the interviewees said that he wishes for the representatives of different generations in his family to understand each other. The majority of the children declared that it would be useful for them to know how to read and write in Nahuatl and that it is important to learn the heritage language at school. One of the interviewees stated that such ability wouldn't be useful or practical; instead it would just be just another thing that one learns. Another person further explained why learning Nahuatl at school is not important anymore.

> (…) what for? Before, people used Nahuatl in order to go to different places, there were tribes, but now there is English and other languages and if they give you a job, you have to go to another place and you have to know English. It's essential.[3]

Half of the children interviewed for the purpose of this study consider Nahuatl to be a language like Spanish or English, and the other half considers it to be a dialect. As far as the future of the Nahuatl language is concerned, opinions vary. Some of the children think that the next generations will continue to speak Nahuatl because the language is already a part of their cultural tradition and although it is disappearing, there have been some attempts made to revitalize it. One of the study participants stated that the people will keep speaking Nahuatl because they can learn it faster than other languages thanks to the availability and assistance of the elders – the most fluent speakers in the community. The children who have a contrary opinion explained that nowadays there are other dominant languages and Nahuatl is almost no longer spoken. There was a general consensus among the children, concerning the existence of languages that are better than others. 3 out of 6 children who answered "yes" when asked this question, specified that English is better than other languages, the reason being that "when you go to the USA you can speak this language" or "maybe one of your family members speaks it and that's why you want to learn it." Generally, the children did not report

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[3] "(...) ¿para qué? Si antes el náhuatl se utilizaba porque se comunicaba antes para ir a otro lado, así hay tribus, pero ahora si hay inglés y otros idiomas y si te dan un trabajo y tienes que ir a otro lado, ya tienes que saber inglés y eso. Es lo básico." Interview with a community member age 15, San Miguel Xaltipan.

having witnessed discriminative behaviors against Nahuatl speakers (criticism, laughter, mockery). According to their perception, the people express interest, lack of comprehension and surprise when they hear Nahuatl speech. When asked why they didn't or couldn't learn the language, the interviewees gave a variety of reasons: difficult pronunciation, not being able to review and repeat the vocabulary regularly, lack of support from the parents, lack of Nahuatl classes at school, not living with the grandparents, being exposed to Spanish and English but not to Nahuatl, lack of time, and laziness. As expressed by the children, to help people learn Nahuatl it is necessary to organize classes in school, talk to the elders, have personal motivation and transmit the language to the next generations.

Two children aged 11 and 15 interviewed for the purpose of this study in the Sierra Negra region (the community of Tepeyoloc) were both active speakers of Nahuatl and Nahuatl-Spanish bilinguals who identified Nahuatl as their mother tongue. Both attended school although one left the secondary school to do housework and farming. One of the children finds it easier to talk about certain topics in Nahuatl (games, countryside) and prefers to use Spanish to talk about the city and technology. The children reported that the majority of the community members are bilingual in Spanish and Nahuatl and there are some elderly people who speak exclusively Nahuatl. Children are the community members who have the most proficiency in Spanish. The dominant language of social interaction at home and in the community is Nahuatl. It is used to discuss topics such as money, religion, school, work, health, tradition, or emotional matters. Spanish is used to talk about TV, radio, internet, politics, to complete bureaucratic formalities and to communicate at church. It is also the language of commerce. The school pupils use Nahuatl to communicate with each other in most situations, although the language used in conversations with the teacher is Spanish. One of the interviewees reported that the only frequent Spanish speakers in the family are his older brothers who leave the community periodically to pursue labor in Puebla. The rest of the family speaks Nahuatl on a daily basis. The children like speaking both languages equally, although one of them indicated that "Spanish is more beautiful to listen to and I want to get better at it." Both interviewees consider that speaking the heritage language is important, they would like their children to speak it in the future as well as to acquire reading and writing skills in Nahuatl. They are unsure as to whether the community members will continue to speak Nahuatl. Furthermore, their opinions vary as to whether Nahuatl is a language or a dialect. One of the interviewees stated that it is a dialect

because "it is difficult to talk about some topics in Nahuatl." However, it was not specified which topics are particularly difficult to tackle. The children did not experience or witness discrimination against Nahuatl speakers and they did not know what could be done to reverse the language shift.

Youth aged 16–20

The youth (aged between 16 and 20) interviewed in San Miguel Xaltipan, Contla for the purpose of this study were passive bilinguals who had enough exposure to Nahuatl in their childhood to be able to comprehend various communicative domains but did not acquire an active language competence. They reported hearing various family members (parents and grandparents) speaking Nahuatl and claimed that their older siblings could understand it. The language attitudes of these young people seem to be ambiguous. One of the passive speakers stated that she would like to learn to speak Nahuatl because "it is pretty; it is important to learn other languages" and "it is a tool that one can put into use," but at the same time, she referred to people who don't speak the original language as "being normal already." The youth consider the Nahuatl speakers in the community to be older adults and elderly people who are fond of the language and use it to communicate with friends or people who have a similar preference. The children were described as a "new generation" who speaks only Spanish. Overall, Spanish predominates as the language of social interaction in the community.

The study participants from this age group consider it fairly important for their children to master the original language, including the ability to read it and write it, however they are aware that the language is disappearing and think it is unlikely that the next generations will continue to speak it. Nevertheless, speaking Nahuatl is considered to be important and a sign of respect towards the elderly people. It is the language of the great grandfathers, which can be preserved only if people make a conscious effort to learn it. The youth would assist Nahuatl classes if given such an opportunity because it is better to speak two languages than just one. They did not witness or experienced prejudice or discrimination against the speakers of Nahuatl. When asked about the reasons for not being able to master the heritage language, one of the interviewees stated that it was not possible for her to learn Nahuatl because she didn't have the motivation to commit and the courage to ask her parents for help. Another passive speaker explained that he didn't commit to learning the heritage language because it is already disappearing and there's

a considerably high chance that it will become extinct soon. This situation, as the interviewee further noted, can be addressed through personal commitment to revitalization activities such as organizing Nahuatl classes for children at school and for the adults living in the community.

The teenagers interviewed in the Sierra Negra localities (Tepeyoloc and Cinco Señores) are active speakers, high school students or farmers who, in their majority, identified Nahuatl as their mother tongue still spoken at home on a daily basis. One of the young participants mentioned that his brother speaks predominantly Nahuatl and has a limited command of Spanish. When asked if there are topics which are difficult for them to express in Nahuatl some of the interviewees reported having difficulty talking about sexuality and preferring to talk about this topic in Spanish. As described by the study participants, their speech communities are composed of bilinguals in Nahuatl and Spanish, with children and the community's most educated members identified as the most proficient Spanish speakers. The elderly were unanimously perceived as those most proficient in Nahuatl. The dominant language of social interaction is Nahuatl although Spanish is also used to talk about different matters at home. As expressed by one of the study participants from the community of Cinco Señores, "there are almost no outsiders who come to our community. When they come we speak Spanish, otherwise we speak our language."[4] Nahuatl is spoken to talk about farming; it is a language of communication at parties or social gatherings; it is used when playing sports as well as during casual meetings with neighbors in the community. Spanish is used to talk with the teachers, priests and doctors as well as when arranging bureaucratic formalities and when shopping at the market. However, the language used at school among friends is Nahuatl. The language of internet communication is Spanish, although one of the interviewees declared taking interest in a Nahuatl blog and a Facebook page which brings together Nahuatl speakers from different localities in Mexico (Puebla, Tlaxcala, Hidalgo) and which allows them to share the news and reflections about their heritage language. Another interviewee stated that young people actively seek Nahuatl vocabulary on the internet, which causes their speech to differ from the manner of speaking of elderly people. As expressed by the youth, *nahuatlahtolli* "Nahuatl language" is

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[4]   "(...) a nuestro pueblo casi no vienen la personas de otros lugares. Cuando vienen hablamos en español, cuando no, hablamos nuestra lengua." A group interview with the youth from the 5 señores community, Tepeyoloc.

changing with time as some words taught by the grandparents are not used anymore and they become gradually replaced by the Spanish loan-words. "We don't use it anymore, for example we say *train* here, we don't say *tepoztlatilani*."[5] One of the reasons behind this change, according to the youth, is the difficult pronunciation of certain Nahuatl words such as *tepoztototl* "airplane."

The youth consider both Spanish and Nahuatl to be equally important. What became evident in terms of the heritage language emotional significance to the interviewees is its clear connection to the past and its definition as the "language of the ancestors." The cultural heritage embodied in the teachings of the grandparents is clearly valued. Therefore the participants would like their children in the future to speak the language. Nevertheless, one of the interviewees was convinced that the use of Nahuatl at school is pointless because of "technological advancement" and the fact that most of the handbooks are published in Spanish. The respondents were also unsure as to whether Nahuatl is a dialect or a language but were more inclined to call it the latter because it is "a major indigenous speech in Mexico." As for the attitudes displayed by the mainstream society towards the Nahuas, the speakers are occasionally confronted with criticism, discrimination or a simple lack of comprehension when communicating in Nahuatl. "Well, they criticize us; they call us Indians; indigenous, that's what they call us, and *serranos* 'highlanders'; that's what they call us. It means 'from the mountain, ignorant'."[6] When asked what can be done to preserve the language, the interviewees said that it was necessary to learn from one's grandparents and pass the language on to one's children and grandchildren.

Adults aged 21–40

Almost all of the study participants aged between 21 and 40 reside in the community of Tepeyoloc and are active speakers who identified Nahuatl as their mother tongue. These first language speakers are mostly housewives and farmers who occasionally travel to and live temporarily in different localities in Mexico (Mexico City, Puebla, Sonora) for work purposes. They

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[5] "No lo utilizamos, por ejemplo 'tren', lo decimos acá, no decimos *tepoztlatilani*." A group interview with the youth from the 5 señores community, Tepeyoloc.
[6] "Pues nos critican, nos dicen indígenas, indios, así nos dicen, y serranos, así nos dicen. Significa 'de cerro, de ignorancia'." A group interview with the youth from the 5 señores community, Tepeyoloc.

finished their education at the level of secondary school and are literate in Spanish. Their parents are fluent Nahuatl speakers, usually with limited active command of Spanish.

When asked about languages spoken at home, the interviewees declared that Nahuatl is the language used most frequently. The study participants reported that Spanish and Nahuatl are used interchangeably to discuss different matters such as family economy, religion, cultural traditions, friendship and feasts. When asked about the domains of language use, some interviewees declared that Spanish is the language of the internet, it is spoken in church and at the market, when touching on topics such as the education, during work, and while completing bureaucratic formalities. Nahuatl is spoken during farming activities, in public community spaces and when communicating with the elderly. Elders predominantly speak Nahuatl in their everyday communication, while the youth and the children were described as active bilinguals. The respondents clearly notice the progressing language influence of Spanish, as reflected in the following statement:

> Hardly anybody speaks perfect Nahuatl because Spanish and Nahuatl are being mixed. For example, "chair," "table," "car," "road," we say it in Spanish.[7]

The emotional connection to the heritage language and its social significance is noticeable upon reviewing the interview material. Speaking Nahuatl is "something pretty" and a source of pride. The language "is more beautiful than Spanish" and "it shouldn't be lost." Furthermore, the interviewees value linguistic diversity and appreciate the ability to speak two or more languages. It became evident that the ambiguities and uncertainty when it comes to deciding whether Nahuatl is a language or a dialect persist even in this community, composed of active speakers who use the language everyday. The majority of the interviewees suggested that Nahuatl is a dialect but were unable to identify the differences between a dialect and a language. They were also unsure whether the community members would continue to speak their heritage language, however they would like their children to learn Nahuatl and to be bilingual in Nahuatl and Spanish. When asked about discriminative attitudes of the mainstream society members towards the Nahuatl speakers, the interviewees reported having witnessed reactions such as surprise, laughter,

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[7] "Casi no hay perfectos en náhuatl, porque se va mezclando con español el náhuatl. Por ejemplo, 'silla', 'cama', 'camino', 'carro' ya lo metemos en español." Interview with a community member, age 23, Tepeyoloc.

lack of comprehension, admiration but also mockery and discrimination for being identified as highlanders (*serranos*).

In terms of the support needed to address the language needs, the participants suggested that the efforts focus on the intergenerational transmission. Special emphasis was put on the responsibility of the parents who should help the children acquire heritage language competences.

There were two participants aged between 21 and 40 who reside in the communities outside of the small mountain settlements in the Sierra Negra and were interviewed for the purpose of this study: a housewife from the community of Pala in the Coxcatlan municipality and a craftsmen from San Miguel Xaltipan in Contla, both of whom finished their education at a primary school level. The female participant's parents were born in a mountain settlement and they are both bilingual. She identified Nahuatl as her mother tongue but insisted that Spanish is now the dominant language of her everyday interactions, used in conversations with her husband and children, with Nahuatl being used occasionally in conversations with her parents and elderly people.

> Sometimes we speak Nahuatl with my parents but then my children say "mommy, don't speak this English language because I don't understand you." Everything depends on the people we are with. If we are with the people who speak Nahuatl, well we can talk about those topics in Nahuatl. Sometimes in the street we speak Nahuatl, the ancestral language is used when talking with elderly people.[8]

According to this interviewee, the community elders in Pala speak mostly Nahuatl and a little bit of Spanish. Adults aged 50 and older speak Nahuatl very well, the young people and children use Spanish as a dominant language. Some of the youth understand the heritage language but have little or no active command of it. The general impression, as expressed by the interviewee, is that the people from the Sierra (the highlanders) speak the "legitimate" Nahuatl, different from the varieties spoken outside the mountain areas because they are mixed with Spanish.

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[8] "Ya de vez en cuando con mis papás hablamos en náhuatl pero luego dicen mis hijos 'mamá no hables este inglés porque no te entiendo'. Todo depende de las personas que estemos. Porque si estamos con las personas que hablan náhuatl pues igual podemos hablar de los temas así en náhuatl. A veces en la calle se habla en nahuatl, el idioma ancestral se lo usa con personas mayores." Interview with a community member, age 39, Pala.

> Yes, maybe it is not different but they know more Nahuatl and we mix it with
> Spanish, one word, when you don't want to forget it or they didn't hear you
> so you say it in Spanish.[9]

The consciousness of Spanish borrowing and increasing code mixing
in Nahuatl was well documented in 1970s and 1980s by Hill & Hill (1986)
who pointed out that the speakers of La Malinche towns consider their way
of expression as "mixing" two languages (they refer to it as *ticnehneloah* or
ticmorrevolveroah "we mix it up"), of which none continues to be used in its
"pure" form. This is especially the case of "legitimo mexicano" (legitimate
and authentic Nahuatl), which is already gone (Hill & Hill 1986: 55). Speakers
we have been able to consult on this topic have more nuanced and varied
views, though the notion of "Nahuatl puro/legítimo" is recurrent. As we have
seen in the beginning of this paper, sometimes even proficient speakers are
concerned about the status of their language (its internal coherence and com-
prehensibility) facing ideas of a "degenerated tongue" or a "dialect" which is
no longer a language, but not attributing this precarious state of their speech
directly to mixing. We will come back to this issue in the final discussion.

The female participant in our interview attributed the changes in the
manner of speaking to the gradual disappearance of reverential forms, used
less and less by the young generation. She also reported secretively using the
language to keep certain information from others when she would not wish
to be comprehended.

The study participant from San Miguel Xaltipan has a medium compre-
hension of Nahuatl and a little active command of the language as he started
to learn it a year ago. In the family, Nahuatl is spoken by his parents and
older sister. The other siblings understand it but they do not speak. Similar-
ly to the opinions expressed by other residents of San Miguel Xaltipan, he
identified the elderly people and older adults as the most frequent speakers,
with young people and children predominantly speaking Spanish. The
interviewee reported hearing differences in the manner of speaking among
different community members depending on their level of fluency. More fluent
speakers are the ones who speak Nahuatl on a daily basis, in comparison to
others who only rarely have an opportunity to converse in Nahuatl during
random encounters with the neighbours or family members. When asked

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[9] "Sí, a lo mejor no es diferente sino que saben más náhuatl y nosotros ya lo revolvemos en
español, una palabra para que no se te olvide o no te han escuchado entonces lo dices en español."
Interview with a community member, age 39, Pala.

about the reasons that made it difficult for him to learn the language, he made reference to the fact that his parents and grandparents would speak Nahuatl among themselves but they wouldn't use it to talk with him or his siblings. As far as the language attitudes are concerned, both interviewees highlighted the beauty of Nahuatl, which they considered a gift from the ancestors. The female participant declared that one "takes pride in the speech because it's the language that we are supposed to speak but the Spanish conquered us and imposed their language."

When asked if Nahuatl would be preserved and spoken in the future, the participants could not give a straight answer. The resident of San Miguel Xaltipan claimed that there were families that still transmitted the language to the children and that this might indicate that the language would continue to be spoken. The survival of the heritage language was linked directly to individual perception of the language importance; it depends on each person's motivation, the children's interest and family situation. Certain factors may help and contribute to language preservation, such as the fact that a child has contact with the grandparents who live in the mountain areas. The female participant doesn't communicate with her children in Nahuatl because they weren't taught the language since being little, apart from speaking basic everyday phrases. The resident of San Miguel Xaltipan attributed his lack of language competence to the fact that his parents did not speak to him in Nahuatl when he was a child and he considers intergenerational transmission a fact that may contribute greatly to the survival of the heritage language. He wants his children to learn it in the future as well.

The participants witnessed or heard about discriminative reactions towards Nahuatl speakers, especially those who reside in the mountain areas. The male participant and a new learner of Nahuatl reported being laughed at because of his poor pronunciation of Nahuatl words. In terms of the reactions displayed by the non-speakers, the interviewees experienced or heard of reactions such as surprise, mockery and admiration. Both consider that Nahuatl is a language and not a dialect. They like speaking both Spanish and Nahuatl, although they consider Spanish a language more embedded in everyday life activities.

Adults aged 41–60

Adults between the ages of 41 and 60 are active speakers of Nahuatl and bilinguals who come from different localities in Contla (San Miguel Xaltipan,

Santa María de Tlacatecpan), San Francisco Tetlanohcan, the Tehuacan Valley (Coxcatlan) and Sierra Negra (Tepeyoloc). Their education levels vary between undergraduates, preparatory and secondary school graduates residing predominantly in Tlaxcalan communities, and the interviewees with very low or no literacy who were able to complete only the first few grades of primary school, residing in Sierra Negra. They represent diverse occupation groups including craftsmen, housewives, farmers, teachers, saleswomen, and language and literature promoters. Half of the participants reported having lived in localities other than their community of origin, such as Mexico City, Tlaxcala, or California. Nahuatl is a mother tongue for the interviewees residing in the Sierra Negra and the Tehuacan valley areas; they learned Spanish as a second language at school and mastered it while working outside of their communities. Some of the interviewees residing in the Contla municipality declare Spanish as their mother tongue, while some indicate Nahuatl. The study participants from San Francisco Tetlanohcan declared hearing the heritage language at home when they were children and perfected it as adults, thanks to the opportunity to attend Nahuatl classes. A participant from Santa María de Tlacatecpan – a poet and a teacher – presented a noticeably high level of language competence and literacy. She writes poetry and adapts Spanish songs to Nahuatl.

The residents of Tepeyoloc reported using Nahuatl at home in all types of interactions on a daily basis. The communication at home covers a variety of semantic domains such as health, home economy, farming, education, traditions and customs, religion, friendship and love. Both Nahuatl and Spanish are used in social interactions outside of home such as in the context of church, at the market place, during community sports events, feasts and parties. Spanish is used to complete bureaucratic formalities in the municipality.

The study participants from Contla and the Tehuacan valley declared Spanish as the language used predominantly in their everyday communication at home. The use of Nahuatl depends mainly on the interlocutor, as expressed by this resident of San Miguel Xaltipan.

> It's Spanish, Spanish, Spanish; we barely communicate in Nahuatl. I speak Nahuatl very rarely with my wife and kids. Sometimes we speak Nahuatl when we talk about farming and the field or when we talk with the field workers. We can have a conversation with the people we meet if they don't feel sorry, but there are people who feel very sorry. They denigrate themselves

for speaking Nahuatl. Sometimes we speak Nahuatl with the people from the Sierra who speak Nahuatl but when it is just us here, well we don't.[10]

One of the adults from San Francisco Tetlanohcan reported speaking Nahuatl occasionally with her children because they used to attend an indigenous elementary school. Nahuatl is spoken during random encounters with the elderly people in the community as a sign of respect. Every year in San Francisco Tetlanohcan during a community feast, a mass is celebrated with some parts in Nahuatl. When asked to indicate the most fluent Nahuatl speakers in the community, the elderly were identified as proficient speakers who have mastered the "authentic" Nahuatl without mixing it with Spanish words. The interviewees also pointed to various family members who are bilinguals with good Nahuatl competence, approximately their age or older. Young adults usually understand the language but cannot be identified as active speakers; the youth and the children speak predominantly Spanish.

As far as the language of preference is concerned, the inhabitants of Contla municipality chose Spanish. It is a "more up to date" language used in daily communication, spoken fluently by the majority of the community members. Its emergence as a language of everyday interaction is traced back to several decades ago, to the beginning of the formalized education system. Nahuatl is seen as a dialect and an addition to a more profound and elaborate communication activities, which are held in Spanish. It is not perceived as a language of current communication, but rather as the speech which was used "back then" by the ancestors, the language one had no choice but to learn because Spanish, which symbolized modernity, was not spoken yet. The study participants from the community of San Francisco Tetlanohcan, where some language revitalization activities had already been undertaken, were more inclined to choose Nahuatl as their language of preference and expressed a more personal, emotional relationship with it. Nahuatl was called "beautiful," it was said to evoke "harmony and poetry." It was described as "more beautiful than Spanish," which is a language that one sometimes needs to speak out of necessity, whereas Nahuatl is a synonym of a "pleasing sound."

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[10] "En español, en español, en español, casi no tenemos comunicación en náhuatl, muy pocas veces hablamos náhuatl entre mi esposa y yo y mis hijos. A veces hablamos algo de náhuatl, cuando hablamos de campo, cuando hablamos con los trabajadores. Con la gente que nos encontramos podemos dar una conversación y si no le da pena, pero hay gente que le da mucha pena. Se denigra él mismo por hablar náhuatl. con la gente que hablamos son la gente de por ejemplo la sierra que hablan náhuatl, pero si somos los mismos de acá, pues no." Interview with a community member, age 50, San Miguel Xaltipan.

It is a gift from the ancestors that brings back the memory of the loved ones who passed away: the parents and the grandparents whose presence can be felt when speaking the heritage language.

The residents of Tepeyoloc and Coxcatlan are fond of speaking both Nahuatl and Spanish. However, one of the interviewees said that because he was born into Nahuatl and it is the medium within which he exists and navigates the world, it would be more beneficial for him to improve his language competence in Spanish. Nevertheless, Nahuatl was definitely valued by the study participants; speaking the language "feels good"; it is a beautiful mother tongue "loved by the grandparents"; it is a language that one grew up with and will never forget.

Some of the participants living in Contla reported having difficulty expressing certain thoughts in Nahuatl, in the area of politics, social life, internet, economy. Nahuatl is used more naturally during festive encounters: "this is the easiest, we go to the party to have fun, this is easy to communicate."[11] However, the most proficient speakers affirmed that the heritage language can express a wide variety of meanings, just as any other language.

> No, as a matter of fact the language has it all; it is a language like Spanish, like English. It doesn't ask for loanwords from anything or anybody; it defends itself.[12]

Both the residents of the Sierra Negra region and Contla expressed ambiguous attitudes when it came to defining if Nahuatl was a language or a dialect. When asked about tangible solutions to prevent language death, the study participants suggested combining language education at school with strengthening intergenerational transmission, providing support for the parents to foster everyday communication on a daily basis in as many public communication domains as possible (radio, television, internet). On a community level, the participants suggested creating monolingual spaces and lecture halls, creating opportunities to visit Nahuatl speaking communities. Two major concerns in terms of language transmission are migration to urban centers and a lack of proper pedagogical training among many of the Nahuatl teachers, reflected in their limited speaking ability.

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[11] "Pues más fáciles, vamos para la fiesta, para divertirnos, es lo más fácil para nosotros, porque estamos a mayor en la comunicación." Interview with a community member, age 50, San Miguel Xaltipan.

[12] "No, de hecho, la lengua tiene todo, es una lengua como español, como inglés, no le pide préstamo a nada y a nadie, ella misma se defiende." Interview with a community member, age 41, San Miguel Xaltipan.

The residents of Tepeyoloc speak Nahuatl with their children on a daily basis. The study participants from Contla speak Nahuatl with the children occasionally, the reason given being that the majority of the young generation members are passive speakers or non-speakers who "were not spoken to when they were children." The Contla interviewees describe their communication with children as "playful" and meant to be a joke. It is limited to basic phrases and not intended to encourage a deeper, more profound understanding and knowledge of the language. The parents make an occasional effort to correct the youngsters and help them if their homework has to do with the knowledge of Nahuatl.

The participants talked about discriminative behaviors and attitudes displayed by the mainstream society, such as being singled out as a native speaker, laughed at, or looked down upon.

> There are people who say to us "ah, you are too old for this silliness." There are people who laugh at us and criticize when we speak Nahuatl because they think we are simple people.[13]

One of the participants described this experience as particularly painful:

> One could say that it hurts, they cause you pain when they tell you "she is indigenous."[14]

The Nahuatl speakers from Tepeyoloc reported having been called "serranos" in a pejorative manner, related to the indigenous language being a synonym of illiteracy and lack of education. However, based on the perception of the interviewees, the opinions of the general public vary and there are people who show great admiration and express support for the native speakers while praising them for preserving "the words of the ancestors."

The majority of the interviewees within this age group declared that Nahuatl will continue to be spoken if it is fostered within the education system and if the intergenerational transmission is strengthened. The success of this endeavor, however, depends on the motivation and values of each and every

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[13] "Hay personas que nos dicen 'Ah todavía eres grande para salir con estas tonterías'. Hay gente que se rie o critique cuando uno habla nahuatl porque les resultamos simples." Interview with a community member, age 50, San Francisco Tetlanohcan.

[14] "Se puede decir que tiene dolor y duele, porque como que te hacen dolor, diciendo que ésta es la indígena." Interview with a community member, age 41, San Miguel Xaltipan.

community member. Overcoming destructive biases, boosting self-esteem and changing discriminative behaviors was considered crucial to the survival of the language.

> If we remove these thoughts of inferiority, of all this that has been hurting us, we can do it. But it is a great challenge.[15]

One person firmly stated that the language will no longer be spoken by the next generations and some other interviewees were unsure about the future of the language. The rupture of inter-generational language transmission and the loss of proficient language keepers, who pass away every year, is a significant concern among the Sierra Negra residents.

There were two passive speakers in this age group, both of whom are housewives residing in San Francisco Tetlanohcan. They have a limited understanding of various semantic domains, including health, education, cultural traditions, religion, home economy, and relationships. Their family members are Spanish speakers, some of whom have a limited understanding of Nahuatl but no active command of it. They identified the elderly people and some of the children who attend indigenous kindergartens and primary schools as the most frequent Nahuatl speakers in the community. The young adults and teenagers were identified as predominantly Spanish speakers. While being aware that a lot of people consider it degrading, they see the heritage speech as a source of pride, and a mother tongue that has "beautiful words." They are concerned that there is no continuity of the indigenous language education on the level of preparatory and secondary school. These passive speakers would also like to assist Nahuatl classes if such an opportunity arose in their community. The heritage language is valuable to the extent that listening to it was compared to an art.

> It really is an art to listen to somebody who knows it (Nahuatl) very well. You feel very emotional and you say "why didn't we value it?"[16]

The interviewee further highlighted the importance of the indigenous worldview encoded in the language.

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[15] "Si nos quitamos ese pensamiento de complejos, de todo lo que estaba haciéndonos daño, se puede. Pero es un gran reto." Interview with a community member, age 41, San Miguel Xaltipan.
[16] "Porque de verdad es un arte escuchar a alguien, pero de verdad que sepa, te quedas así emocionado y dices ¿por qué no le hemos dado valor?" Interview with a community member, age 42, San Francisco Tetlanohcan.

These are different things in life, you see life differently (when you speak Nahuatl); it is more peaceful. I have heard conversations in Nahuatl and they focus on the countryside, on the plants, the chickens, the animals, the everyday stuff of the community that has not lost its roots. And they are not worried about material thing; it is a more basic stuff, your direct surroundings, the nature, and vegetation. It is a different kind of language. It is calmer. They talk about things in a more reserved way, without worry. They don't talk about these things in Spanish.[17]

One of these passive speakers complained about the lack of trained Nahuatl teachers although she stated that she would prefer to speak Spanish because it is the language of daily communication. She thinks that the knowledge of Nahuatl is an important asset for the young people in terms of job opportunities. The other interviewee thinks that the language will be lost because the community members do not speak Nahuatl as much as it used to be done in the past. They would both like their children to learn the heritage language, at least the basic, everyday phrases. The reason why they couldn't learn the language was because their parents didn't value it.

When asked about discriminative attitudes towards Nahuatl speakers, these female participants expressed that one of the most common perceptions is that speaking the indigenous language will lower one's social status and that the majority of the community members simply do not notice the purpose in learning the language, although they are passive speakers. Others appreciate the language because it "sounds pretty." The initiatives to foster the language should be undertaken by the federal and municipal government.

Adults aged 61 and above

The study participants aged 61 and over were all active speakers of Nahuatl and residents of communities in both the Contla municipality (San Miguel Xaltipan), the Tehuacan Valley (Coxcatlan, Pala) and Sierra Negra (Tepeyoloc). In terms of occupational classification, the interviewees declared working in commerce, weaving, farming and doing housework activities. They all

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[17] "Sí, es que sí porque son como otras cosas de la vida, ves la vida de otra manera (cuando hablas Nahuatl), como más tranquila. Yo he escuchado conversaciones en náhuatl, que temas que les interesa son el campo, las plantas, las cosas, los pollos, los animales, lo cotidiano que un pueblo no haya perdido lo que son sus raíces. Y no se preocupan en tanto materialismo, no más en lo básico que es tú entorno en cuestión de la naturaleza, vegetación. Es como otro tipo de lenguaje, como más tranquilo, platican las cosas más reservadas, más tranquilas sin preocupaciones. No platican de eso en español." Interview with a community member, age 42, San Francisco Tetlanohcan.

identified themselves as bilinguals with Nahuatl being their mother tongue. Upon reviewing the interview material, it was identified that the use of each language depends heavily on the context and the interlocutor. As expressed by one of the interviewees:

> If the person is from Pala, well they already speak Spanish, but the old people like me speak Mexicano, so we speak Mexicano. But with those who barely grew we speak Spanish.[18]

The interviewees from the areas of the Tehuacan Valley and Contla indicated that the most common language of social interaction in the communities is Spanish. In Coxcatlan, Nahuatl is used in communication with the highlanders who come to the local market to shop or sell their products. People who use the indigenous language are the oldest in the communities and they speak it outside of their homes. Based on the perception of these interviewees, the middle-aged generation understands the language but has no active command of it although there are some speakers left. The youth and the children do not speak nor understand it. The resident of Tepeyoloc in Sierra Negra was the only interviewee who affirmed speaking Nahuatl on a daily basis both at home and with the other community members. This communication covers all issues and there is no restriction or problems in terms of expression, as noted by this native speaker. There were disparities in the interviewees' opinions as far as the language preference was concerned. The residents of Pala and San Miguel Xaltipan indicated that they like speaking both languages. The resident of Coxcatlan preferred Nahuatl because it was the language she used in her childhood, and the resident of Tepeyoloc declared Spanish as a language of preference while stating that he cannot speak it as well as he would like to. All in all, the participants expressed positive attitudes towards Nahuatl. The mother tongue was described as a source of pride and a part of cultural heritage that should not disappear. As expressed by this resident of the Pala community in the Tehuacan Valley:

> No, I'm not ashamed to speak Nahuatl. On the contrary, I grow bigger when I can speak Nahuatl.[19]

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[18] "Si es de Pala, pues ya hablan español, pero los viejitos como yo hablan mexicano, entonces hablamos mexicano. Pero si hay personas que apenas crecieron pues en español hablamos." Interview with a community member, age 83, Coxcatlan.

[19] "No, a mí no me da la vergüenza hablar en náhuatl, al contrario, crezco más que puedo hablar náhuatl." Interview with a community member, age 67, Pala.

The ability to express oneself both in Nahuatl and in Spanish was also valued. However, with Spanish being a dominant language, the elderly speakers cannot express themselves in Nahuatl as fully and comprehensively as they would wish to because the majority of their interlocutors lack the necessary skills and language knowledge. The majority of the interviewees consider Nahuatl to be a language and not a dialect.

When asked if Nahuatl will continue to be spoken, most participants answered negatively, as they perceive a shift in the attitude of the young people who are reluctant to take interest in their heritage language or, as is the case of the community of Tepeyoloc, they travel to localities where they communicate mostly in Spanish. One of the knowledge holders stated that the language would not be spoken anymore because:

> All children go to school and they teach them and they come back home speaking Spanish, they don't even want to speak (Nahuatl).[20]

The participants generally do not perceive Nahuatl speakers as being subject to discrimination. Some of the interviewees try speaking Nahuatl with their grandchildren but it is difficult as they are non-speakers or passive speakers. The resident of Tepeyoloc speaks Nahuatl with her children and grandchildren on a daily basis and affirmed that "they cannot speak Spanish very well." When asked about activities that could be undertaken to help preserve the language, the interviewees mentioned the importance of cultivating the "culture of language transmission" at home and at school. Nahuatl should be taught "the same way as Spanish" but its transmission is threatened by the mobility patterns of young people from Nahuatl-speaking communities who migrate in search of work, and by the loss of the most proficient speakers – the elderly.

Non-speakers

The non-speakers interviewed for the purpose of this study are the residents of Tlaxcalan localities of San Miguel Xaltipan and San Francisco Tetlanohcan. This category encompassed a group of adults and two children aged 7 and 8.

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[20] "Todos los hijos van a la escuela y los enseñan y la casa llegan hablando en español, ya ni quieren hablar." Interview with a community member, age 83, Coxcatlan.

Their parents and grandparents are bilinguals who sometimes use Nahuatl at home during everyday conversations. They also occasionally try to explain singular words and basic phrases in Nahuatl to the children. When asked about language attitudes, the children declared that they would like to learn Nahuatl because it is an advantage to speak several languages, and because Nahuatl is "very different."

The adults between the ages of 24 and 32 represented different occupational profiles, such as a housewife, a primary school teacher, a student and an administrative assistant. When asked about the languages spoken by their parents, the interviewees usually identified one parent as bilingual in Spanish and Nahuatl and the other as monolingual in Spanish. One of the participants stated that both of her parents are monolingual in Spanish. The non-speakers stated that in their communities those who speak Nahuatl are older adults and that they are likely to code-switch. They reported knowing some young people who also speak their heritage language because they attend an indigenous school. The participants reported not having much language support from the parents and the grandparents although as children they did hear some of the family members speak Nahuatl among each other or with other adults from the community. As far as the attitudes towards Nahuatl are concerned, the non-speakers expressed an interest in learning the language because it is "beautiful," it is a "mother tongue," and it used to be/has been spoken by parents, uncles, aunts and grandparents. They stated that it is especially important to learn the heritage language to be able to understand one's grandparents. On a personal level, the language awakens interest because it is entwined with the customs and traditions of the Nahua people, therefore if the language is lost, an important part of the culture will be lost as well. One of the interviewees affirmed that the language is a source of national pride and it also constitutes an important, distinctive element of a wider, Mexican identity. Furthermore, it is a part of the local and regional heritage, and it should be protected as such because it encompasses one's roots, cultural origins and a sense of place. All of the interviewees would like their children to learn to speak Nahuatl.

Writing and reading in Nahuatl is seen as an additional skill; it might be useful if one encounters a book written in the heritage language. The ability to write and read in Nahuatl is a sign of cultural distinction as much as the ability to speak it. All of the participants declared the willingness to assist Nahuatl classes, and some of them are motivated to do so because they want to pass the language on to their children (in some cases the children already

attend an indigenous primary school, however the parents have been so far unable to help them improve their Nahuatl language competence).

According to the non-speakers, the responsibility to preserve the heritage language lies in the hands of the Mexican citizens in general, both the parents and especially the youth. To emphasize this point, the non-speakers quoted their personal experiences of how they have not put enough effort in learning the heritage language although they heard their family members speak it. Most participants claim that there will be fewer and fewer people with an interest in learning Nahuatl. In general, they responded "no" when asked about having witnessed or having heard of incidents involving criticism or discrimination towards the Nahuatl speakers. Nevertheless, one of the interviewees stated the following:

> Well, as a matter of fact, how can I say this? They make us feel bad because here the person who speaks English is more important. And the person who speaks Nahuatl is made small.[21]

When asked why it was not possible for them to learn their heritage language, the non-speakers stated that they took no interest in it during their childhood; they were not aware of its importance and that their parents spoke Spanish to them. Some of the parents kept using Nahuatl among themselves but did not explain the meaning of the words to their children. Nowadays, as expressed by the interviewees, the major obstacles to Nahuatl language transmission are prejudice and biases, the prestige of other languages linked with technological advances such as English, as well as the fact that many people consider learning Nahuatl to be "a waste of time" in a "Spanish speaking society."

Key findings of the quantitative analysis

Although the scale of our research in terms of the number of participants was not very extensive and thus statistically significant, we have decided to include the quantitative data because they illustrate better and enhance certain observations and trends manifest in the qualitative analysis.

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[21] "Pues de hecho, como le diré... nos hacen sentir mal porque aquí es más importante el que sabe inglés. Ya él que habla el náhuatl se hace más chiquito." Interview with a community member, age 32, San Miguel Xaltipan.

Key findings in Tlaxcalan communities

58% of the interviewees indicated that Spanish is their language of preference. 21% of the participants chose Nahuatl and 21% stated that they enjoy speaking both languages. All of the interviewees declared that it is important or fairly important to speak Nahuatl to preserve the culture and the traditions of their ancestors. Out of all of the participants who were asked if it is important to learn Nahuatl 75% answered affirmatively, 4% said that it was difficult to say, 8% stated that it "might be important" and 8% declared that it is "a little important." Out of non-speakers and passive speakers who were asked if they would attend Nahuatl classes in their communities if they were given such opportunity, the vast majority (93%) answered affirmatively and 7% answered "maybe."

Communities in Tlaxcala: language of preference in daily use
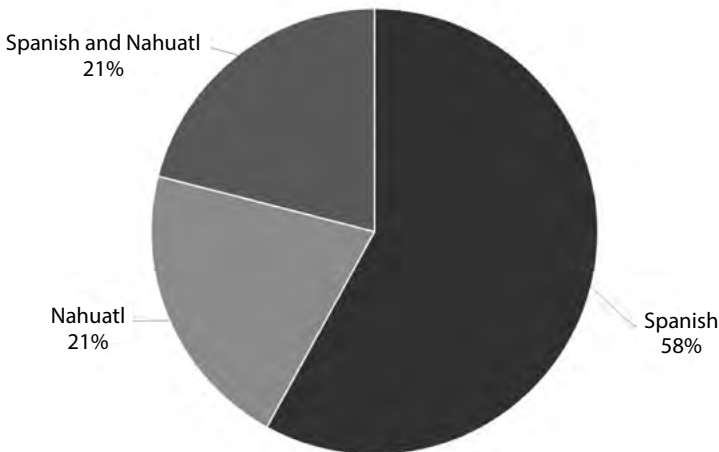
The passive and non-speakers aged 10 and over were asked whether they would like their children (now and in the future) to know how to speak Nahuatl. 83% of the interviewees answered affirmatively, 5% said "maybe" and 12% were undecided. 60% of the active speakers indicated that they talk to their children occasionally and 40% said they don't speak the language with them.

The passive, active and non-speakers were asked about the most important aspect of their cultural heritage that should be preserved. 27% of the participants declared that it should be the Nahuatl language, 18% said that it should be food, 9% declared that food together with customs and language are the most worth preserving, 27% said that the whole culture in its totality

should be preserved, 5% declared that it should be customs, 9% considered that customs and the Nahuatl language deserve to be protected the most and 5% declared food, customs and feasts as the most significant cultural elements.

When asked if the Nahua indigenous people will continue to speak their heritage language, 41% out of the passive, active and non-speakers answered affirmatively, however 18% of these participants indicated that the speech will go on depending on different factors, such as the will and the motivation of the young people, success or failure in combating negative biases and feelings of inferiority, changes in the education system and the success of the intergenerational transmission of the language at home. 9% of the participants affirmed that the Nahua people will speak their heritage language a little. 41% of the study participants gave a negative answer to this question and 9% said that they didn't know.

36% of the interviewees declared that there are languages that are more important/better than others such as English (22%), Spanish and Nahuatl (4%), local languages (4%), and Spanish (4%). 45% considered all languages to be equally important and 19% of the participants were undecided.

When asked if there should be just one or more Nahuatl variants, the interviewees answered in the following way: 41% stated that there should be many variants of Nahuatl in order to respect traditions of different regions, to enrich the language and to respect the right of every person to speak in their own manner; 32% indicated that there should only be one variant of Nahuatl; 27% people were undecided. 37% of the study participants consider Nahuatl to be a dialect, 50% consider it to be a language and 13% were undecided.

Communities in Tlaxcala: status of Nahuatl
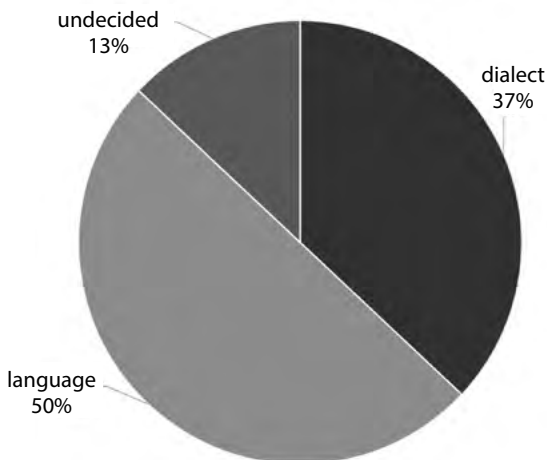
Among the active and passive speakers who were asked if Nahuatl had a lot of Spanish vocabulary nowadays (which referred both to code switching and Spanish loan words), 41% of the interviewees answered affirmatively, 30% indicated that the Nahuatl speech had "some" Spanish words, 6% answered negatively and 23% were undecided. When asked to explain whether they perceive this process as positive or negative 29% of the participants affirmed that using Spanish vocabulary within the heritage speech is positive because it allows less fluent speakers to understand Nahuatl, and moreover the speaker has the opportunity to practice both languages. 23% have a negative outlook on this process. These interviewees indicated that the Spanish vocabulary should be eliminated from the Nahuatl speech because "the languages should not mix," "it is not natural" and "one should make an effort not to include the Spanish words in the indigenous language." 6% consider this process to be neutral and 6% think it is positive and negative at the same time because "the speaker can understand the language better but it is not culture anymore."

When asked who should be responsible for passing on the language on to the future generations 14% pointed to the speakers, 23% interviewees indicated the parents, 9% both the parents and the grandparents, 4% grandparents, 4% the parents and the school authorities, 4% the government and the community members, 14% indicated the community members, 4% the parents and the

Communities in Tlaxcala: responsibility for language transmission
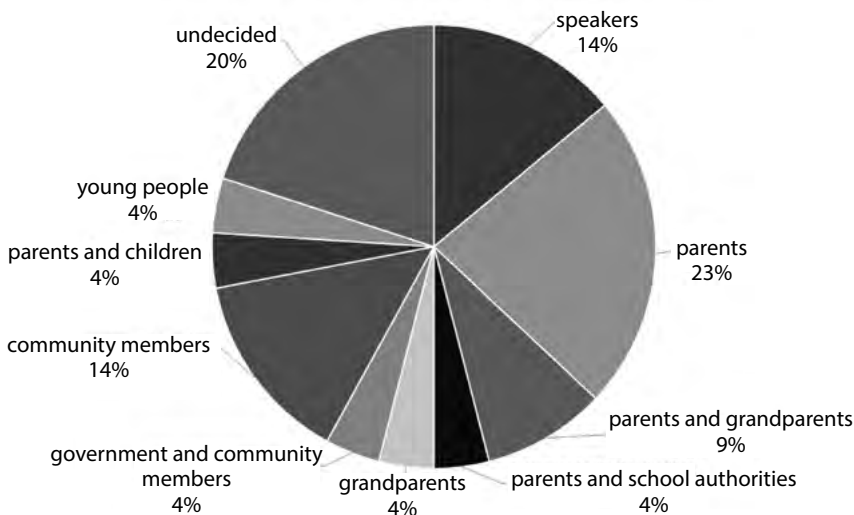
children, 4% stated that it is mainly the responsibility of the young people to learn their heritage language, and 20% of the interviewees were undecided. When asked if it is viable and important to teach Nahuatl at school the vast majority answered affirmatively (86%), 10% were undecided, and 4% did not consider this issue to be important. 30% of the study participants declared that they can understand other variants of Nahuatl, 12% answered negatively, 22% stated that they can understand a little bit/some words, 6% didn't hear other variants of Nahuatl apart from the locally spoken variant, and 30% were undecided.

The vast majority of the interviewees (88%) think that it is useful to read and write in Nahuatl, 4% affirmed that it would not be useful, 4% said that it might be useful, 4% were undecided. One of the interviewees stated that the ability to read and write in Nahuatl is important because that way the language can transcend to other social areas such as literature and politics.

Communities in Tlaxcala: usefulness of Nahuatl literacy
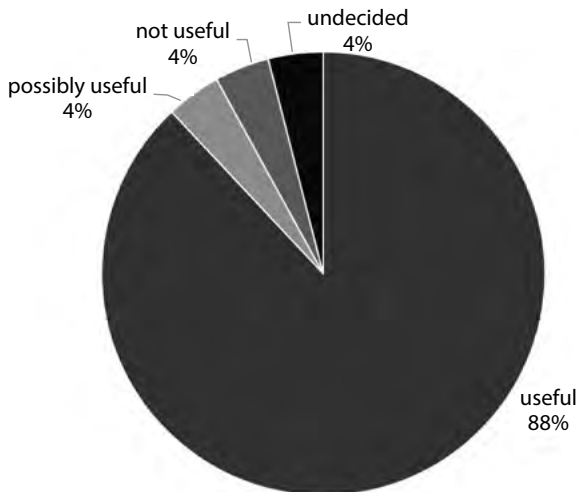
The interviewees were also asked about witnessing or experiencing negative reactions of the mainstream society members/non speakers to hearing somebody speak Nahuatl. To this question they described a variety of reactions: laughter (8%), neutral reaction (24%), surprise (4%), criticism (12%), mockery (8%), feeling looked upon at or being considered a lower category citizen (12%), laughter of other speakers when a beginner speaker makes a mistake (16%), experiencing both criticism, and admiration (8%). 8% were undecided.

Key findings in the Sierra Negra area

The majority of the participants (71%) indicated both Spanish and Nahuatl as their languages of preference. 5% chose Nahuatl while highlighting its importance as the language one grows up immersed in. 19% of participants chose Spanish and some of them explained their choice by the desire to improve their Spanish language competence. 5% were undecided. Among the participants who were asked if they speak Nahuatl with their children or – in case of the interviewees who didn't have children – if they want their children to learn their heritage language in the future, 81% answered affirmatively, 14% gave a negative answer and 5% were undecided. The participants who don't speak Nahuatl with their children come from the valley localities surrounding the Sierra Negra area (Coxcatlan and Pala). The reasons they gave for not passing their heritage language on to their children included not having enough time or having too many daily duties in the household, not having taught the children "early enough" when they were still very little. One person also stated that Nahuatl is "too difficult." Another interviewee observed that children who were born in the valley region tend not to speak Nahuatl very well in contrast with their peers in the mountain area, which is far more isolated.

Communities in Sierra Negra (state of Puebla): language of preference in daily use
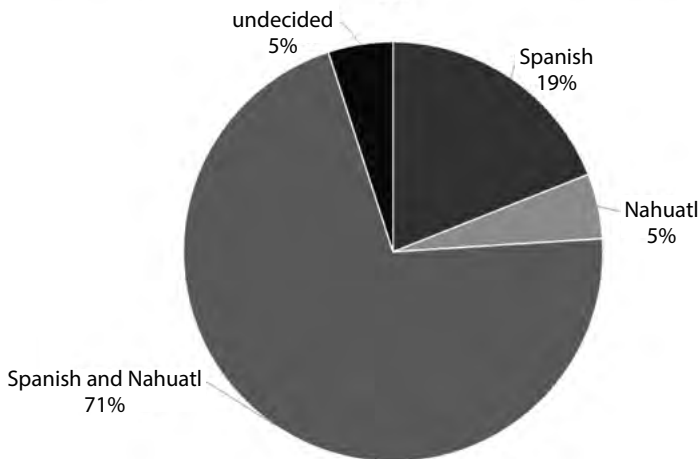
47% of the interviewees, who were asked about the most important aspect of their cultural heritage that should be preserved, declared that it should be

the whole culture, 19% said that it should be the food, similarly 19% people declared that the heritage language was the most worth preserving, 5% considered the customs and the indigenous justice system as the most important elements of cultural heritage, 5% declared that it should be the land, and 5% were undecided.

15% of the interviewees answered affirmatively when asked if the Nahuatl language would be still spoken in the future. One of these knowledge holders stated that even the young people speak their heritage language continuously while staying at the community of origin and this situation changes only if they have to leave the village and migrate temporarily or permanently to urban centers. 28% of the study participants gave a negative answer to this question while providing the following reasons for a gradual increase in the use of Spanish: the growth of the village, rural-urban migration of the youth, the dominant presence of Spanish at schools, and the unwillingness of the children and the young people to speak their heritage language. The interviewee also attributed this situation to the process of aging of the population who speaks Nahuatl. 47% of the participants were undecided as to whether the Nahuatl language would be spoken in the future and 10% stated that some community members would continue to speak Nahuatl and some would not, depending on the will and motivation of the youth.

When asked if there are languages that are better than others, the majority of the participants (76%) considered that all languages are equally important and 5% were undecided. 19% of the interviewees stated that there are

Communities in Sierra Negra (state of Puebla): status of Nahuatl
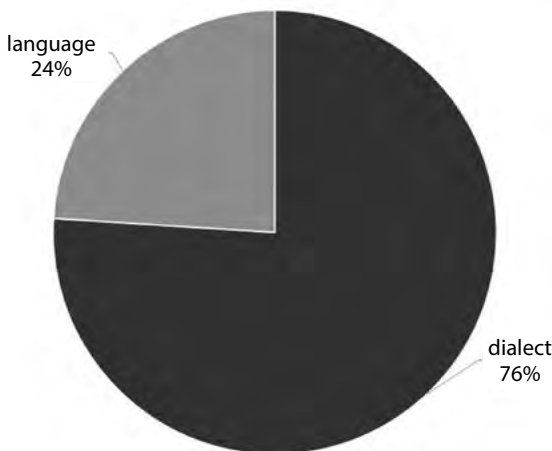
languages that are more important/better than others such as English (25% of the affirmative answers) and Spanish (75% of the affirmative answers). One of the interviewees attributed his better opinion about Spanish to the fact that "it is more difficult to learn."

When asked if there should be just one or more Nahuatl variants, the interviewees answered in the following way: 76% of the knowledge holders said that there should be many variants of Nahuatl in order to respect the customs of each language community, 10% people indicated that there should only be one variant of Nahuatl, and 14% people were undecided. The majority of the study participants consider Nahuatl to be a dialect (76%) however most of them have trouble explaining what a dialect is. They were also unable to clarify the difference between a dialect and a language. Some of these interviewees expressed their doubts by saying that Nahuatl might be a language because it is the most spoken indigenous dialect in Mexico and might "change into a language" because it is also spoken in schools. 24% of the interviewees consider Nahuatl to be a language.

Among the participants who were asked if Nahuatl has a lot of Spanish vocabulary nowadays (which referred both to code mixing and Spanish loan words), 66% answered affirmatively, 14% of the interviewees indicated that the Nahuatl speech had "some" Spanish words, 10% answered negatively, 5% indicated that it depends on the person who is speaking and 5% were undecided. The participants were also asked if they consider it good or bad

Communities in Sierra Negra (state of Puebla): responsibility for language transmission
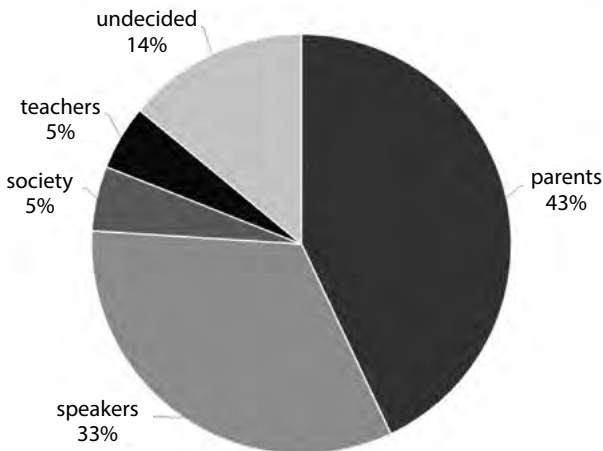
for the Nahuatl speech to include words in Spanish. 71% of the participants perceive this process negatively because of "not speaking Nahuatl which is 100% pure" and they expressed the need to know "legitimate Nahuatl," rooted in cultural traditions. Furthermore, these speakers explained that "Nahuatl is disappearing if it has Spanish words" and "if people mix languages they no longer speak Nahuatl." The two languages should be separated so that the people can speak "pure Spanish" and "pure Nahuatl." 19% of the speakers affirmed that using Spanish vocabulary within Nahuatl is positive because "it is good to know and learn Spanish and Nahuatl" and that the children should have the opportunity to learn both languages. Other speakers observed that it would be good to speak only Nahuatl, but some people don't have a good language competence and as they forget some of the Nahuatl vocabulary, it is practical to use Spanish sometimes. 10% were undecided. When asked who should be responsible of passing the language on to the future generations 43% of the interviewees indicated the parents, 33% indicated the speakers, 14% were undecided, 5% indicated the society in general, and 5% person indicated the teachers.

When asked if it is viable and important to teach Nahuatl at school, the vast majority of the participants (86%) answered affirmatively, 5% were undecided and 10% of the interviewees did not consider this issue to be important. One of these interviewees stated that it is better for the children to study Spanish at school in case they want to study or work outside of the village. Another

Communities in Sierra Negra (state of Puebla): usefulness of Nahuatl literacy

useful
100%
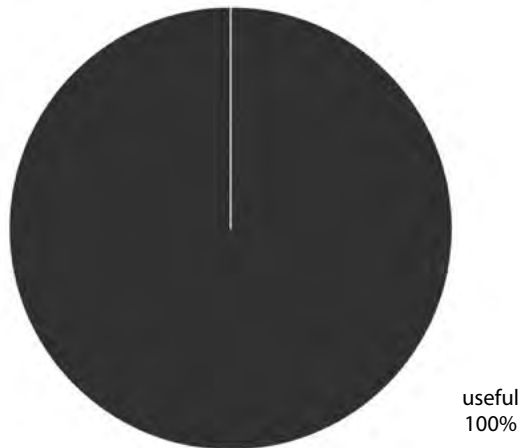
person observed that the language predominantly used at schools is Spanish hence it is not necessary or important to teach the heritage language there.

When asked if they can understand other variants of Nahuatl, 24% answered affirmatively, 14% stated that they can understand a little bit/some words, 24% of the interviewees declared understanding half of the speech produced by the speakers of other Nahuatl variants and 38% indicated that they understand 80% of it.

When asked if it is useful to read and write in Nahuatl all of the interviewees (100%) answered affirmatively. One of the interviewees observed that the ability to read and write in Nahuatl is practical for the speakers who wish to become teachers. Another person explained that it is important because of the differences between Spanish and Nahuatl orthography.

The interviewees were also asked about witnessing or experiencing negative reactions of the mainstream society members/non-speakers to hearing somebody speak Nahuatl. The following reactions were described: name calling (38% of the participants reported witnessing name calling or being called "Indians," "ignorants," "mountain people"), 28% reported neutral reaction, 10% reported being laughed at, 10% described the non-speakers' reaction as lack of comprehension, 5% indicated experiencing both laughter and admiration, 5% witnessed surprise, and 5% were undecided. Some of the interviewees mentioned that non-speakers or bystanders tend to equate Nahuatl speech with using swear words. Furthermore, one of the study participants admitted that she always speaks Spanish in hospitals for fear of not being attended by the medical staff if she spoke her heritage language.

Some of the knowledge holders pointed out that the use of Nahuatl has changed over the years in terms of the amount of lexical borrowing becoming more and more substitutive (e.g. the usage of words "a veces," "cuando," "entonces") and the usage of Spanish loanwords, such as the word "sombrero" instead of the word "mocuatlamahuizoltzin," reportedly used previously.[22] One of the participants noted the lack of or the gradual disappearance of the honorific forms that is also associated with changes of traditional kinship terminology:

> Well, the words are not the same as they used to be spoken before, there is almost no respect. No, it is not used anymore (the reverential suffix – *tzin*). The respect for the parents, the uncles, the cousins, there is no respect for them.

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[22] The latter is a neologism; different neologisms were created in reference to a "hat" since the early colonial periods, but a loanword sombrero has been also commonly used since the sixteenth century.

> As it used to be – the respect for your grandma or your grandpa or your aunt, you can't say "grandma" or "grandpa," you say mom. If we have an aunt or an uncle, they didn't call them "uncle." The used to call him "dad." And, well, others would call him *nopillotzin*.[23]

Although in their research on the reverential use of Nahuatl in the Malinche communities of the 1970s and early 1980s, Hill & Hill (1986: 152–155) discovered the pattern that the worst speakers tend to be "narrow-honorific speakers," using reverential forms in much more restricted way, while the most proficient speakers tend to be "broad-honorific," they do not consider this relationship to be of primary importance but rather "an epiphenomenon." In addition, although they note that communities with "narrow-honorific" usage are more exposed to the contact with Spanish, they consider it "a defensive reaction to this contact" and "emphasizing the equality and sameness of all townspeople" rather than a disappearance of a traditional mode of expression under Spanish impact. In our ethnolinguistic materials, however, the most proficient and conscious speakers (from different regions) would stick to the honorific mode of address, even if the language in their communities is highly endangered and almost entirely replaced by Spanish (like Tlaxcalancingo). Less proficient speakers, who rarely use Nahuatl in their daily life but learned it as children, tend to reduce or omit reverential forms except from the most common greeting or thanksgiving formulas, which probably indicates that the disappearance of honorific usage may become more and more linked to language shift and ongoing deep, structural Hispanization and relexification of Nahuatl. This observation would correspond to the views expressed by the speakers themselves referring to the changing usage of the language in their communities. However, to draw meaningful conclusions, this topic requires much more extensive research in a larger number of communities, also taking into account a larger number of different kinds of speakers.

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[23] "Bueno las palabras ya no es igual a lo que antes se hablaba, los respetos pues casi no los hay. No, ya no se utiliza (la terminación – *tzin*). Los respetos de los papás, de los tíos o de los primos, ya no hay respeto para estos.Como antes no más un respeto un abuelito, o una abuelita o una tía, no puedes decir abuelito o abuelita, le dices mamá. Si nosotros tenemos una tía o tío, tampoco le decían un tío. Le decían papá. Sí, bueno unos después le decían nopillotzin." Interview with a community member, age 44, Tepeyoloc. In the colonial Nahuatl, depending on the gender of the speaker – *pillotzin* was a nephew or niece (female speaker) or a noble person (male point of view). On the other hand, a – *pillotzin* of a ruler would be his dependent, while a – *pillotzin* of a commoner is his overlord (Madajczak 2015).

Discussion

Factors of endangerment and domains of use

While many sociolinguistic phenomena and their underlying factors are similar in all regions and communities studied, there are also important differences, especially regarding the scope of language use and intergenerational transmission. In regards to one of the most important factors within the UNESCO's scale of language vitality and endangerment related to intergenerational language transmission (UNESCO 2003: 7–8) the situation of the Sierra Negra communities seems to fall between the degrees 5 (stable yet threatened) and 4 (unsafe). The heritage language is spoken by all generations with unbroken intergenerational transmission and it is being learned by some children as their first language, while some of them learn it in further stages as a second language. All of the residents of the Sierra Negra localities who decided to take part in this study are active speakers of Nahuatl and Nahuatl-Spanish bilinguals. It is noteworthy that some of them needed additional help with translating the questions into Nahuatl because of their weak language competence in Spanish. Nevertheless, although Nahuatl is used to communicate in various social contexts (home, farming, at ceremonial occasions, within cultural administration practices and while exercising religious positions, during community feasts, sports events, casual meetings with the neighbors, parties and other social gatherings) and to converse about diverse topics (money, religion, school, work, health, tradition, emotional matters), Spanish has undoubtedly usurped certain important communication contexts in local institutions such as schools, hospitals, municipality offices and other domains that require accessing governmental services. Spanish is used to talk about mass media and politics, to complete bureaucratic formalities and while attending church service. It is also the language of commerce and internet communication. Within the UNESCO (2003: 9) terminology in regards to yet another language vitality factor – shifts in domains of language use – this situation may be described as a multilingual parity (grade 4), where the dominant language is the primary language in most official domains (government, public offices and educational institutions) and the heritage language continues to be used at home and in a number of public domains on a local community level, resulting in diglossia. The precarious situation of the literacy transmission in Nahuatl and the lack of bilingual programs in the area, that would help the students enhance their language competence

both in Nahuatl and in Spanish, is reflected in the quote from an interview with a secondary school director from the locality of Tepeyoloc.

> The school curriculum and the classes are held in Spanish and the students have difficulties understanding the words. They express themselves better in Nahuatl. According to the curriculum we are supposed to use Spanish and English, but not Nahuatl.[24]

In fact, the existing bilingual education ("educación bilingue bicultural") in Mexico is practically oriented toward rapid transitioning of indigenous children into Spanish. Although in its official discourse, the aim is first to alphabetize an indigenous language and then move on to the teaching of Spanish as the second language; in existing curriculum models it is used as means of the acquisition of Spanish, the target language of school instruction, and is entirely subordinated to it (Flores Farfán 1999: 40–42). In many native--speaking communities, Nahuatl is either entirely absent at school or taught as a second language (very often using textbooks based on other variants of the language). Thus, the access to the national system of bilingual education in Nahua communities would not be a positive factor for language survival; this model entirely ignores the current knowledge on the efficiency of immersion schools where the dominant language is taught as a foreign language.[25]

The situation in Tlaxcalan communities that were included in the present research differs significantly from the Sierra Negra context. The dominant language of social interactions at home and in public domains in the Contla municipality is Spanish, and the majority of the interviewees from this area perceive the elderly and older adults as the only fluent Nahuatl speakers. Nahuatl in the Contla municipality is thus severely endangered (grade 2 of the UNESCO's intergenerational language transmission factor; UNESCO 2003: 7–8), and while the parent generation may still understand or have a limited active command of the language, they typically do not transmit

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[24] "Todos los programas de estudios, todas las clases son en español, entonces a los alumnos les cuesta, tienen dificultades para entender las palabras. Ellos se expresan mejor en Nahuatl. Los planes de estudios nos marcan también que manejemos el inglés y el español, en ningún momento el náhuatl." Interview with a secondary school director in Tepeyoloc.

[25] In the USA, for example, immersion schools started to successfully develop in the 1980s, revealing that indigenous children educated under this model always match or surpass their counterparts participating in the dominant-language programs (Hinton 2001: 298–299). Likewise, it has been shown that students in the Navajo and Hawaiian immersion programs reached a much higher level of academic achievement than those receiving school instruction in English (McCarty 2003: 151–157).

it to their children. Hence, the youngest study participants, interviewed in the community of San Miguel Xaltipan, speak Spanish as a native language and have a very poor or no command of Nahuatl. Literacy in Nahuatl is transmitted through education to a limited extent, as there are some indigenous bilingual primary schools in the Contla municipality where Nahuatl is taught, however it is not the language of instruction. In fact, it is the school policy of the last several decades that can be considered a key factor behind this accelerated language shift. During their research in the region of the Malinche Hill & Hill noticed that in all the communities Spanish was beginning to invade usage within the domestic circle itself; they correctly associated it with parents' attempts to prepare their children for school with strict Spanish-only policy. These researchers recall situations in which teachers strongly recommended parents communicating with their children in Spanish. During the ceremony attended by Hill & Hill during their fieldwork the director of a local school "in his speech to the parents exhorted them in a single paragraph to feed children a balanced diet and to speak to them in Spanish, as if these were hygienic practices of precisely the same priority" (Hill & Hill 1986: 112–113). They also witnessed parents who were poor speakers of Spanish struggling to speak it even to infants and toddlers in order to save their children from suffering at school they had experienced themselves, even if they continued to communicate in Nahuatl among themselves (Hill & Hill 1986: 112–113; Nava Nava 2008: 19). The disastrous effects of this school policy in the Malinche region are patent today. With few exceptions there are no active speakers under 40–50 years and language transmission has been broken.[26]

While in 1980s Nahuatl was still the language of formal ceremonies like marriage and ritualized contexts – which in itself can be considered symptomatic as it marks its transformation into a formulaic language detached from daily context of informal speech – today it is more and more rarely used even for this purpose. The results of accelerated Hispanization within less than two generations in most of the places in the Malinche region are startling.

Also a number of other factors which may contribute to disrupting language continuity emerged upon the analysis of our field data, including especially the rural-urban migration and migration to the Unites States, the lack of language support provided by parents and grandparents in the Contla localities, little or no interest of the young Nahuas in learning the indigenous language,

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[26] An example of continued intergenerational transmission/ language continuity is the community of San Isidro de Buensuceso (Puebla), see: Nava Nava 2008.

and the aging and loss of proficient language keepers with a capacity to pass extensive knowledge of diverse communicative domains on to the next generations. Negative language ideology emerged continuously within the quotes of some of the knowledge holders who see it as a throwback and a relic of the past, with no use or application in the context of a modern society. The indigenous language is treated condescendingly and seen as irrelevant for the development of future communities which should prioritize technological advancement and access to international job market, symbolized by the use of dominant languages such as Spanish and English. Although Nahuatl is present as a subject at some of the primary schools, taught as if it were a foreign language, the lack of proper pedagogical training among many Nahuatl teachers, reflected in their limited speaking ability, was also brought up by the knowledge holders. What makes things even worse is the fact that there is no continuation of the heritage language education on the level of preparatory and secondary school.

When still used in Tlaxcalan towns, Nahuatl is spoken at home mostly by older adults and the elderly; they also converse in their heritage language during random encounters with the neighbors or the family members outside of the household or during some of customary celebrations and parties held in the community. The use of Nahuatl depends mainly on the interlocutor. It is often spoken to the elderly as a sign of respect to the people who are known for having language competence or coming from areas where it is still actively spoken, whereas Spanish is used to communicate with children and young adults. The topics of conversations in Nahuatl include farming activities, natural environment and everyday themes if the language is used at home or during community feasts, however Spanish is used in official public domains and to touch on issues such as politics, economy and technology. Furthermore, when Nahuatl is used to speak with children it is treated as a playful activity rather than a regular conversation. Overall, the non dominant language is spoken in limited or formal domains, a situation that can be reflected in grade 2 of the UNESCO's domains and functions language vitality and endangerment criteria (UNESCO 2003: 10). These domains include festivals and other occasions where older community members have a chance to meet. When Nahuatl is spoken at home, it is mostly used by the grandparents and the other older extended family members. It is not uncommon for spouses aged 50+ to communicate in Nahuatl, but they address their children and grandchildren in Spanish. Thirty years ago, in other communities around the Malintzin volcano, Spanish was also the language in which people preferred

to speak to outsiders, even those who may be speakers of Nahuatl (Hill & Hill 1986: 68). The same attitude was documented more recently by Nava Nava in San Isidro de Buensuceso of the same region (Nava Nava 2008: 411–412). Although indeed speakers declare that they communicate in Spanish with outsiders, in our field and work experience this attitude was not commonly practiced as long as we initiated and maintained communication in Nahuatl. It is speculative to assume that this indicates a change over time, but it is our observation that once they have realized that persons from outside are able to communicate in the language, even if in a different variant, most of our collaborators did not have any problem speaking Nahuatl to us, even if some have not practiced it on a daily basis.

Views of Nahuatl and related attitudes

The study participants in Contla consider Spanish and English to be the languages of social and economic opportunity and 58% of these interviewees indicated that Spanish is their language of preference in everyday communication. Nevertheless, all of the interviewees from Contla municipality, including passive and non-speakers, declared that it is important or fairly important to speak Nahuatl to preserve the culture and the traditions of their ancestors. However, the generally positive attitude toward Nahuatl and high values attached to it, are not reflected in any attempts to restore the language transmission or its domains of use. The residents of the Sierra Negra region were more inclined to value bilingualism, and the majority of the interviewees (71%) chose both Spanish and Nahuatl as their languages of preference. This resembles the situation documented by Nava Nava (2008) in San Isidro de Buensuceso, Tlaxcala, where "generalized bilingualism" (as opposed to "transitional (substitutive) bilingualism" associated with a linguistic ideology supporting the use of both languages), has been, at least until recently, the main factor behind the preservation and maintenance of the indigenous language.[27] One of the most prominent findings of our study in both research sites is perhaps the fact that the majority of the participants consider the continuity or restoration of Nahuatl transmission to be important and desirable. This attitude was reflected in the general consciousness of the fundamental role of intergenerational transmission at home, declarations concerning the willingness

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[27] The situation in San Isidro Buensuceso, however, is not entirely stable because young speakers continuously reduce the functional domains of the use of Nahuatl; the same occurs, less visibly and more gradually, on the level of the whole community (Nava Nava 2008: 241–242).

to attend Nahuatl classes, the utility of indigenous language literacy, and the importance of Nahuatl transmission at school. The majority of the interviewees displayed a positive outlook on these matters and recognized the responsibility of the community members (especially parents and grandparents) in the process of preserving their linguistic heritage. Nevertheless, it is difficult to assess the potential of these declarations for social practice. Currently the language transmission is very low or non-existent; similarly, numerous passive speakers, with some notable exceptions, do not strive to become active speakers of the language. It became clear upon reviewing the interview material from Contla municipality that the everyday heritage language transmission barely reaches the youngest generation and that the children feel excluded from the conversations some of their family members hold in Nahuatl. Furthermore, the study participants clearly see non-indigenous languages such as Spanish and English as high-prestige languages. As has been correctly pointed out (Nava Nava 2008: 20), language shift in Nahua communities occurs with a relative "naturality." Community members are fully aware that the language is being lost but do not strive to restore the transmission; these attitudes are backed up by the ideology denying the value of bi/multilingualism and emphasizing an advantageous position of monolingual speakers of Spanish, the national language. A chance for the reversal of this trend is, on the one hand, sharing the knowledge of the benefits of multilingualism, and, on the other hand, promoting and expanding activities by community members to create monolingual spaces and opportunities for language use, classes for children and cultural events with public use of Nahuatl (see Olko & Sullivan, this volume). Generally positive attitudes toward Nahuatl may be a crucial factor in this community-driven revitalization program.

In the times of the research carried out by Hill & Hill some speakers did insist that *mexicano* is an *idioma* ("language," always used in reference to Spanish), but a huge part of interlocutors identified Nahuatl as a "dialect," with an understanding that *idioma* is a better kind of *tlahtol* (a local native word for "speech", "language") than *dialect*. They usually explained the "dialect" status of Nahuatl by the fact of its mixing with Spanish, which results in *tlahco mexicano*, *tlahco castellano* "half Nahuatl, half Spanish," no longer having the legitimate status of a language. Furthermore, mixing situates an actual speech act "in a zone of imperfection" replete with *cuatros*, or grammatical errors or difficulties, and resulting in both degenerated versions of Nahuatl and incorrect Spanish (Hill & Hill 1986: 93–98). Thus, the speakers of the Malinche region referred to their language as already far removed from a legendary

perfect language called *legitimo mexicano* "legitimate/genuine Nahuatl" that was spoken in the past and perhaps still surviving in more isolated communities in the Sierra Negra of Puebla (Hill & Hill 1986: 98–99). Thus, some of the Nahuas see themselves as "cuatreros," not only in the way they use their stigmatized heritage language, but their Spanish is also "cuatrapeado" (Flores Farfán 1999: 63).

In our research, we have observed both continuities in language attitudes and signs of a possible change of perception of the status of Nahuatl among its speakers in respect to attitudes documented by Hill & Hill. The first major difference is the name used to refer to the local language. According to the Hills the term *mexicano* is very old, in both popular and scholarly usage because the earliest grammars and dictionaries of the language refer to it by this term. According to these authors, their "survey of major bibliographies of the literature reveals that the most common modern scholarly usage, "Nahuatl," does not begin to appear regularly until the end of the nineteenth century" (Hill & Hill 1986: 91). As a matter of fact, *mexicano* is a Spanish term coined and spread in the earliest lexicographic works, widely used and spread by Spaniards, gradually replacing the original name *nahuatlahtolli* used by the Nahuas themselves, probably not earlier than in the later part or toward end of the colonial period (e.g. Sahagun 1950–82, Book X: 175). Our research shows that current speakers in Tlaxcala more commonly use the terms *nahuatl*, *nahuatlahtol* or *totlahtol*, "our speech/language." In the region of Sierra Negra the term *nahuatl* is also commonly used by the speakers, who sometimes also use the word *mexicano*. Yet another term sometimes used in Central Mexican communities today is *mexicacopa*, "in the fashion of the Mexica," an old term originating in the colonial period, perhaps as a back translation (and loan rendition) of the Spanish word *mexicano* (Lockhart 1991: 54–55). When asked about the term *mexicano*, one of the most proficient older speakers in the Tlaxcallan community of San Miguel Xaltipan explained that this word was used in the past, some ten-twenty years ago and is no longer common. This change may be due to an external influence, by educational, academic and cultural state institutions that tend to use the word *nahuatl*, thus influencing the terminology of the speakers and, paradoxically, bringing back an original native term for the language.

This change may have some positive influence on the growing perception of the status of Nahuatl as a complete and self-standing language. As mentioned before, the opinions if Nahuatl is a language or a "dialect" vary between speakers (also between age groups) in the communities included in the present research, but roughly half of the speakers consider Nahuatl to be a language

and only 37% a "dialect," which signals a significant rise in its recognition as a "language" if compared with the earlier state documented by Hill & Hill. Most of the speakers negatively value the Spanish influence on Nahuatl, "not speaking Nahuatl which is 100% pure" because "if people mix languages they no longer speak Nahuatl." Some speakers believe that still 30–50 years ago the Nahuatl spoken by their grandparents was pure or "unmixed," but now "we no longer speak the legitimate Nahuatl; it is already mixed with Spanish."[28]

However, despite these pessimistic views, many of the speakers identified older community members as proficient speakers who had mastered the "authentic" Nahuatl without mixing it with Spanish words. Some older speakers explicitly confirm their full mastering of the correct language which signals high-esteem related to the status of Nahuatl speaker: *neh nimozcaltih nican, niquihtoa cualli, nicmati cualli* "I have been raised here, I speak it well, I know it well."[29] According to this community elder the term *cuatrero* no longer refers to how local people express themselves in Spanish, because everybody speaks it since childhood; it is only used to refer to children and persons who just learn and are starting to speak Nahuatl. Indeed, older speakers frequently correct younger persons struggling to speak Nahuatl, which negatively influences their self-evaluation of language skills. This attitude also results in a growing number of passive speakers who hardly ever venture to use the language, especially in the presence of proficient older speakers. On the other hand, given the progressing language shift and shrinking usage of Nahuatl, many original speakers who employed the language earlier in their life but no longer practice it, feel ashamed about their lack of fluency and heavy code-mixing resulting from their decreasing language proficiency. Even so, they usually do not refuse to participate in the conversation carried out in Nahuatl with the participation of Nahuatl-speaking researchers.[30]

In their research, Hill & Hill (1986) described purist attitudes in the Malinche region in detail, identifying purists as middle-aged men speaking what are, in fact, highly Hispanicized varieties of Nahuatl and having huge amount of

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[28] "Ya empieza a haber palabras españolas y por eso le vuelvo a repetir, anteriormente los que hablaba bien en náhuatl, los antepasados, porque la educación empezó a formalizarse 50 años hacia acá, pero los 50 años hacia atrás, era náhuatl, era 100 por 100." Interview with a speaker from San Miguel Xaltipan, 50 years old; "Sí, ha cambiado, porque antes hace 30 o 40 años el náhuatl era diferente. No se mezclaba con el español. Y ahorita lo mezclan, lo revuelven. Por ejemplo lo que ya no hablan en náhuatl, lo apuntan en español." Interview with a speaker from Coxcatlan, age 44; "creo que ya no hablamos legítimo náhuatl, ya viene mezclado en español." Interview with a speaker from Tepeyoloc, age 56.

[29] Interview with a 68-year old speaker from San Miguel Xaltipan.

[30] This differs considerably with attitudes of Nahua-speaking migrants to the USA, who, especially after a long period of not using the heritage language, deny any kind of speaking skills.

contact with the outside world. The main focus in their language attitudes was a restricted repertory of "genuinely Nahuatl" words (like "hat" or "train") that, according to the purist view, should replace Spanish loanwords. They ignored the fact that some of these "genuine terms" are in fact early colonial, phonologically adapted loanwords from Spanish, e.g. *axno* for "asno," *xolal* for "solar," or *tomin* for money. Likewise, the purists were not aware of the Spanish influence on other levels of the language, such as syntax or phonology. They would use the purist attitude against the authority of traditional elders who use Hispanicized Nahuatl and especially as expression of dominance toward younger speakers. Interestingly enough, at the time when the research by Hill & Hill was done, purism was more common in such towns as Acuamanala and San Luis Teolocholco, where Nahuatl was little used, but treated with great reserve in such communities as San Miguel Canoa where the indigenous language was dominant (Hill & Hill 1986: 122–123). While exploring purist ideology was not among primary goals of our research, in the communities under study we have encountered purist attitudes among some of the study participants. However, we have witnessed very similar phenomena to those described by the Hills in the community of Santa Ana Tlacotenco (Estado de Mexico) that has suffered especially difficult discrimination of the locally spoken variant by members of the academy promoting the use of "Classical" Nahuatl as the only legitimate version of the language. Today Nahuatl survives among very few adult and elderly speakers, while linguistic purism, represented by middle-aged adults, focuses on the lexical level of the language and elimination of Spanish loanwords; purist attitudes are also closely linked to the manifestation of dominance and legitimacy in the use of the heritage language versus other community members and persons from outside.

Need for literacy and emergence of new kinds of speakers

Our field research and broader experience with the speakers of Nahuatl from different regions reveals the need for the full literacy in that language. A possible tension between the tradition of orality and the need to write the language is waning because of an increasing communication needs of community members and their involvement in globalizing electronic media; this situation is additionally strengthened by a much older conviction that the existence of writing and texts is an essential criterion of the status of Nahuatl as a "language." All the persons interviewed saw writing and reading in Nahuatl

as an important and useful ability. Many native speakers perceive their lack of literacy in Nahuatl as the sign that their knowledge and mastering of it is not complete; they commonly say "we can speak it, but we cannot write it." This need is especially strong among teenagers and younger adults, who, like the youths from Santa Maria Zoyatla, Puebla, speak the language on a daily basis with their families and friends, but have not had any experience with writing Nahuatl because their entire school education is in Spanish. Many of them wish to learn to "write correctly" to use their heritage language in social media; some young community members want to learn to write in order to teach the language in their communities where Nahuatl is disappearing. This leads us to the identification of a new kind of increasingly conscious, engaged users of Nahuatl, many of whom emerge as language activists despite adverse patterns of language transmission and use. Some of these persons – including an example of a schoolteacher of Nahuatl in Contla – learned the heritage language as their own individual choice and conscious decision, not taught by parents, but learning as teenagers or young adults from their grandparents and community elders. Many of these speakers represent the category of semi-speakers defined by Grinevald as bilinguals whose dominant language is not their ethnic language, although they can be nearly fluent in it; it is from among them that the activists of language maintenance or revitalization frequently emerge (Grinevald 2003: 64).

