The Role of Youth in Language Revitalisation

El paper dels joves en la revitalització lingüística

Linguapax

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FOREWORD

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The field of language maintenance and shift has long been a central concern in sociolinguistic studies. Research on language policy and planning carried out at least since the mid-1960s has formed the basis for the subsequent growth of the field of language endangerment and revitalisation. It was not until the beginning of the 1990s, though, that linguists brought more actively to the fore the issue of language loss and called attention to the scope of the critical situation of the world's linguistic diversity. Indeed, as a reaction to language abandonment, both revitalisation and documentation programmes, institutions, and research with different emphases, have burgeoned worldwide since then (Austin and Sallabank 2011). Linguapax, which has been involved for over two decades in multilingual education and revitalisation projects with a view to giving visibility to minoritised peoples and their languages, is one such institution.

This review offers a number of worldwide case studies that focus on language attitudes and the ways in which youngsters and young adults are undertaking language revitalisation projects in three continents: Europe, Africa and Latin America. While formal education has historically been a key area for the revitalisation of subordinated languages, less research has been devoted to grassroots initiatives that have speakers as agents of policy making. Social media, music, and the arts in general are becoming increasingly central and embedded domains of

PRÒLEG

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El camp de la preservació i la substitució lingüística ha estat durant molt de temps una preocupació central dels estudis sociolingüístics. La investigació sobre la política lingüística i la planificació duta a terme almenys des de mitjans de la dècada dels seixanta ha servit de base per al posterior desenvolupament del camp de les llengües amenaçades i la seva revitalització. No va ser fins a principis de la dècada de 1990, però, que els lingüistes van portar més activament a la palestra el tema de la pèrdua de les llengües i van cridar l'atenció sobre l'abast de la situació crítica de la diversitat lingüística del món. Sens dubte, com una reacció a l'abandonament de les llengües, han florit arreu del món des de llavors organitzacions i programes centrats en la revitalització i la documentació, amb diferents èmfasis, (Austin i Sallabank 2011). Linguapax, que ha participat durant més de dues dècades en projectes d'educació i revitalització multilingües per tal de donar visibilitat als pobles i les seves llengües minoritzades, és una d'aquestes institucions.

Aquesta revista presenta una sèrie d'estudis de casos centrats en les actituds lingüístiques i en la manera com els joves i joves adults duen a terme projectes de revitalització lingüística en tres continents: Europa, Àfrica i Amèrica Llatina. Si bé l'educació formal ha estat històricament una àrea clau per a la revitalització de les llengües subordinades, s'han estudiat menys les iniciatives de base on els parlants són els agents de les polítiques lingüístiques. Les xarxes socials, la música i les arts en general són àmbits cada

language socialisation and use in the life of youths in all continents. Without a doubt, the study of bottom up approaches to policy making at the micro level is in need of more scholarly attention. An outstanding illustration of this approach is the work by Wyman et al (2014), an edited book that explores the ideologies of language socialisation among youngsters and their impact as agents of language revitalisation and shift, especially in non-institutional contexts in the North American continent (see also my own work on young rappers in Mexico, Cru 2015).

The papers that follow all highlight the multilingual situation in which most youths are currently immersed, the ways in which they manage their linguistic repertoire, and the consequences of their choices for language transmission and reproduction. While the sociolinguistic contexts presented here (Catalonia, Slovenia, Cameroon, Mexico and Chile) are strikingly distinct, all of them showing language ecologies with several degrees of socioeconomic and political minorisation, the ambivalent, contingent and adaptive character of linguistic ideologies among youths is the underlying running thread of the book. We can see in all the chapters the influence that local, national, regional and even global socioeconomic and political trends have on language ideologies and the micro policies that are ultimately carried out by youths from the ground up.

The booklet is divided into five chapters. In chapter 1, Flors reviews the state of art of language policy and planning in Catalonia as regards language choice, norms and attitudes among youths. As he points out, the school has been a fundamental pillar for the spread of knowledge of Catalan among youngsters against the background of massive migration coming from Castilian-speaking regions of

vegada més importants de socialització i d'ús lingüístic en la vida dels joves de tots els continents. Sense cap dubte, l'estudi dels enfocaments des de la base en la implementació de polítiques a nivell micro requereix més atenció acadèmica. Un exemple destacable d'aquest enfocament és el treball per Wyman et al (2014), que explora les ideologies de socialització lingüística entre els joves i el seu impacte com a agents de la revitalització de la llengua i del canvi, sobretot en contextos no institucionals a l'Amèrica del Nord (vegeu també el meu propi treball sobre joves rapers a Mèxic, Cru 2015).

Els articles que segueixen destaquen la situació multilingüe en què la majoria dels joves estan immersos en l'actualitat, la manera com manegen el seu repertori lingüístic, i les conseqüències de les seves opcions per a la transmissió i reproducció de la llengua. Si bé els contextos sociolingüístics presentats aquí (Catalunya, Eslovènia, Camerun, Mèxic i Xile) són notablement diferents -tots ells mostren ecologies lingüístiques amb diversos graus de minorització socioeconòmica i política- el caràcter ambivalent, contingent i d'adaptació de les ideologies lingüístiques entre els joves és el fil conductor del llibre. Podem veure en tots els capítols la influència que les tendències socioeconòmiques i polítiques locals, nacionals, regionals i fins i tot globals tenen en ideologies lingüístiques i les micropolítiques que en última instància duen a terme els joves.

La revista està dividida en cinc capítols. En el capítol 1, Flors fa un repàs de la situació de la política i planificació lingüístiques a Catalunya pel que fa a la tria de llengua, les normes i actituds entre joves. Com assenyala, l'escola ha estat un pilar fonamental per a la difusió del coneixement del català entre els joves en un context de migració massiva procedent de regions

Spain to Catalonia during the twentieth century and, more recently, particularly as of the 1990s, with international migration. However, as in other European contexts (see Edwards and Newcombe 2005 for Wales), knowledge of the minoritised language does not always necessarily translate into use, particularly out of the school domain. Flors underscores pragmatism and a growing process of de-ethnification of the Catalan language as two powerful ideologies underpinning language choice among youngsters in Catalonia. Furthermore, drawing on the work of Pujolar and Gonzalez (2012), he introduces the concept of linguistic 'muda', which can be understood as changes of language use and choice that occur throughout the lifespan owing to key socialisation processes. This common shift of linguistic behaviour de-emphasises the usual weigh given to language use among children when assessing the prospects of a language. In spite of ongoing challenges and weaknesses that hinder the spread of Catalan, some of them related to profound sociological issues that have to do with ethnicity and class, in Catalonia knowledge of this language represents an important form of cultural capital which leads to socioeconomic mobility.

Still in Europe, chapter 2, by Sonja Novak, explores attitudes towards national minority languages in border areas of Slovenia. According to Novak, we should see borders not only as division between countries but also as porous areas that brim with intercultural and multilingual exchanges. It is important to note that, unlike the rest of contributions, the languages that happen to be in a minority situation in Slovenia (Hungarian, Italian and German) are national and dominant languages in neighbouring countries. Through surveys on language attitudes among different generations, Novak

de parla castellana d'Espanya a Catalunya durant el segle XX i, més recentment, sobretot a partir dels anys 1990, amb la migració internacional. No obstant això, com en altres contextos europeus (vegeu Edwards i Newcombe 2005 per a Gal·les), el coneixement de la llengua minoritzada no es tradueix sempre necessàriament en ús, sobretot fora de l'àmbit escolar. Flors subratlla el pragmatisme i un creixent procés de de-etnificació de la llengua catalana com dues ideologies poderoses que apuntalen l'elecció de la llengua entre els joves de Catalunya. A més, basant-se en el treball de Pujolar i González (2012), que introdueix el concepte de 'muda' lingüística, que es pot entendre com canvis en l'ús i elecció de la llengua que es produeixen al llarg de la vida per processos clau de socialització. Aquesta evolució habitual del comportament lingüístic resta importància al pes que es dóna habitualment a l'ús de les llengües en els infants quan s'avaluen les perspectives d'una llengua. Malgrat els desafiaments actuals i debilitats que dificulten la difusió del català, alguns d'ells relacionats amb profundes qüestions sociològiques que tenen a veure amb l'etnicitat i la classe social, a Catalunya el coneixement d'aquesta llengua representa una forma de capital cultural important que condueix a la mobilitat socioeconòmica.

Encara a Europa, en el capítol 2, Sonja Novak explora les actituds cap a les llengües nacionals minoritàries a les zones frontereres d'Eslovènia. Segons Novak, hauríem de veure les fronteres no només com la divisió entre països, sinó també com a àrees poroses que s'omplen amb intercanvis interculturals i multilingües. És important assenyalar que, a diferència de la resta de les contribucions, els idiomes que estan en una situació de minoria a Eslovènia (hongarès, italià i alemany) són llengües nacionals i dominants en els països veïns. A partir d'enquestes sobre

draws our attention to the high valuation that youths attach to competence in those minority languages because of the business and employment opportunities they offer. Again, as in the case of Catalonia, instrumentality and pragmatism seem to be overtaking identity or cultural issues as the main reasons to learn and use neighbouring national languages. Macroeconomic factors, European integration and increasing demands for mobility in the labour market, may explain the prominence given by youngsters to competence in those languages.

Moving on to Africa, in chapter 3, Sadembouo and Ngoumamba present a number of initiatives aimed at language revitalisation among youths in Cameroon, a highly multicultural and multilingual country. As they note, the complex sociolinguistic situation of most African countries, encompassing local languages, national languages, and official languages of former European colonies, shows a hierarchisation in which local languages, due to lack of prestige, stand at the bottom level. The use of these minoritised local languages in educational practices (both formal and informal, such as workshops), the concomitant development of literacy and specialised terminology, and their use in the media are all strategies pointed by the authors to compensate for current trends of broken intergenerational transmission. According to Sadembouo and Ngoumamba, it is imperative for youngsters to consciously appropriate and infuse prestige to autochthonous languages so that these languages find their place in their repertoire and are reproduced, particularly in multilingual urban contexts.

Chapters 4 and 5 focus on Latin America and describe conflicting ideologies among youths in Southern Mexico, on the one hand, and a hands-on initiative that in-

actituds lingüístiques entre diferents generacions, Novak crida la nostra atenció sobre l'alta valoració que els joves donen a la competència en aquests idiomes minoritaris per les oportunitats de negoci i ocupació que ofereixen. De nou, com en el cas de Catalunya, la utilitat i el pragmatisme semblen estar superant la identitat o les qüestions culturals com les principals raons per aprendre i utilitzar les llengües nacionals veïnes. Els factors macroeconòmics, la integració europea i la creixent demanda de mobilitat en el mercat laboral poden explicar la importància donada pels joves a la competència en aquests idiomes.

Passant a l'Àfrica, en el capítol 3, Sadembouo i Ngoumamba presenten una sèrie d'iniciatives destinades a la revitalització lingüística entre els joves al Camerun, un país particularment multicultural i multilingüe. Com apunten, la complexa situació sociolingüística de la majoria dels països africans, que abasta les llengües locals, les llengües nacionals i llengües oficials de les antigues colònies europees, mostra una jerarquització en què els idiomes locals, a causa de manca de prestigi, se situen en un nivell inferior. L'ús d'aquestes llengües minoritzades locals en les pràctiques educatives (formals i informals, com ara tallers), el desenvolupament paral·lel de l'alfabetització i la terminologia especialitzada, i el seu ús en els mitjans de comunicació són totes estratègies esmentades pels autors per compensar les tendències actuals de trencament de transmissió intergeneracional. Segons Sadembouo i Ngoumamba, és imprescindible que els joves s'apropiïn conscientment i donin prestigi a les llengües autòctones perquè aquestes llengües trobin el seu lloc en el seu repertori i finalment es reprodueixin, en particular en contextos urbans multilingües.

volves the use of language games in Chile, on the other. In the case of Mexico, Lorena Córdova categorises youths into four groups and highlights the ambivalence and paradoxes that often emerge when indigenous youngsters and young adults become cultural brokers and end up forming a cultural elite in charge of language revitalisation. As in the case of local languages in Africa, the development of literacy arises tense ideological issues which have to do with the overwhelming oral use of Amerindian languages in Latin America. Córdova also discusses the role of national institutions and the position of older generations of speakers vis–à–vis the agency of youths in language revitalisation processes and the kind of language they use. She also underlines the need for indigenous languages to expand to domains of use on which youngsters are especially keen, such as social media and the arts.

Against the backdrop of language loss among the Mapuche of Chile, in the last chapter Jaqueline Caniguan and Fabiola Caniullán write about an ongoing revitalisation project based on the creation of language games. Putting speakers at the centre stage and using the indigenous language in informal and out-of-school settings, the drive of this project comes from grassroots organisations located in Mapuche-speaking areas of southern Chile. The goal of the activities they propose is the production of culturally sensitive materials that include local meaningful oral genres such as riddles, which are not a minor genre among many indigenous cultures but a fundamental heuristic form of 'playful speech'. Furthermore, these games put younger and older generations in contact creating, thus, a transgenerational ludic activity that becomes a way of strengthening cultural identity and help

Els capítols 4 i 5 se centren en Amèrica Llatina i descriuen ideologies contradictòries entre joves del sud de Mèxic, d'una banda, i una iniciativa pràctica que implica l'ús de jocs lingüístics a Xile, de l'altra. En el cas de Mèxic, Lorena Córdova classifica els joves en quatre grups i subratlla l'ambivalència i les paradoxes que sovint sorgeixen quan els joves indígenes i joves adults es converteixen en intermediaris culturals i acaben formant una elit a càrrec de la revitalització de la llengua. Com en el cas de les llengües locals a l'Àfrica, el desenvolupament de l'alfabetització fa aflorar qüestions ideològiques tenses que tenen a veure amb un aclaparador ús oral de les llengües ameríndies a Amèrica Llatina. Córdova també analitza el paper de les institucions nacionals i la posició de les generacions de parlants més grans envers el paper dels joves en els processos de revitalització lingüística i el tipus de llengua que utilitzen. També apunta la necessitat que les llengües indígenes s'expandeixin a dominis d'ús en què els joves estan especialment interessats, com les xarxes socials i les arts.