During the workshop in reading colonial Nahuatl texts we organized in 2015, with the General Archive of the Nation in Mexico for the speakers of Nahuatl and carried out entirely in Nahuatl, we met many young native speakers seeking opportunities to continue practicing the language outside their communities and to learn more about Nahuatl and its history; some of them were pursuing teaching activities in their communities in view of the dwindling intergenerational transmission and lack of knowledge of the language among children. The main problem these native speakers face is the lack of school education in Nahuatl as well as of pedagogical resources and poor handling of writing. Most of them expressed the strong wish to learn to write the language in order to teach it and communicate in it in electronic media. They were also interested in communicating with the Nahuas from other communities and speaking other variants.

Some of these conscious language users reach very profound, individualized understanding of the significance and roles of the heritage language. A local poet and writer defines it as "harmony, poetry, uniqueness, a language that pleases you, a sound that pleases you." She understands it as an inherent part

of culture and tradition that without any of its composing elements would become "mutilated," and dreams about Nahuatl expanding into different spheres of use like other "important languages," such as English.[31] Even some of the speakers who do not belong to an emerging group of indigenous intellectuals, while recognizing other persons' attitudes who feel "denigrated" when speaking Nahuatl, feel happy and proud to speak even facing adverse reactions to it.[32]

Conclusions

In the areas of the present study, the language is considered one of many elements of the Nahua cultural heritage, however not necessarily the most vital or the most important one. The knowledge holders were divided in terms of deciding if Nahuatl will be spoken by the next generations, which points to the conclusion that they consider the future of their language very uncertain and depending on a variety of factors. The residents of Sierra Negra seem to be more heavily affected by a negative language ideology, which was reflected in the quotes related to experiencing or witnessing discriminatory attitudes towards the Nahuatl speakers and in the predominant perception of Nahuatl as a dialect rather than a language, without being able to define what the difference between those two concepts is. Nevertheless, their everyday social practice and strong emotional connection to the ancestral speech fosters language vitality, in contrast to the rapidly progressing disruption of the intergenerational transmission in Contla. However, despite the high level of endangerment of Nahuatl, positive attitudes toward it and general awareness of the need of its preservation seem to be growing, while new categories of engaged, conscious speakers appear.

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[31] "[…] es harmonía, es poesía, es peculiar, es una lengua que te agrade, es un sonido que te agrade […]. Sí, o sea transcender en todos los sentidos, que no nada más se quede, que trascienda tanto en lo literario, que trascienda en lo político, en todos los ámbitos, eso es bueno, porque se va a reconocer que realmente es una lengua que casi se valora como el inglés, como todas las lenguas importantes." Interview with an indigenous poet, writer and teacher from Santa María de Tlacatecpan, 41 years old.

[32] "Con la gente que vayamos, que nos encuéntrenos, podemos dar una conversación y si no le da pena, pues mejor hablamos en español, pero hay gente que le da mucha pena. Se denigra él mismo por habla hablar náhuatl. […] Pero que más daría yo sigamos con el mismo idioma, nahual está bonito. De verás, lo esencial, carajo, si nos ven hablar en náhuatl nos ven raros, pero de contrario yo me siento muy contento de saberlo y no me siento denigrado, aunque me digan lo que me digan, me queda bien, me siento muy contento." Interview with a community member from San Miguel Xaltipan, 50 years old.

The survival of Nahuatl is directly linked to the individual perception of its importance. Rather than focusing on the support required from the state institutions (although this issue was acknowledged as well), the interviewees highlighted personal motivation, commitment to the process of language learning, and a conscious effort that should be made by the potential new speakers. The support of the parent generation together with the availability and assistance of the elders, recognized as the most fluent speakers, as well as the contact with the highland community members, identified as the legitimate language keepers, were also brought up as factors which might strengthen the transmission of Nahuatl. Positive language ideology and a general positive outlook on the new speakers were also considered important in terms of enhancing language continuity. The children from San Miguel Xaltipan expressed the feeling of being left out when exposed to the conversations held by their parents and grandparents in Nahuatl, hence, the heritage language transmission could serve as a uniting factor, cementing the intergenerational bonds between the family members.

The following recommendations can be proposed based on the ideas, comments and suggestions expressed by the community members involved in the present research and concerning language revitalization processes in the Nahua communities:

- Cultivating language transmission at home and at school, with Nahuatl having the same prestige and educational status as Spanish,
- Placing special emphasis on the responsibility of parents as language keepers and transmitters,
- Addressing both the biases held against the Nahuatl speakers by the mainstream society and the feelings of inferiority displayed in the attitudes and beliefs of the Nahua community members themselves, which will boost cultural pride,
- Fostering positive language ideology and Nahuatl literacy,
- Creating monolingual spaces and lecture halls in the communities and organizing community Nahuatl classes for both children and adults,
- Encouraging communication between children and elders,
- Fostering communication in Nahuatl in as many public domains as possible (community public spaces, including municipality and church; media: radio, television, internet),
- Creating opportunities for encounters of native speakers from different communities as well as for visiting communities that still have many active speakers from all generations.

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Bridging Gaps and Empowering Speakers: an Inclusive, Partnership-Based Approach to Nahuatl Research and Revitalization[1]

JUSTYNA OLKO
Faculty of "Artes Liberales"
University of Warsaw

JOHN SULLIVAN
Faculty of "Artes Liberales"
University of Warsaw
Universidad Autonóma de Zacatecas
Instituto de Docencia e Investigación
Etnológica de Zacatecas

Our position

The role of academics in supporting or implementing language revitalization projects is controversial and it is often called into question both by researchers themselves and by the speakers they work with. This is due in part to a strong tendency in academia to convert endangered languages into separate objects of study, detached from the real people who use them and from the perspectives and needs of their communities. Our experience with language revitalization, especially in the postcolonial context of Mexico, and our resulting awareness of the challenges associated with it, have led us to consciously situate our work within the "engaged humanities," an approach inspired initially by the ideas and methods of Participatory Action Research (PAR), dating at least

from the 1940s and more formally defined in the 1970s, and more recently by the important notion of Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR). Equitable partnerships can only be forged when power, resources, credit, results and knowledge are shared, and when there is reciprocal appreciation of each partner's knowledge and skills during all stages of a project: selecting the issue; defining the problem; designing the investigation; carrying out the research; interpreting the results; and then finally, determining how the results should be used to benefit the community (Wallerstein & Duran 2008; Schulz et al. 2008). While the predominant focus of CBPR is on health and sustainability issues, we consider this partnership-based approach in which community members, local researchers/teachers/activists and organizations participate in all steps and aspects of a specific project, particularly promising for efficient language revitalization programs. As such, it closely corresponds with the notion of research carried out WITH and BY communities, replacing the traditional paradigms of research ON and FOR language/communities carried out by mainstream researchers who *apply* their knowledge for the benefit of others (Grinevald 2003: 58–60). We are talking about a non-patronizing way of uniting the two frameworks described as "WITH" and "BY"; about opening up the possibility of combining external and internal perspectives; about engaging in a practical dialogue between Western/mainstream and indigenous methodologies; and about sharing and using generated knowledge.

An essential premise of this approach is that language communities/ethnic groups need to directly participate as stakeholders and partners in research and revitalization projects, sharing knowledge, tools, decision making and ownership with their academic and non-academic external allies. An ongoing challenge then, consists first of identifying gaps in collaboration and knowledge-transfer between academics, members of local communities/ethnic minorities and non-academic organizations – gaps that in most cases are the product of discriminatory institutional structures. These divisional ways of thinking and working must then be subject to an ongoing process of self-investigation and critical reflectivity, in order to construct the bridges that will allow all project participants to collaborate equally, but on their own terms. Our posture as academics and activist researchers is also close to many ideas of the so-called performative humanities, which postulate an active turn toward studied reality; conscious, active cooperation in the creation of the "world of the others"; and influence on changes occurring in it (Domańska 2007: 60).

As we will show, our activities began and have developed in academic circles and spaces, created with native-speakers outside of their communities

of origin, for the monolingual usage of Nahuatl; these now need to be accompanied by similar spaces for language use and revitalization, which are based in and driven by the communities themselves: this phase of the collaborative program is just starting to take shape and grow. The approach requires innovative methodologies both for working with groups who are subjected to discrimination and for finding efficient ways to transform discriminatory and/or (post-)colonial structures and behaviors. This cannot be achieved without creating safe spaces for developing Indigenous Research, making it possible, both for academics and community members, to reach beyond the pervasive notion of "communities of inquiry." We believe that the essential steps for advancing toward this aim include (1) creating and sharing decolonizing, community-driven research paradigms that will directly benefit language communities at every stage in the implementation of research and educational projects (2) developing fair and transparent rules for projects driven by language communities and carried out in collaboration with mainstream research institutions. In this sense, our work and position as academics should contribute to collective action, carried out by members of language communities, supported by mainstream research institutions which officially recognize their responsibilities as culturally aware, informed allies that respect community autonomy. This is particularly important for indigenous communities in Mexico, which have suffered many forms and prolonged patterns of economic, political, educational and cultural discrimination and subjugation.

The framework for our research and revitalization activities includes (1) the creation by J. Sullivan in 2002 of an indigenous research and teaching institution in Mexico, Instituto de Docencia e Investigación Etnológica de Zacatecas (IDIEZ) which has worked with indigenous students until now on several different projects; (2) the implementation of two large team projects directly involving indigenous students, researchers and collaborating community members: *Europe and America in Contact* (2012–2017) and *Endangered languages. Comprehensive models for research and revitalization* (2013–2016).[2] Both are carried out by the Faculty of "Artes Liberales" of the University of Warsaw in collaboration with IDIEZ. The *Endangered languages* project, directly involved in designing and implementing language revitalization strategies, deals not only with Nahuatl in Mexico, but also with two endangered minority languages

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[2] *Europe and America in Contact. A Multidisciplinary Study of Cross-Cultural Transfer in the New World Across Time* is funded by the Starting Grant of the European Research Council; *Endangered languages. Comprehensive models for research and revitalization* is funded by the "National Program for the Development of the Humanities" of the Minister of Science and Higher Education in Poland.

in Poland: Wymysiöeryś and Lemko. Despite essential differences resulting from distinct economic, sociopolitical and cultural contexts in which the three language survive, this collaboration based and cross-linguistic framework has allowed us to understand better and seek solutions for the fundamental challenges and problems shared by all three minority groups. These include vanishing intergenerational transmission, the absence of efficient support and monolingual spaces in the educational system, the unavailability of sufficient literary and educational materials, and a pervasively negative language ideology affecting native-speakers and those members of their ethnic groups or communities who no longer use the language.

The collaborative activities that have been carried out in Wilamowice, Poland during the past several last years are proving valuable for the development of strategies and activities aimed at the revitalization of Nahuatl (see Wicherkiewicz & Olko, this volume). They have led to the successful implementation of new forms of academic and non-academic partnerships, including good practices of collaboration between two leading Polish universities, local non-profit organizations and activists, municipal authorities, school authorities and international groups of scholars supporting the revitalization of Wymysorys. Two important results of this collaboration so far have been the partial restoration of language transmission and the creating of new speakers. Although this experience, especially in terms of fostering partnerships between academic and local individuals and institutions, is extremely important, we are aware that solutions efficient in one cultural, economic and/or sociopolitical context may not be efficient or easily transferable to other language communities, even in the same region or country, not to mention the complex differences between the European and Latin American contexts. The maintenance or revitalization of minority languages in wealthy countries, especially those that possess a long tradition of literacy and enjoy a healthy degree of institutional support, differs greatly from the situation of unwritten languages in developing countries plagued by serious economic problems, migration, discrimination and a colonial/postcolonial heritage (Coulmas 2013: 220). In fact, many faces of postcolonialism can be found also in European countries, including Poland, especially regarding the forms of discrimination towards ethnic minorities (many of them with drastic, even traumatic, historical experiences). Some of the major problems faced by European minorities resemble those experienced by local communities outside Europe: overt and covert violation of language rights, inefficient or discriminating language policy, negative language ideology, absence of local

languages in the national education system, scarcity of teaching and literary materials in endangered languages as well as spaces for their use, many forms of economic and sociopolitical pressure, among others. This said, we need to emphasize that all of these factors continue to affect, to a degree that cannot be overestimated, indigenous groups in Mexico. The result, in a large number of communities, has been an increasing interruption in language transmission, terminating many times in the total extinction of native languages. The post-colonial policy of dominance and discrimination with respect to indigenous communities and its enduring impact constitutes an unresolved challenge, both for indigenous people and for collaborating external partners who are interested in revitalization; this needs to be taken into account when planning and implementing each community-based project.

An alarming diagnosis: the language situation in contemporary Nahua communities

Although for many indigenous communities in Mexico local heritage and language are important sources of identity, language itself is rarely associated with pride and positive awareness of historical roots. Nahuatl can be considered one of the key languages of pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica given its cultural, political and economic importance and geographical extension. This role goes back at least to the times of the Teotihuacan empire; after its fall Nahuatl became the dominant language of the Toltec state and of the Aztec empire. This period spans roughly fifteen centuries, from the onset of our era to 1521. The important status of Nahuatl was prolonged by its role as the main indigenous language used in Christianization and administration under three hundred years of Spanish rule (1521–1821). Despite its millennial role and the fact that it continues to be spoken in many regions in Mexico, today the language faces serious danger of extinction. The reported number of speakers – almost 1.5 million[3] – is highly misleading. The population of active speakers is increasingly aging and rapidly shifting to Spanish in more and more domains of usage. Intergenerational transfer of the language has

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[3] The Mexican National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI 2010) cites a population of 1,544,968 native speakers of Nahuatl, 5 years or older, based on the 2010 national census, but there are no reliable statistics regarding active versus passive speakers, literacy, everyday language use, intergenerational transmission or access to Nahuatl education at school.

been slowing down or virtually disappearing during the last several decades. This is due to several key factors, including discrimination, an exclusive educational policy at the federal, state and local levels, lack of any external support for the usage of indigenous tongues, economic circumstances and migration. In effect, children and youths more and more often join a growing group of passive speakers or non-speakers, whereas many people who used the language in their childhood and young adulthood have virtually abandoned it or drastically reduced the spaces of its use. This type of situation usually corresponds either to disappearing or to moribund status (Grenoble & Whaley 2006: 18), characterized respectively by a predominant shift towards the dominant language and the disappearance of intergenerational transfer. In addition, the total high number of speakers has no bearing on the general situation of the language or its situation in specific communities because they are becoming more and more isolated into "islands of speakers", which makes them even more susceptible to rapid language shift (Flores Farfán 2002: 229). Even if more Nahuatl-speaking communities survive in specific regions, their members usually communicate between themselves in Spanish, especially in public. The lack of interregional communication, exchange and solidarity – no doubt grounded in the traditional localized sense of identity dating back to pre-Hispanic times – is another one of the challenges that must be overcome in order to foster revitalization initiatives carried out by the communities themselves. Isolation is strengthened by the lack of a standardized orthography, a factor which inhibits native speakers from using writing to communicate across variants. Moreover, the rhetoric employed by persons and institutions promoting local "alphabets," detached from the earlier tradition of writing created "under Spanish colonial dominance," fosters negative attitudes toward the earlier writing system. As a result, indigenous people are discouraged from reading and studying the great corpus of alphabetic writing produced by their ancestors. This also widens the artificial academic and ideological division between older and modern Nahuatl language and culture that should be a natural source of pride and identity.

From the first decades of contact, Nahuatl and other native languages began to evolve in response to the strong and long-term impact of Spanish, undergoing profound changes in a process that continues today. There are two important aspects and consequences of this process that are strongly linked to the endangerment of Nahuatl as well as to its chances for survival. One is related to an accelerating pace of contact-induced change leading to widespread relexification along with deep structural changes, code-mixing

and decrease in proficiency (reflected in the presence of "semi-speakers" and "terminal speakers"; cf. Grinevald 1998: 177) in the use of the language, that as early as thirty years ago began to be described as a "syncretic language" (Hill & Hill 1986). Another involves the high, but rarely recognized degree of continuity between modern variants of the language and their earlier documented forms. Unfortunately, older variants are commonly associated with the prestigious notion of "Classical Nahuatl," which has long been considered the only "correct" and "legitimate" form of the language. According to this view, modern "dialects" qualify as little more than its corrupted, Spanish-influenced offshoots (Canger 1988: 29). The important elements of the language's structural continuity have not been sufficiently highlighted by existing scholarship. This is partly due to the tendency in favor of narrow disciplinary and thematic specialization, in which research focuses either on colonial or in modern data, and thus fails to address language and cultural development over the long-term.

On the other hand, the level of language change varies considerably, not only between regions, but also sometimes within a single (usually entirely or predominantly bilingual) community. This is due to differing degrees of language use which result, in the case of some speakers, in reduced proficiency and enhanced code mixing and code switching, as is the case in Nahua-speaking Tlaxcalan communities. An idea originating in and propagated by the academy, consisting of a denial of any connection between modern variants of Nahuatl and the "language of the Aztecs," contributed to a widespread derogatory perception of the current "dialects" as degenerated and illegitimate mixtures of an earlier authentic Nahuatl and Spanish (see Bergier & Olko, this volume). This negative language ideology has been additionally strengthened by purist arguments defended by some speakers, which stigmatize the Hispanized speech of most community members (e.g. Hill & Hill 1986: 122–123; Flores Farfán 2003). In fact, although the current state of language shift may appear to be a recent phenomenon, perceived as having taken place within the last two or three generations, it is in fact the result of the much longer period of language contact, lasting centuries, to which Nahuatl has been subject, despite its evidently strong survival across time. In this case, the shift may be a result of long-term pressure on the minority language, which erodes its internal structure and changes its patterns of use (Dorian 1981, 1986; Grinevald 1998: 177). Having said this, current evidence also points to the crucial impact on Nahuatl of relatively recent external factors, including educational policy.

Monolingual speakers in Nahua communities are rare today and limited to the oldest generations; the bulk of speakers are bilingual and have learned Spanish at different stages of their life attaining varying levels of proficiency. Despite several centuries of contact with Spanish and growing bilingualism, the language has remained more traditional in geographically isolated and peripheral areas, such as the Sierra Negra communities in Puebla or the Chicontepec region in northern Veracruz where Eastern Huastecan Nahuatl is spoken. For at least the last two decades most, if not all, Nahua communities have been affected by migration to large Mexican urban centers and to the USA. Migrants have typically switched to the dominant languages, Spanish and English, drastically restricting the use of Nahuatl and ceasing to pass it on to the next generation. In a large number of indigenous communities themselves, transmission to children has also decreased or disappeared, and this is due to different coexistent factors, not the least influential of which is the educational policy implemented by the Mexican state beginning in the 1950s or perhaps a bit earlier. The whole program of bilingual education, which continues to this day, has been a failure because it is no more a tool to transition native children to Spanish and teach all subjects in this language (Flores Farfán 1999: 40–42). To makes things worse, in many Nahuatl-speaking communities there are no bilingual schools at all, and basic education is carried out entirely in Spanish. And for the last several decades parents have been strongly encouraged by teachers to communicate with their children in Spanish, supposedly to help them avoid having problems at school and later in life (Hill & Hill 1986: 112–113). No immersion school programs have been implemented by the Mexican state, although it has long been clear in other countries that this method yields highly positive and promising results among indigenous populations when compared to school programs conducted in dominant languages (e.g. Hinton 2011: 298; Kipp 2009: 1–9; McCarty 2003: 147–158).

The low self-esteem characteristic of many Nahuatl-speakers is also associated with the general absence of literacy in this language as well as the virtual nonexistence of teaching and literary materials. The long colonial tradition of Nahuatl alphabetic writing survived until the end of the eighteenth century, and in some regions through the first half of the nineteenth century. While Nahuatl was recognized as an official medium for legal documentation under Spanish colonial rule, it quickly ceased to be employed as such after the emergence of the independent Mexican state in 1821. As a result of the increasing Hispanization, which became a component of state ideology, indigenous communities still using their ancestral languages became more and

more isolated from each other and from the rest of Mexican society. Nahuatl writing became very scarce and only reappeared in the hands of emerging indigenous intellectuals in the second half of the twentieth century. Today, it appears in the literary works produced by a small group of Nahua writers, and interestingly, it is beginning to be used in social media by indigenous activists and speakers who are spreading the language use into new spheres of modern life. This, however, still has very little impact on communities themselves and on the broader group of users of the language. Literacy remains highly limited, especially among youths, whose reading and writing skills have been developed exclusively in Spanish. Nahuatl has yet to expand into new functional domains, whereas its traditional areas of use are constantly shrinking. When compared with Spanish, and more recently, with English, Nahuatl is commonly perceived as a language of very limited potential, spoken only by elders, and lacking any utility in the modern world, especially as a means for educational, social or economic advancement.

Finally, the ratio of speakers to non-speakers within indigenous communities is an important consideration which in all likelihood contributes to the disappearance of Nahuatl. It is constantly widening in favor of Spanish. This factor, even more than the size of speech communities, is recognized as a crucial indicator of language vitality (Brenzinger 1998: 187).

Setting the goals

The long-range goals of Nahuatl revitalization are quite straightforward: restoring safe, intergenerational language transmission; strengthening and expanding domains of language used in the community and beyond; and promoting the functional adaptation of the language to the modern world. However, defining short and intermediate range goals is a more difficult task, because they must interrelate with and complement each other in an efficient sequence that will bring about the desired outcome. Perhaps most crucial is the design of intermediate aims and the evaluation of intermediate results, precisely because they simultaneously provide direction and source of information for permitting adjustments in strategy and action along the way. Goals should take into account spaces and actors both inside and outside the community and identify especially those that can serve as bridges; and they should ensure the participation of native-speakers and other community members in all project activities.

Short-term goals

All of the short-term goals we list should be continued in the mid-term and long-term perspective because they are the most basic, efficient and stable components of the language revitalization program.

- Empowering the native speakers as teachers, researchers and activists, through non-patronizing collaboration with Western researchers, intercultural experiences, and the development of different kinds of tools which foster the extension of the language into new domains of use, including research, teaching, and the practice of critical and creative thinking.
- Supporting the development of indigenous research methodology that can be employed by native researchers in academic and non-academic projects, both inside and outside the community.
- Assuring that native researchers and other community members participate in all stages of project design and implementation.
- Creating safe monolingual spaces for native speakers inside and outside the community with direct involvement of non-profit organizations run by indigenous activists.
- Supporting ethnolinguistic fieldwork conducted by indigenous students and researchers; returning the products of this fieldwork to the community and exploring with the community how they can best be used.
- Fostering the teaching of Nahuatl at all academic levels, from short-term, intensive instruction to the creation of monolingual university programs with international collaboration; all programs should include native speakers as teachers and students.
- Fostering and supporting the teaching of Nahuatl in community-based programs, taught by the community's native speakers themselves and targeting local passive speakers and non-speakers, as well as external students, if the community so desires.[4]
- Creating and publishing resources and reference materials for the teaching of Nahuatl inside and outside indigenous communities, in many variants of the language.
- Restoring and promoting literacy in Nahuatl; this goals includes the implementation of a standardized orthography that preserves the

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[4] Besides bringing in outside, independent funding for community revitalization activities, the participation of non-indigenous students can be a tremendous source of language validation and prestige, in the eyes of community members.

richness of varietal differences, as well as the edition publication and wide distribution of monolingual works of different literary genres, with native-speaking authors participating in every step of the process.

- Fostering interdialectal and interregional communication among native speakers, by holding monolingual workshops and encounters in safe spaces, where participants who normally struggle in isolation to preserve their language, can come together with speakers of multiple variants in order to share experiences and discuss problems relating to administrative barriers, discrimination and marginalization.
- Disseminating the results of psycholinguistic research on the cognitive benefits of multilingualism to teachers, politicians, social workers, other service professionals, and especially parents, in order to stimulate positive attitudes toward minority language transmission and multi-language education, and to get across the fundamental idea that "children are perfectly capable of growing up bilingual, trilingual, or even quadrilingual" (Hinton 2013: 230).

Mid-term goals

Mid-term goals should focus on integrated revitalization activities in language communities, including migrant communities, that will be carried out simultaneously with activities undertaken in external academic, cultural and educational spaces. This inclusive strategy can be seen as a partnership-based integration of what would normally be understood as grassroots and top-down approaches. What is important here is that grassroots initiatives need not be limited to community in situ programs: they may and should include collaborative initiatives carried out with native speakers outside their original communities (in different kinds of academic and non-academic institutions; in public spaces; in capacity-building, cultural or artistic events). However, it must be strongly emphasized that while community-external activities (and their role in the empowering of native speakers, raising the prestige and recognition of the language and thus reversing negative language attitudes), the creation of educational materials, and virtual communities of speakers are important, the key element for language maintenance is stable transmission at home and the presence of daily speakers in an ethnolinguistic community (Fishman 2001: 465). Therefore, a fundamental goal for revitalization is the design and implementation of community-based programs, with key involvement of indigenous activists, teachers, researchers, and all those who

participate in the different capacity-building programs and activities that are carried out as short-term goals. Finally, the project must undergo monitoring and evaluation during all stages of its implementation, and its participants must be willing to consider modifying or further developing the project in response to specific needs, obstacles and opportunities. We envision the following concrete mid-term goals:

- Identifying and promoting role models is an important pillar for inclusive, integral and long-term revitalization programs carried out both inside and outside indigenous communities. These may be individuals (activists, teachers, indigenous and non-indigenous researchers, students, writers, artists, new speakers), as well as organizations (non-profit associations, state institutions, academic institutions). It is also important to take into account local power relationships and stakeholders, traditional social, economic and ritual relationships and decision-making procedures, fully respecting the autonomy of local communities whose internal goals and interests may be diverse, and at time even seem contradictory.
- Constructing positive language ideology is crucial for building native speakers' self-confidence, positive language attitudes fostering language use and transmission; strengthening their historical and cultural identity; raising awareness of their importance in the preservation of the language; and enhancing their professional performance. In order to attain this goal, it is crucial to spread awareness, both among native speakers and within the broader society, of the benefits of multilingualism (such as increased cognitive functions and better health) and of the value of an endangered language as a unique cognitive tool at the disposal of its speakers. This information is necessary to overcome the general fear of discrimination, parents' fear that their children will fail in school or in the job market, as well as negative attitudes toward lack of fluency and language-change; it also helps to avoid the pitfalls associated with language purism.
- Involving community members, psychologists and psycholinguists directly in dealing with the effects of the historical trauma that is the result of long-term discrimination against indigenous people and their communities.
- Creating and maintaining spaces of revitalization within communities, including language nests in community-shared, institutional and private spaces, depending on local possibilities and preferences (municipal

buildings, schools, libraries, places for social gatherings and activities, construction of new spaces for language nests, the homes of activists implementing the program, etc.).

■ Implementation of master-apprentice and language-at-home programs in communities where intergenerational transmission has been broken or is in serious danger. It is very common in this type of community for a clear majority of its members, in all age groups, to express the desire to learn and use the language as well as transmit it to children (see Bergier & Olko, this volume). These generally positive attitudes and declarations are important; however, they have little impact on, and are certainly no guarantee of social action. The motivation implicit in a recent increase in positive attitudes and an awareness of the need to preserve a language can only be harnessed if it is channeled into the implementation of concrete revitalization programs and their activities. In communities with little or no intergenerational transmission, master-apprentice and language-at-home programs can be an efficient step leading to language use within families; members of the oldest generation, who can still speak the language, can perform a special role in these activities.

■ Engaging communities in the development of their own monolingual, educational materials, educational strategies involving traditional ways of the knowledge transmission and literary materials transmitting the richness of local heritage; young members of the community should be encouraged to use the language in social media and in all new forms of internet-based tools for expression, communication and academic activity.

■ Designing language-learning tools and materials for the youngest generations (complementing traditional models of knowledge transmission) based on the most recent and fashionable IT-solutions (games, e-books, interactive apps for mobile devices)

■ Generating state, private and international fellowships for indigenous students pursuing education related to their language and culture, as well as to the sustainable development of their communities; leadership training will be an important complementary component of this goal

■ Creating jobs linked to language maintenance and revitalization, inside and outside indigenous communities, for professionals who are native speakers of Nahuatl.

■ Establishing immersion-based programs in Nahua-speaking communities (regardless of the state of intergenerational transmission). The

Mexican public school system possesses neither the will, the expertise nor the flexibility needed to design and implement this model: therefore, it should begin with pre-school language nests run by non-profit organizations and/or institutions of higher education. Language nests tap into the fluent speaking grandparent generation, often the last fully proficient native speakers, to tend to groups of young children using only the indigenous language. The already-functioning model then needs to be used to establish immersion-based programs at successive levels of education in state schools, replacing the current bilingual system that contributes to language shift.

- Gradually incorporating native instructors, prepared to teach monolingually and using immersive methodology, first into community-based, externally funded immersion nests and schools, and then into the state system of education present in indigenous communities.
- Developing curricula, materials and methodology for a complete primary (and later secondary) school program carried out in Nahuatl
- Dealing with institutions and policy-makers to transform state language policy and implement deep reforms in the school system, as it effects indigenous communities.
- All of the above-mentioned goals require extensive fund-raising, involving already existing local, state and federal sources, as well as international funding agencies and private donors.

Implementation: the first steps

Monolingual spaces for research, teaching, learning and discussion

The fundamental framework of our work involves direct participation of members of the language communities, working with us as students, teachers, literary authors and researchers. This was initially made possible through the creation of Mexico's first permanent monolingual academic space at the Instituto de Docencia e Investigación Etnológica de Zacatecas. IDIEZ is a non-profit corporation that works with Nahua immigrants from the Huasteca region who are studying at the Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, providing them with an alternative to the general function of the Mexican university as the last step in the educational process of Hispanization. Students receive a scholarship, and

work several hours per week receiving training, teaching, designing curricula and preparing teaching materials, carrying out research independently (see below) and in collaboration with Western scholars. All of IDIEZ's activities are conducted monolingually, and are designed to develop native speakers' capacity for thinking critically and creatively in their language, giving them a solid platform for extending the use of their language into ever expanding domains of academic, cultural and social life. In the fourteen years since its creation over twenty-five native speakers have become directly involved with IDIEZ, and now the association is undergoing a process of transformation so that it will be entirely run and directed by the Nahuas.

In 2012, IDIEZ began working with the Faculty of "Artes Liberales" of the University of Warsaw and this initiated a major expansion of the activities of both institutions. We began working with members of Nahua communities from other regions of Mexico (Puebla, Tlaxcala, Morelos, Estado de Mexico) and with Mexican institutions, such as the Comisión para el Desarrollo de Pueblos Indígenas and the Autonomous University of Tlaxcala in order to expand our revitalization, educational and cultural dissemination activities. The Faculty of "Artes Liberales" of the University of Warsaw hosts an academic-year international program in colonial and modern Nahuatl. IDIEZ runs a multi-dimensional program of Nahuatl instruction. The summer intensive course in colonial and modern Nahuatl, now in its fifteenth year, was originally held in Zacatecas and the Huasteca, but was later moved to Yale University after cartel-related violence increased in both regions. IDIEZ also provides on-site and distance academic-year instruction in Nahuatl to the universities of Utah, Tulane, Texas at Austin, Minnesota, Chicago, UCLA, Berkeley and Stanford.

These courses, which have been taken by non-native students from many countries in America, Europe and Asia, are taught by native speakers who have been trained at IDIEZ. These young people are empowered protagonists of their work: they design curriculum, prepare teaching materials, experiment with new teaching methodology, situate language learning solidly within broader, traditional village activities linked to Nahua material and spiritual culture. They also play an important role in questioning the traditional division between the roles of researcher and informant that constitutes one of the major methodological underpinnings of modern ethnographic research. IDIEZ began this task several years ago by added the innovative component of individual tutoring to its Summer Program curriculum in colonial and modern Nahuatl. Foreign students were required to propose an individual research topic to develop during the program, working on it for an hour per

day during the six-week program with a native speaking tutor. The students were invited to take these sessions as an exercise in mutual exchange, not restricting the role of the native tutor to simply supplying information, but making it possible for him or her to participate, along with the student in all of the steps involved in the research process. Every year, more and more of the students involve their indigenous tutors in the preparation of their theses and dissertations, as well as long-term research projects. By doing so, they participate in the generation of a new kind of methodology and knowledge combining the perspectives of Western science and the specifically indigenous ways of collecting, organizing and interpreting data. A further step was undertaken in the project "Europe and America in Contact" (carried out by the University of Warsaw and with direct participation of IDIEZ and University of Seville). Crucial for this team research is direct involvement of indigenous students as partner researchers of European scholars. Pioneering academic works written in Nahuatl and reflecting native methodology have been produced within this project.

The long-standing colonial Nahuatl teaching program carried out at the University of Warsaw since 2000 has been enriched since 2012 by courses in modern Nahuatl taught by native speakers, making it the only permanent full academic year Nahuatl program of its kind. In addition, we have opened an online international seminar in colonial Nahuatl with the participation of international scholars and indigenous students focusing on reading and translating older documents in Nahuatl. Of special significance for our strategy was the kind of activity initiated in January of 2014 during the winter Nahuatl school in Cholula, Puebla, where we included as participants indigenous high school students from a Nahuatl-speaking community of Zoyatla, who studied and translated colonial manuscripts and took part in the classes of modern Nahuatl alongside Mexican and foreign students and researchers. These indigenous teenagers' first language is Nahuatl and they use it everyday with their family and friends; however, when they began participating in the Cholula program, they had never had any Nahuatl instruction at school, nor had they had any experience with written Nahuatl. As a rule, when indigenous children enter school in Mexico, their language ceases to develop as a tool for critical and creative thinking. And they progress through their education with the idea that the value of their 'mother tongue' is restricted to its function as a vehicle for practical and affective communication only at home, and that it is useless in educational and career contexts. Despite all of this, most of the Nahuatl-speaking students in the Cholula program openly

declared that the reason they were participating was to learn how to read and write in their language. The Zoyatla teenagers were able to master the basics of the standardized orthography very quickly and actually take part in a literary competition in the end of the two-week course. This activity was continued during a monolingual workshop we carried out in 2015 in the Archivo General de la Nación (see below).

Fig. 1. Nahua teenagers from Zoyatla, Puebla, Mexico: participants in the Cholula Nahuatl Institute, January 2014

Fig. 2. II Interdialectical Encounter for the Speakers of Nahuatl, Cholula, Mexico, January 2014

Another crucial space for language revitalization has been forged in the interdialectical encounters we organized. Until recently, geographic distance and the differences between linguistic variants were considered an insurmountable barrier to the possibility of interregional communication. However, in December of 2011, as part of a research project funded by the United States National Endowment for the Humanities,[5] IDIEZ brought together twenty native speakers representing approximately ten variants of Nahuatl for a five-day workshop in Zacatecas. A second Interdialectal Encounter of Nahuatl, financed by the Mexican National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples (CDI)[6] and organized jointly by IDIEZ and the University of Warsaw, was held in January 2014 in Cholula, bringing together sixty native speakers and thirteen non-native speakers. Both events were recorded and broadcast by "XECARH, The Voice of the Hñahñu People," an indigenous radio station affiliated with the CDI. Typically in Mexico, public events involving indigenous languages and their speakers are organized by government institutions and conducted in Spanish. In our encounters, the topics of discussion are proposed, reviewed and ratified or modified by the indigenous participants at the beginning of each event, and the actual discussions are held entirely in Nahuatl. For many this is a new and initially difficult experience for they are not accustomed to using their native tongue outside of their villages. As a rule, native speakers of indigenous languages converse with each other in Spanish outside of their community and when they have to use their language in a public context, they immediately translate what they have said into Spanish. We have since learned that some of the participants of the two encounters felt empowered enough to speak Nahuatl in other kinds of events and meetings attended by indigenous professionals (such as teachers), which had previously been conducted entirely in Spanish. An additional initial constraint is the widely shared belief in the mutual incomprehensibility of Nahuatl variants. To the enormous and pleasant surprise of the participants, interdialectal communication is indeed possible, and it immediately becomes apparent that a high enough degree of intelligibility existed to permit fluid and animated monolingual discussions on a diverse array of topics, including identity, revitalization, rituals and local festivals, ways of greeting, education, immigration,

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[5] The project, *An Online Nahuatl (nci, nhe, nhw) Lexical Database: Bridging Past, Present, and Future Speakers*, was directed by the University of Oregon's Dr. Stephanie Wood from 2009 to 2012. http://whp.uoregon.edu/dictionaries/nahuat

[6] www.cdi.gob.mx

grammatical terminology, linguistic policy, migration, intergenerational language transmission, and gender issues. An initial atmosphere of timidity and distrust among participants coming from different regions gives way to a shared feeling of joy and solidarity, as well as the desire to continue this kind of communication beyond the encounter and to begin collaborating in language revitalization activities.

We have also initiated artistic activities in Nahuatl, working within a genre that we call „revitalization theatre," which deals with cultural continuity and survival. The first play, directed by Antonio Guerra, is titled *Cinteotl ihuan Chicomexochitl imamacuetlaxxo* ("The paper skin of Cinteotl and Chicomexochitl"). Written by collaborating indigenous and non-indigenous members of our team in both older and modern Nahuatl, it recreates the fundamental myth of the birth and life of the Nahua maize god, uniting preconquest and contemporaneous myths and rituals into one story. It was performed by a native speaker and several students of Nahuatl at the Faculty of "Artes Liberales" of the University of Warsaw during a major cultural event in November 2014. The performance was professionally recorded[7] and then later shown to the indigenous participants of a monolingual workshop in Mexico in August 2015. We plan to launch similar artistic projects directly in Nahua communities. Theatrical performances in Nahuatl have already been introduced as part of revitalization activities in the community of San Miguel Xaltipan by our close collaborator, Beatriz Cuahutle Bautista, one of the actors in the *Cinteotl ihuan Chicomexochitl* play. She is both the author and the director of performances involving the participation of children who do not speak the language of their grandparents, but have started to learn it under the guidance of Beatriz and her mother, Constantina Bautsita Nava, in their home.

Yet another complementary "space" in our revitalization activities is a website dealing with three endangered languages: Nahuatl in Mexico and Lemko and Wymysiöeryś in Poland.[8] Its three domains of research, culture (including literature) and education, describe, document and recreate the universe of each of the endangered languages. The website has been designed, on the one hand, as a space available for writers in Nahuatl, Lemko and Wymysiöeryś to publish their works, and on the other hand, as a resource repository for scholars and students working on those languages and their communities. Its target user groups include speakers of endangered languages, students

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[7] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4dhyUERkfn0
[8] www.revitalization.al.uw.edu.pl

and scholars. In 2016 we will prepare an open-access multimedia publication embracing original testimonies, stories and other materials from several Nahua communities that will be distributed both in the academic world and in the communities themselves.

Indigenous methodology and collaborative research

Native scholars have recently begun writing about the urgent need to deco-lonize research methodologies and create spaces for developing and practicing indigenous research (e.g. Chilisa 2012; Kovach 2009; Tuhivai Smith 2012). While we fully agree that this is an important first step toward democratizing research and opening fair spaces for groups whose cultural perspective has traditionally been excluded from academia and whose capacity for research agency continues to be called into question, we must emphasize that there is a huge gap between the theorization of indigenous research methodology and its real practice. The essence of this gap resides in the fundamental fact that indigenous and non-indigenous scholars use dominant languages, such as English and Spanish, to write about indigenous methodology. This consti-tutes a deep and inherent contradiction that contaminates the topic at its very inception; a paradoxical compromise with postcolonial heritage, using dominant languages as a means of oppression and discrimination. Indigenous research will only be able to incorporate and creatively develop native methodology and make it useful for its own communities if it is conducted in indigenous languages. This is not a question of ideology; rather it is a principle situated at the heart of research itself: **the knowledge that we hand down from one generation to the next, evaluate, recontextualize, modify and express, is defined through the unique affective and conceptual terminology and struc-ture, the inherent modes of expression, reasoning, arguing and construction of meaning, as well the worldview of each specific language**. Therefore, at the core of our approach is the non-negotiable imperative to promote native speakers of Nahuatl to the role of protagonists who **use their language as the vehicle for carrying out** academic and revitalization activities related to their language and culture.

For over fifteen years now, IDIEZ has been working on a monolingual dictionary of Modern Huastecan Nahuatl. Published in our *Totlahtol* series this year, it is the first monolingual dictionary of this language. We have used the creation of the work's definitions and example sentences as a basic cognitive exercise for introducing our young indigenous college students, who have

been subject to the Hispanicizing curriculum of Mexican public education, to the use of their native language as an instrument for conceptual thinking. In the process, we have found that their way of creating meaning is very much different from Western decontextualized abstract thinking: these young people mentally transport themselves back into their homes and communities and imagine themselves in a situation in which the language they need for the dictionary entries may occur. In addition, collaborative thinking and work is natural and crucial for them. This activity makes it possible to reproduce and expand on the methods of knowledge creation and sharing employed in their communities of origin. The fact that they can do this for academic and teaching tasks, using their language to reason and create new ideas, has proved deeply empowering. In this way, indigenous students have begun to take back their language, to reassert ownership, if you will, and use it as a complex tool for thinking from within Nahuatl in order to receive, evaluate and generate knowledge from the unique perspective that their language's cognitive structures, as well as their newfound experience as indigenous researchers provide.

It is not a coincidence that the first major, long-term activity at IDIEZ was the preparation of a monolingual dictionary. It is a crucial resource in multiple ways: as a huge cognitive and language-development exercise for the indigenous co-authors; as an invaluable reference compendium for the language, documenting the richness of its regional variety, which is experiencing shift to Spanish and becoming more and more endangered; as an invaluable resource for scholars, students and native speakers; as an extremely useful didactic tool for teaching the language; and, perhaps above all, as a work which raises the prestige and recognition of modern Nahuatl in the eyes of its speakers. The IDIEZ monolingual dictionary constitutes a complex, monumental record of the mother tongue spoken by local communities, a reservoir of their collective knowledge, memory and heritage, and provides a firm base for their linguistic and cultural reproduction and continuity.

Indigenous activists have explained to us that a dictionary, documenting the richness of the local language and asserting its status, is a crucial asset for indigenous communities striving to preserve their heritage. Yet it is not among the goals of most linguistic projects dealing with endangered languages. As pointed out by Grenoble, "Many communities who are working on language revitalization want dictionaries above and beyond everything else, and linguists are not trained in dictionary making. I do not know of a graduate program in the United States that includes a course in building

a lexicon, although they all have courses in semantics. Here we see a wide gap between linguistic theory and practice among language users" (Grenoble 2009: 65). IDIEZ has been able to bridge this gap and empower native students as they become co-authors of the first monolingual dictionary of Nahuatl.

The monolingual creation of headwords, definitions and example sentences was only one of the tasks undertaken by the native speakers who participated in the dictionary project. We also decided to rethink, from within Nahuatl, the grammatical concepts needed to organize this "content" and create neologisms for the corresponding terminology. In short, we avoided calquing concepts, terminology, and even formulae for creating definitions, that were developed in dominant languages for Western lexicographical works.

Nahuatl is a highly contextualized language. It lacks infinitive forms of verbs, for example, and our researchers have created formulae for definitions that reflect this inherent specificity. For the Nahua mind it is important to state which kinds of subjects, for example, can perform an action; for this reason, verb definitions should indicate whether deities, humans, wild animals, domestic animals, flora and/or grammatically inanimate entities can function as the subject. And also this is highly contextualized and embedded in traditional knowledge, because mountains, rocks, springs, or stars may be considered more animate than humans. Therefore the content of definitions is often markedly different from that of a Spanish or English dictionary. For example, the definitions for *ānōtza*, 'to summon rain,' are:

1. *Tepehuameh tlaixpano pan ohtli pampa quiittah huallauh atl*, 'Tepehuameh ants cross the road because they see that it will rain';
2. *Tepahtihquetl tlatlacualtia techan; teipan yohuih macehualmeh pan tepetl tlatlaliah, mihtotiah huan quinnohnotzah totiotzitzin para ma tlaahuetziltican pampa inihhuantin amiquih.* 'A healer makes offerings in someone's home; then everyone goes to the mountain, makes offerings, dances and appeal to the deities to cause it to rain, because they are dying of thirst.'

An essential part of this intellectual enterprise has been the creation of grammatical and scientific terminology from within Nahuatl. The textbooks and grammatical manuals produced for use by indigenous bilingual elementary school teachers directly calque linguistic concepts and terminology from Spanish. For example noun, *sustantivo* or *nombre* in Spanish, is usually rendered *tocayotl* 'name' in Nahuatl. However, Nahuatl nouns consist of a nucleus accompanied by obligatory subject affixes and optional

possessive affixes: as such they have a very different structure compared to their English or Spanish counterparts, which simply provide a 'name' for an entity. A Nahuatl noun is actually a sentence: a simple 'noun' *ocelotl*, 'jaguar,' in fact means 'it is a jaguar' or 'he is a jaguar.' *Nitlacatl*, with its first person singular subject prefix *ni-*, its root – *tlaca-*, 'human being' and its singular absolutive suffix – *tl*, means 'I am a human being.' Therefore a Nahuatl noun in fact provides a subject with a name, and for this reason we use the verb *tocaxtia*, 'to name someone or something,' as the basis for creating a neologism, *tlatocaxtiliztli*, 'noun' or more literally, 'the process of providing a subject with a name.'

To illustrate the comprehensive and complex nature of the dictionary, as well as an idea of how the entries are structured, we will present here three different categories of dictionary terms. The first one is *tonalli*, an old preconquest word, surviving in the richness of its semantic field and reflecting not only the old conceptual framework preserved through several centuries of Hispanization and Christianization, but also its evolution and acquisition of possibly new meanings, absent in colonial Nahuatl sources. The second term, *fōlzahyōtl*, is derived from the Spanish *bolsa* 'bag,' which has been assimilated phonetically, semantically and morphologically into Nahuatl. By including in the monolingual dictionary loanwords that Nahuatl has incorporated on its own terms over a prolonged period of time, we give account of the current state of the language. We also convey an important message: inherent, contact-induced change is part of the evolution of any language; it does not in any way constitute evidence that Nahuatl is a "degenerated" dialect, a hybrid mixture of an older, "legitimate" language of the Aztecs and Spanish, as many native-speakers, language purists and even scholars mistakenly believe today. Native speakers' language attitudes will improve when they understand the truth about how Nahuatl has dealt with Spanish over the last five hundred years. The final example is that of the neologism just discussed, *tlatocaxtiliztli*, created by the native authors of the dictionary, in order to produce a specific grammatical concepts from within their language. It demonstrates that any kind of topic, including complex grammatical explanations, can be expressed in the indigenous language, an indisputable fact, which again, is often denied in mainstream, popular ideology, in academia, and even by native speakers themselves.

TŌNALLI. *tlat.* 1. Ce zo ome tzoncalli chipahuac tlen quipiya macehualli tlen axcanah tetahtzin. "Jessica quipiya miac tonalli pan itzontecon huan nocca

cuecuetztzin." 2. no. Icopinca macehualli itlacayo tlen neci canahya quemman quimina tonatiuh. "Quemman niyauh canahya tlahuel tlahcotona notonal pan ninehnemi." 3. no. Tlen quiza pan macehualli itlacayo quemman quipano ce tlamantli huan momahmauhtia; teipan pehua mococoa. "Delia mocauhqui itonal campa huetzqui; naman tepahtihquetl quitonalnotza pampa quinequi ma caxani." 4. no. Macehualli itlapiyal tlen quiamati motemaz campa itztoc ya. "Ne pitzotl axitonal Maria, yeca axcanah quinpiya iconehuan." 5. no. Macehualli zo tlapiyalli tlen mohuica cualli huanya ce acahya. "Victor nochipa quemman quiza canahya quiahhuah chichimeh pampa axcanah itonal." 6. TŌNALMĪLLI iyollo: axcanah motequihuia icelti. Tonatiuh itotonca [Mc.149r]. *tlaaxca.* – tōnal. *tlazal.* tōnal-. *achi.* TŌNA (*tlachihual.*)

TŌNALLI. *noun.* 1. One or two strands of white hair that a person who is not elderly has. "Jessica has a lot of white hairs on her head and she's still young." 2. [first person singular possessor]. The outline of a one's body that appears someplace when the sun shines on it. "When I go someplace at high noon, I walk on my shadow." 3. [first person singular possessor]. That which leaves one's body when something happens and one is frightened; afterward, one begins to get sick. "Delia's *tonalli* remained in the place where she fell; now the healer is summoning her *tonalli* because he wants her to get well." 4. [first person singular possessor]. A person's domesticated animal that likes to lay down next to him or her. "That pig is not Maria's *tonalli*; that's why it has no offspring." 5. [first person singular possessor]. A person or domesticated animal that gets along well with someone. "Whenever Victor leaves to go someplace, dogs bark at him because they aren't his *tonalli*." 6. nucleus of TŌNALMĪLLI: not used by itself. The sun's heat [Mc.149r]. *poss.* – tōnal. *comb.* tōnal-. *morph.* TŌNA (*patientive.*)

FŌLZAHYŌTL. *tlat.* 1. i. Iahcica yoyomitl campa macehualli quitema itomin zo pan momacahcalaquia quemman cececui. "Tonchih quipilcohuihqueh ce ipantalon tlen quipiya ome ifolzahyo." 2. i. Tlacuaquilotl quence imorral tlen quipiya iyoltzalan campa quinnemiltia iconehuan. "Ce tlacuaquilotl ifolzahyo tlahuel huei pampa quena quincui nochi iconehuan quemman quinhuica canahya." *tlaaxca.* – fōlzahyō. *achi.* FŌLZAH, YŌTL.

FŌLZAHYŌTL. *noun.* 1. [third person singular possessor]. A part of an article of clothing where one puts money or into which one puts one's hands when it is cold. "They bought a pair of pants with two pockets for Tonchih." 2. [third person singular possessor]. A thing resembling a sack that an opossum has on its abdomen, where it carries its babies. "An opossum's pouch

is very big because all of its babies actually do fit inside when it takes them somewhere." *poss.* – fōlzahyō. *morph.* FŌLZAH, YŌTL.

TLATŌCĀXTILIZTLI. *tlat.* Tlahtoltlamantli tlen tlatocaxtiliztli quipiya iyollo huan ome iachitlahtol tlen nelmonequi huan tlen ica moahuiltia: itlapachol huan tlatzonpepecholli tlen quiihtoa tlan quipiya itlaaxcatihcauh zo axcanah huan tlan cetzin zo miaquin itlapachol. No hueliz quipiyaz tlaaxcatihquetl, tzintlalhuililli huan cequinoc tlatenmotzquiltilli. Tlatocaxtiliztli quitocaxtia itlapachol ica iyollo. *tlaaxca.* – tlatōcāxtiliz. *achi.* TLA1, TŌCĀXTIĀ, LIZ, TLI.

TLATŌCĀXTILIZTLI. *noun.* The lexical category of noun word has a nucleus and two indispensible morphemes with which it is conjugated: it's subject prefix and a inflectional suffix which tells us whether it is possessed or not and whether the subject is singular or plural. It can optionally have a possessive prefix, an incorporated noun and other affixes. The noun word's root names its subject. *poss.* – tlatōcāxtiliz. *morph.* TLA1, TŌCĀXTIĀ, LIZ, TLI.

Indigenous research methodology and academic writing in Nahuatl is concretely carried out in the form of individual and collaborative research projects by the members of IDIEZ. Traditionally, Western anthropologists and linguists incorporate native speakers of indigenous languages or community members into their work as informants whose role in the research process is limited to the passive transfer of raw linguistic data. In our projects we deconstruct the traditional boundary between the passive informant, conceived of as a possessor of native cultural knowledge, and the researcher, conceived of as the only agent capable of understanding and interpreting this knowledge at an abstract level. We designed our team projects, including the major project "Europe and America in Contact," with the idea in mind that we do not want to "read over the shoulders" of the natives (Geertz 1973: 452), but will work collaboratively and creatively to combine inside and outside perspectives in ways that are new to existing scholarship. This experience has developed into consciousness of the need to create an indigenous research methodology which can be given expression through academic writing in Nahuatl. Among the first outcomes of this approach are two monolingual master theses written by Abelardo de la Cruz de la Cruz and Eduardo de la Cruz Cruz at the Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas. In the very near future, we plan to direct PhD dissertations written in Nahuatl in the doctoral program for indigenous students at the University of Warsaw's Faculty of "Artes Liberales."

Fig. 3. MA thesis defense: graduate students and committee members, Zacatecas, March 2016

An essential part of these MA projects was ethnolinguistic fieldwork carried out in Nahua communities by young indigenous researchers, who not only recorded the materials, but also transcribed, analyzed and interpreted them for the purposes of their own research. This is an important change in the current practices and purposes of field research. So far, "language documentation has largely been driven by the needs and goals of the community of (external) linguists, with less attention given to the needs of communities of language users and potential speakers. The result is a mismatch between the materials produced by linguists and the needs of communities. Yet, in order for any revitalization program to be successful, it must be driven by the community" (Grenoble 2009: 61). The fieldwork in our collaborative projects is carried out by the community members, studied for their own purposes and within their developing indigenous research methodology, and returned for use in the communities in the form of specially designed monolingual publications and multimedia materials. "Activist documentation" linked to the development of language revitalization methods and the production of educational materials by native speakers themselves has already begun to be seen as a powerful alternative to traditional approaches to linguistic documentation (Flores Farfán & Ramallo 2010: 13–14); in our endeavors it has become an established practice. Yet another essential aspect

of indigenous research that we emphasize is the need to demonstrate the link between older and modern Nahua language and culture. On the one hand, this basic continuity is a fact that should be taken into account for any serious research on Mesoamerica. On the other hand, the Mexican school system provides indigenous students with access neither to their own history nor to the writing or other cultural genre produced by their ancestors: this must change because cultural continuity is fundamental for strengthening the historical identity and self-esteem of Nahuas today.

Nahua literacy: reconnecting with the past

Both popular Mexican ideology and mainstream academic works give the impression that present-day indigenous peoples are detached from their past and that the glorious preconquest civilizations have little, if anything to do with the economically and culturally pauperized native communities of today. The relevant components of Mexican National ideology, developed in the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries, root national identity proudly in the remote civilizations of the Mayas and the Aztecs, but see modern indigenous people as culturally backward communities that constitute an obstacle to the country's progress. Our strategy, well grounded in the formation of those of us who are ethnohistorians, is to provide evidence, through our research and other educational activities, of the high degree of continuity between older and modern Nahuatl language and culture. It is important to spread the awareness of the fact that the Nahuas have had a tradition of alphabetic writing spanning more than five centuries. The writing system of the Aztecs surviving into the first part of the colonial period, and then the rich and complex tradition of alphabetic writing based on adapted Spanish orthography, developed in the 1530s and continued into the first half of the nineteenth century. We promote the use of standardized orthography based on this historical tradition of writing, and used by the Nahuas for their own purposes (Lockhart 1992; Olko 2014). And together with indigenous authors, we apply it rigorously to different modern variants of the language, publishing literary works in Nahuatl in our monolingual editorial series *Totlahtol* ("Our speech"), printed in Warsaw and distributed without cost in Mexico. This orthographic system (see: Olko & Sullivan 2014a: 384–388), which permits us to clearly, but flexibly represent the morphemes which combine to form all words in Nahuatl, regardless of the variant, is derived from Horacio Carochi's grammar and modified by Richard Andrews in

his *Introduction to Classical Nahuatl* (2003), Frances Karttunen in her *Analytical Dictionary of Nahuatl* (1992) and Joe Campbell and Frances Karttunen in their *Foundation Course in Nahuatl Grammar* (1989).

We inaugurated our series with Refugio Nava Nava's book of children's literature, *Malintzin itlahtol* (2013), written in modern Tlaxcalan Nahuatl. Although it was published in the subseries *Toconehuan* ("Our children"), this collection of stories is based on the daily reality and cultural practices of a traditional Tlaxcalan community, and can therefore be enjoyed by readers of all age groups. Together with its author we organized and documented book readings with speakers of Nahuat in their homes, most of whom had not seen anything written in their language before. The stories, read by the author and the literate participants of the meetings, provoked vivid comments, jokes, laughs and discussion in Nahuatl. The activity was such a success that we continued these readings with other publications and plan to promote the practice more broadly in native communities. Since traditional story-telling is an intergenerational event, collective book readings in Nahuatl, especially when they are based on local stories and memories, stand a very good change of becoming a long-term family and community-based tradition. In 2015 we enriched our repertoire with a "paper theater" (*amatlamahuizolli*) performance based on the Japanese *kamishibai* tradition, experimenting with an idea of Alejandra Rodriguez Bravo who illustrated some of the *Totlahtol* publications. Alejandra made the first *amatlamahuizolli* in connection with the old Nahua creation myth that we had converted into narrative form in two modern variants of Nahuatl and published under the title, *Nahui Tonatiuh* ("Four Suns," 2015; see below). We continued the editorial project with two additional genres. *Chalchihuicozcatl* is a volume of poetry composed by Gustavo Zapoteco Sideño (2014). And two works include literary adaptations of local myths and stories: *Tototatahhuan ininix-tlamatiliz* (2015) was written by Eduardo de la Cruz Cruz from the region of Chicontepec in Veracruz; and *Tlahtolcozcatl. In tlapohual tlen mocaqui nican Tlaxcallan* (2015) was authored by Refugio Nava Nava and Beatriz Cuahutle from San Miguel Xaltipan in Tlaxcala. A special place in our series is reserved for the book *Nahui Tonatiuh*, a narrative based on the Aztec myth of four creations recorded in the sixteenth century. The initial version in Spanish was written by Isabel Bueno Bravo, a historian working on Aztec culture, and then translated into Tlaxcalan Nahuatl by Refugio Nava Nava and into Huastecan Nahuatl by Eduardo de la Cruz Cruz. With the exception of some popularized versions of the myth present in school texts, Nahuas today are

no longer aware of this aspect of their spiritual heritage: it remains within the closed domain of scholars and university students. Rewriting this fundamental creation story in modern Nahuatl, a project carried out with the collaboration of a Western scholar and indigenous intellectuals, has returned an aspect of today's native speakers' cultural heritage to them.

Fig. 4. Indigenous authors present their books published in the *Totlahtol Series*, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, August 2015

Fig. 5. Indigenous participants in the workshop organized in the Archivo General de la Nación read the Aztec myth of the Four Suns, written in modern Nahuatl, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, August 2015

Fig. 6. *Amatlamahuizolli* paper theatre, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, August 2015

Restoring modern Nahuas' access to the historical memory and legacy recorded in older Nahuatl writing is a fundamental moral duty for those of us who are ethnohistorians. For this reason, an important focus of our work has been to offer indigenous students the opportunity to read what their ancestors have written and then exchange their ideas about these readings, employing Nahuatl as the language of discussion. This is essential if native people are to successfully (re)construct their historical identity, deal with multi-generational trauma, and repair the low esteem associated with their languages and their roots. A practical way of supporting indigenous efforts to re-evaluate their identity are workshops, carried in modern Nahuatl and focusing on the reading and analysis of older Nahuatl manuscripts. We began these activities in 2014 at the above-mentioned Winter Nahuatl Institute in Cholula and continued them at the first *Nahuatl Document Analysis Workshop (XVI–XVIII Centuries) for Native Speakers* held in the Mexican National Archive in August of 2015, with the close collaboration and support of the authorities of this archive. Thirty speakers of Nahuatl from diverse communities in Mexico City and the states of Mexico, Puebla, Tlaxcala, Guerero, Oaxaca and Veracruz took part in the workshop activities, which were conducted entirely in Nahuatl.

Fig. 7. Participants in the workshop organized in the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, August 2015

Fig. 8. Workshop session, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, August 2015

The participants had the opportunity to personally examine three original manuscripts and then work together to transcribe, read and analyze them. The event was charged with excitement, because these documents constitute a key component in the formation of the historical identity of these modern heirs to the ancient Nahua culture and tradition. It was also a highly symbolic moment: the monumental space of the Mexican National Archive, heretofore the exclusive territory of mainstream scholars, resounded with the same spoken Nahuatl that was recorded over several centuries in hundreds of original documents once produced by native scribes in Nahua communities and now closed up within these walls. The workshop provided a window into the literature written by the ancestors of the event's participants, many of whom had been unaware of its very existence. Such activities allow them to directly experience the fundamental relation of continuity between older and modern Nahuatl language and culture. Indigenous people are conscious of the fact that they have been dispossessed of their heritage over a long period of time (cf. de la Cruz & de la Cruz, this volume). By facilitating their access to concrete elements of their cultural inheritance, we contribute to the reversal of this process. There is another reason why it is important for today's native speakers of Nahuatl to study texts written by their ancestors. These
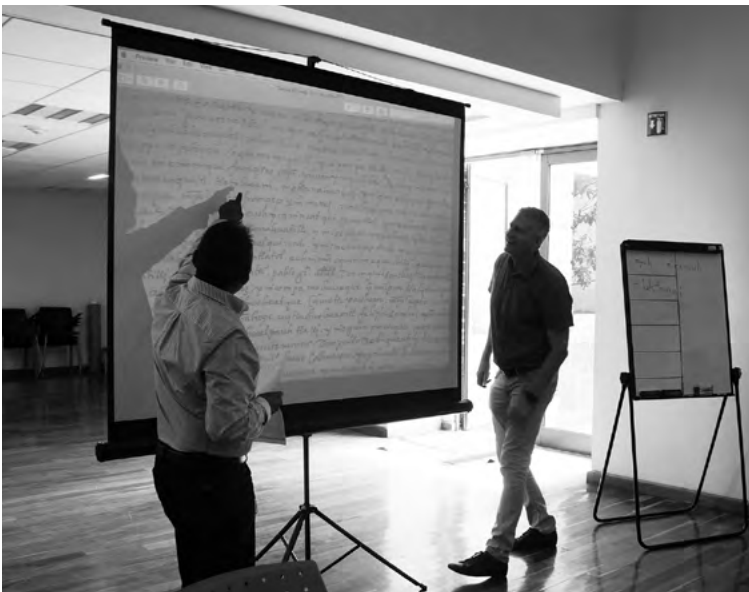
Fig. 9. Nahuatl speakers read and discuss archival documents in colonial Nahuatl, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, August 2015

materials contain many words and linguistics structures that have fallen out of use; however, Nahuas may choose to take advantage of this rich source of expressive tools by reincorporating them into modern speech and writing (Gruda, this volume).
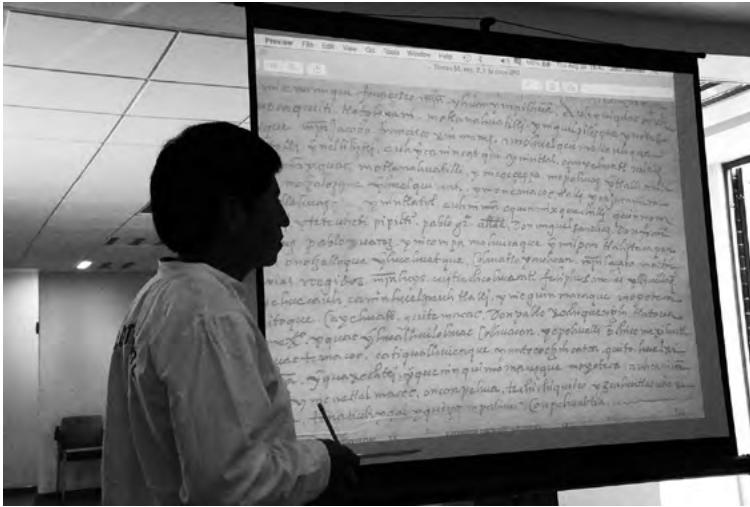
Fig. 10. Nahuatl speakers of Nahuatl read and discuss archival documents in colonial Nahuatl, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, August 2015

Back to the community

It is fascinating to witness ideas sown by real people who have the courage to take up the challenge of revitalizing their languages. Many of the seeds planted by our indigenous collaborators and partners have yet to sprout, but like the tender green maize plants in their communities at the onset of the rainy season, the first community-driven initiatives inspire much hope. In the Tlaxcalan community of San Miguel Xaltipan, where hardly any children and youths speak Nahuatl, where most adults abandoned the language years ago, where intergenerational transmission is waning, and where the sizeable group of passive speakers is a silent witnesses to the existence of the language heard daily in households in the past decades, a bold initiative has been undertaken by Beatriz Cuahutle Baustista, her mother Constantina Bautista Nava and the indigenous scholar Refugio Nava Nava. When we met Beatriz in 2014 she was an entirely passive speaker, raised by parents fully proficient

in Nahuatl. She grew up harboring a deep wish to save the language she had heard and understood since she was born, but did not speak. She was a student of linguistics at the local university, and we invited her to work with us in Poland, so that she could study colonial Nahuatl and work on her own research project related to contact-induced change in the Nahuatl spoken in her community. But we also told her that we wanted to learn Tlaxcalan Nahuatl and be able to speak with her. Several months later, when she arrived at Warsaw, it was apparent that she had been practicing her spoken Nahuatl, for she was able to converse in the language and continued to do so during the course of her stay in Poland. She even led Nahuatl language workshops in Wilamowice, where we collaborate with the local community to save their language. Older speakers of Nahuatl typically criticize and correct younger speakers as not fully proficient in the language, and Beatriz had grown up with this. But now, she had mustered up the courage to speak Nahuatl in public events such as the workshop in the Mexican National Archive and then, even more surprisingly, in the revitalization-oriented activities she co-organized in her own community, in front of her own people. She began to teach Nahuatl to children from her neighborhood in her home, and worked with them to put on theatrical performances in Nahuatl. Beatriz also wrote the first practical manual for teaching her variant of Nahuatl, and she works, along her mother, in a Tlaxcalan hospital as a translator helping indigenous

Fig. 11. Community-based indigenous empowerment workshop, San Miguel Xaltipan, Tlaxcala, Mexico, August 2015

patients to receive attention in their own language, as part of an innovative state program. In August of 2015, Refugio Nava Nava, Beatriz, and other members of the community organized a special cultural "Nahuatl event" in Xaltipan, along with a community-empowerment workshop that was attended by many Nahua activitsts, teachers, writers and community workers from other regions. Together with sixteen other community members they formed the association, "Grupo Cultural Totlahtol," and organized the first Nahuatl *posada*, or Christmas event, for the community. They now plan to launch a community-driven language revitalization program.

The consequences of the Mexican educational system's transmission of negative language ideology in indigenous communities during the past decades is no less than an absolute disaster. Bilingualism has become more and more "substitutive," and the ever growing percentage of passive speakers will not pass the language on to the next generation: intergenerational transmission has been weakened or broken. These tendencies are clearly aggravated by changes in local economy that undermine traditional agriculture and ways of living. The result is a drastic increase in wage-based work and migration, which reduces the traditional economy to complementary sources of income. Looking at these changes holistically, and especially in more urbanized communities such as San Miguel Xaltipan, it is essential to recognize that languages are based on local systems of knowledge which in turn are grounded in ways of life composed of mutually complementing components. Preserving these systems is crucial for the preservation of local languages (Nettle & Romaine 2000: 165; Bergier 2014), while their profound transformation often entails language shift. Traditional cultural and economic systems can only survive and prosper where their members retain control over the resources upon which they depend, the mechanisms of knowledge transmission, and the key activities that daily reconstitute, redefine and reintegrate their communities. Factors such as the state economy, poverty, migration, Western-style education and discriminating language policies have undermined, displaced and even disintegrated the forms of organization and the knowledge systems employed by the Nahuas and other indigenous communities in the Americas.

Some of these processes may be irreversible. But what is most important now is to come up with new strategies to counter and reverse widespread language shift and create spaces for the use of local languages in new economic and social circumstances. This poses special challenges and demands heightened awareness from external institutions and scholars that engage in revitalization programs and community-based activities. The success of Nahuatl

revitalization efforts in the coming years will depend to a large degree on the empowerment of native speakers from different regions of Mexico that will collaborate with each other in the planning and implementation of projects for the development of their language and culture. However, external/international support will be crucial for overcoming negative attitudes and helping to make communities' voices heard. One element of this commitment is the special role that ethnohistorians, anthropologists, linguists and other professionals will play in recovering historical identity, and sharing knowledge about the past and present of indigenous cultures; in effect, bridging the perceived gap between preconquest and modern times in favor of cultural continuity. We must strive to raise the prestige of endangered languages in academic circles and the broader society by promoting informed and committed teaching and research, and by harnessing the mass media for the dissemination of knowledge about indigenous life. As academics, we must take the step that bridges the gap between the ivory tower where we and the knowledge we produce are trapped, and the endangered languages used by living communities of speakers, coming from the past, but oriented toward the future.

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Colonial Dictionaries as Lexical Resources for the Revitalization of Modern Nahuatl[1]

SZYMON GRUDA
Faculty of "Artes Liberales"
University of Warsaw

Introduction

The purpose of the present paper is to propose the use of the colonial dictionaries of Nahuatl language, especially the Spanish-Nahuatl dictionary compiled by Fray Alonso de Molina and the anonymous so-called *Vocabulario trilingüe*, as valuable sources that can be used in the process of revitalization of the modern varieties of the same language, namely in the process of enrichment or modernization of the Nahuatl vocabulary and its adjustment to the requirements of the modern world. In the following text, I will attempt to substantiate the necessity, admissibility and possibility of such a lexical innovation as well as defend the use of the colonial Nahuatl texts in general and the colonial dictionaries of the language in particular in the process of language planning. An appendix to the article contains a list of exemplary terms excerpted from the aforementioned vocabularies, which seem to have a potential for being successfully reintroduced into modern Nahuatl.

Revitalization of an endangered or an extinct language is a specific case of language planning, an effort aimed at influencing the linguistic behavior of a given group of speakers and therefore affecting the status, structure and acquisition of a language (King 2001: 23; Fishman 1974a). In the case of

revitalization of an endangered language whose number of speakers and range of the situations in which it is used is decreasing, the intended effect of this influence is to stop or reverse the existing trend and to enable the stabilization or even the enhancement of its range of use.

Kloss (1969) proposes a basic division of language planning into *status planning*, which involves decisions about the functioning of a language in the society, and *corpus planning*, involving decisions regarding the linguistic system itself. The second aspect of language planning has been often criticized by some linguists, championing a purely descriptive approach to the language. Nevertheless, this critical approach to language planning in the academic community of linguists changed significantly (Zimmermann 1999; Tauli 1974). Language planning, including corpus planning, has been widely and successfully employed in numerous societies and for numerous languages regardless of the opinion of linguists. Among the examples of corpus planning which are commonly accepted within respective linguistic communities, we can list the activity of various official regulatory bodies, but also the organizations or publications that lack the official or governmental recognition but, due to the social prestige and authority, wield a significant influence on the linguistic habits of the language speakers. Language planning, both in the domain of the status and the corpus planning, is also employed extensively as a part of the language revitalization programs (Sallabank 2011). Fishman (1974a: 25–26) argues that the proper question is not: *could* or *should* a language be planned, but merely *how* to plan a language effectively.

Moreover, the two basic aspects of language planning are not mutually independent. Zimmermann (1999: 17) points out that the success of status planning also requires employment of corpus planning in many cases and, moreover, corpus planning is often motivated by the purpose of changing the language status. This seems to be true especially in the case of the endangered languages whose marginalization by another dominant language often also influences the linguistic system itself, usually impeding its development. Especially with respect to vocabulary, the exclusive or almost exclusive use of the dominant language in certain domains of life discourages or even disables the development of a lexis concerning these domains, whose lack, in turn, reinforces the language marginalization and disuse. Corpus planning seems to be at least one of the ways that could break this vicious circle, along with the organizational and political activities belonging to the domain of status planning.

Language revitalization and vocabulary modernization

In most cases, language endangerment occurs in a situation of the presence of another language (a dominant language), often an official language of a nation-state, which co-exists with a minority language (O'Shannessy 2011: 78). In a typical situation, a dominant language is used in official situations, including religious observances, political and legal affairs, education, academia, literature and – in modern times – mass media, while the minority language can remain a medium of everyday communication among family, friends and members of a local community. Such a situation, known as *diglossia*, sometimes remains stable, but often a dominant language has a tendency to widen its range of use at the cost of a minority language or languages (Tsunoda 2006: 66, 70–75). Even if the speakers of a minority language continue to use it in a restricted number of situations, the dominant language can widen its relative range of use when a new domain of communication arises, for example as a consequence of a technological, economical or social change.

The situation described in a foregoing paragraph arises usually as the consequence of a number of factors, including political, sociological, economical and cultural ones. Such marginalization also influences the language itself, in terms of the vocabulary in the first place; when the use of a minority language becomes restricted to only a number of domains, the language often stops responding to the changes in the extra-linguistic reality by creating new lexical items. In the case of languages with a narrowing range of use, the loss of an absolute number of lexical items, as well as grammatical complexity, occurs (Thomason 2015: 57–59) – a process known as language decay. It can be especially visible in the case of the currently marginalized languages that, at some point in the past, played the role of an official and/or literary language and of which we currently have a corpus of written texts from this time at our disposal.

The process of reversing this trend, i.e. influencing a language so that its speakers can use it in an increased number of domains characteristic to the social, political and technological reality of a modern nation-state, is often called language modernization (Fishman 1974b). As the term is intuitively understandable and generally used by theorists, I will use it in the present article without regard to its literal or etymological meaning, which seems to be slightly inadequate in the context of the reintroduction of the lexical items from the variant of a language which was actually used in the distant past.

Lexical modernization of a language employs the same processes by which the new lexical items are normally created in a language: 1) borrowing of the lexical items from another language, and 2) creating neologisms from the existing morphemes of a language, either 2a) based on internal morphological and lexical mechanisms, i.e. without an influence of another language or 2b) using another language's lexical items as a model (lexical and semantic calques). Yet another possibility is the creation of new morphemes *ex nihilo*; although it did in fact occur in the history of language planning – most notably in the case of Estonian (Tauli 1974: 53) – has only a marginal significance and does not seem to possess any advantages over the two former processes, which could balance its obvious disadvantages.

There are no absolute criteria for deciding which of the possible strategies for introducing new lexical items into a language is most appropriate. The opinion that borrowings from other languages should be avoided at all cost (linguistic purism) is seriously flawed, as lexical borrowing is, in fact, a very effective tool for the vocabulary enrichment, employed by most of the worlds' languages, albeit in different proportions. In the case of endangered, marginalized languages, however, the extensive borrowing from a dominant language can lead to the further linguistic erosion and accelerate the process of language death (Thomason 2015: 64–65). In consequence, in a specific case of the revitalization of the endangered languages, creation of neologisms and/or lexical or semantic calques seems to be a more appropriate means for vocabulary enhancement and modernization. This, of course, does not mean that the borrowings from a dominant language must be avoided at all costs or, all the more, that attempts to purify a language of loanwords that have already become commonly accepted as part of its vocabulary should be undertaken.

In a situation when the absolute number of lexical numbers is decreasing in a given language due to its marginalization, reintroduction of lexical items to current use can only be possible, if they are attested in any form, oral (e.g. in a voice recording) or written (Thomason 2015: 60). Many currently endangered languages do not possess a system of writing (or had not possessed it before it was created as part of revitalization efforts). However, the process of language endangerment and extinction does not spare the languages with the tradition of writing, even an extremely rich and long one. In fact, some of the languages that underwent the most successful revitalization, notably Hebrew and Irish Gaelic, have an impressive record of literary tradition, dating to the tenth century BCE and fourth century CE respectively.

If a language once possessed a written form, its historical forms recorded in writing constitute an exquisite source for lexical enrichment of that language. This strategy is particularly well documented in the case of Hebrew, in which many words from the language of the Bible were reintroduced, sometimes with an entirely new meaning, to the modern form of the language (Fellman 1974). From a linguistic point of view, this practice can be classified as a type of word borrowing, although the borrowing process occurs not between different languages but between different variants of the language.

The case of Nahuatl

The Nahuatl language, of the Uto-Aztecan family, is native to Central Mexico; before the arrival of Spaniards, it was already widespread in Mesoamerica, due to the political, cultural and economical influence of the ethnic groups that used it – above all the Mexica, known also as the Aztecs. In contrast to the Mayas, Nahua-speaking communities did not have a preconquest writing system, which would be able to render the language in its entirety, although a sophisticated system of graphical representations with phonetic elements served many functions successfully, which in other cultures are fulfilled by writing. Aztec culture, however, remained predominantly an oral one, with the historical traditions, religious texts, poetry and wisdom literature memorized and reproduced by the specialists with the help of the pictographic materials.

After the conquest, Nahuatl continued to thrive for the next several centuries and even expanded its range of use significantly. The linguistic policy of the Spanish crown changed several times, but until the second half of the seventeenth century, there were no significantly effective efforts for Hispanization of the indigenous population. The Nahuatl language was embraced as a language of Christianization by the Catholic friars *de facto* since the very first years and *de lege* by the edict of Philip II in 1570 (Olko 2014: 180); it was also widely used in the administration on the local level, in which many indigenous institutions were preserved.

The arrival of Spaniards entailed a chain of changes in the Nahuatl language, one of which – and not the least significant one – was the adoption of literacy in the Latin alphabet. The numerous texts written in Nahuatl were created by Europeans, especially friars, along with their indigenous collaborators – the catechisms, sermons, religious plays, grammars and vocabularies and also works which we could call ethnographic. Soon, however, this new and

powerful tool was also adopted by the indigenous people themselves who had their own goals, often contrary to those of the Spaniards, and used in order to renegotiate their own situation in the new political, economical and cultural reality (Olko 2014). Colonial literacy in the Nahuatl language cannot, therefore, be seen only as a foreign element imposed by the conquerors, but as one of those elements of the dominant culture, which were successfully adopted and appropriated by indigenous Mexicans.

The rapid and drastic change in almost every aspect of life that occurred in the decades and centuries after the Spanish arrival entailed an equally rapid and overwhelming linguistic change in Nahuatl, as well as in the other languages of the region. This change, at least during the first centuries after the conquest, was of a different nature than the changes currently occurring in Nahuatl due to its marginalization and endangerment. The Nahuatl language responded to the challenges of its new reality by increasing its richness, especially in the domain of vocabulary. Numerous existing lexical units expanded or changed their meaning and many more new words emerged, created by the means of neologism, and later by borrowing (Lockhart 1992).

In a parallel way to lexical change occurring spontaneously, the Nahuatl vocabulary also increased due to actions that cannot be called anything other than the corpus planning. Confronted with a Herculean task of translating the concepts of the Catholic religion – rooted strongly in the Biblical Hebrew spirituality, Greek philosophy and Roman traditions of law and organiza- tion – into a language shaped by an entirely different cultural and religious traditions, the European friars had to create an entirely new functional style of a language, which would, at the same time, be understandable for the native speakers. This was made partly by re-using native Nahuatl words and ascribing them to the new concepts, but also by coining new lexical items on the base of existing Nahuatl morphemes and internal rules of compounding and derivation characteristic to this language. It is worth pointing out that, although European friars were the architects of this enterprise, the Nahuas participated in it extensively, which was, especially in the first stage of the contact, a necessary condition of success (Burkhart 1989).[2]

Although the catechization gave the first impulse to this act of corpus planning, an identical strategy was also employed by the indigenous authors, an example of which we will see in the following part of this paper, and for

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[2] The question of the indigenuous participation in the process of creation of the earliest Christian texts in Nahuatl is one of the subjects of a dissertation, which is currenty being written by Katarzyna Granicka at the Faculty of "Artes Liberales" in the University of Warsaw.

their own goals. Consequently, similarly to the literary tradition in general, creation of these new lexical resources cannot be seen merely as an intrusion into a language, but also as the Nahuatl linguistic community's own response to the challenges of the changing reality.