En un context de pèrdua de la llengua entre els maputxes de Xile, en l'últim capítol, Jaqueline Caniguan i Fabiola Caniullán escriuen sobre un projecte de revitalització en curs basat en la creació de jocs lingüístics. Posant els parlants al centre de l'escenari i utilitzant la llengua indígena en contextos informals i fora de l'escola, la força d'aquest projecte prové d'organitzacions de base ubicades en zones del sud de Xile on es parla Mapudungun. L'objectiu de les activitats que es proposen és la producció de materials culturalment sensibles que inclouen expressions orals locals significatives com les endevinalles, que no són un gènere menor entre moltes cultures indígenes, sinó una forma heurística fonamental de 'discurs lúdic'. A més, aquests jocs posen

to 'awake' Mapudungun among incipient speakers.

To conclude, I would like to thank all the authors of this multilingual Review for their contributions and I hope that the reader will enjoy its contents as much as I did.

les generacions més joves i els més grans en contacte, creant així una activitat lúdica transgeneracional que es converteix en una manera d'enfortir la identitat cultural i contribuir a 'despertar' el mapudungun entre els parlants incipients.

Per concloure, m'agradaria donar les gràcies a tots els autors d'aquesta revista multilingüe per les seves contribucions i espero que el lector gaudirà llegint el seu contingut tant com jo ho vaig fer.

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JOVES I LLENGÜES A CATALUNYA. UN ESTAT DE LA QÜESTIÓ

Avel·lí Flors[1] , Universitat Oberta de Catalunya – Centre Universitari de Sociolingüística i Comunicació de la Universitat de Barcelona (CUSC-UB)

1. Introducció

Aquest article presenta un estat de la qüestió de la recerca sobre les pràctiques lingüístiques dels joves a Catalunya, un objecte d'atenció constant en les diferents etapes de la sociolingüística catalana (Boix i Vila 1998: 33-43; Vila 2013). Les causes les hem de buscar, en primer lloc, en les particularitats d'un camp de recerca estretament vinculat a l'agenda de revitalització lingüística impulsada a principis dels 80, amb el restabliment de l'autogovern: es tractava des d'aquest punt de vista de comprovar si les polítiques d'universalització del coneixement del català, dissenyades com a resposta a les migracions d'origen peninsular i castellanoparlant dels anys 50 i 60, afavorien un increment de l'ús social del català entre infants i joves (Pujolar 1995). En segon lloc, en l'existència d'un cert "sentit comú sociològic que veu els joves com la llavor de la societat del futur" (Pujolar 2008: 1) i que aspira, doncs, a obtenir-ne una visió prospectiva sobre l'estat futur de la llengua. Una idea que sovint fa perdre de vista les particularitats de l'adolescència i la joventut com a etapes vitals i les possibilitats de canvis significatius en moments posteriors (Woolard 2011).

El final de la passada dècada es va viure una eclosió d'aquest tipus de recerques: s'hi poden destacar dos projectes sobre pràctiques lingüístiques dels joves autòctons (Gonzàlez et al. 2014) i d'origen marroquí (Vila, Sorolla i Larrea 2013; Vila, Sorolla i Larrea en premsa); la creació d'una ponència que elaborara recomanacions per a la Generalitat de Catalunya en matèria de foment del català entre la joventut (Bastardas 2012; CSLC 2009); o la jornada "El català mola? Competències, representacions i usos de la llengua en l'àmbit juvenil", les ponències de la qual es recullen a Pradilla (coord.) (2012). En aquest treball mire de construir, a partir de la literatura disponible, un relat articulat al voltant de la noció tria lingüística i que tracta tant l'estat general dels usos com les motivacions i els significats socials de les tries per a adolescents i joves. Hi tracte per separat les aportacions sobre la població "autòctona", nascuda a Catalunya o a la resta de l'Estat, i sobre les "noves immigracions"[2]. Una opció més o menys discutible però que permet construir un fil de continuïtat amb la recerca dels anys 80 i 90 (aliena a les migracions contemporànies) i que han defensat autors com Gonzàlez et al.

2 "Immigrant" feia referència, durant els 80 i primers 90, a les persones provinents d'altres territoris de l'Estat i els seus descendents (la "segona generació immigrant", Bastardas 1985; 1986); el terme va anar desapareixent de la recerca sociolingüística al mateix temps que se'n dissolia l'ús com a categoria èmica (Pujolar 1995).

perquè "el comportament lingüístic dels joves autòctons i dels no autòctons reflecteix dinàmiques i interaccions prou contrastades per ser observades, sistemàticament, per separat" (2014: 20). Tanquen l'article alguns apunts teòrics i metodològics al voltant de la recerca sobre joves i llengües i una reflexió sobre els reptes i les oportunitats que posen sobre la taula les tendències descrites en relació a la revitalització de la llengua catalana.

2. L'anàlisi de les tries lingüístiques

L'estudi de les tries i les normes d'ús lingüístic, que condicionen (tot i que no determinen) les decisions sobre quina llengua és apropiada parlar amb qui i en quines situacions, s'enceta a finals dels 70 a Catalunya en un context de concurrència d'una població autòctona molt majoritàriament bilingüe (pel que fa a competència) però catalanoparlant (pel que fa a l'ús habitual) i d'una població immigrada monolingüe en castellà. Segons Woolard (1989), en aquest marc hi actuava una *norma d'acomodació al castellà*[3]: el català i el castellà vehiculaven les relacions intragrupals però el contacte intergrupal es resolia en castellà. Les tries es basaven per tant en (expectatives sobre) l'origen etnolingüístic de l'interlocutor (un accent marcat o la simple presència d'interferències podien desencadenar l'alternança), però a més feien emergir i reproduïen en cada interacció els límits entre "catalans" i "castellans", una categorització basada fonamentalment en criteris lingüístics (llengua familiar i d'ús habitual). La coincidència poc o molt exacta d'aquest límit etnolingüístic amb la divisió entre, esquemàticament, autòctons de classe mitjana i immigrants de classe treballadora afavoria, a més, que l'ús lingüístic indiciés[4] diferents posicions de classe en la interacció.

La possibilitat d'un enquistament d'aquests límits i la consolidació de dues comunitats homogènies i separades era percebuda com una amenaça per al nou projecte autonomista (Pujolar 1995; Vila 2005b; Woolard 1989), i en conseqüència tot l'espectre democràtic va adoptar durant la transició unes *ideologies integracionistes* (Vila 2005b), que descoratjaven la segregació de les poblacions i la creació d'institucions separades per llengua, i es van promoure definicions alternatives de la catalanitat que n'emfasitzaven el caràcter cívic ("és català qui viu i treballa a Catalunya, i *té voluntat* de ser-ho"). Les polítiques lingüístiques quedaven condicionades pels compromisos entre sectors amb interessos no sempre coincidents i es definia com a objectiu preeminent la universalització del coneixement del català. Així, l'escola esdevenia el puntal bàsic de l'aposta integracionista i promovia la bilingüització de l'alumnat en un marc d'escolarització conjunta, no separació per llengua inicial i ús vehicular "normal" del català, en l'anomenat *model de conjunció en català* (Arnau i Vila 2013; Milian 1984)[5]. La promoció de l'ús,

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3 Altres autors l'han anomenada norma d'adaptació al castellà (Boix 1993) o norma de subordinació del català (Vila 1996). Per a una revisió del concepte i una crítica al lloc comú de la sociolingüística catalana que la considera "tradicional", vegeu Vila i Galindo (2012).

4 Sobre la noció d'indicitat (indexicality) vegeu entre altres Irvine (1989: 251-255).

5 L'última actualització del model, la Llei 12/2009, del 10 de juliol, d'educació (enllaç), recorreguda al Tribunal Constitucional pel Partit Popular, estableix en l'Article 11.1 que "El català, com a llengua pròpia de Catalunya, és la

potencialment més conflictiva, restava en segon terme: d'una banda es confiava que els castellanoparlants familiars s'anirien incorporant a l'ús actiu del català quan hi serien competents; de l'altra es promovia la "norma bilingüe" (Boix-Fuster, Melià i Montoya 2011), que volia evitar l'adaptació unidireccional al castellà mitjançant converses bilingües, que no comportaven demandes immediates als castellanoparlants i els proporcionaven oportunitats per a aprendre'l i emprar-lo (Pujolar 1995).

Interessats a conéixer l'abast dels canvis promoguts, diversos sociolingüistes es concentren en els contextos escolars i en les cohorts joves, les primeres a bilingüitzar-se i doncs probables agents de canvi. Woolard (1992: 199-242), en una reedició del seu estudi amb adolescents, apuntava que a finals dels 80 hi havia castellanoparlants inicials que incorporaven usos del català i escenificaven una nova identitat més bilingüe (parlaven català amb catalanoparlants però mantenien l'ús del castellà i el parlaven entre ells). Eren de classe mitjana i vivien en barris lingüísticament mixtes, fruit de la creixent *intersecció* (Rambla 1993) de les poblacions; els adolescents de classe treballadora, per contra, mantenien usos monolingües. Boix (1993) se situava en un entorn de predomini catalanoparlant (cursos de formació de monitors) en què, tot i que se seguia en general la norma d'adaptació al castellà, un segment de catalanoparlants no convergia i possibilitava l'aparició d'usos públics del català, no restringits a l'*in-group*; l'autor sostenia que la identitat etnolingüística perdia pes en la tria. Pujolar (1993) analitzava les interaccions d'un grup d'universitaris i ressenyava una dificultat creixent en l'adscripció de grup lingüístic a l'interlocutor, que obria espais d'indeterminació i transgressió de la norma prevalent, i descrivia casos de parlants que, per conviccions ideològiques, s'adreçaven a tothom en català fins al punt de mantenir converses bilingües. Finalment, una recerca en una escola primària de Santa Coloma de Gramenet portava Vila (1996) a postular l'existència d'una "versió escolar" de la norma d'adaptació: la tria amb iguals es regia per la norma habitual, però ara amb els mestres els castellanoparlants familiars havien de parlar català. Alguns castellanoparlants, doncs, començaven a incorporar usos del català i alguns (menys) catalanoparlants adoptaven posicions "mantenidores", però aquests comportaments semblaven limitats o bé a contextos de predomini catalanoparlant, a causa de la regulació institucional dels usos (Vila 1996) o de la composició demolingüística (Boix 1993; Woolard 1992); o bé a posicionaments de fidelitat lingüística (Pujolar 1993).

2.1. Processos d'incorporació del català i despolarització sociolingüística

La implantació del model de conjunció va evidenciar que, tot i que l'escola universalitzava el coneixement del català (Arnau 2004; Strubell, Andreu i Sintes 2011), se'n sortia pitjor a l'hora de modificar els usos interpersonals de l'alumnat (Vila 2004). Diferent estudis basats en l'observació de les pràctiques amb iguals en àmbit escolar van subratllar que, perquè es consolidaren usos del català entre no catalanoparlants inicials en un centre donat, calia que els catalanoparlants hi foren una clara majoria; quan per contra eren minoritaris, i fins i tot en situacions paritàries, el castellà es consolidava en les relacions intergrupals (Galindo 2006; Vila i Galindo 2009; Vila i Vial 2000). L'estudi longitudinal de Bretxa (2014) torna a destacar la composició demolingüística del

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llengua normalment emprada com a llengua vehicular i d'aprenentatge del sistema educatiu" i en l'11.3. que "Els alumnes no poden ésser separats en centres ni en grups classe diferents per raó de llur llengua habitual".

centre d'arribada com el millor predictor de les trajectòries de canvi en els usos inter-personals en la transició entre l'escola primària i la secundària. També Gonzàlez *et al.* el consideren un factor crucial, i el posen en relació amb el creixent *pragmatisme lingüístic* del jovent, que "adapta els usos a les majories lingüístiques i les percepcions de llengua més legítima" (2014: 15); i en la mateix línia, Martínez *et al.* proposen que el parlant parteix d'una *definició de la situació sociolingüística* per a dilucidar quin és el comportament "numèricament 'normal' i 'desviat'" en funció de "la massa crítica de parlants en una i altra llengua en cada camp concret d'interacció" (2012: 16). En aquest context de preferències poc marcades, els adolescents justifiquen les seues opcions lingüístiques a partir d'aspectes individuals (la "comoditat" o la preeminència d'una llengua en els usos amb iguals) més que no d'adscripcions lingüístiques o discursos polititzats (Flors i Vila 2014).

La possibilitat que aquest pragmatisme acabe afavorint el castellà, predominant des d'un punt de vista demolingüístic i en diferents esferes de socialització del jovent, ja ha estat advertida entre altres per Boix (1996; 1997). Gonzàlez *et al.* (2014: 41-87) no de-fugen aquesta possibilitat, però ací i en altres treballs (Pujolar i Gonzàlez 2012; Pujolar, Gonzàlez i Martínez 2010; Pujolar i Puigdevall 2015) han dirigit l'atenció a determinats moments de canvi que afavoreixen, per contra, l'adopció d'usos significatius del català (vegeu també Bretxa i Parera 2012; Woolard 2011). Els autors proposen el terme *muda* per a descriure "the specific biographical junctures where individuals enact significant changes in their linguistic repertoire" (Pujolar i Gonzàlez 2012: 2), que solen coincidir amb moments de resocialització i canvi de rutines (en l'accés a l'escola primària o se-cundària però sobretot a la universitat i al món laboral, i en l'emparellament i la forma-ció d'una família). El significat d'aquestes mudes no estaria lligat necessàriament a una demanda de pertinença a l'*altre* grup lingüístic, sinó que restaria obert a la negociació i el reconeixement dels interlocutors i podria perseguir el reconeixement d'una posició de classe, de la vàlua professional, etc. (Pujolar i Puigdevall 2015).

Les tendències descrites són símptomes de la creixent intersecció lingüística i po-blacional en el marc d'una *societat integracionista no polaritzada etnolingüísticament* (Vila 2005b)[6]. Les dades demolingüístiques apunten també en aquesta direcció. En l'anàlisi de l'EULC2003[7], Vila constata una generalització de les pràctiques bilingües, especial-ment en les cohorts joves, i mostra preocupació perquè "si bé en termes generals min-ven les pràctiques monolingües, aquestes no són reemplaçades per patrons d'ús en què abundi el català, ans al contrari, s'eixampla l'espai dels qui en fan un ús mitjà o feble" (2005a: 132). En canvi, Gonzàlez *et al.* (2014: 41-87), també a partir de l'EULC2003, sostenen que l'augment dels usos bilingües afavoreix en general el català si es compara l'ús habitual i la llengua inicial dels joves, ja que la utilització intensiva de l'*altra* llengua és més freqüent entre castellanoparlants inicials que no a l'inrevés (tot i que l'ús de baixa intensitat de l'*altra* llengua és més freqüent entre catalanoparlants).

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6 Per oposició a les societats polaritzades o de majories fràgils que descriu McAndrew (2013).

7 *Estadística sobre els usos lingüístics a Catalunya* 2003. Es reedita quinquennalment i des de 2008 s'anomena *Enquesta d'usos lingüístics de la població*. Ens hi referirem com a EULC2003, EULP2008 i EULP2013.

Siga com siga, el que sí que mostren les enquestes és que el català manté un cert poder d'atracció tot i la posició demogràficament minoritària dels seus parlants. Amb dades de l'EULP2013, el Gràfic 1 indica que hi ha més parlants habituals del català i més persones que s'hi identifiquen que no catalanoparlants inicials, guanys provinents bàsicament del grup de castellanoparlants inicials. A més, mostra la consolidació de segments que fan un ús similar i habitual del català i el castellà o que s'identifiquen activament amb les dues llengües, i que són més nombrosos que el grup de bilingües inicials. Aquests percentatges s'amplien si ens fixem en adolescents i joves. Quant a l'ús, s'estima que, entre la població arrelada, cap a un 30% dels parlants d'entre 15 i 34 anys alternen de manera habitual el català i el castellà, per un 30% que usa predominantment el castellà i un 40% que parla sobretot català (DGPL 2015: 39). De la seua banda, la identificació bilingüe creixeria especialment entre els adolescents: fins a un 27,9% dels estudiants de 4t d'ESO s'identifiquen amb totes dues llengües, una opció que atrau un 28,7% dels castellanoparlants i un 17,2% dels catalanoparlants inicials (CSASE 2014: 55-65).

Pel que fa als patrons de tria lingüística, finalment, es constata una predisposició majoritària a adaptar-se a la tria de l'interlocutor, ja no només per part dels catalanoparlants sinó també dels castellanoparlants. Continua existint un segment de castellanoparlants mantenidors però també s'ha consolidat un grup de catalanoparlants que afirma que no convergeix al castellà (Gonzàlez et al. 2014: 103-127). El Gràfic 2 indica que, entre els que saben parlar català, gairebé dos terços s'adapten a la tria del seu interlocutor, predisposició que s'accentua entre els menors de 50 i sobretot en les dues cohorts més joves. Pel que fa als sectors que no s'adapten, en conjunt són més els que mantenen el castellà, però mentre que el percentatge de mantenidors del català es manté pròxim a la mitjana en tots els grups d'edat, el de mantenidors del castellà és tres vegades menor en les dues cohorts joves que en la de majors de 65.

■ **Gràfic 1. Llengua inicial, d'identificació i habitual. Catalunya. 2013 (font: DGPL 2015: 15)**
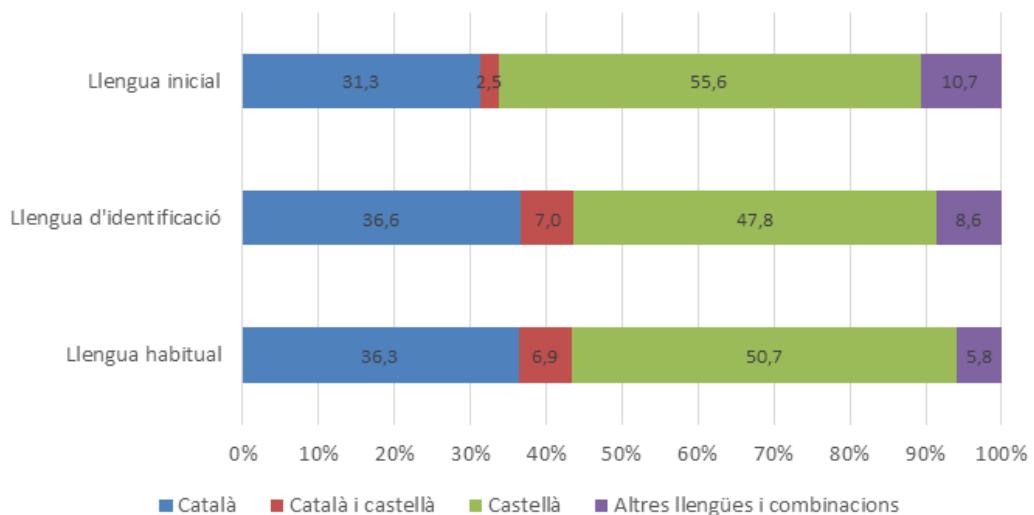
■ **Gràfic 2. Actitud davant les converses bilingües de la població arrelada segons l'edat (base: població arrelada que sap parlar català). 2013 (font: DGPL 2015: 42)**
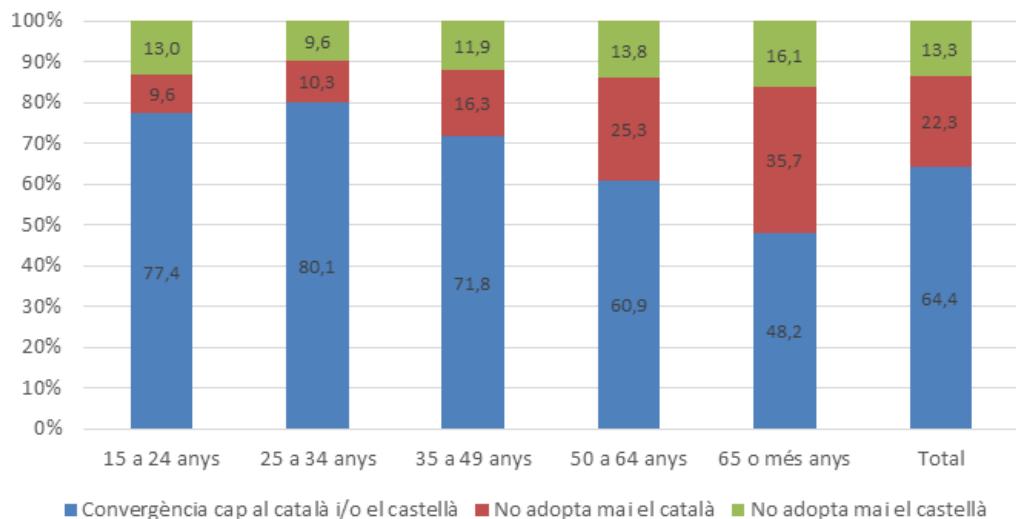
2.2. Desplaçaments en els significats de les tries

A causa de l'increment dels usos i les identificacions bilingües, dels processos d'incorporació del català per no catalanoparlants inicials en diferents esferes o del fet que arran de la generalització de la competència bilingüe en edats primerenques (Vila 2000) molts joves poden *passar* (Piller 2002) per parlants nadius de la seua segona llengua, cada vegada costa més determinar l'origen lingüístic dels interlocutors en la interacció. Tot i que la llengua inicial continua sent "un criteri de classificació social que s'utilitza per prendre decisions lingüístiques" (Gonzàlez *et al.* 2014: 64), tot sovint la tria no hi recolza en exclusiva; i doncs, són diversos els sociolingüistes que emfasitzen la necessitat d'incorporar altres dimensions de la identitat social dels parlants, que "es projecten en la vida social de forma combinada, recíprocament mediatitzada o interrelacionada" (Pujolar 2008: 3), a l'anàlisi de les tries (vegeu també Newman i Trenchs-Parera 2015).

La majoria d'aquests autors han emfasitzat la influència de la classe social sobre els comportaments lingüístics (i, en conseqüència, de la llengua com a mecanisme de posicionament de classe)[8]. Woolard (1989) ja havia observat com a finals dels 70 "linguistic and class divisions largely coincide[d]" (1989: 132): la ubicació majoritària dels "catalans" en la classe mitjana i dels "castellans" en la classe treballadora afavoria que la tria lingüística indiciés alhora l'origen etnolingüístic i l'estatus socioeconòmic del parlant. Com hem vist adés, Woolard (1992: 199-242; revisat a Woolard 2003) descrivia anys més tard com els estudiants castellanoparlants de classe mitjana, que vivien en barris

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8   En una perspectiva més general, David Block (2014) ha reivindicat recentment la necessitat d'incorporar més sistemàticament l'anàlisi de classe a la recerca en sociolingüística i lingüística aplicada.

cèntrics de majoria catalanoparlant, estaven més orientats cap als estudis i tenien millors expectatives laborals, incorporaven usos del català i escenificaven identitats més bilingües; per contra, els estudiants amb el mateix origen lingüístic però de classe treballadora, que vivien en barris perifèrics amb molt poca presència de catalanoparlants i es mostraven refractaris a l'activitat acadèmica, romanien monolingües i mantenien una identitat *castellana*, que ja no s'associava tant al fet de parlar castellà com a *no fer servir mai* el català. Alhora, el valor del català com a marcador identitari en la interacció quedava afeblit per la incorporació de sectors castellanoparlants a l'ús. Woolard concloïa que "the class meaning of the Catalan language is becoming accentuated as the ethnic symbolism recedes" (2003: 100).

Un panorama similar al descrit per Pujolar (1997; 2001) en l'etnografia de dues colles de joves de classe treballadora de Barcelona; l'autor hi incorporava, a més, la dimensió de gènere i mostrava com l'escenificació d'una masculinitat de classe treballadora implicava sovint un rebuig del català, que evocava veus d'autoritat i s'associava amb l'escola; les dones de la mateixa colla, en canvi, més orientades a l'activitat acadèmica i amb millors expectatives laborals, presentaven actituds més favorables cap al català i el practicaven quan en tenien ocasió (un comportament sancionat pels homes del grup).

Les dades demolingüístiques disponibles també subratllen el paper del català en la regulació de l'accés a capitals simbòlics i estatus socioeconòmic. En l'anàlisi de l'EULP2008 Gonzàlez destaca la consolidació del català com a marcador d'estatus cultural i com, per contra, "l'ús exclusiu del castellà sembla esdevenir un marcador de manca de capitalització cultural" (2013: 41). En l'EULP2013 es detecta una polarització creixent entre la classe mitjana (que concentra majors índexs d'ús habitual del català i d'usos bilingües) i la classe treballadora (que té l'ús predominant del castellà com a pauta majoritària) (DGPL 2015: 48-52); els autors subratllen que "la llengua encara és un referent de classe mitjana, i, en aquest sentit, és una eina tant de posicionament com de mobilitat" (*ibíd*.: 52). El català sol ser percebut, en conseqüència, com un capital necessari per a la mobilitat social i laboral en un context de major competitivitat.

3. Les noves immigracions i les llengües

Les dinàmiques de mobilitat pròpies de la globalització i el cicle d'expansió econòmica en el tombant del mil·lenni a l'Estat espanyol han propiciat una transformació profunda de la demografia catalana. Segons l'IDESCAT[9] la població estrangera ha passat del 2,9% del total l'any 2000 a un màxim del 15,95% l'any 2010, malgrat que, des de l'inici de la crisi econòmica (2008), la desacceleració de les arribades i alguns anys de saldo migratori negatiu la situen en el 14,49% el 2014. Aquestes *noves immigracions*, que per contrast amb les del segle XX són d'origen divers i lingüísticament heterogènies, han protagonitzat un canvi d'orientació en la recerca sociolingüística a Catalunya, descrit per Vila (2013) com el pas d'una "sociolingüística autonòmica" a una "sociolingüística del multilingüisme". En concret, la seua incorporació a les escoles catalanes va motivar una profunda revisió metodològica i pedagògica del model de conjunció (I. Vila 2011)

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9   Vegeu http://www.idescat.cat/poblacioestrangera/ (última consulta: 26/09/2015).

i un notable creixement de la recerca en sociolingüística educativa, en la qual em centraré fonamentalment. Així doncs, tractem amb un segment d'adolescents i joves que es poden caracteritzar d'acord amb Vila, Sorolla i Larrea (2013) com els que arriben en edat escolar (o ja són nascuts a Catalunya) i tenen l'escola com a entorn de socialització clau i que els propicia un contacte més o menys intens amb autòctons i immigrants d'altres procedències, tot i l'existència de processos de segregació escolar (Benito i Gonzàlez 2007; Gonzàlez i Benito 2009).

Els estudis solen coincidir en la descripció de dues vies diferenciades en l'adquisició i l'ús de les llengües de la societat d'acollida[10]: el castellà s'adquiriria en la socialització amb iguals, tant autòctons com al·lòctons (castellanoparlants llatinoamericans o al·loglots); el català s'aprendria en el marc de l'escola, l'únic camp en què la majoria en fan un ús més o menys habitual, sovint limitat a les activitats pròpiament acadèmiques (Unamuno 2005; 2011). A més, la recerca sobre adquisició apunta que els al·lòctons tarden anys a assolir habilitats similars a les dels autòctons i per tant són crucials tant l'edat d'arribada com els anys d'estada al sistema educatiu; sobre els resultats en català, a més, hi pesa la influència de l'entorn sociolingüístic (són millors en contextos de predomini catalanoparlant) (Oller 2010). La sovint precària posició del català empitjora en casos en què es fa un ús vehicular significatiu del castellà o quan la interacció del professorat amb els alumnes al·lòctons es produeix en castellà a pesar que la llengua de docència siga el català (Vila, Sorolla i Larrea 2013); també, com observen Codó i Patiño-Santos (2014) en un institut amb alta incidència d'aquesta població, quan la categorització dels estudiants en termes de classe social i expectatives laborals porta el professorat a rebaixar-hi l'exigència, tant pel que fa als assoliments acadèmics com a l'ús actiu del català (que ni tan sols es força en l'assignatura). Altres autors han destacat també la influència de l'actitud i la implicació del professorat en l'aparició d'actituds positives cap al català i l'escolarització en general entre estudiants d'origen llatinoamericà (Newman, Patiño-Santos i Trenchs-Parera 2012; Trenchs-Parera i Patiño-Santos 2013). En qualsevol cas, la major incidència del fracàs escolar en aquesta població incrementa les possibilitats que abandonen el sistema educatiu sense un bon domini del català (Alarcón i Parella 2013).