The vocabularies of colonial Nahuatl as a source for vocabulary modernization

From the vast and diversified corpus of the colonial Nahuatl written texts, I have chosen two dictionaries, both of them created in the sixteenth century, at a relatively early stage of the linguistic and cultural contact: Alonso de Molina's *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana* (1571) and an anonymous manuscript dictionary known as the *Vocabulario trilingüe* of the Newberry Library (Chicago, Illinois) Vault Ayer MS 1478. The vocabularies seem to be an especially useful source from the point of view of the vocabulary enrichment, because the very purpose of their creation was to document the lexical resources of the language. Consequently, comparing to any other genre of writing, vocabularies contain the greatest number of lexical items belonging to the greatest variety of the language's registers and concerning different aspects of life. The fact that the early colonial dictionaries of Nahuatl were heavily influenced by existing European dictionaries, especially the lexicographical work of Alonso de Nebrija (Ringmacher 1997: 85–86), means also that many lexical items were documented not because of their frequency of use in Nahuatl but of the (real or perceived) appropriateness as the equivalents of the terms used in the model dictionaries.

The *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana* by fray Alonso de Molina, first published in 1571 in Mexico, is historically probably the most important and influential dictionary of Nahuatl, still useful after more than four centuries. It was criticized from the nineteenth century onward by some linguists, most importantly by Wilhelm von Humboldt, as containing incorrect linguistic material, unacceptable by the native speakers (Ringmacher 1997: 77). This objection, however, can be seen in a different light if we treat the discussed features of the work of Molina not as a failed attempt for language description but as an example of successful corpus planning. One can nevertheless object to the adequacy of the Molina's linguistic creations on the ground that he was not an indigenous speaker of Nahuatl language, but a Spaniard born in

Europe, who acquired Nahuatl as a second language, even if probably at the very early age after his parents moved to New Spain when he was a child. It is, however, worth noting that native Nahuatl speakers participated in the process of creation of this dictionary and that we know a name of at least one of them, a certain don Hernando de Ribas (Ringmacher 1997: 82, 84).

These objections do not apply in the case of the second source discussed, the so-called *Vocabulario trilingüe* of the Newberry Library in Chicago, Illinois (Vault Ayer, MS 1478). It is an anonymous manuscript consisting of a copy of *Dictionarium ex hispaniensi in latinum sermonem* of Elio Antonio de Nebrija (first published in 1494) and the Nahuatl equivalents of about the 70% of the Spanish and Latin lemmas. Although the exact date and the circumstances of its creation remain unknown, it is presumably dated to the fourth decade of the sixteenth century, which makes it one of the early Nahuatl written texts and the earliest extant lexicographical work on Nahuatl (Tellez Nieto 2010: 182–183). What makes it especially interesting, and also especially useful as a source of the vocabulary modernization, is its indigenous origin. Some features of the manuscript, including numerous mistranslations of the Spanish terms, practically exclude the possibility that the main creator of the work was a Spaniard. The *Vocabulario trilingüe* should consequently be seen as a creation of an indigenous author intended as a dictionary of Spanish for the use of the speakers of Nahuatl (Clayton 2003).

Similarly to fray Alonso de Molina, the indigenous author of the *Vocabulario trilingüe* did not restrict himself barely to documenting the existing state of the language, but also created new lexical items, employing them to the explanation of the concepts alien to Nahua culture (Clayton 2003). Consequently, the *Vocabulario trilingüe* is probably the most striking example of deliberate corpus planning on the part of a person from within the Nahuatl-speaking community in the colonial period.

The additional advantage of the aforementioned dictionaries as sources for selecting the lexical material that could serve in the process of the lexical enrichment is the fact that both of them, especially the earlier *Vocabulario trilingüe*, only contain a very limited number of loanwords from Spanish. Both vocabularies were created in the sixteenth century, when the time span of language contact was still relatively short and the knowledge of Spanish among the indigenous inhabitants of New Spain was not so common as in the following epochs; consequently the general number of lexical items borrowed from Spanish was still rather small comparing to the later stages of contact.

Analysis of the selected lexical material

From both dictionaries the 154 lemmas (40 from Molina and 114 from the *Vocabulario Trilingüe*), which seem to be potentially useful in the modern reality, were selected and included on a list appended to this article. They are divided into several groups, according to the topics they concern: basic legal and economic terms, state, public affairs and basic political terms, science and humanities (philosophy and theory of science, mathematics, geometry and cryptography, science, medicine and biology, engineering, social science and humanities, linguistics and philology, academic life), terms concerning literature, music and fine arts (classical and modern literary genres, rhetoric and literary theory, fine arts, theory of music). The list is supplemented with several terms (written in italic) which are not attested in any of the dictionaries, but which can be easily derived from the attested ones.

Apart from the division by topics, the terms can be also divided in several groups according to the linguistic processes by which they were probably created: meaning change, creation of neologisms uninfluenced by the other languages and calques (semantic and lexical). However, it is often difficult or even impossible to decide to which one of these categories a given term belongs.

Meaning change. This category consists of the words which presumably existed in the pre-colonial Nahuatl, but in the source dictionaries they are listed as equivalents of Spanish terms for concepts which are in some way characteristic of European culture. This could occur either because of a spontaneous semantic evolution of a given term during the postconquest times or, because the author of one of the dictionaries used it in a meaning slightly different from the usual one. The examples include the term *tlamatilíztli*,[3] whose basic meaning is simply 'knowledge,' but was used by the author of the *Vocabulario trilingüe* in order to render the concept of 'philosophy' or *tecutlato*, a preconquest word for a 'counselor,' used by Molina for the 'senator' of Classical antiquity. Sometimes the meaning change is very subtle, e.g. in the case of the term *nauatilli*, for which the *Vocabulario Trilingüe* gives the meaning of 'law.' The word itself is a patientive noun derived from the verb *nahuatiā*, meaning 'to order'; its pre-conquest meaning could have oscillate between 'order,' 'law' and 'obligation.' However, only after the conquest, with all the cultural and administrative changes that followed (especially

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[3] The Nahuatl terms which are attested in Molina or the *Vocabulario trilingüe* are cited in the original orthography. However, when a Nahuatl word is used as representing an abstract lexical item, I follow the orthography employed by Karttunen (1983).

the introduction of writing), the word could acquire a meaning of 'positive, statutory, written law' whose presence is characteristic for both the sixteenth-century Spanish Empire and the modern world of nation-states.

In all the foregoing examples, the meaning change occurred by the process of identification of some element of the pre-colonial Nahua culture with an element of the Spanish or European culture that seemed to be similar in any manner (e.g. term for 'knowledge' is used in a new meaning 'philosophy,' which is a special kind of knowledge). In several cases, however, other semantic mechanisms were employed. For example, the verb *tlacxitoca*, meaning literally 'to follow something's footprints' is used by de Molina as referring to the concept of 'collating texts' by the mechanism of metaphor.

Neologisms uninfluenced by the other languages. This category consists of those Nahuatl terms that were created out of the original Nahuatl morphemes and without a tangible influence of any non-Nahuatl language on its structure and meaning. In postconquest Nahuatl the massive creation of neologisms was one of the most widespread ways the language responded to the rapidly changing reality. In the material selected from the dictionaries, the neologisms are also present. The examples of this category include perhaps *tlapoalmachóni*, lit. 'an instrument for counting' for 'algorism' or *tecemaxcateucuitlanete ̧to*(*n*) *tilli*, lit. 'common effect of saving gold' for 'public treasury.'

Lexical and semantic calques. While the two former categories consist of the lexical items created from the language's own resources, without a tangible proof of the influence of another language, in the case of lexical calques the matter of the lexical items – the lexical and derivational morphemes – remain indigenous, but the influence of an external language is visible in the internal structure of a term, which in a way renders the internal structure of a model word. The examples of this process in the selected material are copious. Interestingly, the source language of the majority of the terms is not Spanish, as it is in the case of more mundane vocabulary, but above all the classical languages of the European civilization: Latin and Greek. Apparently, for both Molina and the anonymous author of the *Vocabulario trilingüe* translation of a Greek or Latin term used in Spanish was an acceptable and maybe even obvious way of creating the European-type cultured vocabulary in Nahuatl. For example, the concept of 'philosophy,' which the *Vocabulario trilingüe* translates simply as *tlamatilíztli* 'knowledge,' is rendered by Molina as *tlamatiliztlaçotaliztli*, 'love of knowledge' which is an exact translation of the Greek term; similarly the term for 'consonant' listed in the *Vocabulario trilingüe* is *teuancaquíztini*, lit. 'something which sounds together

with someone else,' which reproduces the internal structure of the Latin term *consonans* 'sounding with.'

Such a straightforward translation of a Latin or Greek term was not always possible, partially because of a different typological profile of these languages and Nahuatl: while in all the three languages both derivation and compounding are possible, derivation is more prevalent in Latin and Greek and in Nahuatl compounding plays much greater role as a mechanism of creating new lexical items. For example, the Greek term *boukolikē* 'bucolic' is derived from the noun *boukolos* 'a cowherd' by the means of a derivational affix. In the *Vocabulario trilingüe*, however, the Nahuatl equivalent of this term is *quaquauepixcacuícatl*, 'cowherd's song,' lit. 'song of those who guard the horned entities'; the Greek bound morpheme is rendered in Nahuatl by the element *cuīcatl* 'song,' which is a free morpheme and a noun on its own right. Nevertheless the Nahuatl term is a lexical calque from Greek, and the differences result only from the structural differences of both languages.

In many cases, the presence of a lexical calque is less obvious and it is hard to decide if a Nahuatl word was influenced by a Spanish, Latin or Greek one or if the similarities in the internal structure or the literal meaning of the terms in different languages result simply from the fact that they relate to the same concept or at least to a very similar one. For example, the Nahuatl term for 'astronomy' listed in the *Vocabulario Trilingüe*, *citlallamatilíztli*, means literally 'knowledge of stars,' which is relatively similar to the literal meaning of a Greek term *astronomia* from *astron* 'star' and *nomos* meaning 'law, order, arrangement, custom, culture.' On the other hand, the 'knowledge of stars' is a very simple and very accurate definition of the astronomy and it is possible that the Nahuatl term *cītlallamatiliztli* comes from preconquest times. Similarly, the term *amotlamilíztli* for 'infinity' has a similar structure to the Latin noun *infinitas*, for both are derived by means of a negative prefix from a root meaning 'to end'; it is difficult, however, to imagine any other way of defining the 'infinity.'

Loanwords. Because of the limited utility of the Spanish loanwords for the vocabulary modernization of modern Nahuatl, no loanword was selected on a list as a lemma on its own right. In two cases, however, a nominal root borrowed from Spain was used as a part of compounding: *letramacholóni* 'grammar,' lit. 'an instrument for knowing letters,' which structurally is a calque from Greek *grammatikē* (from *gramma* 'letter') and *tlacotono* 'semitone,' a calque from Spanish *semitono* or Latin *semitonus*.

Conclusions

As marginalization affects not only the status and use of an endangered language, but also the linguistic system itself, leading to a loss of the over-all language complexity and drastic reduction of the lexical repertory, the efforts aimed at the language revitalization, in order to be successful, in many cases should include elements of corpus planning. Especially the vocabulary enrichment or modernization often seems indispensable for making it possible for a language to be used in an increased range of communicational situations. In the case of languages with a rich literary tradition, like Nahuatl, extant texts written in an older variety of the language constitute an excellent source for reintroducing lexical items into modern varieties of the same language; the dictionaries – if they exist – are especially useful for this goal.

In the case of Nahuatl, we are fortunate to have a significant number of lexicographical works from the colonial times, written mainly by Catholic friars of European origin in cooperation with indigenous informers, but at least in one case by an indigenous author. Designed to serve for linguistic instruction by friars and secular priests, apart from the everyday or mundane vocabulary, they contain also a vast number of the lexical items referring to religion, theology and philosophy, science and humanities, law and admi-nistration. Many of those words can be successfully reintroduced to the modern Nahuatl, thus filling the lexical gaps that emerged as the result of the linguistic marginalization.

Appendix

List of terms excerpted from the two colonial dictionaries of Nahuatl, which seem to have a potential of being useful in the process of enrichment of the modern Nahuatl. The list is organized by topic and the terms within every category are sorted alphabetically according to the (usually verbal) roots. The source of every term is given: M for Alonso de Molina's *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana*, Mexico 1571 and VT for an anonymous and manuscript *Vocabulario Trilingüe*. Several Nahuatl terms are given in italics; this means that they are not attested literally in the sources, but they can be derived from attested terms by simple operations (e.g. deverbal nouns created from verbal stems).

Root	Nahua term	Source	Meaning
Basic legal terms			
ILHUIĀ	*motēilhuiā*	–	to claim
	motēilhuiāni	VT	claimant
	netēilhuiliztli	–	claim
	netēilhuiliztlahtōlli	M	court trial
ĪXPAHUIA	motēīxpahuiani	VT	claimant
	motēīxpahuia	–	to claim
	netēīxpahuiliztli	–	accusation
	tētēīxpahuia	VT	to accuse
	tētēīxpahuiliztli	VT	accusation
	tētēīxpahuilōni	VT	accusatory; accused
IXTLĀHUA	tētlaxtlāhualtiliztli	M	fine
NELTILIĀ	tlaneltiliā	VT	to witness
	tlaneltiliāni	VT	witness (n)
NAHUATIĀ	tētēnahnahuatiliā	VT	to accuse
	tētēnanahuatiliāni	VT	accuser
	tētēnahnahuatiliztli	VT	accusation
	tētēnahnahuatilōni	VT	accusatory
TLAHTŌLMĀNAHUIĀ	tētlahtōlmānahuiā	VT	to defend
	tētlahtōlmānahuiāni	VT	defence attorney
	tētlahtōlmānahuiliztli	VT	defence
TLAHTŌLPALĒHUIĀ	tētlahtōlpalēhuiā	VT	to defend
	tētlahtōlpalēhuiāni	VT	defence attorney
	tētlahtōlpalēhuiliztli	VT	defence
TLAMACHIĀ	tētlamachiā	VT	to arbitrate
	tētlamachiliztli	VT	arbitration

Root	Nahua term	Source	Meaning
TZONTEQUILIZTLAMATIĀ	tlatzontequiliztlamatiliztli	M	legal profession
	tlatzontequiliztlamatini	M	lawyer
Basic economic terms			
CŌHUA	tlacōhualōni	M	currency
PATIUHMACHIYŌTIĀ	patiuhmachiyōtl	M	mortgage (n)
	tēpatiuhmachiyōtiā	M	to mortgage
State, politics and public affairs			
CEMĀXCĀTEŌCUITLA-NETETZOTIĀ	tēcemāxcāteōcuitlanetetzotilli	VT	public treasure
ĪXQUETZA	tēīxquetzaliztli	VT	constitution
	tlaīxquetza	–	to elect
	tlaīxquetzaliztli	VT	elections
	tlaīxquetzalli	VT	elected person
	tlaīxquetzani	–	elector, voter
MACHTIĀ	tēmachtiliztli	VT	doctrine
NAHUATIA	tēnahuatia	M	to license
	tenahuatiliztli	M	license (n)
	tlanahuatīlli	M	licensed
NAHUATĪLPOLOĀ	nahuatīlpoloā	VT	to remove a law
	nahuatīlpolōliztli	VT	law removal
NŌNŌTZALLAHTOA	nenōnōtzallahtōlli	VT	decree
TĒUCTLI	tēuctequitl	M	public office.
	tētēuctītlantli	VT	ambassador
	tētēuctītlaniliztli	VT	embassy
	tēuctlahtoāni	M	senator
	tēuctlahtoliztli	M	senate
	tēuctlahtolōyān	VT	senate
TLAHTOANI	tlahtohcānetlacuilli	M	public debt
TZONTEQUI	tētlatzontequiliāni	–	censor (n)
	tēntētlatzontequiliāni	VT	censor (n)
	tlatzontequiliā	–	to censor
	tlatzontequiliztli	VT	censure
Science and humanities—general terminology			
ĀMOXTLI	tlanemilizāmoxtli	M	theoretical handbook
	tlatēmolizāmoxtli	M	theoretical handbook
HUEHCAPANILNAMIQUI	tlahuehcapanilnāmiquilizmachōlōni	VT	speculative science
	tlahuehcapanilnāmiquini	VT	speculative
MATI	tlamatōni	VT	discipline

Root	Nahua term	Source	Meaning
NOHNOTZA	tēnohnōtzaliztli	VT	discipline
TLACHIYALIĀ	tētlachiyaliā	VT	to speculate
	tētlachiyaliztli	VT	speculation

Philosophy and theory of science

MATI	tlamatiliztli	VT	philosophy
TLACHIHUALICELIZMATI	iztlacatlachīhualicelizmatiliztli	VT	sophistry
	motlachīhualicelizmachtiā	VT	to philosophize
	moztlacatlachīhualiceliz-machtiāni	VT	sophist
	tlachihualicelizmatini	VT	philosopher
TLAMATILIZTLAZOHTLA	tlamatiliztlazohtla	M	to philosophize
	tlamatiliztlazohtlaliztli	M	philosophy
	tlamatiliztlazohtlani	M	philosopher

Mathematics, geometry and cryptography

OHUIHCĀHCUILOĀ	tlaohuihcāihcuiloā	M	to cipher
	tlaohuihcāihcuilōliztli	M	cipher (n)
	tlaohuihcāihcuilōlli	M	ciphered text
PŌHUA	tlapōhualmachōni	VT	algorism
MACHIYŌTL	cuahuītzticmachiyōtl	VT	pyramid (geometry)
	chiucnāuhcānnacaceh machiyōtl	VT	enneagon
	chi*come*cānnacaceh machiyōtl	VT	heptagon
	chicuacēcānnacaceh machiyōtl	VT	hexagon
	chicuēxcānnacaceh machiyōtl	VT	octogon
	mācuīlcānnacaceh machiyōtl	VT	pentagon
	mahtlaccānnacaceh machiyōtl	VT	decagon
	nāuhcānnacaceh machiyōtl	VT	square (geometry)
	yexcannacaceh *machiyōtl*	VT	triangle
TLAMI	ahmōtlamiliztli	VT	infinity
	ahmōtlamini	VT	infinite
	ahmōtlanca	VT	infinitely
TLĀLLI	tlālmachiyōtiāni	VT	geometrist
	tlālmātocaliztli	VT	geometry

Science

CĪTLALLAMATI	cītlallamatiliztli	VT	astronomy
	cītlallamatini	VT	astronomer
PĒHUA	pēuhcāyōtl	VT	element
	tlapēuhcāyōtl	M	element
TZĪNTIĀ	tlatzīntiliztli	VT	element
	tlatzīntilōni	M	elemental

Root	Nahua term	Source	Meaning
Biology, medicine, pharmacy			
CHIYEMĀTL	chiyemācalli	VT	apothecary
COCOĀ	cocoxcātlacualli	VT	diet
PAHTIĀ	tēīxpahtiāni	VT	ophtalmologist
	tēīxpahtiliztli	–	ophthalmology
	īxpahtli	VT	ophthalmology
	mazāpahtiāni,	–	veterinarian
	mazāpahtiliztli	VT	veterinary medicine
	tēnacazpahtiāni	VT	otologist
	tēnacazpahtiliztli	–	otology
	tēpahtiāni	VT	physician
	tēpahtilōni	VT	medicine
	tēpalāncāpahtiāni	VT	surgeon
	tēpalāncāpahtiliztli	–	surgery
TĪCI-TL	mazātīcitl	VT	veterinarian
TLAHUĒHUETZQUĪTIĀ	tētlahuēhuetzquītiā	VT	to be a parasite
	tētlahuēhuetzquītih	VT	parasite
Engineering			
CALLI	callamatiliztli	VT	architecture
	callamatini	VT	architect
	calquetzaliztli	VT	architect
	calquetzani	VT	architecture
CHĪHUA	tlachihchīhuani	VT	construction
Social science and humanities			
CĀHUITLAHTŌLMECA- PŌHUA	cāhuitlahtōlmecapōhualiztli	VT	history
	cāhuitlahtōlmecapōhuani	–	historian
HUĒHUETCĀYŌTLAZOHTLA	*huēhuetcāyōtlazohtlaliztli*	–	antiquarism
	huēhuetcāyōtlazohtlani	VT	antiquarian
ĪXTLAMACHTIĀ, NIC-	tēīxtlamachtiāni	VT	pedagogue
	tēīxtlamachtiliztli	–	pedagogy
Linguistics and philology			
CAQUI	caquiztini	VT	vowel
ICXITOCA	tlacxitoca	M	to collate texts
	tlacxitoctli	M	collated texts
LETRAH	letrahmachōlōni	VT	grammar
MELĀHUACĀIHCUILOĀ	tlamelāhuacāihcuiloāni	VT	orthographer
	tlamelāhuacāihcuilolizli	–	orthography
NŌTZA	tēnōtzalōni	VT	vocative case

Root	Nahua term	Source	Meaning
TĒHUĀN	tēhuāncaquiztini	VT	consonant
TZONCUEPA	tlatzoncuepaliztli	VT	verbal conjugation
Academic life			
MACHTĪĀ	nemachtīlcenemoāyān	VT	college
	tlamachtīliztēmachtiāni	M	professor
	tlamachtiliztēmachtilōyān	M	academic chair
Classical and modern literary genera			
CUĪCATL	āhuilcuīcatl	VT	comedy
	cuācuahuehpixcācuīcatl	VT	bucolic
	cuācuauhtēntzonehpixcācuīcatl	VT	eclogue
	mācēhualcuīcatl	VT	epithalamy
	miccācuīcatl	VT	threnody, lament
	netlazohtlacuīcatl	VT	elegy
	tēcuīquēhualiztli	VT	satire
	teōcuīcatl	VT	hymn
	tlaōcolcuīcatl	VT	tragedy
IHCUILOĀ	miccātlahcuilōlmachiyōtl	M	epitaph
IHTOĀ	tlahtōlmachiyōtl	M	parable
QUETZA	tlatlaquetzalli	VT	novella
YĒCTĒNĒHUA	miccāyēctēnēhualōni	VT	threnody, lament
	teōyēctēnēhualiztli	VT	hymn
Rhetorics and literary theory			
TĒCPILLAHTOĀ	tēcpillahtōliztli	VT	rhetorics
TLAHPALOĀ	tētlahpalolizmachtiliztli	M	rhetorics
NOHNŌTZA	tēnohnōtzalizmachtiliztli	M	eirstics
MACHIŌTIĀ	tlamachiyōtica	VT	figuratively
	tlamachiyōtilli	VT	figure of speech
Fine arts			
CALLI	cuauhcalli	VT	pinacotheca
IHCUILOĀ	huapallahcuilōlli	M	panel painting
	tilmahtlahcuilōlli	M	canvas painting
	tlatleihcuiloh	M	encaustic painting
	tlatleihcuilōliztli	–	encaustic technique
	tlatleihcuilōlli	–	encaustic painting
	tletica tlahcuiloh	M	encaustic painter
	tleticatlahcuilōliztli,	–	encaustic technique
	tleticatlahcuilōlli	–	encaustic painting

Root	Nahua term	Source	Meaning
Music			
CAQUI	caquiztini	VT	consonance
	cencaquiztiliztli	VT	harmony
	tēhuāncaquiztiliztli	VT	consonance
	tlacaquiztiliztli	M	note
CHALĀNI	chalāni	VT	to dissone
CUĪCATL	nāuhtēcuīcatl	M	quartet
NANALCA	nanalca	VT	to dissone
	nanalcaliztli	VT	dissonance
	nanalcani	VT	dissonant
	tozcananaltic	VT	dissonance
TONOH	tlahcotonoh	M	semitone
TOZQUI	tozquinenehuiliztli	M	consonance

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Becoming an Activist: a Self-Representation of Young European Campaigners for Minority Languages

NICOLE DOŁOWY-RYBIŃSKA
Institute of Slavic Studies
Polish Academy of Sciences

Introduction

The situation of minority languages in Europe today can best be described as paradoxical. In the past few decades, support for minority languages has been emerging in the form of institutional laws guaranteeing the speakers' rights (to function in education, media, the public space, the language landscape of selected regions), and financial support. Many languages have been included in the protection and revitalization programs carried out especially by local activists, with the support of linguists (e.g. Fishman 2001). At the same time, however, intergenerational transmission, considered by many researchers to be a necessary condition for language maintenance (Fishman 1991), has been substantially weakened. The increasing globalization trends and associated phenomena such as urbanization, mobility, migration and standardization of lifestyles (Bauman 2000; Appadurai 1996) have made it difficult even to define what a *speech community*[1] is today and how, with regard to modern linguistic minorities, to perceive the relationship between language and identity (Jaffe 2011). These categories are not apparent when we consider the years of linguistic and cultural assimilation, language ideologies (Schieffelin, Woolard & Kroskrity 1998; Marquis & Sallabank 2013) still existing in many regions,

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[1] A contemporary minority language community can include: native-speakers, people who have learned the language of the minority, people who use it, as well as people who know it, but never use it (see O'Rourke & Ramallo 2011). The group may therefore also include 'potential speakers', who should also be targeted by revitalization activities (Grenoble & Whaley 2006: 172).

the weakening of in-family language transmission, loosening ties within the group, language practices differing between generations and even individual families, and the acquisition of linguistic competence by the younger generation in school, not at home or in the community.

Language minorities currently function on the principle of Tönnies' (2001) *Gesellschaft*, and not just because of the shift in the area of human relationships, but also because of the way of participating in the minority culture. Identification with a group – especially in the case of young people brought up in a transcultural world (Appadurai 1996; Welsch 1999) – becomes a choice of each person. It is therefore based primarily on awareness and desire to belong to a given community. Both the awareness and desire must somehow be instilled or acquired. Identity is not the only subject of choice. The question of the use of a minority language by young people – both those who acquired it through intergenerational transmission, as well as those who have learned it at school as a second language – is not obvious. Peer pressure, pressure from popular culture and the ideology of success (in personal life, at work, etc.) are so strong that the decision to use a minority language is always difficult.

The fieldwork that I conducted allows me to argue my thesis that the awareness of belonging to a minority culture and the decision to use and promote a minority language are largely individual and depend on a combination of various factors. A conscious feeling of belonging to, and hence the commitment to, the given culture/language minority may depend on whether a young person grows up in a household where the minority language is respected, meets someone who will be able to inspire her/him, becomes friends with someone who is interested in the future of the community and its language, or joins a group for which participation in minority culture is important (see Corona Caraveo, Pérez & Hernández 2010). Young people who start to manifest interest in ethnic culture and to engage in the preservation of a minority language thus have a significant influence on their peers by creating a varied offer of cultural activities, through which they can create communities of practice which enable "a process of being active participants in the *practices* of social communities and constructing *identities* in relation to these communities" (Wenger 1998: 4). Through this process ethnically undecided individuals can acquire ethnic awareness, by forming a strong group that attracts others, and by initiating and carrying out actions opposing the current situation of a given group in such a way that their peers will also be able to join those activities. Therefore, the role

of young people committed to the minority, as well as language activists, can not be overestimated. It is therefore important to take a closer look at who the minority cultures young activists exactly are, how they entered into the life of the minority community, what motivated them to commit themselves to their culture and how they perceive their activism.

Methodology

This article makes use of ethnographic methodology inspired by sociolinguistics, with particular regard for the theme of young minority people's attitudes regarding their languages and cultures (Baker 1992; O'Rourke & Ramallo 2011; Wyman 2012; McCarthy 2011). This includes the issue of endangered languages, their revitalization (Fishman 1991; Hinton & Hale 2001; Marquis & Sallabank 2013), and the formation of collective identities of cultural and linguistic minorities in the contemporary world. It contains research on participation in social life, on civic participation (Yates & Youniss 1999; Percy-Smith & Thomas 2010; Shinn & Yoshikawa 2008; Sherrod, Torney-Purta & Flanagan 2010) and on ethnic mobilization (Olzac 1983; Giedrojć, Kowalewska & Mieczkowska 2012). Such an approach is also close to the ethnography of resistance (Ortner 1995) which aims to analyze how the actors of social movements 'understand themselves to be doing, their salient practices, and the explicit and implicit assumptions that seem to guide these practices' (Urla 2012: 202).

The research I conducted lends a voice to young representatives of minorities, making them speaking subjects. Between 2012 and 2014, with the aid of a grant from the National Science Center,[2] I conducted over a hundred anonymous, semi-structured interviews with young people (16–25 years) from four linguistic minorities – Kashubian, Upper Sorbian, Breton and Welsh – actively participating and/or involved in minority life and in language--related activities. The sociolinguistic context of each group is different. The Kashubian language is spoken by approx. 100,000 people, but the intergenerational transmission of the language was seriously weakened in the second half of the 20th century, so few members of the younger generation acquire it at home (Synak 1998; Mordawski 2005; Mazurek 2010).

In Upper Lusatia among the Catholic minority, the Sorbian language is still the primary medium of communication, but the linguistic community is very small, with a maximum approximately of 10,000 people (Elle 2010: 316; Walde 2004: 3–27). In Brittany, the intergenerational transmission of the language was largely interrupted after World War II. Most of the approximately 200,000 Breton language speakers belong to the oldest generation (Broudic 2009). There is however, an emerging group of *néo-bretonnants*, i.e. new Breton speakers – people who have learned Breton at school, university or during dedicated courses (Hornsby 2005). Welsh is used by about half a million people, especially in North Wales, where the transmission of the language has been preserved. However, despite language 'officialization', a number of measures implemented in favor of the Welsh, and the ever-increasing group of new Welsh speakers who are learning the language, the overall number of speakers is in decline (Morris 2010; Williams 2000). Regardless of the differences, there are young people in each of the four regions mentioned above who are not only willing to participate in the life of minorities, but have also started to become more involved in many types of activities on their behalf. Their own words and observations suggest that their motivations and perceptions on their involvement are similar enough, so that while looking at the roads to activism of specific individuals, I can use this cultural four-voice polyphony to compare the situation of different minority language groups.

The selection of respondents that are aware of their ethnicity, i.e. people who have 'chosen' their identity, minority language and who are engaged in activities for their preservation, raises the question of 'credibility' of these respondents (Bourdieu 1999). Activists, answering questions from a person who is outside their group and who is interested in how they see themselves in their relationship with the language and their participation in the minority culture, tend to present themselves in the most favorable light. As many of them have worked for the benefit of their culture and language for several years, they have become steeped in a specific disco-urse relating to endangered languages and cultures; they also know what arguments should be used to convince others that the action they take are right. Quotes of young people cited in the research paper should not be treated as the 'whole truth' about them, but as a specific version of self--representation, a portrait created by a particular group of young activists, because the very choice of details from their personal experiences and the way they present them, create meanings (Seidman 2006: 1). Young people

become the narrators of the stories they want to present to the researcher. As such, the presented image is the result of negotiations between their experiences, what they consider as positive, what they want to present, to dissemble, and what they believe the researcher would like to hear. They build the shared representations about who they are and how they want to be perceived (De Fina 2006: 351). As a group, however, they form a shared representation of who they are and how they would like to be perceived, "based on ideologies and beliefs about the characteristics of social groups and categories and about the implications of belonging to them" (De Fina 2006: 354). The way they perceive this group, results not only from an individual approach and upbringing, but also from the problems that they face as a group, and from the representation of the culture presently functioning in the collective consciousness of people around them.

The aim of the study is to present the factors that may be relevant in acquiring minority consciousness, to show how participation in cultural activities can lead to civic engagement, and how this engagement is transformed into activism. This portrait of young language activists will enable us to understand their motivations, the problems they face, and the actions they take. This recognition has a dual denotation. First of all, as researchers of this phenomenon state "without increased attention to how language activism develops, is implemented and organized, minority and endangered languages are unlikely to achieve the reinforcement of official language policies which support their use and existence" (Combs & Penfield 2012: 462). An understanding of what makes young people become involved and how this involvement affects them and others can be used by minority languages 'revitalizers', who try to encourage young people to participate in activities they organize. The researcher, by entering into the young activists' environment and encouraging them to reflect and articulate feelings related to language, culture, activism, may also influence individuals and their subsequent choices. In this respect, the study may fall under the category of 'engaged anthropology'. On the other hand, the comparative method enables general conclusions to be drawn regarding the attitudes of the younger generation towards language and their willingness to participate in the life of minorities.

The origins of engagement

Parents

The family home is the first reference group for young people. It is here that the socialization process begins. Values and practices brought from home create young people's social and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986) and will be reproduced by them in the future. The attitude of parents towards their own ethnicity and minority language is a crucial factor influencing what type of attitude young people will adopt or reject (Baker 1992: 109). Young people who live in homes where issues related to community and civil life are discussed, where parents themselves are involved in group activities or send positive signals about participation, show more interest and willingness to engage in such activities (McIntosh & Youniss 2010: 31). In the case of linguistic minorities, there can be two types of these positive signals. Firstly, upbringing in the minority language, parents using it actively while speaking to their children and other people in their immediate circle. Secondly, this can also be an attitude of openness to a minority language, even if the given language is not a tool of communication in the family: sending children to school and language courses where the minority language is taught, arguing that the language in question has value. This allows children to become familiar with the language and the situation of a minority group, and later on to find their own place in the group. This is what happened in the case of 25-year-old G., who became involved in a Sorbian educational institution.

> **G(M)25S**:[3] My mother taught Sorbian when she was still working. In addition, she participated in Sorbian courses in Bautzen. My dad is in a Sorbian amateur theater group. It is important for our family. My parents did not have to work hard to make us, the children, speak Sorbian. We were brought up that way; it was the only obvious way.

Parental attitudes are reflected even more in the case of civic and/or political engagement. For some young people "family values and practices also play a formative role, selecting young people for activism and reinforcing their commitment" (Sherrod 2006: 14). Research has shown that parental core values are often passed on to the younger generation. This is particularly evident in

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[3] Identifying method: symbol given to the speaker, gender ([F]emale / [M]ale), age, language ([S]orbian, [K]ashubian, [B]reton, [W]elsh).

the case of parents who themselves are activists or were in their youth, as they "were more likely to teach their children the importance of understanding others and of serving the common good" (see Franz & McClelland 1994). A twenty-year-old Welshman involved in Cymdeithas yr Iaith and the Youth Section of Plaid Cymru, the Welsh national party, believes:

> **B(M)20W:** I think [my engagement] stared because of my uncle. He was very sensitive to this because he was actually arrested in the 1980s for protesting for a better status of the Welsh language. And he spent some time in jail. So, it passed onto me through family more than anything. (…) I think I was just born in it, it developed in me with time. It's always been there since I was little. Everyone wears Cymdeithas yr Iaith t-shirts, and stickers… It was always there. I just accepted it even before I actually understood why. But when you get older you really start to accept what is behind Cymdeithas yr Iaith and you want to defend the Welsh language and you want the best for Wales.

School

School plays an important role in integrating young people into a language community, especially when the children come from homes where the minority language is not used, and matters of cultural identity are not discussed. However, it is also important for children who have knowledge of the minority language from home. Firstly, school, which in previous eras reproduced an attitude of resentment and the reduction of the minority languages' importance (Bourdieu & Passeron 1990), has today become, in many cases, the place of production of new meanings related to the situation of minorities in the modern world. These values are passed on through a network of connections created around a young person that links them with other students, teachers and staff. This way, by creating "new communities of practice and meaning" the school plays an important part in defining both the linguistic and cultural identity of young people (Jaffe 2011: 206). Secondly, it teaches the use of the minority language in various situations, including those that require the use of a written language (see Martin-Jones 2011). Thirdly, after-school classes can hardly be overestimated, as they allow a young person to gain an interest in issues related to the life of the minority, to create a community of practice with other participants, thanks to which community knowledge is acquired in action, and the learning process is also a process of becoming a member of a specific group (Eckert & Wenger 1994; Lave 1991). Of course, a school may both encourage and discourage young people to become involved. Much depends on the teacher and the allure of the proposed activities. As a young

woman points out below, if not for her Kashubian teacher, she probably would not have become permanently involved in actions promoting this language.

> **G(F)25K:** If not for my high school, I wouldn't even know how to write in Kashubian. Because you know, at home, we spoke Kashubian, but then my parents cannot write in this language at all (...). Also, taking part in performances [of an amateur theater run by Kashubian teacher – NDR] enabled me to get know Kashubian literature. (...) You know, during regular classes there is never enough time to learn everything. But while preparing for a performance, you need to get familiar with the writer, and the whole context in which a story, a tale, or a drama has been created.

That is precisely the way communities of practice work; their members "come to develop and share ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values – in short, practices – as a function of their joint involvement in mutual activity" (Eckert & Wenger 1994: 2). Still another role is played by schools which themselves serve as an organ of the minority. This is the case of Breton-speaking, immersive Diwan schools, established in the aftermath of the revival movement in Brittany. For many years they were not recognized by the French educational system and until recently were organized mainly by Breton activists (see Dołowy-Rybińska, in press). In these schools, students receive a special kind of education.

> **B(F)17B:** [The] Diwan school itself creates certain bonds... From the very begin-ning, we participated in organizing events, sweepstakes, games, fest-noz, and various Breton customs. And, well... I participated in it when I was very young. I could have been seven years old, and even back then I used to serve pancakes during a fest-noz. I was very happy. We did a lot of small things like that, and it seems to me that it influenced us. So we did those things, just do them, to feel good doing them. That's basically the Diwan philosophy, in my opinion.

Participation in cultural activities

Not every type of participation in minority culture-related activities has identical effects. Participation can also be passive and imitative, and then it does not become a driving force for engagement for the individual. But it can also be founded upon active and creative participation, which helps the individual in his/her self-realization (Godlewski 2002: 63–64). This is exactly the kind of participation that can urge an individual to join a group, to become connected then engaged with it. Activities and cultural practices not only

help young people learn and form bonds, but are also a method of passing on social and cultural capital connected with cultural activities. During extra-curricular activities, young people can also begin to create a community of practice, in which the following process occurs: the acquisition of language and skills connected with living in a certain community, sharing joint practices amongst pupils, and constructing identities in relation to these communities (Wenger 1998: 4).

This participation also has a real influence on the willingness and the ability to use a minority language (Artexte Sarasola 2014); young people take pleasure and find a sense in speaking in the language of the minority. They also become accustomed to using it in the non-family/non-school environ-ment, where they have few opportunities to speak the language. According to a Welsh student, who grew up in a home where nobody spoke Welsh:

> **D(F)20W:** Some people just used the Welsh language without even thinking about it and others had to really think about using it. It depended on what you did in school. If you did lot of extracurricular activities, like preparing different things for Eisteddfod. A lot of people did something connected with sport and some were involved in drama.… They could speak a lot more Welsh, they got used to it. And those people who didn't get involved had a lot of difficulties to speak.

Both community-based organizations that provide activities for young people and the efforts of the community, which encourages young people to participate, have a common goal: the individual development of a young person as a member of a larger group through active participation and involvement (Speer 2008: 214). Organizing cultural activities, during which language or some elements of the group history are subtly suggested, makes young people aware of them. A young woman studying Breton, who grew up in a non-Breton and non-engaged family, remembers that her first contact with Breton culture took place during dance classes in a Celtic folk club.

> **V(F)22B:** When I was a child, after-school activities were one hour and half long. We danced for one hour and half an hour, it was called *half an hour for culture*. People who taught us how to dance, young girls, gave us a talk about Brittany, history, stories, and taught us a few words in Breton, some silly things, colors, etc. (…) It was short but very interesting and it allowed us to understand that it is not only for amusement, like judo or sport, but it was related to something important.

Membership in a youth cultural group is primarily a social experience. "While the individual is taking part in recreational activities, s/he also has opportunities to make new social contacts, form new friendships, and acquire different values" (Cotterell 2007: 223). Relations established give meaning to personal bonds and strengthen the sense of belonging to a community. The relationship between peers is crucial, because for young people 'fitting in' and not 'sticking out' of the group is extremely important (Miles, Dallas & Burr 1998). "The demands on young people which arise from youth cultural involvement, are twofold: they have to orientate themselves in the landscape of lifestyles that surround them, creating and occupying a niche they consider to be integrative as well as individual" (Miles et al. 2002: 17). The cooperation between team members becomes the most important challenge for the participant; it "helps to build further interest in the goals of the organization, and the rationale of the organization, in turn, helps to sustain the individual's participation" (McIntosh & Youniss 2010: 31). Robert Putnam (2000: 117) argues also that those who "belong to formal and informal social networks are more likely to give [their] time and money to good causes than those […] who are isolated socially."

Young people reinforce their own belief that together they are doing something they enjoy and something that is important for the whole group, so they are more willing to give more in order to achieve a common goal. They also have an opportunity to get to know individuals who will inspire them to join more organized activities.

> **N(M)22K:** I think it started when I was in primary school, when quite accidentally, I joined a folkloric dance group. We had different Kashubian events and it was where I had my first contact with Kashubian, because unfortunately we didn't speak Kashubian at home. When I grew up (…) we joined (…) the biggest regional ensemble of song and dance 'Kashubia'. And I am still a part of it. Everything went ok; we had a lot of performances, even abroad, and our self-assurance grew, our pride of being Kashubs. (…) And there I met a girl who was already in the Students Club Pomorania and she said "you have to join the Pomorania club." After that, I started taking things seriously.

Friends and engaged individuals

According to studies carried out by Jacqueline Kennelly and other researchers, engaged individuals who grew up in families not associated with activism often stated that their first 'engagement impulse' came from their relations with other young people, who played the roles of 'cultural guides' to

the nuances of activist life worlds (Kennelly 2011: 117–118). Also, researchers of social movements point out the importance of social networks between the person and the engaged individuals, which put the person in motion (Della Porta & Diani 2006: 117–134). Contact with engaged individuals is mentioned by my interviewees as one of the most important impulses to become fully and consciously engaged in a minority language/culture. A Breton student, active in many Breton-related organizations and syndicates, said that he 'seriously' began to be involved thanks to his brother, who brought him into the activist milieu.

> **W(M)20B:** It seems to me that it was in the [Diwan] high school when I started to think about why to act to promote the Breton language. But my activity took concrete form after I left high school. When I finished high school, my brother was finishing his BA in economics at Nantes and then began to be involved with '44 Breizh'[4] with people I knew, but not too well. That's when I first heard about it, and when I left high school, I joined the '44 Breizh' and it was probably my first real commitment. (...) That's when I started to campaign in the specific sense of the word.

Research shows that people, who have friends involved in some way or another, are more likely than others to engage themselves (Hart & Lakin Gullan 2010: 73). The mere presence of activists in the peer environment may have an impact on others. "Even if it does not result in bringing in new recruits to a cause, activism may raise awareness of issues and expand imagination" (Kassimir 2006: 23). Above all, however, participation in minority classes, events, groups, can reinforce positive attitudes towards the language, as Baker (1992: 109) argues.

Getting closer to the world associated with language protection

Sometimes a more in-depth interest in minority issues and taking action on its behalf starts with a more or less random choice of a specific field of study or work. This choice, it seems, does not entail a need for engagement. It turns out, however, that this choice leads to entering into a specific milieu and creates a necessity to become more involved closer with the pressing problems of the group. A Sorbian Studies student at the University of Leipzig says that before enrolling she had not been considering any involvement with Sorbianness.

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[4] Association for the inclusion of the Department of the Loire-Atlantique into Brittany.

> **I(F)22S:** Well actually, I started to get involved when I came to Leipzig and joined Sorabija.[5] And I decided to consciously do something when I enrolled at the Sorbian Studies Department. From the moment I started my studies, I became that way; I wanted to do something with others, or look at what others were doing [for Sorbian culture].

Entering a group associated with the minority becomes the impetus for young people to analyze and change their attitude towards the language and culture, to deepen their interests, and above all, it enables them to find their place in the engaged individual's milieu. This process can be applied to the phenomenon of the *situated learning* and *legitimate peripheral participation* described by Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger (1991). The theory speaks of joining a community of practice by newcomers. At the beginning, their participation is peripheral, simple and reduced, but it is legitimized and slowly moves 'novices' from the periphery to the center. Finally, the newcomer can join a group completely, take on its values, and shape her/his identity to be similar to that of the group.

> **NDR:** *So a more conscious participation in Kashubian culture began with the Pomorania club?*
> **D(F)22K:** I think so. Previously it was only because I had Kashubian friends that I recognized that they were Kashubs, and I also have a family from Kashubia. And that's it. And for me to become more involved, it started only after I joined the club. Now it is an important part of my life.

Engagement

Psychologists call attention to an important dimension of engagement: it includes targeted measures, but it is not goal oriented. The objective is just an excuse to continue the work undertaken, and not the ultimate goal (Lewicka 1993: 17–19). Engagement is therefore an activity perpetuated by activity, by all the other external factors and impressions perceived individually. When we look at the stimuli that push young people to commit themselves to the culture and language of a minority, we see that not only the motivations for joining and ways of joining are different, but also the specific type of engagement varies from one person to another. The definition and type of commitment have also undergone changes over time. Bobineau (2010: 66–67)

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[5]   Sorbian student's club at the University of Leipzig.

argues that the engagement of the 1960s and 70s today has changed into voluntary commitment, based on the connection between individuals and their shared passion. This type of commitment is founded upon the existence of the emotional community (Maffesoli 1996), formed as a result of the need of creating an emotional identification with others. Thanks to the existence of such a community, individuals raised in highly atomized world can take on various tasks together. A group, in other words, a community of practice, which does not have to – according to Maffesoli – be ephemeral, gives a sense of meaning to their work and commitment. Through such a group individual identities are constructed, confirmed and strengthened.

From the statements of the people I interviewed it can be deduced that both the community dimension and acting to achieve a distant goal create strong engagement. A Sorbian woman who took the path towards participation, starting in dance ensembles, through being active and instigating projects for the young Sorbs, to working in a minority organization, admits that you cannot be a member of a group and remain inactive. This is because an engaged person is surrounded by other active individuals, who influence and stimulate each other.

> **M(F)25S:** When there is someone who is interested in similar things and has similar goals [it is easier to get involved – NDR]. All members of these groups [are like that] – I do not know anyone who says, "I'm in a dance group", for example, "but I don't care about anything else." I can't imagine saying something like that, one thing rules out the other.

Engagement also has a social dimension which individuals can enjoy (meetings and activity with a group of friends). Activities are also justified by the existence of an overriding goal.

> **NDR:** *Do you simply prefer, do you enjoy more being with them, or is it a willingness to promote Kashubian culture?*
> **M(F)22K:** Both. It is known that you can do something by yourself, but a group has more strength and encourages you more. We have the courage to break through. We have a chance to organize something, to get help from our friends, to create something. So I think that the probability of doing something for the Kashubian culture is much higher than when you're working by yourself. Besides, it is fun when you do it together with your friends.

One can look at relations between engaged individuals from the *social network* perspective, in which groups, associations and organizations are

perceived as social structures based on the bonds formed between their members and with the group as a whole. An individual gains social profit from participation in a group; s/he finds many new friends, and finds his/her place in a new milieu.

> **NDR:** *Do you enjoy being in the Sorabija club?*
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> **L(M)24S:** Oh, for sure. At the beginning, when I was a new member, it was something very important. From the very beginning I felt welcomed; I got to know all of these people there. When they went out to celebrate, I went out with them and this way I got to know others. In Leipzig [Sorabija] also has a certain opinion and when you say that you're in Sorabija, the [reaction is as follows:] "Oh, he belongs to the Sorbs." In this company you become more active than when you try to do something by yourself.

Above all, the essence of a community of practice is to create a collective identity during the course of a participatory process. The idea of identity founded upon participation is strongly associated with the concept of motivation. The meanings and significance that an individual confers on the world are combined with the actions taken by the individual (Lave & Wenger 1991: 122). This allows individuals to feel that they have their place in the world. A Breton, who graduated from a Diwan high school and is active in Breton-speaking groups in Rennes, responds:

> **NDR:** *What does participation in those meetings give you, in your life?*
>
> **J(M)21B:** It gives me identity. At least I know... I told you before about the students who didn't ever fight for anything, for any cause. Me, I fought for Breton. My parents were sensitive about environmental issues. I used to also demonstrate for that cause. This is important for the identity to have things you want to defend. The fact that I speak Breton also distinguishes me from others. And it taught me to fight for something important and to know that you have to do it.

There is yet another important dimension in the existence of communities of practice, consisting of young people from language minorities. Joining such a group, in particular in places where traditional language communities do not exist, where individuals who know the minority language live in an environment with another dominant language, not only gives you the motivation to act, but also a place where you can use the minority language. A Kashubian who started to learn the language as a teenager, states:

NDR: *Did the existence of this group of friends help you to begin learning Kashubian?*

V(M)20K: Not only did it help, it enabled me to do it. Enabled. If not for the young people with whom I had some sort of a connection with, if not for friendships or acquaintances, I wouldn't have joined it, because language and culture are social skills. This is either a communication tool or a way of expressing values that unite us. I don't feel any connection with the elderly. Or, to put it differently, there are few areas where I feel connected with them. And if not for the young people who were thinking in a similar way, who shared my passions or even views on some issues, I would have never entered the Kashubian culture. Because there would not have been anybody with whom I could do it.

Activism

Gitlin, sociologist and an active participant in American social movements of the 1960s, described an activist as "someone who moves people into action and doesn't just rouse them for a particular occasion, who doesn't come and go but steadily works up strategies, focuses energies and (crucially) settles in for the long haul" (2003: 4). Those researchers dealing with language activism, especially linguists participating in it, defined it this way: "Activism is frequently defined as intentional, vigorous or energetic action that individuals and groups practice it to bring about a desired goal. For some, activism is a theoretically or ideologically focused project intended to affect a perceived need for political or social change" (Combs & Penfield 2012: 461). In the minority communities that do not have public institutions and political leverage (or where institutions and leverage are weak), the decisive role belongs to activists, "who develop workable strategies, focus a collective spotlight onto particular issues, and ultimately move people into action" (Gitlin 2003; Combs & Penfield 2012: 461).

Involvement in minority activities does not necessarily lead to activism. Not every individual, who feels that the future of a minority language and culture is important, wishes to participate and to promote it, or is able to join a social movement, initiate actions, protests, or direct opposing acts. However, we can observe that the more activities a young person assumes, the more s/he learns about the world of engagement – the more s/he feels connected with a group and its ideas. A young Upper Sorb describes his route to activism in the following terms:

L(M)24S: Well, it started sort of by accident. It was not my conscious decision. It started when I was dancing in the 'Wudwor' dance group. And there, I started

to become involved in the organizational parts. And it went on like this to the next involvement, because they were looking for someone who could take over the local branch of Domowina. Then I got engaged. And after, I went to Lepizig, and I joined the students club, Sorabija. Through Sorabija, I started to write articles for the Sorbian press. One thing led to another. When you join one [association] and look around, you start to become involved in the next one.

In the case of many engaged individuals, we encounter an escalating process with each new action taken. This is a need, according to Lewicka (1993: 25), to constantly discover "new sources of power." Every new engagement seems to turn young people on, and achieving a partial goal does not satisfy them, but rather serves as further motivation for increased activity.

> **NDR:** *So: the more you do, the more you get involved?*
> **V(M)20K:** Yes. The more it hurts you, the more it pisses you off, the more time you devote. (…) And in the end your friends tell you 'Ok, fine, give us a break, we're at the disco now'. But at the same time, it starts to build up in you. You can watch it, observing people who have something else besides their work; their minds and involvement are going in the Kashubian direction. And it starts to be their passion.

Young activists often emphasize the fact that their actions have great significance for minorities, because they recognize the needs of their peers better than adults who have worked for many years. Many of them went the route of learning to speak the minority language, so they are aware of the fact that this process is difficult and that it demands a particular impulse. Young people believe that they are closer to the problem and are thus able to organize actions that are more effective, more appealing for their peers. As participation in these actions can be transformed into active involvement, which, in turn, – in the right circumstances – can lead to activism, the whole process resembles a self-perpetuating machine. Thanks to it, an ethnically undecided generation will have a better chance of finding their place in the minority culture. As a young Sorbian woman stated:

> **H(F)25S:** I think that organized events are very important. And why? On one hand we try to connect the young Sorbian people from the villages. (…) Thanks to Pawk[6] they have an opportunity to get to know young people from other villages and to take part in events. We try to do some modern projects, which attract young people, obviously, everything in Sorbian. We try to make them

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6   Sorbian Youth Association.

understand that what is in Sorbian, is not silly, serious or traditional. It is not only about literature, about culture, but the point is to do cool things together. We organized a modern music festival twice. Firstly, the bands can present themselves and it is contemporary Sorbian music, not folklore and classical stuff. Secondly, young people start to openly admit their Sorbianness and to realize their identity. But I think that the most important is to show that it really exists, that we can say 'Hey, our culture is really rich' and people believe us.

The involvement attitude of minority members develops through a gradual process, in which individuals become aware of the fact that the situation of a community and its minority language is different from that of a community that is in the dominant position. A young Welshman, who is active in Cymdeithas yr Iaith and who recently started to work at a Welsh institution that promotes language rights, describes achieving this awareness as a process of arriving at the conclusion that you have to fight for a better status of your language.

K(M)25W: There is no kind of particular incident, it is gradual. (…) [It concerns] also learning the history of my nation. In school, we only had to learn English history. We didn't do the history of Wales at all. It was important, learning the history of my nation and how people have been kept down in the past, learning about people who have gone to Patagonia because they were oppressed here. There was Welsh education in Patagonia before in Wales! So learning things like that and spending a lot of time with my grandparents I guess. Especially my grandma was very strong in things like that. Not so much my mum. And then they told me we had to defend it as well. At first it was like that I believed in it with my heart but I also thought that it is something quite stupid. And then you realize that you have to defend it. Because, everyone asks you all the time 'Can you speak English?' Well, yes, I can speak English but that is not the point. This is my country and I should be able to have things bilingually. And you have to justify it all the time. And you finally started to fight for your language.

Along with the awareness of persecution comes the resistance to the injustice, as well as a feeling that the group that does not have the sufficient impetus needs for individual support. One can easily infer from the words of a Breton student at the University of Rennes that this resistance does not have to be connected to one specific group. It turns into rejection of inequality and discrimination in general.

W(M)20B: When you learn Breton, you get to know a whole different world – the world of Breton speakers, the world of *militants*, who go to *fest-noz* and so

on. Apart from that, there is the side of activism. I live in Brittany; I feel Breton and there is the Breton language, which is going to be extinct soon, so there is a political idea to it that we should save all that belongs to a minority, all of which is oppressed. I think that if I had been born in the Basque Country, I'd fight for the Basque language because that is how the world functions; there are those who are oppressed and those who oppress. And for the first group we have to fight.

A sense of insecurity, injustice, resistance against discrimination and persecution of a group that has a weaker position, also gives rise to a feeling of responsibility for the group. This feeling is often considered to be the basis of all activism (Youth Activism 2006: 599). The responsibility, in turn, encourages young people not to give up and to get involved even deeper, despite the difficult circumstances.

> **O(F)24K:** Had I not felt responsible, I wouldn't organize as many actions, working many hours and sometimes weeks for free just to complete a given project. I wouldn't stand in the freezing rain, helping housewives from the countryside to sell bread with lard. Had I not felt responsible, I would simply do nothing. But I do something. It proves that I feel responsible.

Types of activism

Similarly to engagement, language activism manifests itself differently at different times and contexts (Combs & Penfield 2012: 461). The impact of some activities, slogans, and actions depends on the situation of a given language, on the degree of its protection, the most important threats that it faces, and on the people's attitude towards it. Spolsky described language activists as important actors of language management because their ideas have a single goal, to preserve and revitalize the endangered language. "Working at a grassroots level, they attempt to influence existing, former, or potential speakers of the language to continue its use and to persuade government to support their plans. Lacking authority, they depend on acceptance of their ideology by those they try to influence…" (Spolsky 2009: 204). This researcher also points out that the situation of language activists today is very different from that of the previous generation, who fought for the fundamental rights of minority languages, which were facing total exclusion. Today activists are supported by local, regional, national, and even international organizations that aid, at least symbolically, their endeavors. Such a state of affairs changes,

at least to some extent, the means of engagement and motivation. This is why today language activism is largely aimed at the community.

Sherrod (2006: 2) wrote that "activism includes protest events and actions, advocacy for causes, and information dissemination to raise consciousness." In this context, even writing letters can be, according to the researcher, considered activism. Let's therefore look at the types of activities undertaken by young people, starting with those that are not necessarily widely recognized as activism, but nevertheless meet all its requirements.

Actions in favor of a minority language do not have to be spectacular. In a situation where progressive assimilation poses the greatest threat to minority languages, when language ideologies encourage an opinion that minority languages are regarded as a worse form of communication, as well as in the face of the indifference of current and potential users of the language, activism starts with individual choices (Combs & Penfield 2012: 463). The most important one is learning a minority language and showing willingness to use it, even when such a decision goes against the grain. The most basic right of a speaker – the one which is most frequently breached – is the right to speak a person's language of choice all the time (Hudley 2013: 813). In this context, the choice of a minority language is not neutral; it automatically entails engagement. A young Breton described it in the following words:

> **CC(M)20B**: A decision to learn the language and use it in conversations with other people, for whom it also isn't their first language... we can easily talk to each other in French, but when we choose to speak Breton, it is a choice that we have to make. (…) French is the first language for all of us. So, if we decide to speak Breton to each other, we are already personally engaged.

The decision may apply to the language with which you communicate with your friends, but it can also apply to public use of the language, even if, looking at it rationally, the individual may not profit from such behavior. A Welsh political science student, heavily involved in direct action on the language's behalf, has Welsh as his language of instruction during his studies.

> **NDR:** *So you think that choosing the Welsh language* [as a language of study] *is as well a kind of activism?*
> **B(M)20W:** Yes, I think so. The thing is that there are not many of us to do it. To study National Politics in my year in Welsh there are only 8 of us. And this is compared to about 200 who do it in English. So it is definitely a kind of

activism because everyone in the Welsh language community of students is very nationalistic. And every time we get something from our department and it is only in English, like information about an exam or something, we e-mail back asking why it is not in Welsh. So there is definitely activism behind it. Definitely.

The second type of action that aims to show the movement's strength is demonstrations. Parades, which gather many individuals, groups, communities, and associations supporting language and culture, are part of a movement that promotes the language. They symbolize and publicize the movement's demands. Young people talk about them with great passion.

> **A(F)25B:** [We do it] in order to show that we exist, and we don't want to be pigeonholed! Because without activism, there would be no Diwan schools, and without them there would be no Breton language in its current form. I think it allows us to do what we want, to live our life. If it were not for activism, we would live the life politicians designed for us. Demonstrations are supposed to show that we exist; they are the times that we can scream as loud as we can when we are treated unjustly or when we don't agree with something. You have to fight whenever you lack things you need to live or things that we want. If we hadn't done it, we wouldn't have what we have now. (...) There is still much to do. As long as there is something to be done, there will be demonstrations.

Direct actions are the most visible type of activism. During those activities the traditions and achievements of the previous generation are reflected in the practices of the younger generation the most. Older people pass on the ways of conduct, but the creativity of new generations and individuals are also important (Della Porta & Diani 2006: 168–196). Most of the examples of direct action can be found in Wales, where the movement has a long history. People starting to be active in Cymdeithas Yr Iaith (see Phillips 2000), feel that they are really able to influence decisions concerning their language:

> **A(M)20W:** I know, there are different types of people. Some people like lobbying and sending letters and other people like to campaign. I like to campaign. (…) It started when I was in the sixth form (…) There was always too few of us who chose to do the minimum in Welsh. (…) And it made me think that it wasn't right, that I have to defend it, (…) I joined Cymdeithas Yr Iaith, the Welsh Language Society, and I decided I had to do something, (…) In my village everything is monolingual, English only, and that's not right. I contacted a person responsible but nothing changed. We only heard some excuses. We sent many letters, made a lot of phone calls – no reaction. So we decided to take

matters into our own hands and we bought some spray cans. When I sprayed the signs, they installed bilingual ones. It was the first thing I did myself after becoming a CYI member. I think it pushed me so far because I was so angry seeing the Welsh language in my area declining, and that people who knew Welsh just decided not to [use it]. All these things together pushed me to do this. And that is where it started.

Profile of an Activist

According to Rochon, group solidarity is a politicized group identity. He argues, that in addition to the awareness of belonging to a group, solidarity is based on three types of attitudes towards it: dissatisfaction with the current status of the group, the conviction that the said status results from external factors (political, social, economic), and the belief that joint efforts can improve the situation of the group. "Identification with a group encourages a person to associate group interests with individual interests. Solidarity with that group brings with it an expectation that other group members will be mobilized for the cause." (Rochon 1998: 101). The necessity to act is one of the most important characteristics that young activists told me.

> **K(M)22K:** I wouldn't be able to sit down in an armchair after work and just watch TV. Although sometimes a man just wants to come home, sit down and do absolutely nothing, just turn on a stupid TV show, but I know that after two days like that, I would be bored out of my mind. I'd have to go somewhere, do something, organize something.

Active involvement entails an attitude of rejection of passivity. The very experience of mobilization, of taking action influences an individual, because it allows her/him to achieve an awareness and understand the world in which s/he lives. Activism provides a sense of liberation from feelings of helplessness in the face of oppressive circumstances (Rochon 1998: 134). This attitude is reflected not only through engagement, but also through specific linguistic practices.

> **S(M)19W:** It is a question of opportunities but opportunities are not enough. It is rather making something that people want to take part in. You know, I could open a book club in Welsh, but no one would come. (…) Sometimes it is about creating opportunities for ourselves, going into the shop and asking people to speak Welsh. Not just waiting because no one will give us this opportunity.

Levinson argues that decisions to participate in civic life are at least partly determined by an individual's attitude, "whether they believe that a group of individuals can influence government (political efficacy), that they themselves can influence government (individual efficacy), that one has a duty to participate (civic duty), and that one is part of a civic community (civic identity)" (Levinson 2010: 341). This attitude is shaped by a number of factors, including social capital obtained at home, at school or from the environment, as well as an individual's personal circumstances (his/her character, abilities). A Welsh activist, who defines himself as a 'political animal', says:

> **O(M)20W:** When my parents had guests, I was always the one who stayed and joined in the conversation. And I was listening to the group. I would have been about 12 but adults were always around me. And I would rather stay there and listen to the conversation than go and play or watch the tele. This is what my brother would do. Since then, I have always found myself a bit more inclined to listen to people. But I think from around the age of Urdd,[7] both me and my brother were involved in Wales and Welshness. From the beginning, it was an activist movement, you know, going against the main trends, going against what it is or used to be or should be. When I first found out that speaking Welsh in the classroom is [perceived as] something wrong, I rebelled.

The young Welshman's statement also includes a reference to another very important feature shared by activists, rejection of the existing order. Klatch, an American sociologist engaged in social movements, notes that "commitment to a social movement involves not only conviction about what is wrong with the world, but also the decision to act out these beliefs, to strive for social change. Commitment also means a conception of oneself as someone who takes action in defense of deeply held values, someone who cares" (Klatch 1999: 97). This is confirmed by my interlocutors.

> **NDR:** *What character traits do you have to have to become an activist?*
> **H(M)20B:** It's hard to say, because there are many kinds of activism. I think the main trait is that when you see how things work, you are not able to ignore them, walk right by it. I can't imagine that not doing anything, that I come home from work and just don't care about the world because there is always a reason to defend something. Especially for us, in the Breton milieu, there is always something to do, something to fight for, for funding, for our rights.

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[7] Welsh-speaking organization for children and young people. Its goal is to organize extracurricular activities in Welsh for pupils.

> I think that's what we learnt at the Diwan. That, and the fact that you have to fight injustice. For me, it comes completely naturally.

Activists put a lot of effort into actions, as well as their time, commitment, and energy. Gitlin, based on his own experience, wrote that "the wrong motives not only corrupt and betray you, they are more likely to bring bad results" (Gitlin 2003: 10). That is why people who decide to join a movement like this have to be characterized by one more attribute – a lack of attachment to the potential material profits of such work. That is probably the very reason that young people, who still do not have to worry about earning their living, think about activism in a different way than slightly older people.

> **K(F)21B:** Well, there is something… when you are writing your CV, all those engagements are not really recognized. Only your professional experience is taken into account. And in my case, it would only be baby-sitting… And animation… well, I never did it professionally. I prefer to organize unofficial concerts supporting people with no papers or to take part in a festival against the language change. I think that through this engagement we feel really free, that we are doing what we want to do. (…) It is just a pleasure.

All these people and their statements, however, express two basic characteristics of young activists: passion and optimism. Without faith in the action, that it will bring social change, that the effort will pay off in some form, and that actions taken by various collectives can truly affect the ability and the willingness of others to use minority languages – without all of the above, engagement would not be possible. So it is instructive to see to how young people themselves perceive the benefits of activism and engagement.

A subjective view regarding the benefits of activism

Participation in social movements is not rewarded in the same way as participation in other types of organizations. Activism is not a profitable enterprise, not all activities are well received by the public, and their effectiveness is largely uncertain. Meanwhile, the cost of participation in a movement may be high, as actions undertaken are often stigmatized by members of the community or by the authorities (Rochon 1998: 95). Therefore, there must be some form of

gratification other than a financial one. Bobineau lists the reasons people get involved: they act because they want to be useful, because engagement gives them satisfaction, and because they get a sense that they are doing something important (for instance, they fight for their rights), as well as making close friends (Bobineau 2010: 100–122). My interlocutor describes the benefits of engagement in a similar way. For twenty-five-year old H., a Sorbian woman, activism was connected mainly with satisfaction and responsibility for the fate of a community.

> **H(F)25S:** When a person becomes involved, she notices that activism is good for her, she takes pleasure in it, she becomes increasingly immersed. She wants to be a Sorb and pass it on.

Thanks to activism young people gain experience, learn new ideas, get to know people who work for minority languages also. This type of work – in addition to these specific skills – brings them satisfaction and a sense that they have their place in the world.

> **NDR:** *What do you personally get out of your engagement on behalf of Kashubia?*
> **N(M)22K:** Satisfaction, above all else. Pride and a feeling that I am not passive. As you know, there are not many young people like this, who act in a Kashubian environment. I feel that I'm not standing passively on the side, but I get involved and try to act as much as I can, to give all that I have. That's one thing. The other thing I get out of it is the fact that I'm learning all the time. (...) I get to know the specificity of differences of opinion, ideology, different perspectives on various issues related to being Kashub.

An important aspect, that everyone mentioned and which has already been discussed in this paper, is the existence of a group with which an individual feels ties and on which he or she can rely. Identification with the group triggers the group's interest, gradually merging with the individual's interests. That is what a Breton student, studying in Rennes and active in numerous associations for the promotion of the language, describes here:

> **NDR:** *The fact that you're committed to a cause, what does it give you?*
> **O(F)24B:** What does it give me? You remember when I told you that there's a community of Breton speakers, right? It works like this: if you're in the community, you're part of a kind of a chain, where everyone knows each other. It's nice to be in, because we always know what's going on. It's important in social terms, in terms of our relations. It's funny, because it always turns out

that you know someone who knows someone who knows someone else. It's really cool. So, in social terms, for sure.

However, the major, the most frequently mentioned profit from engagement is the fact that it gives your life meaning. Here is the opinion of a young woman, who not only engages in (often illegal) actions on behalf of the Welsh language, but also attracts and influences other young people. For her, activism is not merely acting with a particular goal in mind, but also a way of life, of perceiving reality and of responding to injustice and wrongdoing.

> **E(F)25W:** It gives me everything, a sense of life. I think if I wasn't campaigning for the Welsh language, I would be interested in human rights, animals' rights, whatever. (…) Finding something I could change was always the thing for me and... I came across Cymdeithas yr Iaith; I got involved, and I felt I could change something. And I really can. So yes, being able to feel that you are changing something, changing minds, their attitudes, changing ideas, changing policies and changing everything. And I think that gives me more than anything. It gives me a sense of achieving something and it is important and this can be carried on. It is tiring because you are constantly pushing things and sometimes you have this feeling that you are not getting anywhere but then something happens and it encourages you and gives you power to act.

Conclusion: towards the practical use of research on youth language activism

The portrait of young language activists from selected European minorities presented here illustrates how groups of minority activists' form, develop and function. In addition, this self-representation – created on the basis of a subjective view of the younger generation's language circumstances, linguistic and cultural practices, as well as the causes, modes of engagement, the attitude toward the promotion of a minority culture and sense of gaining some profit from participation in a social movement – provides an overview of the problems and dilemmas which the young generation, identifying with language minorities, must face.

What practical deductions for minority languages revitalization can be drawn from this representation? First of all, in analyzing the path between participation in cultural activities, groups, ensembles, and ethnic extracurricular activities, the beginnings of a deeper interest in minority situations,

a rising awareness of their own culture, and making a more or less conscious decision to engage and promote it, researchers will find some dependencies. In today's world, few people have the opportunity to discover a commitment in themselves and willingness to sustain a culture and the use of a minority language in a family home background. It is therefore necessary that other opportunities to enter the world of a minority culture and acquire its language have to be organized for young people. As has been demonstrated, participation in a group brought together by common activities, interests and connections, can lead to the creation of a 'community of practice', in which and through which individuals construct their identity in relation to their group's goals and interests. Thus, young people obtain an awareness, motivations and willingness to act together from the individuals engaged in the issues of the minority. The more of these communities formed, the greater the contact individuals engaged in the movement have with the younger generation – the greater is the chance of attracting and gathering additional members.

Communities of practice functioning among young people play one more important role. Within the milieu and its stance focused on minority issues (whether through purely cultural activities, such as participation in community theater, regional ensembles, musical bands using a minority language, or through discussion on social and even political issues) young people often begin to speak the minority languages among themselves within these groups. And in doing so they have the chance of becoming accustomed to the language and to use it in contexts in which today's younger generation rarely has the opportunity to do so, as in areas of life not connected with either home or school. This leads to increasing self-confidence with the language itself and a realization that the language can be of some use. There is also an emerging subjective relationship with the language through relationships with others who are also somehow associated with the language. However, these activities have to satisfy a certain condition to be effective; they have to be attractive for young people and make them willing to participate in. Otherwise, these activities will not achieve the intended purpose.

That is why analyzing minority languages young activists' attitudes, their ideas and emotions can not only provide us with a representation of the people who dedicate their time and energy to serve minorities, but can also show why most of the younger generation do not engage in such activities. Especially when we realize, as those young activists cited in the article attest, that in today's world activism is defined not only as organizing direct actions, but

also as simply using a minority language on a daily basis. At the same time, the costs that activists have to bear are so high (particularly the lack of social acceptance for their actions), that many people do not wish to be identified with a distinct movement promoting minorities.

It seems that actions carried out by activists – the use of minority languages in places where this is not accepted, campaigning for education in these languages, organizing events and groups, in which others can participate, learn and become familiar with the minority culture, confirm, 'find' and realize their identity, and last but not least, organizing direct actions which aim at achieving a particular change – are currently of significant importance for a minority.

In the world of activism, the number of young people constitutes a small percentage. They are, however, the most energetic and passionate about the cause. They are also the most familiar with the needs of their peers, and that is why they are able to respond to the needs and shortcomings of their own generation through their actions. This is a generation raised in a transcultural world, and which shows an increasing indifference towards ethnic issues. Therefore, each individual recruited for the cause is of great importance from the perspective of the minority language's future. Consequently, the actions of young activists should not be 'torpedoed', but on the contrary – their ideas and enthusiasm should be supported, strengthened and developed.

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Syllabic Writing for Miyakoan: Proposals and Considerations[1]

ALEKSANDRA JAROSZ
Japanese Language and Culture Center
Nicolaus Copernicus University in Torun

Background information

Miyakoan is one of a few of endangered languages from the Ryukyuan group of the Japonic family.[2] It is spoken in the area of the Miyako island group located in the Sakishima sub-archipelago, which was formerly (until 1872) an outskirt of the Ryukyu Kingdom and now is a part of Japan's Okinawa Prefecture. It is generally approximated that fluent speakers of Miyakoan are above 60 or even 65. People born in the late 1960s and 1970s tend to be passive bilinguals, understanding the language to some extent or even a lot, but not using it actively anymore. Finally, people who are, as of now, in their thirties or younger are almost exclusively Japanese monolinguals whose passive command of the local language is either seriously reduced or virtually nonexistent.[3] Like other Ryukyuan languages, Miyakoan

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[2] The term *Japonic family* refers to Japanese and related indigenous languages of Japan; the first use of the term has been attributed to Serafim 2003. While so far there has been no common agreement as to which ethnolects should be considered member languages of the family, Japonic are usually divided into two major groups: mainland Japanese and Ryukyuan, the latter further divided into Northern and Southern/Sakishima Ryukyuan (cf. Miyara 2010: 12–15). Miyakoan belongs to the Sakishima group, alongside Yaeyaman and Yonaguni. For Northern Ryukyuan, there are usually two or three member languages listed: Amami and Okinawan (eg. Miyara 2010) or Amami, Kunigami and Okinawan (e.g. Okinawa Daigaku Chiiki Kenkyūjo 2013).
[3] Compare also Aoki 2013 and Saigazoku 2002: 47–72. For a more detailed account of what is currently known about Miyakoan population and endangerment see Jarosz 2015: 160–170. For an in-depth analysis of the vitality of the languages from the Sakishima group, including Miyakoan, see Aso et al. 2014.

has no official recognition as a minority language at the state level. This means that any revitalization and popularization efforts are undertaken on a local basis, often on the initiative of private persons (see Nakamoto et al. 2013). To some extent, formal encouragement also has become visible on the part of the Okinawa Prefecture authorities, especially in the last few years (Ishihara 2013).

Miyakoan has not developed any written standard. There are few written materials available in Miyakoan, especially when one excludes linguistic documentation (which in itself is not overly abundant, even though the situation has been steadily improving over the last few years, as reflected in the *References* section of this paper) and considers only the texts produced by and for the community members. Nevertheless, whenever such community attempts to write in Miyakoan actually are made, the speakers' writing system of choice is generally one of the Japanese syllabaries, *hiragana* or *katakana*.[4]

The dominant language of the region, Japanese, has a complicated writing system consisting of a few subsystems that have coexisted for over a thousand years to create its shape established in contemporary Japanese. The rules of this coexistence, explained in a most simplistic way, are as follows. The morphophonemic characters of Chinese origin, in Japanese called *kanji*, are used to denote the semantic content of words, especially the word roots of the inflected lexical categories. Kanji are also used to write most native Japanese proper names and toponyms. The *hiragana* syllabary is generally used to indicate bound morphemes such as inflectional affixes, derivative formants, function words or empathetic clitics. Finally, the *katakana* syllabary, with its inventory of sound values identical to *hiragana*, serves for writing modern loanwords, foreign personal and place names, less common names of plants and animals (the criterion of "less common" being very hazy and tending to vary from one user to another, or one context to another), or words modified for a high emotional load (a function similar to capital letters in Latin-based systems). In modern standard Japanese, these three writing subsystems coexist and intertwine while relying on rather loose prescriptive conventions.

Acquisition of the *kanji* subsystem is a highly complex task due to the large number of graphemes in its inventory, the load of multiple sound values that a single character can encode (which is often a couple of distinct morphemes

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[4] Saigazoku 2002, 2003 and Aoki 2013 provide examples of individual bottom-up attempts of the local people to write their own variety of Miyakoan in one of the syllabaries by using media such as signboards, tablets, or even comic stripes published in a local paper.

or morpheme combinations of both native Japanese and Sino-Japanese origins), the context-dependency of character decipherment (the sound value of a character can usually be known only through its context), and perhaps even the graphic complexity of most characters. Consequently, it takes many years of school education to master it. On the other hand, the two syllabic subsystems have limited inventories and are relatively easy to use, while maintaining an almost perfect one-to-one correspondence between the sound and the symbol. In many respects, such as a fairly consistent avoidance of overrepresentations and under-representations or a comparatively small burden to the user's memory, the *kana* syllabaries are the optimum system for writing a language with a simple syllable structure and a limited number of systemically allowed syllables overall, such as Japanese. The *kana* also display a remarkable characteristic of being rather productive for a syllabic system, combining normal-size and lower index characters to represent a syllable which was previously absent from the inventory. This is precisely how *katakana* has expanded its inventory to indicate new syllables that have appeared in the Japanese phonotactic system along with modern loanwords. For example, originally the only syllable with an initial /f/[5] in Japanese had been /fu/, represented by the character <フ>. When borrowings with /f/-initial syllables and nuclei other than /u/[6] appeared in Japanese, the character <フ> would be combined with lower index vowel characters to produce the desired syllable. Thus, the syllable /fa/ became <フ> + <ア> = <ファ>, like in *fan* <ファン> 'a fan', while the syllable /fe/ became <フ> + <エ> = <フェ>, as in *fenshingu* <フェンシング> 'fencing'.

Non-Japanese indigenous languages of Japan, meaning the Ryukyuan ethnolects[7] and Ainu, have tended to be written with either *hiragana* or *katakana*. The major setback of this choice of script for minority languages is that the syllabaries as they are used today have been devised specifically to represent modern standard Japanese, with its vowels, its consonants and its distributive characteristics. The differences between the phonemic and phonotactic systems of minority languages and Japanese can either be ignored, i.e. not represented

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[5]   To be more exact, it is a bilabial fricative /ɸ/ (the notation of all Japonic labial fricative phonemes has been unified as /f/).

[6]   To be more exact, the back close vowel phoneme is slightly central and unrounded: /ɯ/ (the notation of all Japonic back close phonemes has been unified as /u/).

[7]   The term *ethnolect* is used here in the same meaning as in Majewicz 1989 or Majewicz 2006 and it may refer to any tongue unit: a language, a dialect, a dialect cluster, or a combination of any of the above. Conversely, the term *regiolect* used later refers to an ethnolect or a group of closely related ethnolects spoken over a relatively large or isolated area.

at all, or covered by taking advantage of the aforementioned productivity of the syllabaries. An example of the latter is how the labialized consonants (rather frequent in Okinawan) are indicated by a grapheme representing a syllable with the consonant in question as the onset and /u/[8] as the nucleus, combined with a lower index grapheme representing the syllable /wa/[9]; therefore, if a desired syllable is /kwa/, then in *katakana* it would be represented as /ku/ <ク> + /wa/ <ワ> = <クヮ>).

It appears that of all Japonic languages, Japanese may have the simplest syllable structure: except for one syllable of the CVC type, with /N/ serving as the coda, all syllables are open. Also, other than inter-syllabic combinations of a consonant preceded by /N/ (cf. *kantan* /kaNtaN/ 'easy', *shimbun* /ɕiNbuN/ 'newspaper'), consonant clusters do not occur, unless one interprets the frequent geminates/long consonants as consonant clusters – and whatever the chosen phonemic interpretation of a Japanese geminate is, the syllabaries still indicate all of them in a simple, unified way by using a lower index character for the syllable /tsu/. Moreover, the *kana* syllabaries are of a rather limited use when it comes to representing sounds and syllables nonexistent in the Japanese sound system: while with some elaboration (such as an atypical usage of diacritic marks) a representation of virtually any syllable could be conceivable, such elaboration might mean damaging the regularity and functionality of the system. Nevertheless, for most Ryukyuan ethnolects, a *kana* representation of the spoken language would at least be relatively conceivable a task. Miyakoan, however, with its famed syllabic consonants and consonant clusters, is arguably one of the varieties least suited for syllabic writing in the scale of the Japonic languages.