Es podria objectar que aquest estudis se centren bàsicament en l'entorn de Barcelona i en escoles i barris amb molta població nouvinguda (receptors alhora del gruix de les migracions dels 50-60 i molt predominantment castellanoparlants) i que això podria obscurir altres vies d'aprenentatge i incorporació de les llengües en contextos més catalanoparlants. En efecte, I. Vila, Siqués i Oller (2009), Oller (2010), Comajoan *et al.* (2013) o Vila, Sorolla i Larrea (2013) constaten l'efecte de la composició demolingüística en els patrons d'adquisició i ús de les llengües d'aquests joves. Amb tot, és plausible que la pauta referida siga la majoritària donat l'enorme pes demogràfic de l'àmbit metropolità de Barcelona i la concentració de les arribades en aquesta àrea: segons l'IDESCAT[11], el 2014 hi vivia el 63,5% del total de la població i el 59,14% de

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10 Vull prevenir el lector que em centraré en els processos d'incorporació del català i el castellà i que, en conseqüència, deixe de banda ara les consideracions sobre l'ús de les llengües patrimonials dels al·loglots. Una limitació de què sóc conscient però a què m'aboquen tant qüestions d'espai com la necessitat de centrar-me en un conjunt abastable de fenòmens.

11 Vegeu nota 10.

la població estrangera. També en dóna pistes l'EULP2013 quan constata la incorporació majoritària dels nouvinguts a l'ús del castellà, que explica en part el retrocés en l'ús global del català en el període 2003-2013 (DGPL 2015: 25-27). I encara més si es té en compte que, segons I. Vila, Siqués i Oller (2009) o Vila, Sorolla i Larrea (2013: 180-182), la tria del castellà es consolida a mesura que avança l'escolarització i s'entra en l'adolescència, fins i tot en contextos de predomini catalanoparlant.

La compartimentació dels espais d'aprenentatge i ús del català i el castellà els carreguen d'indicitats diferents. El català sol estar absent dels espais de socialització amb iguals i això l'associa a activitats i identitats institucionals i a connotacions de formalitat, manca d'espontaneïtat o autoritat, que podrien conduir a postures de refús similars a les observades per Woolard (2003) o Pujolar (1997; 2001), com constaten Lapresta, Huguet i Janés (2008) en un estudi sobre actituds lingüístiques amb alumnat immigrant. De la seua banda, l'*afiliació* (Rampton 1990) al castellà pot ser vista com un reclam de pertinença a grups d'iguals que funcionen en aquesta llengua (Unamuno 2011). En aquest sentit, la recerca de Corona sobre adolescents llatinoamericans descriu un panorama complex, en què els joves s'*autentiquen* com a *latinos* mitjançant l'ús d'una varietat emergent del castellà, feta de "a heterogeneous mixture of lexicon, rhythms, and accents from different parts of the Americas and, of course, from the Barcelona varieties, including Catalan" (Corona, Nussbaum i Unamuno 2012: 9; vegeu també Corona 2012: 161-200). L'ús lingüístic s'entrecreua en aquest cas amb una masculinitat forta (desplegada mitjançant moviments corporals, roba i pentinat o gustos musicals) i queda reforçat per les maneres com són posicionats pels autòctons en termes de raça/etnicitat (fenotip) i classe social, que poden agreujar la tendència al fracàs escolar i la inserció "per baix" en l'estructura de classes (Block i Corona 2014).

D'altra banda, el coneixement i l'ús del català tornen a situar-se com a capitals rellevants en l'accés a ocupacions més qualificades i indicien trajectòries de mobilitat social ascendent. Alarcón i Parella (2013) detecten com, en el marc d'un mercat de treball i uns processos d'assimilació segmentats, la competència i la preferència pel català correlacionen amb l'èxit acadèmic i les expectatives d'anar a la universitat; alhora, els factors socioeconòmics i la presència d'autòctons en les xarxes socials dels adolescents són determinants en la preferència. Sembla que els parlants en són conscients: per exemple, alguns adolescents llatinoamericans entrevistats per Trenchs-Parera, Larrea i Newman (2014: 289-291) representen el català com a llengua necessària per a la mobilitat social. Cal no perdre de vista, però, que la majoria d'aquests joves veuen limitades les seues opcions a treballs poc qualificats, en què predomina l'ús del castellà, de manera que sovint l'expectativa que s'havien format sobre l'ús del català no s'acaba corresponent amb les possibilitats/necessitats finals (Vila, Sorolla i Larrea 2013).

El català se situa, per tant, en una posició ambivalent, feta de fortaleses i debilitats. En la banda de les febleses s'hi poden sumar els patrons de tria lingüística dels autòctons en la interacció amb nouvinguts, que han estat descrits per Pujolar (2010) a partir de la noció araciliana[12] d'*interposició*, per la qual el castellà vehicula (gairebé totes) les relacions dels catalanoparlants amb el "món exterior", i doncs amb els al·lòctons. Qual-

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12 Proposada pel sociolingüista valencià Lluís V. Aracil (1983).

sevol tret que denote condició de "foraster" (fenotip, forma de vestir...) desencadena habitualment el canvi al castellà, fins i tot si l'interlocutor (demostra que) sap català. En conseqüència, segons Vila, Sorolla i Larrea (2013: 180-182) hi ha un perill de "racialització" de la tria, i per a Gonzàlez (2013) podria estar produint-se una *reetnificació* del castellà en els immigrants (tant d'origen llatinoamericà com d'altres procedències). Aquests patrons de tria reforçarien la tendència a l'assimilació al castellà en projectar una imatge del català com a llengua restringida a les pràctiques internes dels "catalans" (Unamuno 2005: 5), prescindible en la mesura que tothom sap i se'ls adreça en castellà (Boix-Fuster i Vila 2006), que és, a més, "la llengua realment valorada en el moment de fer processos crucials com ara l'arrelament, la nacionalització o l'obtenció de feina" (DGPL 2015: 27). Alhora, com observa Pujolar (2010), els envien missatges contradictoris en relació al discurs públic hegemònic que tracta el català com a llengua comuna, facilitadora de la cohesió social i garant de la igualtat d'oportunitats (vegeu també Riera 2011), i unes pràctiques quotidianes que afavoreixen el castellà.

4. Conclusions

Una observació atenta de les pràctiques lingüístiques del jovent de Catalunya posa sobre la taula, com s'ha anat veient, l'oportunitat (i possiblement la necessitat) d'incorporar a l'anàlisi diferents dimensions de la identitat social dels parlants i les maneres com aquestes categories s'interrelacionen entre elles i amb els comportament lingüístics, en una perspectiva *interseccional* (Block i Corona 2014) que pot inspirar tant la recerca demolingüística i quantitativa com la de base etnogràfica i qualitativa. En el segon cas, a més, la majoria d'autors comparteixen una visió *estructuradora* de les pràctiques lingüístiques: des d'aquesta perspectiva, les pràctiques no s'entenen només com una conseqüència de la situació dels interlocutors en unes determinades coordenades identitàries (fruit de la intersecció de categoritzacions lingüístiques, de classe, gènere, etnicitat, etc.) i l'adopció d'un comportament que s'hi adeqüe; sinó també com un mecanisme de posicionament, que contribueix a reproduir i reforçar (o a qüestionar i transgredir) aquestes categoritzacions, que sovint són a la base de situacions d'inequitat (vegeu entre altres Heller 2001).

En aquest sentit, la recerca sociolingüística del jovent ha de ser sensible a les vies com, per exemple, la interposició del castellà (Pujolar 2010), la "racialització" de la tria lingüística (Vila, Sorolla i Larrea 2013) o el desistiment de forçar l'ús del català a classe (Codó i Patiño-Santos 2014), pràctiques basades en una categorització ètnica i de classe dels interlocutors, acaben dificultant l'accés al català, un capital lingüístic valuós en camps socials com l'educació o el mercat de treball, i contribueixen així a perpetuar les baixes expectatives acadèmiques i la inserció "per baix" al mercat laboral d'immigrants i joves de classe treballadora. Sense perdre de vista que, sent la universitat o els llocs de treball més qualificats camps socials que afavoreixen la incorporació d'usos del català (Bretxa i Parera 2012; Pujolar i Gonzàlez 2012), les dificultats d'accés a aquests espais contribueixen, com un peix que es mossega la cua, a relegar el català dels usos interpersonals quotidians d'aquests joves.

Un primer apunt sobre oportunitats i reptes de la situació descrita en relació a la revitalització del català està estretament vinculat a les consideracions precedents: *l'ús del català indicia trajectòries de mobilitat social ascendent* (Alarcón i Parella 2013). Això explica una part important del poder d'atracció del català que reflecteixen les enquestes (Gràfic 1), i representa una oportunitat gens negligible d'incorporar *nous parlants* (O'Rourke, Pujolar i Ramallo 2015; Pujolar i Puigdevall 2015), sempre que, és clar, no es consolide la tendència actual a la mobilitat social descendent i l'augment de les desigualtats (X. Martínez i Marín 2013) i que els trets heretats pels immigrants i els seus descendents (fenotip, religió, nacionalitat...) no s'erigisquen com a font de discriminació en l'àmbit laboral (Alarcón i Parella 2013: 126). Al mateix temps, si com sostenen Woolard (2011) o Pujolar i Puigdevall (2015) les resistències al català d'alguns adolescents tendeixen a diluir-se en l'accés al mercat de treball, en el qual les habilitats bilingües es recontextualitzen com un "valor afegit" de què disposen com a treballadors, una política de *promoció de l'ús del català en l'àmbit laboral* podria tenir unes repercussions notables i, de retruc, podria millorar la motivació per a l'aprenentatge en l'etapa escolar (Bastardas 2012: 89-90).

En aquest punt cal explicitar, tot i que semble una obvietat, una condició necessària perquè el lligam entre ús del català i mobilitat social ascendent i les propostes de promoció de l'ús en l'àmbit laboral no deriven en situacions d'inequitat: *cal garantir l'accés universal a la llengua catalana*, cosa que en termes generals (i no sense contradiccions, com ressalten alguns dels casos ressenyats) sembla que aconsegueix el model de conjunció en català; i que s'hauria d'estendre als nouvinguts arribats després de l'etapa escolar a través del Consorci per la Normalització Lingüística[13] i altres instàncies, facilitant-hi al màxim l'accés, com defensen Vila, Sorolla i Larrea (2013: 187).

Això no obstant, que la distribució equilibrada de la competència en català i en castellà acabe repercutint en un increment de l'ús social de la primera requereix la concurrència de certs factors "facilitadors". Ben mirat, l'augment dels usos i les identificacions bilingües, el creixent pragmatisme lingüístic, l'afebliment del lligam entre identitat etnolingüística i tria o el predomini del castellà en termes demogràfics, en el mercat de la comunicació i l'entreteniment, etc. podrien suscitar (i han suscitat) dubtes sobre la viabilitat a llarg termini de l'ús del català entre els joves. En aquest marc, cal confiar d'una banda en la *reproducció de contextos predominantment catalanoparlants* (a causa de la composició demolingüística o de la regulació institucional dels usos) *en què el català s'imposa com a tria no marcada*, i que afavoreixen d'aquesta manera la incorporació a l'ús dels no catalanoparlants familiars. Paral·lelament, alguns autors proposen que *en contextos predominantment castellanoparlants cal crear espais de relació interpersonal vehiculats en català* (en activitats esportives o de lleure, entre altres) perquè els no catalanoparlants familiars disposen de contextos significatius d'ús del català més enllà de l'aula (Bastardas 2012; Gonzàlez *et al.* 2014; I. Vila, Siqués i Oller 2009).

Quan aquestes condicions no es donen, parlar català esdevé una tria marcada, "desviada" (Martínez *et al.* 2012), i per tant dependent de la *consolidació de sectors mantenidors del*

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13 Vegeu http://www.cpnl.cat/ (última consulta: 30/09/2015).

català, que ja siga perquè la consideren una llengua *anònima*[14], apta per a l'ús públic més enllà de l'*in-group* (Pujolar i Gonzàlez 2012), ja siga per fidelitat lingüística (Boix 1996; 1997), trien per defecte el català i s'hi adrecen a tothom. La importància d'aquest perfil de parlants creix en el present context de despolarització, en què es fa difícil atribuir un origen lingüístic als interlocutors, i en conseqüència "people must increasingly rely on the behavior made available by specific actors in specific contexts" (Pujolar i Gonzàlez 2012: 3): una tria marcada del català en aquests contextos hi visibilitza les persones amb qui *es pot* parlar en català, i obri la porta a la consolidació d'usos d'aquesta llengua fins i tot en aquestes condicions adverses. Paral·lelament, caldrà treballar per a *evitar la "racialització" de la tria lingüística* quan determinats trets sí que fan possible el reconeixement. En conclusió (manllevada):

> "The blurring or gradual disappearance of ethnolinguistic boundaries amongst young people should be welcome as a sign of increasing tolerance and comradeship between formerly separate communities. However, it seems obvious that the normalisation of Catalan would require some stances of language loyalty on the part of native Catalans and that a significant sector of the Spanish-speaking population should adopt Catalan in a significant way in their everyday lives. After all, if the atmosphere of tolerance would paradoxically lead to the disappearance of the Catalan language, this would not constitute any worthy contribution to linguistic and cultural diversity either" (Pujolar 1995: 14)

Com a cloenda, i reprenent el fil de reflexió teòrica amb què encetava les conclusions, cal que ens cuidem de fer lectures deterministes de la realitat sociolingüística dels adolescents i joves com un "mirall" de l'evolució futura de la comunitat lingüística. Com recorda Woolard (2011) hi ha *vida lingüística* més enllà de la joventut: els repertoris i les pràctiques lingüístiques d'adolescents i joves encara es poden veure sotmeses a modificacions substancials si les seues necessitats comunicatives i els seus entorns de socialització canvien tot al llarg de les seues trajectòries acadèmiques, laborals, familiars, etc. Si vol assolir una comprensió global dels reptes i les oportunitats per a la revitalització del català com a llengua mitjana en la Catalunya multilingüe del segle XXI (Vila (ed.) 2012), la recerca sociolingüística ha d'endinsar-se en les idiosincràsies de diferents etapes vitals (més enllà de la joventut) i dels diferents camps socials en què interactuen els parlants (més enllà d'escoles i instituts). Sinó correm el perill, forçant una mica el símil, que els arbres joves no ens deixen veure el bosc.