In Jarosz (2014), the (primarily linguistic) reasons why an alphabetic writing system would be preferable over a syllabic one in the case of Miyakoan have been discussed. Jarosz (2014) also provides proposals for a Miyakoan orthography based on two popular transliteration systems of Japanese into

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[8] If a new syllable needs to be represented, it is often the case that the basic grapheme chosen to be modified is one that encodes the necessary consonant as its onset and /u/ as the nucleus. The reason for that is assumed to be a consequence of the fact that in Japanese /u/ (/ɯ/) is one of the most closed vowel phonemes and often it gets predictably devoiced (see Majewicz 1986: 50–51 for examples). As a result, it can be easily perceived as "not even being there" and therefore is suited for the purpose of using a grapheme only for its consonantal value. This discussion will be further taken up later in this paper.

[9] Phonetic interpretation of the onset consonant of this syllable is a controversial matter: it has been called a velar approximant (International Phonetic Asssociation 1999: 120) or a bilabial fricative (Majewicz 1986: 65). Here it is considered a bilabial approximant, but as this author does not feel up to contributing to the discussion about the realization of this phoneme, for the sake of simplicity it will be referred to by the symbol <w> throughout the paper.

Latin alphabet: the so-called Hepburn romanization[10] and *kunreishiki*. The paper concludes that due to a number of factors, such as the influence of the dominant language or the unfamiliarity with a Latin-based system, the potential users of Miyakoan orthography may feel more comfortable using a *kana*-based system rather than an alphabetic one. In the present paper, therefore, this author intends to take up the discussion at the point where Jarosz (2014) left off, which means to present a suggestion of what a *kana* orthography for Miyakoan might look like while still remaining as functional as possible, supposing that the community in question does decide that a syllabic script is preferable over an alphabetic one.

General principles of orthography design

The following "principles of orthography design" (Wedekind & Wedekind 1997: 18 ff.) will be addressed when discussing a syllabic script for the Miyakoan usage in the present paper.[11]

1) *Maximum representation of speech*. Ideally, this rule should reflect a correspondence of one grapheme per one phoneme and *vice versa*. In a syllabic script, this cannot be achieved by the definition of a syllabic script itself. Nevertheless, this rule can be at least approximated by striving at the balance of one grapheme per one phonemically relevant syllable. The efforts to comply with this rule while using a syllabic script can further be endorsed by maintaining a similar proportion between the building elements of a grapheme – meaning the diacritics – and the features that they

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[10] The basis for the system was formulated by an American missionary James Curtis Hepburn in the introduction to his 1867 publication, *A Japanese and English Dictionary*; the term "Hepburn romanization," however, is customarily used to refer to a Hepburn-inspired proposal made by the Rōmajikai (a society for promoting the Latin alphabet as the system to write Japanese) in 1885. Cf. the source materials available at http://www.halcat.com/.

[11] The first rule postulated by Wedekind & Wedekind, "maximum motivation," is defined as "incorporating those elements which the people find attractive" (1997: 18). While this paper is purely theoretical and has not been accompanied by any attitude research within the community, its starting point in first place was the assumption that the community *might* and *is considered likely* to prefer an orthography based on a script from the language of their education, which at the same time has become the mother tongue of an absolute majority of the community members. One needs to bear in mind, however, that this is but a speculation and not an established fact. An actual community research may produce unexpected results in terms of revealing the community attitudes, especially as the younger generations tend to feel more and more comfortable with Latin alphabet due to the pervasiveness of English-sourced expressions in the youth language (such as the social media slang) left in their original Latin script form.

encode. In other words, a situation when the same diacritic indicates for instance a voicing feature for some consonants (consonant onset syllables, to be precise) and glottalization feature for others should be avoided.

2) *Maximum ease of learning*. An orthography that follows this principle should have a limited inventory of graphemes while keeping fairly straightforward speech representation rules. It may be self-explanatory, but still an emphasis should be put on the fact that both a large number of graphemes and a set of convoluted and/or idiosyncratic orthographic rules become a huge burden on a learner's memory and could end up discouraging the potential users altogether.

3) *Maximum transfer*. An orthography is efficient and at the same time helpful to the users of a minority language if it applies the same script(s) as the dominant language, with rules for representation of specific sounds maintained as close as possible. That is to say that even if the orthographies of both languages use the same set of symbols, one cannot expect much of a positive transfer if a grapheme <X> represents the phoneme /Y/ in one language, but /Z/ in the other.

4) *Maximum means of reproduction*. An orthography is developed primarily to spread the knowledge of the language and expand its usage domains. Therefore, the system should be structured in such a way that it facilitates the production of texts in the language in question rather than inhibit it. To put it simply, devising special characters or diacritics – ones that are not already present in the writing system within which the new orthography will operate – would inevitably lead to typesetting and character decoding difficulties, requiring the usage of special fonts and, again, possibly discouraging the use of the new orthography.

In a perfect orthography, all these principles would be reconciled. Since natural languages, however, are complex structures which do not belong to any ideal clean-cut world, it may be the case that the demands of respective principles contradict one another. For example, the principle of maximum representation may require using the grapheme inventory in the minority language orthography in a different way than it is used in the dominant language, which consequently undermines the maximum transfer rule. As a result, those in charge of developing an orthography need then to make difficult decisions as to which principle should receive top priority and be attended to first.

Problems with syllabic representation of Miyakoan

Both Japanese syllabaries have inventories of 46 basic graphemes. They can be modified by diacritics and combined in various ways to cover all syllables conceivable within Japanese phonotactic system. There are 512 core (or "orthodox") syllables in Japanese, with voiceless obstruent onset consonants and nucleus vowels modifiable for length[12], and most onset consonants modifiable for palatalization. To this number, one should add about 10–20 new (or "non-orthodox") syllables imported to Japanese along with modern loanwords. The one phoneme that appears exclusively in syllable coda position, /N/, is indicated by a separate grapheme, <ん> for *hiragana* and <ン> for *katakana*; it is the only non-syllabic standalone grapheme in both these scripts.

The most crucial differences between Japanese and Miyakoan as far as a syllabic representation of the latter is concerned lie not in the segmental phonology, but rather in the phonotactics. The following are considered to be the key problems.

1) In Miyakoan, consonant clusters and coda-positioned, or even nucleus-positioned, i.e. syllabic, consonants occur frequently. Furthermore, unlike Japanese /N/, both these characteristics apply to a significant part of the consonant inventory of Miyakoan. Compare the following Japanese and Miyakoan pairs of cognates: *hito – pstu* 'man', *tsuki – tsiks* 'the moon', *kumo – fmu* 'cloud'. Given how frequently Miyakoan consonants occur in such settings, it is thought that the only effective way to indicate them would be to devise a symbol that would, preferably unambiguously, indicate that a specific syllabic grapheme in a specific realization should only be taken for its onset (consonant) value.

2) Among its sounds, Miyakoan has the so-called "apical vowel" [ɿ]. For many regional varieties of Miyakoan, while it may be given many heterogenous labels and symbols, it is usually considered a separate vowel phoneme (Uemura 2003; Karimata 2005; Shimoji 2008; Aoki 2013; Kinuhata & Hayashi 2014 and others). Here the vowel in question will be treated as a realization of the front close vowel /i/, which may occur only after the sibilants /s/, /z/ and /ts/, disabling their palatalization. In Japanese, however, no such realization exists; if a sibilant is followed by /i/, then it must be palatalized.

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[12] Also as mentioned earlier, long consonants are usually interpreted/labeled as geminates.

Therefore, Japanese /i/ displays only the following distribution patterns: /ɕi/, /dʑi/, /tɕi/, with corresponding syllable graphemes of <し>, <じ> and <ち> in *hiragana* and <シ>, <ジ> and <チ> in *katakana*. In contrast, Miyakoan has two phonemically distinct series, one with palatalized and one with non-palatal sibilants: /ɕi/, /zi/ and /tɕi/ against /si/, /zi/ and /tsi/. Consequently, a means to disambiguate between the two realizations of /i/ that influence the phonemic interpretation of the preceding consonant has to be devised.

Looking over the few existing sources of written Miyakoan, one can observe how the above issues have been handled by their authors. Concerning the question of consonant clusters and moraic consonants, in the *katakana*-only dictionary by Yonaha (2003), /s/ and /z/-initial syllables are marked with the voiceless bilabial stop diacritic <°> to indicate their "onset only" value (thus for instance *zzu* 'a fish' is rendered as ス°ス°ゥ).[13] From the perspective of the principles of orthography design, this solution has to be considered very problematic. First, the fact that <°> is a stop diacritic means that it is normally used to indicate that the /h/-onset syllables should in fact be interpreted as /p/-onset syllables. As a matter of fact, /p/-onset syllables are much more prominent in Miyakoan than they are in Japanese, and moreover, /p/ can also participate in consonant clusters. If <°> was to be used consistently throughout the system to mark the "onset only" feature of the syllable (which it is not in the case of Yonaha 2003 – see the description of the consonant cluster marking below), for /p/-initial syllables it would turn out unclear if it only marks that the onset of the syllable is /p/, or if it also indicates that the syllabogram should be taken for its consonant value only. In other words, it would cause underrepresentation (Wedekind & Wedekind 1997: 21), one of the most serious flaws an orthography may display.

Furthermore, and even more importantly, in this solution Yonaha ignores the graphemic distinction between voiceless and voiced onsets. A conceivable reason for this choice is that maintaining the above distinction would mean combining <°> with <`>, the diacritic for voicing. No such procedure is readily available in Japanese *kana* scripts, so the solution would be either to produce a special combined diacritic or to arrange the diacritics linearly, both ways breaching the *maximum means of reproduction* principle. Nevertheless, not applying any solution means that there is no way to discriminate if

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[13] Aoki (2013: 96–97) provides examples of signboards on the Tarama island where the stop diacritic <°> appears to be used rather consistently for the "consonant-only" value of any syllable.

<スﾟスﾟウ> should be interpreted as /ssu/ or /zzu/. As the voiced-voiceless opposition is one of the most heavily loaded functionally in Miyakoan, ignoring it in graphemic representation would be a blow dismantling any efficiency of such a system.

For the stop-initial consonant clusters /ps/ and /ks/, Yonaha proposes a different solution, namely combining an /i/-nucleus syllabogram to represent the stop with a lower index syllabogram representing the syllable /su/, <ス>. This solution also is far from perfect, as it treats stop-initial consonant clusters differently from any other clusters and non-onset consonants (which is this time a kind of overrepresentation), and it renders the relevant distinction of pairs such as /ks/ and /ksu/ or /ps/ and /psu/ unavailable, or at least requiring further elaboration on how to indicate if the nucleus of /su/ should actually be taken for its nucleus value, i.e. interpreted as /ksu/ or /psu/, or ignored, i.e. interpreted as /ks/ or /ps/.

The question of how to represent [ɿ] seems to be usually resolved by interpreting it as a realization of /u/ (Yonaha 2003; Saigazoku 2002, 2003), which is not as surprising given that the apical vowel does sound "central-like" (Karimata 2010; Aoki 2013) while the main realization of Japanese /u/ is the unrounded, slightly centralized [ɯ]. Consequently, Miyakoan /si/, /zi/, /tsi/ may be rendered as *katakana* <ス> /su/, <ズ> or <ヅ> /zu/ and <ツ> /tsu/. This method, however, does not solve the problem of underrepresentation of the Miyakoan distribution patterns, as Miyakoan does also have syllables /su/, /zu/ and /tsu/, phonemically distinct from /si/, /zi/, /tsi/. Therefore, with the above solution, pairs such as *tsi*: 'blood' and *tsu*: 'strong' would remain undistinguished, i.e. underrepresented.

Suggested solutions

The *kana* transcription of Miyakoan as found in the recent dictionary of the Irabu regiolect (Tomihama 2013: X[14]) contains several convincing hints on how the above-described problems with syllabic representation of Miyakoan could be solved. Tomihama's transcription is phonetic and not phonemic in its character, i.e. it does not reflect phonemic segmentation of Miyakoan and as such cannot be readily applied as a working orthography. Nevertheless,

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[14] With its over 17,000 entries, Tomihama 2013 is the first great dictionary in the history of Miyakoan lexicography.

his ideas might be used systemically while reconciling as much of every orthography designing principle as possible.

Essentially, the script that Tomihama used in his transcription was *hiragana*. Nevertheless, he resolved the problem of consonant clusters by using for the clustered syllables *katakana* characters instead of *hiragana*. The results have been outlined in Table 1.

Table 1. Tomihama's (2013) representations of Miyakoan syllables with consonant clusters.

phonemic value of the syllable	Tomihama's representation (*kana*)	Tomihama's representation (alphabetic)	original Japanese value of the syllabogram
/pi/	ぴ゚	pi	/pi/
/ps/	ぴ゚	pˢï	/pi/
/bi/	び゚	bi	/bi/
/bz/	び゚	bᶻï	/bi/

Tomihama himself did not use the above solution systemically. Moreover, he applied it to the stop-initial clusters only, the way Yonaha did with his grapheme combinations. For example, the standalone moraic/syllabic /z/ was rendered by Tomihama with the *katakana* syllabogram for /i/ combined with the stop diacritic: <イ゚>, even though the said diacritic was not used to indicate the consonantal value of the syllable anywhere else in Tomihama's transcription. Therefore, orthographically the diacritic <゚> in the character <イ゚> is redundant: it would be enough just to use the *katakana* character for /i/ to indicate the special consonantal value of the grapheme, the same way that the graphemes in Table 1 do.

Nevertheless, the very idea of using one *kana* script as the basic system and supplying the characters from the other to indicate a syllable or distribution nonexistent in Japanese can be considered superb from all angles. If used systemically, it would allow for a fairly consistent graphemic representation of the language, avoiding any underrepresentation and overrepresentation. It would not hinder the production of texts like the usage of additional diacritics or special characters would, because with a Japanese font installed one can at least switch between *hiragana* and *katakana* freely.[15] Even if it meant expanding

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[15] The switching process may still be found a little time-consuming when compared to an undisturbed flow of typing, but nevertheless it would not be as time-consuming as combining different diacritics to produce a desired character. It would also prevent the necessity of developing any special fonts for the purpose of writing in Miyakoan.

the inventory of the system when compared to the source Japanese script, it would not result in being too much of a burden on the users' memory, because every literate member of Japanese society knows both *hiragana* and *katakana* anyway. The transfer between the dominant language writing system and its adjustment to the minority language would be generally positive, also in case of representing specifically Miyakoan sounds, provided the choices of *kana* graphemes to represent them would be systemically justified.

As for the representation of depalatalized sibilants /si/, /zi/, /tsi/, Tomihama followed the tradition of indicating them by symbols for *kana* /su/, /zu/ and /tsu/. Apparently aware of an uncanny underrepresentation, however, he also devised special characters to indicate Miyakoan /su/, /zu/ and /tsu/, and he did it namely by following the *kana* /su/, /zu/ and /tsu/ graphemic representations with a lower-index /u/ grapheme. In other words, Miyakoan /si/, /zi/, /tsi/ were written as <す>, <ず> and <つ>, and /su/, /zu/, /tsu/ as <すぅ>, <ずぅ> and <つぅ> respectively. While this solution still carries the risk of causing negative transfer (a different notation of /su/, /zu/ and /tsu/ in Japanese and Miyakoan, a different interpretation of <す>, <ず> and <つ> in Japanese and Miyakoan), the idea itself of keeping both series apart in the *kana* representation of Miyakoan seems rather innovative of Tomihama, and therefore noteworthy.

The following proposal of a *kana*-based Miyakoan orthography can be thought of as a result of an inspiration by Tomihama 2013 and Wedekind & Wedekind 1997. The interpretation of Miyakoan phonemic system has been based on the author's analysis of Nikolay Nevskiy's lexicographic notes (Nevskiy 2005; Nevskiy 2013; Jarosz 2015).

1) *Katakana* has been chosen to be the main, or the "matrix", script of the proposed orthography. The reason for this choice is that *katakana*, being the script for rendering loanwords and transliterating foreign words, is generally perceived as a more flexible system, therefore one more suited for writing "unusual" and "un-Japanese" sounds. Moreover, *katakana* gives to a text a somewhat foreign look, which seems appropriate for representing a minority language, rather than a mere "dialect" of Japanese, which Ryukyuan languages have been labeled as over the past hundred years.
2) To indicate that a given syllabogram (grapheme) should be interpreted for its consonant value only, *hiragana* graphemes will be consistently used throughout the system. To be more exact, *hiragana* graphemes incorporated in the Miyakoan script will consist of the /u/-nucleus graphemes representing relevant /Cu/ syllables. This choice follows the tradition of

syllabic representation of Japanese, especially in the case of *katakana*, in which the approximation of foreign consonant clusters or syllable-final consonants is often achieved by representing the consonantal sounds in question by a /Cu/ syllable, /C/ indicating the consonant of interest and /u/ interpreted as a very weak or devoiced vowel.[16] Another choice could have been the series of graphemes representing /Ci/ syllables, as observed in the consonant clusters notation of Yonaha and Tomihama. Among the reasons why the /Cu/ graphemes have been considered more appropriate for this specific purpose one can mention a potential confusion (the risk of negative transfer from Japanese to Miyakoan), as the consonant of /Ci/ syllables in Japanese writing system is interpreted as a palatalized one and therefore the /Ci/-representing graphemes participate in producing compound graphemes expressing palatalization (/Ci/ + lower index /jV/ = /CjV/, for example <き> /ki/ + <や> /ja/ = <きゃ> /kja/), a feature that can be readily used also in Miyakoan script. Moreover, the usage of /Ci/-indicating graphemes may be linguistically justified for Miyakoan stop-initial clusters such as /ps/, /ks/, /bz/ and /gz/, as well as the moraic-syllabic /z/, because they diachronically derive from the apical realization of /i/ and by some they are still interpreted as allophones of a vowel phoneme (Tomihama 2013 among them). Nevertheless, this solution would not be linguistically grounded anymore with the remaining cluster-, nucleus – or coda-participating consonants, /m/ or /f/ among them. Therefore, it has been concluded that a consistent usage of /Cu/-representing *hiragana* graphemes for their "consonant only" value in Miyakoan would be to the advantage of simplifying the system and facilitating its use. Also, the author has the impression that using graphemes which normally indicate palatalized consonants to represent sounds which display no palatalization feature would be counter-intuitive (and also lead to an underrepresentation of not very frequent, but still possible nucleus realizations of alveolo-palatal fricatives /ɕ/ and /ʑ/).

3) The exceptions to the above rule of *hiragana* graphemes usage are as follows.
   a) The grapheme representing voiced labio-dental fricative /v/ will be borrowed from the *katakana* representations of /v/-initial syllables which appear in modern loanwords in Japanese, <ヴ> (to be precise, this character encodes the syllable /vu/, and is created from the grapheme representing the onsetless syllable /u/ combined with an idiosyncratic

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[16] Thus, for instance, the family name of the author of this paper, [jarɔʃ], is transliterated into *katakana* as <ヤロシュ> *Yaroshu* and pronounced [jaɾoʃɯ]).

usage of the normally voicing diacritic < ゙ >). One reason for this choice is to enable the positive transfer from the dominant language orthography; another is that otherwise one would be forced to devise a special character or character compound to represent this sound, which would be redundant under these circumstances, and not very likely to be any more linguistically grounded. To keep the encoding of this consonant consistent with the overall script rule of "representing the consonant-only value with *hiragana* graphemes", however, it is postulated that /v/ as a nucleus or coda should be written with a *hiragana* character, and with a *katakana* character when in an onset position. Cp. *kuv* クゔ <kuvu> 'a spider' and *avva* アッヴァ <avva> 'oil, fat'.

b) For indicating the cluster-initial, nucleus or coda position of /n/, the *hiragana* grapheme representing /N/, <ん>, will be used. It appears that in Miyakoan [N] is a fairly predictable cluster-initial and coda-positioned allophone of /n/, so linguistically there would be no need to breach the system rule described in 2) above and apply a grapheme different from *hiragana* <ぬ> /nu/ to indicate the former. Nevertheless, it is believed that in this particular case the maximum representation principle could be compromised for the sake of the positive transfer.

c) There are two palatalized consonants in Miyakoan – the voiceless and voiced alveolo-palatal fricative (or rather their long counterparts) – that can also appear in the nucleus position of a syllable. For these two phonemes, *hiragana* graphemes representing /Ci/ rather than /Cu/ syllables – <し> for /ɕ/ and <じ> for /ʑ/ – will be exceptionally posited.

Table 2 summarizes the points made in 2) and 3) above, showing the postulated inventory of "consonant-only" graphemes in the proposed orthography.

Table 2. Graphemes to be interpreted for their consonant value only.

phoneme	/p/	/b/	/k/	/g/	/f/	/v/	/s/	/z/	/ɕ/	/ʑ/	/m/	/n/
grapheme	ぷ	ぶ	く	ぐ	ふ	ゔ	す	ず	し	じ	む	ん
original *kana* sound value	/pu/	/bu/	/ku/	/gu/	/fu/	/vu/	/su/	/zu/	/ɕi/	/dʑi/	/mu/	/N/

4) To make the notation consistent and unified, all characters in all consonant clusters will be full-size. In other words, unlike for example Yonaha 2003, also stop-initial clusters will have both cluster components rendered full-size

and not as compound characters with the second consonant grapheme minimized to a lower-index size. Cp. *fmu* ふム <fumu> 'cloud', *kss* くっす <kussu> 'to come', *nkjaːm* んキャーむ <nkjaːmu> 'the past'.

5) The depalatalized series of sibilants followed by the apical realization of /i/ will be written by using compound graphemes. The basic grapheme will be /Cu/, followed by a lower index vowel-only /i/ grapheme. This solution is considered to be more intuitive linguistically and less damaging to Japanese-Miyakoan transfer than Tomihama's proposal of representing /Ci/ syllables in question as <Cu> and conversely /Cu/ as <Cu$_u$>.

Table 3. A comparison of graphemes to represent sibilants followed by the regular realization of /i/, the apical realization of /i/, and /u/.

syllable	/ɕi/	/si/	/su/	/ʑi/	/zi/	/zu/	/tɕi/	/tsi/	/tsu/
grapheme	シ	スィ	ス	ジ	ズィ	ズ	チ	ツィ	ツ
original Japanese value of the grapheme	/ɕi/	/su/ + /i/	/su/	/dʑi/	/zu/ + /i/	/zu/	/tɕi/	/tsu/ + /i/	/tsu/

6) The script will include three diacritic symbols that are normally used in the Japanese *katakana* orthography.
   a) The consonant voicing symbol <゛>, which also happens to combine with the grapheme representing /u/ to indicate /v/-initial syllables (*katakana*) or standalone moraic-syllabic /v/ (*hiragana*), cf. 3-a above.
   b) The stop symbol <゜>, which, as in Japanese, will only be used for its basic function, namely to indicate that an /h/-series consonant (in the case of Japanese it applies to the graphemes representing the syllables /ha/, /hi/, /fu/, /he/ and /ho/) should be interpreted as the voiceless bilabial stop (thus /pa/, /pi/, /pu/, /pe/ and /po/).
   c) The vowel lengthening symbol <ー>, which is specific to *katakana* only. In *hiragana*, vowel lengthening is marked by adding a homogenous "bare vowel" character to the grapheme which represents a short vowel as its nucleus; therefore, for instance, the syllable /kaː/ is represented as <か> /ka/ plus normal-size <あ> /a/ = <かあ>. It would be favorable to apply the *hiragana* vowel lengthening strategy from the perspective of limiting the grapheme and symbol inventory. On the other hand, it would also undermine the systemic consistency of a script based on *katakana*. Also, for the same reason, it would be expected to limit the positive transfer results because, even though the system used would

be essentially *katakana*, the vowel lengthening rules would be different from how they work in the dominant language use of the script in question. Finally, a unified vowel lengthening mark has an advantage of simplicity – instead of adding a context-based heterogenous standalone vowel grapheme to lengthen the syllable, all vowel lengthening could be managed by a single diacritic.

7) Three further strategies of grapheme compounding (apart from the one mentioned in 5 above) will be used to cover several secondary articulation features of Miyakoan phonemes.

   a) As they are in both *hiragana* and *katakana* scripts, long consonants will be indicated by preceding the grapheme of the basic short consonant value with a lower-index grapheme <ッ>, the full-size equivalent of which represents the syllable /tsu/. In Miyakoan, this character will have a much more widespread use than in Japanese, as apart from the syllable-onset voiceless obstruents, long consonants may appear in a word-initial position, and furthermore, lengthening of voiced consonants is also a frequent phenomenon.

   b) Following the relevant *hiragana* and *katakana* rule, palatalized consonants – except for the alveolo-palatal sibilants, which are represented by separate graphemes – will be expressed by combining a /Ci/-representing grapheme with an appropriate lower-index /jV/ grapheme (see also 2 above).

   c) Labialization is a marginal feature of Miyakoan sound system, if phonemic at all.[17] It seems to occur in Okinawan loanwords only. For the time being, the script will take labialized velar stops /kw/ and /gw/ into phonemic consideration and allow representing them like the dialectological tradition has it, i.e. by combining the normal-size graphemes representing /ku/ and /gu/ with a lower-index grapheme representing /wa/ (therefore <クヮ> /kwa/, <グヮ> /gwa/).

The outcome

Table 4 lists the complete inventory of basic graphemes in the proposed Miyakoan script. The rows have been arranged according to a traditional syllabary (so-called *gojūon*) order of Japanese. The vertical row indicates the

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[17] Jarosz 2014 does not consider labialized velars a part of Miyakoan phonemic system. Since then, however, a number of minimal pairs between /k/ and /kw/ have been found in Nevskiy's lexicographic notes, which suggests that this matter requires at least some further evaluation.

onset consonants, while the horizontal row represents the nuclei. The <x> character in the onset row means that the given syllable has no onset, while the same <x> character in the nucleus row represents a standalone consonant (one in a cluster-initial, nucleus or coda position).

Note that short mid-close vowels [e] and [o] are usually not considered phonemic in "traditional" Miyakoan ("traditional" as opposed to Japanese-influenced Miyakoan with a significant amount of Japanese loanwords). Their long counterparts [eː] and [oː] can, however, be phonemically distinct, at least in a number of Miyakoan regiolects. Moreover, both /e/ and /o/ may occur in Japanese loanwords. It is therefore regarded as essential to incorporate in the inventory /Ce/- and /Co/-representing graphemes, even if in their unmodified form they will have little to no functional load.

Table 4. Basic grapheme inventory in the Miyakoan script.

	a	i	u	e	o	x
x	ア	イ	ウ	エ	オ	
k	カ	キ	ク	ケ	コ	く
s ~ ɕ[1]	サ	シ	ス	セ	ソ	す
t ~ tɕ[2]	タ	チ	ツ	テ	ト	つ
n	ナ	ニ	ヌ	ネ	ノ	ん
h ~ f[3]	ハ	ヒ	フ	ヘ	ホ	ふ
m	マ	ミ	ム	メ	モ	む
j	ヤ		ユ		ヨ	
r	ラ	リ	ル	レ	ロ	
w	ワ					ゔ /v/

[1] When followed by a non-apical realization of /i/.
[2] When followed by a non-apical realization of /i/.
[3] When followed by /u/ and when standalone.

The final result is an inventory of 52 graphemes, a number increased by six graphemes when compared to the full inventories of either *katakana* or *hiragana* Japanese scripts. This inventory will allow flexible representation of Miyakoan sound structure by further relying on the diacritics (stop diacritic, voicing diacritic, vowel lengthening marker) and character compounding strategies (consonant lengthening, palatalization, depalatalization, labialization, production of syllables not available in Japanese) that have been discussed in detail in the previous sections.

The script in practice

This section contains illustrations of the script and orthography in use.[18] Example sentences have been borrowed from Nevskiy's lexicographic notes (Nevskiy 2005), altered into a phonological notation and transliterated into the proposed script. English translation follows after each example.

(1) アーカラー　　　　ムッザ　　　　　　ウイん。
aː-karaː　　　　　*muzz-a*　　　　　*ui-n*
millet-ABL.TOP　　　wheat-TOP　　　　grow-NEG.NPST
'You can't grow wheat out of millet' (a proverb).

(2) バガ　　　　　アッザバ　　　ッヴァー　　　カキ。
ba-ga　　　　azz-aba　　　vvaː　　　　kak-i
1SG-NOM　　　say-COND　　　2SG.TOP　　　write-IMP
'Write as I say'.

(3) カぶずヌ　　ナカん　　　ウマッツァ　ツィツィムッゾー　　　　　ノーガ。
kabz-nu　　naka-n　　　umatss-a　tsitsim-uz-zoː　　　　noː=ga
paper-GEN　inside-LOC　fire-TOP　embrace-PROG.NPST-NMN.TOP　what=INT
'What is it: it is embracing a fire inside paper?' (a riddle).

(4) ヌドゥヌ　　　　カキューず。
nudu-nu　　　　kakj-uːz
throat-NOM　　　be dry-PROG.NPST
'I am thirsty'.

(5) クヮイキーヌ　　　カムイ
kwaikiː-nu　　　kamui
account-GEN　　　person in charge
'An accountant'.

(6) くすヌドゥ　　　　ヤマトゥ　ぷすトゥヌ　　　くすタず。
ksnuː-du　　　　jamatu　pstu-nu　　　ks-taz
yesterday-FOC　　Japan　man-NOM　　　come-PST
'Yesterday, a Japanese came.'

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[18] The following abbreviations have been used in glossing the example sentences of this chapter: 1SG (first person singular), 2SG (second person singular), ABL (ablative), FOC (focus), GEN (genitive), IMP (imperative), INT (interrogative), NEG (negative), NMN (nominalizer), NOM (nominative), NPST (non-past), PST (past), TOP (topic).

There is an observable necessity to mark word boundaries by spaces. It is a feature absent from the Japanese writing system, but widely spread among the *kana*-based notations of other Ryukyuan languages (cp. transcription of Okinawan in Nishioka & Nakahara 2000 or Ie-Kunigami in Oshio 2014). In Japanese, content word roots are more often than not written in *kanji* characters, so a fluent reader knows exactly where the word boundaries fall and the use of spaces would be redundant. Naturally, without the use of *kanji*, this is not so in Ryukyuan.

Reservations, revisions, and conclusions

The above proposal has primarily been concerned with the segmental aspect of representing a language with a new orthography. Apart from the spaces to be inserted between word boundaries, no issues concerning the morphosyntactic layer of an orthography have been touched upon. Naturally, a full-fledged discussion of this layer would require a different analysis of the linguistic material and thus it remains a subject to be addressed in yet another paper.

The proposed script and orthography can be considered to have the following shortcomings.

1) In the *maximum means of reproduction*, manual switching back and forth from *katakana* to *hiragana* scripts whenever a consonantal usage of a grapheme is needed considerably delays the typing process. A technical solution would be necessary to make the typing more fluent and even-paced – perhaps a keyboard shortcut that would allow to immediately switch from *hiragana* to *katakana* (switching from *katakana* to *hiragana* is already easier as it is enough to simply double-press the Shift key).

2) The inventory of Miyakoan script has been based on *katakana* with a few additional *hiragana* graphemes to indicate the consonantal value of a grapheme. This choice has been made due to the foreign (non-Japanese) language impression that a notation in *katakana* is thought to project upon a written text. This very advantage of *katakana*, however, for its Miyakoan usage may also result in an unwanted outcome of a *negative transfer*. That is precisely because it is *katakana* and not *hiragana* that serves in the dominant language writing system for the purpose of writing non-native words with non-native sounds. Graphemes used in Miyakoan orthography

for their "consonant only" value represent phonemes with a distribution normally non-existent in Japanese, and therefore writing them in *hiragana* might disturb their interpretation as "those sounds that do not occur in Japanese". It is conceivable that for a reader of a Miyakoan text it might be much easier to identify the value of a given consonant-only grapheme as "a specifically Miyakoan sound which is not there in Japanese" if it was written in *katakana* rather than *hiragana*. Consequently, and contrary to the assumption undertaken earlier in this paper, it may be after all preferable to reverse the proportion in the grapheme inventory so that its basis is formed by *hiragana* characters, supplied by a handful of consonant-only *katakana* characters, as proposed in Tomihama 2013. If such an orthography was ever to be considered to be applied by the Miyakoan-speaking community, the only way to answer to this question would be to test both inventory proportions and verify which script is more practical and takes less time for its users to correctly process the written language.

The proposed script essentially operates as a syllabic writing system, meaning that its basic unit of representation is a syllable. Unlike Japanese *hiragana* and *katakana*, however, which are almost purely syllabic, Miyakoan script would make use of seven consonantal graphemes, which stand for slightly more than ten percent of the total grapheme inventory. It probably would not be out of place to classify this script as representing a hybrid writing system: a syllabic system with considerable phonological elements.

Within purely theoretical frameworks, such as those explained in Wedekind & Wedekind 1997, the above proposal could be considered a fairly satisfying compromise among the multiple necessities that need to be fulfilled when devising an orthography of a yet unwritten language, while using a writing system that can be hardly considered best-suited for representing the language in question as the basis. Nevertheless, one must not forget that literacy in an actual living language is not a theoretical construct, but a practical endeavor, and as such its usefulness and adequacy cannot be assessed until it has been actually tried out by the speakers and learners of the language.

The purpose of this paper has therefore by no means been to provide any ready-made solutions for an immediate use to a community. Rather, it has been meant as a testimony to DeFrancis' words that "speech underlies all real writing, which is only that writing which permits expressing any and all thought" (1989: 47), "real writing" meaning such a system that has the sound (phonemic) component of representation of the language that falls between

one and ninety-nine percent of the total number of graphemes available (ibid., 50–51). Consequently, any such "real" or "full" writing system can be used for representing any natural language, even though not all writing systems are equally suited for writing all languages. This is certainly the case with representing Miyakoan with Japanese syllabaries: as the syllable structure of Miyakoan is more complex than that of Japanese, adjusting a Japanese syllabic script for the purpose of writing Miyakoan takes some elaboration and alterations. Nevertheless, the task is not impossible to accomplish, and what is of equal importance, satisfying results apparently could be achieved at a relatively low cost as far as both linguistic and text reproduction considerations are concerned.

Again, however, it goes without saying that is the community that will be the target user of the script. Consequently, it is the community that should feel comfortable and compelled to use the proposed system, or else the newly developed script might turn out detrimental to language preservation rather than promote it. The point is not about linguists imposing the solutions, but about offering a convincing diversity of them. That the community does have the choice, and whatever script they opt for could be satisfying from the language representation point of view, indeed appears as an uplifting conclusion.

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Milpa, Wage Work and Yucatec Maya: Future Orientation and Language Attitudes of Children and Youth in Yucatan, Mexico

ERIKO YAMASAKI
University of Bonn

Introduction

Yucatec Maya[1] is spoken in the peninsula of Yucatan, mainly in the Mexican states of Yucatan, Quintana Roo and Campeche, as well as northern Belize. Counting more than 790,000 speakers in Mexico alone, it is the second largest indigenous language group in Mexico after Nahuatl (INEGI 2011a).[2] The state of Yucatan, upon which the present paper focuses, has the highest ratio of Yucatec Maya speakers among the general population in Mexico, with more than 29 percent of the population older than five years speaking the language. Of these Maya speakers, over 90 percent are bilingual in Spanish and Yucatec Maya (INEGI 2011a).

   Although it might seem upon first glance that the future vitality of Yucatec Maya is secured, closer inspection reveals that the sociolinguistic situation in the Yucatan peninsula is facing change. Firstly, the percentage of Maya speakers in relation to the general population of the area is constantly declining. In the case of the state of Yucatan, while Maya speakers represented the majority of the population in 1980 (INEGI 1980), according to the latest census data, the language is spoken only by 29 percent (INEGI 2011a). Secondly, the

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[1]   Yucatec Maya language is called 'Maaya' by its own speakers. In this article, the term 'Maya' refers to the Yucatec Maya language rather than the entire Maya language family, unless otherwise indicated.
[2]   Figures on language usage detailed in this chapter merely serve to provide a general overview of the situation. These census data on language usage should always be treated critically, as self-reports of language usage can deviate from actual language behavior and language competence, influenced by factors such as prestige, ethnicity and political affiliation (Romaine 2000: 36).

distribution of Maya speakers among various generations suggests that the language transmission rate is possibly decreasing. In the state of Yucatan, while more than half of the people older than 55 years speak an indigenous language,[3] less than a quarter of those younger than 20 years speak it (INEGI 2011a).[4]

Concerning the geographic distribution of the language within the state of Yucatan, the percentage of Maya speakers among the general population is the highest in the traditional maize-cultivating southeast and the citrus--growing south,[5] although a proportional decrease in Maya speakers can be observed in the sub-region of the maize-cultivating zone in the last decades (Pfeiler 2012: 205). This declining significance of Yucatec Maya should be considered in the context of the socioeconomic changes experienced by Maya speakers in the maize-cultivating zone.

Maize cultivation in a system of slash-and-burn agriculture, known in Mesoamerica as *milpa*, is the traditional form of production in the Mayan economy, given that the stony grounds comprising porous limestone rock render mechanized-intensive agriculture impossible in many parts of the Yucatan peninsula. The traditional *milpa* system of agriculture is well suited to the environmental conditions of the peninsula and plays an important role as a means of subsistence food supply, especially in the south and south-eastern parts of the state of Yucatan. *Milpa* peasants are used to conducting further economic activities such as apiculture, hunting, horticulture, livestock keeping or wage work in urban centers to supplement their income during less labor-intensive periods. In the recent decades, however, peasants in the maize-growing region are increasingly confronted with difficulties living off the traditional *milpa* system of agriculture. Declining yields due to the overex-ploitation of the land and rising demands for cash have rendered subsistence farming difficult, aggravated by the reduction in farm subsidies provided by the Mexican government, as well as declining prices for maize. Moreover, mass

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[3] Due to the availability of data, this only refers to the percentage of speakers of an indigenous language (but not specifically Maya). However, in the case of the state of Yucatan, more than 98 percent of speakers of an indigenous language are Maya speakers (INEGI 2011a).

[4] The age-dependent variation in language use and language competence from a cross-sectional study does not necessarily indicate a language shift, given that patterns of language use and language competence might change across the life course (Fasold 1984: 215; Saxena 2002: 37f.). In the case of Yucatan, however, insights gained from the literature review (e.g. Pfeiler & Zámišová 2006: 286) suggest that it is rather related to the declining language transmission rate.

[5] According to García de Fuentes and Córdoba y Ordóñez (2010), the state of Yucatan can be divided into the following socio-productive regions based on demographic and agricultural characteristics: metropolitan, coast, cattle-ranching, henequen-growing, south, maize-growing and west.

media and communication technology like television, which are now available in many parts of the rural area in the peninsula, have influenced the values and consumption behavior – especially of young people – prompting their perceived need to seek alternatives to the *milpa* agriculture to secure themselves a supposedly better life (Baños Ramírez 2001: 260). Particularly since the construction of the tourist zone along the Caribbean coast in 1970s, it can be noted that people – especially fathers of schoolchildren – have increasingly become full-time wageworkers in the coastal zone, including Cancún, Tulum and Playa del Carmen. Some completely move to the city with their family, whereas others prefer to leave their family members in the home village and return on weekends while staying and working in the city during the week. Although the mobility of Yucatec Maya speakers is not a recent phenomenon, the characteristics of migration after the construction of the tourist zone along the Caribbean coast since the 1970s have increased the number of full--time wageworkers, accompanied by the regression of *milpa* agriculture. In particular, many young people migrate to the urban centers directly after the graduation without having acquired knowledge of the *milpa* agriculture, resulting in the rupture in intergenerational knowledge transmission. In many communities, differences among generations can also be observed in patterns of language use, signaling an ongoing language shift from Yucatec Maya to Spanish. Examining the impacts of socioeconomic changes on language vitality, the present paper focuses on the future orientation and language attitudes of children and youth in the maize-cultivating zone, drawing on data from a questionnaire-based survey conducted in the municipality of Yaxcabá. In order to contextualize the study, the following section provides some general information on the linguistic situation in Yucatan.

Assessing the linguistic vitality of Yucatec Maya

In order to illustrate the current vitality of Yucatec Maya, several factors are contrasted that are suggestive of either language maintenance or language shift. Building upon Pfeiler & Zámišová (2006: 285f.), factors favoring language vitality can be subsumed as follows.

First of all, demographic and geographic conditions have long been favorable to the language maintenance of Yucatec Maya. The number of speakers is relatively large and speakers reside in high geographic concentration in the Yucatan peninsula, which has traditionally been inhabited by the same

population. Furthermore, many rural communities were relatively isolated until the 1960s (Pfeiler & Zámišová 2006: 285). Focusing on the language itself, the variation of regional dialects is small and there is a long writing tradition in the language, albeit with varying orthographic conventions. And perhaps most importantly, language attitudes have considerably improved in recent years in favor of Yucatec Maya. The importance of Yucatec Maya is approved not only by Maya speakers, but also by many monolingual Spanish speakers (e.g. Sima Lozano 2011: 75; Sima Lozano, Perales Escudero & Be Ramírez 2014: 172). On the one hand, residing in the state of Yucatan, they appreciate the practical advantages of being bilingual in Yucatec Maya and Spanish. On the other hand, there is a general consensus on the cultural value of the language, especially if it becomes associated with the Maya cultural heritage, including famous archaeological sites such as Chichen Itza, which attract national as well as international tourists. Possibly, a strong interest in the language and the culture from abroad has also contributed to recent revaluation of the language.[6] In addition, the language use is supported by the state, which manifests itself in Maya speaking radio stations,[7] indigenous education (*educación indígena*) in pre – and elementary schools[8] and contests in Yucatec Mayan language, for example.

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[6] However, it is important to note that a predominantly positive evaluation of Yucatec Maya as a language does not necessarily translate into favorable attitudes toward its speakers. Sima Lozano, Perales Escudero & Be Ramírez report that monolingual Spanish speakers, in particular, tend to have a negative image of monolingual Maya speakers in the city of Mérida even though they might evaluate the language itself positively (2014: 170–173). In addition, Maya speakers tend to distinguish between the old, pure form of the Mayan language and the modern Mayan variety mixed with Spanish elements. They consider the former to be correct and authentic, the latter to be incorrect and corrupt (Pfeiler 1998). This kind of language ideology can lead to devaluation of the variety of Yucatec Maya that is actually spoken by people in the daily life.

[7] There are bilingual radio stations that broadcast programs in the Yucatec Maya language, such as XEPET, La Voz de los Mayas from Peto, Yucatan and XENKA, La Voz del Gran Pueblo from Felipe Carrillo Puerto, Quintana Roo. The radio station XEXPUJ, La Voz del Corazón de la Selva from Xpujil, Campeche also has a program in Yucatec Mayan language. For further information on indigenous radio broadcasting, see e.g. Cornejo Portugal (2002).

[8] Indigenous primary education is currently implemented in two modalities in the state of Yucatan, which are Indigenous Intercultural Bilingual Education under the auspices of the *Dirección General de Educación Indígena* (DGEI) and the Program of Educational Assistance to the Indigenous Population under the auspices of the *Consejo Nacional de Fomento Educativo* (CONAFE). Indigenous Intercultural Bilingual Education in Spanish and Yucatec Maya is available at bilingual preschools and elementary schools. In the school year 2011/2012, 281 of 1,285 pre-schools and 172 of 1,403 elementary schools in the state of Yucatan belonged to the indigenous education system offering Indigenous Intercultural Bilingual Education (SEP 2012: 44, 50, 58, 64). According to Pfeiler & Zámišová (2006: 288), more than two-thirds of Maya-speaking school-age children attend general education programs rather than bilingual ones. Also, the program by the CONAFE only serves communities ranging from fewer than 100 to 500 inhabitants in the state of Yucatan (Pfeiler & Zámišová 2006: 289). For a comparative analysis of both modalities of the indigenous education, see Pfeiler & Zámišová (2006).

On the contrary, several factors seem to be provoking a language shift to Spanish, especially in recent decades. Firstly, Yucatec Maya is not sufficiently represented in public domains such as mass media, education, public administration and public health care. Mass media, especially television and internet, whose language is almost exclusively Spanish, are also becoming increasingly important in rural areas of the peninsula. In terms of printing, although the rate of publications in Yucatec Maya is now accelerating, the distribution of materials remains sparse and Yucatec Maya literacy is not very widespread among Maya speakers (Brody 2004: 104f). Instruction in schools is predominantly carried out in Spanish, which motivates many parents to only speak Spanish to school-age children, being anxious about their success in school.[9] Due to the insufficient presence of the language in public administration and health care, Maya speakers perceive the necessity to speak Spanish and begin to question the utility of Yucatec Maya for the next generation, in urban and rural areas alike.[10]

Secondly, migration of speakers to the urban centers of the peninsula such as Mérida and Cancún has affected the sociolinguistic situation in various ways. For instance, it has prompted many urban immigrants to reduce their use of Yucatec Maya and cease transmitting the language to their next generation (Moßbrucker 1992: 198; Yamasaki 2010: 78f for the case of Mérida). Moreover, the orientation of many Maya speakers to urban employment, for which command of Spanish is essential, can change language attitudes and language transmission patterns at the expense of Yucatec Maya, even in rural areas.

In this context, it is important to note that Yucatec Maya is associated with a rural way of life and peasantry, which are considered backward and inferior to the urban life by many city dwellers (Gabbert 2001: 272f).[11] The persisting image of Maya speakers as poor peasants from the countryside leads aspiring Maya speakers – especially in urban areas – to change their language behavior. This association of both languages with different forms of living is essential considering the future vitality of Yucatec Maya in the context of

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[9] It is often the case even if the schools belong to the indigenous education system.

[10] For example, staff in biomedical healthcare facilities is often monolingual in Spanish without command of Yucatec Maya, leading to communication difficulties between the staff and patients.

[11] On the other hand, it should be mentioned that Yucatec Maya is increasingly visible as well as audible in the public space of the cities. Firstly, written form of Yucatec Maya is present in the prominent areas of the urban space, for example, as explanations on history and art in the old town of Mérida, signs in a shopping mall in Cancún or as restaurant names. Secondly, mainly due to the rural-urban migration, but also due to the recent revaluation of the language, Yucatec Maya is heard more frequently than previously in public spaces of urban areas (Barbara Pfeiler, pc and my own observation).

socioeconomic and sociocultural changes. Obviously, as several ethnographic studies on language shift (e.g. Gal 1979; Kulick 1992) have already demonstrated, socioeconomic changes such as urbanization can only influence the language contact situation indirectly by changing speakers' values and goals in a way that speaking or transmitting their language no longer seems advantageous to them. Therefore, in order to investigate the impacts of social changes on language shift, it is crucial to see how these changes become interpreted by speakers, causing them to ultimately change their language attitudes and behavior (cf. Kulick 1992: 8f). In many communities in the maize-cultivation zone of Yucatan, increased opportunities for wage work in urban centers have changed people's daily lives, which were previously centered on the *milpa* agriculture, influencing values and consumption behavior in a way that they are increasingly involved in global capitalism. These changes have significant impacts on youths' attitudes toward the traditional subsistence agriculture and future orientation, accompanied by changes in their language behavior and attitudes. In the following, the results of a questionnaire survey are presented that investigated future orientation, language behavior and language attitudes of children and youth in the maize cultivating-zone of Yucatan.

Questionnaire survey: context and method

Data presented in the following are obtained from a questionnaire-based survey conducted in elementary and junior high schools in Yaxcabá and Tiholop communities, which belong to the municipality of Yaxcabá, Yucatan. The questionnaire survey was conducted as part of ethnographic fieldwork concerning the impacts of urbanization on the language vitality of Yucatec Maya, carried out in the municipality of Yaxcabá, Mérida and Cancún from April 2013 to January 2014. The questionnaire was developed during the fieldwork based upon insights into the topic gained from preceding participant observation and semi-structured interviews. Participant observation through dwelling in both communities over several months also provided rich information on the context, which has been essential for interpreting the data. In the following, some general information on the two research sites of Yaxcabá and Tiholop are presented to comprehend the context in which the survey was conducted.

Both Yaxcabá and Tiholop belong to the municipality of Yaxcabá, with Yaxcabá being the municipal seat. With 3,007 inhabitants, Yaxcabá is approximately

twice as large as Tiholop with 1,463 residents (INEGI 2011b). The distance between the two sites is about 33 kilometers, although a car ride from one place to the other can take over an hour due to poor road conditions.

Census data (INEGI 2011b) indicate that the two sites significantly differ in their sociolinguistic situation. In Yaxcabá, Yucatec Maya is spoken by about 62 percent of the population older than five years, compared with over 96 percent in Tiholop.[12] The difference in sociolinguistic situations between the two sites can be noticed immediately upon arrival in the communities. In Yaxcabá, the command and use of Yucatec Maya is dependent on generations. Both Yucatac Maya and Spanish are used for communication with fellow villagers, although the use of Spanish predominates in younger generations, and especially those under 30. When it comes to adolescents and children, the majority has either only passive or no command of Yucatec Maya. Moreover, even if they have active command of the language, they seldom speak it. By contrast, in Tiholop, Yucatec Maya is the language used for overall communication and Spanish is hardly heard; rather, it is merely used when communicating with small children. They are beginning to speak to their small children in Spanish, even if they hardly speak it with other fellow villagers.

The main economic activity in both communities has been *milpa* agriculture combined with apiculture, horticulture, livestock keeping and wage work in the urban centers such as Mérida and Cancún. Apiculture and wage work can be carried out to supplement the *milpa* agriculture, although they can also replace the *milpa* economy. Especially in Yaxcabá, increasing numbers of people are full-time wageworkers or specialize in apiculture without cultivating *milpa*, given that these activities are more lucrative than subsistence agriculture.

Migration to the urban center as a means of obtaining cash income is common in both communities and their migration patterns are also similar. Although massive rural-urban migration began with the construction of the tourist resort along the Caribbean coast in the 1970s, migrants from Yaxcabá and Tiholop nowadays prefer to go to Mérida for work and return to their home village every weekend due to its proximity. Migrants are often young unmarried men and women or fathers of schoolchildren who leave their family members in the home village. Although migration represents an

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[12] The census only refers to the percentage of speakers of an indigenous language (but not specifically Maya). However, as mentioned in footnote 3, in the case of the state of Yucatan, more than 98 percent of speakers of an indigenous language are Maya speakers (INEGI 2011a). Furthermore, based upon my own observation, hardly any speakers of other indigenous languages can be found in Yaxcabá and Tiholop.

important income source in both communities, people in Yaxcabá are more engaged in migration, probably due to its better accessibility. Yaxcabá lies in close proximity to the federal highway, which connects important places in the peninsula such as Mérida and Cancún. The distance between Yaxcabá and the federal highway measures at 18 kilometers, whereas Tiholop is over 50 kilometers away.[13]

Concerning education, a notable difference between the two places is that the elementary school in Tiholop belongs to the system of indigenous education (*educación indígena*), whereas both elementary schools in Yaxcabá belong to the system of basic education without special attention to Yucatec Maya.

In terms of the use of media, the Maya speaking radio station XEPET is available and used by Maya speakers in both villages. Other media often used by Maya speakers include television and the internet, which are predominantly monolingual in Spanish. In Tiholop, an internet connection only became available for the general public in December 2013.

Thus far, some similarities and differences between the two sites have been sketched out based upon census data and my own observation. In the following section, data on the future orientation, language competence and language attitudes of students in both sites are presented, drawn from questionnaire studies conducted at the elementary and junior high schools. Concerning future orientation, the focus lies in students' attitudes toward traditional subsistence agriculture. It could be observed in both Yaxcabá and Tiholop that attitudes toward *milpa* agriculture are facing change in a similar way as the language behavior of children and youth.

Prior to presenting the results, basic information on the methods of data collection is provided. The questionnaire was administered during regular class times to a total of 177 students from two elementary schools and one junior high school in Yaxcabá, as well as one elementary school and one junior high school in Tiholop, targeting students in the sixth grade at the elementary schools and the third grade in the junior high schools. Accordingly, the survey covered all elementary schools and junior high schools in Yaxcabá and Tiholop. The questionnaire[14] involved both open and closed questions, mainly containing items about future orientation, attitudes toward the *milpa*

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[13] Based on the case of Navajo, Spolsky (1978: 71–75) demonstrates that accessibility of the communities can have a significant influence on the sociolinguistic situation. He reports that in the case of Navajo, the communities that are nearer to off-reservation towns are more exposed to the majority language of English.

[14] The language of the questionnaire was Spanish.

agriculture, language competence, language behavior and language attitudes. Of these items, the present paper focuses on students' attitudes to the *milpa* agriculture and Yucatec Maya.

Results

First of all, the data on the language competence[15] and first language of the students are presented, which provides good insight into the sociolinguistic situation of both communities. A comparison of the language competence and first language of the respondents of Yaxcabá and Tiholop demonstrates significant differences in the sociolinguistic situation of the two sites, which is in accordance with the census data and my own observation. While students who have active command of Yucatec Maya are a minority in both elementary schools and junior high schools in Yaxcabá, over 80 percent of the students of the elementary school and all students of the junior high school in Tiholop have an active command of Yucatec Maya, while over 95 percent of the elementary school and all students of the junior high school have passive command of the language. A notable difference can be observed not only between the two communities but also between the elementary and junior high school, especially in Tiholop (see Table 1 and 2).

Data on the first language (L1) of the students provide further information for interpretation of the aforementioned variance in students' command of Maya between Yaxcabá and Tiholop, as well as within Tiholop. In Yaxcabá, Yucatec Maya was hardly acquired as the first language by students of the elementary schools and junior high school alike. Moreover, while over 80 percent of the students of the junior high school learned Maya as a first language in Tiholop, the percentage declines to under 55 percent at the elementary school (see Table 3).

Taken together, the results presented above indicate that in Yaxcabá, language shift is already advanced with many children and youth – at least under 15 years old[16] – not having an active command of Yucatec Maya. In

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[15] The data are based on self-report of competence from the questionnaire. For a more exact assessment of competence, other measurement methods are required, as the self-report of competence is not absolutely reliable data.

[16] Age distribution of the students was as follows: In two elementary schools of Yaxcabá, age range of the students was from 11 to 13 with mean age of 11.6. In the junior high school in Yaxcabá: from 14 to 15 with mean age of 14.5. In the elementary school of Tiholop: from 10 to 14 with mean age of 11.5 and in the junior high school of Tiholop: from 14 to 17 with mean age of 14.8.

Table 1. Self-reported active command of Yucatec Maya

Community	School	Maya competence active	
		Yes	No
Yaxcabá	Elementary school	25.0%	75.0%
	Junior high school	33.3%	66.7%
Tiholop	Elementary school	81.4%	18.6%
	Junior high school	100%	0.0%

Table 2. Self-reported passive command of Yucatec Maya

Community	School	Maya competence passive	
		Yes	No
Yaxcabá	Elementary school	58.3%	41.7%
	Junior high school	66.7%	33.3%
Tiholop	Elementary school	95.3%	4.7%
	Junior high school	100%	0.0%

Table 3. First language of students

Community	School	First language	
		Maya	Spanish
Yaxcabá	Elementary school	3.3%	96.7%
	Junior high school	2.4%	97.6%
Tiholop	Elementary school	53.5%	46.5%
	Junior high school	83.9%	16.1%

Tiholop, the majority of the students report active and passive command of Maya and acquisition of Yucatec Maya as their first language. However, the percentage of the students with active Maya competence declines in the elementary school. Considering the variance in students' first language, the data imply changing patterns of language transmission in favor of Spanish between two age-cohorts rather than differing language competence across the individual life course, which conforms to my observation on the current language socialization of children in Tiholop; namely, young children are often addressed in Spanish by their parents, even if parents are not accustomed to speaking Spanish otherwise. In this way, children learn Spanish as their first language. Notwithstanding, children are likely to acquire passive and active

competence of Maya, especially if they live in an extended family, because overall communication in the community – except with small children – is conducted in Yucatec Maya.

Differences in the sociolinguistic situation in the two communities are also manifested in language attitudes.[17] In Tiholop, where Yucatec Maya is more prevalent, more students consider it important to learn Yucatec Maya. Moreover, as is the case with students' command of Yucatec Maya and first language, the variance between the elementary school and junior high school students is more salient in Tiholop compared to Yaxcabá, with all respondents of the junior high school in Tiholop approving the importance of learning Maya (see Fig. 1 and 2). Taken together with the data on students' command of Yucatec Maya and first language, this variance implies the transitional state of bilingualism in Tiholop, possibly accompanied by changing attitudes towards both languages among younger generations.[18]
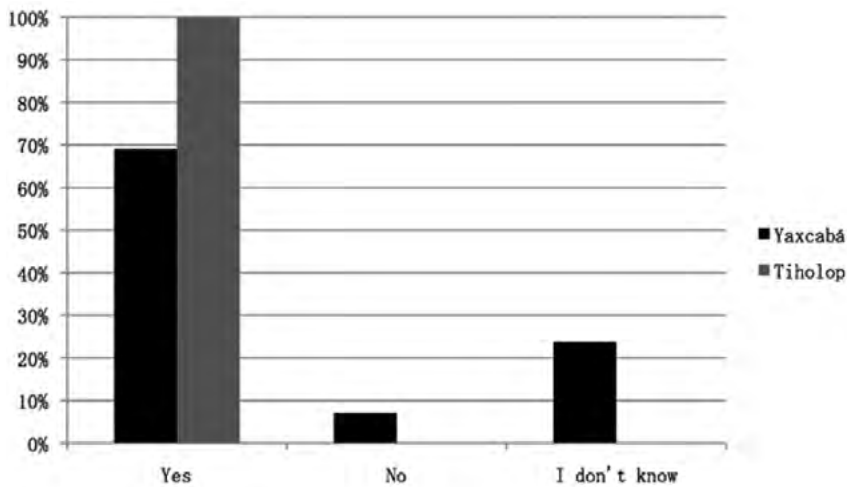

Figure 1. Students' responses to the question "Do you consider it important to learn Maya?" in the elementary schools in Yaxcabá and Tiholop

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[17] It is important to note that direct questioning of language attitudes is likely to only elicit socially acceptable opinions that can deviate from people's true feelings (Hill & Hill 1986: 404f.). Notwithstanding, what students consider an acceptable opinion about both languages shows what position both languages have in the respective communities.

[18] With the methods applied, it cannot be excluded that the variance is owing to different stages of individual life rather than age-cohorts, although less variance in Yaxcabá suggests that it has rather relates to different socialization patterns in the respective age-cohorts. In order to clarify this issue, however, longitudinal studies are needed.
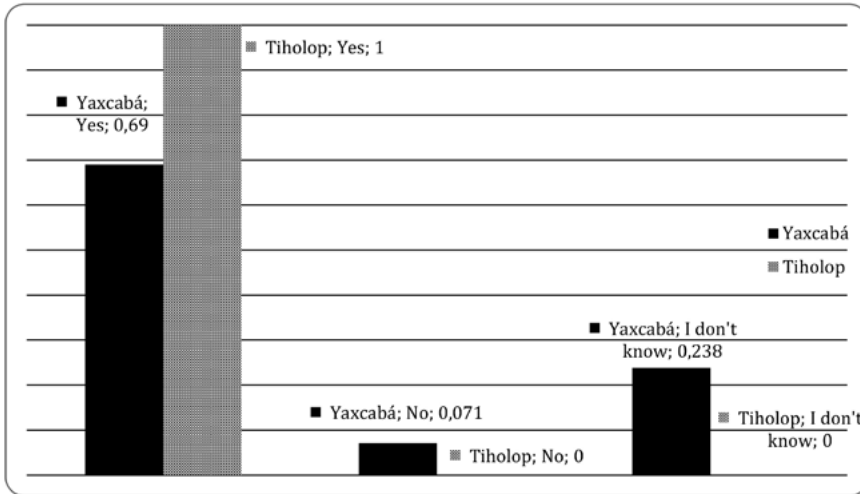
Figure 2. Students' responses to the question "Do you consider it important to learn Maya?" in the junior high schools in Yaxcabá and Tiholop

The reasons for approving the importance of learning Yucatec Maya and Spanish obtained from open questions demonstrate the different meanings and functions attached to the two languages in the communities, which show varying degrees of shift from Yucatec Maya to Spanish. In Tiholop, the acquisition of Spanish is functional for many students. It is strongly associated with wage work in the cities and communication outside of Tiholop, while for the students in Yaxcabá acquisition of Spanish is self-evident, given that it is the national language of wider communication in which they have been socialized. By contrast, the acquisition of Yucatec Maya as a second language becomes functional for some students in Yaxcabá to understand adults speaking, communicate with Maya speakers in other places or have an advantage in a job. However, the questionnaire responses reveal their somewhat passive approach to learning Maya; while arguing the importance of learning Maya, they often only mention the importance of understanding Maya and to a lesser degree responding in Maya if/when they are spoken to in Maya, which implies that it is possibly sufficient for many students to be passive bilinguals in Maya.

In both Yaxcabá and Tiholop, the importance of learning Maya is also attributed to its cultural value, especially by the students of the junior high schools. However, there are slight differences in reasoning between the two

sites. Students in Tiholop tend to approve the importance of learning Yucatec Maya directly, arguing the importance of conserving the language, which is also referred to as "our language." By contrast, in Yaxcabá, it is often through the association between the language and concepts such as tradition, regional identity as Yucatecan, indigeneity or Maya cultural heritage that learning Yucatec Maya is considered important by students. In particular, reference to the tradition as well as the association of the language with Yucatec regional identity is more salient in Yaxcabá than Tiholop. These differences in function and meaning attached to Spanish and Yucatec Maya in Tiholop and Yaxcabá illustrate the distinctive sociolinguistic situations in the two communities. Bilingualism is instrumental in Tiholop, and especially among the students of the junior high school, with the acquisition of Spanish remaining only functional (cf. Pfeiler & Zámišová 2006: 285). On the contrary, in Yaxcabá, many children and youth already have been socialized in Spanish, with some students only identifying themselves with Spanish. Notwithstanding, the majority of them consider it important to learn Yucatec Maya, mentioning practical reasons and appreciating the traditional and somewhat folkloric value of the language. However, it remains to be seen whether, and to what degree, these overall positive attitudes toward the language of children and youth can influence the shifting tendency of the sociolinguistic situation in Yaxcabá.

The sociolinguistic situation in Tiholop seems stable upon the first glance, even though language transmission patterns are beginning to change in favor of Spanish. The impacts of these changes on the sociolinguistic situation remain subtle, as children are likely to acquire Yucatec Maya due to the Maya-speaking environment, even if their parents only speak Spanish to them. However, a difference in interaction patterns could be observed in the classrooms in Tiholop. While communication among the students in the third grade classrooms at the junior high school was only carried out in Yucatec Maya, the use of both languages could be observed in the sixth grade classrooms at the elementary school. Variance in students' active command of Yucatec Maya, first language, language attitudes and interactions patterns between the two age-cohorts in Tiholop calls the long-term stability of the sociolinguistic situation into question. Indeed, students' replies to the question inquiring their intentions about future language transmission also suggest a possible transition of the language situation in the near future. The data obtained from the junior high school in Tiholop indicate that the students possibly would not follow the language transmission patterns of their parents if they were to have children. Nonetheless, 67 percent of the students would

speak both languages to their children, although students who would speak Spanish to their children outnumber those who would speak Maya by about three to one (see Fig. 3).
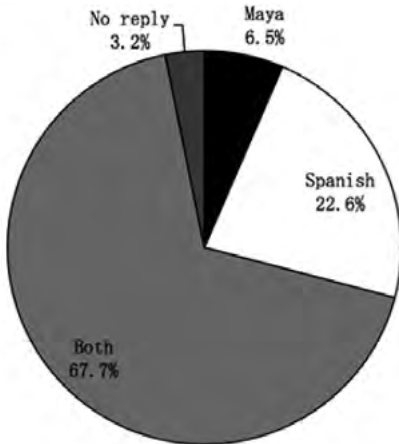

Figure 3. Students' responses to the question "Which language would you speak to your children if you were to have children?" at the junior high school in Tiholop

This variance is remarkable considering the relative homogeneity in other aspects, such as students' command of Yucatec Maya, language attitudes and first language at the junior high school in Tiholop, which suggests the high vitality of Yucatec Maya. It remains to be seen whether students will behave in accordance with their responses when they have children in the future. However, it is possible that the observed tendency of the Spanish language transmission could become the norm in the future, when students schooled in Spanish and having a good command of Spanish become parents. Also in Tiholop, with growing numbers of children and youth who have not acquired Yucatec Maya as the first language, changes in the sociolinguistic situation can become more visible in the years to come.

Intergenerational changes are not only observed in children and youth's language socialization, language behavior and language attitudes, but also in their orientation and ideas about life. As previously highlighted, attitudes to the *milpa* agriculture of children and youth are facing change in a similar way as their language socialization and language behavior. Although the *milpa* agriculture plays a significant role in both communities, with the majority of

students' fathers cultivating *milpa* at present, students who clearly claim to cultivate *milpa* when they are adults represent a minority in both sites (see Table 4 and 5), with large numbers of students in both communities wanting to work outside of the municipality when they are adults (see Table 6).

Table 4. Cultivation of the *milpa* by students' fathers

	Cultivation of the *milpa* by father	
Community	Yes	No
Yaxcabá	54.0%	46.0%
Tiholop	83.8%	16.2%

Table 5. Male students' responses to the question "Do you want to work in the *milpa* when you are adult?"[1]

	Desire to cultivate the *milpa* in the future		
Community	Yes	No	I don't know
Yaxcabá	8.0%	34.0%	58.0%
Tiholop	45.2%	23.8%	31.0%

[1] Although the question was addressed to both male and female students, only responses of the male students are analyzed as *milpa* cultivation is traditionally seen as a male domain in the society.

Table 6. Desired workplace of the students in the future

	Desired workplace of the students in the future		
Community	In the municipality	Out of the municipality	I don't know/ unspecified/no reply
Yaxcabá	9.7%	84.5%	5.8%
Tiholop	16.2%	74.3%	9.5%

Comparing the two sites, it can be noted that *milpa* agriculture continues to play a significant role in Tiholop – where a high vitality of Yucatec Maya is observed – to a greater extent than in Yaxcabá. However, students' responses indicate that even in Tiholop the situation can alter, with coming generations who rather aspire to work outside of the community as wageworkers.[19]

[19] The greater variance in students' future orientation compared to the language situation in Tiholop is in accordance with the notion of Sercombe (2002: 8) that "language shift is seen to follow rather than precede sociocultural shifts."

Continuity in the *milpa* agriculture and the language maintenance of Yucatec Maya are correlated, as reflected in the data in several manners. Firstly, especially in Yaxcabá, children and youth whose fathers are *milpa* peasants[20] are more likely to have both active and passive command of Yucatec Maya (ϕ=.333 and ϕ=.350, respectively). Also in Tiholop, it can be observed that elementary school students[21] whose fathers are *milpa* peasants are more likely to claim Maya to be their first language (ϕ=.302).[22] Drawing from these results, it can be stated that growing up in the *milpa* peasantry household is a factor favoring language socialization in Yucatec Maya and, as such, language maintenance of Yucatec Maya in Yaxcabá and Tiholop. Secondly, in Yaxcabá, positive attitudes toward *milpa* agriculture as a future option correlate with positive attitudes toward Yucatec Maya, with all students who claim to cultivate the *milpa* in the future approving the importance of Yucatec Maya (τb=.433).[23] While further studies are needed to clarify causal mechanisms, drawn from the results of the questionnaire study, it can be stated that the shift from Yucatec Maya to Spanish amongst children and youth in Yaxcabá and Tiholop should be considered in the context of changes in their future orientation and ideas about life, manifested in the turning-away from the traditional subsistence agriculture in favor of wage work in the urban centers.

Summary and discussion

The results of the questionnaire study have shown that high language vitality is observed in Tiholop, where traditional *milpa* agriculture holds greater importance compared to in Yaxcabá. The language shift in Yaxcabá

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[20] It is based on students' responses concerning the occupation of their fathers, obtained from an open question. Only responses of the students who clearly identify their father's occupation as a peasant (such as *campesino*, *en la milpa*) are counted. It is important to note that many people cultivate *milpa* while mainly carrying out other activities. These people tend to identify themselves with the main economic activity they are conducting.

[21] As there is little variance in the language situation, correlations are not calculated for the junior high school in Tiholop.

[22] In the case of the elementary school in Tiholop, *milpa* cultivation by fathers seems to have more explanatory power concerning students' active command of Yucatec Maya (ϕ=.386) and first language (ϕ=393) than the fathers' occupation, with non-cultivation of *milpa* seemingly favoring language socialization in Spanish. By contrast, in the case of Yaxcabá, it should rather be argued in a way that the peasantry household is acting as a favorable factor for the language maintenance of Yucatec Maya among students.

[23] To calculate the Kendall rank correlations, students' responses concerning language attitudes and attitudes toward *milpa* agriculture as a future option were transformed into three scores (1 No, 2 I don't know, 3 Yes) respectively.

is already underway, with many children and youth not having an active command of Yucatec Maya. On the other hand, in Tiholop, the majority of students have acquired Yucatec Maya as their first language. Although they are bilingual in Yucatec Maya and Spanish, especially among junior high school students, bilingualism remains instrumental, with the acquisition of Spanish being strongly associated with communication outside of the community. Notwithstanding, even in Tiholop, there are some signs indicating the possible onset of language shift, with comparisons of students' first language, active command of Yucatec Maya and interaction patterns between the junior high school and the elementary school in Tiholop revealing that language transmission patterns have possibly changed in favor of Spanish, which is in accordance with my own observation of current parents' interaction patterns with their small children in Tiholop. Despite these changes in the language socialization of children, the sociolinguistic situation in Tiholop seems stable for the time being, as children are likely to acquire Yucatec Maya due to the Maya-speaking environment, even if they are only spoken to in Spanish by their parents. However, if this tendency of Spanish language transmission continues or even becomes the norm in the future, the increasing proportion of children and youth having acquired Spanish as their first language could destabilize the sociolinguistic situation in Tiholop in the years to come. The challenge that this onset phase of language shift poses for language maintenance is perhaps the invisibility of endangerment, whereby the changes are so subtle that speakers do not attach much significance to them. At the onset of language shift, it is likely that the acquisition of the majority language represents urgent needs for people, while the acquisition of the vernacular is considered naturally occurring without interventions.

In Yaxcabá, even if many children and youth have not been socialized in Yucatec Maya, the majority of students approve the importance of learning the language, albeit to a lesser degree than in Tiholop. Their argumentations include the practical advantages of having command of Maya, as well as cultural and traditional values attached to the Maya language. On the other hand, the responses of those providing functional reasons for the importance of learning Maya reveal their somewhat passive approaches to learning the indigenous language, indicating that many of them possibly would be content with being passive bilinguals. In Yaxcabá, where a language shift is already underway, it remains challenging how these overall positive attitudes of children and youth toward the language can be linked with concrete actions for language maintenance.

Different functions and meanings attached to Yucatec Maya and Spanish in the two sites showing varying degrees of shift demonstrate that strategies for language maintenance should be adapted to distinctive sociolinguistic situations of the communities. In Tiholop, it would be important to foster the consciousness of preserving the Yucatec Maya language, whereas in Yaxcabá, efforts would be needed to lead the overall positive language attitudes of students to active language use.

Conclusion

The case of Yucatec Maya demonstrates that the abandonment of subsistence farming as a more autonomous way of life in favor of wage work in the city plays a significant role in language endangerment of the vernacular.

Although urbanization is often cited as a cause for language shift in several case studies on minority language situations, it cannot be argued in a monocausal way such that the migration to urban centers necessarily triggers the language shift to a majority language. As Gal (1979) and Kulick (1992) emphasize in their studies, in order to comprehend the impacts of macro-sociological factors such as urbanization on language vitality, the study should examine how these changes become interpreted by people whereby they alter the attitudes towards their mother tongue. Indeed, understanding the social contexts of language shift is only possible if the investigation includes this level of analysis (Kulick 1992: 8f).

The questionnaire study conducted in Yaxcabá and Tiholop has revealed that the shift from Yucatec Maya to Spanish amongst children and youth in Yaxcabá and Tiholop should be considered in the context of changes in people's values and ideas about life, which have led to turning away from the traditional subsistence agriculture in favor of urban employment. By contrast, continuity in the traditional *milpa* agriculture is acting as a favorable factor for language maintenance in both communities. However, considering the urbanization in the peninsula of Yucatan and the orientation of many youths toward urban employment, it is important for language vitality that Yucatec Maya can also claim its position in urban areas. The image of a minority language frequently associated with rural traditional way of life does not always correspond with youth's aspirations to "go ahead." Therefore, for its future vitality, it is crucial that the language can be part of young people's notions of modernity and the future.

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Language Shift among the Coppename Kwinti: the Role of Social Factors and Adstrate Languages[1]

ROBERT BORGES
Faculty of "Artes Liberales"
University of Warsaw

> *We shall say [it's because of] the climate. What can I say? Life itself is changing in a way. Most of us have gone to the city to live. We have adopted city life … That's why [our language] is slowly disappearing.*[2]
>
> – Bitagron resident, 2011

Introduction

This chapter examines the current state of the Kwinti language vis-à-vis contacts with other languages in Suriname. Extralinguistic factors, including general historical developments, social and cultural customs, and economic and political characteristics, are discussed in terms of their effect on linguistic practices of Kwinti speakers, leading to increased susceptibility of influence from other languages. Contact induced language change has lead to the replacement of vocabulary in some domains, structural changes, and a possible shift in the manner and type of acceptable variation.

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[2] See Example 17 for the original dialogue.

Although the Kwinti people themselves complain about language loss, there are currently no revitalization efforts underway. Still, an important consideration for revitalization is to understand and address the factors that lead to language death. Sasse (1992) advocates a holistic approach to language death, whereby the External Setting (ES, i.e. extralinguistic factors), Speech Behavior (SB), and Structural Consequences (SC) interact dynamically in scenarios where languages fall into disuse and die. With this in mind, I examine the ES, SB, and SC with respect to the Coppename Kwinti. Therefore, this work represents an example of the way in which Sasse's holistic approach can be applied. Additionally, based on the available information about Kwinti's external setting, I hypothesized prior to collecting data that the speakers would be experiencing language shift. However, it appears that, despite possible changes in SB, and demonstrable contact-induced change, a critical break in intergenerational transmission, a critical point identified by Sasse (1992), has yet to condemn Kwinti to obsolescence. Furthermore, this paper demonstrates that identifying a break in intergenerational transmission is not always straightforward, as in the case of Kwinti, which is in contact with several dominant language varieties that are highly similar in terms of their structure and lexicon.

The Kwinti are the smallest and least studied group of Maroons in Suriname. Despite the abundance of literature on Surinamese Maroons, there has been little work – in any discipline – on the Kwinti. Currently, they are found mainly in three locations: their villages (Bitagron[3] and Kaimanston) along the Coppename River, their villages (Pakapaka, Piki Pakapaka, and Makajapingo) along the Saramacca River,[4] and in Paramaribo. The two Kwinti groups of the interior share a rather detached sentiment toward each other and it may be that over the past hundred or so years these two varieties have diverged to some degree, however there has been, to date, no linguistic data collected from the Kwinti living along the Saramacca River. For that reason, this work is focused on the Kwinti along the Coppename River, where a number of historical and social factors, as well as language attitudes and linguistic practices, would seem to signal the eventual death of the Kwinti variety spoken there.

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[3] Also known as Witagron. According to informants, the proper name of the village is Bitagron, named after its founder *Tata Bita*. Following the *Binnenlandse Oorlog*, the government posted a sign – *Witagron* – by the entrance to the village from the JFK Highway. The village has been known to the outside world by this name ever since.
[4] These villages are situated within the territory of the Matawai Maroons.

The task at hand is certainly not a straightforward one. As with all of the world's languages, Surinamese creoles exhibit variation. In a case like Suriname, where there are a number of closely related language varieties, several with poorly described norms in terms of multilingual practice, arguments about diachronic language change are often rather difficult to substantiate with certainty. Further, the diachronic implications of a language shift/death approach to the circumstances of the Coppename Kwinti are perhaps inadequate to adequately account for the type of variation that exists among several of Suriname's closely related languages.

Language endangerment, death, and revitalization are relatively well studied in terms of a theoretical framework and case studies (e.g. Dorian 1979; Cook 1989; Crystal 2000; Grenoble & Whaley 2001; Mesthrie 2001; Thomason 2001: 222–239; Wolfram 2003; Batibo 2005; Cunningham et al. 2006; Brenzinger 2007a; Mosseley 2007; Mesthrie & Leap 2009; Florey 2010; papers in this volume). Sasse (1992) suggests a holistic approach to language death. Such studies should take into account (1) a languages external setting (historical, socio-cultural, economic, etc. factors) which is largely responsible for (2) speakers' behavior (multilingualism, distribution of functional domains, etc.), leading to (3) structural consequences (Sasse 1992: 10). Drawing on a number of historical, anthropological, demographic, and linguistic sources, including a small corpus of spoken data collected by the author,[5] the current state of language use and variation in Kwinti will be examined with respect to the three components of a language death scenario.

The external setting is the most straightforward of the components to describe and will be addressed in the first few sections. A summary of the history of the Kwinti people will be presented in the next section, followed by Kwinti's proposed genetic relationships to the other Surinamese creoles based on previous comparative and historical research. I will then provide a description of social, cultural and economic predictors that play a role in language death via shift type scenarios relevant to the Kwinti, as well as information on their multilingual practices. The linguistic reflex of Kwinti's external setting will be examined in terms of language practices, feature variation, and structural interference. The final section will address possible gaps in our theoretical capacity to understand shift/death scenarios, with reference to the case at hand.

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[5] The corpus, collected in the village of Bitagron in 2011, includes several hours of spoken data in the form of semi-structured interviews and free conversation. Eleven individuals appear in the recordings, which total approximately 11,000 transcribed words.

Origin myths and history

The origins of the Kwinti are unclear, as J.B.C.H. Wekker titled in his (1985) article on Kwinti history.[6] Much of the research that has been done on the Kwinti deals with their history, particularly the uncertainties surrounding their origins and relationship to the other Maroon groups in Suriname. The following summary provides an overview of aspects of Kwinti history relevant to the formation of the language and contacts with other Maroon groups. In short, the Kwinti were marooned in the 18th century, settled later along the Saramacca River with the Matawai in the mid 19th century. Following tensions between the two groups, a portion of the Kwinti settled along the Coppename River later in that century (Wekker 1985: 83).

Anthropologist Dirk van der Elst, who worked with the Coppename Kwinti in the early 1970's, presents three somewhat conflicting origin accounts from oral histories of the Kwinti (1975: 10–2).

(1) The first possibility is that the Kwinti originated as escaped slaves from Berbice.[7] They traveled along the Corentijn River (a.k.a. Kwinti Liba), then up the Nickerie River. They stayed along the Nickerie River for some time, but fearful of patrols, went further inland. There they built a village called *Pisii* 'pleasure'. They later joined the Matawai due to a lack of marriageable women. Van der Elst notes that this account is unlikely, but cites the existence of the *karboegers*, a population of mixed African and Amerindian origin, as support for this possibility. Hoogbergen later presents archival evidence that suggests the Karboegers were actually employed on patrols to catch the Kwinti (1992: 45). De Beet and Sterman (1980: 6) note that there are no physical characteristics suggesting the Kwinti ever did any mixing with Amerindians. Additionally, there appears to be no linguistic evidence supporting the Kwinti's origin anywhere other than Suriname's plantation area.

(2) Second is that the Kwinti ancestors escaped westward from Paramaribo, avoiding all people, settling east of the Saramacca River. After bouts of strife, the group split into three: the Kwinti who went west, the Pamaka who went east, and the *Duda lo* 'Duda clan' who returned to their masters. Following the split, the Kwinti built *Pisii*. The story indicates that the escapes happened after the 1760 treaties, otherwise there would have been no point to avoid other people,

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[6] Original title *De oorsprong van de Kwinti is onduidelijk.*
[7] Berbice was a privately owned colony spanning from the mid 17th century to the early 19th century in the territory now part of Guyana.

since the "pacified" Maroon groups would not have turned in other runaways before then. This account also seems unlikely except for the fact that Pamaka oral history also claims that the Pamaka lived in a village with the Kwinti in their early history (van der Elst cites Lenoir 1973: pc). De Beet and Sterman (1980: 3) relay another version of this story, told to evangelist C.S.E Helstone in 1947 in Pakapaka. While in this version there is no mention of Pamaka, the Kwinti and the *Duda* settled in two villages deep in the forest between the Saramacca and the Coppename Rivers after fleeing the plantations in the Para area. They would raid the plantations as well as the Matawai settlements for women, children, and tools. After some time the two groups failed to get along, so the Kwinti took the opportunity to make peace with and settle among the Matawai.

(3) Lastly, and perhaps the most likely of the three accounts, *da Kofi*, the Kwinti founder, led a band of Maroons in the south of Paramaribo's plantation area for some time before convincing his younger brother *Boni*[8] to run away. In the ensuing uprisings,[9] the groups were separated. Kofi's Kwinti went westward and Boni's Aluku passed through Ndyuka territory finally settling on the Lawa River. Green (1974: 58–59) provides additional details to this account collected on the Saramacca River. Kofi's and Boni's groups escaped from a plantation called Bunumike and became hostile to each other, each blaming the other for their discovery by the planters, though they traveled within shouting distance of each other and eventually reconciled before going in different directions. Green notes that some informants insist that the ancestors of the Pamaka Maroons later left the Kwinti group, or that they later fled the same plantation.[10]

Van der Elst notes that it is possible that all the histories are true; rather than conflicting with each other, they suggest that the founders of the Kwinti did not all come from the same place (1975: 12). It is interesting to consider these oral histories with reference to the development of the Suriname creoles, particularly the idea that the Kwinti have at the very least "crossed paths" with the Pamaka and Aluku in their early history (de Beet & Sterman 1980: 5). Accounts (2) and (3), as well as linguistic evidence, point to a close relationship

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[8] At least half-brother, perhaps classificatory brother (in this case, a cousin by English kin terms), Boni was the founder of the Aluku Maroons.
[9] For details, see Hoogbergen (1985).
[10] Bunumike, according to the account told to Green, was near two other plantations, Poesoegroenoe and Hamborg. Neither Poesoegroenoe nor Bunumike appear on a plantation map, though the map covers a later era (Bakhuis et al. 2003). However, the map shows two plantations called Hamborg, one on the Saramacca River and one on the Cottica River. The Pamaka originate from plantations on the Cottica River, while in this account, the Kwinti should have fled plantations in the Para area.

among the Kwinti, Pamaka, and Aluku, all having fled the plantations in the latter half of the 18th century, as opposed to the Ndyuka, Saramacca and Matawai, who were already relatively well established by the beginning of the 18th century (de Beet & Sterman 1980: 1). However, Hoogbergen's (1992) examination of archival evidence suggests that the Kwinti were well "settled" and self sufficient before 1760 (based on the number of settlements, provision grounds, and ability to quickly escape patrols and effectively hide). This adds additional complications to the oral histories, particularly (2), which suggests that the first Kwinti runaways escaped after the "pacification" of Matawai, Ndyuka and Saramacca, and were poorly adept at bushcraft (i.e. plantation born).

Irrespective of their origins, it is clear from the archival evidence that the 18th century was a turbulent period of *marronage* for the Kwinti. Following the peace treaties organized between the colonial government and the Matawai, Ndyuka, and Saramacca groups (1760's), the Kwinti regularly faced hostilities from Amerindians and slaves, nor did they enjoy solidarity with other Maroons who were officially compelled to turn in runaways and non-pacified Maroons (for a ransom). Additionally, *burgherpatrouilles*, bands of planters, slaves, and free blacks who hunted runaways, were regularly destroying villages and provision grounds of the Maroons.[11] While the Kwinti were never officially "pacified", by the 19th century no more patrols were sent after the Kwinti and the government in Paramaribo lost interest in them (Hoogbergen 1992: 51).

During the time of the Matawai *granman* 'paramount chief' Josua (1835–1867), the Kwinti first made contact with the Matawai (Green 1974: 59). Green's account, collected from informants on the Saramacca River, states that the main impetus for taking up contact with the Matawai was to find marriageable men for the group's disproportionate number of girls. One man called Tata Djafu first trekked to the Saramacca River, and once the Matawai had established that he wasn't there to steal women, but rather to "become free", Djafu led a group of Matawai back into the bush where they informed the rest of the Kwinti that the war was over and they no longer had to hide from the whites. The Kwinti were all persuaded to relocate to the Saramacca River,[12] where they concluded a peace oath (*bebe soi* 'drink show' comparable to Ndyuka *diingi sweli* 'drink swear') with the Matawai (1974: 60). Relations did not remain peaceful between the Kwinti and the Matawai for long because

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[11] For a detailed account of the early history of the Kwinti, see Hoogbergen (1992).
[12] With the exception, apparently, of one woman who was too fat to go anywhere. She remained in the bush.

the "Kwintis were aggressive with Matawai women" (Green 1974: 62). After a fight for which several Kwinti were punished excessively during the time of *granman* Noah Adrai (1867–1893), a number of the Kwinti left, lead by Kapiten Aketemoni and Alamo, to resettle along the Coppename River.

While the oral histories collected on the Saramacca River and those collected on the Coppename River differ in details, it is clear that tensions caused a portion of the Kwinti to relocate to the Coppename. In (1) and (2), informants recount (in 2011) how their predecessors came to leave Matawai territory for the Coppename.[13]

(1) M1: *da   di   unu   go   fri   anga   den   matawai, da   den*
         then   when   1PL   go   free   with   DET   Matawai   then   DET
         matawai   uperklas,   da   de   kon   a   bigi   ai.
         Matawai   upperclass   then 3PL   come   LOC   big   eye
         da   de   begi   kii   unu.
         then   3PL   begin   kill   1PL
         'Then, when we went free with the Matawai, the Matawai were upper-class. They became greedy and began to kill us.'

     W1: *den   kiri.*
          3pl   kill
          'They killed [us].'

     M1: *de   begi   kii   unu.   da   den   gransama   fu   unu*
         3PL   begin kill   1PL   then   DET   ancestors   for   1PL
         lon   kon   disei.   ne   den   kon   si   a   liba   disi,
         run   come   here   then   3PL   come   see   DET   river   this
         ne   den   kon...   den   go   a   lanti,
         then   3PL   come   3PL   go   LOC   government
         ne   a   lanti   gi   den.
         then   DET   government   give 3PL
         'They began to kill us. Then our elders fled to here. Then they saw this river. When they came they went to the government, then the government gave [it] to them.'

(2) M5: *ma   nou   nou   wi   kon   bekend   nou,   taki   kwinti   de.*
         but   now   now   1PL   come   known   now   COMP   Kwinti   COP
         'Now we are becoming known. [People are aware] that Kwinti exists.'

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[13] Since there is very little published Kwinti language data, it is worthwhile to provide complete and glossed examples where otherwise a simple translation would be sufficient.

M6: *even   wi   o   taigi   yu.*
momentarily 1PL   FUT tell   2SG
'We will tell you.'

M5: *de be kai unu kwinti matawai, ma   matawai dife,*
3PL PST call 1PL Kwinti Matawai   but Matawai different
kwinti   dife
Kwinti   different
'They used to call us Kwinti-Matawai, but Kwinti and Matawai are different.'

M6: *na   so   a   de.*
COP SO   DET COP
'That is so.'

M5: *a   so. ma fosi u   ala be kai kwinti   matawai.*
COP SO but first 1PL all PST call Kwinti   Matawai
u   anga matawi,   a   ná   wan.
1PL and Matawai 3SG NEG one
kwinti   dife,   matawa   dife.
Kwinti   different Matawai   different
'It is. But before we all said Kwinti-Matawai. We are not the same as Matawai. Kwinti and Matawai are different.'

R: *pe   den kwinti sama   be   komoto?*
where DET Kwinti person PST come.from
'Where did the Kwinti people come from?'

M5: *kon wi   taki, wan tu   lowe   komopo fu   matawai*
come 1PL talk one two run.away leave   from Matawai
kon. ya   di   den gowe a   busi   da   de go   na
come here when 3PL go   LOC forest then 3PL go   LOC
matawai ma   den matawai tan nanga den suma.
Matawai but 3PL Matawai live with DET person
da   den matawai libi takuu nanga den.
then 3PL Matawai live evil   with   3PL
den jagi den taki den mu   gwe. den no   mu
3PL chase 3PL COMP 3PL must go   3PL NEG MOD
kon dape. den wisi   den e   kii   toch.
come there 3PL bewitch 3PL IPFV kill   right
'Let's say a few fled from the Matawai and came here. When they went to the bush, they went to live with the Matawai, but the Matawai were mean to us. The Matawai chased us away and didn't allow them there. They bewitched them to death.'

R: *den   wisi   den?*
3PL bewitch 3PL
'They bewitched them?'

M5: *iya.   e   kii.   ai   den suma   tak weno wi klaar. wi   e*
yeah IPFV kill yup 3PL person say well 1PL finish 1PL IPFV
kba.   neen di_fu komopo fu   datsei ne   u   kon disei.
finish then those leave   from   there then 3PL come here
'Yeah, to death. They said, 'well, we've had enough', then they left there and came here.'

M9: *na   so.*
COP   SO
'It is so.'

Permission to relocate was granted by governor Tonckens in 1883 (van der Elst 1975: 12). These Kwinti first settled at a site called Coppencrisie as suggested by a group of Ndyuka lumberjacks working in the area. Not long after the site was settled, a mission was sent to the Coppename Kwinti in 1889 led by Christian Kraag (de Beet & Sterman 1980: 1). Internal strife in the village lead to people abandoning it for the current Kwinti villages of Kaaimansiton and Witagron in the beginning of the 20th century (van der Elst 1975: 12–13). Aside from their official status under the Matawai Granman, the Coppename Kwinti are neither economically nor culturally dependent on any other Maroon group. Van der Elst reports (1975: 108) that they share a rather detached sentiment from other Maroon groups and that they are particularly unfriendly to the Matawai and the other Kwinti still living among them.

The Language

As mentioned above, there is no linguistic evidence to suggest that the Kwinti originate from anywhere other than Suriname's plantation area, though there is some disagreement about Kwinti's relationship to the other Surinamese Creole languages. Hancock places Kwinti at the earliest split from proto-Surinamese Creole, followed by the Matawai-Saramacca cluster, then the Ndyukoid cluster, containing Ndyuka varieties, Pamaka and Aluku (1987: 324–325). Without implying any timing of divergences among the Surinamese creoles, Smith places Kwinti within a cluster of Eastern Maroon Creole and Sranan based on linguistic evidence, while Saramacca and Matawai maintain a separate cluster (1987: 4).
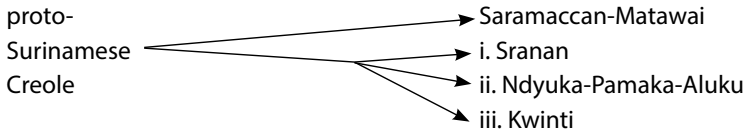
proto-   ──────────────────────▶ Saramaccan-Matawai
Surinamese   ──────────────────▶ i. Sranan
Creole   ──────────────────▶ ii. Ndyuka-Pamaka-Aluku
                                    ▶ iii. Kwinti

Figure 1. Classification of the Surinamese creoles by Smith (1987: 4)
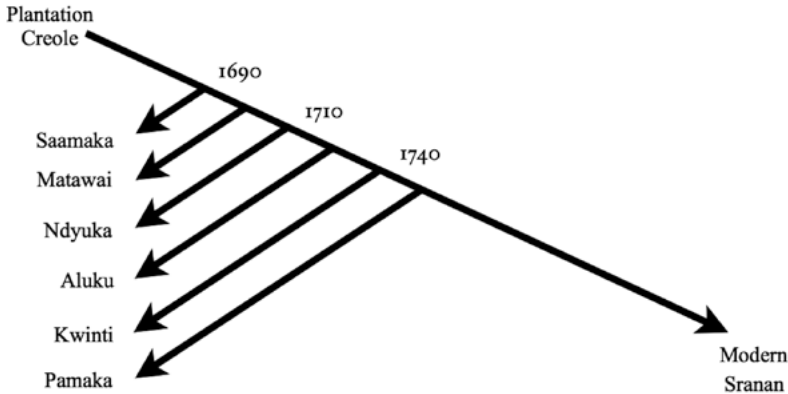

Figure 2. Development of the Surinamese creoles, based on Goury and Migge
(2003: 18)
> Note: Goury and Migge place the divergence of Kwinti around
> 1740, though as noted in the previous section parts of Kwinti's oral
> history indicate a period of marronage following the peace treaties
> of the 1760's between the colonial government and the Saamaka,
> Matawai, and Ndyuka.

Goury and Migge (2003: 18) however, place the divergence of Kwinti
at a much later period in history from the Plantation Creole, namely in the
mid-1700's, following Aluku and preceding the youngest of the Surinamese
creoles, Pamaka. Their assertion is supported by recent phylogenetic work
based on forms and structural features from Hancock's (1987) data (50 elicited
sentences),[14] which shows that the Kwinti split from Plantation Creole between
Pamaka and Aluku (Fon Sing & Leoue 2012). Despite their separate political
and geographical position, it appears that Kwinti falls squarely into the cluster
of Eastern Maroon Creole languages.

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[14] Hancock wasn't able to tell me whether his Kwinti data was collected from informants originating
from the Coppename or Saramacca River. Given the results of Fon Sing & Leoue (2012), it would
appear that either Hancock's data was collected with (a) speaker(s) from the Coppename River,
or that the two varieties of Kwinti have not diverged under influence of Matawai.

Further complicating the matter is that the Kwinti spent some half a century living along side the Matawai. In fact, they are often referred to as a single group (see (2)). Huttar (1982: 12) notes the surprising lack of Matawai influence on the Coppename varieties, though it remains to be seen whether or not those Kwinti living along the Saramacca River have maintained such a high degree of separation between their language and Matawai. In addition to Hancock's typological data, there are two other relevant sources: a wordlist collected by Jan English-Lueck in the early 1970's, and a wordlist collected by George Huttar in the early 1980's.

Jan English-Lueck's wordlist and Eastern Maroon Creole

In the early 1970's, Jan English-Lueck, a graduate student of anthropology working under van der Elst, collected a word list of some 500 lexical items in Bitagron. English-Lueck was interested in communication, and many of the items on her list are Sranan (/r/ present, though Huttar's list and later conversational data contain [r]-less variants) or Dutch items. Nonetheless, her list provides us not only with useful lexical data and information about early linguistic interaction between Kwinti and non-Maroons, but further substantiate Huttar's claim that Kwinti is perhaps better classified with EMC varieties (1982: 12).

Table 1. Semantic differences between English-Lueck's lexicon compared to Ndyuka (Shanks1994) and Sranan (Wilner 2007)

Kwinti	Ndyuka	Sranan	gloss
bígi futú	*bomafutu* 'thigh' *bonfutu* 'shin'	*bonfutu*	leg
	bigifutu	*bigifutu*	elephantiasis
kúku	*sukuu sani, sikuu sii, swii sii*	*sukrusani, swit'sani*	candy
	kuku	*kuku*	pastry
pampu	*switi patata*	*swit' patata*	sweet potato
	pampu	*pampun*	pumpkin

Approximately three quarters of her list are cognate to Sranan and EMC varieties, only a very small percentage of the remaining lexemes (±3%) appear

to be cognate to the Saramacca-Matawai varieties, 17% of lexemes are not cognate to other Surinamese creoles (much of this portion is of Dutch origin), and the remaining 10% did not lend itself to comparison. The data from English-Lueck's list also indicates that there is a small degree of semantic difference between Kwinti and cognates in the other creoles. A number of examples of such semantic differences have also become evident in the author's field data.

Table 2. False friends noted in 2011 field data

Kwinti	Ndyuka	gloss
beenki	*boketi*, *embele*	large trough for storing water – slanted sides, no handle
bongo-bongo	*beenki*	shallow plastic dish to eat from
boketi	*boketi*, *embele*	bucket with vertical sides and a handle
langa nefi	*how*	machete
nefi	*langa nefi*	kitchen knife (20–30cm)

Huttar's wordlist

Several years after English-Lueck collected her list, Huttar (1982) also collected a short (<200 item) lexicon in Bitagron. In contrast with English-Lueck, an accurate description of Kwinti (as opposed to functional communication) was squarely on Huttar's agenda. In addition to the suggestion that, at least phonologically speaking, Kwinti is more similar to the EMC varieties (i.e. Kwinti lacks the tonal complexities and implosive obstruents found in Saramaccan, and has five contrastive vowels as opposed to seven), one interesting aspect of Kwinti revealed by Huttar's list and a later collaborative effort with Smith, is the pattern of intervocalic liquid deletion relative to EMC varieties and Sranan (Smith & Huttar 1983).

Table 3. Distribution of intervocalic liquids in Kwinti, Ndyuka, and Sranan

Kwinti	Ndyuka	Sranan	gloss
boi	*boli*	*bori*	cook
poi	*poli*	*pori*	spoil
yai	*yali*	*yari*	year
lei	*leli*	*leri*	learn

Maintenance and shift

In this section, general social factors correlating with language shift and death are presented along with details of the Kwinti sociolinguistic profile. While Mesthrie and Leap (2009: 255) warn that no single set of factors can predict success of language maintenance efforts, there are factors that tend to correlate with the success (or not) of language maintenance such as: higher education in the language, size of a speaker population relative to that of the dominant language, similarity between minority/majority language, attitudes of dominant group towards the minority group [vice versa], juxtaposition of speech communities (economic ties), and status – a group's self esteem & institutional support (Giles & Johnson 1987; Brenzinger 2007b: x–xi; Mesthrie, Leap 2009: 255).

The particulars of Kwinti's sociolinguistic setting lead to several difficulties with such frameworks. Much of what has been said about language death is based on a two-way relationship between a dominant or majority language on the one hand, and a minority language, which shifts in favor of the dominant language. In the Kwinti scenario, however, there are at least two languages at play that all fit the bill, in some respects, as dominant language, though neither can be said to be *the* dominant language. Dutch, for example, is Suriname's de facto official language, used in all official business and all education of children and adults in the country. In 2011, a number of Bitagron residents were noted to have a good command of Dutch, and a number of women were heard reprimanding their children in the language. Sranan, the country's lingua franca also plays a role in Kwinti's contact scenario. Nearly all Surinamese have at least a passive knowledge of the language and many forms are identical. Sranan can be heard around Bitagron between the Kwinti and their Amerindian neighbors, or other passers by along the road.

Perhaps more important are the leveled Maroon varieties developing in the urban centers of Suriname and French Guiana, largely based on Eastern Maroon languages with significant influence from Sranan and Dutch (Migge & Léglise 2011, 2013). Virtually all Kwinti have blood and economic ties to Parimaribo (see section "Juxtaposition of speech communities and economic ties" below) and many of them engage in regular circular migrations; what happens in Paramaribo is directly relevant to the Coppename villages.
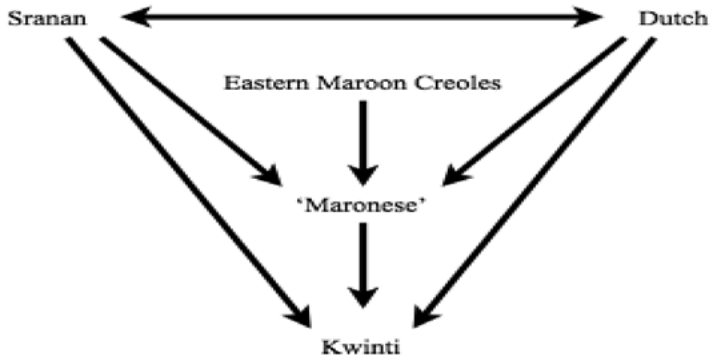
Figure 3. Directionality of linguistic influence on Kwinti

Although not well studies (see e.g. Migge & Léglise 2013), it is precisely the type of variation that can be found in leveled Maroon varieties (referred to as 'Maronese' in Figure (3)) in urban centers that is becoming normative among the Coppename Kwinti. Thus, rather than a simple majority-minority scenario which so often forms the basis for modeling language shift and death, in this case we have multiple languages playing a role in Kwinti's hypothesized shift.

Table 4. Kwinti viability factors

Viability factor	with reference to Kwinti
(higher) education in the language	Education is available solely in Dutch from primary school and upward.
population size	>100 in traditional territories
population size relative to 'dominant' group	approx. 500,000 Sranan speakers Dutch appears to be the most frequently used household language in the country* (2004 census; Kroon & Yagmur 2010).
typological distance	genetically related to Sranan, very close typologically moderate typological distance between Kwinti and Dutch
language attitudes	Kwinti – an in group language; Sranan – interethnic communication, status display; Dutch – official contexts, media, intended display of social affluence/power, often used to "one up" one's interlocutor. Majority of non-Kwinti are unaware of Kwinti's existence.
economic ties	Kwinti cash economy dependent on ties with Paramaribo.
institutional support	perceived 0
group esteem	poor

Note: *Figures in both these studies are based on self-designated data and thus represent perceived usage and language attitudes, rather than actual linguistic practices.

Here, hypothesizing that Kwinti will undergo language shift is an easy bet, demonstrating language change is tricky with primarily synchronic data, but predicting just what Kwinti speakers are shifting to is a difficult task. Table 4 summarizes social predictors relevant to the Kwinti case.

Despite the abovementioned caveats, the types of criteria proposed by Brenzinger or Mesthrie and Leap can be very helpful in assessing the possibility that Kwinti becomes a moribund language. Some, like the state of education can be addressed in just a few words, while others will require their own subsections below. It has also already been noted that all the creole languages are related to each other; they show a high degree of structural similarity and mutual intelligibility. Dutch, on the other hand is genetically and typologically somewhat different from Kwinti. While the Kwinti are generally amicable with other Maroon groups and their Amerindian neighbors, they remain virtually unknown to the majority of Suriname.

Juxtaposition of speech communities and economic ties

Logically speaking, there generally needs to be some direct contact between two speech communities before linguistic influence can occur. Despite the isolated feel of the Coppename Kwinti villages, regular contact has been maintained with Paramaribo and surrounding Amerindian groups for the exchange of wealth and ideas since their founding towards the end of the 19th century. Van der Elst (1975) provides evidence of this based on material culture observed in the early 1970s. The movement of goods and people was made significantly easier after the completion of a road in 1969, which strengthened economic ties with Paramaribo (van der Elst 1975: 17). Subsequently, a state run bus was instated in 2009 that travels twice per week from Paramaribo to Bitagron and back for a fare of 15 Surinamese Dollars one way, which in 2011 was approximately €3.75.

Not only do the Coppename Kwinti have a relatively manageable means of transportation between their villages and the city, but many engage in circular migrations further facilitated by networks of relatives living more permanently in Paramaribo following the events of the Civil war in Suriname. During this *Binnenlandse Oorlog* (1986–1992), as many as 25,000 people fled the interior of Suriname for Paramaribo, French Guyana, The Netherlands and the USA (Hoogbergen & Kuijt 2005: 270). The Coppename River villages were largely deserted and the majority of residents relocated to Paramaribo (Hoogbergen pc). One informant discusses the effect of the war on the village in (3).

(3) M6: *fosi a   kondee   ya   be   de   moi... service   station be   de,*
first DET country here PST COP nice service station PST COP

wan wowoyo be   de   a   basia pe.   wan wowowo pe   den
DET market PST COP LOC basya place DET market where 3SG

sei gruntu.   i   sabi   toch. sondei wowoyo, satra   wowoyo.
sell vegetable 2SG know right Sunday market Saturday market

i   sabi   toch?
2SG know right

'Before, our village was really nice. We had a service station. There was a market there by the *Basia's*[15] place, a market where they sold vegetables. You know? [There was] a Sunday market and a Saturday market, you know?'

R: *iya.   san   pasa?*
yeah what happen
'Yeah. What happened?'

M6 *a   di   den feti toch. ne   den man bolo   omen   sani.*
FOC when 3PL fight really then 3PL man blow.up how.many thing

bolo   man oso.   neen omeni   fu den sama   lon   gwe
blow.up man house then how.many of DET person run go

a   ini bibí,   i   sabi   toch. ya   so seefi kondee achteruit even.
LOC in swamp 2SG know right here so self country behind just

sama a-i   gowe. weiniki sama   kon   ne libi dya nounou.
person 3SG-IPFV go few person come LOC live here now

i   sabi   toch. a   moo fuu sama bijna... kande tra   wan
2SG know right FOC more full person almost maybe other one

de a   hollan tra   wan de a   foto,   tra   wan de a
COP LOC Holland other one COP LOC Paramaribo other one COP LOC

frans sei, tra   wan dya... i   sabi   toch? ai
french side other one here 2SG know right yup

'It is from all the fighting. Then they bombed many things. [They] bombed people's houses. So many people ran away to the swamp then, you know? Here just a little bit behind the village. People were leaving. Few people have come [back] to live here now. you know? Most people.. some are there in Holland, some are in Paramaribo, some are there in French Guiana, some are here. You know?'

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[15] A *basia* is a position in traditional Maroon political hierarchy. *Basias* are assistants to village captains and are generally responsible for spreading important messages to residents.

M5   *madyumina*[16]
M6:   *kaa*

While the Kwinti population has, in part, returned to the Coppename, many established themselves in Paramaribo on a more permanent basis giving way to eased economically motivated circular migrations.

Speaker population size, self esteem, and institutional support

When one examines the available literature on the Kwinti, it is notable that they have never been a sizable group. And while there is no minimum number (except, perhaps 1) of speakers that predicts language death with certainty, the most recent population estimates are very low. According to the 2004 census, there are just 81 Kwinti and 11 Ndyuka residing in the Upper Coppename Resort (administrative region where Bitagron and Kaimanston are situated).[17] The census also indicates that some 130 Kwinti live in Paramaribo, and another 8 in the Brokopondo district, though it is not possible to tell whether these Kwinti are from the Coppename area or the Saramacca River. One clue may be the fact that no Kwinti are listed in the census data in the upper Saramacca district; those living there have likely been added to the Matawai numbers.

While the Kwinti appear to be proud individuals, van der Elst (1975) notes that they have "no social cohesion", which can be seen in, for example, their history of group splits following conflict, e.g. a portion of the Kwinti left Matawai, or the founding of Kaimanston followed tensions in their original Coppename village Copenncrisie, whereby members of one side of the conflict left to form their own village. This lack of cohesion certainly speaks to a weak society level esteem.

The Kwinti also lack institutional support, both internally and externally. Important ritual functions in the Coppename villages are served by men from other Maroon groups. Further, the Kwinti have no *granman* 'paramount chief', an institution arguably essential to Maroon identity and social organization

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[16] This expression, I'm told, is used to signal the end of a serious conversation. I do not have a literal translation for glossing purposes, though *kaa* is probably related to the word *kaba* 'to finish' and/or its variant *kaa* used as a perfective marker.

[17] During my stay, I estimated that there were slightly more people present in the village, though by admittedly less than rigorous means. Price's (2013) estimate also gives somewhat higher population figures for all the Maroon groups than the CBS's census data. In the case of Kwinti, however, this still amounts to just a few hundred people.

(Jolivet: ms). Informants in 2011 complained about the lack of attention and resources provided by government and other institutions dedicated to Maroon causes, such as the radio station Koyeba (see (4)).

(4) M5: *saide den n-e   kai   u   nen   tu   m-o   taki w-ala   na   wan*
         why 3PL NEG-IPFV call 1PL name too 1SG-FUT talk 1PL-all COP one
         libi sama   winsi   fa...   koyeba   w-ala   na   wan libi sama
         live person though how Koyeba 1PL-all COP one live person
         saide meki i   n-e   kai   kwinti tu
         why make 2SG   NEG-IPFV call   Kwinti too
         'Why don't they also mention us? I'll say we're all humans though...
         Koyeba, we're all human. Why don't you also mention us?'

Conclusion

Even though current theories of language shift and death are difficult to apply to Kwinti's complex social setting, those societal predictors, loosely applied as in this section, would seem to indicate that the Kwinti language occupies an extremely precarious position as a living language. As mentioned above, these factors alone are not enough to predict a linguistic outcome. Nonetheless, I argue in the next section that as a result of relatively intense contact with Paramaribo urban style variation (i.e. with origins in Sranan and leveled Maroon varieties) is becoming normative in the Coppename villages.

Linguistic variation among the Kwinti

In this section, I will focus my analysis on the approximately 2 hours of recorded conversational and semi structured interview data collected in 2011, with reference to a second set of conversational data collected by Bettina Migge in 1996 where relevant. Her recordings show an apparent difference in speech styles among age/gender of informants. In one recording, the main speaker is an elderly woman who employs a drastically more conservative style than the young men featured in the other recording. While speakers in the 2011 recordings also ranged in age and gender, the stylistic cleavage is hardly noticeable compared to the 1996 recordings. I will return to this in the concluding section.

All in all, informants have largely similar backgrounds, including regular time spent in Paramaribo as well as competence in Sranan and Dutch. Major activities in the village include hunting and fishing, subsistence and small-scale commercial agriculture. Table 5 details the approximate age of informants recorded in 2011.[18]

Table 5. 2011 informants and approximate ages

speaker	age	gender
M1	+65	male
M2	±30	male
W1	±50	female
M4	±30	male
M5	+65	male
M6	±30	male
M7	±30	male
M8	±50	male
M9	±30	male
M10	±50	male
M11	+65	male

While the gender distribution is severely imbalanced, I must acknowledge the group of middle-aged women who allowed me to participate for several hours in their conversation. Without this experience and their input, later transcription and interpretation of my recordings would have been much more difficult. In any case, there did not appear to be any major stylistic differences between what was observed with these women, who unfortunately wished not to be recorded, and the other men and woman who appear in the corpus of recordings.

Analysis focuses largely on variables where one realization is associated with the urban environment (i.e. Sranan and/or leveled urban Maroon speech) and the other with traditional Maroon varieties. Some representative Ndyuka data, as spoken in the upriver (Tapanahony) area, as well as urban variants of Ndyuka and Sranan, as spoken in Paramaribo,[19] is also referenced here for comparative purposes.

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[18] It is no accident that more information is not given about individual informants. Several speakers expressed a strict wish not to be identified.
[19] The Ndyuka data was collected by Borges in 2010 and 2011. Urban Ndyuka and Sranan data was collected by Borges, Yakpo, and Hanenberg, also in 2010 and 2011.

The variable r

The [r] is a very marked sound in Suriname. It is a phoneme in Sranan, though not in the other creole languages of Suriname. Many lexemes have an /r/ and and /r/-less variant, such as *moro* and *moo* 'more' whereby the use of [r] can convey and urban/modern feel. A number of such pairs were investigated in the corpus. Table 6 details the actual number of occurrences of each pair. As expected, most [r]-less tokens in the pair are used with a higher frequency, though several pairs are used with approximately equal frequency.

Figure 4 is an extrapolation of the data contained in Table 6, and details token variation sorted by [r]-less variants. Token pairs only account for a portion of [r] usage in the Kwinti corpus; some [r]-words occur in the corpus without an [r]-less variant. There are also several proper names and loanwords (i.e. mostly Dutch lexemes that have not been phonologically adapted to Kwinti) that occur with /r/

Table 6. [r] token production

-r/+r	gloss	Kwinti
booko/broko	broken	1/10
daai/drai	turn	13/5
doo/doro	door, arrive, through	20/4
foo/fowru	bird	11/4
fuu/furu	full	9/3
kii/kiri	kill	17/4
kondee/kondre	country, village	2/29
moo/moro	more	44/8
nengee/nengre	negro, person	6/3
peesi/presi	place	10/10
seefi/srefi	self	22/5
siibi/sribi	sleep	1/1
taa/tra	other	25/14
wataa/watra	water	12/2
wooko/wroko	work	13/7
yee/yere	hear	65/11

siibi/sribi
booko/broko
nengee/nengre
fuu/furu
peesi/preesi
foo/fowru
wataa/watra
daai/draai
wooko/wroko
kii/kiri
doo/doro
seefi/srefi
taa/tra
kondee/kondre
moo/moro
yee/yere
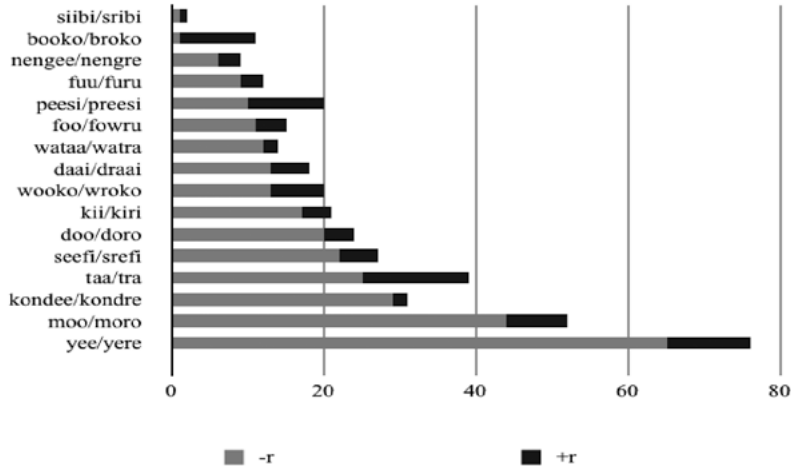
0   20   40   60   80

■ -r   ■ +r

Figure 4. [r] tokens sorted by number of [r]-less variants

Table 7 provides a breakdown of [r] usage at the speaker level. The table sets apart names and loanwords from lexemes with an [r]-less Maroon variant. The number of potential [r] bearing environments (that is, Maroon lexemes whose Sranan cognate has an /r/) is also provided along with the size of each speaker's contribution to the corpus.

Table 7. [r] usage per speaker

	total number of spoken words	potential occurrence of tokens with [r]*	tokens with [r]	realization of [r] – % of potential	names & loanwords **
M1	1510	92	26	28.3%	9
M2	99	5	2	40%	0
W1	1196	95	26	27.4%	13
M4	398	32	7	21.9%	9
M5	4016	271	65	24%	16
M6	1940	127	44	34.6%	2
M7	627	53	10	18.9%	0
M8	25	1	1	100%	0
M9	865	59	12	20.3%	0
M10	93	5	1	20%	0
M11	268	29	17	58.6%	0
totals	11037	769	211	27.4%	49
speaker avg.	1,003	56	15	35.8%	5

Note: *potential /r/ in this case are words in which there is an /r/ in the Sranan cognate word. **Loanwords are not nativized in their phonology.

Compared to Sranan, Kwinti [r] usage is low. In a set of Sranan recordings elicited in a similar way as the Kwinti data analyzed here, lexemes containing [r] averaged 15.6%. Assuming that this figure represents all potential /r/ environments in Sranan, Kwinti, at 7%, renders less than half of such possible contexts, and of those possible contexts, an [r] is realized in 27.4%. However, an additional data set gathered among upriver Ndyuka reveal just two instances of [r] in a lexeme (the same lexeme from one speaker) with an [r]-less equivalent among. This suggests that [r] usage among the Kwinti is rather pervasive for a rural Maroon village.

Pronunciation of pikin

Pronunciation of the word *pikin* 'small, child' varies in Kwinti in a way similar to [r] variation. In Sranan, the word is pronounced [pcɪn]. On the other hand, [pɪki(ŋ)] is used in the Maroon varieties. This uncommon cluster [pc] also appears in the Kwinti corpus. Table 8 compares the two variants per speaker. While there certainly are not a high number of occurrences of these particular tokens in the corpus, they do appear to be somewhat consistent. The usage patterns also do not correlate with the age of speakers. That is to say, that informant age could not have been used as a predictor for higher or lower counts for either pronunciation.

Table 8. Pronunciation of *pikin* per speaker

	pɪkin	**pcɪn**
M1	5	0
W1	5	1
M5	5	0
M6	3	2
M9	3	1
M11	2	1

Note: Speakers who did not produce tokens are left out of the chart.

Tag questions

Initially it was hypothesized that tag questions would be more correlated with the city and urban varieties. An examination of tags in several creoles, however, yields inconclusive results. Despite the urban feel of tag questions, the data do not support the idea that urban varieties employ more tags.

Three question tags are examined *i sabi* (*toch*) 'you know, right', *toch* 'right', and response inducer *no*. Note that *i sabi* (*toch*) and *toch* have not been double counted. The former tag is only used by one Kwinti speaker, who happens to be the youngest. The rest of the speakers who use tags prefer *toch* over *no*, though several speakers who provided a substantial number of words to the corpus provided no tags at all. Compared to samples of similar size in other varieties, Kwinti displays a disproportionately high number of tag questions. Contrary to expectations, excluding Kwinti, Sranan employs the least number of tags and upriver Ndyuka the most.

Table 9. Tag questions in per speaker

	i sabi (*toch*)	*toch*	*no*
W1	0	3	1
M5	0	31	1
M6	13	28	1
M7	0	7	0
M9	0	10	0
M11	0	4	3
total	13	83	6

Most likely this is a result of differences in the way in which data was gathered. While for all varieties, semi structured interview techniques were employed, the non-Kwinti recordings were made in a one on one setting with the researcher and also included some structured elicitation. The Kwinti recordings were made in a, sometimes rather chaotic, group setting where informants were much more engaged with each other than the researcher. This type of interaction is much more conducive to tag question production. It seems, therefore, that these data sets are not very comparable with regard to tag questions.

Table 10. Tag questions compared

	Rural Ndyuka	Urban Ndyuka	Kwinti	Sranan
i sabi (*toch*)	4	1	13	0
toch	7	1	83	3
no	1	3	6	1

Conjunctions enke, leki, anga, and nanga

Conjunctions also differ between EMC and Sranan. EMC uses *e(n)ke* 'like' and *anga* 'and', while Sranan uses *lek(i)* 'like' and *nanga* 'and'. Both variants appear in the Kwinti corpus. The *(n)anga* type is used for coordinating nominal elements (nouns, numerals, pronouns, and NPs) within a variety of clause types, as well as sentential coordination (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 16, 34–36, 194, 229, 240–243, 248, 532; van den Berg 2007: 134–13). *Lek(i)* and *e(n)ke* display a different distribution. They are mainly used as subordinators to manner and equative adverb clauses (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 113, 121; van den Berg 2007: 363–366, 375) or as prepositions in equative phrase (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 293; van den Berg 2007: 153).

Table 11. Conjunction usage

	e(n)ke	*leki*	*anga*	*nanga*
M1	0	3	11	0
M2	0	0	3	0
W1	1	2	13	1
M4	0	1	1	0
M5	8	3	23	4
M6	2	0	7	0
M7	1	0	4	0
M8	0	0	1	0
M9	1	0	5	0
M11	0	1	1	0
total	13	10	69	5

Interestingly, the use of *e(n)ke* vs. *lek* split rather evenly. Of the eight speakers who actually produced one of these conjunctions, three produced only one, three produced only the other, and the remaining two produced both, though each favored a different variant. Less dramatically, *anga* and *nanga* indicate a more consistent usage pattern in favor of the Maroon variant. Just two informants produced *nanga* along side a much higher percentage of the more traditional *anga*.

Negation

The forms of Sranan negations and those of Maroon negations do not correspond. In these languages, preverbal negation combines with a following imperfective marker, though the resulting forms also differ. Table 12 details the different forms.

Table 12. Negation in Sranan and Maroon languages

	Sranan	**Maroon Creole**
basic negation	*no*	*(n)á(n)*
negation + imperfective *e*	*ne*	*(n)ái*

The Maroon style preverbal negation *(n)á(n)* is used more frequently than Sranan *no* by all speakers in the corpus.[20] Once imperfective marking is added however, *ne*, the Sranan associated variant becomes the preferred strategy. Table 13 shows that just three speakers used *nái*, M4 exclusively (though he didn't talk very much), and the other two much less than *ne*.

Table 13. Preverbal negation per speaker

	(n)á(n)	*no*	*(n)ái*	*ne*	**total** NEG
M1	16	2	0	6	24
W1	14	8	1	4	27
M4	2	0	1	0	3
M5	39	46	4	25	114
M6	18	4	0	5	27
M7	8	3	0	3	14
M9	11	2	0	2	15
M10	2	0	0	0	2
M11	6	3	0	0	9
	116	68	6	45	235

In fact, what we may be dealing with in the case of negation + imperfective

[20] Only preverbal negations were counted. *No* as an answer to a question, the fixed expression *no wan* 'not even', and tags were not included in the figures comprising Table 13.

is not *ne* as a variable adopted from Sranan, but rather *ne* is the inherited Kwinti form. If the most recent genealogies of the Suriname Creoles are correct, Aluku is one of Kwinti's most closely related languages, and also makes use of language and also employs *ne* 'NEG.+IPFV' in comparable constructions.

Table 14. Negations in Kwinti and Ndyuka compared

	Rural Ndyuka	**Kwinti**
(n)á(n)	88	116
no	5	68
(n)ái	12	6
ne	0	45

It is possible that *nái* has made its way into Kwinti via the other Maroon varieties encountered in Paramaribo. If the latter were to be proven, *nái* would be an excellent piece of evidence demonstrating the influence of other (leveled) Maroon varieties on Kwinti. But it is perhaps just as likely that these two variants have existed in Kwinti since the beginning.

Dutch adstrata

There are a number of words of Dutch origin in the Kwinti corpus. The most drastic, in terms of influence on Kwinti's grammatical structure are verb-particle combinations. Generally speaking, verb-particle combinations (VPCs henceforth), also called phrasal verbs, separable verbs, etc., consist of a verb and a particle, which is either an adposition or a spatial adverb. VPCs often display peculiar syntax particular to the language and specific VPC. Importantly, VPCs frequently form an 'idiomatic unit' where neither the verb, nor it's particle are sufficient to adequately convey the meaning of the VPC (Dehé et al 2002: 3).

VPCs in Dutch, known as *samenkoppelingen* 'combinations' or *scheidbare werkwoorden* 'separable verbs', are intricately integrated in the language's morpho-syntax with numerous realizations. Once such construction is of particular interest here, namely when the object NP appears between the verb and its particle. This type of construction (see (6b)) is commonplace with Germanic VPCs, though not traditionally in Surinamese creoles. In fact, particle verbs from English and Dutch that played a role during formation of Suriname's creoles, as well as borrowings until, I argue (Borges 2014), relatively recently,

have been incorporated as a unit. The syntactically separable etyma of words like Ndyuka *towe* 'discard, pour libation' < *throw away* and *didon* 'recline' < *lay down* have become single inseparable lexemes in Surinamese creoles.

More recently however, a number of particle verbs are being borrowed or (partially) calqued along with their separable syntax in Surinamese languages (cases in Sranan, Ndyuka, Kwinti, and Sarnami – an Indic lnguage – have been identified in Borges 2014). These new acquisitions often involve some dimension of semantic change in the recipient language (e.g. 5a). Two examples (5a, 6a) are attested in the 2011 Kwinti corpus. In (5a), the speaker uses the Dutch verb *uitvinden*, though the meaning 'establish' in this case is not in line with Dutch meaning 'invent'. Example (5b) shows an erroneous equivalent Dutch followed by the correct way to convey the meaning in Dutch (5c).

(5) a. W1: *a   tata   san be   tyai   unu kon   poti ya,   di   be   **findi** a*
        DET father REL PST carry 1PL come put here REL PST **find** DET
        *presi **uit**, na en   nen   be   de   tata   bitá*
        place **PRT** COP 3SG name PST COP father Bitá
        'The man who brought us here, who established this place, his name was Mr. Bitá.'

    b. **Hij is   de   man die   Nijmegen **uit**-ge-**vonden** heeft.*
        3SG be.3SG DET man who Nijmegen **PRT**-*ge*-**invent** have.3SG

    c. *Hij is   de   man die   Nijmegen ontdek-te.*
        3SG be.3SG DET man who Nijmegen discover-3SG.PST
        'He is the man who established (literally, discovered) Nijmegen.'

The second example of verb-particle constructions in the Kwinti corpus is shown in (6a). There the Dutch verb *voordragen* 'to nominate' is used. Example (6b) shows the equivalent Dutch sentence. Aside from the split VPC type syntax in (6a), the speaker curiously includes *fu* 'for', which would appear to be unnecessary to introduce the direct object of a transitive verb, 2PL in this case. Perhaps it was meant to reference an absent indirect object despite being phonologically assimilated to the direct object. Alternatively, this element may not be *fu* at all, but rather a sort of partial reduplication of the particle.

(6) a. M6: *w-e   **dra**   fi-i   **foor***
        1PL-IPFV **nominate** for-2SG   **PRT**
        'We're nominating you (for it).'

b.   *Wij*   **drag-en**   *jou*   **voor**.
      1PL   **nominate-pl** 2SG.OBJ   **PRT**
      'We nominate you.'

Dutch elements not only appear in particle verb constructions, but also appear sporadically by themselves in the corpus, including *tewai* < DU *terwijl* 'while' (7), *einigste* < DU *enigste* 'only' (8), *to(ch)* < DU *toch* 'really' (9), *want*(*i*) < DU *want* 'because' (10), and *wel* <DU *wel* 'corrective particle'[21] (12).[22]

(7) M5: *a   suku   seei   ma   di   naki   f-e   meki   sani*
         3SG search self but when knock for-3SG make   thing
         tewai *a   be   o   findi   wan   sani   moo*
         while 3SG PST FUT find   DET   thing   more
         'He himself was searching, but if he had been productive, he would have found something more.'

(8) M1: *a   **einigste** sama   di   be   kon   ya   na   tiyo baabi.*
         DET **only**   person   who PST come   here COP Mr. Bobby
         'The only person who came here is Tiyo Bobby (v.d.Elst).'

(9) W1: *...ma   **toch**   na   Kwinti   w-e   taki*
         but   **really** COP Kwinti 1PL-IPFV talk
         '...but it's really Kwinti we're talking.'

(10) M5: *da   a   kmopo   na   olland.   da   a   kon   bai presi na*
          then 3SG come.out LOC Holland   then 3SG come buy place LOC
          korsou da   e   libi na   korsou. a   kel dat. bagrijp   toch.
          Curaçao then IPFV live LOC Curaçao. DET guy that understand right
          ***want*   olland   kowru.*
          because Holland   cold
          'Then he left Holland. Then that guy came and bought a house on Curaçao and then he lives on Curaçao, (you understand?) because Holland is cold.'

---

[21] The Dutch Particle *wel* has a variety of functions (see Hogeweg 2009).
[22] Here, I discuss *toch* as an adverb, clearly distinguishable from the word's use as a tag question.

(11) M5 *wan faya de **wel** ma frizer no de*
     DET fire COP **wel** but freezer NEG COP
     'There *is* electricity, but there's no freezer.'

Although Dutch has long been influential on the Surinamese creoles at the lexical level, the copying of particle verbs' syntactic patterns along with the functional items described in this section, neither of which are found in 18th-century Sranan sources[23] or more conservative Maroon varieties, suggest a more recent layer of Dutch influence on Kwinti indicative of increased multilingual proficiency.

Formal styles

A striking aspect of Maroon culture is the complexity of their greeting patterns. Generally speaking, these sometimes long and complicated greeting rituals, where age, gender, status, time of day, and familiarity of the interlocutors are all factors in determining the appropriate set of questions and responses, are an extremely important part of village life. These patterns have been noted among the Maroon creoles that have thus far been described (Huttar & Huttar 1994; Migge 2005; Marrenga & Paulus 2009). A typical example of such an exchange is given in (12), adopted from Migge (2005: 130). Greetings are obligatory for all people who come within eyeshot of each other. Not greeting "is an offense that disrupts the social harmony" (Migge 2004: 125); however in some cases the traditional greetings, as exemplified in (12), are replaced by less formal greetings that do not convey the proper respect and tradition as conventional greetings. One who is frequently informal in his greeting "presents [him]self as an easy going laut [sic]" (Marrenga, Paulus 2009: 60).

(12) A *Ba A, u miti oo.*
     brother A 1PL meet EMPH
     'Mr. A., we meet.'
  B *Iya, u miti yee, sisa.*
     yeah 1PL meet hear sister
     'Yes, we meet, my female friend.'

---

[23] The exception to this is that *tog* is found in Schumann (1783) with adverbial usage. Van den Berg (2007: 28) notes however, that Schumann represents a variety of Sranan spoken by Europeans, thus some transfer of grammatical categories from source language to recipient language in speakers who may have been more proficient in the source language.

A (*Iya.*) *Da*   *u*   *de?*
   (yeah)   then   1PL   COP
   'Then, are you well?' (lit. 'then we exist')

B *Iya,*   *u*   *de*   *yee. U*   *seefi de?*
   yeah   1PL   COP   hear 1PL   self   COP
   'Yes, I am well!' (lit. 'yes, we exist for sure') You are also well?' (lit. 'we self exist')

A *Iya,*   *u*   *de*   *baa*
   yeah   1PL   COP   brother
   'yes, I am well.' (lit. 'yes, we exist')

B *Iya*
   yeah
   'yes'

Migge notes that within the Eastern Maroon community, informal greetings, as in (13), are mostly associated with young men and those associated with wage labor in the urban centers of the coast and are recognized as belonging to the coastal creole, Sranan (2005: 131).

(13) <u>Question</u>   <u>Answer</u>
   a. on   *fa*   d. *saafi*   'slowly'
      1PL   how   e. *cool*   'cool'
   b. fa   *waka*   f *rustig*   'relaxed'
      how   walk
   c. fa   *i*   *tan*
      how   2SG   stand

While in Eastern Maroon communities, traditional greetings are still a pervasive part of village life; this is not the case in Bitagron. In 2011, not only were coastal style greetings the norm, but not a single instance of traditional greetings was observed. One elderly informant was easily able to produce several traditional greeting patterns, which mirror those of other Maroon communities; however these types of greetings are no longer in regular use. Migge corroborates this observation, saying that her attempt at greeting people formally in Bitagron in 2010 was not well received, adding that this "was definitely not the case in 1996" when she first visited the village (2012: pc). However, she visited the village again in 2013, and did observe formal greetings take place in at morning time in the center of the village (2013: pc).

This suggests that perhaps physical space and/or the time of day play a role in determining which greeting style is appropriate.

Other aspects of Maroon Creole language use also appeared to be in disuse in Bitagron. Two registers are worth mentioning here, *kowounu taki* 'ordinary speech' and *lespeki taki* 'respect speech'. *Kowounu taki* is the register of everyday social interactions, while *lespeki taki* is reserved in formal occasions. *Lespeki taki* makes use of a number of negative politeness strategies (special vocabulary replacing taboo terms, status-indicating address terms, verbal indirectness, and special turn-taking rules) that are not characteristic of ordinary speech (Migge & Léglise 2011: 216). This style is different than everyday speech and is easilyly observable, for example, among the Ndyuka living along the Tapanahony River. The *lespeki taki* style was neither recorded nor observed during the author's stay in Bitagron, despite the fact that several circumstances (e.g. *towe nyannyan* 'ritual food offering' and presenting myself to village elders) would have required the use of this style in the company of other Maroons.

Conclusion

This section has demonstrated a number of variables that speak to the intrusion of linguistic practices (speech behavior) prevalent in Paramaribo, both in terms of elements of Sranan and Dutch elements, but also the apparent decrease of traditional Maroon formalities and greeting patterns. Structural consequences can also be seen in the adoption of additional sounds, Dutch functional lexemes, and the peculiar syntax associated with Dutch verb-particle constructions in Kwinti.

Is Kwinti dying?

On the basis of the external setting – social, cultural, and demographic factors – it was hypothesized that Kwinti may be another language to add to the list of the world's endangered languages. After analyzing a small corpus of recorded Kwinti data with reference to available diachronic material, an increase in variation with features from other closely related language varieties is evident. Though increases in variation are often linked to language endangerment and death scenarios (Cook 1989: 236), some form of Surinamese Anglo-Creole is still transmitted to new generations, which by Sasse's (1992: 19) account really dooms a language to obsolescence. Linguistic variables like

the ones mentioned above are closely tied to perceptions of what is characteristically urban/modern on the one hand, and what is rural/traditional on the other. Close economic and social ties with Paramaribo in general, and other Maroon groups in particular, have led to the breakdown of rigid ethnic and linguistic boundaries, particularly visible in the types of linguistic variation noted here. As Léglise and Migge (2006: 327) put it:

> ...in the context of large-scale migration, the differences among the Maroon groups are increasingly being leveled. In the new context they largely face the same issues, such as finding jobs and housing. Increasingly, women and men from different Maroon groups join forces to meet these challenges, thereby creating networks that are not primarily based on ethnic group, clan, and family affiliation, as is the case in their traditional villages. Children growing up in the urban context therefore tend to be acculturated to a different social reality and consequently develop a relatively different sense of "ethnic" membership. They identify with all those whose background is very similar – other Maroons.

Variation in Kwinti is much more fluid than what has been observed among other Maroon groups living in their traditional territories. This variation however mirrors that which is evident in urban dwelling Maroon communities (cf. Auer & Hiskins 2005: 356). In (14), informants discuss how the arrangement of education promotes contact with the city. The example illustrates the awareness of at least some of the variables discussed here. While a speaker may not be completely conscious of variables, informants are clearly able to carefully control some of their linguistic behavior. Example (14) also illustrates another pertinent issue in not only the Kwinti story, but for all Maroons languages, namely language naming practices. Léglise and Migge (2006) have already addressed this issue in depth, though it's worth mentioning that, even in their traditional territory, most informants opted for neutral (i.e. non ethnicity specific) terms to refer to their language, particularly *nenge* or *nengre tongo*. In hindsight, it would have been interesting to observe how frequently *Kwinti* was used to refer to the language had the researcher not introduced the term.[24]

(14) M1: *luku lek fa   a   skoro.. a   skoo de nounou.da   den pikin*
          look like how DET school DET school COP now   then DET child
          o   de dya te   lek zesde klas. da   den meke exame.
          FUT COP here until like sixth class then 3PL make exam

---

[24] In fact, informants in 2011 seem to use these terms rather interchangeably.

          da   ef   den wani go moro hei   a   skoro...
          then if   3PL want go   more high LOC   school
          'Look, like how our school is now. The children will be here until,
          like, the sixth grade. Then after they take their exams, if they want
          to continue in school...'

W1: *a   taigi i   fi   taki nengee angi en*
      3SG tell   2SG to   talk Nengee with 3SG
      'He told you to talk *Nengee* to him.'

M1: *efu den wani go moo fuu a.. moo hei,   da   den abi fu*
      if   3PL want go more full LOC more high then 3PL have to
      go ya   a   foto
      go   here LOC Paramaribo
      'If they want to continue with school, then they have to leave here
      for Paramaribo.'

R: *na tuu*
      COP true
      'It's true.'

M1: *i   si en? da te   den go ya a foto,   den kaba. den*
      2SG see 3SG then when 3PL go here LOC Paramaribo 3PL finish 3PL
      ne   sabi san   fu dya moo. a   so a   sani kon pasa
      NEG-IPFV know thing of here more FOC so DET thing come pass
      dya saafi saafi
      here slow slow
      'Do you see (understand) it? Then when they finish in Paramaribo,
      they don't know anything of here.'

Working with Kwinti particularly speaks to the difficulty in bridging the gap between synchronic linguistic variation and diachronic change, particularly in this context where the language varieties involved are highly similar. Returning to the question of language shift and death, what we do not see is a complete replacement of one (set of) feature(s) by equivalent features from another language as is expected in a diachronic understanding of a complete language shift. What is evident, however, is that the Kwinti are experiencing a change in the norms of variation. Variables which would be inappropriate to use, for example, outside one's peer group, or in a formal context in other traditional Maroon groups, or even in Kwinti as observed by Migge in 1996, have been observed in what seems to be normal everyday speech. This type of variation, discussed by informants in (15) and (16), are possibly precursors

for and indicators of diachronic language change, but not necessarily language shift.

(15) W1: *i si fa wi taki basrabasra ma toch na... unu n-e taki*
2SG see how 1PL talk bastard but really COP 1PL NEG-IPFV talk
en tumisi dipi moro lek den voorouders ma toch na kwinti
3SG too deep more like DET ancestors but really COP Kwinti
wi e taki. bika lek fa mi e taki ya, nou nou a
1PL IPFV talk because like how 1SG IPFV talk here now now COP
kwinti mi e taki.
Kwinti 1SG IPFV talk
'You see how we speak mixed? But really it's... we don't speak it very deeply any more, like the ancestors, but it's really Kwinti we speak. Just like how I'm talking here now, it's Kwinti I'm speaking.'

(16) M5: *a unu a Kwinti tongo kaba. a kon taki a-i wani*
foc 1PL LOC Kwinti tongue already 3SG come talk 3SG-IPFV want
lei Kwinti tongo. yee fa wi e taki. u ná wan taa fasi.
learn Kwinti tongue hear how 1PL IPFV talk 1PL NEG DET other way
a so Kwinti a Kwinti wi taki kaba
COP so Kwinti COP Kwinti 1PL talk already
'This is Kwinti already. He comes and says he wants to learn the Kwinti language. Hear how we speak. There's no other way. We're speaking Kwinti already.'

Kwinti shows all the external signs of an endangered language. Extra linguistic factors, such as the historical, socio-cultural, and economic setting, have led to an unbalanced bilingual situation, multilingualism, and multi language competence is on the rise, causing lexical loss, increased synchronic interference. The integration of particle verb constructions in the language, however, represents an instance of complexification, which is not usually language decay found in advanced stages of language shift. Given that other Maroon groups, like the upriver Ndyuka and the rural Saramaccans, have remained much more conservative in terms of their linguistic practices and linguistic structures, despite a high degree of typological similarity and like contacts with Paramaribo, we may posit that Kwinti's small numbers and lack of a strong group identity have made their language and speech behavior more vulnerable to external influence. Despite the loss imminent loss of some of Kwinti's defining features

(i.e. parts of the lexicon), critically, the language has not experienced a break in intergenerational transmission. However, the fact that the language varieties involved in this scenario are so similar, it is difficult to determine where to draw the line between Kwinti and other varieties – what exactly is being transmitted?

Abbreviations

Abbreviations: 1sg, 2sg, 3sg, 1pl, 3pl-personal pronouns; comp-complementizer; cop-copula; det-determiner; emph-emphatic: fut-future; ideo-ideophone; ipfv-imperfective; pfv-perfective; loc-locative; mod-modal; neg-negation; pst-past; tag-tag question.

Appendix: Additional examples

Example from the header

(17) M1: *so, u   sa   taki... a   klimaat. sa   mi   sa   taki.*
       so 1pl mod talk   det climate what 1sg mod talk
       a   libi srefi kon e   kenki   wan soutu fasi.
       det life self come ipfv change one sort   way
       omdat, bijna de   meeste... moo fuu fu   unu
       because almost det most   more full of 1pl
       a   foto u   go libi. da   u   kon teke a   foto libi.
       loc city 1pl go live then 1pl come take det city life
       'We shall say [it's because of] the climate. What can I say? Life itself is changing in a way. Most of us have gone to the city to live. We have adopted city life.'

    R: *da   a   foto tongo   kon   ya?*
       then det city language come here
       'Then city language came here.'

    M1: *iyya, da   a   meki da   a   kon saafi saafi a   zwaki o   guɛ.*
       yeah then 3sg make then 3sg come slow slow 3sg weak fut go
       'Yes,That's why [our language] is slowly disappearing.'

Other examples

(18) M1: *nou nou a   foto wi libi te   a   doo   yuu mi kon ya...*
       now now det city 1pl live until loc arrive hour 1sg come here

'Now we lived in the city and when the time was right, we came here.'

W1: *bika   binnenlandse oorlog yee.   da   u   be   de   a   foto.*
because interior   war   hear then 1PL PST COP LOC city
da   baka dati u   be   kon   ini   a   seefi yari ka
then after that 1PL PST come in   DET same year PFV
'Because of the civil war, you know, then we were there in the city. After that, we came back in the same year.'

M1: *a   so a   libi ya.   a   so   a   libi lowe   ya   kaba.*
COP so DET life here COP so   DET life escape here PFV
meki w-án   sabi   ai.   w-án   sabi   en   moo   so
make 1PL-NEG know yes. 1PL-NEG know 3SG more so
'That's life here. That's how our way of life escaped here already. We don't know it like that anymore.'

(19) W1: *go luku gi   mi ef kapte   D   de   a   osu.*
go look give 1SG if captain D COP LOC house
boi   regelen.   go luku   even.
boy regulate go look quickly
'Go check if Captain D is home for me. Boy, get it together. Go look likety split.'

(20) W1: *i   be mu tan wan wiki so da i   be o   kba fin*
2SG PST MOD stay one week so then 1SG PST FUT finish find
ibii   y-o   kaba findi ala sani   precies
everything 2SG-FUT finish find all   things precisely
'You should have stayed for a week. Then you would have found everything. You will have found everything in order.'

(21) M1: *te   yu go namo   da   efu i   wani da   i   meki moiti*
when 2SG go continue then if   2SG want then 2SG make effort
da i   kon da te   i   kon...
then 2sg come then when 2sg come
da te   i   kon da yee   w-e   meke moiti saafi saafi.
then when 2SG come then hear 1PL-IPFV make effort slow slow
saafi saafi y-o   gwe yee den sani, y-e   lei den saafi
slow slow 2SG-FUT go hear 3PL thing 2SG-IPFV learn 3PL slow

saafi	*tee.*	*di*	*w-o*	*sabi*	*taki*	*a*	*kwinti*	*tongo*	*bun*
slow	EMPH	when	1PL-FUT	know	talk	DET	Kwinti	language	good

bun,	*da*	*yu*	*no*	*gwe*	*taki*	*a*	*ndyuka*	*moo*
good	then	2SG	NEG	go	talk	DET	Ndyuka	more

da	*yu*	*a*	*kwinti*	*tongo*	*y-o*	*gwe*	*taki*	*na*	*so*
then	2SG	COP	Kwinti	language	2SG-FUT	go	talk.	COP	so.

'After you go, if you want, you can try to come back, then when you come... Then when you come to hear we'll slowly try. You'll go try to hear those things. You'll learn them very slowly. Then we will know how to speak Kwinti well. You won't leave speaking Ndyuka anymore. It's Kwinti you'll leave talking. That's right.'

(22) M6:
da	*m-o*	*daai*	*kwa-i*	*baka*	*ete*	*wan*	*leisi*
then	1SG-FUT	turn	come.to-2SG	back	yet	one	time

'Then I'll come back to you again (I'll repeat myself).'

(23) M6:
nou	*mi*	*fregete*	*san*	*m-be*	*wani*	*taki*	*nou.*
now	1SG	forget	what	1SG-PST	want	talk	now

mi	*fregeti,*	*dus*	*dalek*	*baka*	*a*	*sa*	*kon*
1SG	forget	thus	soon	back	3SG	MOD	come

'I forgot what I wanted to say. I forgot, but it will come back soon.'

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The Reasons behind the High Vitality of Some of the Minority Languages Spoken in Malaysia and How an Understanding of These Reasons May Help the Revitalization of Minority Languages More in General

PAOLO COLUZZI
University of Malaya

Introduction

Malaysia is a federal constitutional monarchy with 28,334,135 inhabitants (2010 census). It is geographically divided into two parts: West Malaysia, i.e. the peninsula south of Thailand, and East Malaysia, i.e. the two federal states of Sarawak and Sabah on the north-western side of the Island of Borneo, to the south of the South China Sea. Malaysia is a multilingual and multi--ethnic state boasting around 140 different historical languages according to Ethnologue. These languages are spoken by a population comprised of Malays (50.4%), other Bumiputras (11% of the population),[1] Chinese (24.6%), Indians, particularly Tamil (7.1%), and other unlisted ethnic groups (6.9%) (2010 Census).

In spite of this enormous linguistic diversity, the only official language in Malaysia is Standard Malay (Bahasa Malaysia), whereas English, the former

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[1] The term 'bumiputra' refers to the ethnic groups considered to be the original inhabitants of Malaysia. These include the various Dayak tribal groups of Borneo and the aboriginals of the peninsula, known as Orang Asli, plus other smaller groups.

colonial language, could be considered a *de facto* second language. The position of English is very strong in Malaysia, with a significant presence in many high domains, including the mass media. English also tends to be the preferred language of inter-ethnic communication, particularly among educated people (Asmah Haji 1992, 2003).

The following scheme represents the linguistic repertoire of Malaysia.

Table 1. The Malaysian linguistic repertoire

English (inter-ethnic communication, modernity, economic opportunities, foreigners/tourism)
Standard Malay (inter-ethnic communication, nationalism, economic opportunities, Islam)
Mandarin Chinese (communication within the Chinese community, identity for the Chinese, economic opportunities)
Arabic (Islam)
Tamil (communication within the Tamil community, identity for the Tamils)
Other minority languages, including other Indian languages and the languages of the Dayaks and Orang Asli (communication within the ethnic group, local identity)
Other Malay and Chinese dialects (local communication and identity)

It is not an easy task to assess the level of prestige that a language enjoys, also considering that different languages may enjoy different degrees of prestige among different individuals and ethnic groups. Based on my own research and observations, however, I have attempted to rank these languages according to the prestige they seem to have among the majority of their speakers (the more prestigious varieties have been placed on top). The most prestigious varieties also tend to be the ones that enjoy more official support. As can be seen, English has arguably been placed in the first position. Standard Malay also enjoys quite high prestige and shares with English many high domains, apart from being used widely in low domains among the Malays and other Bumiputras. It is also used as a language of inter-ethnic communication, but normally only when one of the speakers is Malay and is not fluent in English (Asmah Haji 2003: 121–2). Education is mostly in Malay, although many Chinese and Indians attend national-type Chinese and Tamil schools, where Malay is only taught as a subject. Mandarin Chinese also enjoys high prestige in spite of lacking official recognition as a language of Malaysia. Arabic is spoken by few people, but it retains a high level of prestige among the Muslim community thanks to its religious

significance. The remaining languages occupy the low position in a diglossic relationship with English, Standard Malay and Chinese (as far as the Chinese dialects are concerned) and are used mostly in non-official/family settings. In Malaysia the phenomena of code-mixing and code-switching between the speakers' first languages and English and/or Malay are very widespread (Asmah Haji 1992).

The vitality of these minority languages varies considerably, but exhaustive and wide range surveys have never been carried out in Malaysia. The few pieces of research that have been carried out by lecturers and postgraduate students working and studying at different Malaysian universities seem to indicate a relatively high vitality for some of these varieties, whereas others are undergoing rapid language shift towards Malay and in some cases English, which are replacing the ethnic languages.

The two Malaysian minority languages that were looked at in my research, Bidayuh and Mah Meri, seem to belong to the first group, as indicated by the results of the surveys carried out by the author and two of his colleagues at the University of Malaya (Patricia Nora Riget and Wang Xiaomei).

The Bidayuhs and the Mah Meri

Bidayuh is an Austronesian variety spoken in the state of Sarawak (East Malaysia), while Mah Meri (Besisi) is an Austroasiatic variety spoken on the West coast of the State of Selangor (West Malaysia). The speakers of Bidayuh and Mah Meri are both indigenous groups – the first is one of the numerous Dayak groups found on the Island of Borneo, and the second is a group of the so called 'Orang Asli', or Malaysian aborigines, who form about 0.5% of the total population of Malaysia.

The Bidayuhs (in the past known as Land Dayaks) are the fourth ethnic group of Sarawak in terms of population size, following the Ibans, Chinese and Malays, with about 193,000 individuals[2] (about 8% of the total population of Sarawak) living in the Lundu, Bau, and Kuching Districts (Kuching Division) and in the Serian District (Samarahan Division) (Rensch et al. 2006). Many more Bidayuhs live in West Kalimantan, on the Indonesian side of the border, the area where the Malaysian Bidayuhs originally came from, and

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[2] http://www.statistics.gov.my/portal/download_Population/files/population/05Jadual_Mukim_negeri/Mukim_Sarawak.pdf

there is also a small number of Bidayuh people who have emigrated to other parts of Malaysia.

Traditionally the Bidayuhs lived in longhouses on hills, and their main means of subsistance was shifting cultivation, planting hill rice. As they moved to the plains, they switched to wet rice and sago, even though nowadays many of them cultivate mainly cash crops like rubber, cocoa, oil palms and pepper, in addition to a vast array of fruits and vegetables. Some also rear animals like pigs and fowls (Asmah Haji 1983: 438–39; Minos 2000). More Bidayuhs have now found employment in government offices and private businesses, most of them located in Kuching, the administritive centre of Sarawak (Hood 2006: 89).

While the Bidayuhs used to practice animist beliefs, the first missionary efforts to Christianize them began in the nineteenth century under Rajah Brooke (Minos 2000) and subsequently the great majority of Bidayuhs nowadays are Christian, mostly belonging to the Catholic and Anglican Churches. Only a few elderly people have clung on to their old animist beliefs and one or more churches are now a feature of every Bidayuh village.

The Mah Meri belong to the Senoi Orang Asli group. They speak a southern Aslian language and are still mainly animist, although some have converted to Islam. Most Mah Meri are farmers, working in their own orchards or in the palm oil plantations that have wiped out the original mangrove forests. Some Mah Meri have been forced to look for salaried jobs outside their homeland, but there are still a few fishermen in activity, even though pollution has made the source of their living scarce. On a positive note, many Mah Meri devote themselves to some traditional activities that have survived thanks to tourism and trade; they include mainly woodcarving – together with the Jah Hut, another aboriginal group, the Mah Meri are considered the best wood carvers in Malaysia, producing beautiful masks and statues – and weaving of ornaments, mats, bags and pouches made of Pandanus strips and other plants (Rashid 2006: 26–7; Reita Rahim 2007; Werner 1997).

There are around 2800 Mah Meri individuals living in various villages in the southwestern part of the state of Selangor, Malaysia. Nearly half of them live on Telo' Gunjeng, an island officially known as Pulau Carey, or Carey Island (named after John Carey, an English planter), separated from the coast only by the Langat river. There are now approximately 1200 Mah Meri residing in five villages on the island (Reita 2007).

Methodology and results

The research this paper is based on was carried out through a sociolinguistic questionnaire on language use and attitudes which had been designed by the author for his previous research among the Ibans and Lun Bawangs of Brunei. This was distributed among 266 Bidayuh respondents (out of a total population of 193,000) and 86 Mah Meri (out of a total population of 2,800). The main aim of the research was to get a picture of the sociolinguistic situation of these two languages in their rural 'homelands' and to assess their ethnolinguistic vitality through a comparison of the answers provided by the older and younger respondents (apparent time hypothesis). By 'ethnolinguistic vitality' I refer to 'the amount of dynamism present in a particular linguistic community' which determines 'the likelihood of their languages surviving or becoming subject to language shift and language death' (Trudgill 2003: 46). For this paper, however, only the overall results will be presented and compared of a selected number of questions (14 out of 26) (see Coluzzi et al. 2013 and forthcoming).

Table 2. Language knowledge and language use in 'low' domains

	Bidayuh		Mah Meri	
1) You speak more fluently:[3]				
Heritage language	161	60.5%	0	
Heritage language, Malay, English	11	4.1%	26	30.2%
Heritage language, Malay	83	31.2%	54	62.8%
Malay	8	3.0%	4	4.7%
2) What is your first language/mother tongue				
Heritage language	238	89.4%	79	91.9%
Heritage language, Malay, English	2	0.8%	0	
Heritage language, Malay	20	7.5%	2	2.3%
Malay	2	0.8%	2	2.3%
3) Which language do you normally use within the family?				
Heritage language	227	85.3%	66	76.7%

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[3] Only the answers for the languages and the combinations of languages that were chosen by both ethnic groups are shown here.

	Bidayuh		Mah Meri	
Heritage language, Malay, English	5	1.9%	1	1.2%
Heritage language, Malay	28	10.5%	14	16.3%
Malay	5	1.9%	3	3.5%
4) Which languages do you normally use with your friends?				
Heritage language	139	52.2%	46	53.5%
Heritage language, Malay, English	17	6.3%	2	2.3%
Heritage language, Malay	98	36.8%	31	36.0%
Malay	5	1.9%	6	7.0%
5) Which languages do you normally use with your neighbours?				
Heritage language	208	78.1%	46	53.5%
Heritage language, Malay, English	6	2.2%	2	2.3%
Heritage language, Malay	43	16.1%	31	36.0%
Malay	5	1.8%	6	7.0%

As can be seen in Table 2, the heritage language is the first language for about 90% of the respondents of the two ethnic groups, with less than 5% not including it among the languages they speak most fluently.

When interacting with family members, fewer than 4% of the respondents of the two groups do not use their heritage language (on its own or together with the other languages of the repertoire), while when talking to friends and neighbours, the heritage language is replaced by Malay between around 2% (Bidayuh) and 7% (Mah Meri) of the cases.

Table 3. Language use in 'high' domains

	Bidayuh		Mah Meri	
6) Which languages do you normally use with the doctor?				
Heritage language	22	8.2%	0	
Heritage language, Malay, English	3	1.1%	1	1.2%
Heritage language, Malay	59	22.1%	3	3.5%
Malay	171	64.2%	82	95.3%

		Bidayuh		Mah Meri
7) Which languages do you normally use in public offices?				
Heritage language	14	5.2%	0	
Heritage language, Malay, English	4	1.5%	86	1.2%
Heritage language, Malay	50	18.8%	3	3.5%
Malay	191	71.8%	82	95.3%
8) Which languages do you normally use with the police?				
Heritage language	16	6%	0	
Heritage language, Malay, English	2	0.7%	0	
Heritage language, Malay	61	22.9%	0	
Malay	181	68%	86	100%

Table 3 shows that the diglossic situation these minority languages find themselves in comes clearly to the fore in higher domains. With the doctor, in public offices and with the police Malay is used in most of the cases, even though the heritage language is partially used among the Bidayuhs, thanks to a small presence of ethnic Bidayuh doctors, civil servants and policemen; even some of those who are not Bidayuh end up learning some Bidayuh. However, this is not the case with the smaller Mah Meri community.

Table 4. Language attitudes

		Bidayuh		Mah Meri
9) Do you feel proud of speaking your heritage language?				
Yes	258	97.0%	80	93.0%
No	1	0.4%	4	4.7%
It depends	4	1.5%	1	1.2%
10) Would you like to learn/improve your heritage language?				
Yes	215	80.8%	67	77.9%
No	16	6.0%	7	8.1%
It depends	34	12.8%	10	11.6%

	Bidayuh		Mah Meri	
11) Should your heritage language be officially protected?				
Yes	260	97.7%	75	87.2%
No	2	0.8%	7	8.1%
12) Should your heritage language be studied at school?				
Yes, compulsory	169	63.5%	42	48.8%
Yes, optional	83	31.2%	32	37.2%
No, it should not be studied	12	4.5%	9	10.5%
13) Should a periodical in your heritage language be available to the community?				
Yes, all in it	123	46.2%	21	24.4%
Yes, some articles in it	134	50.4%	58	67.4%
It depends	1	0.4%	0	
No	6	2.3%	7	8.1%
14) Should there be a radio station/radio programmes in your heritage language?				
Yes	261	98.1%	82	95.3%
No	4	1.5%	4	4.7%

Regarding language attitudes, we can see in Table 4 that more than 93% of the members of the two communities feel proud of speaking their own heritage language, and approximately 80% would like to learn it or improve their knowledge of it.

About 87% of the Mah Meri and as many as 98% of the Bidayuhs believe that their heritage language should be officially protected, while 86% of the Mah Meri and 94.7% of the Bidayuhs think that their heritage language should be studied at school.

As for the use of these languages in the media, the great majority of Mah Meri and Bidayuhs would like to see their heritage language used in publications and to hear it on the radio. In the case of the Bidayuhs, who can already enjoy some radio programmes in their language, more than 98% of them would like to have a Bidayuh radio station established for them, whereas about 95% of the Mah Meri would be happy to be able to listen to some radio programmes in their own heritage language.

Discussion

As the data show, the heritage language is the first and most fluent language (on its own or together with other languages) for nearly all respondents and it is used widely in most domains by a high number of speakers who show positive attitudes towards it; this is a sign of the high vitality that these two languages enjoy. However, a comparison between the answers provided by the older and younger respondents do show ongoing language shift towards Malay and English (see Coluzzi et al. 2013 and forthcoming). On the whole, though, Bidayuh seems to fare better than Mah Meri. This may be due to the different size of the two ethnic groups, and to the fact that some bottom-up revitalization activities are currently being carried out for Bidayuh. There are not many minority languages in the world that can boast such high levels of ethnolinguistic vitality as Mah Meri, and particularly as Bidayuh, even some that enjoy official status and protection.

So what are the reasons accounting for such high degree of ethnolinguistic vitality? I would suggest four main reasons:

1) The Mah Meri and the Bidayuhs are closed-knit communities, where the heritage language dominates all low and medium domains. The majority of Mah Meri and Bidayuhs, in fact, can make a living on their own land where very few 'outsiders' live and Malay is little used. Standards of living are in many cases not very high, but most of the members of these two groups have chosen not to abandon their villages. Nevertheless, some of those who have decided to give up agriculture and to find a job elsewhere, particularly young people, are able to commute to the towns in Selangor (Mah Meri) or Sarawak (Bidayuhs) where more jobs are available, particularly in the administrative centre of Sarawak, Kuching. This allows these commuters to use their own language when they return home. Among the Mah Meri and the Bidayuhs who have moved permanently out of their communities, language maintenance is affected and the second generation tends to speak Malay or in some cases English rather than their own heritage languages. In fact, while endogamy is the norm in the original villages where nearly all families are made up of people of the same ethnicity and language, in the bigger towns and cities outside the community the tendency is for Bidayuhs and Mah Meri to find partners from other ethnic groups, which eventually leads to Malay or English to becoming the family language that children grow up with (Coluzzi et al. 2013).

2) The ideologies of nationalism (one nation, one language) and of modernity (new is better than old) have not yet completely replaced the traditional thinking and values (see Coluzzi 2015). Identity in a country where so many different ethnic groups live is considered important and local traditions and languages are still seen as valuable assets that are very important for maintaining such local identity. The national, international and local languages, new and old, can coexist.

3) The third point is strictly related to the second. Multilingualism in this part of the world is the norm and is generally seen as a positive asset. Most Malaysians in fact speak at least three languages, a minority of them only two and there are virtually no monolinguals. Therefore maintaining at least one ethnic language together with the national (Malay) and international (English) language is not normally seen as difficult, useless or wasteful.

4) Nearly all the members of these two ethnic groups follow their own religion, which is Christianity for the Bidayuhs and animism for the Mah Meri. It seems as if having a religion different from the official and majority one (Islam in this instance) helps to maintain local identity and to prevent the encroaching of the majority culture and language.