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YOUNG PEOPLE AND LANGUAGES IN CATALONIA: THE STATE OF THE QUESTION

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1. Introduction

This article examines the state of the question regarding research into the language practices of young people in Catalonia, which has been under constant analysis throughout the different stages of Catalan sociolinguistics (Boix and Vila 1998: 33-43; Vila 2013). We must identify the causes, firstly, within the specificities of a field of research that is closely linked to the agenda of language revitalisation, promoted at the beginning of the 1980s, with the reinstatement of self-government. From this perspective, its purpose was to check whether the universalisation policies for the knowledge of Catalan, designed in response to national and Spanish-speaking migration in the 1950s and 1960s, were encouraging an increase in the social use of Catalan amongst children and young people (Pujolar 1995). Secondly, it reflects the existence of a certain type of 'sociological common sense that views young people as the seeds for society of the future'[2] (Pujolar 2008: 1), which, therefore, aspires to obtain a vision of the future situation of the language. This idea often loses sight of the particularities of adolescence and youth as stages in life, and the possibilities for significant change in later stages of life (Woolard 2011).

The end of the past decade featured an explosion in this type of research. Two projects stand out on the language practices of indigenous young people (Gonzàlez *et al.* 2014) and those of Moroccan origin (Vila, Sorolla and Larrea 2013; Vila, Sorolla and Larrea, in press). Additionally, the Generalitat de Catalunya presented its recommendations to promote Catalan amongst young people (Bastardas 2012; CSLC 2009), and a conference was held, entitled 'Is Catalan cool? Skills, representations and uses of the language amongst young people'[3]. The conference presentations were collated by Pradilla (coord.) (2012). The present work aims to create an outline, based on available literature, of the notion of 'language choice' regarding both the general situation of users, and the motivations and social reasons for the choices made by adolescents and

2   Original quotation: 'sentit comú sociològic que veu els joves com la llavor de la societat del futur' (Pujolar 2008: 1).

3   Original title: 'El català mola? Competències, representacions i usos de la llengua en l'àmbit juvenil'

young people. It covers separately the additions to the 'indigenous' population, born in Catalonia or in the rest of Spain, and the 'new immigration' [4]. This choice is debatable to a greater or lesser extent, but enables us to construct a thread of continuity between research undertaken in the 1980s and 1990s (not including contemporary migration), and upheld by authors such as Gonzàlez *et al.* because 'the language behaviour of indigenous and non-indigenous young people reflects sufficiently different dynamics and interactions to be observed separately on a systematic basis'[5] (2014: 20). This work ends with some theoretical and methodological points about research on young people and languages, and a reflection on the challenges and opportunities highlighted by the trends described regarding the revitalisation of the Catalan language.

2. Analysis of language choices

The analysis of choices and the norms of language use, which condition (although do not determine) the decisions about which language is appropriate for speaking to whom, and in which situations, was initiated at the end of the 1970s in Catalonia within a context of competition between an indigenous population that was bilingual in the great majority (in terms of language skill), but Catalan-speaking (in terms of habitual use), and a monolingual Spanish-speaking immigrant population. According to Woolard (1989), this context featured the 'norm of accommodating to Spanish'[6] : Catalan and Spanish were the channel for relations within groups, but inter-group contact occurred in Spanish. The choices were, therefore, based on the (expected) ethnolinguistic origin of the person spoken to (a strong accent or the simple presence of 'interference' leading them to switch between the languages). Furthermore, this led boundaries to emerge and be reproduced in each interaction between 'Catalans' and 'Spanish people', a categorisation based fundamentally on language criteria (familiar language used habitually). The more or less accurate occurrence of this ethnolinguistic boundary with the division made, schematically, between middle class indigenous speakers and working class immigrants gave rise to language use indicating[7] different class positions in interaction.

The possibility of these boundaries becoming entrenched and the consolidation of two homogenised and separate communities was perceived as a threat to the new autonomous project (Pujolar 1995; Vila 2005b; Woolard 1989). Consequently, the demo-

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4 In the 1980s and early 1990s, the term 'immigrant' referred to people from other parts of Spain and their descendants (the 'second generation of immigrants' (*segona generació immigrant)* Bastardas 1985; 1986). The term disappeared from sociolinguistic research at the same time as its use as an emic category came to an end (Pujolar 1995).

5 Original quotation: 'el comportament lingüístic dels joves autòctons i dels no autòctons reflecteix dinàmiques i interaccions prou contrastades per ser observades, sistemàticament, per separat' (Gonzàlez et al., 2014: 20).

6 Original term used: 'norma d'acomodació al castellà' Woolard (1989). Other authors have called this a 'norm of adapting to Spanish' (*norma d'adaptació al castellà*) (Boix 1993) or a 'norm of Catalan subordination' (*norma de subordinació del català*) (Vila 1996). For a review of the concept and a commonplace criticism of Catalan sociolinguistics that considers this to be 'traditional', see Vila and Galindo (2012).

7 On the notion of 'indexicality' (indicitat), see Irvine (1989: 251-255), amongst others.

cratic spectrum adopted *integrationist ideologies*[8] (Vila 2005b) during the transition, which discouraged the segregation of the population and the creation of separate institutions according to language, and promoted alternative definitions of being Catalan, emphasising civic nature ('those who live and work in Catalonia, and *wish* to be Catalan, are Catalan'). Language policy was conditioned by the commitment amongst sectors, often with differing interests, and the universalisation of knowledge of Catalan was defined as the main objective. Thus, school became the basic cornerstone for *i*ntegrationist commitment, and promoted the bilingualism of the pupils within the framework of joint schooling. It did not separate pupils according to their initial language, and promoted the 'normal' use of Catalan, within the so-called 'conjunction model in Catalan' (Arnau and Vila 2013; Milian 1984)[9]. The promotion of the use of the language, which was potentially more contentious, came second. On one hand, it was trusted that the Spanish-speaking families would incorporate the active use of Catalan once they had the skills. On the other hand, the 'bilingual norm'[10] (Boix-Fuster, Melià and Montoya 2011) was promoted. This aimed to prevent a one-directional adaptation to Spanish through bilingual conversations, and did not place immediate demands on the Spanish-speakers to speak Catalan, but provided opportunities for them to learn and use Catalan (Pujolar 1995).

Interested in analysing the reach of the changes promoted, several sociolinguists focused on educational contexts and groups of young people, the first to become bilingual and, therefore, the probable agents for change. In a reprint of her study on adolescents, Woolard (1992: 199-242) pointed out that, at the end of the 1980s, there were initial Spanish speakers who were incorporating the use of Catalan and were creating a new, more bilingual, identity (they spoke Catalan with Catalan speakers, but Spanish amongst themselves). They were middle class and lived in linguistically mixed areas, as a result of the growing 'intersection' (Rambla 1993) of the populations; working class adolescents, in contrast, maintained the use of one language. Boix (1993) was in a predominantly Catalan-speaking environment (running courses for instructors) in which, even though the norm of adapting to Spanish persisted in general, a segment of Catalan speakers did not do so, and this enabled the emergence of uses of Catalan in public, not restricted to the in-group. The author asserted that ethnolinguistic identity decreased in importance in that choice. Pujolar (1993) analysed the interactions of a group of university students and indicated a growing difficulty in attributing a language group to the person spoken to, which opened up areas of uncertainty and transgression from the prevailing standard. Pujolar also described cases of speakers

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8 Original term used: 'ideologies integracionistes' (Vila 2005b).

9 Original term used: 'model de conjunció en català' (Arnau and Vila 2013; Milian 1984). The latest revision of Law 12/2009, of 10 July, on education (http://portaldogc.gencat.cat/utilsEADOP/PDF/5422/950599.pdf), appealed before the Constitutional Court of Spain by the People's Party, establishes in Article 11.1 that 'As Catalonia's own language, Catalan is the language normally used as the vehicular language and the language of learning within the education system' (*El català, com a llengua pròpia de Catalunya, és la llengua normalment emprada com a llengua vehicular i d'aprenentatge del sistema educatiu*) and in Article 11.3. that 'Students shall not be separated into different centres or classroom groups on the grounds of their habitual language of use' (*Els alumnes no poden ésser separats en centres ni en grups classe diferents per raó de llur llengua habitual*).

10 Original term used: 'norma bilingüe' (Boix-Fuster, Melià and Montoya 2011).

who, for ideological beliefs, spoke to everyone in Catalan, to the point of having bilingual conversations. Finally, research in a primary school in Santa Coloma de Gramenet led Vila (1996) to put forward a 'school version' of the norm of adapting to Spanish: the choice amongst peers was determined by standard use, but now with teachers, the Spanish-speaking family members had to speak Catalan. Some Spanish speakers, therefore, began to incorporate the use of Catalan and some (fewer) Catalan speakers adopted 'maintaining' positions. However, this behaviour seemed to be limited either to predominantly Catalan-speaking contexts, due to the institutional regulation of the uses (Vila 1996) or the demo-linguistic composition (Boix 1993; Woolard 1992); or positions of language loyalty (Pujolar 1993).

2.1. Processes in the incorporation of Catalan and sociolinguistic depolarisation

The implementation of the conjunction model in Catalonia evidenced that, even though school universalised knowledge of Catalan (Arnau 2004; Strubell, Andreu and Sintes 2011), it did less well in modifying interpersonal uses amongst pupils (Vila 2004). Different studies based on the observation of practices with peers at school emphasised that, for the use of Catalan to become consolidated amongst those who did not speak Catalan initially in a given school, it was necessary for the Catalan speakers to be in the majority. When they were in the minority, or in equal numbers, Spanish became consolidated within group relations (Galindo 2006; Vila and Galindo 2009; Vila and Vial 2000). The longitudinal study by Bretxa (2014) highlighted again the demo-linguistic composition of the school, attended on arrival, as the best predictor of the trajectories for change in the interpersonal use in the transition from primary school to secondary school. Gonzàlez *et al.* also considered this to be a crucial factor, and related it to the growing *language pragmatism* of young people, who 'adapt the uses [of language] to language majorities and the perceptions of the most legitimate language' (2014: 15); and, in the same way, Martínez *et al.* suggested that the speaker *defines the sociolinguistic situation* to clarify which language is 'numerically "normal" and which is "out of bounds"' depending on the 'critical mass of speakers of one language or another in each specific field of interaction' (2012: 16). In this context of little defined preferences, adolescents justify their language choices on the basis of individual aspects (the 'ease' or pre-eminence of a language in their language uses with peers) rather than as language affiliations or politicised discourse (Flors and Vila 2014).

The possibility that this pragmatism ends up fostering Spanish, predominant from a demo-linguistic perspective and in different spheres of the socialisation of young people, had already been warned of by others including Boix (1996; 1997). Gonzàlez *et al.* (2014: 41-87) do not shy away from this possibility, but here and in other work (Pujolar and Gonzàlez 2012; Pujolar, Gonzàlez and Martínez 2010; Pujolar and Puigdevall 2015), they focused on specific moments of change that foster, on the contrary, the adoption of significant uses of Catalan (see also Bretxa and Parera 2012; Woolard 2011). The authors propose the term *muda* (juncture) to describe 'the specific biographical junctures where individuals make significant changes in their linguistic repertoire' (Pujolar and Gonzàlez 2012: 2), which usually coincide with moments of re-socialisation and changes in routine (going to primary or secondary school, but especially at university and entering the workplace, in forming a couple and creating a

family). The meaning of these junctures would not necessarily be linked to a request to belong to *another* language group, but would remain open to negotiation and recognition from the person spoken to, and could seek recognition of a position of class, or professional worth, etc. (Pujolar and Puigdevall 2015).

The trends described are symptoms of the growing linguistic and population-related intersection within the context of 'an integrationist society that is not polarised ethnolinguistically' (Vila 2005b)[11] . Demo-linguistic data also point in this direction. In the analysis of EULC2003[12], Vila confirmed a generalisation of bilingual practices, especially in groups of young people, and expressed concern because 'although monolingual practices are generally abating, they are not being replaced by behaviours of [language] use, in which Catalan flourishes. In contrast, the number of those with a medium or low use of Catalan is expanding.'[13] (2005a: 132). However, also based on the EULC2003, Gonzàlez *et al.* (2014: 41-87) sustained that the increase in the bilingual uses of language fosters Catalan in general if the habitual language and the initial language of the young people are compared. This is because the intensive use of the *other* language is more frequent amongst initial Spanish speakers than in the opposite case (even though the low intensity use of the *other* language is more frequent amongst Catalan speakers).

Whatever the case, the surveys demonstrate that Catalan maintains a certain power of attraction, despite the demographic minority position of Catalan speakers. Data from EULP2013 (Diagram 1) indicate that there is an increase in the numbers of habitual speakers of Catalan and more people identifying with Catalan than just initial Catalan speakers. These were gained primarily from the group of initial Spanish speakers. Furthermore, the data demonstrate the consolidation of segments of the population with a similar level of habitual use of Catalan and Spanish, or who actively identify with both languages, and they exceed the number of those in the initially bilingual group. These percentages increase if we focus on adolescents and young people. In terms of use, it is estimated that, in the settled population, around 30% of speakers between 15 and 34 alternate between Catalan and Spanish, while 30% use Spanish predominantly and 40% speak Catalan above all (DGPL 2015: 39). Bilingual identification increased especially amongst adolescents: up to 27.9% of students in the fourth year of compulsory secondary education (ESO) identify with both languages, an option that attracts 28.7% of Spanish speakers and 17.2% of those who spoke Catalan initially (CSASE 2014: 55-65).

Regarding patterns of language choice, it is mainly observed that speakers adapt to the choice of language chosen by the person to whom they are speaking. This is the case not only for Catalan speakers, but also for Spanish speakers. There continues to

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11 Original quotation: 'societat integracionista no polaritzada etnolingüísticament' (Vila 2005b). In comparison with 'polarised societies' (*societats polaritzades*) or 'fragile majorities' (*majories fràgils*) described by McAndrew (2013).

12 The publication *Estadística sobre els usos lingüístics a Catalunya 2003* is republished every five years, and has been called *Enquesta d'usos lingüístics de la població since 2008*. We refer to it as EULC2003, EULP2008 and EULP2013.

13 Original quotation: 'si bé en termes generals minven les pràctiques monolingües, aquestes no són reemplaçades per patrons d'ús en què abundi el català, ans al contrari, s'eixampla l'espai dels qui en fan un ús mitjà o feble' (Vila 2005a: 132).

be a segment of Spanish speakers maintaining Spanish, but there is also a consolidated group of Catalan speakers, who state that they do not resort to Spanish (Gonzàlez *et al.* 2014: 103-127). Diagram 2 indicates that, of those who can speak Catalan, almost two thirds adapt their choice of language to the person with whom they are speaking. This predisposition is accentuated amongst those under 50 and especially in the two youngest groups. Regarding the sectors that do not adapt, more of them maintain Spanish overall. The percentage of those who maintain Catalan is close to the average in all age groups. However, the percentage of those who maintain Spanish is three times less amongst the two youngest groups than for those over 65.

■   **Diagram 1. Initial language, language of identification and habitual language. Catalonia. 2013**
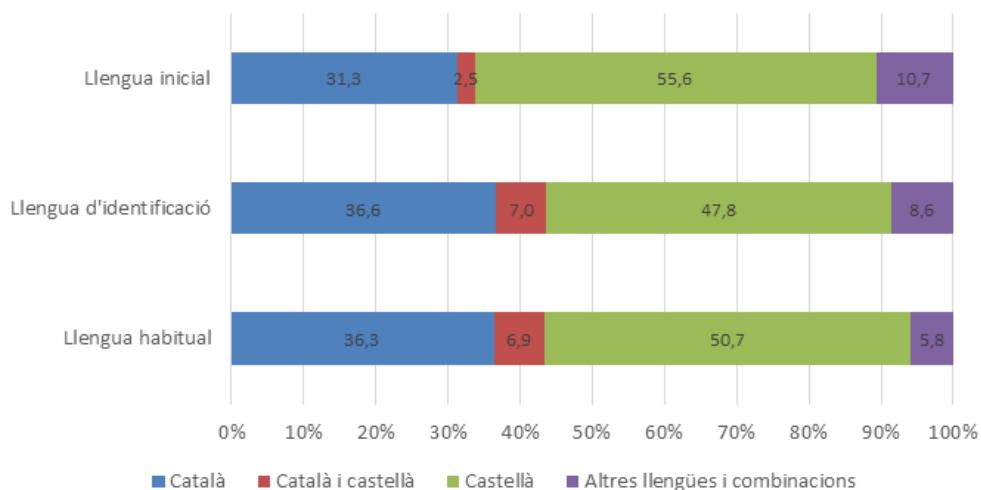
(source: DGPL 2015: 15)

■   **Diagram 2. Attitude towards bilingual conversations based on age (amongst the settled population that knows how to speak Catalan) 2013**
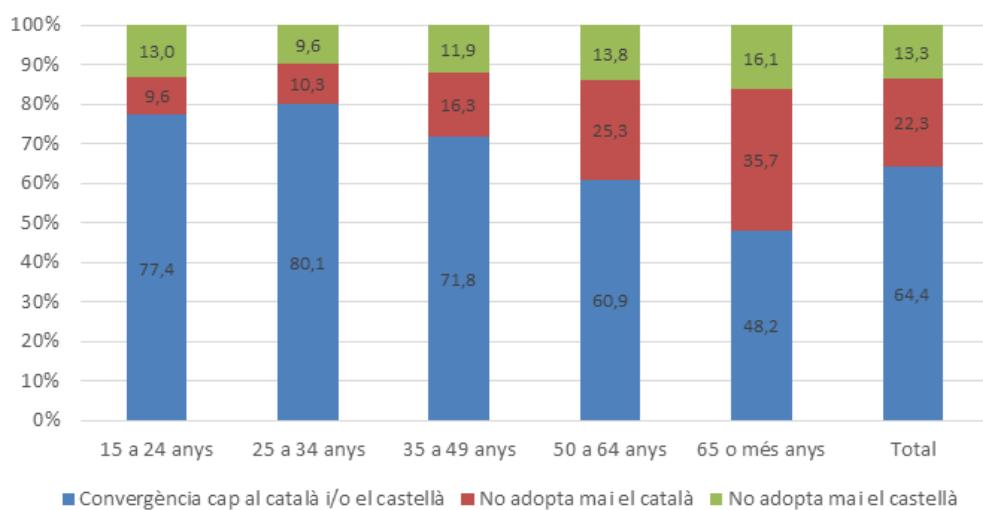
(source: DGPL 2015: 42)

2.2. Shifts in the meaning of language choices

Due to the increase in uses and bilingual identification, processes of incorporating Catalan for initially non-Catalan speakers in different areas, as well as the generalisation of bilingual skills in early ages (Vila 2000), many young people can 'pass for' (Piller 2002) native speakers in their second language. It is increasingly difficult to determine the linguistic origin of speakers when interacting. Although the initial language continues to be 'a criterion for social classification used to make language decisions'[14] (Gonzàlez *et al.* 2014: 64), very often the choice is not exclusively based on this. Several sociolinguists, therefore, emphasise the need to incorporate other dimensions of the social identity of speakers, who 'project themselves in social life in a combined way, reciprocally mediatised or inter-related' [15] (Pujolar 2008: 3), to the analysis of the language choices (see also Newman and Trenchs-Parera 2015).

The majority of these authors have emphasised the influence of social class on language behaviour (and, consequently, of language as a mechanism for class positioning)[16]. Woolard (1989) had already observed, at the end of the 1970s, that 'linguistic and class divisions largely coincide[d]' (1989: 132): the position of the 'Catalans' as a majority in the middle class and the 'Spanish' as a majority in the working class encouraged language choice to indicate both the ethnolinguistic origin and socioeconomic status of the speaker. As we have seen from time to time, Woolard (1992: 199-242; revisited in Woolard 2003) described years later how middle class Spanish-speaking students, living in central, mainly Catalan-speaking local areas, were more oriented towards study and had better employment prospects, incorporating the use of Catalan and displaying more bilingual identities. In contrast, students with the same linguistic origin, but working class, living in peripheral areas with a much lesser presence of Catalan speakers and who were resistant to academic activity, remained monolingual with a *Spanish* identity, which was related not so much to the fact that they spoke Spanish as to the fact that they *never used* Catalan. At the same time, the value of Catalan as a marker of identity in interaction was weakened by the incorporation of Spanish-speaking sectors using Catalan. Woolard concluded that 'the class meaning of the Catalan language is becoming accentuated as the ethnic symbolism recedes' (2003: 100).

A similar panorama was described by Pujolar (1997; 2001) in the ethnography of two groups of working class young people in Barcelona. In addition, the author included the gender dimension and showed that displaying masculinity in the working class often implied rejection of Catalan, which evoked voices of authority and was associated with school. In contrast, women in the same group who were more oriented towards academic activity and had greater employment prospects, had more favourable attitudes towards Catalan and used it when they had the opportunity (a behaviour sanctioned by the men in the group).

14 Original quotation: 'un criteri de classificació social que s'utilitza per prendre decisions lingüístiques' (Gonzàlez *et al.* 2014: 64).

15 Original quotation: 'es projecten en la vida social de forma combinada, recíprocament mediatitzada o interrelacionada' (Pujolar 2008: 3).

16 In a more general perspective, David Block (2014) recently called for the need to incorporate the analysis of class more systematically into research on sociolinguistics and applied linguistics.

The demo-linguistic data available also highlight the role of Catalan in regulating access to symbolic capitals and socioeconomic status. In analysing the EULP2008, Gonzàlez highlighted the consolidation of Catalan as an indicator of cultural status and how, in contrast, 'the exclusive use of Spanish appears to become an indicator of a lack of cultural capitalisation' [17] (2013: 41). In the EULP2013, a growing polarisation was detected between the middle class (with higher levels of the habitual use of Catalan and bilingual use) and the working class (predominantly using Spanish as a general rule) (DGPL 2015: 48-52). The authors highlighted that 'language is still a reference for the middle class, and, in this respect, it is a tool for positioning, as well as of mobility'[18] *(ibid.*: 52). Catalan is usually perceived, consequently, as a necessary capital for social and professional mobility in a context of greater competitiveness.

3. New immigration and languages

The dynamics of mobility of globalisation and the cycle of economic expansion at the turn of the millennium in Spain fostered a profound transformation of Catalan demography. According to IDESCAT[19], the foreign population increased from 2.9% of the total population in 2000 to a maximum of 15.95% in 2010, although, since the beginning of the economic crisis (2008), the decrease in the number of arrivals and a few years with a negative migratory balance brought the total to 14.49% in 2014. In contrast to the 20th century, the *new immigration* is of a diverse origin and linguistically heterogeneous, and has led sociolinguistic research in Catalonia to take a new direction, described by Vila (2013) as a step from 'autonomous sociolinguistics' [20] to the 'sociolinguistics of multilingualism'[21] . Specifically, its incorporation in Catalan schools led to a profound methical and educational review of the conjunction model (I. Vila 2011) and a notable increase of research into educational sociolinguistics, on which this work focuses fundamentally. Thus, we are dealing with a segment of adolescents and young people who, in accordance with Vila, Sorolla and Larrea (2013), can be characterised as those reaching school age (or born in Catalonia) and have school as the key environment for socialisation. This brings them into more or less intense contact with native speakers and immigrants of other origins, despite the existence of school segregation processes (Benito and Gonzàlez 2007; Gonzàlez and Benito 2009).

Studies usually agree on the description of two different ways to acquire and use languages in the host society[22] : Spanish would be acquired through socialisation with

17 Original quotation: 'l'ús exclusiu del castellà sembla esdevenir un marcador de manca de capitalització cultural' (2013: 41).

18 Original quotation: 'la llengua encara és un referent de classe mitjana, i, en aquest sentit, és una eina tant de posicionament com de mobilitat' (*ibid.*: 52).

19 See http://www.idescat.cat/poblacioestrangera/ (date consulted: 26/09/2015).

20 Original term used: 'sociolingüística autonòmica' (Vila, 2013).

21 Original term used: 'sociolingüística del multilingüisme' (Vila, 2013).

22 I wish to warn the reader that I will focus on the processes of incorporating Catalan and Spanish. I will, therefore, leave to one side the use of heritage languages by foreign language speakers. I am aware of this limitation, but

peers, both indigenous Catalans and those of foreign origin (Latin American Spanish speakers or foreign language speakers), Catalan would be learnt at school, the only field in which the majority use Catalan more or less habitually, and was often limited to academic activities (Unamuno 2005; 2011). In addition, research into the acquisition of language indicates that people of foreign origin take years to reach skills similar to native speakers. Therefore, the age of arrival at school and the number of years in the education system are crucial for results in Catalan, in addition to the importance of the influence of the sociolinguistic environment (results are better in contexts where Catalan speakers are predominant) (Oller 2010). The often precarious position of Catalan worsens in cases in which a significant use is made of Spanish, and when teachers interact in Spanish with students of foreign origin, despite Catalan being the teaching language (Vila, Sorolla and Larrea 2013). This also occurs, as observed by Codó and Patiño-Santos (2014), in schools with a high percentage of students of foreign origin, in which the categorisation of students in terms of social class and employment prospects leads teaching staff to reduce the standard required, both in terms of academic achievement and the active use of Catalan (which is not even required during the lessons). Other authors have also highlighted the influence of the attitude and involvement of the teaching staff in the emergence of positive attitudes towards Catalan and schooling in general amongst students of a Latin American origin (Newman, Patiño-Santos and Trenchs-Parera 2012; Trenchs-Parera and Patiño-Santos 2013). In any case, the greater percentage of academic failure, amongst this population, increases the chances of them leaving the education system without a good command of Catalan (Alarcón and Parella 2013).

It could be said that the aforementioned studies focus basically on the environment of Barcelona and on schools and local areas with high levels of new arrivals (receiving the majority of migration in the 1950s and 1960s, which were predominantly Spanish-speaking), and that this could conceal other ways of learning and the incorporation of the languages within more Catalan-speaking contexts. Indeed, I. Vila, Siqués and Oller (2009), Oller (2010), Comajoan *et al.* (2013) and Vila, Sorolla and Larrea (2013) confirm the effect of the demo-linguistic composition in the patterns of acquiring and using the languages amongst these young people. However, it is plausible that the majority match the aforementioned pattern given the enormous demographic importance of the metropolitan area of Barcelona and the concentration of the arrivals into this area. According to IDESCAT[23] , in 2014, 63.5% of the total population of Catalonia and 59.14% of the foreign population lived in Barcelona. EULP2013 also provides insight when it confirms that the majority of new arrivals were assimilated into the use of Spanish, which partly explains the decrease in the overall use of Catalan from 2003-2013 (DGPL 2015: 25-27). This is even more apparent if it is taken into account that, according to I. Vila, Siqués and Oller (2009) or Vila, Sorolla and Larrea (2013: 180-182), the choice of Spanish is consolidated throughout schooling and in reaching adolescence, even in contexts where Catalan speakers are predominant.

space limitations and the need to focus on a series of attainable phenomena prevail.