What can be learnt from these considerations? How could the knowledge of these factors help to improve our understanding of language revitalization? And how can other minority languages benefit from such understanding? Let us look at these points one by one and see how the factors just examined could be adapted and used for other minority situations:

1) Living in a close-knit community is probably the most important factor. If people leave their original territory where the local language dominates, if they migrate to places where other languages are used, it becomes very difficult to maintain the ethnic language. And it becomes even more difficult, if not impossible, when people speaking one minority language get married to partners speaking other languages, which normally leads to the adoption of the national language or, in some cases, English. Therefore perhaps the most effective way to keep intergenerational transmission and maintain a minority or regional language is to help local people to find ways of making a living on their own land. Incentives and jobs should be created, traditional activities should be revaluated and, wherever possible, cultural tourism should be promoted. All this could be supported by

the preservation of local ecosystems and traditional economies. Another solution would be to improve transport facilities which would allow at least some members of these communities to commute to work on a daily basis.

2) As far as nationalism and its tendency towards centralization and homogenization are concerned, more political autonomy to areas/regions where minority languages are spoken should be considered, and the local languages should gain official status within those areas. To counteract the pervasive ideology of modernity may prove more difficult, as it is one of the basic tenets that sustain the present worldwide economic system (see Coluzzi 2015). The only way would be to try and deconstruct the ideology of 'new' and modernity, to expose its irrationality and its limits with clarity, and to highlight the positive aspects of tradition and the small scale economy that used to be a part of it.

3) Studies highlighting the advantages of bilingualism and multilingualism including a local language should be made known and spread among the general public.

4) As for the last point in question, not much can be done if the minority happens to share the same religion as the majority (even though religious functions and/or sermons in the local language could be considered). However, in place of religion, following political parties different from the ones the majority subscribes to, or establishing local branches of the majority parties based on the local language may help the community to 'differentiate' itself to some degree from the majority.

Obviously more traditional language planning activities should also be employed, from the use of the minority language in the media to its use in education (which these communities support, as the results in my survey clearly show). These will help to spread the minority language and to raise its prestige, and we know that the more prestige these small languages acquire, the bigger chances there are for their successful maintenance in the future. When the speech community is diffused or live together with people speaking other languages, traditional language planning strategies may still be the only means available to maintain these languages.

Conclusions

In conclusion, economic and ideological factors are fundamental in language endangerment/revitalization, and it seems to me that they are the first that should be tackled for effective and long-lasting revitalization of the local minority and regional languages. Considering the present global trends, this may prove to be difficult, but perhaps not impossible, and it is definitely worth attempting. Strategies to preserve local cultures and languages may even help to solve or at least relieve global problems such as climate change, poverty and war/terrorism, as these can be seen as side products of consumer capitalism, macronationalism and globalization, which attention to the local territory may help to hold up.

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Effective Language Policy-Making for Language Revitalisation: What Might It Look Like?

JULIA SALLABANK
School of Oriental and African Studies
University of London

Introduction: 'Saving a language'?

This paper considers what effective policy-making for endangered languages might look like. It discusses issues relevant to language revitalisation such as definitions, aims, methods and challenges, and possible criteria for evaluating outcomes. It aims to contribute to the understanding of what it means to 'save a language', and thus to the effectiveness of language revitalisation, however it may be defined.

A framework of three reactions to language endangerment was developed by Romaine (2008), each of which reflects different beliefs and ideologies regarding language and its role in society. The three responses identified are:

1. Do nothing
2. Document endangered languages
3. Sustain/revitalise threatened languages.

Position (1), '*Do nothing*', is a default policy adopted by many governments towards minority and endangered languages. As pointed out by Fishman (2006) and Spolsky (2009), it is unlikely to maintain minority languages in use. It will not be discussed in detail in this paper, which focuses on what is meant by 'saving a language'. I will, however, note that the simplest answer to language maintenance, 'just speak it', is often the last to be considered by language planners or stakeholders, either at a top-down or bottom-up level.

For many linguists the main response to language endangerment is position (2), documentation and description. For them, 'saving a language' means depositing recordings, transcriptions and metadata in secure and accessible digital archives for posterity. While digital archiving is generally accepted as essential for the preservation of linguistic data, there have been criticisms that it represents a 'museum-oriented' approach to saving a language (Fishman 1996; Dobrin et al. 2009): putting language in a box in a vault, rather than keeping it in use as a living language. A statement by two Alaskan linguists, Dora Marks Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer, sums up the dichotomy neatly: 'Preservation … is what we do to berries in jam jars and salmon in cans … Books and recordings can preserve languages, but only people and communities can keep them alive' (quoted in Maffi 2003; Walsh 2005). There is a danger that linguists may be perceived by endangered language communities and lay people as self-serving in describing languages without engaging in community revitalisation efforts.

Romaine (2008) argues that positions (1) and (2) are similar in that documentation is considered more neutral, less political and more 'scientific' than engaging with possible causes and remedies for language shift. There is an ongoing and unresolved tension between, on the one hand, the traditional priorities of linguists, whose main concern is to 'preserve records of key languages before they become extinct' (from the US government-funded NEH Documenting Endangered Languages website[1]), with the main beneficiaries being descriptive linguistics, especially typology; and secondly, rhetoric such as the aim 'to create a repository of resources for the linguistic, social science, and the language communities', taken from the web page of the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme, whose application form promotes an ethical position to 'give something back' to language communities. Both stop short of Romaine's position (3), 'Sustain/revitalise threatened languages', which is what an increasing number of endangered language community members want (Grenoble 2009). The production of educational materials for endangered languages is not usually integrated into language documentation projects (Rice 2010; Mosel 2012) and is difficult to obtain funding for.

I have argued that the relationship between documentation and language planning and revitalisation is indirect (Sallabank 2012). Linguistic records are not necessarily collected or analysed with revitalisation in mind (Sugita

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[1] www.neh.gov/grants/guidelines/del.html, accessed 15 October 2012 (this text is no longer included).

2007; Amery 2009; Childs et al. 2014), and revitalisation movements do or cannot necessarily make use of them: the types of linguistic events that are documented often still reflect traditional anthropological preoccupations by focusing on rituals, narratives and stories; all too frequently interactive and child-oriented language which might be most valuable in revitalisation programmes are omitted from the documentary record. Some activists feel that language revitalisation efforts have no need for language documentation: 'All you need for language revitalization is a room and some adults speaking the language to some kids' (Kipp 2009). Linguistic description is not seen as necessary: 'You can be an excellent driver without knowing how your car's engine works, you can be an excellent language teacher without knowing how to do linguistic analysis' (Speas 2009). Yet without systematic documentation, a sudden downward 'tip' in language vitality (Dorian 1981) can leave potential future revivalists with no information on the language; this is the case with a number of languages in Australia.

Language revitalisation is an under-theorised field. Its definitions are not always agreed, its aims and objectives are not always overtly formulated, and its outcomes are often not evaluated. These efforts may involve a wide range of activities (not only language teaching, as commonly assumed), and are generally grass-roots initiatives, driven by 'the community'; although this word is frequently used over-simplistically in the field of language documentation, and communities are not monolithic. Communities are often riven with disagreements and conflicting beliefs and ideologies about language and how and whether it should be 'saved' (Hoffman 2006; Austin & Sallabank 2014).

In documentary linguistics it is often thought that revitalisation is a relatively simple technical matter of designing 'optimum' writing systems and producing materials such as dictionaries, grammars, and storybooks from documentary corpora. And indeed it may be a relatively simple procedure technically, given familiarity with multimedia software. But revitalisation consists of more than just materials: it involves addressing language attitudes, ideologies and discourses, and often intra-community politics as well, to say nothing of language practices. As Marquis and I describe, one of the most controversial areas of revitalisation is orthography development or spelling reform, which can be both a trigger and a litmus of deep-seated ideological issues within communities (Sallabank & Marquis 2016a; see also Sebba 2007).

Goals and planning in language revitalisation

Grenoble and Whaley (2006: ix) point out that due to differences in circumstances it is impossible to make blanket statements about how language revitalisation should be carried out. That is not the aim of this paper either. I attempt instead to address what it means to 'save a language', with particular reference to what it means to people involved – and affected – in the specific contexts of the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man. However, by reflecting on the findings in the light of theoretical concepts and frameworks such as language ideologies, as well as findings elsewhere, I hope that the insights gained will be of use to people involved and affected in language revitalisation efforts in other contexts too.

A literal interpretation of the word 'revitalisation' denotes efforts to restore/increase the *vitality* of a language. In models of language vitality such as Fishman's (1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), UNESCO's *Atlas of Languages in Danger* (Moseley 2010) and the Extended GIDS developed by Lewis and Simons (2010), language transmission within the family is generally seen as the most important factor or linchpin: "Without intergenerational mother tongue transmission ... no language maintenance is possible'' (Fishman 1991: 113). Fishman warns that:

> The sociolinguistic landscape is littered with the relatively lifeless remains of societally marginalized and exhausted RLS movements that have engaged in struggles on the wrong front …, without real awareness of what they were doing or the problems that faced them. (Fishman 1991: 113)

By 'the wrong front', Fishman means omitting to tackle his key stage of intergenerational transmission and establishing stable diglossia before focusing on higher domains such as literacy and school-based lessons. However, Romaine (2006) has pointed out that the majority of language movements and planners around the world seem to ignore Fishman's advice, focusing instead on 'high-stakes' domains such as formal education and official status. There are many possible reasons for this. Language communities and activists may find it easier to focus on a campaign to get their language introduced into the school curriculum than on challenging and changing their own and their neighbours' behaviour (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1998; King 2001).

Both top-down and grass-roots discourses place paramount importance on young people or children as the future of local languages – in spite of, or perhaps in reaction to, the lack of children learning the languages in their

families. But many movements choose to teach children in formal educational settings, either as a subject or through immersion teaching (starting at pre-school or 'language nest'); yet it is by no means certain that children who only learn a language at school speak it outside, and even less certain that they will raise children speaking it, especially as the kind of language they learn at school is not the kind used in childcare (Edwards & Newcombe 2005). Nevertheless, as Grenoble and Whaley (2006: 10) note, 'A crucial domain for language usage is education. … When mandatory schooling occurs exclusively in a national language, the use of local languages almost inevitably declines.' In Guernsey, many of my informants stated that a major reason for stopping speaking Guernesiais in the home was that it was not approved of in school. Low prestige is reinforced by the education system, which explains the key symbolic role that gaining acceptance in schools plays in many revitalisation movements' aims, as it increases status, prestige, and perceived utility. As schools have been so effective in promoting dominant languages, it is assumed that they can be effective in promoting lower-status ones.

A focus on schools in language revitalisation also reflects recognition of changed circumstances: reinstating an endangered language as a primary medium of socialisation may not be seen as a realistic aim, especially if the language is not in widespread use, has low perceived utility, and the parents themselves are not fluent. Romaine (2006) asks "In the future, will linguistic diversity be sustained by different patterns of reproduction than in the past?" These 'patterns of reproduction' involve chiefly language learning and teaching, usually in schools but also by adults. However, by no means all language learners become fully fluent, and many may be satisfied with knowing a few phrases which they can perform at appropriate times to stress particular aspects of identity construction. In Guernsey, some are satisfied with performing a recitation in Guernesiais.

It seems that in an increasing number of cases 'language revitalization need not be an all or nothing venture' (Thieberger 2002: 325). Shandler (2006) calls this type of use of endangered languages 'postvernacular': promoting the value, or the performance, or the idea, of a language as a valid aim in its own right. In this type of language 'revitalisation', the communicative functions of language are no longer the primary reasons for its use: its value is as a marker of identity, pride or distinctiveness. It could be argued that another common focus of campaigners, increased written use of a language in the 'linguistic landscape' or print environment, reflects similar priorities. Activists and language planners may wish to increase the visible amount of their language

in order to increase or reclaim status for it; or to raise awareness, since in Guernsey some people are unaware that the island has its own language.

In the Preface to their book *Saving Languages: An Introduction to Language Revitalization*, Grenoble and Whaley (2006: ix) state that 'an honest evaluation of most language revitalisation efforts to date will show that they have failed'. They do not state what benchmark(s) they are using in this somewhat pessimistic assessment, but point out that

> Creating an orthography or producing a television program for children in a local language is a major accomplishment in its own right, but it will not revitalize a language. A longer-term, multifaceted program, one which requires a range of resources and much personal dedication, is needed. (Grenoble & Whaley 2006: ix)

Adrian Cain, Manx Language Officer, commented on 19th December 2012 that "Language awareness raising isn't an end in itself and if it doesn't encourage people to learn and speak then it hasn't worked". Without embedding in a carefully planned integrated programme which includes the (re-)establishment of a (new) speaker community, efforts such as signage, multimedia and school lessons are often more about raising awareness or the status of a language rather than about its use. Language policy is often not about language *per se*: other value(s) might be invested in language, such as political capital or social revitalisation. As suggested by Thieberger (2002), these may be a valid aims in their own right, if they are the result of conscious decision-making. It is therefore of concern that in many contexts, including in the Channel Islands, no discussion has taken place regarding the aims of language revitalisation. The concern therefore has to be that the indigenous island languages may slip into a minimalised, symbolic role without other options having been explored.

Grenoble and Whaley (2006) place considerable importance on establishing goals. They suggest that "Minimally, … [goals] should include a recognition of who is being targeted primarily in the revitalization process, the level of language proficiency that the revitalization is meant to bring about, [and] the intended domains in which the local language will be used" (2006: 174). But a carefully planned integrated programme may be at odds with the grass-roots nature of many language revitalisation movements. Language revitalisation is often characterised more by enthusiasm than by planning. This means that there is a tendency not to specify short- and long-term goals (except in vague

terms such as 'saving the language'), and to avoid evaluating outcomes. If there are stated goals, they may be very broad (e.g. 'increase the number of speakers') without planning for intermediate way-stages or evaluation; or there may be a mismatch between goals and methods (e.g. expecting to re-establish intergenerational transmission through schools). Enthusiasts often launch into activities without considering questions such as:

– Why is language revitalisation desirable?
– Who is it for? The current speakers? Future generations? Members of the ethnic group only (and how could this be measured?), or is anyone welcome?
– How to go about it?
– What kind of language or culture is envisaged/ promoted?
– Is it effective? What constitutes 'success'? How do we measure it?
– And crucially, who has the authority to decide on such questions?

These and similar questions can be helpful in establishing goals and priorities, as well as in countering arguments from opponents of language revitalisation. They are factors in what Fishman called 'prior ideological clarification' (Fishman 1991; Fishman 2001; Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1998; Kroskrity 2009), and involve addressing beliefs about language, culture, identity, literacy, language change, ownership – to name just a few of the potential stumbling blocks that language revitalisation movements frequently disagree about. It is therefore of paramount importance to understand both overt and covert goals, and never to under-estimate the power of ideologies in driving both policies and practices.

At this point, language revitalisation intersects with language policy. Language policy can be defined as any decisions or actions which affect language use: overt or covert, conscious or unconscious, planned or unplanned. According to Spolsky (2004; 2009), language policy has three components: language practices, language beliefs and language management. In this model, language practices are defined as what people do with language, including which languages are used, permitted or prohibited in public (or even in private). Language beliefs are attitudes towards language or language varieties, which language(s) people think should be used, how they should be used and in what circumstances; this includes beliefs about bi/multilingualism and perceived distinctions between language and dialect, which are very much part of language policy. Language management is defined

as the identification of a language problem and the adoption of measures to address it (Nekvapil 2006). Beliefs and attitudes are the most powerful factor driving language policies; managing (or attempting to influence) beliefs thus becomes a key element in the successful implementation of language policy. However, although the management of beliefs (also known as prestige planning – Haarmann 1984) is a necessary step in language revitalisation, it does not necessarily alter language practices, as I discussed in Sallabank (2005). For insight into the processes of language policy development it is helpful to distinguish between language practices, perceptions and ideologies, which can be related to language documentation as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Language practices, beliefs and ideologies

Language practices	What people do with language	Observed linguistic behaviour
Perceptions and beliefs	What people *think* they do	In language documentation, often what is collected in elicitation sessions
Language ideologies	What people think they *should* do (or what others should do)	Grammaticality judgements

It is often assumed that policy-making is a top-down process, the responsibility of official bodies or institutions such as schools. However, Spolsky (2004, 2009) and Nekvapil (2006) argue that language policy and management occur at all levels from international (via agencies such as UNESCO or the European Union), national, regional, institutions and schools, down to businesses, local communities, social groups, families and individuals. Decisions about language affect all areas of life, from punctuation to national language and medium of education. When individuals decide to learn a language, or chose to speak one language instead of another in a multilingual context or to their children, they are making policy decisions, even though their decisions may not be conscious or overt. Many policy decisions, from individual up to national and international level, are based on deep-seated dispositions and strongly held beliefs and perceptions acquired through a 'gradual process of inculcation in which early childhood influences are particularly important' (Bourdieu 1991: 12).This means that language policy debates are always about more than language itself, so insights from political, economic, cultural and social theory, social psychology and anthropology are helpful in understanding them.

Ager (2005) suggests that top-down language planning tends to focus on High domains (e.g. education, religion, the legal system) while language campaigners focus on beliefs and attitudes. However, the distinction is not a simple one, and nor is the direction of efforts. Use or promotion of a language in High domains can affect attitudes, and so (it is hoped) practices. So-called High domains can also provide forums (fora) in which to use languages, especially education and digital media. Top-down policies may try to influence use in the workplace, as in Wales where public authority employees have to know or be learning Welsh. Top-down policies also sometimes promote home language use, as in Ireland, while as noted above, bottom-up (grassroots-led) movements frequently focus on getting a language into schools, or campaign for official recognition of a language in order to increase its status in the community.

There are advantages and disadvantages to the official recognition of minority languages. Government support can provide more resources and strategic direction than small groups of volunteers or individual campaigners, but top-down control can make community members into passive recipients of language policies rather than active participants. According to Romaine (2002a), it can also put the language into the hands of the very institutions which formerly marginalised it, and can lead to a false sense of security regarding the health of a language. Romaine (2002b) notes that there are 'weak linkages' between legislation and implementation, and that top-down policies often have a 'negligible impact of official language policies on home use'. And, of course, government policy may change, whereas voluntary activists tend to remain committed to their language regardless of political, economic and social circumstances (Wilson, Johnson & Sallabank 2015). But as mentioned above, grass-roots activists may not have a strategic overview or thought-through aims, which can lead to what Baldauf (1994) calls 'unplanned language planning'.

Small islands round the British Isles

The case studies used as examples in this paper are Guernsey and Jersey in the Channel Islands (in the English Channel between Britain and France) and the Isle of Man, in the Irish Sea approximately equidistant from England, Ireland and Scotland. These islands all have roughly the same size and population, and similar sociolinguistic and political status: all three are semi-autonomous polities with indigenous languages in danger of disappearing. The indigenous

island languages declined in use in the 20th century, but in the last 30 years language has increasingly been seen as a valuable marker of distinctiveness, leading to a degree of government support and increased visibility. However, this revalorisation does not necessarily entail increased use or fluency.

Each island is self-governing, with their own parliaments which decide on domestic policy. In terms of political status, all are British crown dependencies: they are not part of the United Kingdom or European Union, which increases their autonomy in certain areas (especially fiscal), but means they do not benefit from European initiatives to support minority languages. According to the latest censuses or official estimates, the Isle of Man has approximately 88,000 inhabitants, Jersey 100,800, and Guernsey 63,000. Of the three islands, Guernsey is the most densely populated and the Isle of Man the least. All have had considerable immigration from the UK in the last two centuries, so that up to two-thirds of populations are of British origin. This is one contributing factor in the decline of local languages.

In the Isle of Man the last traditional speakers of Manx (a Celtic language closely related to Irish and Scottish Gaelic) died in the 1970s, but since the 1980s there have been sustained and concerted efforts to bring Manx back into use, and there is a growing community of 'new speakers' of 'revived' Manx. In the Channel Islands, the indigenous languages Jèrriais and Guernesiais (varieties of Norman, belonging to the Oïl language family of northern France) declined significantly in the twentieth century and are now critically endangered (i.e. with a dwindling elderly population of traditional speakers); however, attitudes towards them have become noticeably more positive in the last thirty years (Sallabank 2013a). I will next outline the main language-related activities in each island, then draw comparisons and contrasts. We can distinguish between language maintenance and language revitalisation activities: the former tend to be primarily social events for members of the traditional speaker community (in the Channel Islands), while the latter are intended to increase the number of speakers. There is often a difference in age between these two target groups.

Language Revitalisation in Guernsey

There are two main types of language-related activities in Guernsey: festivals (especially language competitions) and extra-curricular lessons.

The two major language-related festivals in the Channel Islands are the Jersey and Guernsey Eisteddfods and the *Fête d'la Vieille Langue Normande*

(also known as *La Fête Nouormande* or *La Fête des Rouaisons*), hosted each year by cultural associations in Guernsey, Jersey and mainland Normandy in turn (Johnson 2008). Guernsey and Jersey each have an Eisteddfod Society, which organise annual festivals of creative and performing arts; languages are just one small section. In both Guernsey and Jersey there has been an increase in participation from learners in the last ten years, particularly school-age children: chiefly in choral groups from schools, but increasingly giving individual performances. Because of the increase in size of the children's section and the number of parents wanting to attend, it is now held on a separate day to the adult classes, which reduces possibilities for intergenerational interaction. The main classes of entry cater primarily for native speakers, so that learners or latent speakers who have won the 'intermediate' (elementary) class several times have to compete against native speakers in the *Classe Supérieure,* which constitutes a large and intimidating jump.

I have used the term 'language-related activities' in this section deliberately rather than 'language revitalisation activities', as these festivals focus primarily on language-for-performance. They have an awareness-raising function too, in that they increase the visibility/audibility of the island languages, both to the immediate audience and more widely through media coverage. They also allow speakers to express pride in their languages, which is important for personal confidence. However, the festivals do little to further day-to-day use of the local languages. Moreover, the amount of Guernesiais used incidentally (apart from in the performances themselves) is reducing. When I started participant observation at the Guernsey-French Eisteddfod in 2002, all announcements and adjudication took place in Guernesiais. As the number of fluent speakers declines due to age, entrants and supporters (and even adjudicators) are less and less fluent, so adjudicators have started using English, first for beginners and children and recently for the whole event. The same trend can also be seen at the meetings of language-interest groups.

The other main language-related activity in Guernsey is extra-curricular lessons, which are taught in school premises, usually for 30 minutes a week after school hours or in lunch-hours. They are quite popular and take place in 8 of 14 primary schools in the main island. There is also a recent initiative for lessons in Auregnais, the former language of Alderney, the second largest island in the archipelago that forms the Bailiwick of Guernsey, although the language ceased to be spoken in the 1960s and is scarcely documented. All of the Guernesiais sessions are taught by volunteer teachers, most of whom are considered to be 'native speakers', but who, as discussed in Marquis and

Sallabank (2013), are often less fluent than they think. Although the lessons take place on school premises, Guernesiais is not part of the school curriculum. There is no government support for the lessons, and most of the volunteer teachers have no training: the status of 'native speaker' is seen as the most important qualification for teaching the language. There are few materials, and there is no syllabus: since the start of the experiment in 2004, none of the learners has progressed beyond beginner level.

Guernesiais is not currently recognised as an official or minority language. However, in February 2013 a new government-sponsored Guernsey Language Commission[2] was launched with the stated aim of increasing the number of fluent speakers as well as of those who know a few everyday phrases, among islanders of all ages; and of increasing pride in 'the Guernsey language'.[3] Since 2014 the Language Commission and Guernsey Museums' Access and Learning service have funded adult lessons and initiated some new language-related schemes, such as the Guernsey Song Project[4] to write new songs at least partly in Guernesiais. This is also intended to encourage interaction between new/non-speakers (mainly musicians) and older, more proficient speakers: a variation on the Master-Apprentice/mentoring approach to language revitalisation (Hinton et al. 2002) called *ley bohti*, /leɪ bɔti/ ('the buddies'). Another initiative is 'Speed Patois', social meetings using the format of speed dating, also designed to encourage interaction in Guernesiais.[5] The Commission has also secured commercial sponsorship of a semi-official translation service, in response to a significant increase in demand for written Guernesiais, in a wide variety of genres: e.g. signage, slogans, tattoos, jewellery, social media, song writing, and art, as well as in language learning contexts.

The translations requested seem mainly to reflect post-vernacular language use, in short formats, rather than the traditional genres of storytelling and plays performed in festivals. They are part of wider sporadic use of Guernesiais in the 'linguistic landscape' which is manifested in inclusion of Guernesiais in the branding of some local products and services, e.g. coffee, bus timetables, notices at an agricultural show. By no means all of this blossoming language

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[2] http://language.gg/guernesiais, accessed 2 January 2016.
[3] The name 'Guernesiais' /ˌdʒɛrnɛzjeɪ/ preferred by native speakers and activists is extraordinarily difficult for Anglophones to pronounce.
[4] http://www.guernseysongproject.org.gg/guidelines/, accessed 8 January 2016.
[5] See http://language.gg/article/115903/Speed-Patois and www.youtube.com/watch?v=iLrmcSBcCuA (accessed 4 August 2015). 'Patois' is a term often used for Guernesiais. In French it means 'incorrect, deficient dialect', while in English it is associated with 'creole', so language activists disapprove of its use. Guernsey people are often unaware of the negative connotations, however.

is fluent or accurate: for such purposes, arguably the 'idea' of language may be enough to give an impression of language as a symbolic asset or for local branding. For example, I received a postcard from a non-speaker who supports Guernesiais language maintenance and revitalisation, provided by an estate agent in Guernsey for change of address notification, announcing *Nou sra changier d'maisaon,* illustrated with old photos of families in a horse-drawn cart and posing on a pile of timber.[6] Non-fluent enthusiasts may be persuaded that such examples indicate support for language revitalisation. However, the lack of care taken in the translation indicates not only lack of awareness, but also disrespect for the structure of Guernesiais. It was in response to complaints about such instances that the Language Commission arranged for a reliable translation service.

Achievements and challenges in Guernsey

A major achievement in Guernsey has been the striking change in attitudes in the last 30 years, for which grass-roots campaigning and activities should take some credit. The establishment of the Guernsey Language Commission reflects these changing attitudes and a recognition that far from 'holding us back' (according to an older Anglophone informant), a local language can be valuable as a marker of cultural and political distinctiveness. However, these trends, together with traditional grass-roots groups' focus on language-for-performance, could be seen as examples of what Bankston and Henry (2000) and Hayward (2004) term the 'commodification of ethnic culture'.

Another major challenge is that there is still no cohesive language strategy at either governmental or grass-roots levels. This lack of clear aims and ideological clarification manifests itself in several spheres: the lack of co-ordination or curriculum development for the extra-curricular lessons; the lack of engagement with the language by the education authorities, and miscommunication (or lack of support) in civil service departments, illustrated by rejection by the planning authority of some signposts in Guernesiais. Despite the increase in demand for translations, Guernesiais is usually absent in the linguistic

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[6] Apart from the problematic common trope of associating local language with the past or old-fashioned clothes (a tendency reinforced by performances by language associations), the translation is somewhat ungrammatical, and it might be thought that the designers of the card had simply used a dictionary to generate a word-for-translation of the English. However, the phrase translates literally as 'we will be to change house'; and the only dictionary available at the time (De Garis 1982) does not use these terms for moving house.

landscape, especially from functional signs. Expansion of Guernesiais signage and the production of learning materials are hampered by a lack of consistency and agreement regarding spelling (see Sallabank & Marquis 2016a).

Furthermore, in a small island there is a limited number of people involved in language activities. Limited person-power has led to a reduced range of activities; voluntary teaching in schools seems to be prioritised by older 'native-speaker' volunteers and takes up much of their time and energy. The number of people available for language-related activities could be increased by effective teaching of Guernesiais to adults, which is arguably a priority in a situation where the native speaker base is rapidly shrinking and there may be no more than 5–6 proficient speakers under the age of 60. Without effective adult teaching and learning, there will shortly be nobody able to pass on the language to children, either in the home or in formal lessons. But there is a lack of reliable or useful learning and reference materials, especially for adult learners. Research undertaken by the author and local researcher and teacher Yan Marquis (Sallabank & Marquis 2016b) has shown that in both Guernsey and Jersey, the majority of second language learners who are attaining post-beginner levels are middle-aged and male. For Guernesiais and Jèrriais to continue being spoken and taught in the future, there is a need to make the language more attractive to younger adult learners. The tone of activities such as the Eisteddfod arguably reinforce the association of the language with bygone days.

In such a situation, language documentation takes on pressing importance, becoming in effect what a Guernsey civil servant has called a 'backstop for the language': a long-term record in case current maintenance and revitalisation efforts are unsuccessful. Thanks to support from the Museums Service and the efforts of Yan Marquis (among others) there is now a considerable body of recordings of current usage in Guernesiais in a wide range of domains. Although the majority of these recordings has not yet been transcribed or analysed linguistically, some are being used in adult lessons, and they form a potential source of input for learners who find it increasingly difficult to find native-speaker interlocutors.

Revitalisation in Jersey

Like in Guernsey, the two main types of language-related activities in Jersey are lessons and festivals. Jèrriais has been taught in schools, with some official support, since 1998. Parents of primary-aged children were surveyed

to ask whether they would send their children to Jèrriais lessons if these were available. The survey was preceded by a vocal campaign by supporters in the media and parliament, but even campaigners were surprised at the level of support expressed in the survey. The lessons are coordinated by *l'Office du Jèrriais*, the Jersey Language Office, which is funded by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports and managed by a committee of Le Don Balleine Trust, an organisation founded by a bequest in 1943 to publish works on and in Jèrriais. The Office has developed materials such as coursebooks and dictionaries, and its main focus is the schools programme. Since 2012 the mainstream curriculum has included a mandatory one-term course on Jersey heritage for all primary school children, including an introduction to Jèrriais. Further optional after-school lessons are provided in four centres around the island.

Both young and adult learners are encouraged to enter the language section of the Jersey Eisteddfod; preparation takes up a considerable amount of lesson time. As well as the traditional genres of performance in Jèrriais which tend to be reproduced in the Eisteddfod, a folk-rock group called Badlabecques ('Chatterboxes') aims to make Jèrriais language and music attractive to a younger audience. Badlabecques are also instrumental in raising the prestige of the language: for example, they were invited at perform at the opening ceremony of the 2015 Island Games (a major world-level sporting event for small islands) which was held in Jersey. One of the features of this event is the recital of an oath by representatives of the host team. This oath was taken in Jèrriais, which indicates the strong identity function of a local language, and as in Guernsey, the sea change in attitudes towards Jèrriais in the last 30 years.

As well as school lessons, the Office is responsible for adult Jèrriais teaching and general language promotion, including Jèrriais in the linguistic landscape. Jèrriais is promoted as both 'modern and traditional', and recent innovations include Jèrriais signs on recycling bins and waste collection trucks, as well as on the labels of local products such as cheese and cider. Yet Jèrriais is still marginal in the linguistic landscape compared to the visibility of Manx in the Isle of Man.

The official status of Jèrriais is unclear. *Les Pages Jèrriaises* website[7] states that '*Lé Jèrriais est la langue minnoritaithe officielle dé Jèrri*' ('Jèrriais is the official

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[7] http://members.societe-jersiaise.org/geraint/jerriais.html, accessed 2 January 2016. This is the website of the language section of La Société Jersiaise, a cultural association, rather than the Office's site (http://www.jerriais.org.je/).

minority language of Jersey'). However, the Jersey government's website and l'Office du Jèrriais's site do not mention this; the government website describes Jèrriais as 'Jersey's traditional language' and as 'an important part of Jersey's heritage'.[8] Nevertheless, its general website masthead includes the wording 'Information and public services for the Island of Jersey' with a translation in Jèrriais (*L'înformâtion et les sèrvices publyis pouor I'Île dé Jèrri*) which is included on all pages, not only the one about Jèrriais. This feature, which highlights the fact that Jersey has its own language in a highly visible 'flagship' location, was praised by the head of the Guernsey Language Commission, Darren Duquemin, at the launch of the Commission (but has not yet been implemented in Guernsey).

Achievements and challenges in Jersey

The Language Office and Don Balleine proudly highlight that on average there are 200 children per year learning Jèrriais through the schools programme. However, these numbers hide the fact that very few children become proficient. Although a school leaving level qualification in Jèrriais has been introduced, to date no learner has passed the examination. This may be in part due to the lack of time devoted to teaching Jèrriais (usually less than an hour a week), but also to the teaching methods, which tend to focus on the written word and on grammar rather than on developing conversational fluency.

One domain in which Jèrriais has a far greater presence than Guernesiais is the internet. As well as its information website, l'Office du Jerriais maintains a regular blog with material in Jèrriais (written, audio and video), a YouTube channel, Facebook pages (including a forum for learners) and Twitter feed. However, most of the material on these sites is produced by the Office itself, with little bottom-up participation.

Like in Guernsey, the age profile of both official and volunteer language support workers is a concern. For some time elderly volunteers have been reducing their activities, so that most language-related activities are now run by l'Office du Jèrriais. The education office has belatedly engaged with the need for training and succession planning for the officers themselves, at a time of significant budget cuts. At the time of writing it is planned to recruit teachers of other languages to learn and teach Jèrriais; this reflects

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8   http://www.gov.je/Leisure/Jersey/Pages/Language.aspx, accessed 2 January 2016.

the priorities of Le Don Balleine and addresses the issue of the teachers not being trained in age-appropriate teaching techniques, but risks neglecting the general promotion of the Office's work and the support of adult learners.

Another potential problem is the lack of language documentation being undertaken in Jersey. Mari Jones of Cambridge University has conducted elicitation sessions in Jersey, Sark and mainland Normandy on particular linguistic features of Norman and has supplied copies to L'Office du Jèrriais. However, despite its considerable Web presence, no recordings of Jèrriais are currently deposited in archives which meet conventional standards for security and accessibility. Regional varieties of Jèrriais are in danger of disappearing without record as no comprehensive documentation is being carried out. This is of particular concern given that the language teaching programme is not (yet) producing fluent speakers; virtually the only second language learners who have attained fluency are the three current language officers.

Manx language revitalisation/revival

As mentioned in the Introduction, the last 'native' speaker of Manx died in 1974. Enthusiasts kept Manx alive in the 'dark days', until 1986 when a general quality of life survey was carried out by the Isle of Man government. One of the questions asked whether respondents would be in favour of their children having the opportunity to learn Manx; a third of respondents said yes. This survey is cited by language activists as a major turning-point in official language policy. Manx now has a growing number of speakers, official recognition, public examinations and a rapidly expanding functionality (Kewley Draskau 2001). There is a vigorous language revitalisation movement and considerable government support (often through non-governmental organisations).

Also during the 1980s, a group of committed parents learnt Manx and spoke it with their children. This led to the formation of a pre-school and eventually to the foundation of a Manx-medium primary school, which is currently at full capacity with 70 children (with government funding but managed by a language association). At secondary level students have the option of attending a school where they can learn three subjects through the medium of Manx. In addition to immersion teaching, Manx is taught as an optional school subject to UK 'A' level (Baccalaureate/Matura) equivalent. These lessons are coordinated and taught by one of two government-funded language officers; the other is responsible for adult teaching and general publicity.

Although the revitalisation of Manx is often termed a 'revival', given that the last traditional speaker died in 1974, there is opposition to the term *language death*. Campaigners trace continuity via linguists and enthusiasts who learnt the language from traditional native speakers in the 1950s, to a new language community of highly proficient adult new speakers who are bringing up new young native (neo-) speakers.

Manx has emerged from being a 'dead language' to a remarkably vibrant 'island success story'. Although Manx now enjoys government support, a key element in its revitalisation has been the commitment of language activists to effective teacher training and political engagement. Language officers in paid posts tend to come from language activist backgrounds. The key role of effective adult learning and teaching in the development of a new speaker community has also been recognised. In addition to formal lessons organised by the language office, practice and conversation groups are springing up in private homes and cafés around the island. Nevertheless, the Manx Language Office recognises that the revitalisation of Manx is still fragile: although in the 2011 census 1650 people reported knowing 'some' Manx, it is estimated that there are only 150 proficient speakers (excluding school students). Concerns have been expressed that there may be a limit to the proportion of the population willing to participate in language revitalisation; yet the number of learners continues to grow.

Discussion: lessons learned?

Since the 1970s/1980s, in all three islands in this case study, grass-roots campaigning has contributed to a political climate in which government support for the indigenous languages came to be seen as desirable by both the general public and politicians. Research demonstrating 'attitude shift' among the general public has been able to influence government policy. Positive attitudes and awareness-raising cannot in themselves 'save' a language without more concrete measures; however, they can lead to public support for such measures.

It is axiomatic in language revitalisation research that there is no 'one size fits all' model: what works in one context may be inappropriate in another. In addition, goals may be different; a crucial factor is that they need to be articulated through a process of ideological clarification and in response to changing language ecologies. In the abstract for a guest lecture at the University of British Columbia (Canada), Leanne Hinton stated:

> What counts as success is diverse, individualistic, and transitory, since one event perceived as a success immediately leads to changing goals, strategies, and viewpoints. Nor can "success" be seen as an endpoint of effort, since language revitalization is an unending process —the effort must never stop, in a land where another language is the dominant and dominating tongue. (Hinton 2015)

But movements can learn from others' experiences, and some common strands can be identified. In all of the islands in this case study, the commitment of a core of campaigners and is essential: for awareness-raising, to influence wider opinion in order to nurture a supportive political climate, and to remind politicians of their promises if necessary. The *Bunscoill* (Manx-medium primary school) receives numerous visits from language activists, academics, educationalists, politicians, officials and TV crews from all over the world, including from Guernsey and Jersey. The Jèrriais programme was originally inspired by language revitalisation in the Isle of Man, and early Jèrriais teaching materials were adapted from Manx ones: according to a member of Le Don Balleine management board, 'the books that were adopted and adapted were from the Isle of Man, pickpocketed with their blessing. They were only too happy to help.' However, Jersey has not followed the Manx model in several crucial aspects, such as: the lack of recordings of Jèrriais; the lack of progression among learners of Jèrriais (and Guernesiais) at either child or adult levels; the lack of teacher training; and the lack of progression in language or education planning. In the last few years Le Don Balleine and l'Office du Jèrriais have addressed some of the issues, e.g. by promoting social opportunities to speak Jèrriais (though there are still not as many as in the Isle of Man, which has a Manx-medium children's football team, walking club, music sessions, pub evenings etc.). Many of these activities cost little in themselves: the issue seems to be more lack of commitment, fluency or confidence among second language speakers. There may also be a lack of grass-roots initiative after 18 years of leadership assumed by l'Office du Jèrriais.

There is considerably more government funding for language revitalisation in the Isle of Man than in Jersey and Guernsey. However, in an era of economic problems and budget cuts, Manx language supporters are also aware of the need to plan in case of a fall in government funding, and to maintain a degree of independence. Government support can provide resources and strategic direction, but it is important not to disempower the grass-roots basis. As Wilson, Johnson and Sallabank (2015) note, 'government support for language revitalization and planning can wax and wane depending on a myriad of competing political or economic circumstances, whereas voluntary activists

remain more committed to the language regardless of the political, economic and social circumstances facing society'. An organisation called *Pobble* ('People, Community, Folk') has been set up to support Manx as a community asset and to try to mobilise a new generation of activists:

> 'Pobble' will help to ensure that those involved in the language movement continue to spread the message and build on the successes already achieved. … The Isle of Man government deserves to be applauded for its commitment; however, the revitalisation of Manx has always depended most on the dedication of individuals and small groups of enthusiasts, who have worked hard not simply to preserve Manx, but to cultivate the language, especially during times when there was often little support in the wider community. (*Pobble* 2013)

The experience of the Isle of Man has shown the importance of effective second language learning and teaching for continuity of transmission of a highly endangered language, for both children and adults. It has also highlighted the importance of teacher training. Education is only as good as the teachers, and the lack of training in age-appropriate language teaching methods in Jersey and Guernsey seems likely to contribute to the lack of progression. Some Manx teachers have attended Sabhal Mòr Ostaig college of further and higher education in the Isle of Skye, Scotland, which provides training for teaching through the medium of Scottish Gaelic.[9] There is no similar training college for Norman or related languages, but one possibility (if funding were available) might be to learn from immersion programmes for Acadian French in Canada or Cajun French in Louisiana, both of which display some similarities to Channel Islands Norman. In the Channel Island context, however, care needs to be taken to avoid convergence towards French, which is already a problematic trend because of teachers' lack of proficiency in Channel Islands Norman, and because of diglossic ideologies of 'correctness'.

The Bunscoill is seen as the flagship of Manx revitalisation; but children attend because of their parents' choice, not their own. Yan Marquis has termed this 'distance learning': partly because of folk linguistic beliefs about language learning, adults see themselves as poor language learners and transfer the responsibility to children to learn in their stead. Moreover, many parents send their children to the Bunscoill not because they are committed to the revitalisation of Manx, but because they are aware of the cognitive advantages of bilingualism and it is the only bilingual school available; or 'because

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[9]   Manx and Scottish Gaelic are largely mutually intelligible.

it's a small school'[10] (Clague 2009; Sallabank 2013b). In order to support their children, some parents who do not speak Manx have started attending adult Manx lessons, in some cases even holding practice groups in their homes: an example of 'reverse intergenerational transmission', where adults are learning from, or because of, their children. This is not yet an option in the Channel Islands. There have been reports from volunteer teachers in Guernsey that some children attending extra-curricular sessions were becoming more fluent than expected because the children were speaking Guernesiais with grandparents; in these rare cases, having Guernesiais accepted in schools (although not in the mainstream curriculum) has made it respectable to speak it in the family. However, in some other cases grandparents have found that children are learning a different dialect, which hinders communication. Several informants, including some who had taught Guernesiais, commented that extra-curricular classes are not effective, as not only do children get very little input, but they also have little opportunity to speak Guernesiais outside class: their parents do not speak Guernesiais and if their grandparents do, they do not see them often enough to become fluent. Hypercorrection is also a problem for both young and adult learners: learners are told 'we don't say it like that', which many have reported finding discouraging (Sallabank & Marquis 2016b).

When adults choose to learn a small language, it is generally for heritage, identity or personal fulfilment purposes. Learning a small language differs in many ways to learning a major national or international language: there may be few resources, the language may not feature on mainstream broadcast media, and where fluent or proficient speakers form only 0.4 per cent of the total population (as in Guernsey) or 0.2 per cent (as in the Isle of Man), interlocutors need to be sought out actively in order to provide the practice necessary to achieve fluency. Teaching techniques may also differ: for Celtic languages (including Manx) the Ulpan (audiolingual) method is popular, while in New Zealand *Te Ataarangi* (Silent Way) is a key method for adult Maori learning. Neither method is mainstream in teaching larger languages or in second language acquisition studies. Their perceived success may have more to do with commitment, positive experiences, and the enthusiasm of promoters, than with the relative merits of the methods. The role of committed individuals has emerged in this research as key in language revitalisation; it is therefore important to understanding learners' (and teachers') motivation and goals.

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[10] An interesting corollary which has not yet been studied in the context of small language immersion schools is the relatively high proportion of children with special educational needs, whose parents feel that they will be better catered for in a small school.

In such contexts, language policy at all levels, from individual to government, is not (just) about language. As noted earlier, Guernsey, Jersey and the Isle of Man tend to promote linguistic heritage for political distinctiveness when it suits them, sometimes as languages of the past (e.g. in heritage or museum displays, or in folkloric re-enactments and performances), or for 'authentic' added value to attract tourism or international business. As Ó hIfearnáin (2010) notes,

> In a Europe where indigenous minorities are now seen as unthreatening "post-traditional speech communities", micro-states promote and use their languages as symbolic assets for international commercial reasons and legitimising their statehood.

As noted earlier, symbolic 'post-vernacular' use does not necessarily require the fluent use of living languages. Indeed, in some cases the standard of the language produced for symbolic purposes is very poor. It can thus be argued that continued proficient knowledge of the language by a core of committed speakers (or 'language keepers'), together with a core of committed grass-roots language activists, is necessary even for symbolic asset status. Attitudes may change, and as demonstrated in the Isle of Man, Cornwall and an increasing number of contexts worldwide, if there are sufficient records and sufficient will, it is never too late to revitalise a language.

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The Importance of New Technologies in the Revitalization of Minderico

VERA FERREIRA
CIDLeS – Centro Interdisciplinar de Documentação Linguística e Social Minde

Introduction

There are around 7,000 languages in the world[1] but half of them risks becoming extinct within the next one or two generations. Minderico is one of those highly endangered languages with a very small speech community in which the intergenerational transmission has been interrupted. In the year 2009, a revitalization process, which is comprised of several activities in different domains of daily life, was initiated. One of the strongest components of this process is the development and use of new technologies to support learning and boost the presence of the language in everyday communication.

After a brief presentation of Minderico (its history, evolution and actual situation), I will describe the revitalization process and subsequently, in the last part of this paper, I will evaluate the role that new technologies are playing in the revitalization of the language by discussing four concrete tools that are currently being used in the Minderico speaking community.

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[1] *Ethnologue*: https://www.ethnologue.com/, 17 November, 2015; UNESCO: http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/endangered-languages/, 17 November, 2015.

Minderico

Minderico (ISO code /drc/) is an endangered Ibero-Romance language spoken in Minde (Portugal) by a community of 150 active speakers and approximately 1000 passive speakers (those who understand the language but do not speak it).

From the sixteenth century on, the blankets of Minde became famous all over the country. Due to this popularity, the wood carders, blanket producers and merchants of Minde created a special language, based mainly on Portuguese, to protect their business from 'intruders' in the markets that they visited all over Portugal. It allowed them to negotiate prices among themselves in front of strangers and/or customers in a way that was unintelligible to those who had not learned the language.

The first written documents (mainly personal letters, wills, and church registrations) appeared at the end of the eighteenth century, some of them reporting on events and experiences that happened in the past. Thus, according to the sources available, Minderico emerged at the end of the seventeenth century as a sociolect, a secret language of a professional group. This is, in fact, the well-known and most admitted explanation for the emergence of Minderico (Furriel 1996; Martins & Nogueira 2002: 133–136; Martins et al. 2004: 4–6; Endruschat & Ferreira 2006: 214; Martins 2010). Following Ferreira et al. (2015: XIX-XXIII), the lexemes related to textile production and commercialization are, however, almost inexistent in the Minderico lexicon. The only clear reminiscence of this possible sociolectal origin is its highly complex numerical system. Instead, lexemes related to everyday communication and everyday needs (food, drinks, human body, means of transport, animals, etc.) are the most frequent ones. This can be explained by the fact that Minderico, contrary to the normal limited lifespan of secret languages (Siewert 1999; Klepsch 1996; Geipel 1995), has evolved from secret language to everyday language in Minde, being used not only for commercial reasons but also and in all daily social contexts, becoming the main means of communication in the village and a unifying identity element.

During this process, Minderico expanded its vocabulary continuously, adapting it to the needs of the community and simultaneously reflecting the technological and socio-cultural developments of the society in which it was integrated. It turned into a full-fledged language with a very characteristic intonation and a complex morphosyntax (Ferreira & Bouda 2009; Ferreira forthcoming).

This evolution – from a sociolect to a full-fledged language – is not unknown to linguists (Ferreira & Bouda 2009: 97–98) and it is also well discussed in the literature on secret languages. Heinz Kloss (1967: 29) talked in this context about *Abstandsprache* or *language by distance* ("[…] the reference being of course not to geographical but to intrinsic distance").

Vocabulary enlargement in Minderico was (and still is) intimately tied to the socio-cultural experiences of the Mindericos (the inhabitants of Minde). For example, names and nicknames of well-known persons from Minde and the neighboring areas were used as lexemes to express physical or psychological characteristics, as these characteristics were salient for those persons. This method of lexical formation can be explained by the fact that Minde, due to its geographical isolation, is a small and close-knit community, where everyone knows each other. Therefore, using names of people as a means to express the characteristics associated to them was immediately understood among the members of the speech community; it was not an obstacle to effective communication. This strategy is also common in other small and closed speech communities.

Apart from loanwords such as *ambria* from Spanish *hambre* for 'hunger,' *naifa* from English *knife*, or French *père* and *mère* for 'father' and 'mother,' metaphors and metonymies are the two recurrent strategies of Minderico vocabulary enlargement (Ferreira & Bouda 2009).

Metaphors:

(1) *leoa* 'thunderstorm' from Portuguese *leoa* 'lioness' – metaphor based on the sound produced by this animal.
(2) *treme-terras* 'God' from Portuguese *tremer* 'to shake' and *terra* 'earth' – lit. "the one that shakes the earth."

Metonymies:

(3) *o de alhandra* 'matchstick' – metonymy based on the toponym *Alhandra* (Portugal) where a well-known matchstick factory existed.
(4) *touquim* 'teacher' – metonymy based on the anthroponym *Touquim* which was the surname of the first primary school teacher in Minde.
(5) *a do linho* 'table cloth' – metonymy based on the material the product was made of. On Sundays in Minde and in other places in Portugal it was common to use the best table clothes, most commonly linen table clothes, for the meals with the family.

Although Minde was the place where Minderico developed most and has maintained the status of language of everyday communication until now,

the language is not only confined to Minde. Due to private, economic and professional relations, Minderico extended also to two adjacent villages: Serra de Santo António, where the language is already extinct, and Mira de Aire where there are still four speakers. Both villages worked on the same economic branch as Minde – textile production and commercialization. Moreover, Mira de Aire fell under the administration of Minde until 1708 and Serra de Santo António until 1918. This means that the three villages where also connected administratively, which was an important factor for the dissemination of Minderico. In Serra de Santo António and Mira de Aire, it developed particular lexical and phonetic features. Following the strategies of vocabulary development in Minderico, some lexemes were adapted to the social reality of these two villages. For instance, in Minde *francisco vaz* is the lexeme for 'priest' which derived from the name of one of the most important priests in Minde in the eighteenth century. In Mira de Aire they use instead the word *raso* (a Portuguese based word meaning 'full'), because the priest in Mira de Aire was known for being almost always drunk, i.e. 'full with alcohol.'

The development and maintenance of Minderico in Minde is also intrinsically related to and can be explained by the geological characteristics of the village. Minde lies in a closed depression between the plateau of Santo António and the plateau of São Mamede. On the west side, the village is surrounded by a *polje* (a large flat plain in karst territory that inundates during rainy winters and spring seasons). Therefore, the access to Minde was, until recently, very difficult. The geographical isolation not only contributed to the evolution and preservation of Minderico, but also reinforced its development as an independent language with its own system and particularities, unintelligible for Portuguese speakers.[2]

In order to understand the current state of the language, it is important to analyze the socio-economic development of Minde. Due to its strong and prosperous textile industry, the main and almost only industry in the village, Minde had more than 7000 inhabitants until the end of the 1970s. According to the census undertaken in 2011, the population decreased considerably, to 3293 inhabitants. The decrease is mainly due to the crisis in the textile branch – several people had to leave Minde in order to look for job opportunities. They went mainly to Portuguese urban centers (Lisbon and Oporto) but also abroad (United States, Canada, France, Germany, Switzerland). Of more than 100 factories, only 10 are currently operational. As expected, this

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[2] For a detailed typological description of Minderico see Ferreira (2011), Ferreira et al. (2015) and Ferreira (forthcoming).

socio-economic development had a negative influence on the language and its use, to the extent that today Minderico is at risk of becoming extinct, much more than ever before in its history.

Because of economic, social and educational reasons, the number of speakers declined drastically during the last 50 years. Intergenerational transmission was interrupted and Minderico is no longer passed to children at home. All speakers of Minderico are and were always bilingual, speaking Portuguese along with Minderico. Minderico is almost only used in familiar contexts (when talking to older members of the family and to friends), but even in this context the pressure of Portuguese as the language of education, administration, economy, etc. is clear. Thus, bilingualism with clear diglossia characterizes the speech community.

The knowledge of Minderico is not homogeneous among its speakers. As already mentioned, there are currently 150 active speakers (only 23 of them are fluent speakers). Curiously, 15 of the fluent speakers are new speakers, who did not learn the language at home but through the revitalization process; they learned it in a later period of their lives, on their own decision. Intensive code switching between Portuguese and Minderico characterizes the speech of the majority of active speakers.

All these factors, together with an almost inexistent presence of Minderico in the media and in new digital domains, as well as the lack of official recognition as a minority language and the consequent lack of official support and prestige, contribute to its current endangered status.

The revitalization of Minderico

Following the three fundamental milestones for successful revitalization as described in Ferreira (2015) – it should be a community-driven bottom-up process, entirely motivated by the community, it should be fully integrated in the everyday life of the speech community, and the materials/tools to be created should be based on primary data that reflect the linguistic practices of the speech community – the revitalization of Minderico has started in 2009.

The DoBeS project *Minderico – An Endangered Language in Portugal* funded by the Volkswagen Foundation between 2008 and 2012 – played a decisive role in the implementation of a long-term revitalization process. It allowed the collection of primary data necessary, for instance, for the production of teaching materials, inexistent until then. Apart from some glossaries produced by the

community all over the years, there was no detailed and multimedia documentation of Minderico. Within the DoBeS project, four different domains important for and characteristic of the Minderico speech community were documented:

- textile production and trade
- language of daily life (informal conversations, personal reports, domestic work, cooking, etc.)
- language of ceremony (social events, such as profane and religious festivities)
- flora and fauna

During the four-year project, the team was able to collect 120 texts, approximately 7 hours of video recordings, almost 6 hours of audio recordings and more than 500 pictures. All the data have been archived in TLA (The Language Archive) at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, The Netherlands, and are freely accessible.[3]

The Minderico corpus comprises 64 sessions of primary data (audio, video, photos, texts, transcriptions, etc.) organized according to the structure illustrated in Figure 1. Apart from the linguistic information and ethnological descriptions, data from observed situations were divided in two groups: formal and informal discourses.
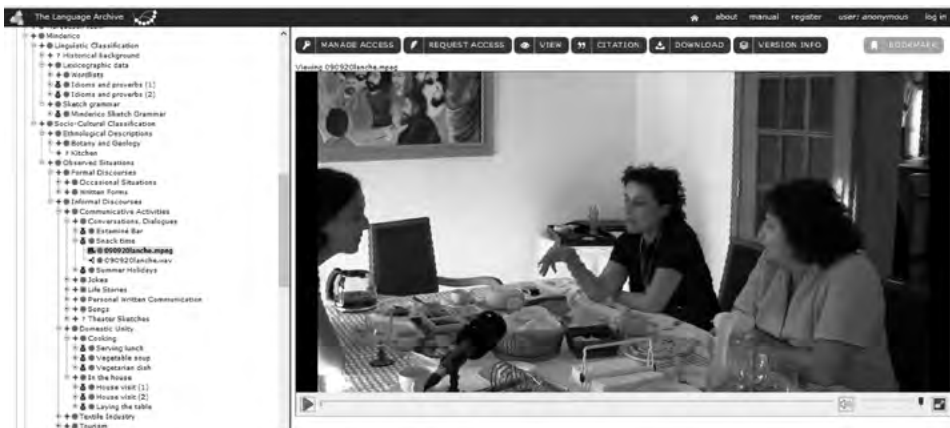
Figure 1: Minderico corpus in The Language Archive
(https://corpus1.mpi.nl/ds/asv/?13&openpath=node:77915, 15 December, 2015)

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[3] https://corpus1.mpi.nl (15 December, 2015).

The DoBeS project represented an important step for the documentation and study of Minderico – with the data it was possible to deepen the linguistic and sociolinguistic knowledge on Minderico. Moreover, it was also essential for the rise of prestige of the language (inside and outside of the community), mediatization, public awareness, and, in some way, recognition of the linguistic reality that Minderico represents. In this sense, in May 2011, SIL International attributed the ISO code /drc/ to Minderico and classified it as an active, individual and living language.

But more important than anything, the documentation was essential for the development and implementation of the revitalization process. The data described above have been being used for the development of teaching materials in the framework of the revitalization process that has started in 2009.

The revitalization of Minderico is comprised of the following activities:

- production of theatre sketches and short films in Minderico[4]
- song writing and performing in the language[5]
- recipe and children's books are being prepared and will be published in 2016
- (optional) Minderico classes for children at the primary school (1st – 4th grade) and for students in the 5th and 7th grades[6]
- Minderico classes for adults (beginners and advanced)[7]
- teachers' training
- development of teaching materials and new technologies to support language learning and encourage language use in digital communication

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[4] *A Cabiçalva* (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J9ORhcmv5zQ, 15 December, 2015) is the title of the first short film in Minderico released in 2012. The film was performed by a group of amateur actors (from different generations) from the local theater group.

[5] The first concert in Minderico was performed by a modern pop-rock band from Minde – BandaLheira – at the Endangered Languages Music Festival (http://www.cidles.eu/events/conference-ele-2013/music-festival/, 15 December, 2015) organized by CIDLeS in 2013 in Minde in the framework of an international event on Endangered Languages in Europe. Last year, the band represented Minderico for the first time in the Liet International, a festival for minority languages in Europe. Their main aim is to motivate the younger generation for the language through modern music.

[6] The Minderico classes are optional because Minderico is not officially recognized in Portugal and, therefore, the local school is not allowed to have it in the curriculum as a compulsory subject of study. It can only be offered on an optional basis, without playing any role in the students' global evaluation.

[7] Several passive and new speakers attend these classes. At least in the advanced classes, the focus lies on communication training, simulating real-life communicative events in order to reactivate the knowledge of the passive speakers and give them confidence in using the language.

From the list presented above, it becomes clear that the activities carried out to revitalize Minderico are varied and target a large audience (not only the younger generation, as is normally the case in revitalization projects). The process of revitalizing Minderico was developed aiming at the involvement and commitment of the whole speech community, in the different domains of its everyday life, not only focusing on conventional transmission domains such as school, which according to Ferreira (2015) should be seen as complementary and not the priority strategy in the case of highly endangered languages.

Considering that technologies and digital communication play a major role in our modern life, we could not ignore them in the revitalization process. The Minderico community is a community with access to the Internet and the digital world. In order to motivate the younger generation and other speakers to learn and use the language, it was essential to bring Minderico to the "modern" world of new technologies. As it will be discussed in the next section, the use of technologies can also foster the revitalization process.

At this point, it is important to mention that six years of continuous revitalization efforts are not enough to draw clear conclusions. However, there are developments and tendencies that can already be observed, for instance a discrete increase in the number of active speakers, who are almost all new speakers of the language.

In the next section, I will examine the role new technologies play in the revitalization of Minderico more closely.

New technologies in the revitalization of endangered languages

Nowadays, standard language technology tools (LT) only support major languages like English, Spanish, and Chinese. A large number of people are thus not able to use their native language on computers and mobile devices, because hardware or software does not support input of those languages. The situation is even more critical in the case of endangered languages.

Considering that every successful technology can be used to teach, revitalize, and therefore boost the use of minority languages, it is important to rethink the development of LT in the domain of minority languages. This technology should also be able to assist the renewal of local languages and

cultures by allowing people to actively teach, learn, extend, and spread their language in their community. In this sense, LT can also facilitate the linguistic (re)integration of (new) speakers in a given speech community, giving them, for instance, more confidence in writing.

Future-oriented, successful revitalization will therefore also depend strongly on the development of new technologies that allow and/or strengthen the presence of endangered languages in the digital world. The empowerment of local communities to use and develop LT for their own local languages is one of the current challenges in language revitalization and a key aspect for the sustainable future of those languages.

The importance of the relation between new technologies and the work on minority/endangered languages is getting more and more attention in academia. Apart from the emerging literature (Jones 2014), some examples thereof are the growing organization of schools and workshops dedicated to coding for under-resourced languages[8] and the increasing funding for European projects dealing with this topic.[9]

In the next sections, I will present four technology projects which have been developed at CIDLeS – Interdisciplinary Centre for Social and Language Documentation[10] in order not only to support language teaching at school but also to encourage language use in everyday (digital) communication, and discuss their impact on the revitalization of Minderico.

WordByWord

WordByWord is a free, open source, easy-to-use multimedia vocabulary trainer developed at CIDLeS with the support of the Foundation for Endangered Languages.

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[8] For instance, the summer school *Coding for Language Communities* organized by CIDLeS in 2014 in Minde (http://www.cidles.eu/summer-school-coding-for-language-communities-2014/, 15 December, 2015), the *Coloquio Internacional de Lenguas en Peligro y Tecnologías de la Información* organized by the Universidad Autónoma de Querétaro in 2015 in México (http://filosofia.uaq. mx/fils/pcilpti.pdf, 15 December, 2015), or the developers room on "Coding for Language Communities" at FOSDEM 2016 in Brussels (https://fosdem.org/2016/, 15 December, 2015) and the workshop on *Collaboration and Computing for Under-Resourced Languages* – "Towards an alliance for digital language diversity" that will take place on 23rd of May in Portorož, Slovenia (http:// www.ilc.cnr.it/ccurl2016/index.htm, 15 December, 2015), to mention only a few.
[9] *Digital Language Diversity Project (DLDP)*, http://www.dldp.eu/ (15 December, 2015).
[10] hppt://www.cidles.eu (15 December, 2015).
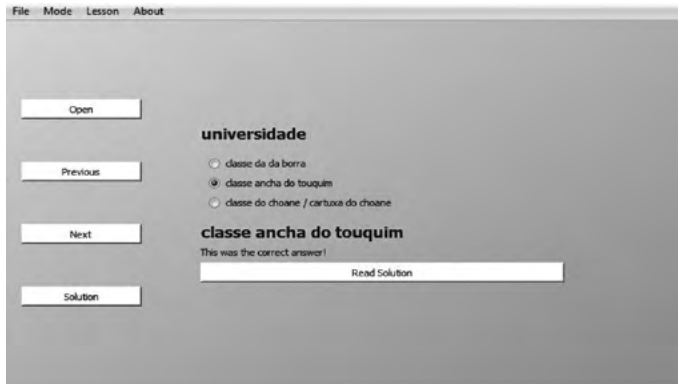
Figure 2: WordByWord
(http://media.cidles.eu/labs/wordbyword/, 15 December, 2015)

WordByWord takes an ordered list of words in two languages (in this case, Portuguese and Minderico), organized in lessons, and presents the words in random order. The lists of words used for Minderico stem from the transcriptions of communicative events recorded during the documentation project. The transcription wordlists were first ordered by frequency. Then, only the most frequent lexemes were selected for *WordByWord*, because they reflect the basic vocabulary tendentially used in everyday communication. Thereafter, the lexemes (1500) were organized by semantic domains, which correspond to the different lessons (24) in the software.

The exercises are presented in the source language (Portuguese) and the answers should be given in the target language (Minderico). For each lesson there are three modes of interaction with different difficulty levels.

- multiple choice: A Portuguese word is shown and the user has to choose the correct Minderico word.
- fill out mode: A Portuguese word is shown and the user has to write down the correct Minderico word – to practice writing.
- pronunciation mode: A Portuguese word is shown and the user has to say the Minderico word aloud – to train pronunciation.

It also allows the user to check his/her answers and to listen to the pronunciation of the words in the target language. The audio files for Minderico were created by three Minderico speakers (Elsa Nogueira, Rita Pedro, and Pedro Manha).

The advantage of *WordByWord* is that it is flexible enough to easily adapt to other languages. In 2012, I taught Minderico at the local school – it was the first test phase of the implementation of Minderico at school; the courses lasted only two months. I had two classes, one in the 7ᵗʰ grade and the other in the 8ᵗʰ grade, both beginners. In one class, I taught vocabulary through traditional reading comprehension, writing, talking activities; in the other class I also used *WordbyWord*.[11] At the end of the two months, the students completed an oral and written exam (the same exam in both classes). The class that used *WordByWord* showed better results in accent and vocabulary use.

Even being a very simple tool, *WordbyWord* proved to be efficient and to attract students' attention and interest. Since 2012, it is an important tool in Minderico classes.

From WordByWord to Spelling Loom

Using the database from WordByWord, Peter Bouda and his team at CIDLeS Media Lab developed a word game for Minderico – *Spelling Loom*.

It combines weaving tradition (typical for Minde) with music (also with a very strong tradition in Minde) and the language. Each correct word contributes to the weaving pattern and the music that is being simultaneously created during the game. The prototype was developed during the biggest programming event in Portugal – Codebits 2014 and it won the People's Choice Award.

Figure 3*: Prototype of* Spelling Loom *– a word game for Minderico (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8u_6YI1Dk4s, 15 December, 2015)*

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[11] At that time *WordByWord* had only 650 lexemes.

This variant of *WordByWord* represents a playful way of learning vocabulary outside of the classroom.

O Touquim Xaral

O Touquim Xaral 'The Minderico Teacher' is a Minderico course with 13 lessons entirely based on primary data collected during the documentation. Each lesson comprises a vocabulary section on a specific topic (family, house, food, etc.), a reading comprehension section and a writing section with exercises, all with different difficulty levels.

Figure 4: Lesson 1 of O Touquim Xaral
(http://www.cidles.eu/static/touquimxaral/html/exercise1/primeira.html, 15 December, 2015)

Between 2011 and 2012, one lesson of the course was distributed each month in the local newspaper. In 2013, CIDLeS developed an interactive online version of *O Touquim Xaral* together with students of informatics of the local school, which among other things, allows the users to validate their answers. Apart from the fact that this course is one of the main teaching materials currently being used

in the language classes, the involvement and empowerment of local students in the framework of this project had a positive effect on the attitudes of the younger generation towards the language and motivates them to learn it more accurately.[12]

WordyWord, *Spelling Loom*, and *O Touquim Xaral* are clearly more oriented to the teaching and learning domains. In the next section, a project will be presented that was mainly developed to facilitate and foster the use of Minderico and of other under-resourced languages in everyday digital communication, namely Poio Writetyper.

Poio Writetyper

Poio Writetyper is a text prediction and completion tool, which was developed at CIDLeS with language documentation corpora. The goal of *Poio Writetyper* is to facilitate and foster written digital communication, for instance Short Messaging, Email, Chat, Facebook, Twitter, in under-resourced languages. It supports digital communication in 42 lesser-used and under-resourced languages (for instance Aragonese, Bavarian, Corsican, Friulian, Ligurian, Manx, Northern Frisian...). It can be used on desktops and mobile phones.[13]

Figure 5: Poio Writetyper – Desktop (http://www.poio.eu/, 15 December, 2015)
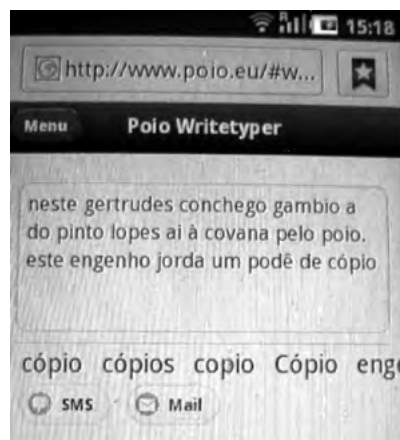
Figure 6: Poio Writetyper – Mobile App

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[12] The students who worked on this project were so motivated that they even developed an Android app for Minderico with the game "Who wants to be a millionaire", using the data from exercises in *O Touquim Xaral* (available online at: http://www.cidles.eu/blog/mobile-app-for-minderico-frederica-jordar-zambarino/, accessed 15.12.2015).

[13] The implementation code is also available here: http://poio.readthedocs.org/en/latest/ (accessed 15.12.2015).

In order to use *Poio Writetyper*, open the website www.poio.eu on the desktop or mobile phone; chose the language and begin to write the sentence. At the bottom there will appear several text suggestions, which can be chosen by pressing F1, F2, F3, F4, … on the keyboard. To send the text as an email or post it on Facebook, you must copy and paste it in an email or blog editor or in the Facebook entry you are writing. The send option (as an email or SMS) is already available in the mobile app.

The text prediction in different languages was tested by several users. The results of the tests have shown that the quality of prediction and completion was better and closer to the language of everyday communication in the case of Minderico than in the other languages. This is intimately related to the databases used. In the case of Minderico, primary data resulting from language documentation were used as a database. For other tongues the databases are comprised of Wikipedia articles in the corresponding languages instead. This shows the importance, quality, and technological applicability of language documentation data in the development of LT for minority languages.

Figure 7: Example of a Facebook entry written by a new speaker of Minderico (Celeste Moura Alves)

It is too early to draw clear conclusions on the use of *Poio Writetyper* in the revitalization of Minderico. However, some impressive tendencies could already be observed: Minderico speakers are writing their SMS, emails, and Facebook entries more often in Minderico (including passive speakers!).

As reported by several passive and non-fluent speakers, they feel more confident if they use *Poio Writetyper* when writing in the language. They even ask if they can use it in the language classes.

In the long run, *Poio Writetyper* can contribute to the reactivation of passive speakers' knowledge; it can be a motivation for new speakers to learn and use the language. Consequently, it can contribute to raising the number of speakers as well as to increasing and strengthening the presence of Minderico online.

Conclusion

With languages vanishing at an incredible speed, more documentation work is needed. At the same time, the collection of primary data on endangered languages and the building of multimedia and multi-purpose corpora can be of great value for the revitalization of those languages. It can be even more efficient if we consider the development of language technology tools as fundamental for the future of minority and/or endangered languages, as a way, for instance, of encouraging their use and strengthening their presence in the omnipresent digital communication.

This paper has shown several examples of the use of new technologies in the revitalization of Minderico, which can, in some cases, be easily adapted to other languages or at least serve as models for other tongues. The tools discussed range from applications designed for and used in learning/teaching domains to games and digital communication support. Despite the fact that six years of revitalization are not enough to draw clear conclusions about revitalization effects, in the case of Minderico we can at least conclude that the use of new technologies in its revitalization has been contributing positively, on the one hand, to reintroduce and strengthen the presence of the language in several domains of daily life, and on the other, to ease, foster, and accelerate the learning process.

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In Search of Community-Driven Research Methodology on Indigenous Linguistic-Cultural Heritage: a Principled Ally Approach[1]

ALEKSANDRA BERGIER
Faculty of "Artes Liberales"
University of Warsaw

Introduction: guiding principles and research orientation

The present self-positioning process was performed within the context of a doctoral thesis project called "The use of traditional knowledge in indigenous language revitalization: building resilience through epistemic abundance". The project was inspired by a strong interest to contribute theoretically and practically to the development of language revitalization projects which are accountable to indigenous communities and do not perpetuate colonial and postcolonial patterns of domination. The primary goal of this research endeavor was to elaborate a comprehensive language revitalization framework, based

on an inter-relational, holistic vision of language embedded in traditional knowledge and placed on a healing continuum within a larger perspective of resiliency building process that contributes to the development of health and well-being of indigenous speech communities who struggle to preserve their heritage languages. It focused on the attitudes of the Nahuatl speakers in Mexico; members of First Nations communities in Canada: Mohawk, Ojibwe and Cree speakers; and the Northern Sámi speakers in Norway. The research stays and collaboration with these indigenous communities varied in length and took place between August 2014 and September 2015.

The starting point for both the above-mentioned research and the self-reflexive inquiry about my role as a researcher was a strong conviction, expressed by a growing number of indigenous and non-indigenous scholars, that native peoples must control their own means of cultural transmission and education and that indigenous languages and worldviews must be strengthened and developed within their own contexts (Battiste & Henderson 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas & Dunbar 2010; Chacaby 2011; Bergier 2014). Many processes which emerge as a result of this ideological shift, such as postcolonial studies, the revitalization of traditional knowledges and heritage languages, construction of transformative pedagogical frameworks and academy indigenization, fall within an umbrella notion of the "new humanities" (Ruthven 1992; Derrida 2001; Kuokkanen 2005). It is a joint undertaking of scholars and educators who critically examine Eurocentric concepts of research and pedagogy and seek to include and validate culturally responsive ways of knowing of the communities whose unique cultural, linguistic, traditional, and other characteristics are threatened by the policies of dominant societies, showing little concern for their rights and aiming at cultural assimilation (Kuokkanen 2005).

The principles and values that guided my research were inspired by the notion of traditional/indigenous knowledge. Since the project was carried out in collaboration with indigenous speech communities and it concerned indigenous languages, I will use the terms traditional knowledge and indigenous knowledge interchangeably. My initial intention was to use traditional knowledge as a conceptual framework for revitalization in the data processing and analysis, but as my research journey progressed I decided to use the qualities of indigenous epistemologies as guiding principles and include them in the inquiry methods as well. Although the present paper is not concerned with traditional knowledge conceptualizations, I would like to quote a single definition here, which describes the qualities that inspired

the present research orientation. It was developed by the Ontario Federation of Indigenous Friendship Centres (OFIFC), which is the largest indigenous service delivery network in Ontario, Canada. Its vision as a social movement is to "improve the quality of life for Aboriginal people living in an urban environment by supporting self-determined activities which encourage equal access to and participation in Canadian society and which respect Aboriginal cultural distinctiveness" (OFIFC 2013). The OFIFC (2012: 4) observes that indigenous knowledge "is not a singular entity that can be discovered by social scientists, translated and interpreted, critically analyzed, and summed up in scientific journals or academic dissertations." Rather, the authors recognize that indigenous knowledge emerges from all relations, it is reflected in the voices and actions of people, created collectively and arises simultaneously from the past, present and future. It is participatory as it expresses itself through movement, dance, feelings, concepts, ideas, words and stories. This multigenerational knowledge, interconnected relationships and experiential insights create a foundation on which all of the OFIFC's research undertakings are based. In the same manner, Grinevald, a renowned specialist on endangered languages and a UNESCO expert, observes that "the basis of fieldwork is fundamentally an array of human relations, undeniably interwoven in multiple patterns of power relations" (2003: 57). The importance of relationships in research is further developed in the OFIFC's *Evaluation Path*, which is inspired by the notion of *Inawendiwin* taken from the Ojibwe language, carrying the concept of relatedness, interconnectivity and peace. Within this perspective, being in-relation-to-others forms an essential part of our personhood. Drawing on this approach, the study relied heavily on the importance of engaging in meaningful, respectful relationships with all knowledge holders in a larger research environment. The quality of these relationships was treated as a research output and a part of the personal development of the researcher, as valid as any other research deliverables such as a doctoral thesis, a database or a community report.

The research was oriented towards deconstruction of the traditional boundary between a "researcher" and an "informant", where the researcher is understood as a subject who possesses the knowledge and analytical skills to break down, process and interpret the information given by the "research participant", perceived as a passive data provider. The rationale behind the project was therefore to create a broader knowledge collective, based on a self-reflective inquiry undertaken by the researcher and the knowledge holders in a broader physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual environment

in order to support and improve the holistic situation of the speech communities who struggle to preserve and revitalize their heritage languages. This was achieved by interdisciplinary approach, comprehended for the purpose of this study as a syncretic blending of indigenous and Western theories and practices, drawing upon different qualitative research approaches such as grounded theory, action research, community-driven and community-based research, cultural linguistics and indigenous research methodologies, which will be briefly summarized in the next section of this paper.

An overview of the qualitative approaches applied in the study

On a general level, the research was conducted within the framework of the grounded theory, beginning with the data collection rather than the formulation of a hypothesis. The grounded theory approach has been described as a methodology that inductively answers research questions about how people relate to each other, encompassing social and psychosocial processes, and which privileges insider views (Birks & Mills 2011). This perspective allowed to work out the foundations of the revitalization model in the field, beginning with the assumption that the language reality is best understood by the native speakers themselves. It places emphasis on the emic interpretations existing within the specific culture, determined by a local custom, meaning and belief while the use of the etic approach is complementary.

The study also drew on the premises and theoretical understanding of cultural linguistics (Palmer 1996) in that it explores cultural models associated with language, language use and revitalization, taking interest in culturally constructed ways of conceptualizing experience (Sharifian 2003) or "conceptualizations that have a cultural basis and are encoded in and communicated through features of human languages" (Sharifian 2015: 473). Palmer and Sharifian (2007: 3) further note that "research on language requires concurrent ethnographic research and applications must take culture into account" and that cultural linguistics has significant implications for domains such as intercultural communication, bidialectal translations, first and second language teaching, and conversing with computers. More importantly, as the authors observe, in the area of language pedagogy this means that explanation of cultural conceptualizations, traditionally associated with specific features of

the language, is required in the process of teaching (Palmer & Sharifian 2007: 3). The approach implemented in the study highly valued the exposure of the second language learners to the conceptual system of the target language, bearing in mind the significance of a learning process in which a language should express the way of thought as deeply and as clearly as possible. This approach was aligned with a revitalization framework construction that drew from indigenous epistemologies. It was also placed within a broader approach of decolonizing research, which ensures that the research agenda is determined by, or at very least agreed to by, indigenous participants (Tuhiwai Smith 2012). Therefore, the theoretical notions of cultural linguistics and especially the notion of cultural conceptualizations, offered important methodological guidance to the study (Sharifian 2003).

Furthermore, the research was located within the performative turn – a paradigmatic shift, which has affected many disciplines in the humanities and social sciences as outlined by Domańska (2007). This shift entails stepping outside the metaphor of the world understood as a text to embrace the metaphor of the world as a multiplicity of performative activities and as a performance that one participates in (Domańska 2007: 52). Domańska links the performative turn in humanities with a turn towards agency, a concept that extends beyond the world of human beings to encompass non-human entities. Other elements, central to the performative turn, as noted by Domańska, are interdisciplinarity or antidisciplinarity, a shift in focus from contemplating reality and human condition and the attitude of general approval of the world as it is, to a rebellion against this reality, a desire to change it while highlighting the return of a "strong subject" who possesses the power of agency. This subject is not alone but cooperates with other subjects, both human and non-human, such as artifacts and ecofacts. The inclusion of non-human subjects, however, does not entail animism or assigning intentionality to these entities. It is rather about replacing the term "community" with the term "collective" as defined by Latour (2005), inclusive of both human and non-human entities acting or performing in a network of performative and agentive subjects (Domańska 2007: 52, 56–58).

Yet another methodological perspective which guided the research falls within the action research (AR) paradigm (Lewin 1946; Freire 1970), characterized as an approach in which "the academic researcher moves away from the role ordained by positivist inquiry as separate from the subject (i.e. object) of his/her research and attempts to engage in a manner that is empowering and that contributes to some kind of desired change" (Reason 2004: 269). This approach seeks practical solutions to issues of pressing concern to people

(Reason & Bradbury 2001: 1) within a common goal to generate social change, with a specific action (Macdonald 2012; Greenwood & Levin 1998; Koch & Kralik 2006; Whitehead & McNiff 2006). In that aspect, it has strong affinity with performative humanities. Various researchers position AR as a paradigm that recognizes plurality of knowledge and acknowledges all voices, including those deeply marginalized, as having the transformative power to articulate their own stories. A community-based participatory research (CBPR), another powerful tool that emerged within the evolution and transformation of the action research, as opposed to a scholar-driven research, is primarily characterized by collaborative relationship. It has been defined as an orientation to research that attempts to equitably involve community members, organizational representatives and researchers in all phases of the research process (Minkler & Wallerstein 2011; Bogart & Uyeda 2009; Wallerstein & Duran 2006; Israel et al. 2001). The different phases of the community-based participatory research process involve planning, data collection, data analysis, dissemination of findings and action (Shallwani & Mohammed 2007: 2). Yet, CBPR differs from the community-driven research, which was also of great interest to the present study, in that the latter is initiated, designed and implemented by the communities themselves. This, however, does not exclude collaboration and partnerships with informed and respectful parties. Rasmus et al. (2014: 141) define community-initiated and community-driven processes as resulting "in localized practices for intervention that are customized to each community setting, and ideally, 'owned' by each community that implements them as locally created and designed elements of their own project." In their 2014 study, the abovementioned authors describe the qualities of the Yup'ik community-driven research and intervention project implemented by "building up from local infrastructure, theories and capacities." The project resulted in the creation of the toolbox promoting reasons for life and sobriety among youth based on the Yup'ik Alaska Native approach to suicide and alcohol abuse prevention. Other examples of a community-driven research can be found in the work of the Ontario Federation of Indigenous Friendship Centres. The organization defines this paradigm as research striving for people's everyday good living, which moves away from community-based participation towards authorship, where "in the case of the former – indigenous communities and people remain more 'trusted informants, confidants, and advisors', while in the latter – they assume the rightful position of creators and holders of knowledge and praxis" (OFIFC 2012: 8).