23See note 10.

The compartmentalisation of spaces for learning and using Catalan and Spanish are accompanied by different meanings. Catalan is usually absent in spaces where socialisation occurs with peers, and this leads it to be associated with institutional activities and identities, and to have connotations of formality, lacking in spontaneity, and of authority. This could lead to positions of rejection similar to those observed by Woolard (2003) or Pujolar (1997; 2001), as confirmed by Lapresta, Huguet and Janés (2008) in a study on language attitudes with immigrant students. For its part, 'affiliation' [24] (Rampton 1990) to Spanish can be seen as a claim of belonging to a peer group that functions in this language (Unamuno 2011). In this respect, research by Corona into Latin American adolescents describes a complex panorama, in which young people express their 'authenticity' as 'Latin' through the use of an emerging variety of Spanish, composed of 'a heterogeneous mixture of lexicon, rhythms, and accents from different parts of the Americas and, of course, from the Barcelona varieties, including Catalan' (Corona, Nussbaum and Unamuno 2012: 9; see also Corona 2012: 161-200). In this case, language use is intertwined with a strong masculinity (displayed through body movement, clothes, hairstyles or musical tastes) and is reinforced by the ways in which they are positioned by the indigenous population in terms of race/ethnicity (phenotype) and social class, which can aggravate the trend towards failure at school and insertion into the class structure 'from below' (Block and Corona 2014).

Furthermore, the knowledge and use of Catalan have regained their relevance in access to more qualified positions and indicating trajectories of upward social mobility. Alarcón and Parella (2013) detected that, within the framework of a *segmented* workplace and processes of assimilation, the skill and preference for Catalan correlate to academic success and university prospects. At the same time, socioeconomic factors and the presence of indigenous speakers on the social networks used by adolescents determine the preference for one language or another. It seems that the speakers are aware of this: for example, some Latin American adolescents interviewed by Trenchs-Parera, Larrea and Newman (2014: 289-291) consider Catalan to be a necessary language for social mobility. However, we must not lose sight of the fact that the majority of young people consider that their options are limited to unskilled jobs, in which Spanish is used predominantly, so that often the expectations created around the use of Catalan do not end up corresponding to the final possibilities/needs (Vila, Sorolla and Larrea 2013).

Catalan is, therefore, in an ambivalent position, with strengths and weakness. Weaknesses include the patterns of language choice made by indigenous speakers when interacting with new arrivals, as described by Pujolar (2010) based on an Aracilian[25] notion of *interposition*[26], by means of which Spanish is the channel for (nearly all) the contacts that Catalan speakers have with the 'outside world' and, therefore, with foreign language speakers. Any characteristic indicating that someone is 'foreign' (pheno-

24 Original term used: 'afiliació' (Rampton 1990).

25 Proposed by the Valencian sociolinguist Lluís V. Aracil (1983).

26 Original term used: 'interposició' (Pujolar 2010)

type, way of dressing, etc.) will usually lead the Catalan speaker to change to Spanish, even if the person to whom they are speaking speaks Catalan (or demonstrates that they speak Catalan). As a result, according to Vila, Sorolla and Larrea (2013: 180-182), there is a danger of 'rationalising' the choice, and, according to Gonzàlez (2013) a 're-ethnifying'[27] of Spanish could be occurring amongst immigrants (from Latin America and other origins). These patterns of behaviour would reinforce the trend towards the assimilation of Spanish by projecting an image of Catalan as a language restricted to the internal use of 'Catalans' (Unamuno 2005: 5), and, therefore, dispensable because everyone knows and speaks to them in Spanish (Boix-Fuster and Vila 2006), which is, additionally, 'the language truly valued at the time of making crucial processes such as settling, becoming nationalised and obtaining work'[28], (DGPL 2015: 27). At the same time, as observed by Pujolar (2010), contradictory messages are sent to them regarding the hegemonic public discourse that defines Catalan as a common language, facilitating social cohesion and guaranteeing equal opportunities (see also Riera 2011), and daily practices that favour Spanish.

4. Conclusions

As we have seen, close observation of language practices amongst young people in Catalonia demonstrates the opportunity (and perhaps the need) to incorporate different dimensions of the social identity of the speakers into the analysis, and the ways in which these categories are interrelated with language behaviour, in an 'intersectional' perspective (Block and Corona 2014). This can inspire both demo-linguistic and quantitative research as the ethnographic and qualitative basis. Secondly, the majority of authors share a 'structuring' vision of language practices. From this perspective, the practices are understood not only as a consequence of the situation of the person spoken to, through certain identity aspects (as a result of the intersection of linguistic categorisations, class, gender, ethnicity, etc.) and the adoption of suitable behaviour; but also as a mechanism for positioning, which leads these categorisations to be reproduced or reinforced (or to be questioned and overcome), and are often at the root of situations of inequality (see, Heller 2001, amongst others).

In this respect, sociolinguistic research into young people must be sensitive to the pathways such as the interposition of Spanish (Pujolar 2010), the 'racialisation' of language choice (Vila, Sorolla and Larrea 2013) or no longer requiring the use of Catalan at school (Codó and Patiño-Santos 2014), practices based on an ethnic categorisation and the class of the people spoken to, which makes access to Catalan difficult. At the same time, Catalan is a valuable linguistic capital in social areas such as education or the employment market. This, therefore, contributes to perpetuating the low academic prospects of immigrants and young working class people and their joining the employment market 'from below'. It should not be forgotten that university and more highly qualified employment opportunities are social fields that foster the incorporation of

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27 Original terms used: 'reetnificació' (Gonzàlez (2013)

28 Original quotation: 'la llengua realment valorada en el moment de fer processos crucials com ara l'arrelament, la nacionalització o l'obtenció de feina' (DGPL 2015: 27)

uses of Catalan (Bretxa and Parera 2012; Pujolar and Gonzàlez 2012), and the difficulties in accessing these spaces contribute to relegating Catalan to interpersonal use only amongst these young people on a daily basis, like a dog chasing its tail.

A first note on the challenges and opportunities of the situation described regarding the revitalisation of Catalan is closely linked to the aforementioned considerations: 'the use of Catalan indicates trajectories of upward social mobility'[29] (Alarcón and Parella 2013). This explains an important part of the power of attraction of Catalan reflected in the surveys (Diagram 1), and is far from negligible as an opportunity to incorporate new speakers (O'Rourke, Pujolar and Ramallo 2015; Pujolar and Puigdevall 2015), as long as, it is clear that the current trend for the downward social mobility and the increase of inequality do not continue (X. Martínez i Marín 2013), and that the attributes inherited by immigrants and their descendants (phenotype, religion, nationality, etc.) do not become a source of discrimination in the workplace (Alarcón and Parella 2013: 126). At the same time, if, as put forward by Woolard (2011) or Pujolar and Puigdevall (2015), the resistance to Catalan by some adolescents tends to be diluted as they enter the employment market, in which bilingual skills are recontextualised as an 'added value' for employees. A *policy for the promotion of the use of Catalan in the workplace* could, therefore, have notable repercussions and, in turn, could improve the motivation for learning at school (Bastardas 2012: 89-90).

Although it may seem obvious, here it should be specified that a necessary condition for the link between the use of Catalan and upward social mobility, and the initiatives to promote the use of Catalan in the workplace are not derived from situations of inequality. It is *necessary to guarantee universal access to the Catalan language*, which the conjunction model in Catalan in general terms (and not without contradictions, as highlighted in some of the cases raised) seems to achieve; and which should be extended to new arrivals after school age through the Consortium for Language Standardisation[30] and other organisations, facilitating access to the maximum number of people, as defended by Vila, Sorolla and Larrea (2013: 187).

Nonetheless, for a balanced distribution of skills in Catalan and Spanish to have an impact, the increase of the social use of Catalan requires the presence of certain 'facilitating' factors. After all, the increase of the uses and bilingual identification, growing language pragmatism, the weakening of the link between ethnolinguistic identity and choice, or the predominance of Spanish demographically, in the market of communication and entertainment, etc., could lead to (and has led to) doubts on the feasibility of the use of Catalan amongst young people in the long term. Within this framework, it is necessary to trust, on one hand, in the *reproduction of predominately Catalan-speaking contexts* (due to the demo-linguistic composition or the institutional regulation of uses) *in which Catalan is imposed as an undefined choice*, and which fosters, in this way, the incorporation of the use of Catalan by non Catalan-speaking family members. In parallel, some authors suggest that *it is necessary to create spaces for interpersonal relationships in Catalan within contexts that are primarily Spanish-speaking* (such as sports or leisure activities) so

29 Original quotation: 'l'ús del català indicia trajectòries de mobilitat social ascendent' (Alarcón i Parella 2013).

30 See http://www.cpnl.cat/ (date consulted: 30/09/2015)

that non Catalan-speaking family members have significant contexts for using Catalan outside the classroom (Bastardas 2012; Gonzàlez et al. 2014; I. Vila, Siqués and Oller 2009).

If these conditions do not occur, speaking Catalan becomes a choice defined as 'out of bounds' [31] (Martínez *et al.* 2012), and, therefore, dependent on the *consolidation of sectors maintaining Catalan*, whether because they consider it an 'anonymous' [32] language, suitable for public use, beyond the in-group (Pujolar and Gonzàlez 2012), or whether, through language loyalty (Boix 1996; 1997), they choose Catalan by default to speak to everyone. The importance of this profile of speakers is growing in the present context of depolarisation, in which it is difficult to attribute a linguistic origin to those spoken to, and, consequently, 'people must increasingly rely on the behaviour made available by specific actors in specific contexts' (Pujolar and Gonzàlez 2012: 3). A defined choice of Catalan in these contexts gives visibility to the people with whom it is possible to speak in Catalan, and opens the door to the consolidation of uses of this language, even in these adverse conditions. In parallel, it will be necessary to work to *prevent the 'racialisation' of language choice* when specific features do make it possible to recognise a person's origin. In conclusion (borrowed):

> *'The blurring or gradual disappearance of ethnolinguistic boundaries amongst young people should be welcome as a sign of increasing tolerance and comradeship between formerly separate communities. However, it seems obvious that the normalisation of Catalan would require some stances of language loyalty on the part of native Catalans and that a significant sector of the Spanish-speaking population should adopt Catalan in a significant way in their everyday lives. After all, if the atmosphere of tolerance would paradoxically lead to the disappearance of the Catalan language, this would not constitute any worthy contribution to linguistic and cultural diversity either' (Pujolar 1995: 14)*

To conclude, and returning to the thread of theoretical reflection that opened the conclusions, we must be careful not to make interpretations of the sociolinguistic reality of adolescents and young people by pre-judging them as a 'mirror' of the future evolution of the language community. Woolard (2011) reminds us that there is a *linguistic life* beyond youth: the linguistic repertoires and practices can still be seen to be subject to substantial modification if their communication needs and their socialisation environments change throughout their academic, professional and family lives, etc. If sociolinguistic research aims to attain an overall understanding of the challenges and opportunities for the revitalisation of Catalan as the standard language in the multilingual Catalonia of the 21st century (Vila (ed.) 2012), it must delve into the idiosyncrasies of different life stages (beyond youth), and the different social fields in which the speakers interact (beyond primary and secondary schools). Otherwise, to use an idiom, the risk is that the young trees may prevent us from seeing the wood.

Bibliography: See pages 22 to 29

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31 Original term used: 'desviada' (Martínez et al. 2012

32 On anonymity and authenticity as ideological bases for the legitimisation of languages, see Woolard (2008a; 2008b).

YOUNG PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES TO THE USE AND MEANING OF LANGUAGE IN BORDER AREAS OF SLOVENIA

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1. Introduction

Border areas represent a special kind of a "natural laboratory" where multiculturalism and multilingualism are an objective reality that needs to be understood and accepted as the result of a range of historical and political factors. Border areas are akin to peninsulas, where various influences combine. The difference between individual areas is never absolute, it is always the result of history, culture, power and ideology, as well as the current socio-economic situation. Research in this type of laboratory primarily means observing, identifying and analysing language phenomena, as well as relations between languages and cultures and, consequently, between different ethnic groups. History teaches that borders are not static, but keep changing. Borders and border areas are marked by national, political, socio-economic and cultural-linguistic factors, which give the border and the area along it a special dimension, differentiating it from other areas. The concept of a border is always dual: it is defined simultaneously by factors of separation and of contact between two systems and two cultures.

Although the borders of communication between groups living in contact change, they are always the result of political and socio-economic factors. Language in border areas has both a communicational and a symbolic dimension; it is an indicator of diversity, although it is not always the most important symbol marking a division between groups, even though it is a significant indicator of the status of a specific group and of the relations between groups (Barth, 1969). Here we must bear in mind that individual languages in these environments have different (usually unequal) reaches and that individual speakers, in addition to their own language, first master those languages which enable them to integrate into the wide communicational environment. In each border area it is possible to establish a language hierarchy or a hierarchical pyramid (Calvet, 1999) which, due to a range of factors (language policy, position on the "language market", etc.), has a different functional configuration.

In border areas, different communities have different roles and positions, which means that the languages of the communities that keep coming into contact also play different roles. Language borders do not always correspond with national ones and this gives them an additional specific characteristic. In a given situation, an individual's or group's decision to use or learn a particular language or language variant is always linked to social factors, which also influences the different perceptions and levels of acceptance of individual languages. The individual's perception of linguistic diversity is thus reflected

in his or her attitude to a particular language, which includes acceptance, knowledge and use of that language, and the influence of external/situational factors. Which language or which language form prevails within a specific context greatly depends on the individual's subjective opinion and linguistic ability, and on the socio-cultural context of that language.