Furthermore, the study sought to honor indigenous ways of being and knowing and therefore it drew heavily on indigenous methodologies of research, such as reliance on the knowledge of the respected community authorities, storytelling and sharing circles which, together with one-on-one interviews, were used as primary sources of data. Kovach (2009: 28) notes that "while critical theory and postmodern analysis have created space within Western science for representation, voice and multiplicity of truths, the essentialism of Western thought pervading research has not been fully challenged in the academy." Although indigenous societies continue to be investigated by the mainstream researchers with Eurocentric research methodologies and views, pursuing Western research goals on Western terms, many indigenous and non-indigenous scholars argue the validity of indigenous knowledge in the academy. Kovach (2009: 29) takes this discussion a step further as she observes that "a significant site of struggle for indigenous researchers will be at the level of epistemology because indigenous epistemologies challenge the very core of knowledge production and purpose." Probably the most difficult aspect of this struggle, as Kovach (2009: 111) notes, is to accept subjective knowledge, which is an inherent part of indigenous epistemologies.

In the 2010 issue of the World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium (WINHEC) journal, themed *Indigenous Voices Indigenous Research*, a variety of indigenous scholars from around the globe reflected on indigenous knowledge and research while identifying ceremonies, songs, cyclic narratives, healing practices, land practices, dance, metaphors as a few of many pathways that guide indigenous knowledge seeking endeavors around the world. Kaomea (2004: 43) states that "indigenous research should be about healing and empowerment. It should involve the return of dignity and the restoration of sovereignty and it should ultimately bring formerly colonized communities one step further along the path of self-determination." Schinke et al. (2010) discuss various features of Aboriginal research, which they characterize as community conceived, affirmed through collective decision-making, relying on community researchers with contextual and cultural expertise and bringing an opportunity to engage those silenced both through systemic socio-historical practices and also through research.

The following sections provide a general description of the research stays, selected examples of how the different qualitative approaches described above were applied in the study and discuss my reflective practices and insights with regard to my research conduct.

Collaborative research stays: nurturing the relationship with the knowledge holders

The knowledge holders who participated in the study are Elders[2], storytellers, language activists, students, poets, teachers, second language learners, university professors, local authorities, artists and other speech community members who represent different indigenous societies from three different countries. These geopolitically, culturally and ethnolinguistically diverse case studies were chosen to provide data for a multi-aspect, comparative analysis. Overall, rather than focusing on a very specific research topic within a particular cultural context, I chose to include a variety of indigenous voices from different continents, influenced by diverse epistemologies, which have contributed to the construction of a conceptually broad, traditional knowledge-based language revitalization framework. Last but not least, this choice was motivated by an opportunity to facilitate a flow of information around different communities in order to share the trajectories and revitalization paths of the indigenous societies which partook in this study and to collectively create new meanings within an enlarged perspective. To provide the knowledge holders with the research deliverables, as they were gradually being developed throughout the process, was part of my role and self-assumed responsibility as a principled ally[3] and this goal was achieved to a reasonable degree in different speech communities.

Grinevald (2003: 58), drawing heavily on the writings of Cameron et al. (1992), further elaborates on the evolution of the fieldwork frameworks in research regarding documentation of endangered languages. The author discusses the following frameworks:

1. Fieldwork first simply conceived of as fieldwork on a language;
2. Fieldwork with the added dimension of doing it for a language community;
3. Fieldwork with the speakers of the language community rather than for them;
4. Fieldwork done by speakers of the language community themselves.

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[2] The use of capital letter in the word "Elder" conveys respect.
[3] This paper builds upon the notion of a "principled ally" as outlined by the Ontario Federation of Indigenous Friendship Centres (OFIFC). The OFIFC acknowledges the value of research partnerships in community-driven projects with informed and respectful parties. These partnerships are rooted in creative fusions and inventive "assemblages of thought" while maintaining a genuine respect and careful balance of authority where invited allies never assume positions of "benefactors" or "patrons" of a shared research endeavor (OFIFC 2012: 12).

Although the study was not concerned with documentary work on endangered languages, the above mentioned schema applies to the research discussed, in that as a researcher I have attempted to do the fieldwork both for the speakers and with them.

While I was examining different perspectives on how to approach research participants, I came across "a friend of a friend method of recruitment", designed by Lesley Milroy (1987) during her work on an urban vernacular in Belfast. This is how the author describes the methods' advantages: "the main practical advantage is that the researcher is able to attach himself or herself to a group and by making use of the group dynamics which influence patterns of language use, obtain very much larger amounts of spontaneous speech than is generally possible in interaction with a single individual who is isolated from his or her customary social network" (Milroy 1987: 35). Although I understand the rationale behind this method, driven by the value of the natural speech and the need to document it as accurately as possible, I considered applying it in a manner described above problematic in that it might be instrumental to the purposes of the researcher alone, while implying the existence of a "hidden agenda" that he or she is pursuing. I was initially pondering on the abovementioned technique because my goal throughout this research was to become an active participant in a social reality I was exploring, instead of being introduced solely in my formal capacity as a researcher. However, after consideration, I opted to use it rather as a complementary approach to a more relational indigenous research axiology, embedded in local cultural protocols and oriented towards building healthy relationships. According to Wilson (2008: 129), an important indigenous research practice is the use of family or friends as intermediaries who help to establish contact with the knowledge holders, with a goal to place the researcher within a circle of relations. This, in turn, fosters the accountability of the researcher to the knowledge holders and their communities. Within this circle of relations, the participants are co-researchers who are co-creating a web of relational responsibility rather than members of a community that a researcher attaches himself or herself to.

Throughout this research experience, I have tried to state both my purposes and my willingness to become a long-term principled ally of the speech communities as clearly as possible. I wished to enter the social network by a means of a friendly recommendation to generate beneficial knowledge and engage in meaningful relationships. Although this goal was not always fully achieved, primarily due to the time limitations of my research stays, I have attempted to establish and foster honest, transparent and reciprocal connections

with the knowledge holders. Because of the quality of these relationships, the openness and the generosity of the knowledge holders who allowed me to enter a variety of cultural spaces and events of social relevance and a shared goal of benefiting the communities with the research findings, I was able to work using relational ways of knowing instead of individual ones. I consider the knowledge holders the co-authors of the study as they proposed many of the research questions, accompanied me during the fieldwork while providing important insights and counseling, and otherwise guided the research.

The research participants were approached bearing in mind a diverse set of personal and professional qualities, such as their active engagement in language and culture education, their trajectory as language revitalizers, the keen interest they have in their heritage language as well as their capacity as second language learners, traditional knowledge keepers and community authorities. When Chilisa (2011: 116) reflects on relational epistemologies, she defines knowers as "beings with connections to other beings, the spirits of the ancestors and the world around them that inform what they know and how they can know it." Following this line of thought, I definitely wanted to reach out to the people who have an extensive web of connections both with human and non-human entities. Because the purpose of the study was to develop a revitalization framework inclusive of indigenous epistemologies, I sought the knowledge holders who have put a considerable amount of time and efforts to reflect on the matters of linguaculture (Friedrich 1989), indigenous education, traditional knowledge and decolonizing research methodologies. To achieve this, I relied heavily on the pre-existing acquaintance that I made with indigenous and non-indigenous scholars, as well as heritage language speakers and it was their generosity towards me, together with their good reputation and trustworthiness as researchers and respected members of their societies, that has ultimately granted me the access to the speech communities. Taking the abovementioned circumstances into account, my undertaking was not a standard sampling procedure, but rather a process based on a relational quality that generally guides research activities inscribed within the indigenous line of inquiry.

The research in Mexico was completed during two fieldtrips. Each of these stays lasted approximately a month during which I had an opportunity to share everyday activities and conduct research with 40 knowledge holders from the state of Tlaxcala (localities of San Miguel Xaltipan, San Francisco Tetlanohcan, Santa María de Tlacatecpan), Puebla (the locality of Cuetzalan and the localities of Tepeyoloc, Pala and Coxcatlan in the area of Sierra Negra),

Mexico City and the state of Morelos (the locality of Tlaltizapan). This research endeavor took place in the broader context of revitalization activities undertaken by the Warsaw University's Faculty of "Artes Liberales" within the framework of the project *Endangered languages. Comprehensive models for research and revitalization*[4]. During my fieldwork in Mexico, I largely benefited from my previous acquaintances with indigenous scholars and students who are collaborators in this project; hence I was able to approach the study participants due to the fact that I had been introduced as a collaborator and a friend. My research in collaboration with the knowledge holders revolved around traditional learning methods present in Nahua culture, as well as valuable teachings and ancestral practices which are being lost in favor of a dominant culture. Hence, the main research interest concerned the vision of Nahuatl as a vehicle and depository of epistemological beliefs and conceptions, the loss of which will significantly impoverish the native speakers' cognitive, social and spiritual resources. Many community members put forward a common premise of culturally grounded language pedagogy, stating that it should be taught as a means of transmission, expression and perpetuation of cultural values. Bearing in mind that these values can be used as powerful educational tools, crucial to first and second language learning, we focused on ancestral wisdom and conceptualizations encoded within Nahuatl.

My research stay in Canada lasted 6 months. During this period I worked as an intern in a joint project of the Ontario Federation of Indigenous Friendship Centres (OFIFC) and Wilfrid Laurier University, called "Indigenous knowledge transfer in urban Aboriginal communities". The goal of this research initiative is to examine how a large urban Aboriginal institution, the Ontario Federation of Indigenous Friendship Centres (OFIFC), takes up roles and responsibilities as an intra-community knowledge mover, creating necessary conditions for perpetuating socio-cultural memory and rejuvenating indigenous identity. This project offered me an opportunity to contribute to the knowledge seeking endeavor driven by and directly benefiting urban indigenous communities. As a visiting scholar, I was assigned a task to address the language component of the knowledge transfer process within urban indigenous communities. This

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[4] The project, directed by Justyna Olko and financed by the National Program for the Development of Humanities in Poland, focuses on three endangered languages in two countries: Nahuatl in Mexico; and Lemko and Wymysiöeryś in Poland. It has been carried out with the direct participation of the Instituto de Docencia e Investigación Etnológica de Zacatecas (IDIEZ), Adam Mickiewicz University and the Pedagogical University of Cracow, and in collaboration with the Wired Humanities Projects at the University of Oregon (Eugene) and the Universidad Autonóma de Tlaxcala.

assignment resulted in a collaboration with 25 knowledge holders in four Friendship Centres communities in the province of Ontario: The Georgian Bay Native Friendship Centre in Midland, the North Bay Indian Friendship Centre, the N'Swakamok Friendship Centre in Sudbury and the Timmins Native Friendship Centre.

In addition to the community-driven research conducted at the request of the OFIFC, I collaborated with 6 knowledge holders and speakers of Ojibwe and Mohawk (Elders, university professors, heritage language teachers and second-language learners). These generously shared insights facilitated further understanding of language transmission mechanisms, challenges and opportunities faced by the indigenous communities who struggle to preserve and revitalize their linguistic heritage.

During my stay in Canada, indigenous and non-indigenous scholars introduced me to some of the knowledge holders, and especially to the Elders, as a friend and a PhD student who is seeking knowledge and guidance. To the community members in different Indigenous Friendship Centres in Ontario, I was introduced as an ally researcher who was trusted with a research assignment within a community-driven collaborative research space. The OFIFC defines the collaborative research as a space within which "researchers not identified with any given community may be invited to share their expertise and work together with local researchers and/or the OFIFC on a project that is community-driven." An invited researcher is required to fully adhere to the research procedures and ethics as well as "commit to a long-term alliance with a mutually-shared goal to reach an identical objective that directly benefit urban Aboriginal communities" (OFIFC 2012: 14).

The fieldwork at Sámi University College took place throughout a two-week research stay, during which I had an opportunity to collaborate with knowledge holders. I was given permission to take part in the outdoor Sámi language class within the context of a fishing trip and I participated in research days at Sámi allaskuvla, which encompassed significant cultural events such as meetings with traditional knowledge holders and experts, traditional foods presentations, feasts and handicraft classes. Although Sámi is nowadays a subject in higher education and/or research in certain universities in Norway, Finland and Sweden, Sámi University College in Kautokeino, Norway is the only independent institution of higher education and research that uses Sámi as the main language in all areas of activity. Taking into account these unique, institutional features, apart from examining the existing resources, tools, mechanisms and wise practices for successful language transfer at

Sámi University College, my specific research interests focused mostly on the implementation of the university programs designed to support Sámi language pedagogy, such as teacher training for different schooling levels as well as exploring activities aimed at developing the Sámi language as an academic language of research and outreach and examining other university programs grounded in traditional knowledge which facilitate a holistic transfer of both the Sámi language and culture.

I was introduced to the staff members and students of the Sámi University College in Kautokeino with the help and courtesy of one of the university professors whom I contacted prior to my research stay. During that time we exchanged several e-mails concerning my research interests, the goals and possible outputs of my study. I received a critical feedback about my research project which resulted in adjustments of my goals and research questions so that they could better address the current situation and the needs of the Sámi speakers and scholars while, ideally, creating new knowledge and analysis that could potentially benefit this particular speech community. Furthermore, during my stay at Kautokeino, within the context of the Sámi allavskulla research days, I had an opportunity to formally present myself, my goals, and my previous research findings obtained in collaboration with the communities in Mexico and Canada. After my presentation, various members of the university staff approached me with a shared interest and the intention to talk and exchange more insights and experiences regarding some of my research topics, which, as I understood were also relevant and subject of concern to this academic community. As a result, I perceive my research activities at the Sámi University College in Kautokeino, taking part within the context of the educational research space, defined by the OFIFC (2012: 13) as a setting that provides an "opportunity for a direct educational interaction/relation between a knowledge holder and a knowledge seeker, who may or may not be a member of the community and may or may not be conducting a methodical inquiry." Central to this research space is the acknowledgment that a research interaction generates a very specific type of knowledge, situated in the interaction itself, although the knowledge holder and the knowledge seeker are not expected to share identical research objectives. The creation of this research space during my stay in Kautokeino was reflected in the request and expectation of some of the knowledge holders who spoke with me, to engage in a meaningful dialogue and a short-term research partnership. Some of the study participants recorded our conversations or asked for my own recordings for the purpose of further use and analysis. Within this partnership,

the intention of knowledge generation was expected to be equally distributed among both participants of the discussion who were providing feedback and analysis to their interlocutor remarks, based on their own personal experiences.

Becoming a principled ally

In accordance with the action research and performative humanities paradigms, my study aimed to address practical concerns of native speakers and it aimed to "give back" to the indigenous language communities by constructing specific language revitalization resources, while including many ways of knowing in the research process and placing emphasis on the engagement of all those involved in creating the knowledge and action that emerged from the inquiry. Throughout my research work in collaboration with the community members at the OFIFC, I adopted the institution's USAI Research Framework, which is premised on four principles of indigenous ethics (OFIFC 2012: 9–10):

1. Utility: research inquiry is practical, relevant and directly benefiting communities;
2. Self-voicing: research, knowledge and practice are authored by communities, which are fully recognized as knowledge holders and knowledge creators;
3. Access: research fully recognizes all local knowledge, practice and experience in all their cultural manifestations as accessible by all research authors and knowledge holders;
4. Inter-relationality: research is historically-situated, geo-politically positioned, relational, and explicit about the perspective from which knowledge is generated.

My intention was to partially apply this framework, blended with the community-based/action research approach, in my work with other speech communities in Mexico and Norway. This was accomplished to a different degree, depending on the context of my research work. Generally, the research agenda was agreed upon, but not determined from the start by the knowledge holders, however, it was often modified and co-designed by them in the course of the inquiry. The knowledge generated in the study is recognized as co-authored by the communities who are fully acknowledged as knowledge creators and it was elaborated to directly benefit these societies by providing

a compilation of diverse insights about language revitalization from different indigenous perspectives. Earlier versions of the doctoral thesis will be presented for review to as many of the knowledge holders who participated in this undertaking as possible and the final version will be distributed in the communities so that it can reach the local public. The knowledge was generated from the perspective of a white Western academic researcher who has worked outside of her designated cultural space with a purpose of becoming a principled ally of particular indigenous communities (the Nahua people from Mexico, the urban indigenous people from Ontario, the Sámi people from Norway), supporting them in the language revitalization processes, while being guided methodologically by indigenous approach to research and other approaches covered in this paper. Whether this endeavor succeeded remains to be evaluated by the communities themselves. Throughout the research I applied self-reflective practices such as journaling, mostly in regards to my biases and my role as an outside researcher, as well as the nature and the boundaries of my partnerships and alliances with the indigenous communities. These reflections on my self-location, cultural grounding and purpose were reinforced by the conversations that I held with the Elders, as well as with indigenous and non-indigenous researchers who share a similar research approach and agenda. I was also asked several times by the speech communities' members to clarify my intentions in my formal capacity as a researcher and as a representative of a mainstream academic institution, which is pursuing research on cross-cultural contact and cultural continuity, and seeks collaboration with minority and indigenous language communities to support them in the revitalization of their linguistic and cultural heritage. They also urged me to clearly state my purposes and the possible outcomes of my work. This questioning helped me to listen more carefully and to better accommodate and address the needs expressed by the speech communities. Below I present excerpts from the notes concerning my reflections about my position as a researcher, that touch on some of the challenges I came across throughout data collection and participation in language revitalization events, as well as the process of self-identification as a principled ally and self-positioning within a complex web of cross-cultural relationships.

> *It was difficult for me to take notes while the Elder was teaching. I found his way of transferring knowledge very circular, there were some topics that emerged continuously in different contexts and other stories remained unfinished. It was hard for me to keep writing down "consistent", Western-style notes based on the text structure made up*

of a beginning, middle and end and I kept losing the thread of the stories (OFIFC's Governance and Leadership Training notes, Toronto, 2015).

I took part in the first Nahuatl Document Analysis Workshop (XVI–XVIII Centuries) for Native Speakers, organized by my faculty and the collaborating institutions in the General Archive of the Nation in Mexico City. It was held entirely in Nahuatl, which was an extraordinary experience. I watched the participants read the texts containing their historical cultural and linguistic heritage for the first time with enormous excitement and I felt profound sadness when I thought that most of the people who access them on a daily basis are mainstream researchers with no connection, other than professional interest, to these documents. This was happening under unique circumstances and I can only hope a day will come when the Nahua authorship, ownership and priority access to these manuscripts will be fully acknowledged by the Mexican society. I kept wondering about my role in this event. I was one of the representatives of a Western university who collaborated with a Mexican institution to help the community members access the words of their ancestors stored in a place that symbolizes the power that the dominant society has held over indigenous nations for centuries. This is one of the first steps that we are undertaking as allies attempting to conduct decolonizing research and revitalization activities, but I cannot help but think that it is precisely because of our position as a European mainstream research institution, that organizing this event was even possible. How can we help decolonize without recolonizing? (Nahuatl Document Analysis Workshop notes, Mexico City, 2015).

Today I participated in the Sámi language class. We went on a fishing trip to the nearby lake, accompanied by a language teacher and two traditional knowledge holders. Most of the students seemed very comfortable being outside, cutting down tree branches to be placed in a lavvu[5], cleaning and gutting the fish. I struggled. The significance of nature and local places, experiential learning and modeling, was central to this immersion class. It made me reflect on my "ecological illiteracy" and the sense of connection to nature I am most of the time deprived of as an urban person. If this research is about building relationships with a broader, non-human environment then I have much to learn and I wish I could spend more time trying to understand the northern landscapes and relying on the mentorship of the local Elders. Most of the traditional knowledge systems are about expanding emotional and spiritual connection between nature and individuals, learning to lead a sustainable, adaptable life. This research shouldn't be about translating TK into some Western concepts, it should be about experientially applying it not only to cross disciplinary and institutional boundaries but to remedy the alienation from the world and to foster stronger connections (Sámi language class notes, Kautokeino, 2015).

One of the most pressing issues that I have been tackling during this self--reflection process was an attempt to understand my role as a principled ally in a research aimed to benefit indigenous communities. I came to the simple

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[5] (Northern Sámi), a temporary dwelling used by the Sámi people, with a design similar to a Native American teepee.

conclusion that my main task was to make space for the knowledge holders to tell their stories, the best way I could. In the end, these stories, rather than my intentions as a researcher, became the driving force behind this research. My undertaking, which entailed traveling from one speech community to another, reflected a circular thinking process, based on the trust that the wisdom of the members of this temporary knowledge collective will move the research in a positive direction and the conviction that these connections are of primary importance. The knowledge, emotions and experiences were carried from one community to another and each relationship, each act of sharing and each experience fueled the following steps and nourished the relationship with another speech community. Progress was tracked not only by the research deliverables, but more importantly, by the quality of these relationships and the willingness of the participants to authentically share their views. Therefore, my role during data collection was to make the necessary arrangements and create a comfortable environment, for the participants to "research themselves," while respecting local cultural protocols. This is not to say that without my presence the community inquiry would not be successful, but rather to indicate that an arrival of an outside knowledge seeker may open new lines of inquiry and act as a positive stimulus to reflect upon specific issues and generate useful insights. One of the Ojibwe Elders that I spoke with along this research journey asked me specifically to share his story with other speech communities and then to bring back the stories that other communities would share with me. Hence, as I "walked" from one community to another, I would share the "wise ways" to revitalize the "gift of language" in a particular society or nation, while asking the host community to share their inherent views and solutions on the matter. In that manner, these collectively generated layers of knowledge could be passed on to the next research destination. Yet another attempt to immediately benefit the knowledge holders was a community-driven report developed as a part of the research on language transfer practices conducted with urban indige-nous communities in Canada which contains a set of specific action-oriented recommendations, such as developing a set of holistic, community-vetted and health-related indicators of language immersion outcomes, incorporated into the OFIFC's Integrated Database (IDB) and enhancing this measurement fra-mework by providing culturally grounded community determinants of health, such as the knowledge of indigenous languages (Bergier for the OFIFC 2015). In that way, I assumed the role of a principled ally (OFIFC 2012: 5), who was working within this institutional context. The outcomes of this research were

also translated into capacity building process during a Nahuatl revitalization workshop initiated by the community of San Miguel Xaltipan in Tlaxcala, Mexico in 2015. In the course of my work within the previously mentioned Nahuatl revitalization project, I collaborated with two Nahua communities to gather information about language attitudes among the speakers of Nahuatl (see Bergier & Olko, this volume), which I then presented during the same community event, together with the findings concerning community-driven language revitalization research in urban indigenous communities in Canada. The goal of this exchange of information was to ensure a reciprocal and mutually satisfying relationship with the Nahua knowledge holders. Furthermore, during my research stay at the Sámi University College, one of the staff members proposed a joint elaboration of an article in which we would – each of us in our different role (2 indigenous scholars and an outside researcher) – include our reflections about the role and the position of the Sámi University College as a language vitalization and revitalization centre (see Guttorm et al., this volume, this volume). As Kim & Berry (1993: 4) observe, common viewpoints shared within a particular cultural context are considered natural, not cultural and "someone with an external point of view can call attention to those things that are assumed to be natural but are actually cultural." Following this line of thought, I assume that my interlocutors chose to engage in our knowledge exchange bearing in mind the value of the cross-cultural comparisons for understanding one's own culture. Overall, these were some examples of how I attempted to create direct benefits for the communities who participated in the inquiry.

In the present work, I used some of the indigenous methods of data collection and tried to apply decolonizing lens while using methods typical for Western approaches. One of the latter was a one-on-one interview. Chilisa (2011) critiques conventional interview method from a postcolonial perspective and offers alternative strategies, inclusive of indigenous epistemologies. Her critique "relates to the asymmetrical relations between the interviewer and the interviewee and among the interviewees and to the dominance of Western academic disciplines' theories, terms and concepts in shaping interview questions and analyzing interview transcripts" (Chilisa 2011: 203). This conventional interview method ignores postcolonial indigenous worldviews, which lean toward interrelationality, collaboration and togetherness. The author discusses indigenous interview approaches, which "privilege relational ways of knowing that valorize respect for relations people have with one another and with the environment" (Chilisa 2011: 203). One of the relational

interview methods, described by Edwards, McManus and McCreanor (2005 in Chilisa 2011: 208) is known as the focused life-story interview, which uses an interview guide that brings up the web of connections people have with each other and their environment. This way of knowing highlights respect for the cultural collectives or groups the research participants take part in, which are not based on blood connections but rather on history, experience, context or association. This means that the researcher is not only working with individual participants or "experts" but with the members of a cultural collective as well. This entails acknowledgment and connectedness to the groups' spirituality, forces and energies that affect people's life and well being throughout the research (Chilisa 2011: 209–210). As an alternative to western worldview-based focus group interview, the author analyzes talking circles (sharing circles) which encourage uninterrupted speaking, sharing of ideas while giving an equal opportunity to be heard (Chilisa 2011: 209–213). I had an opportunity to participate in a few sharing circles during my research collaboration with different Indigenous Friendship Centers in Ontario and they brought immeasurable value to this knowledge seeking endeavor. Furthermore, Kovach (2009: 123–124) recommends a conversational method as an approach compatible with tribal epistemologies in that it involves an open ended structure, which enables it to flexibly accommodate principles of native oral traditions. Unlike a structured or a semi-structured interview method, which places certain requirements on the participant's answers, the conversational method is a story inviting method and it allows the knowledge holder a greater freedom in the choice of the information which they wish to share with the knowledge seeker.

The study was inspired by the critique of the conventional interview method and it drew on different indigenous methods of data collection. The starting point was a semi-structured interview with questions that loosely guided the purposeful conversation between the researcher and the interviewee. The choice and the sequencing of the questions varied according to the participant, their roles in the community and their fields of interest and expertise. However, this method evolved and has been modified along the way, as described below. The process was influenced by the gradual expansion of my knowledge and experience and, most importantly, by the mentoring and the construction of meaningful relationships with the knowledge holders, as well as the need to benefit and reciprocate the speech communities for the knowledge they have so generously shared. During my research, I began to rely on Elders' counseling, yet another method that approaches indigenous worldviews,

involving sagacity and reliance on the knowledge of the respected community authorities, who have not been schooled in formal education. Their role might involve, but not be limited to advising and critiquing the written literature on the subject of research (Chilisa 2011: 209–211). During my meetings with Elders I would start a conversation by loosely mentioning the topic I was interested in, which sometimes channeled and triggered the storytelling session. As Anderson (2011: 18) notes, indigenous oral history is passed along to confirm identity and remind the listeners of the social and moral order of their societies. Furthermore, stories serve indigenous communities by providing insight and vision and to inspire change for the better. Kovach (2009: 95) explains that within indigenous epistemologies, there are two forms of stories: the first are the stories that encompass mythical elements such as creation and teaching stories and the second are personal narratives of place, happenings and experiences. This study drew knowledge and insights from both types of stories. The storytelling often took place in a particular cultural context and was often combined with visiting places of cultural significance and contemplating elements vital to the sacred landscape of indigenous societies, such as volcanoes located near the Nahua communities in Tlaxcala, Mexico. The importance of these legends is reflected in the emergence of bilingual materials (Flores Farfán 2002) and monolingual storybooks in Nahuatl, such as the *Totlahtol* series, developed within the framework of collaboration between the Nahua speakers and writers and the Faculty of "Artes Liberales", University of Warsaw (Olko & Sullivan 2014). Such initiatives might potentially contribute to resolve a possible tension between the tradition of orality, as a source of linguistic discrimination and a growing need to write the language alphabetically, expressed by the community members who acknowledge literacy in Nahuatl as an important and useful ability (Bergier & Olko, this volume).

The postcolonial indigenous research methods also rely on symbols such as sacred objects, handicraft, drawings, dance, song, tattoos and written literature. For example, in the Ojibwe symbol-based reflection method, a symbol is selected by the research participant, such as a sculpture, a song or another significant item. It is chosen to reflect a story or a search for identity or transformation. Literature stored in cultural artifacts is also used to trigger commentaries and interpretations from Elders and research participants (Chilisa 2011: 209, 217, 218). Such was the case of a conversation I held with one of the Ojibwe Elders who agreed to take part in my project. On this particular occasion, the storytelling was entwined with a musical session during which the knowledge holder sang and played the flute. In the case of this Elder, the instrument itself

was a cultural artifact and a very meaningful gift that let a number of stories unfold and brought many valuable insights into our conversation. From this moment on, I paid close attention to the use of sacred objects and symbols and the role they play in postcolonial indigenous data collection methods and analysis. A similar situation occurred during my conversation with one of the professors at the Sámi University College, which highlighted the importance of the knowledge encoded in the Sámi *duodji* (Sámi handicraft). The knowledge holder was using a reindeer-skin bag, a very meaningful item and a gift from a friend, to explain the importance of traditional knowledge transfer. A number of extremely valuable teachings were "hidden" in this item and "translated by" the knowledge holder: the present-day meaning of the Sámi knowledge, the value of self-sufficiency, the significance of the relationship with, and respect for one's environment, the bond and communication between the reindeer and the Sámi herders and many other insights. Another symbolic item brought in during this conversation was *yoiking*[6] and its significance for the identity quest of many students who form part of the Sámi University College academic community.

Last but not least, I was able to benefit from various ceremonies conducted during my research trips to Mexico and Canada. In Mexico, I was very fortunate to participate in two healing ceremonies. One of them was aimed to treat the symptoms of *susto* (fright), known in Nahuatl as *nemauhtilli*, and another one was a traditional Nahua steam bath called *temazcalli*. During my research stay in Canada, I participated in numerous ceremonies with the use of sacred medicines, in Elders' teachings and counseling sessions as well as other seasonal cultural events (feasts, round dances, drumming sessions), which are part of the OFIFC's and specific Indigenous Friendship Centers' organizational life and its cultural protocol.

Conclusions

The present endeavor drew insights primarily from the notion of a "principled ally" who recognizes the inherent validity of indigenous knowledge, which is essential to the health of indigenous communities and assumes a role of an informed partner who generates useful insights in, ideally, community-driven research projects. This, however, requires a shift

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[6] Traditional Sámi form of singing.

of focus, which is challenging in the mainstream academic contexts, where the majority of research projects are subordinated to diverse scholarly and institutional interests. Based on my personal experience, this paper attempted to shine a light on how these challenges may be addressed in the current practices of research on cultural and linguistic heritage, exemplified in the use of a self-inquiring interdisciplinary approach.

Working within postcolonial indigenous research paradigm while adopting the performative and action-oriented perspective in the field of language and culture revitalization requires the researcher to engage in the process of introspection at least as much as in the processes of external observation, collaboration, data processing and analysis. The primary goal of these reflective practices is to unravel and clearly state the underlying attitudes, biases and personal values that the scholars bring into their activities. These elements become visible in the description of the knowledge-generation process as well as in the presentation of an array of conscious thoughts and feelings that surfaced in relation to it. They are reflected not only in the guiding principles adopted in the research process and specific inquiry methods that have been applied, but also in the quality of relationships with the knowledge holders and most importantly in the concept of reciprocity, grounded in the specificity of each culture. In case of researchers affiliated with a particular entity – be it academic, governmental or non-governmental – the self-positioning process entails addressing the interests of all of the stakeholders involved in a specific research or revitalization undertaking as well as their institutional goals and patterns of research conduct.

The active use of resources derived from indigenous relational epistemologies offers a considerable amount of guidance in reflective practices and can enrich both the content-related and the ethical dimension of research in a number of ways. First of all it allows the researcher to reach out to knowers with connections to other beings and entities (human, non-human, symbolic, spiritual and nature-related), thus creating a broader knowledge collective. Second of all, it opens the possibility to rely on the counseling of trusted community authorities whose knowledge of cultural protocols enables them to provide critical feedback on the researchers' ethical conduct. When blended with qualitative action-oriented research approaches, which foster critical consciousness on the role of the stakeholders involved in the research process, this perspective might forge fruitful alliances while respecting the plurality of voices and the agentive role of indigenous people.

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Sharing Reflections on the Sámi University College as a Language (Re)vitalization Center

HANNA
GUTTORM

PIGGA
KESKITALO

ALEKSANDRA
BERGIER

Sámi allaskuvla, Sámi University College

*Faculty of" Artes Liberales"
University of Warsaw*

Introduction

This is a joint project about observing and experiencing indigenous revitalization in higher education. We agreed on peer collaboration to discuss and reflect on how Sámi University College in the Northern Sámi area in Guovdageaidnu Norway, has succeeded at producing Sámi speaking personnel in diverse institutions, including itself, and maintaining the Sámi language while pursuing a broader indigenous perspective on educational praxis and self-determination. The goal of this article is to share experiences, and to meet with different views on the SUC. We are also wondering about and valuing the power of the SUC as a language (re)vitalization center while trying out the collaborative research space to foster different kind of knowledge about educational settings and share our expertise. We have built a conversation to ensure and open our dialogue, and to pursue a socio-constructive way to write.

Although a diversity of terms that apply to phenomena associated with reversing language decline can be found in the literature, there seems to be little consensus among numerous authors on what language revitalization (LR) refers to. The common conceptualizations[1] focus on the instrumental and technical aspects of the LR process, as the authors place emphasis on

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[1] See e.g. Hinton (2001), Grenoble (2013), Paulston et al. (1993).

different indicators of language vitality, such as the number of speakers of the heritage language, intergenerational continuity, language attitudes, loss/shift of domains. What is problematic here, especially in the context of indigenous societies, is that the responsiveness of these definitions to selected indicators of language vitality relies on language–culture dichotomy and it is separated from larger goals for cultural development and self-determination that native communities are pursuing. What is missing specifically is the explicit recognition of the ongoing negative impact of colonial legacy, which has been heavily influencing the causes of language shift in many indigenous language communities as well as their ability to shape their own societies. Language maintenance is not merely a problem of language development on a technical level, and a matter of linguistic equality on an ideological level. It transcends both of these levels because it is crucial to the survival of particular groups as unique people and it is intricately connected with their right to self-determination. This issue, together with the acknowledgment of indigenous knowledge and pedagogical practices, is fundamental to the processes of indigenous language revitalization. Therefore, the present article seeks a more comprehensive approach and aims to build upon the definition of Fishman (1991: 17) who explains that "reversing language shift and language maintenance are not about language per se; they are about language-in-culture. Reversing language shift is an attempt to foster, to fashion, to attain and to assist a particular language-in-culture content and pattern". Fishman (1991: 18) places these processes within a framework of a broader ethnocultural goal that encompasses more than linguistic reinvigoration. We believe that the language movement fostered by the Sámi University College successfully fulfills this framework, by pursuing a deeply passionate language-in-culture content that unravels different facets of the revitalization process.

   We decided to co-author this paper in order to learn from each other, and to support each other's work, and share our experiences to wider context. We follow the line of thought of Hughes et al. (2010: 12–46), who outline the long-term benefits of learning based on peer interaction. We hope to build a meaningful relationship that will hopefully transcend our writing and translate into creating a caring community of learners, while drawing from a multiplicity of knowledges and intelligences, based on indigenous and non--indigenous approaches to language revitalization. This article was written as a discussion, where themes and issues vary during writing, asking and answering, sharing and connecting.

Collaborative research space

In terms of methodology, this reflection endeavor has adopted some elements of the USAI Research Framework, based on the principles of Utility, Self-Voicing, Access and Inter-Relationality. It was created by the Ontario Federation of Indigenous Friendship Centers to guide the community-driven research. The USAI framework identifies three research spaces within a web of interconnected relationships where different types of research alliances are fostered to create specific types of knowledge:

1. Community research space (a community designed and executed inquiry);
2. Educational research space (educational interaction/relation between a knowledge holder and a knowledge seeker, who may or may not be a member of the community);
3. Collaborative research space (researchers not identified with any given community may be invited to share their expertise and work together with local researchers on a project that is community-driven) (OFIFC 2012: 12–14).

The present knowledge-seeking partnership falls within the second and third research space as all of the researchers (the associate professors of the SUC, one of whom is currently learning the Sámi language, and a non-local researcher from the Warsaw University) are knowledge holders and knowledge seekers. We engage in a respectful relationship and a meaningful dialogue to address research questions, which may be inspired by different personal and institutional needs and research agendas but which are ultimately driven by the common goal to benefit the Sámi speech community and other communities who struggle to preserve and revitalize their heritage languages. Within these research spaces, as reflected in the theory and practice of the OFIFC (2012: 14), the potential biases of ally researchers and their own research interests must be clearly stated and addressed in a principled, self-reflexive way.

Beside these principles, this joint writing and reflection was inspired by openness and unexpectedness of rhizomatic and nomadic thinking (see also Guttorm 2015). Deleuze & Guattari (2004: 7) use the concept rhizome to illustrate how multiple things connect to each other; "any point of a rhizome can be connected to anything other, and must be". This allows the discussion to grow, move and change to any direction, and also makes it possible to leave the discussion (and even self-reflection) open-ended and porous.

The following section presents different research agendas and our self-positioning process as researchers. So, who are we and where do we come from, with what kinds of interests? We lean on extended cooperation because there are many kinds of needs in the indigenous studies research field. Indigenous peoples themselves need to rethink their practices, but also society needs knowledge about indigenous peoples' issues and problems.

Hanna's story

How happy, proud, and excited would my father be now?
His daughter is studying and teaching in Sámi,
at the Sámi University College

My father was born in Sápmi, far in the North of Finland, Utsjoki
His first language was Sámi,
but he also learned Finnish and Norwegian early
When he grew up, he couldn't make a living in home areas,
but moved through Sweden to Finland and met my mother
I was born in 1970's in Southern Finland
My father did not know/feel/think/
it would be necessary to speak Sámi with my siblings and me
Or, maybe our mother didn't want him to

But we heard Sámi;
we visited *áhkku* (grandmother) and uncles up North every summer
and aunts and cousins here and there
And father spoke Sámi on the phone
A language that we didn't understand
A language that we didn't know
A language that we felt – the language of the heart of our father

I ended up studying and researching differences
I ended up studying and researching the way and right to know and write
about others (Guttorm 2014)
Derrida, Foucault, Deleuze and Guattari, French philosophers, inspired me
Braidotti and Barad and many other poststructuralist feminists inspired me

And even though they didn't especially speak about indigenous knowledge, I knew and felt that it was one of the knowledges the Western knowledge system silenced and colonized

And (t)here I am, studying the language of the heart of my father, and starting to work with the language of the heart of mine (my father)
Struggling and scrambling with the language, but still loving, but loving
Loving my people, the culture, the landscape

Pigga's story

I was born in 1972 and raised in the North-Sámi community of Utsjoki, in North Finland. My grandparents from my father's side combined various elements of the natural economy; they practiced a lifestyle consisting of fishing, trapping, hunting, berry picking, and reindeer herding. My mother's family had a homestead based on agriculture and reindeer. My mother's mother came from the Länsman reindeer-herding family. My mother's father was from the Holmberg family. My father's father and mother were from the Helander family. All my grandparents were Sámi-speaking persons born in the early twentieth century. My father, whose Sámi name was Ville Ásllat, was given a chance to study. First he went to high school in Rovaniemi, 500 kilometers from home. Then he went to Jyväskylä teachers' seminar in North Häme. My mother Hilkka (1947) was given an education as a homemaker. My mother had an officially registered reindeer ear-cutting mark. Similar to registered cattle ranch brands, the Sámi have registered earmarks for reindeer. She died in 1984. After high school, I went to Rovaniemi to train as a teacher. I finished with a master's of education degree in 1997. I started to work as lecturer in education at Sámi University College in 1999. I did a doctorate in 2010 on the topic of Sámi schooling issues. I have four children and I am married to a reindeer herder in Enontekiö municipality, Peltovuoma village. I have been working at Sámi allaskuvla for 16 years and I have specialized in Sámi education. I have worked with Sámi educational issues more than a decade, and I am interested in finding ways education can help in diverse and multiple situations in the indigenous peoples' context.

Aleksandra's story

I was born in Warsaw, Poland and I spent most of my life in an urban environment in a country where the majority of citizens self-declare themselves as Roman Catholics. The Second World War and the communist regime that ended in 1989 heavily affected many people from the generation of my parents and my grandparents. I was trained as a sociologist and a researcher specialized in Latin American studies. In 2007, I left my home city to live in Bolivia where I had an opportunity to collaborate with different indigenous societies, while working in a non-governmental organization dedicated to the defense of indigenous peoples' rights. I became particularly interested in the situation of indigenous peoples of the Amazon region, who have abandoned voluntary isolation fairly recently and find themselves in initial contact. During my 4.5 year time in Bolivia, I became gradually aware of the indigenous people's struggle for self-determination. This experience awoke my interest in indigenous research methodologies, languages and ways of being and knowing, often based on kinship and interrelationship with all beings. I believe that this epistemology has a strong potential as a resiliency builder in both indigenous and non-indigenous communities and is highly beneficial to research in general. Currently, I am a PhD candidate at Warsaw University's Faculty "Artes Liberales" and I am writing my dissertation about the use of traditional knowledge in language and culture revitalization. My research perspective is that of a Western academic researcher who has worked outside of her designated cultural space with a purpose of becoming a principled ally of indigenous communities. In September 2015, I visited Sámi University College to seek and share knowledge with professors, students and traditional knowledge holders.

The Sámi people and the organizational structures of the Sámi allaskuvla

The following section briefly summarizes the situation of the Sámi people and the main features of the Sámi University College, which make it a truly unique educational institution both regionally and globally.

An indigenous people group, the Sámi, live in the Nordic countries of Sweden, Finland, and Norway and on Russia's Kola Peninsula. Depending on how this group is defined, there are approximately 100,000 Sámi people living in these countries. The Sámi are recognized and protected under the national laws and international conventions on the rights of indigenous peoples. Traditionally, Sámi livelihoods have been connected to nature. Originating from hunter-gathering tribes, the Sámi have been involved with fishing, hunting, and reindeer herding. According to current estimates, the Sámi language was born, at the latest, during the second millennium BC, which also gave birth to Sámi culture (Aikio 2004, 2012). Today the Sámi have more or less embraced urbanization. However, they are part of the globalizing world and its various cultural flows and blends (Seurujärvi-Kari 2012). In addition, the Sámi have been influenced by centuries of assimilation policies, with the result that the Sámi languages are endangered. Colonialism is a central manifestation of assimilation, which means that the minorities are actively drawn into and merge with the mainstream population (Battiste 2000).

The realization of the indigenous sovereignty in the field of education is related to the establishment of the Sámi University College (SUC) in 1989. Sámi allaskuvla is a University college located in the village of Kautokeino in Finnmark County in North Norway. The college was developed as a trans-border pan-Sámi institution with the students coming from all four countries covered by Sápmi. It has about 170 students and 77 permanent faculty, technical and administrative staff. Although Sámi is nowadays a subject in higher education and/or research in certain universities in Norway, Finland and Sweden, Sámi University College is the only independent institution of higher education and research that uses Sámi as the main language in all areas of activity. The college has a national responsibility for Sámi higher education. Its main goal is to create syllabi on the basis of Sámi needs, and to develop Sámi as an academic language.

The SUC has organized teacher education in the Sámi language ever since its creation. The fundamental thought of the SUC has been the Sámi people's right to secure their future based on their own culture. At the same time, it is relevant to refer to the societal changes of the Sámi community; the SUC must respond to these changes and guarantee the preservation of the central cultural distinctive features through research and higher education. Today the university college is divided into three *goahti* (departments): language, society, *duodji* and livelihood. *Goahti* is a Sámi word for a traditional Sámi hut, which collects and protects people and various items, here it denotes

an administrative unit. Specific academic programs that are crucial to the development of the Sámi society are divided into these units.[2]

Experiencing Sámi allaskuvla as a societal, organizational and language vitalization center

Sámi allaskuvla specializes in Sámi research and schooling issues. Its joint main areas of activity deal with the field of educational Sámi research. This task is seen as a means for addressing assimilation pressures targeted at the Sámi – a severe phenomenon in a society where structural power challenges everyday practices among indigenous peoples. In this context, educational Sámi research deals with multi-methodological education research. Moreover, it searches for ways to base indigenous institutional education on indigenous knowledge, traditions, and cultural context. Educational Sámi research is a means to address the legacy of assimilation in general and language shift in particular. It is important to moderate the western and Sámi schooling culture, so the Sámi education has an important task to mediate culture conflict and seek ways to implement culturally relevant praxis in order to improve societal justice (Keskitalo 2010). Sámi education that is based on a mediating role plays an important part in efforts to revive indigenous languages and cultures (Sarivaara & Keskitalo 2016).

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[2] **The Language *goahti*** is responsible for giving instruction in the Sámi language at different levels. It also provides courses about other languages according to need. Examples of language *goahti* supplements academic year 2015–2016: English with an indigenous perspective, introductory Sámi language in practical situation, Sámi language and literature and semester course in North Sámi language. The *goahti* also provides North Sámi language basic and subjects studies, a master and a doctoral program. **The Society *goahti*** has subject areas such as indigenous perspective in law, history, journalism, reindeer husbandry, and indigenous knowledge and traditional knowledge. This *goahti* offers the following study programs: bachelor and master programs in journalism, bachelor program in reindeer husbandry, indigenous knowledge and philosophy, Sámi history, traditional knowledge program and Sámi culture and society. **The *Duodji* and Livelihood *goahti's*** core areas involve *duodji* (traditional Sámi handicraft and design), and Sámi schools and kindergartens. The *duodji* program includes both traditional handicraft and contemporary design and applied arts. The Sámi teacher programs are in the Sámi language. These programs are flexible as the teachings are offered both online and by meetings. The goal of the Sámi University College is to offer a master program in pedagogics to the Sámi teacher education in the near future. This *goahti* offers the following programs: bachelor and master programs in *duodji*, primary school teacher education for class levels 1–7 and 5–10, kindergarten teacher education, and practical pedagogical education. In addition, it gives several courses about bilingual and educational issues according to need.

Language immersion is crucial to implementation of the Sámi education. Sámi is a university subject and the language of instruction for almost all courses at the SUC. Master, doctoral and bachelor programs in Sámi language and literature are offered, and many research projects are conducted in Sámi. The Sámi societies have been developing a professional language of research and outreach for a number of years and the university makes an outstanding use of these cognitive resources by publishing scientific journal and books in the Sámi language. Sámi is used daily in the university college offices and administrative communications. It is a language of publishing and teaching. Professors, traditional knowledge holders and students speak it when they engage in both informal, everyday conversations as well as meaningful discussions about the future of indigenous knowledge and culture and specific strategies to defend the rights of the Sámi people. Almost the only exception in the use of the language other than Sámi is made for international students and visiting scholars who have not taken the introductory, intensive Sámi course. This course is a pre-requisite to participate in all the other programs and classes offered at the university.

The Sámi language within the area of influence of SUC is alive and thriving but this state of affairs needs a considerable amount of work and constant maintenance. Many indigenous languages struggle constantly to survive in the ever-changing modern world and their speech communities are undertaking significant revitalization efforts.

Aleksandra: *The achievements of the SUC are undeniably awe-inspiring to many speech communities, as they mark high educational standards and are a source of valuable experience that help to navigate the path for the indigenous societies who are about to embark on a similar journey. During the research days, organized at the Sámi allaskuvla in September 2015, where I was talking about my research concerning language revitalization, the presentations were given in Sámi, Norwegian, and English. However, I could clearly see the persistence in use of the Sámi language. From what I could see during my short but very fruitful stay at Sámi allaskuvla, instead of using the term "revitalization" regarding the individual and collective cultural and language development activities, which take place at and are supported by the school, a term that is better suited to describe these processes is "vitalization" of a living culture. What do you think are the main factors that make it possible for the Sámi allaskuvla to become such a vibrant language "vitalization" center?*

Pigga: *This question touches on a wide range of issues both historically and societally. Shortly, we could say that we require political, economic and societal support, and at the same time clear strategies and visions need to be established.*

The Sámi Parliament in Norway is a representative body for the Sámi people, and the country ratified the convention ILO 169 that identifies indigenous people as holders of the right to self-determination. Kalstad (2011) has described the transition of Norway's policies towards the Sámi from assimilation to the maintaining of "Sáminess". When Sámi allaskuvla was established, it was decided that the main goal is to maintain Sámi language and culture. There was not enough Sámi speaking staff so it was decided to educate teachers using financial and organizational resources. Currently, the new personnel is allowed to participate in beginning level language courses if necessary. They are offered a chance to apply for master's degree and doctoral programs with full scholarship. These conditions are crucial to the vitalization of the Sámi language, traditions and knowledge.

Hanna: *Language vitalization center, yes, that it is. Sámi University College is also a language immersion or language bath as we say in Finland, for adults. I had participated in some introductory courses in the Sámi language at the University of Helsinki 15 years before I arrived at Kautokeino. But starting to speak a new language with your nearest and old relatives was not easy – language change always happened very quickly, because my nearest and I still wanted to share more, with the previous language-between-us, with the language with which we had created the connection between us. Language is a tool for communication and when the tool, in this case Finnish, had worked so well, it was hard to change it to a clumsy tool. But in Kautokeino, I only spoke English or Finnish in some of the very first conversations and then immediately started to find my way in Sámi to the Sámi society. With many people, Sámi became the first and only language to communicate in. It was possible with the practical introductory language course, which I could participate in. It was also possible when I kind of accepted becoming a child again, becoming a minor myself in a minority language, which in Sámi University College was a majority. It was not and still is not always easy. In Sámi University College many personnel members and students have the same personal history as me: learning Sámi as an adult. That's why I see the language space mostly very open and welcome for scrambling, but still pursuing speaking and writing in Sámi. I see that the work of the Sámi University College is based on an enormous will and decision of many, many brilliant, determined, and passionate people who spent years to build a higher education in our language. In that mission, SUC has succeeded very well.*

Aleksandra*: I think the issue of approaching neo-speakers is very important in this context.*

It takes a great effort to educate new staff members with limited or even no previous knowledge of the Sámi language so that they can become neo-speakers who will then use Sámi as a language of instruction within the university program of studies. Furthermore, indigenous and non-indigenous students from around the globe take the Sámi course at SUC to gain insights into language and culture, thus broadening the community of neo-speakers. In contrast to the traditional speaker community, the neo-speakers constitute an inherent result of the language revitalization processes, significant also because this category includes not only the members of a language community, but also the outsiders. These language learners may achieve different levels of language proficiency (Grinevald & Bert 2011: 52). As a result, some of these new speakers are ethnic Sámi and some of them might claim no association to the Sámi identity. On the basis of my previous conversations and knowledge sharing sessions with the SUC students and professors, I found out that for some of the Sámi community members who came to learn, reclaim or reactivate their heritage language, this has been a very emotional experience that involved a search for identity and healing from intergenerational trauma which has been a legacy of colonial processes. For other learners it might involve varying degrees of emotional involvement. For a knowledge collective, whose main goal is to preserve and reinvigorate the "Sáminess", the topic of the new speakers who come from both within and outside of the Sámi community is probably relevant. In this sense, it might be important to extract the points of view on this issue.

Pigga: *Investing in a highly skilled workforce with a broad knowledge of the language that meets the requirements of Sámi higher education is a key solution to successfully implement Sámi pedagogy from kindergarten to higher educational level. We have multicultural personnel, from both Sámi and non-Sámi background. To recruit highly educated Sámi speaking personnel, it is crucial to think about the language issue in a broader sense. In order to improve the language situation it is important to expand the linguistic areas of use, therefore inclusive thinking about language revitalization is very useful. We can call it a radical multicultural model and it is also implemented in the primary schools (Sámi schools) in Sámi Language Administrative Areas in Norway where Sámi Curriculum is in use. The teachers in these schools are also both Sámi and non-Sámi. Similar radical models are very useful and could also be applied in other indigenous societies. The policy is both daring and passionate and needs personal, economic and structural resources.*

Hanna: *Yes, in the SUC Strategic Plan, the vision is described as preserving and promoting Sámi language, traditions, occupations, skills and knowledge in cooperation with the Sámi community, especially young people. In addition, SUC is supporting Sámi society's progress towards equality with the major society (Sámi allaskuvla 2012). I see Sámi society as a living society, which isn't only preserving or promoting its heritage, but evolving, developing and changing like all the living societies are. Sámi language becomes lifeblood in Sámi University College. Sámi culture is not a museum artifact, but an on-going and vital culture with traditions, skills and knowledge that live and develop and find new ways to flourish in these days. That kind of society also tempts others, even the so-called outsiders. Even though I would also like to mention that the political situation of the Sámis in the decolonization era may easily also make the latent or non-speakers feel like outsiders in their own society. It feels like the ethnicity would be measured and language would have quite high scores in that valuing. It makes me sad and I do really hope that we manage to keep the society and the language open, even for the people who come from "outside". That brings me to ask you, Aleksandra, how did you feel as an "outsider"? (There is no outside – we live in the same world. Living cultures mix and change, I think.)*

Aleksandra: *To answer your question, Hanna, initially I was negotiating my position as a researcher and a guest and I was invited to share my experiences, while receiving critical and constructive feedback on my research. I was received very warmly but in the beginning, I felt uncertain and as a newcomer, I understand this feeling of a child-like vulnerability and being in need of guidance that you spoke about. It also felt like I was reaching out to "a knowledge collective" that goes beyond human relationships but extends also to local ecologies, to the land and the animals. So I was sharing and gaining knowledge while being in relation to a broader research environment. As a non-speaker of Sámi, I participated in the language class that took place on the land, near the lake where we went fishing. I felt that I was lacking a sense of belonging that comes from the interconnection between the land and the language. So, this feeling of "ecological illiteracy" emerged, because many of the students and the knowledge holders who were my companions acted with a sense of purpose that, I suppose, must come from a deep connection with the land and a particular place. But I also felt very welcome at the university and was encouraged to stay for a longer time to learn the language, to participate in traditional activities and to benefit from the Sámi knowledge and culture. I wanted to immerse myself in the language because I felt that the mainstream education I received didn't give me access to this tacit and place-connected knowledge, non-transferable by means of reading or writing, that covers a completely different set of life skills. I think that learning Sámi is one way*

of gaining this kind of insights and feelings. SUC is definitely inclusive and has an openness to share the gift of culture and language. Of course it has to do with the readiness but also the bravery of the non-speakers (both from Sámi and non-Sámi background) who decide to commit to the learning process and to become vulnerable while navigating a different worldview. I think it is a reciprocal model, within a broader framework of decolonization, where the multicultural non-speakers receive many valuable cognitive resources, but at the same time they are trained as teachers and professors. So in that sense they can "give back" to the Sámi community. You are also introducing a pedagogical model based on traditional knowledge to a wider society. The knowledge holders at the SUC called it a "land-based pedagogy". I saw it as the renegotiation of meanings on the land but also as if the land was being reclaimed through the language.

Hanna: *Land-based pedagogy is based on the Sámi land-based worldview (e.g. Kuokkanen 2005), where land and man or nature and people are seen as equal and where man shall only take from the nature as much as s/he needs, not more (e.g. Hirvonen 2004). This is a theme which we should strengthen and revitalize again, in spite of the pressure of the Western educational values. Even though in Norway we have a Sámi curriculum, the Western tendencies and practices to organize schooling are very strong. The school should, to a sufficient extent, focus on the Sámi views of time, place and knowledge (Keskitalo 2010). I'm so happy to participate in this process, as a learner and co-constructor myself.*

Conclusions

Currently, Sámi allaskuvla is pursuing a unique educational pathway, which begins with, and heavily emphasizes Sámi language immersion as a pre-condition that facilitates a range of career possibilities, both in academia and outside. As demonstrated by the reflections included herein, being in such an environment often requires the student to confront a number of personal vulnerabilities but it also fosters individual and collective growth.

The institution has created an inclusive space of shared reflection where the Sámi language teacher trainees, who originate from multiple, trans-border communities with diverse, both Sámi and non-Sámi backgrounds, get to acquire, develop and spread unique knowledge tools, rooted in this culture's distinctive features. These tools serve many purposes that might result attractive to potential neo-speakers: remedying alienation from nature

or "ecological illiteracy" through land-based pedagogy, being a point of departure for reflection on mainstream educational practices, understanding personal history, strengthening the bond with one's cultural heritage and healing from intergenerational trauma, to name just a few.

These are some examples of how the institution realizes the sovereignty of the Sámi people and fulfills its task to mediate culture conflict and manage different knowledge systems while forging multilingual and multicultural competencies and fostering alliances with a broader society. This inclusive principle is also reflected in undertakings such as the present one – an encounter of researchers with different cultural and scholarly backgrounds sharing their views and stories, collaborating to enrich their research agendas and, hopefully, coming up with new ideas to contribute to language revitalization endeavors.

This has been an opening, a coming-together with experiences and thoughts. As Jakobsen (2011) writes, the success of the Sámi struggle for rights and cultural recognition within Norwegian society has benefited from the development of the welfare state, even though the struggle is not yet over. We all see the success in Kautokeino, we hear the language, and we see the shining eyes and traditional dresses and silver. Sámi University College could have more students; it should find ways to tempt even more, even though it already is a vitalization center – a center where Sámi culture lives and flourishes.

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Lokalna mowa jako element w strategii konkurowania firm i regionów – model zarabiania

ADAM STALIŃSKI
Katedra Konkurencyjności Międzynarodowej, Wydział Gospodarki Międzynarodowej
Uniwersytet Ekonomiczny w Poznaniu

Summary

Local Speech as an Asset in the Competitive Strategies of Companies and Regions: a Business Model

The revitalization of local language varieties, both dialect or a separate language, which due to globalization and multi-year unification trends have been marginalized, need not be a social service that only generates costs. It is possible to initiate programs that generate income, not only for the compensation of expenditures, but also earning profits. Included in the competitive strategy based on distinction, such programs attract customers and increase sales volume and profit margins.

This strategy is based on offering a product or a service that is unique in the terms of some of its traits, an alternative to competition based on low price. One unique resource of a particular region may be its language/dialect, which can be used by local authorities in developing public infrastructure and promoting the region. Companies can utilize this in building their marketing strategy, attracting local customers by appealing to local patriotism.

Using the local language in this way is favoured by trends in consumer markets: regionalization of taste, increase of customers' education and awareness as well as increase in their requirements. Regionalization of taste means that it is harder for corporations to adjust their offer to a wider variety of needs, and it is harder to compete on the basis of prices using large production scale. In

addition, they would have to have a lot of production lines and invest in the promotion of many brands. Such situation favours fragmentation of the sectors and facilitates competition among local entrepreneurs. The increase in consumer education, caused by easier access to information and universal education in developed countries, implies a greater awareness with regard to their external impact on the environment or society caused by particular products. One of the trends is here a consumer ethnocentrism, manifested by the fact that customers want to support local businesses, understanding that it maintains jobs and increases tax revenues. In addition, consumer demand increases, which makes it harder to satisfy and companies have to customize their products in tune with customer consciousness. It is much easier for small businesses. Such trends provide niches for local companies, especially in the context of local language use. They can include such language in their marketing strategy and basing on the ethnocentrism promote both language and their products. When appropriate awareness-raising activities are taken, customers will see a method of supporting both the local economy and local cultural heritage by using the products or services of such a company. These products will also be characterized by their uniqueness and adaptation to local needs. By departing from competition based on low price, producers may be more inclined to pay attention to the quality, as well as there may increase their profit margins.

Redirecting customer demand to the local market will result in an increase in multiplier effects, which will increase the local welfare level. Wealthier consumers will be even more demanding and aware, which will support the trend favouring local products. In this way, the cycle will continue with the use of local language as an important driving factor in the marketing strategy of companies.

A group of rappers from Poznan called AIFAM provides an example of successful integration of local language with marketing strategy. In 2009, they decided to start using the dialect of Poznan in their songs. Additionally, they released a clothing line with dialectal slogans. These slogans contained not only specific words but also they shows the traits traditionally assigned to the local population. Clothes were promoted in music videos. Such synergy led to an increase in popularity of AIFAM's music as well as sale of their clothing, despite high prices. At the same time, the whole this campaign contributed to the popularization of certain words from the dialect of Poznan and to the increase of pride in using it.

Combining the use of the local language with making money is also possible in relation to the customers from outside. Language can be included in programs

for the development of cultural tourism. Modern tourists are more focused on local cultures and on gaining deeper knowledge of local specifics than in the past. They look for unique features that reflect real life. The presence of local language varieties can be an important attraction for them. But it is important to develop these varieties locally, where they naturally fit and are not artificially placed for tourists. It cannot be just for show. In addition, it is possible to earn, thanks to language schools offering courses *in situ* for visitors. These tourists are valuable customers for the local economy, as they stay longer than those who arrive just to explore or relax. It should be ensured that such persons also get offers of related activities, which allow them to consider their visit more attractive, while local businesses gain an important opportunity to earn more.

Local government plays an important role in the policy making surrounding the use of local language as a factor shaping competitive advantage. Firstly, it must take care of a coherent regional strategy development – in order to the companies promote themselves in the same way and to avoid image inconsistency. Secondly, it must educate the local population to be conscious of the role of consumer ethnocentrism in the preservation of local cultural heritage and economic development. Thirdly, it must coordinate the strategy of development and the strategy of promotion with neighbouring communities and to ensure that it is properly situated in the programs of higher organizational units. It is also necessary to create consistently a brand of the place in the eyes of tourists.

Wprowadzenie

Rewitalizacja lokalnej mowy, czy to dialektu, czy osobnego języka, które na skutek globalizacji i wieloletnich tendencji unifikacyjnych zostały zmargi-nalizowane, jest zadaniem zwykle traktowanym jako służba społeczna, która z założenia nie ma przynosić dochodu. W podobny sposób traktuje się wiele innych kwestii społecznych, które są wspierane na zasadzie redystrybucji dochodów. Alternatywą dla takiego podejścia jest ekonomia społeczna, będąca próbą połączenia wyzwań społecznych i biznesu (Hausner 2008: 4). Polega ona na oparciu marketingowej strategii działania na rynkowych zasadach i potraktowaniu osób, od których można pozyskać pieniądze na realizację celu, nie jako donatorów, ale jako klientów. Konsumentom przekazującym środki na działalność nie oferuje się w zamian podziękowania czy bezwartościowego przedmiotu (np. cegiełki), jak to ma miejsce przy zbiórkach publicznych, ale

produkt lub usługę wysokiej jakości, które dają klientowi wartość dodaną (Zgierski 2008: 100). Rewitalizacja lokalnej mowy też może zostać włączona w nurt ekonomii społecznej, jeżeli odpowiednio się ją wkomponuje w strategię marketingową zarówno na poziomie firm, jak i regionu. Takie podejście do rewitalizacji ma większą szansę zyskania zainteresowania grupy docelowej: osób, których kompetencje językowe planuje się rozwinąć, gdyż wiele spośród nich bardziej przekona możliwość zarabiania dzięki znajomości języka niż argumenty związane z kultywacją tradycji.

Lokalna mowa jako element w strategii konkurowania

Istnieje kilka głównych typów strategii, które dają szansę na wytworzenie przez firmę przewagi nad konkurentami na rynku i uzyskanie lepszych wyników. Z punktu widzenia klienta należą do nich przede wszystkim (Porter 2006: 60–67; Mruk 2012: 291–293; Gorynia, Jankowska, Tarka 2011: 35):

Strategia niskich cen – opiera się ona na wiodącej pozycji pod względem kosztów. Firmy ją stosujące starają się obniżyć koszty tak, by móc zaoferować ceny, które dla konkurencji byłyby nieopłacalne. Może to wynikać z np. odpowiedniego zorganizowania procesu produkcji lub świadczenia usług czy na korzyściach skali. Klient decyduje się na wybranie danej firmy, gdyż oferuje ona najniższe ceny (Porter 2006: 61–63; Mruk 2012: 292; Gorynia, Jankowska, Tarka 2011: 35–38).

Strategia wysokiej jakości – adresowana ona jest do klientów, dla których jakość jest ważniejsza od ceny. Polega na przedstawieniu oferty, która spełnia oczekiwania klienta pod względem produktu/usługi. Może wiązać się z pozycjonowaniem na rynku dóbr luksusowych (Mruk 2012: 292).

Strategia koncentracji na wybranym segmencie – wiąże się z ograniczeniem oferty do wąskiego zakresu, skierowaniem jej do relatywnie małej grupy odbiorców o specyficznych potrzebach. Specjalizacja pozwala na skuteczne oferowania wyższych cen dzięki lepszemu dopasowaniu się do rzadszych wymagań (Porter 2006: 65–67; Mruk 2012: 292; Gorynia, Jankowska, Tarka 2011: 35–36).

Strategia odróżnienia się – polega ona na oferowaniu produktów lub usług co do ich rodzaju szeroko dostępnych na rynku, ale wyróżniających się pod jakimiś względami (Mruk 2012: 292). Jest wiele pól, gdzie firma może pokazać

się jako unikalna, np.: forma wyrobu (trójkątna czekolada Toblerone), marka i jej pozycjonowanie (urządzenia Apple), technologia (wózki podnośnikowe Hyster) czy obsługa klienta i posprzedażowa (IKEA i możliwość zwrotu nawet pełnowartościowego towaru i to bez ograniczeń czasowych; IKEA 2012) (Porter 2006: 63; Gorynia, Jankowska i Tarka 2011: 35). Sprawia to, że dla firmy dużą rolę zaczynają odgrywać innowacje (Gorynia, Jankowska, Owczarzak 2005: 609). Strategia odróżnienia się jest korzystna, gdyż stanowi możliwość obrony przed konkurencją cenową. Sprawia, że firma nie musi dążyć ani do znaczącego obniżania kosztów, ani ceny. W Polsce jest to istotne zwłaszcza w kontekście wyrównywania się cen z obowiązującymi w innych państwach UE, gdyż utrudnia ono konkurowanie ceną z zagranicznymi przedsiębiorstwami (Gorynia 2002: 264). Strategia taka pozwala także na osiąganie wyższych marż (Gorynia, Jankowska, Tarka 2011: 38). Ponadto ogranicza się klientom możliwość wyboru, gdyż nie mają alternatywy, tj. identycznych propozycji u konkurencji. Firma zdobywa również większą lojalność klientów, utrudniając konkurencji odebranie ich. Przyjęcie takiej strategii stawia także przedsiębiorstwo w lepszej sytuacji względem wyrobów substytucyjnych. Odróżnienie jest związane ze strategią koncentracji. W pewnych sytuacjach może utrudnić zdobycie znaczącego udziału na rynku, jednak wiąże się z większym bezpieczeństwem pozostania na nim (Porter 2006: 64).

Istnienie lokalnej mowy w danym miejscu potencjalnie zwiększa zasoby firm. Jest to potencjał dostępny wprawdzie dla wszystkich przedsiębiorstw w danej okolicy, jednak bardzo często niewykorzystywany. Jeżeli w danym sektorze (zakres ograniczony tematycznie i przestrzennie) żaden podmiot (lub bardzo mało) nie włącza jej w skład swojej strategii marketingowej, zastosowanie jej przez którąś z firm będzie stanowiło unikalne działanie, a więc będzie podlegać regułom strategii odróżnienia się. Przykładem mogą być restauracje z lokalnym jedzeniem nazywanym z użyciem regionalnego słownictwa. Jeśli w wielkopolskich restauracjach ziemniaki są na ogół sprzedawane jako *ziemniaki*, ta z nich, która zaoferuje je jako *pyry*, zwłaszcza *z gzikiem* (twarożkiem ze śmietaną i cebulą lub szczypiorkiem), może liczyć na marketingowe profity z tego tytułu. Ludzie wówczas nie tylko będą relatywnie częściej wybierać właśnie ten lokal, ale nawet będą gotowi zapłacić więcej, jeśli to samo danie poda im się jako *pyry z gzikiem*, a nie jako ziemniaki z twarożkiem. Dotyczy to szczególnie turystów poszukujących regionalnych specyfików, których nazwa będzie naprowadzać na cel i będzie formą atrakcji. Jednak także miejscowi mieszkańcy będą częściej wybierać taką restaurację, gdyż dla nich taki wybór będzie przejawem lokalnego patriotyzmu.

Efekty mnożnikowe

Kwestia stopnia lokalności wydatków wiąże się z ich wpływem na ogólny poziom gospodarczy danego miejsca w związku ze sposobem powtórnego wydatkowania pieniędzy zarobionych przez mieszkańców regionu. Im więcej z ich pierwotnych zarobków jest wydawanych na produkty i usługi oferowane przez lokalnych przedsiębiorców (a więc innych tamtejszych mieszkańców), tym więcej pieniędzy pozostaje w tym miejscu i stanowi bogactwo jego mieszkańców. Jest to zjawisko tzw. mnożnika inwestycyjnego. Całkowity efekt ekonomiczny danego przedsięwzięcia wywierany na gospodarkę zależy od trzech składowych (Niemczyk & Seweryn 2007: 259–260; Mika 2007b: 410–411):

Efekt bezpośredni – obejmuje te transakcje, które są bezpośrednio związane z określonym biznesem, tzn. sprzedaż określonych dóbr przez tę firmę czy świadczenie przez nią usług.

Efekt pośredni – dotyczy faktu, że przedsiębiorstwa korzystają z różnego rodzaju dostawców. Tworzy go wartość całego łańcucha dostaw poprzedzającego finalne dobro czy usługę w części, w jakiej podmioty go tworzące pochodzą z obszaru, w ramach którego rozpatruje się efekt ekonomiczny.

Efekt indukowany – wiąże się z ogólnym wzrostem wydatków na skutek zwiększenia dochodów miejscowej ludności dzięki określonemu przedsięwzięciu. Ta część efektu jest wielofalowa i odnosi się także do wydatków kolejnych stopni, tzn. pieniędzy z następnych serii wydawania tego, co zostało zarobione w ramach efektu bezpośredniego i jego pochodnych. Każdy kolejny obieg jest coraz mniejszy (wynika to z faktu, iż część pieniędzy zawsze jest wydatkowana poza danym miejscem), a kolejne następują tak długo, aż cała kwota zostanie wydana na zewnątrz lub odłożona.

Mnożnik inwestycyjny polega na tym, że z każdej złotówki wydanej w danym miejscu wpływ na gospodarkę może być znacznie większy niż 1 zł. Sam mnożnik wyraża się w formie liczby, przez którą należy przemnożyć wartość dodaną do gospodarki, by uzyskać jej całkowity wpływ na nią. Mechanizm mnożnikowy bierze swój początek w dodatkowym źródle pieniędzy, które wzbogaca gospodarkę określonego regionu. Mogą to być np. inwestycje czy turystyka. Wartość mnożnika zależy od wielu czynników, m.in. od krańcowej skłonności ludzi do konsumpcji. Jest to wielkość przyrostu konsumpcji generowanego przez przyrost dochodu o jednostkę, czyli ile z dodatkowo zarobionych pieniędzy zostanie wydanych na dodatkowe korzyści, a ile odłożone (Niemczyk, Seweryn 2007: 263). Istotne znaczenie ma również stopień „wycieku" pieniędzy z gospodarki na skutek zaspokajania

lokalnych potrzeb przez zewnętrznych producentów czy usługodawców. Ma to miejsce w sytuacjach, gdy dany obszar nie jest w stanie samodzielnie wytworzyć tego, co potrzebuje (Niemczyk, Seweryn 2007: 264). Skala tego „wycieku" pieniędzy może być zmniejszana poprzez wygenerowanie na danym obszarze podaży brakujących dóbr i usług lub – jeśli już taka podaż istnieje, ale przegrywa z zewnętrzną konkurencją – wsparcie działań podnoszących konkurencyjność lokalnych przedsiębiorców. Jak wspomniano wcześniej, jedną ze strategii konkurowania, w której można wykorzystać lokalną mowę, jest strategia odróżnienia się, która znajduje dla języka/dialektu zastosowanie w sferze marketingowej. Wdrożeniu jej w ten sposób sprzyjają trendy panujące w ostatnich latach na rynku konsumenckim.

Wybrane trendy na rynku konsumenckim

Na skutek rozmaitych czynników, m.in. kulturowych, społecznych, osobistych czy psychicznych (Mirońska 2010: 115–118), ale również na skutek upowszechnienia internetu (Patrzyk 2013: 207) motywy decyzji podejmowanych przez konsumentów uległy w ostatnich latach sporym zmianom. Poniżej zostaną omówione jedynie te istotne z punktu widzenia wykorzystania lokalnej mowy jako czynnika kształtowania przewagi konkurencyjnej.

Po pierwsze, nasila się wśród konsumentów trend, by wybierać lokalne produkty i usługi (Patrzyk 2013: 208; Sobocińska 2010: 418). Stanowi to przeciwstawienie się daleko posuniętej globalizacji, która przestała się ludziom podobać, wskutek czego szukają oni alternatywy dla makdonaldyzacji życia i kalifornizacji potrzeb (Sobocińska 2010: 418). Wg badaczy (Patrzyk 2013: 208 za: Mazurek-Łopacińska 2003: 37) konsumenci z natury nie są globalni. Mają różne potrzeby, wynikające z odmienności kulturowych, narodowych i innych. Nie zostało również stwierdzone szczególne zapotrzebowanie konsumentów na globalne produkty. Co więcej, są oni skłonni godzić się na wyższe ceny w zamian za produkty cechujące się indywidualnością, niepowtarzalne (Patrzyk 2013: 208 za: Mazurek-Łopacińska 2003: 37). Zróżnicowanie gustów sprawia, że wielkim firmom ciężej jest dostosować się do lokalnych potrzeb. W większości krajów Europy korporacjom nie udaje się odnieść wielkiego sukcesu, bo miejscowi konkurenci pokonują ich dzięki lepszemu dostosowaniu swoich ofert do lokalnych oczekiwań klientów (Patrzyk 2013: 207). Ma to uzasadnienie strategiczne: niewielkie w skali dużej firmy zapotrzebowanie na określony model produktu sprawia, że często nie opłaca jej się otwierać

kolejnej linii produkcyjnej czy inwestować w promocję wielu marek, a to sprzyja rozproszeniu sektora, czyli obecności w nim wielu mniejszych firm, z których żadna nie dominuje (Porter 2006: 242–246).

Po drugie, wzrasta świadomość konsumentów. Ma to związek z ekspansją szkolnictwa wyższego i szerzeniem się modelu kształcenia ustawicznego. Lepiej wyedukowani obywatele są bardziej świadomi swoich praw i możliwości wpływu na przedsiębiorców (Mirońska 2010: 114). Upowszechnienie internetu znacznie ułatwiło dostęp do informacji nt. produktów i usług, które mogą być ważne w procesie zakupowym (Mirońska 2010: 119). W wyniku tego konsumenci częściej rozumieją, że niska cena wiąże się z niską jakością i nie zawsze warto wybierać najtańsze, masowe towary. Ponadto decyzje o kupnie są podejmowane z uwzględnieniem zewnętrznych konsekwencji związanych z wspieraniem działalności określonych przedsiębiorców, m.in. skutki społeczne, ekologiczne czy polityczne (Zalega 2013: 65; Mirońska 2010: 123). Takie osoby starają się, by ich konsumpcja miała przynajmniej neutralny, a najlepiej pozytywny wpływ na społeczeństwo i środowisko naturalne (Wilk 2010: 60). Choć konsumentom czasem jeszcze brak wiedzy na temat szczegółów, są oni chętni do nauki w tej kwestii – jest to pole do działania dla przedsiębiorców (Wilk 2010: 59–60). Warto się o to starać także dlatego, że za produkty spełniające założenia społecznej odpowiedzialności biznesu (CSR – ang. *corporate social responsibility*) konsument jest w stanie zapłacić więcej (Mirońska 2010: 124). Jedną z form, jaką może przybrać świadoma konsumpcja, jest wybieranie firm lokalnego pochodzenia. Zjawisko to jest zwane etnocentryzmem konsumenckim i odwołuje się do wspierania miejscowej gospodarki rozumianego jako postawa patriotyczna (Romanowski 2013: 67–68). Klienci wybierają wówczas chętniej lokalne firmy, by wspierać miejsca pracy w regionie i zwiększać miejscowe wypływy z podatków. Należy jednak pamiętać, że choć odwoływanie się w działalności firmy do CSR-u pomaga w walce konkurencyjnej, to nawet w społeczeństwach o wysokim poziomie świadomości kwestie te nie są wystarczającym czynnikiem, by przekonać klientów do zakupu, i firmy nie mogą zapominać o innych czynnikach decydujących o konkurencyjności ich produktów i usług (Mirońska 2010: 125).

Po trzecie, wzrastają wymagania konsumentów (Patrzyk 2013: 210). Oczekują oni, że oferta firm będzie dostosowana do ich indywidualnych potrzeb (Mirońska 2010: 120). Szereg czynników, m.in. wzrastający dostęp do informacji, rosnący poziom wykształcenia czy zmiany w postrzeganiu przez konsumentów ich miejsca w tworzeniu i dostarczaniu dóbr i usług sprawiły, że wzrosła siła przetargowa konsumentów (Mirońska 2010: 114).

Podsumowując, trendy panujące obecnie na rynku konsumenckim bardzo podniosły przedsiębiorstwom poprzeczkę. Znacznie trudniej jest obecnie zadowolić klientów. Trzeba dostarczać im produkty i usługi wysokiej jakości, dostosowane do ich gustów i mające przynajmniej nienegatywny wpływ na otoczenie.

W kontekście wykorzystania lokalnej mowy jako czynnika kształtowania przewagi konkurencyjnej, warto zwrócić uwagę na rosnące znaczenie regionalnych marek (na ten moment niezależnie od przyczyn tego wzrostu). Skoncentrowały się one w segmencie dóbr premium (Patrzyk 2013: 207). Takie pozycjonowanie ma nie tylko uzasadnienie strategiczne (niemożność konkurowania ceną na skutek braku efektów skali, które osiągają tylko większe firmy, a więc działające na szerszym obszarze). Ma to również związek z długoterminową tendencją wzrastającego dobrobytu w krajach rozwiniętych, w tym w Polsce. Wzrastają przychody ludności, powiększa się też grupa osób, które osiągają przychody powyżej przeciętnej. Zmianie ulega przeciętna struktura wydatków w gospodarstwach domowych. Procentowo zmniejsza się udział wydatków na żywność, a wzrasta udział wydatków na wyższe potrzeby (jak rozrywka) i produkty luksusowe (Mirońska 2010: 117). Zjawisko to zostało odkryte przez niemieckiego statystyka Ernsta Engla, autora krzywych Engla, których uszczegółowieniem są krzywe Törnquista. Opisują one marginalną skłonność do konsumpcji różnych typów dóbr, tzn. pokazują, jak wzrasta konsumpcja danego dobra, jeśli dochód konsumenta wzrośnie o jednostkę (Perenc 2010: 294).

Krzywe Törnquista

Popyt na dobra zależy m.in. od dochodu. Im więcej konsument zarabia, tym więcej pieniędzy może przeznaczyć na wydatki (Bakier i Gruszewska 2003: 119). Jednakże dla różnych dóbr zależność zmiany struktury wydatków przedstawia się odmiennie. Wyróżnić można 3 rodzaje dóbr:

Dobra podstawowe/normalne – należy do nich np. większość produktów codziennego użytku. Zasadniczo wraz ze wzrostem dochodów następuje wzrost popytu na nie. Nie przebiega on jednak liniowo, lecz jest coraz wolniejszy (patrz rys. 1). Wynika to z faktu, iż zapotrzebowanie na te dobra jest mocno ograniczone. Przy dwukrotnym wzroście dochodów nie będzie się jadło dwa razy więcej jogurtu, a tylko nieco więcej. Przy określonym poziomie dochodów dalszy ich wzrost w ogóle przestanie się przekładać na wzrost zakupów z tej dziedziny (Bakier, Gruszewska 2003: 120–121).
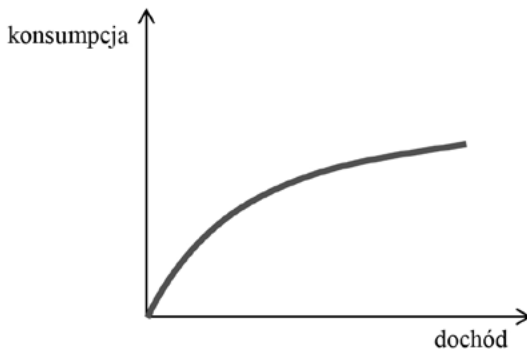
Rys. 1. Krzywa popytu na dobra normalne/podstawowe w zależności od dochodu

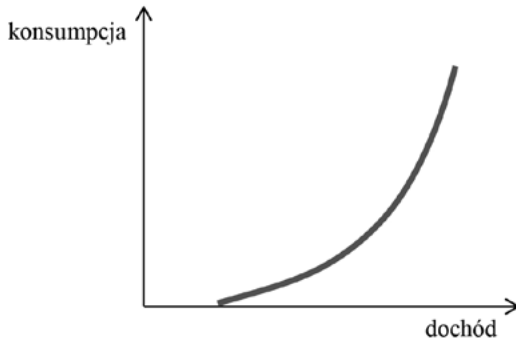Opracowanie własne na podstawie Perenc 2010: 294.

Dobra niższego rzędu/podrzędne – są to dobra o najniższej jakości i cenie, kupowane przy niskim dochodzie przez osoby, które finansowo nie mogą sobie pozwolić na zakup dóbr normalnych. Te dobra są wypierane z zakupów wraz ze wzrostem dochodów (patrz rys. 2) i zastępowane przez te jakościowo lepsze (Bakier, Gruszewska 2003: 120–121). Na przykład najbiedniejsi, kupując produkty mięsne, wybierają częściej te, które zawierają mięso oddzielone mechanicznie oraz dużo wypełniaczy. Wraz ze wzrostem dochodów decydują się na lepsze gatunki.
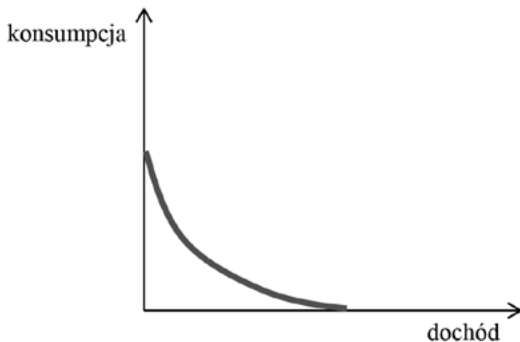
Rys. 2. Krzywa popytu na dobra podrzędne/niższego rzędu w zależności od dochodu

Opracowanie własne na podstawie Perenc 2010: 294.

Dobra wyższego rzędu/luksusowe – są to dobra konsumowane w ostatniej kolejności. Nabywcy kupują je dopiero po zaspokojeniu zapotrzebowania na inne dobra. Tych dóbr kupuje się coraz więcej wraz ze wzrostem dochodów (patrz rys. 3; Bakier i Gruszewska 2003: 120–121). Należą tu np. drogie alkohole czy biżuteria.

Rys. 3. Krzywa popytu na dobra luksusowe/wyższego rzędu w zależności od dochodu

Opracowanie własne na podstawie Perenc 2010: 294.

Jak widać na powyższych wykresach, wraz ze wzrostem dochodów ludzie przechodzą od dóbr podrzędnych do podstawowych, a potem zwiększają udział tych luksusowych.

Klasyfikacja poszczególnych dóbr nie jest jednoznaczna i różni się m.in. w zależności od miejsca, czasu, grup społecznych czy dostępności. Dobro, które w jednym miejscu jest dobrem podstawowym, w innym może być luksusowym (Lewbel 2003; Blundell, Browning, Crowford 2003: 222).

Istnieją również inne czynniki wpływające na popyt na dane dobra. Po stronie podażowej mamy m.in. cenę, której podniesienie zazwyczaj powoduje spadek popytu. Jednakże z mechanizmów, których wykorzystanie może być pomocne w stworzeniu modelu zarabiania na lokalnej mowie, warto zwrócić uwagę na kwestie mody. Jej trendy i reklama kształtują decyzje zakupowe konsumentów. Moda wiąże się z efektem naśladownictwa, który polega na kształtowaniu popytu poszczególnych osób w zależności od tendencji otoczenia (Bakier, Gruszewska 2003: 121). Klienci często kupują to, co inni, powodowani np. przekonaniem, że jest to coś powszechnie sprawdzonego. Ta zasada dowodu społecznego ma bardzo silny wpływ, gdyż według Cavetta Robertsa, konsultanta handlowego, uczącego innych sztuki sprzedaży, 95%

ludzi to naśladowcy, a tylko 5% inicjuje zachowania, które pozostali traktują jako wzór do naśladowania (Cialdini 2000: 113–117). Oznacza to, że wykreowanie mody na lokalną skalę wymaga niewielkiej liczby tzw. trendsetterów, czyli osób, które inicjują trend i swoją postawą kreują dane zjawisko.

Model wzajemnego wsparcia wykorzystania lokalnej mowy w biznesie oraz bogacenia się lokalnej ludności

Lokalna mowa może być wykorzystana jako czynnik kształtowania przewagi konkurencyjnej przede wszystkim przy przyjęciu strategii odróżnienia się. Stanowi bowiem dla regionu naturalny zasób, odróżniający go od innych obszarów. W przypadku przedsiębiorstw natomiast wyróżnienie następuje w stosunku do pozostałych firm, które nie zdecydują się na ten sposób zwrócenia uwagi konsumentów. Jest to strategia opierająca się na odejściu od konkurowania niską ceną i dążąca do uzyskania wyższych marż z unikalnych produktów (Porter 2006: 65–67).

Zastosowaniu takiej strategii sprzyjają trendy panujące na rynku konsumenckim. Obserwuje się bowiem wzrastającą tendencję do wybierania przez klientów lokalnych produktów i usług (Patrzyk 2013: 208; Sobocińska 2010: 418). Wynika to z wzrastającej świadomości klientów co do efektów zewnętrznych ich wyborów zakupowych (Zalega 2013: 65; Mirońska 2010: 123; Wilk 2010: 60). Odnosi się ona również do chęci wspierania lokalnej gospodarki (Romanowski 2013: 67–68). Takiemu przenoszeniu popytu sprzyja zaś wzrost wymagań konsumentów (Patrzyk 2013: 210), którzy oczekują też dostosowania produktów i usług do ich indywidualnych potrzeb (Mirońska 2010: 120).

W efekcie firmy, które działają na rynkach lokalnych, oferując miejscowe dobra, często koncentrują się w segmencie premium (Patrzyk 2013, 207). Zgodnie z regułami opisanymi przez krzywe Törnquista popyt na dobra wyższego rzędu pojawia się dopiero przy pewnym poziomie dochodu i rośnie wraz z jego wzrostem (Perenc 2010: 294). Długoterminowa tendencja wzrostu dobrobytu, mająca miejsce w Polsce i innych krajach rozwiniętych, rzeczywiście przekłada się na takie zmiany w strukturze wydatków w gospodarstwach domowych (Mirońska 2010: 117). W bogatszych społeczeństwach wyższy jest poziom wykształcenia i wymagań, co przekłada się na regionalizacyjne

tendencje preferencji zakupowych. One zaś generują modę na produkty lokalne. Zwiększa się na nie popyt, co powoduje, że do lokalnej gospodarki dostaje się dodatkowy strumień pieniędzy, który uruchamia efekt mnożnikowy. W efekcie bogactwo regionu wzrasta jeszcze bardziej.

W ten sposób zamyka się samonapędzający się cykl ekonomiczny, wykorzystujący lokalne produkty w celu podniesienia ogólnego dobrobytu (patrz rys. 4). Proces ten jednak może następować z różną szybkością, można więc podejmować różne działania, aby go przyspieszyć. Do wzmocnienia motywów zakupowych klientów może zostać wykorzystana również lokalna mowa, która pozwoli wytworzyć modę na lokalne produkty i usługi. W określonym języku/dialekcie można utworzyć nazwy produktów, firm, elementów wystroju wnętrz, reklam itp. Wszystko to wymaga jednak skoordynowanej strategii marketingowej, gdzie język będzie wpisany w określony kontekst kulturowy i społeczny (patrz studium przypadku grupy AIFAM w dalszej części artykułu). Konsumentów trzeba również przekonać, że warto wspierać lokalną działalność, zwłaszcza tę sprzyjającą miejscowej kulturze.
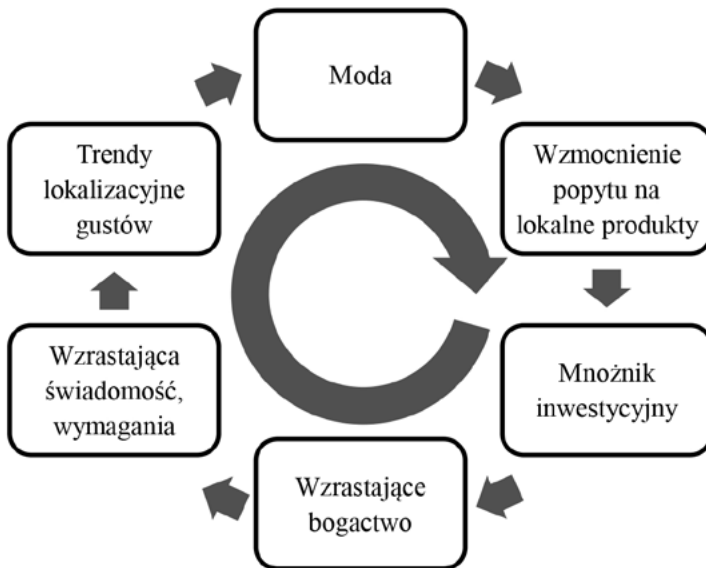
Rys. 4. Schemat wzajemnego wsparcia lokalnej produkcji i bogactwa lokalnej ludności

Źródło: opracowanie własne.

Studium przypadku grupy AIFAM

W 1998 roku dwaj poznańscy raperzy, Mrokas i Waber, założyli grupę AIFAM[1]. Konsekwentna praca w kolejnych latach sprawiła, że nawiązali wiele kontaktów w poznańskim środowisku rapowym, a do grupy dołączyło więcej osób. Skład ulegał sporym zmianom na przestrzeni lat (Hip-Hop.pl 2014).

Jesienią 2009 r. artyści ci stworzyli markę odzieżową AIFAM GWARA WEAR, oferującą ubrania z hasłami w gwarze poznańskiej. Sztandarowym produktem stały się te z logo „Wuchta wiary tej" (AIFAM GWARA WEAR 2012). Hasła zostały skomponowane w sposób, który nie tylko wykorzystuje najbardziej znane i charakterystyczne słowa poznańskiego dialektu, ale również oddaje charakter poznaniaków. Np. „Kitram bejmy do kiejdy", oznaczające „Chowam pieniądze do kieszeni" ma związek z dużą oszczędnością, tradycyjnie przypisywaną poznaniakom. „Rasowa pyra stoi twardo na girach" natomiast po pierwsze wykorzystuje symboliczne słowo „pyra" (tj. ziemniak), najbardziej znane słowo gwary poznańskiej, używane także na określenie mieszkańców Poznania – „rasowa pyra" to typowy, rodowity poznaniak. Po drugie zaś, słowa „stoi twardo na girach" (na nogach) wiążą się z poznańską konkretnością i zorganizowaniem.

Seria ubrań stanowiła element promocji i przyczyniała się do pozycjonowania grupy AIFAM jako odwołującej się do lokalnego patriotyzmu. Była ona promowana teledyskami piosenek, w których zaczęły się pojawiać wtręty w gwarze poznańskiej. Tekstów nie pisano w całości w tej gwarze, zawierały jedynie niektóre bardziej charakterystyczne słowa i wyrażenia. Strategia ta przyczyniła się do ich popularności nie tylko w Wielkopolsce, a ich twórcom zapewniła komercyjny sukces. Silna osobowość muzyków AIFAM i ich wpływ na światopogląd określonych grup społecznych przyciągnęły zaś więcej uwagi i ułatwiły przekonanie ludzi, że używanie dialektu jest powodem do dumy.

Należy zauważyć, że sukces wziął się tu z połączenia gwary z popularnym gatunkiem muzyki. Takiego powodzenia nie zapewniłoby to w zestawieniu z muzyką ludową, bo nie jest ona popularna. Mowa została tu pozycjonowana w piosenkach wykonawców, którzy już byli znani (co z kolei uczyniło ich jeszcze bardziej znanymi). Ubrania, pierwotnie pomyślane jako dodatek do strategii zwiększenia popularności muzyki, odniosły nadspodziewany

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[1]   Informacje szczegółowe pochodzą z wywiadu przeprowadzonego przez autora z osobą związaną z wielkopolskim sektorem rapowym

sukces i stały się istotnym źródłem pieniędzy. Ale to wymagało wcześniejszej popularności muzyki.

Historia ta pokazuje, że można połączyć działania zwiększające popularność lokalnej mowy oraz zarabianie w sposób wspierający obie kwestie. AIFAM zwiększyło sprzedaż muzyki i sprzedało duże ilości ubrań pomimo bardzo wysokiej ceny (90 złotych za T-shirt). Jednocześnie używanie gwary poznańskiej w Wielkopolsce zaczęło być odbierane w większym stopniu jako powód do dumy i stało się modniejsze. Więcej ludzi także poznało pewne słowa i zwroty.

Paradygmat współczesnego turysty

Jak wspomniano powyżej, sposobów na wykreowanie efektów mnożnikowych jest kilka. Poza przenoszeniem popytu na lokalny poziom można również zwiększyć napływ pieniędzy z zewnątrz, np. poprzez turystykę (Niemczyk, Seweryn 2007: 263). Jako że lokalna mowa wchodzi w skład dziedzictwa kulturowego, które jest jednym z najistotniejszych czynników przyciągających turystów, jej wykorzystanie w tym kontekście zostanie omówione szerzej.

Model turystyki ulegał zmianie w ciągu dziesięcioleci. Rozwój ekonomiczny i demokratyzacja sprawiły, że znacznie więcej osób niż dawniej może sobie pozwolić na wyjazdy. Postęp technologiczny i rozwój infrastruktury istotnie ułatwiły dalekie podróże i obniżyły ich koszty. Postępujący wzrost wykształcenia i dostęp do informacji zaś sprawił, że podróżni coraz częściej dysponują dużą wiedzą na temat odwiedzanego miejsca, są bardziej zorientowani w jego specyfice, mniej kierują się stereotypami, są bardziej otwarci i mają większe oczekiwania. Wzrosła też liczba zainteresowań turystów, co wpłynęło na rozwój wielu form turystyki. Coraz częściej nie odwołuje się ona do wymiaru krajoznawczego, ale dotyczy np. imprez sportowych i społecznych, zdrowia czy zakupów. Walory przyrodnicze, choć pozostają niewątpliwym atutem, nie są czynnikiem koniecznym do rozwoju turystyki, a często nawet wystarczającym (Kozak 2010: 252–254).

Tabela 1. ukazuje najważniejsze cechy różniące stary i nowy model turystyki. Najważniejsze różnice sprowadzają się do poszerzenia jej zakresu wraz z postępującą specjalizacją oraz wzrostu wymagań i wiedzy podróżnych. Wpływa to na sposób zarządzania ruchem turystycznym, który przenosi się na sektor prywatny i decentralizuje.

Ponadto wśród najważniejszych cech współczesnego turysty można wymienić zmianę częstotliwości i długości typowego pobytu (zamiast

Tabela 1. Stary i nowy paradygmat turystyki

Czynnik	Stary paradygmat	Nowy paradygmat
motywacje dla turystów	słońce, piasek, morze	edukacja, podniecenie, rozrywka
rola czynników kulturowych	mała, uzupełniająca	główna
typowy turysta	mający niewielką wiedzę o odwiedzanym miejscu i mało zainteresowany jej poszerzaniem; oczekujący kompleksowej obsługi; planujący podróż z wyprzedzeniem; szuka głównie wypoczynku	mający dużą wiedzę o odwiedzanym miejscu i zainteresowany jej dalszym poszerzaniem; bardziej otwarty na poznawanie lokalnych nowości; samodzielny; bardziej spontanicznie planujący podróż; szuka wypoczynku i nowych doświadczeń
zakres turystyki	wąski, głównie wypoczynkowy i poznawczy	szeroki, obejmujący m.in. biznes, zdrowie, zakupy, naukę, sport itp.
główne podmioty wpływające na warunki turystyczne	państwo, przedsiębiorcy	przedsiębiorcy, organizacje pozarządowe
kierunek rozwoju polityki turystycznej	rozwój zasobów	rozwój produktów i zagospodarowanie
rola polityki państwowej w określaniu pozycji turystyki w rozwoju lokalnym	uzupełniająca	istotne narzędzie rozwoju
sposób zarządzania turystyką	scentralizowany i zhierarchizowany	zdecentralizowany i sieciowy

Źródło: opracowanie na podstawie Kozak 2010: 254.

jednego dłuższego raz w roku – kilka krótszych) oraz zmianę podejścia do atrakcji turystycznych (zamiast odwiedzania ich – przeżywanie określonych doświadczeń (Sobocińska 2010: 417).

Szczegółowe badania w zakresie turystyki kulturowej, w tym językowej, potwierdzają ogólne tendencje. Europejskie Stowarzyszenie ds. Edukacji w Turystyce i Wypoczynku zbadało 12 tys. turystów kulturowych w 15 krajach Europy, dążąc do poznania charakterystyki podróżnych, ich motywacji oraz zajęć w miejscach docelowych. Większość turystów kulturowych miała

wyższe wykształcenie i na ogół wysoki status zawodowy. Średni dochód był o 25% wyższy od średniego dochodu w Unii Europejskiej. Badani prezentowali zazwyczaj dużą wiedzę na temat odwiedzanych miejsc i cechowali się wysokim poziomem kultury osobistej. Mimo to zainteresowanie tych osób kulturą nie było silne. Motywację do przyjazdu opartą na chęci poznania lokalnej kultury miało tylko 13% badanych, 30% było inspirowanych przez kulturę, a 57% jedynie przez nią pociąganych. Dla wielu turystów kultura jest bardziej ogólnym doświadczeniem: oczekują jej na ogół nie tylko w tradycyjnych ośrodkach kultury, takich jak zabytki czy muzea, ale pragną doświadczyć także współczesnego jej wymiaru. Podróżni poszukują jej w barach, restauracjach czy na ulicach. Pragną ją nie tylko zobaczyć, ale i doświadczyć; chcą, by stanowiła dla nich nowe doznanie i okazję do nauczenia się czegoś dla samego siebie. Zaciera się również granica między kulturą a rekreacją. Turystyka kulturowa staje się formą wypoczynku. Zdaniem specjalistów, nowoczesny turysta wprawdzie w dzień będzie zwiedzał muzea i zabytki, ale wieczorem uda się do baru lub na dyskotekę. Ponadto turyści przybywający w jakieś miejsce po raz pierwszy będą bardziej zainteresowani „obowiązkowymi punktami programu", czyli najbardziej znanymi zabytkami, ale ci odwiedzający to miejsce po raz kolejny najprawdopodobniej zaczną schodzić z utartych szlaków i szukać na własną rękę prawdziwej, żywej kultury i stylu życia (Gaworecki 2010: 67–69). Pojawia się też dążenie do spędzania czasu zgodnie ze stylem życia lokalnych mieszkańców. Dla turystów ma znaczenie regionalny charakter nabywanych dóbr i świadczonych usług (Sobocińska 2010: 417).

Według niektórych badaczy język jest najważniejszym dobrem kulturowym społeczności (Gaworecki 2010: 70). Turystyka językowa stanowi więc rodzaj turystyki kulturowej. W związku ze wzrastającymi kompetencjami językowymi ludzi i motywacją do ich rozwijania ta forma podróży ma dobrą perspektywę rozwoju (Gaworecki 2010: 70).

Turystyka językowa to najczęściej wszelkie podróże, zarówno zagraniczne, jak i krajowe, których celem jest podjęcie nauki języka obcego (Mika 2007a: 228). Wyjazdy mogą być jednak także nakierowane na poznanie danego języka jako elementu kulturowego, ale bez zamiaru uczenia się go. Podróże w celu nauki zazwyczaj polegają na uczestnictwie w zajęciach dydaktycznych i zaliczają się do turystyki, gdy trwają nie dłużej niż rok (Mika 2007a: 228). Największe znaczenie mają tu wyjazdy zagraniczne (lub szerzej patrząc, do miejsca, gdzie dany język jest powszechnie używany), gdyż podróże takie zmuszają daną osobę do używania tego języka na co dzień, także poza zasadniczymi zajęciami. Zwiększeniu ulega również śmiałość językowa (Mika 2007:

229). Istotną zaletą takich kursów jest fakt kontaktu z kulturą, z którą język jest powiązany i której poznanie pomaga lepiej zrozumieć jego specyfikę.

Według badań Association of Language Travel Organizations przeprowadzonych w 2009 r. w wybranych ośrodkach na świecie około 34% wyjazdów na kursy językowe w 2008 r. trwało do 2 tygodni, około 32% 2–4 tygodni, a około 34% miesiąc i więcej (patrz rys. 5.) W związku z faktem, iż uczestnicy takich kursów pozostają w miejscu pobytu dłużej niż osoby przyjeżdżające w celach wypoczynkowych, ich całkowite wydatki są tu wyższe, a co za tym idzie, ich wpływ na lokalną gospodarkę jest większy. Ponadto wielu studentów jest także odwiedzanych tam przez znajomych i rodziny, co dodatkowo zwiększa ten wpływ (ALTO 2009: 6).
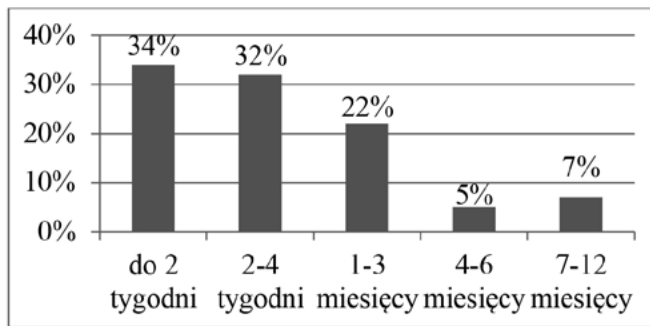
Rys. 5. Średnia długość pobytu przy wyjeździe na kurs językowy w 2008 r. Źródło: ALTO 2009, 22.

Motywy osób decydujących się na takie kursy są różne, m.in. chęć wykorzystania języka w biznesie, przygotowanie do studiowania za granicą, odświeżenie języka, ogólna intensywna nauka czy przygotowanie do egzaminu językowego. Ta ostatnia możliwość stanowi dla ośrodków szkoleniowych okazję do zorganizowania dodatkowej płatnej usługi, jak również jest czynnikiem przyciągającym do odbycia nauki właśnie w tym miejscu (Mika 2007a: 229).

Wyjazdy na kursy językowe organizowane przez wyspecjalizowane agencje często są łączone z innymi zajęciami podczas pobytu. Ogólnie można wyróżnić dwa rodzaje takich łączonych programów. Pierwszy jest związany z pracą zarobkową (pożądane przez uczestników kursów, gdyż pozwala im zmniejszyć koszty pobytu) poza zajęciami lub wolontariatem w różnych instytucjach w celu nabycia doświadczenia, jak również podniesienia dzięki temu swoich umiejętności zawodowych (Mika 2007a: 229–230).

Drugi rodzaj stanowi połączenie nauki języka z ofertą rekreacyjną i poznawczą (Mika 2007a: 230). Poza zajęciami kursanci zwiedzają okolicę czy uczestniczą w zajęciach sportowych. Dla lokalnego języka jest to okazja do połączenia rewitalizacji z programem rozwoju i promocji lokalnej kultury. Może się to odbywać np. poprzez zajęcia z nauki ludowych tańców i pieśni czy tradycyjnego rzemiosła. Takie połączenie da efekty synergiczne i jest konieczne do osiągnięcia wysokiego poziomu konkurencyjności danego obszaru recepcji turystycznej. Najlepsze miejsca przyciągają najwięcej przyjezdnych dzięki zaoferowaniu im wyższej łącznej wartości niż konkurencyjne obszary. Łączenie pokrewnych dziedzin jest zaś istotne, gdyż klient chce osiągnąć jak najwięcej korzyści przy jak najmniejszych nakładach. Koszty zaś szczególnie w przypadku turystyki nie ograniczają się do wydatków pieniężnych. Istotne znaczenie ma tu czas. Klient nie chce spędzać go zbyt wiele na poszukiwaniu i planowaniu, dlatego korzystniejszą dla niego relację nakładów i efektów osiągnie się, dostarczając mu kompleksowe usługi. Z punktu widzenia turysty usługa turystyczna jest bowiem traktowana całościowo i zaczyna się od momentu opuszczenia domu, a kończy na powrocie do niego (Łaźniewska, Gorynia 2012: 244).

Wioski kulturowe

Turystyka kulturowa prowadzi do rewitalizacji regionalnych kultur, umacnia lokalne tradycje i wspiera ich zachowanie, bo przyjezdni są zainteresowani zapoznaniem się z nimi (Gaworecki 2010: 70). Żeby tak się jednak stało, trzeba uważać, by nie wpaść w pułapkę przekomercjalizowania polegającą na nadmiernym skupieniu się na gospodarczym wykorzystaniu kultury w sposób ją spłycający i obejmujący tylko niektóre kwestie, na których pokazaniu można najwięcej zarobić (Gaworecki 2010: 72).

Jedną z koncepcji zarabiania na dorobku kulturowym są wioski kulturowe, które polegają na zorganizowaniu miejsca, gdzie turyści mogą zapoznać się z tradycyjnym stylem życia danego regionu – zajęciami, architekturą, kuchnią, ubraniami itp. Wśród nich może być wykorzystany także język. Pierwsza taka wioska powstała w roku 1965 w RPA, później zaś zyskały one popularność w wielu krajach świata (Kowalczyk, Kulczyk, Burska 2010: 172–175).

Wioski takie są próbą połączenia utrzymywania i rozwoju tradycyjnej kultury z zarabianiem. Doświadczenie krajów afrykańskich wskazuje, że wpływają one pozytywnie na gospodarkę, tworząc miejsca pracy dla osób,

które miałyby wielkie trudności ze znalezieniem jej gdzie indziej. Przyczyniają się też do rozwoju innych usług powiązanych (nie tylko turystycznych i rzemieślniczych). Jednakże w zakresie rewitalizacji kulturowej ich oddziaływanie wiąże się z szeregiem efektów ubocznych. Wprawdzie przyczyniają się one do propagowania informacji na temat danej społeczności i turyści po odwiedzeniu takich miejsc mają większą wiedzę o niej, jednak są to przedsięwzięcia zorganizowane na pokaz i spłycające rzeczywisty kształt kultury. Wioski takie przyczyniają się wprawdzie do zachowania tradycji, jednak turyści spędzają w nich relatywnie mało czasu, więc najważniejsze elementy trzeba im pokazać w dużym skrócie. Ponadto są one dostosowywane do ich oczekiwań i prezentowane w sposób, który pozwala maksymalizować dochody. W takich wioskach „tubylcy" są najemnikami, nierzadko z innych kultur, a turyści znajdują jedynie potwierdzenie obiegowych, stereotypowych opinii i nie mają okazji poznać głębiej specyfiki danej kultury (Kowalczyk, Kulczyk, Burska 2010: 172–177).

Zasadniczy wniosek, który można wyciągnąć z działania takich wiosek, jest następujący: wprawdzie należy brać pod uwagę aspekt ekonomiczny, rozwijając kulturę, jednak nie może być ona podporządkowana interesom ekonomicznym (Gaworecki 2010: 72). W zakresie rewitalizacji i rozwoju użycia lokalnego języka oznacza to, że nie należy go wdrażać nigdzie na siłę tylko w celu zarobienia na nim. Pozycjonować go należy tam, gdzie występuje naturalna możliwość wkomponowania go, która nie będzie postrzegana przez osoby bliżej zaznajomione z daną tematyką jako coś sztucznego. Jak najbardziej są wskazane np. wszelkie przedmioty promocyjne, jak bluzki z nadrukami w danej mowie, jednak nie powinno się naginać rzeczywistości na użytek turystów.

Rola samorządu w rozwoju turystyki opartej na lokalnej mowie i etnocentryzmu konsumenckiego – wybrane aspekty

Po pierwsze, ważne jest wpisanie promocji lokalnej w program promocji regionu i kraju. Wynika to z faktu, iż turyści najczęściej dokonują wyboru miejsca docelowego sekwencyjnie, schodząc na coraz mniejszy i bardziej szczegółowy obszar. W pierwszej fazie podejmują decyzję o wyborze kraju docelowego, potem decydują się na określony region, potem szukają w nim

Przy potraktowaniu lokalnej mowy jako zasobu, będącego czynnikiem kształtującym przewagę konkurencyjną, należy ją włączyć w strategię promocji. Należy pamiętać o niej, m.in. opracowując system identyfikacji marki. W jej kreowaniu istotne są elementy takie jak logo, nazwy konkretnych produktów/usług czy hasła reklamowe (Pawlusiński 2007: 379). Można opracować znak (np. w formie kombinacji graficzno-tekstowej), którym będą oznaczane miejsca, gdzie turyści mogą odnaleźć określony typ atrakcji, w tym wypadku lokalną mowę.

Ponadto istotne jest dostarczenie dużej ilości informacji na temat danego miejsca, które będą powszechnie dostępne, gdyż ludzie są pozytywniej nastawieni do rzeczy bardziej im znanych (Żemła 2008: 105; Cialdini 2000: 164–167). Należy przy tym pamiętać, by nie ograniczać się do źródeł bezpośrednio związanych z samorządem. Takie informacje (w kontekście reklamowym) cieszą się małym zaufaniem. Trzeba zadbać, by także niezależne źródła je potwierdzały (Żemła 2008: 108).

Władze obszaru recepcji turystycznej, do których kompetencji należy rozwój turystyki, rzadko włączają się w bezpośrednie tworzenie oferty konkretnych usług i produktów. Ich działania zwykle obejmują kwestie promocyjne (kreację marki lokalnej i marek konkretnych produktów) oraz tworzenie infrastruktury (technicznej i społecznej) towarzyszącej turystyce i wspierającej ją, m.in. pomoc dla inwestorów czy przygotowywanie ofert inwestycyjnych (Pawlusiński 2007: 381). Przykładowymi działaniami, jakie można tu podjąć w zakresie ekonomicznego wykorzystania lokalnej mowy, poza ww. kwestiami kreowania marki i nadzorowania spójnego wykonywania lokalnej strategii, może być np. wsparcie pozyskiwania funduszy zewnętrznych na rozwój ekonomii społecznej oraz innowacyjnych produktów i usług poprzez włączenie ich w program zachowania i rozwoju dziedzictwa kulturowego.

Duże znaczenie ma również wspieranie etnocentryzmu konsumenckiego. Jego rozwój jest niezbędny, gdy w regionie planowany jest rozwój branż kluczowych, czyli strategicznie istotnych dla tego obszaru firm, które mają stanowić trzon lokalnej gospodarki. Stymulowanie postaw etnocentrycznych, przy zachowaniu dynamiki rozwoju innowacji i otwartości regionu, wspiera efekty mnożnikowe. Należy to robić umiejętnie, by nadmierne gwarancje zbytu nie doprowadziły do obniżania jakości. M.in. ważne jest, by nie oferować wsparcia dla innych branż niż te strategicznie istotne, żeby zachować możliwość uczenia się od innych firm i zachęcać do wdrażania innowacji (Romanowski 2013: 67–68).

Wnioski

Istnieje wiele możliwości wykorzystania lokalnej mowy jako czynnika podnoszącego konkurencyjność firm i regionów. Opierają się one na wykreowaniu wyższej wartości dla klientów lokalnych oraz osób z zewnątrz, przyjeżdżających w charakterze turystów.

W zakresie rynku wewnętrznego istnieje samonapędzający się ciąg ogniw, które pozwalają podnieść lokalny dobrobyt dzięki przekierowaniu popytu na ofertę miejscowych firm. Dzięki wzrostowi wiedzy, świadomości i wymagań konsumentów nasilają się trendy regionalizacyjne. Klienci coraz częściej preferują lokalnie wytwarzane i świadczone produkty i usługi. Moda na korzystanie z nich zwiększa zyski miejscowych przedsiębiorców. Dodatkowo fakt, że takie osoby są skłonne płacić więcej za produkt zgodny z oczekiwanymi przez nich zasadami CSR-u pozwala osiągnąć nie tylko wyższy wolumen sprzedaży, ale i marże. To przekłada się na wzrost bogactwa, które jest warunkiem zmian preferencji klientów – dla bogatszych cena ma mniejsze znaczenie, a bardziej liczy się jakość, dostosowanie do potrzeb i oddziaływanie zewnętrzne.

Cykl ten może się toczyć z różną szybkością, na którą zarówno firmy, jak i samorząd mają wpływ. Lokalna mowa może tu być czynnikiem pozwalającym zastosować strategię odróżnienia się, a dodatkowo wpisać się w CSR, wspierając dziedzictwo kulturowe. Ponadto istotne są skoordynowane działania promocyjne ze strony władz samorządowych, które powinny zachęcać do korzystania z usług tego typu przedsiębiorstw oraz podnosić świadomość ludzi w kwestii społecznej odpowiedzialności konsumpcji, kreując postawy etnocentryzmu konsumenckiego.

W zakresie pozyskiwania pieniędzy z zewnątrz lokalna mowa, będąca elementem dziedzictwa kulturowego, może być wykorzystana jako czynnik przyciągający turystów. Wymaga to spójnej lokalnej strategii zarówno w kwestii organizacji zasobów (infrastruktura, w tym należąca do przedsiębiorstw, jak wystrój wnętrz, szyldy itp.), jak i w promocji zewnętrznej. Należy skoordynować działania z sąsiednimi gminami i zadbać o odpowiednie ich umiejscowienie w regionalnych i krajowych strategiach promocyjnych. Ważne jest wyeksponowanie unikalności lokalnych walorów i wykazanie, że dana mowa ma rzeczywiste miejsce w życiu miejscowej ludności (nie jest tylko związana z tradycyjną kulturą, a występuje też w nowoczesnej), gdyż współcześni turyści poszukują wyjątkowych cech odróżniających dane miejsce od innych, starają się w nim znaleźć prawdziwy styl życia i doświadczyć go.

Należy również zadbać, by turystom zostały zaoferowane dodatkowe usługi, które uzupełnią ich tematyczny pobyt o czynności pokrewne (lub nawet niezwiązane), a ich oferentom pozwolą zarobić więcej.

Ponadto warto maksymalnie wykorzystać możliwości pozyskania na ww. działania zewnętrznych dofinansowań, gdyż jest to dodatkowe źródło pieniędzy, które może wygenerować efekty mnożnikowe.

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Endangered Languages: in Search of a Comprehensive Model for Research and Revitalization[1]

JUSTYNA OLKO
Faculty of "Artes Liberales"
University of Warsaw

TOMASZ WICHERKIEWICZ
Dept. of Language Policy & Minority Studies
Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań

> Reviving languages depends on a shared commitment.
> Every word is a fresh hope.
> Every hope is a fresh word
> (Abley 2005: 239)

Setting the goals

Paradoxically, never before have languages been disappearing at today's pace, and yet never before has preserving them been so difficult, despite all technological and economic or scientific resources available to humanity and despite awareness of this process. Although the term **language revitalization** is most often used to cover a wide range of situations of speech communities as well as varying degrees and constellations of language endangerment, many different concepts and approaches have been developed by scholars and activists to deal with the problem of language loss. **Language maintenance** can be an essential aim for communities still using their language, but exposed to pressures associated with a dominant language/s and factors

resulting in an increasing language endangerment (such as discrimination, school education in a dominant language, economic pressures and difficulties) many are therefore undergoing gradual shrinkage in the number of domains in which the languages is used. **Language revitalization** is often referred to as a possible scenario of an action in the communities undergoing language shift where the youngest community members do not use or do not learn the language (Grenoble 2013: 793). Yet another term, **language reclamation,** is sometimes used in reference to efforts of a community to regain a language, which was lost due to external factors, whereas **language revival** refers to a scenario where a community tries to bring back and start using a language that already ceased to be spoken (Hinton 2011: 291). Sasse discusses a **language renewa**l defined as a potential kind of revitalization of a language that experiences severe "decay" – when it is only spoken by semi-speakers or imperfect learners – and is revived from that state rather than its previous "original" form. It is debatable whether in such a case we deal with the continuation of the same language or the creation of a new one, if assumed that revitalization after total interruption of language transmission has to lead to the coining of a new language (Sasse 1992: 21). Commonly employed are the terms language revitalization and **preservation** depending on the status of an endangered language and what extent of activities are needed to make its survival and continuity possible (e.g. Romaine 2007: 121–123). In practice, keeping in mind real goals of any language reinvigoration program, we should clearly distinguish between language maintenance and revitalization activities: the former are usually social or cultural events for members of the speaker community, while the latter should aim at increasing the number of speakers, because "the festivals do little to further day-to-day use of the local languages" (Sallabank, this volume). However, the importance of maintenance events cannot be overestimated as long as they are not conceived as the ultimate goal of language revitalization programs: they often constitute an important point of departure and are indispensable for raising a language's status and the visibility necessary for the success of the following steps.

An important point of reference in all attempts of defining "language revitalization" are concepts developed by Joshua A. Fishman, including the idea of "reversing language shift" and looking at this challenge not just in the context of a language itself, but "language-in-culture," thus placing it within a framework of a broad, holistic ethnocultural goal (Fishman 1991: 17–18). As noted by Tsunoda (2006: 172–174), language revitalization "creates a cultural climate" making it possible to raise the valuation and respect for ethnic

heritage, embracing many elements of local culture and traditions, which, in turn, by raising self-esteem of speakers and their historical/cultural identity, positively influence language attitudes and foster language use. While he postulates linking language revitalization to the revitalization of culture, he warns against a possible pitfall associated with unequal difficulty to learn the language and cultural activities, such as songs or dances which are more easy to adopt and practice. Some of the communities, whose heritage languages are endangered, are even encouraged (particularly by institutions responsible for minority and/or language policy) to focus solely or primarily on revitalization of their cultures, understood as sets of tangible folklore elements. Therefore, many minority cultures are effactually contracted to folkloristic varieties of dominant cultures, while their native languages sociolinguistically evolve into subordinated varieties perceived as dialects, *patois*, sub-languages etc. (cf. Dołowy-Rybińska 2011; Wicherkiewicz 2014).

Thus indeed, employing a language merely as a symbol of a group's distinctiveness, along the focus on "language-for-performance" can lead to the "commodification of ethnic culture," but not to language revitalization (Sallabank, this volume). However, the cultural context of language revitalization should not be reduced to single components, important as they are, such as dances, songs, costumes, or traditional cuisine. Rather, language-*and*-culture – with their worldview, norms, classification systems as well as mechanisms of reenactment, reproduction, regulation and transformation – is one complex system evolving (and disintegrating) as a whole. Therefore, grounding language revitalization in an integral cultural setting and practice should be seen as a prerequisite for any successful program, since a language cannot survive and reproduce itself without an outside culture, being shaped, (re) constituted, transformed, and perpetuated while at the same time shaping, (re)constituting, transforming, and perpetuating sociocultural norms and behaviors. In addition, since reasons of language endangerment and shift are mainly extralinguistic, the social and economic dimensions of language and cultural survival have to be seriously addressed, directly linking a holistic approach to cultural continuity with community's sustainability. As both elements of language system and (the corresponding) culture system erode and disintegrate with the increasing language endangerment and decreasing language vitality, it is both language and culture that should be restored on an intertwining and simultaneous base. Therefore, effective prototypes of language-and-culture learning-and-teaching for minority communities should be worked out and applied, similarly to models, implemented in the teaching

methods for foreign language-and-culture teaching (cf. e.g. Byram, Morgan & Co. 1994). Such needs have already been expressed by international institutions acting in support of minority languages (and cultures), e.g. Council of Europe's Recommendation (222/2007) on *Language education in regional or minority languages*.

A basic, widely accepted criterion of language vitality is the state of intergenerational language transmission, while its restoration is an ultimate (though not always immediate or direct) goal of any language revitalization program. The usual point of reference in terms of levels of the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) proposed by Fishman (1991: 87–109),[2] but it is clear that it is not applicable to all language contexts and all speech communities. GIDS is much less applicable for non-literate societies, like almost all small language groups in America, Australia, Africa or Pacific: Stages 1–3 are rather irrelevant, while Stages 4–5 can be used but are not always in accordance with traditional ways of language use. Successful language revitalization scenarios, developed for example for Hawaiian and Māori, do not follow the GIDS steps in order (Hinton 2011: 294). For Hinton (2011: 293) major tasks for language revitalization embrace teaching the language to those who do not know it and getting both learners and speakers "to use the language in a broadening set of situations," which may ultimately lead to the restoration of the intergenerational transmission.

Even if those two goals may seem clear and straightforward, while minority speech communities often share a number of similar problems, the reality is much more complex. There is no one universal solution or "prescription" for revitalization and preservation. On a general level of setting the goal for language revitalization and/or maintenance, scholars emphasize the importance of the domains of use, recommending, for the purposes of "stabilizing" still spoken but endangered languages, an identification of functions that appear to be crucial to intergenerational transmission and have a good chance of successful restoration and continuation, in accordance with a realistic assessment, made by a specific speech community in a specific moment (Romaine 2007: 122). However, we should also critically reevaluate the usefulness of the concept of "domain" as a basic point of reference in the processes of language shift and revitalization, considering other approaches focusing more directly on the issues of language proficiency and vitality of

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[2] For the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale browse: https://www.ethnologue.com/about/language-status

social networks in an endangered language (Brenzinger & Heinrich 2013). In fact, maintaining and developing language proficiency seems crucial in the reversal of the processes of language attrition in individuals and shift in the community, taking into account the impact of imperfect learning and semi-speakers on the processes leading to drastic reduction of the functions of the language both on the linguistic and sociolinguistic/pragmatic/communication levels (see below).

Considering that a prevalent number of cases of language endangerment concern communities or minority groups in post-colonial contexts – broadly understood – language revitalization is often doomed to fail if it is not linked to decolonization and restoration/construction of a group's agency. The awareness of this need is especially strong in indigenous communities in the United States and Canada, where the "language revitalization movement is passionate, political, and deeply personal, particularly for many Native people who are acutely aware that the federal government's attempted genocide was the direct cause of Indigenous language loss" (Hermes, Bang & Marin 2012: 383). Both in the Americas and on other continents, including Europe, indigenous/minority communities have not had decision-making roles in most aspects of education, language policy, and teaching in their communities. From that perspective, many speech communities suffer from post-colonial victimization even in their European settings (see Wicherkiewicz & Olko; Chromik; Neels; Duć-Fajfer; Watral, this volume). The struggle of particular groups to preserve their language is intricately connected to their right to self-determination as well as the acknowledgment of indigenous knowledge, research methodology, and teaching practices. An example of such a language movement, combining revitalization and agency is fostered by the Sámi University College (Guttorm, Keskitalo & Bergier, this volume). Therefore, we propose that an essential goal should be combining practical elements of (language) planning and implementations of revitalization projects with multidisciplinary research and teaching of endangered languages, drawing not only on the experience of Western science and mainstream academic practice, but creating actual spaces for the development and dialogue with indigenous/local research and pedagogical methodology.

Processes of endangerment and necessary assessment

Research on language endangerment and shift should always combine both extralinguistic and linguistic dimensions if it is indeed going to address the entirety of such situations, that is, "the articulation between the structure that dying languages may take and the use that is made of such languages" (Grinevald 1998: 180). Therefore, we find it very useful to follow Sasse's (1992: 10–12) differentiation of three interrelated and mutually influencing levels of phenomena relevant to the study of language death: (1) extralinguistic factors (forming an "External Setting"), be they cultural, sociological, ethnohistorical, and/or economic, which jointly exert pressure on a specific community to abandon its language pressure which forces the community to give up its language; (2) sociolinguistic context ("Speech Behavior"), referring to the ways of use of language/s as well as the use of different styles of one language in a given speech community, their correlation with social parameters, domains of use and attitudes towards variants of languages (3) linguistic dimension ("Structural Consequences") referring to the ongoing changes in the phonology, lexicon, morphology and syntax of an endangered language. Any study of language endangerment oriented toward working out the strategy for its revitalization should take into account the complex set of these interlocking dimensions, acknowledging that the speakers of a language are shaped by their speech environment along with its norms and practices, while at the same time they shape them through their language use and speech acts. The study of the "external setting" needs to embrace historical factors and circumstances; we believe that nonlinguistic factors, including historical/cultural memory or lack thereof, experiences of trauma, inherited colonial relationships, discrimination, economic exploitation or disintegration of local economy, not only set in motion the whole process but remain an inherent part of it, with an "accumulative" effect on language use and structure. The external setting also includes contact with a dominant language and/or other languages and relationships of linguistic dominance; these influence both language change and patterns of its use. Language change, in turn, translates into speech behaviors, attitudes and psychological motivations.

Needless to say, most language revitalization processes/programs need and should be based on thorough **documentation** of endangered language systems. Most contemporary linguists agree that in the face of increasing rapidity of disappearance of the world's languages, one of the main goals

of linguistics is documenting and archiving "disappearing" language structures. Nevertheless, in the opinion of many language and ethnic activists, these efforts should be skillfully incorporated into revitalization packages (cf. Chromik, this volume). Thus, research on e.g. ethnobiology, ethnomedecine, ethnomathematics, cultural geography (including ethnotoponymy) or astronomy has recently developed into several full-fledged branches of linguistic fieldwork (Thieberger 2011). In numerous cases, language documentation projects ignite revival or revitalization courses.

Thus, in most of the cases we deal with a bi- or multilingual community, where there is a relationship of dominance between the languages, and for specific reasons this inequality becomes the source of strong social pressure, leading to the decision to stop speaking a heritage language. Relations of inequality usually lead to an unbalanced distribution of domains and then to a gradual loss or lack of development in the contexts, where a recessing language is not used; this further accelerates the degree of bilingualism because the dominant language is needed for practical, social, or economic purposes (Sasse 1992: 14). Reaching such an uneven distribution leading to substitutive bilingualism often involves a long historical process, accompanied by a gradual contact-induced change especially manifest in the minority language; sometimes, however, as was the case of Wymysorys, after a stable multilingualism with a distribution of domains that did not threatened the transmission of the local language, a change may be abrupt and violent as a result of political decisions and enforced language attitudes/decisions of the speech community. Notwithstanding, a most common scenario of language endangerment with which we have to deal in language revitalization planning involves an introduction and expansion of a new dominant language in a specific speech community. Depending on the utility and motives for preservation of an original language as well as socio-political and educational pressures, the process may be slow or accelerated, leading to a language shift in one or two generations. Changes in the language ecology, broadly defined, in a given community are inevitable; they concern the domains of use and social functions that may be gradually overtaken by a dominant language, which is also usually favored by evolving language ideologies and attitudes. The functional separation of the domains of usage, which maybe stable for some time or constantly evolving, usually leads, at least for some time, to a diglossic situation, in which an endangered language retains some of the traditional functions, for example, at home or during rituals. However, a situation where a dominant language starts to be used for education, administration or economy, quickly leads to an accelerated

shrinkage of the spaces of use of a local language (as clearly illustrated by the example of Lemko, see Watral, this volume or Nahuatl, see Bergier & Olko; Olko & Sullivan, this volume). On the linguistic level, unbalanced contact with a dominant language often brings about accelerated changes in lexical resources, linguistic structure, and pragmatic conventions. Influential factors behind these processes include functions of the contact, the differences in size and social prestige/power of the groups of speakers of languages in contact as well as their relative instrumental value, understood as a measure of their usefulness for economic and social advancement (O'Shannes 2011: 79). As a matter of fact, the latter aspect is one of the most often brought up by the speakers of communities undergoing shift who are unwilling to pass the local language to the next generation. This facet of language endangerment is clearly manifest in traditional Yucatec Maya towns (Yamasaki, this volume), where the rupture of continuity in the traditional agriculture correlates with the lack of language maintenance. Another fundamental circumstance, at least in our opinion, also influencing the usefulness and scope of use of the language, is the question of proficiency of its speakers. Whereas language change itself, even leading to mixed languages, is not an obstacle for communication, the role of imperfect speakers ("semi-speakers," "rusty-speakers," "rememberers"; Dorian 1981, 1986; Sasse 1992; Grinevald 1998) seems to be crucial in many scenarios of language death.

This process, often described as "decay" is defined as the serious linguistic disintegration associated the interruption of complete language transmission (Sasse 1992: 15). Resulting semi-speakers are characterized by an imperfect knowledge of the heritage language, manifest in a simplified morphology or even a pidgin-like simplification of morphosyntax and functional defectivity. Disintegration of an endangered language is sometimes seen as an internal process and not necessarily a result of contact. Thus, some changes in obsolescing languages are viewed as natural, with the exception that the rate of change is particularly accelerated in comparison to a "healthy" language situation (Palosaari & Campbell 2011: 111). However, since all endangered languages are in an unbalanced contact scenario with a dominant language, contact-induced accelerated change is almost always a factor, even if it is not entirely explicit. Typical for this context is a greater scale and frequency of variation because rules become optional, i. e. are not rigorously observed in the language of semi-speakers. The possible traits pointing to language "decay" are varied. Speakers may lose phonological distinctions in the original language because they are not found in the dominant language. Once obligatory rules may occur optionally, marked features which are more difficult to learn disappear at the

expense of unmarked features, morphological and syntactic patterns may be reduced (for example certain grammatical categories and syntactic structures such as complex sentence constructions can be lost). There is often a preference for analytic constructions over synthetic ones. In the context of language attrition these kinds of changes usually occur very rapidly (Campbell & Muntzel 1989: 192–4; O'Shanness 2011: 83; Palosaari & Campbell 2011: 112–115). A reliable early indicator of language "decay" is also the loss of productivity of morphological derivation, substituted by borrowing from the dominant language. This eliminates an important function of word formation – lexical enrichment – allowing a language to expand to new domains according to the needs of its speakers (Dressler 2016). Paired with reduction in structure and in lexical resources is stylistic shrinkage, or reduction in speech genres and stylistic repertory (Palosaari & Campbell 2011: 115).

The sociolinguistic factors, which may have a significant meaning both for language endangerment and in (eventual) language revitalization processes have already been described and summed up (e.g. by Lewis 2006) and include such parameters as:

- Age
- Demographics
- Language use (domains)
- Language Cultivation, Development, Literacy and Education
- Status and Recognition
- Language Attitudes
- Amount and Quality of Documentation[3]

All this leads to the conclusion that any sound revitalization program should be preceded by holistically oriented, interdisciplinary research combining all aspects and causes of language endangerment just described. It seems absolutely necessary to study and evaluate the state of language change, its historical, social and cultural circumstances. A crucial problem, underestimated or not treated *in extenso* in existing studies on language change and death, is the differentiation between phenomena of normal language contact and those of unbalanced contact leading to accelerated change, in turn contributing to attrition and shift. On the practical level, it is essential to carry out an "honest assessment of goals and resources" (Grenoble

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[3] For more details, browse: http://languagesindanger.eu/book-of-knowledge/language-endangerment

2009: 63). These should include the critical identification and evaluation of extralinguistic factors operating in a speech community, including religious, cultural and economic issues, role of local authorities, school system, and possible stakeholders. Further, in terms of linguistic framework, the assessment should include a number of active and passive (if any) speakers, evaluation of their language proficiency, commitment to using or the language, language attitudes of speakers and non-speakers (if any), attitudes toward literacy and teaching, and local methods of knowledge transmission. Last but not least, a genuine effort should be made to recognize a community's needs and goals, respecting its autonomy and addressing the challenge of strengthening its agency in the process of language maintenance and revival.

Benefits and rationale: why revitalize?

Revitalization will not be carried out/successful if both members of a community and external supporters and/or sponsors/funding agencies are not convinced about tangible and intangible benefits that may result from the process, responding to their specific needs and concerns. Depending on a target group, specific benefits can be articulated, but in general a wide range of advantages can be given other than the abstract arguments normally proposed by scientists including importance of linguistic diversity or of preserving the local heritage. The latter maybe be vague for entire local communities and for their individual members. In fact, policy makers and a broader society lack the awareness that the cultivation of linguistic and cultural diversity benefits the members of speech communities *and* global society as a whole. Therefore, an important aim of revitalization strategies should also be the dissemination of information on the specific benefits of such activities that can be divided into cognitive, psychological, educational, and economic.

The cognitive or intellectual impact of linguistic-cultural diversity is particularly broad. It is directly linked to human capacity for problem solving and creativity. In its *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity*, UNESCO affirms that creativity is nourished by true dialogue with other cultures, or, in other words, in truly multicultural heritage. Therefore "in the face of present-day economic and technological change, opening up vast prospects for creation and innovation, particular attention must be paid to the diversity of the supply of creative work" (UNESCO 2002: 5). Differences in language are considered significant for the performance of nonlinguistic tasks and activities

(Gumperz & Levinson 1996; Kövecses 2006); a broad scope of psycholinguistic research has shown that bilingual and multilingual children and adults have expanded cognitive potential, reflected in greater flexibility and capacity for task-solving and in higher intellectual and social skills (Bialystok 1999, 2001; Bialystok & Martin 2004; Bialystok & Senman 2004; Bialystok, Craik & Luk 2012; Costa, Hernández & Sebastián-Gallés 2008; Kovács 2009). Bilingualism, as early as at the age of two years, seems to be crucial in enhancing executive control responsible for the selection, organization, and utilization of the data necessary to solve problems and achieve goals (Poulin-Dubois et al. 2011: 567–579). Using more than one language also offers significant advantages to the elderly, hindering cognitive decline and possibly delaying the onset of symptoms of dementia (Bialystok, Craik & Luk 2012: 240–250). In fact, the use of more than one language in a daily practice can be seen as a restoration or continuity of the "natural" balanced multilingualism and cultural diversity that has historically been present in most regions of the world. Practices of such (re-)balanced multilingualism, sometimes reinforced by means of rational language planning and language policy can be found in all parts of the world, e.g. well-studied cases of New Guinea, Singapore or Hongkong in Asia, Brussels or Gibraltar in Europe, Quebec in North America or multiple regions in Africa.

There are also strong educational/cognitive benefits of language revitalization when it entails school education of minority children in their native language. As has been clearly shown, children coming out of strong immersion models always match or surpass their peers participating in programs based on the usage of a dominant language, both in classroom performance and standardized testing (e.g. Hinton 2011: 298–299; Hermes, Bang & Marin 2012: 387). According to researchers dealing circumstantially with the minority education models, "the most important Linguistic Human Right in education for Indigenous peoples and minorities, if they want to reproduce themselves […], is an unconditional right to mainly mother tongue medium education in non-fee state schools. This education (of course including teaching of a dominant language as a subject, by bilingual teachers) should continue minimally 8 years, preferably longer" (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000: 654). The results of bottom-up Navaho and Hawaiian immersion programs included much better academic performance of their students; these programs also served as spaces of empowerment for native teachers, children and communities (McCarty 2003: 151–157). Therefore, both psycholinguistic benefits of bi/multilingualism and the results of immersion education in a native tongue should become essential elements for parents'

and teachers' training in speech communities and should precede major revitalization activities, preparing the necessary ground for them. This may positively influence parental attitudes regarding both home language transfer and formal education. Values, attitudes, and practices maintained at home often create young people's socio-cultural capital that they will themselves reproduce; the attitudes of parents towards a minority language are an important factor for shaping their children's role as language activists (Dołowy-Rybińska, this volume).

Revitalization and using a mother tongue through individual development is not only closely linked to psychological wellbeing and higher self-esteem, but also to health indices. In addition, recent research has shown a strong correlation between language loss, deterioration in indigenous health, symptoms associated with post-traumatic stress, and elevated suicide rates (e.g. Chandler & Lalonde 1998; McIvor, Napoleon & Dickie 2009; Ball & Moselle 2013), and improving health indices has also economic consequences. We believe dealing with health issues should become an essential part of integral revitalization programs. Economic benefits, so important for local communities, can also be thought of in a more direct way, in terms of stimulating microeconomy based on creating authentic local products and stimulating the demand for them, e.g. through the development of culturally-oriented tourism in which experience of a local language would be an essential asset (Staliński, this volume). A particularly promising approach is that of a social economy oriented toward solving both social and economic challenges through nonprofit organizations and social enterprises. It seeks new, more efficient and bottom-up solutions for issues for specific social, economic or environmental needs and therefore has a special potential for contributing to more inclusive and sustainable society, with a special role of local communities and their assets.

The different kinds of benefits of language revitalization and maintenance should in fact be viewed as a comprehensive, joint framework combining integral, cognitive development of children, empowerment of adults, construction of strong identity linked to self-esteem and psychological strength on the level of individuals and a community, sustainable development of local communities based on the preservation of traditional knowledge (especially linked to local ecology), benefits for a wider society resulting from the preservation, and cultivation of multilingual spaces. Therefore, "marketing the revitalization," broadly understood, should also become an important aim, both at the level of a specific community and a broader society, where support for these kinds of programs can be mobilized. Revitalization thus

conceived should be aimed at strengthening what Dalby (1999-2000) calls the linguasphere – the dynamic global structure of interacting languages. Any local language, along with its cognitive resources, has a chance of contributing to the enrichment of the dynamic and evolving global sum of these intellectual tools, called by Dalby the logosphere. The prosperity of the logosphere depends on the vitality of the linguasphere and the preservation of its resources directly linked to the diversity of the languages contained in it. The survival and continuity of local knowledge, along with the right to continue to safely use a mother tongue, is a key to sustainable development, which, in turn, is needed for preserving local ecosystems, and through them, the global ecosystem. Language maintenance is an essential part of these local and global ecosystems (Nettle & Romaine 2000: 176–177). Therefore, the understanding and sharing of deeper benefits related to language maintenance both by the community members themselves and by a broader society is in fact one of the fundamental challenges and preconditions of any revitalization project.

Working out solutions

The search for comprehensive strategies for language revitalization that can be useful on a broader scale, or at least for more than one specific community, should take into account two basic facts. Firstly, the similarities between communities can mask differences, and it would be ingenuous to assume *a priori* that a specific approach implemented in one case will have the same or similar impact in another (Grenoble 2009: 63). Secondly, however, due to global trends and certain universal sociolinguistic and economic processes, many communities worldwide share similar problems and challenges and are exposed to similar kinds of pressures whose results are predictable to a large extent based on hitherto available data. Neither of these two points should be overlooked. Since language revitalization design and planning is, in a huge part, a scientific endeavor, it has to follow scientific criteria, including verified best practices and evaluation procedures as well as to be able to respond adequately to the evolving state of knowledge/research and other circumstances that influence language endangerment and chances for survival.

As has already been pointed out, seeking efficient solutions for revitalization has to be based on viewing endangered languages not as abstract entities, but dealing with them both in strict relationship to the living community of actual or potential speakers and in relationship to the broader sets of social

and cultural practices. It is essential to recognize that language maintenance or revitalization is not simply a question of "revitalizing a linguistic code," but engaging with the factors responsible for the disintegration of whole cultural spheres (Michael 2011: 139). "Reversing language shift is basically not about language, certainly not *just* about language; it is about adhering to a notion of a complete, not necessarily unchanging, self-defining way of life" (Fishman 2000: 14). Therefore, we think it is of utmost importance for researchers and activists engaged in revitalization endeavors to embrace experience and deep knowledge of local history, culture, worldview, social norms, and socio-political relationships in their research and activities. Crucial elements of local cultural heritage and social networks should be embraced by holistic revitalization activities while key factors contributing to their erosion should be identified and tackled whenever possible. Although traditional social networks need to be supported and reinvigorated, it is also crucial to focus on the dynamic nature of inter-human interactions and resulting bonds, especially including increasingly important electronic communication and virtual social networks that allow speakers and potential speakers to maintain close (virtual) contact. These newly defined social networks are becoming key factors in the revitalization and maintenance of small languages, especially in migrant or dispersed communities/ethnic groups, enabling more native speakers to maintain fluency and to spread the language to others (Sallabank 2010: 189–200). For both community members and new speakers of a language, non-linguistic aspects of language use and revival are of huge importance, especially for adult speakers for whom the recuperation of the language is often a very personal process of self-empowerment and spiritual development, as has been documented, for example for second language speakers of Māori (King 2009: 98–102).

Building partnerships

Crucial for our approach is fostering networking spaces for diverse agents to build partnerships and seek holistic solutions for sustainable, multilevel community development through language and culture. We perceive our role as academics as conscious allies of local communities directly engaging in the revitalization process in the degree desired and accepted by them; as researchers studying local linguistic and cultural heritage and seeking dialogue and exchange with indigenous researchers and indigenous methodologies; and, whenever necessary, mediators and negotiators between different stakeholders

in the community and between the community and academic institutions, state organizations, or funding agencies. Therefore, our position is closely related to both Participatory Action Research (PAR) and to Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR). We consider promising for efficient language revitalization programs a self-reflexive, partnership-based approach in which community members, local organizations, individual activists, researchers, or teachers participate in all steps of a specific project, including planning, implementation, and evaluation. Language projects situated within a local/indigenous community should fully respect and follow community-specific protocols valuing reciprocity and relationality. Constructing effective revitalization environments will also require local/indigenous ways of knowledge transmission and pedagogy, to "be engaged, valued, and nurtured rather than submerged under dominant technological hegemonies" (Hermes, Bang & Marin 2012: 395). It very important to overcome patronizing ways of collaboration with speech communities in the joint project of language revival because they continue certain ingrained patterns of colonization, oppression, and discrimination, often still present in more or less covert forms of state policy or educational programs carried out in a dominant language. Successful language revitalization is intimately linked to decolonization and restoring communities' and individual speakers' agency, striving to reverse the relations of dominance and inequality. Therefore, "It is clear to all who work on endangered languages that only community-based projects have any hope of success, and linguists who are committed to language revitalization must be willing to do those things that communities decide they need, rather than telling communities what is needed" (Speas 2009: 35).

An example of such a realization is the groundbreaking project of the Sámi University College in Northern Sámi area in Guovdageaidnu/Kautokeino Norway (see Guttorm et al., this volume). Its huge success has been to produce Sámi-speaking personnel in many local institutions, including the university, and to maintain and broaden the use of the Sámi language within a context of a broader indigenous perspective on educational practices, knowledge transmission (including a "land-based pedagogy") and self-determination. Responding to the societal changes of the Sámi community, the university as a center for language revitalization, working closely with community members, attempts to respond to ongoing changes and challenges, focusing on the preservation of the language and key cultural components through research and higher education. This approach is of great potential for other minority groups in Europe and beyond, whose

chances for cultural and linguistic survival would be much greater if they could count on alliances with engaged academic institutions supporting the creation of spaces for the academic and non-academic use of their languages. It is therefore essential to produce pedagogical materials *with* and *in* the community, making local speakers and local learners an integral and active part of the creation process, and to involve real contexts of language use. In some cases, with the engaged participation of academia, endangered language communities can and do establish their own scholarly agencies (as e.g. *The Wymysiöeryśy Akademyj* – cf. Ritchie or Wicherkiewicz & Olko, this volume) with the object of not only researching but also supporting the developments within their founding speech communities. Thus, at the core of our approach is the postulation to promote native speakers of endangered languages to the role of protagonists who use their language as the vehicle for carrying out curriculum development, teaching, academic and revitalization activities related to their language and culture, both in their communities and outside them (Olko & Sullivan, this volume).

This approach involves a conscious commitment of researchers engaged in revitalization projects, be they linguists, ethnohistorians, or anthropologists. Depending on the field of their expertise, they can engage in knowledge sharing and seeking ways of its practical, positive impact on local communities and speakers of endangered languages. Linguists can engage with community members and local students/researchers to carry out projects of language documentation and the creation of useful materials for research, teaching, or literacy in an endangered language, seeking the best ways to use the results for practical purposes decided by a local community. It is important, however, that in partnership-based research the creation of documentation and other language-related materials should became a joint event involving community, and "not a static act of pulling language out of social context" (Hermes, Bang & Marin 2012: 396). A collective creation of language documentation can also serve to foster interaction between the speakers of an endangered language who get together for recording conversations, while learners and new speakers can make contact and converse with native/more proficient users (Sallabank 2010: 196). A positive impact may also be expected if researchers communicate well and offer to the native speakers the results of their work of endangered languages. Rieger (this volume) describes how, during a traditional Lemko feast, he asked one of the organizers for the source of little-used vocabulary that this native speaker was using; his response was that he learned it from the Rieger's dialectal dictionary. Historians too can play an important role

in recovering historical identity, and sharing knowledge about the past and present of indigenous cultures, and, along with (social) psychologists, address the painful issues of historical trauma along with communities that suffered it. Anthropologies can surpass the notion of "communities of inquiry" opening spaces for indigenous agency in studying their own culture and for indigenous methodology. It is also essential to raise the prestige of endangered languages in academic spaces and in a broader society by promoting the multilingualism and sharing knowledge about local communities, stimulating the mass media for the dissemination of knowledge about endangered languages as societal assets. However, we have to keep in mind that raising positive attitudes and awareness raising, both inside and outside the speech communities, even if it can lead to supportive language attitudes and public support, is not sufficient to "rescue" a language without implementing specific measures. Scholars and government can help to provide external resources, but it is also crucial not to disempower the grass-roots basis and 'acting capacity' of a local community (Sallabank, this volume).

Teaching the language "everywhere"

The role of formalized teaching in language revitalization has sometimes been viewed as secondary with regard to the importance of home transmission. However, we adopt a broader understanding of teaching a language building on Petro Murianka's recommendation to "teach everywhere" (see Olko, Wicherkiewicz & Borges, this volume). As far as school instruction in a minority is concerned, its lack is a strong and disempowering sign for many communities. A discriminating educational system may further reinforce a low prestige of an endangered language; contrarily, gaining acceptance in school often helps to increase a language's status, prestige, and perceived utility. For example, in Guernsey, a major reported reason why people stopped speaking Guernesiais in the home was that it was not present at school (Sallabank, this volume). Similarly, the discrimination against Nahuas by the Mexican state education and school system has had the most disastrous effects the language transmission at home (Olko & Sullivan, this volume).

As mentioned above, the immersion programs in local/indigenous communities have been most efficient for creating fluent speakers, assuring a better school/academic performance of native students and empowering local teachers, parents, and children (e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas 2000; Hinton 2011: 298–299; McCarty 2003: 151–157; Kipp 2009: 8; Hermes, Bang & Marin

2012: 387). Is definitely high time to oppose strongly harmful and discriminating "bilingual models" of education for minority speech communities and reject the erroneous idea that immersion schools may lack academic validity. As has been convincingly argued, dominant-language medium education for minority children not only contributes to language endangerment and shift, but also hinders the development of children's capabilities, causes trauma, serious mental harm, and perpetuates poverty. The results of this subtractive education entail destructive impact in the cognitive, social, psychological, and economical dimensions, and in fact constitute part of linguistic and cultural genocide (Skutnabb-Kangas & Philipson 2003: 85–87). In contrast, languages taught via immersion also make it possible to naturally incorporate key components of local knowledge and living heritage, as well as offer native children an opportunity to develop their cognitive perspectives and intellectual reasoning in their mother tongues. The results can be quite surprising. For example, Grenoble (2009: 63) describes the results of the Mohawk immersion program at Kahnawake as one of the most successful revitalization programs. Its evaluation revealed significant increase in language use among the youngest generation. Although persons aged 20 to about 40 years old showed only 20% fluency, individuals aged 19 and younger reached fluency rates of about 50%. It is also crucial that the language can be part of young people's ideas about modernity and future, so the teaching has to employ attractive modern technologies, while using the language can offer advantages on the job market, or at least not contradict them (e.g. Ferreira; Yamasaki; Staliński, this volume).

As far as endangered/minority language teaching-and-learning models are concerned, it is widely known and proven that some of them simply reduce multilingualism and linguistic diversity (e.g. monolingual instruction in the target language or transitional bilingual education, in which instruction time in the child's native language is gradually reduced). Since promoting multilingualism and linguistic diversity became a flag slogan of language policies in many countries and international (mainly European) institutions at the turn of the 20th century, alternative responses of (minority/indigenous) educational systems to (government) language planning legislation emerged and proliferated (cf. European Parliament's 2013 note on *Endangered Languages and Linguistic Diversity in the European Union*).

As stressed above, most best-practice examples were brought by:

– language maintenance programs that emphasized equally the children's native language-and-culture and the target language-and-culture

or

– immersion programs, where majority language-speaking children were taught in a (entirely) minority language-speaking environment

Thus, the turn of the 20th century marked Europe's and the world's "eco-linguistic map" with dozens of examples of efficacious maintenance and/or immersion programs, which undoubtedly changed language attitudes of entire communities, increased language prestige within and towards minorities, and resulted in remarkable revival or revitalization of their languages. Worth mentioning in that respect are e.g. the complex and community-based language revival scenarios for Cornish and Manx languages (in Cornwall and Isle of Man respectively), or networks of immersion schools founded by parents' associations in France, actually in protest against the French state, such as *Diwan* schools of Brittany, the *Ikastolak* movement in the Basque Country, *La Bressola* schools of (Northern) Catalonia or *Calandretas* in Occitania. Other examples of well-organized immersion-schooling programs include the *Gaelscoileanna* movement in Ireland, the *Ysgolion Meithrin* movement in Wales, the Sorbian *Witaj* kindergartens and schools in Lusatia or language nests for various Sámi groups throughout *Sápmi*/Lapland. All minority-schooling models in Europe have been thoroughly monitored and reported in a series of *Regional dossiers of Mercator European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning*.[4] As successful examples of immersion models for minority/indigenous language learning-and-teaching outside Europe can serve *Kura Kaupapa* Māori in New Zealand or *Pūnana Leo* Hawaiian language nests.

The teaching cannot be limited to schools or to an age-specific target group of learners. Sometimes school teaching is simply impossible, and master-apprentice models or informal teaching have to be organized. Even with immersion or other kinds of language education at school, without safe socially-situated and home-based contexts of usage, working only with children will be inefficient unless teaching also embraces adults so that they can speak with their family members at home (Hermes, Bang & Marin 2012: 388; Hinton 2013). In some cases a "reverse intergenerational transmission," where adults are learning from, or because of, their children, can prove to be the only strategy possible.

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4 available at: http://www.mercator-research.eu/research-projects/regional-dossiers

Planning a project in motion

A revitalization project is always a project in motion; in order to make it feasible, the planning should take into account short-term, or immediate goals, mid-term objectives and a long-term, imaginable perspective and desired outcomes. In addition, it should face the challenge of sustainability of results that will be achieved at different stages of the process. Whereas long-range goals of any revitalization project should include restoring or securing safe, intergenerational language transmission at the level of full functional proficiency, securing its use in desired domains as well as develop stable and efficient mechanisms of adapting to the new domains whenever necessary. Setting short and intermediate range goals is much more complex and varied since they depend on very specific situation and state of language endangerment in a given community. The steps, procedures, and ways of implementation will have to be developed together with community members taking into account their specific needs, aims, socio-cultural norms, economic concerns etc., and these may vary significantly even if general sociolinguistic situations are similar to other cases. However, bearing all this in mind, we can, as researchers, propose possible steps and scenarios that can potentially be implemented in different communities, depending on the situation and specific solution, of course with varying degrees of importance and in varying configuration or sequences. It is also very important to adjust, update and modify steps and premises along the way, depending on actual progress, difficulties, successes, or failures.

Envisioned short-term/immediate steps:
- Establishing a transparent relationship of trust and partnership with a speech community and assuring that native researchers and other community members participate in all stages of project design and implementation
- Identifying and promoting role models for community-based programs carried out both inside and outside indigenous communities (activists, teachers, indigenous and non-indigenous researchers, students, writers, artists, new speakers, non-profit associations, state institutions, and academic institutions)
- Carrying out a holistic research on language, local heritage, sociolinguistic context etc. along with the members of the community
- Creating the necessary corpus of linguistic documentation along with the members of the community; part of this step is organizing ethnolinguistic

fieldwork conducted by indigenous students and researchers; returning the products to the community

- Empowering the native speakers/community members as teachers, researchers and activists, along with the support for the development of indigenous research methodology that can be employed by native researchers in academic and non-academic projects, both inside and outside the community
- Creating safe monolingual spaces for native speakers inside and outside the community
- Supporting the creation and development of local non-profit organizations run by indigenous activists
- Fostering and supporting the teaching of an endangered language in community-based programs, taught by the community's native speakers themselves and embracing local passive speakers and non-speakers
- Creating and publishing resources, including instructional and reference materials for the teaching of a language inside and outside indigenous communities; standardize orthography whenever necessary and useful, together with native speakers
- Creating and implementing curricula of indigenous/native language--and-culture learning-and-teaching
- Restoring and promoting literacy in a language in traditional genres and in social media
- Fostering communication among native speakers from different communities through workshops and encounters in safe spaces
- Making parents, teachers, and other community members aware of cognitive benefits of multilingualism in order to stimulate positive attitudes toward learning and using a local language and toward multi-language education

Envisioned mid-term steps:
- Establishing, implementing, and stabilizing integrated revitalization activities in language communities, including migrant communities (a more challenging scenario)
- Maintaining permanent and stable spaces of revitalization within communities, including language nests, teaching spaces, literacy-related, artistic, and cultural activities linked to the use of a local language
- Implementation of master-apprentice and language-at-home programs in communities where intergenerational transmission has been broken

and where school with immersion programs or at least strong language instructions are missing

- Establishing immersion-based programs in the communities (regardless of the state of intergenerational transmission); developing curricula, materials and methodology for a complete primary and secondary school program carried out in an endangered language
- Supporting sustained, long-term community-based programs with parallel activities undertaken in external academic, cultural, and educational spaces, but also including direct participation of the community
- Establishing permanent capacity-building programs for local activists, teachers, researchers, and community workers. These should embrace not only language training (pedagogy, research), but also leadership training, and deal with sustainable development of specific communities
- Constructing positive language ideologies and positive language attitudes fostering language use and transmission, including awareness of the benefits of multilingualism (enhanced cognitive functions and better health indices) and of the value of a local language as a unique cognitive tool
- Strengthening the historical and cultural identity of native speakers as well as dealing with the effects of trauma and discrimination against indigenous people and their communities
- Fostering and developing advanced studies and curricula in indigenous culture, history, and ethnogeography – preferably from an indigenous and *emic* perspective
- Establishing cultural institutions and language planning bodies to gradually cover all levels/domains of corpus, status, prestige, acquisition, and technology planning
- Developing supralocal language policy instruments, including cooperation with other neighboring or related indigenous communities and regional, national, and international institutions that act in favor of language diversity
- Engaging communities in the development of their own monolingual educational materials based on local ways of the knowledge transmission as well as literary texts
- Designing and implementing language-learning tools and materials for the youngest generations (complementing traditional models of knowledge transmission) based on the most recent and fashionable

> IT-solutions (games, e-books, interactive apps for mobile devices, etc.)

- Stimulating the creation of jobs linked to language maintenance and revitalization, inside and outside indigenous communities, for professionals who are native speakers
- Dealing with institutions and policy makers to transform state language policy and implement deep reforms in the school system
- Helping local communities to raise extensive funds for the revitalization program, including local, state and federal sources, as well as funding agencies and individual sponsors

Toward conclusions

The broad scope of different activities and steps necessary for successful language revitalization, of course, cannot be aimed at restoring original past/historical circumstances in which these languages flourished. However, one crucial circumstance has not changed the key to language diversity on a local level is a stable multilingualism in different parts of the world. While it was quite natural in the past, now it has to be maintained, restored, or reintroduced in a new social, economic, political, and cultural context of "globalization," and also by new means and taking into account the presence of global languages. Such a possibility is illustrated by the case of Malaya (Coluzzi, this volume), where multilingualism is still the norm, seen as a positive and useful asset not difficult to achieve. Despite the expansion of English, most Malaysians in fact speak at least three languages, maintaining at least one ethnic language together with the national (Malay) and international (English) languages.

Another essential aspect of efficient language revitalization is often to make it possible for a local community to develop in an autonomous and sustainable way on their own land, keeping and adapting their traditional knowledge, cultural practices, social relationships, and production modes to new circumstances. An important perspective in this context has been provided by ecolinguistics, surpassing discourses carried out in dominant languages. It fosters the use of local languages and the knowledge that they transmit to tackle ecological challenges to which local communities and larger societies are exposed. The relationship between linguistic diversity and biodiversity has been well argued on the base of tangible evidence (Nettle & Romaine 2001;

Gorenflo et al. 2012), but its implications for successful language revitalization have yet to be drawn and translated into practical solutions.

There is also an undoubted relationship between our holistic model of language revitalization and paradigms of language policy, such as for instance the "Language Ecology Paradigm," referred to by researchers of endangered and vanishing languages (Romaine 2007). The paradigm was described by the following characteristics: recognition of human rights, equality in communication by means of different national and ethnic languages, multilingualism, sustainability of linguistic-cultural diversity, defense of national sovereignty, promotion of foreign languages teaching (cf. Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas 1996).

As we have attempted to show, the significance and impact of preserving linguistic diversity has far-reaching implications, extending into fundamental (and extralinguistic) facets of modern life, both on global and local levels, for the speakers of endangered languages and a broader society. In order to be successful, sustained, and self-replicating, the whole process needs to entail many phases, well-coordinated, multidisciplinary and mutually--complementing lines of research, thorough assessment, careful planning, and, above all, collaborative, self-reflective, and conscious acting as well as an ongoing evaluation. It requires and fosters agency and self-determination, patience and long-term vision; as briefly summarized by Grenoble (2009: 67): "Language revitalization is frustrating, slow, and difficult, and yet of the utmost importance."

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"Languages have stopped being used and have been formed and transformed all along in human history, but this relatively slow and usual process has greatly accelerated within the last decades, leading to the modern 'Great Dying'. [...] These processes, without a doubt, constitute one of the biggest societal challenges of the modern world, yet their global impact is still underestimated. A new agenda and complex tools to prevent that reduction of linguistic assets of humankind are desperately needed, particularly in case of the weakest and most imperiled language communities. The understanding of the crucial factors behind these processes and possibilities of their reversal is a special tresponsibility of researchers, language activists and community members, shared by many authors of this book. While some of these processes are unfortunately irreversible, numerous endangered languages can be saved and safely maintained well into the future.

[...] By discussing and comparing various aspects of language vitality, endangerment, maintenance and revitalization – in both diachronic and synchronic perspective – the editors hope to provide a representative overview of language constellations and strategies (to be) applied. The case studies focus on both intra- and extralinguistic aspects of revitalization, but what connects them all is the coherence between languages and their communities".

(from *Introduction* by Justyna Olko, Tomasz Wicherkiewicz and Robert Borges)

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