Although the enlargement of the European Union altered the significance of state borders, the area along Slovenia's national boundaries is still marked by a "border" determined by language, culture, history, spatial factors and the economy. In this situation, language (irrespective of which) transcends the communicational role. Even prior to European integration processes, places on both sides of the state border – in spite of that border – formed links, be it economic or cultural ones, or through urban planning, environmental protection, infrastructure and so on. The strength and content of cooperation and connection in these border areas of course differed and fluctuated at different times, mainly because of the different political and economic conditions on either side of the border, which have always influenced differences in individual perceptions of the role and importance of linguistic and cultural diversity. But the fact that very little attention was paid to the issue of communication between the various groups within this area remains a constant throughout the whole of the recent period marked by the bridging of gaps and forging of links.

2. Young people's attitudes to the preservation of language in border areas: presentation of the empirical data

Precisely because so little attention has been paid to the role and importance of language or languages in border areas, our research among young people and their parents in towns along the borders between Slovenia and Italy (Nova Gorica/Gorizia), Slovenia and Austria (Gornja Radgona/Bad Radkersburg) and Slovenia and Hungary (Lendava/Szentgotthárd) strove to ascertain how different generations perceived border areas, their characteristics and rules.[1] Such areas are marked by different languages – the state language, the language of the neighbouring state, foreign languages. The towns included in the research may be ethnically heterogeneous or homogeneous, which means that the positions of individual languages are different. In some of the border areas dealt with, for example, Gorizia, Lendava and Szentgotthárd, the language of the neighbouring state is also the language of a minority community.

The research included young people aged between 14 and 15, and their parents; the sample comprised 350 youngsters and 355 of the older generation. A group interview was conducted with the youngsters and a survey with their parents. A structured questionnaire was used, comprising 31 (closed and open) questions. These questions

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1 "The Perception of Cultural and Linguistic Diversity in Border Areas". Research coordinator Dr Sonja Novak-Lukanovič, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana, 2004-2006. The study was carried out at 7 selected schools in border towns: along the border between Slovenia and Italy at the Milojka Štrukelj primary school in Nova Gorica and the Vittorio Locchi school in Gorizia where the language of instruction is Italian, and the Ivan Trinko school, where the language of instruction is Slovene; on the border between Slovenia and Austria at the Gornja Radgona primary school and the Bad Radkersburg secondary school; and on the border between Slovenia and Hungary at the bilingual school in Lendava and the bilingual school in Szentgotthárd.

related to the individual's perception of the social environment, their attitude to the state language, to the neighbouring (minority) language and foreign languages, their (self-assessed) knowledge of these languages, the media they followed, cross-border contacts and cooperation between schools along the border, and their attitude towards the neighbouring language being included in the curriculum. The implementation of the empirical part of the study included partners from neighbouring countries. On the Italian side, this was ISIG (Istituto di sociologia internazionale) from Gorizia, in Austria the University of Klagenfurt, and in Hungary the Association of Slovenes in Hungary.

The main research hypotheses were that:

- in the border area, knowledge of the neighbouring language is influenced by economic factors;
- the knowledge of the neighbouring language is influenced by cross-border contacts and the presence of the media;
- the presence of a minority and the minority language within a social environment influences the perception of the minority language as the neighbouring language and the success of intercultural communication;
- there are inter-generational differences in the evaluation of the importance of the knowledge of the neighbouring language, the second language and foreign languages.

■ **Map of Slovenia:**
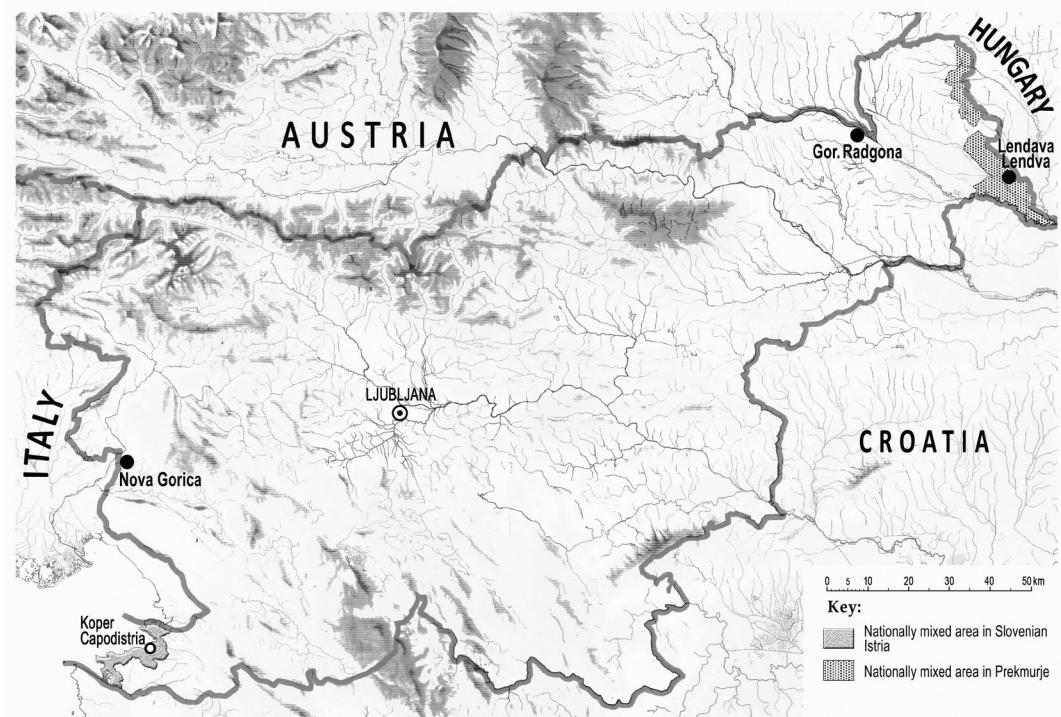
This article focuses on the results from three border towns in Slovenia – Nova Gorica, Gornja Radgona and Lendava – and on presenting collected data that directly or indirectly throw light on the role and importance that language or languages have for young people in border towns. Language as the most common form of social behaviour is not merely the bearer of meanings and thoughts, but is also pregnant with social and cultural implications – it is an ideological object, the use of which is incorporated into the system of social inequality (Golden 2001). By presenting the collected results, arranged in thematic groups (perception of the social environment, attitude to language, self-assessment of competence in the neighbouring language, the influence of the media and cross-border contacts on the language), we wish to show language and multilingualism as a value, not only with regard to the border areas but also within the modern world, and as part of the only path to tolerance and harmony within the diverse global society.

2.1. Perception of the social environment

The participants were asked what the characteristics were of the town where they lived. As an illustration, here are some of the thoughts young people expressed about their town and how they placed language in this environment:

Young people from Gornja Radgona said about their town:

> *... near the border with Austria and Hungary where you can shop more cheaply and get a job in Austria ...; ... a border town, a big fair at the end of August ...; ... near Austria – there are shops there ...; ... tourists come and consequently tourism develops ...; near the border and Austria; ... they speak German everywhere ...; cheaper and better goods than in Austria ...; near the border and various forms of cooperation with Austria ....*

Young people in Lendava saw their town in the following way:

> *... a small town, near Hungary and Croatia ...; ... I can speak in my mother tongue ...; ... since I was a child, I've been learning two languages ...; ... bilingualism is a special feature of my town ...; ... two languages, two cultures ...; ... I can speak in two languages ...; ... the possibility of learning Hungarian, the cultural centre, population diversity ...; inter-state cooperation, mixed population ....*

The results showed that the young people in all three border towns had a clear idea of their local environment. They all recognise the influence of the state border and its influence on local life, as well as the good and the bad sides of life in a border town. The young people of Lendava are also aware that they live in a town that is ethnically heterogeneous. They perceive the importance of living in an area where two languages meet. Knowledge of two languages – Slovene and Hungarian – and the use of two languages in public interaction were included among the good sides of life there. On the basis of the assessments of our respondents, in all the three towns there is a marked awareness of the connections between cultures, whilst the knowledge of the language of the neighbouring country plays an important role in individuals' lives and marks the quality of coexistence.

2.2. Attitude to language

The attitude to language – be it the state language, the neighbouring language or a foreign language, a first or second language – is a very broad concept that reflects not only the attitude to the language itself, but also to relations among individuals and among different ethnic communities in the widest sense. The attitude to language is difficult to define and measure since it is subjectively coloured (Giles, Hewstone, Ball, 1983). Moreover, it involves feelings and is in a way an emotional response to a certain situation; it is a complex and psychological whole that includes knowledge, feelings and behaviour. Attitudes are also sensitive to situational factors, particularly the attitude towards the minority language or the neighbouring language. This is why it is sometimes difficult in research to assess/evaluate/measure the results and it is necessary to analyse a number of different parameters – historical, political, geographical, economic – and take into account the current situation. One of the fundamental questions that researchers pose is whether the attitude of an individual to language is one- or two-dimensional. Some think that it is one-dimensional and that it represents an individual's positive or negative attitude to a specific action connected with language. Others treat attitude to language exclusively as a multi-dimensional category, primarily when the importance and consequences of linguistic acts change. In my opinion, based on the empirical data from the study, the attitude to language is multi-dimensional and dynamic.

Furthermore, there is a difference between an attitude to language in the sense of ethnicity (i.e. the stance towards a specific language) and a "pragmatic" attitude, where economic and practical reasons prevail, which will be discussed later. Of course, this distinction is sometimes difficult to transfer into everyday life, being sometimes too simplistic, particularly if we consider what language means in connection with ethnicity, since the relationship between the two always requires interdisciplinary treatment. The attitude to language should always be dealt with from the widest perspective, taking into account all the visible and hidden evaluations about language and its varieties, its speakers, everything relating to its promotion, preservation or planning, and language learning. The attitude to language can be overt, covert or both at the same time, and momentary or lasting, superficial or deeply rooted in its very fundamentals.

Our research tried to throw light on the attitude to language through responses to a series of statements, with the aim of ascertaining in which field the importance of an individual language is most apparent and significant. As the language of the neighbouring country has a specific role in a border area, which goes beyond the merely communicational, we present data that indicate how younger and older generations classify the importance of knowing the language of their neighbour. We strove to ascertain the attitude to Italian, German and Hungarian. We offered a number of statements and tried to find generational differences that result from the socio-cultural and historical differences of each period. We based this on the hypothesis that in an ethnically mixed environment, respondents' attitudes to the neighbouring language would be different where it is also the language of the minority community (e.g. in Lendava). We also expected that in certain respects respondents would ascribe to the neighbouring/minority language greater value or importance than to any foreign language. In the

tables below (1 and 2) we present data indicating the different level of agreement with the given statements that throw light on the attitude to language.

■ **Table 1: Statements about the importance of knowing the neighbouring language – young people**

Statement	Nova Gorica	Gornja Radgona	Lendava
We need to know the neighbouring language for business contacts in the border area	**6.75**	**6.32**	**6.94**
We need to know the neighbouring language for communication in the border area	5.54	5.73	6.45
We need to know the neighbouring language for employment on the other side of the border	7.24	6.76	7.31
We need to know the neighbouring language for employment in the local/border environment	3.62	3.10	4.34
We need to know the neighbouring language as an indication of a suitable education	4.75	4.06	4.14
We need to know the neighbouring language to understand the culture of the neighbouring nation	5.24	4.65	4.76
We need to know the neighbouring language for social prestige	3.32	3.73	3.42
We need to know the neighbouring language for study and training	4.11	5.04	3.64
We need to know the neighbouring language for communication within the EU	4.45	5.62	3.99

(Friedman test - Rank- higher value = higher agreement)

Statement	Nova Gorica	Gornja Radgona	Lendava
We need to know the neighbouring language for business contacts in the border area	7.22	6.32	6.95
We need to know the neighbouring language for communication in the border area	5.88	5.80	6.74
We need to know the neighbouring language for employment on the other side of the border	**7.18**	5.87	**6.58**
We need to know the neighbouring language for employment in the local/border environment	3.47	3.48	5.12
We need to know the neighbouring language as an indication of a suitable education	5.47	4.92	4.49
We need to know the neighbouring language to understand the culture of the neighbouring nation	4.89	4.36	5.03
We need to know the neighbouring language for social prestige	4.04	3.89	3.70
We need to know the neighbouring language for study and training	3.54	4.92	3.49
We need to know the neighbouring language for communication within the EU	3.31	5.43	2.91

(Friedman test - Rank- higher value = higher agreement)

Using statistical methods (Friedman test), we found that both the younger and older generations (regardless of the town) strongly agree with the statement that the inhabitants of their area and the population on the other side of the border need to know the neighbouring language for business contacts. They also strongly agree with the statement that knowing the neighbouring language is necessary for getting employment in the border area on the other side of the border. A statistical difference between the two generations was detected here, with the older generation not being quite as strongly convinced of this statement (although in comparison with to the other statements, they do strongly agree with this one). In this respect, both the young and their parents from Gornja Radgona (the town on the border with Austria) deviate slightly, since they do not ascribe such great importance to knowing the neighbouring language – German – in connection with employment. From the analysis of the other data we can conclude that the older generation is employed in their home town and is not aware of employment opportunities across the border. In addition, in their work they use not only the neighbouring language in communication with their partners, but also other languages. The fact that the neighbouring language holds a different status in differ-

ent social environments is confirmed by the fact that in Lendava both youngsters and their parents agreed much more than those in Nova Gorica and Gornja Radgona with the statement that the neighbouring language was important for employment in their home town, where knowledge of both Slovene and Hungarian is required for working in public institutions (Novak Lukanovič, 2002; 2009). The responses of young people reflect an awareness of the flexibility and plurality of the labour market which demands mobility, irrespective of personal circumstances, and consequently ascribe greater importance than their parents to the knowledge of the neighbouring language in relation to study and training.

Analysis of the data also showed that both the younger and older participants did not ascribe great importance to the knowledge of the neighbouring language for the social prestige of the individual or for communication; furthermore, they did not see language competence as an advantage or a value in learning about and understanding the neighbouring culture. But they placed great emphasis on the economic aspect – such as business contacts, employment in the home border area, employment on the other side of the border. This indicates that they were very pragmatic in their assessments and perceptions and perceived the importance of knowing the language only in connection with a direct benefit. Our data confirmed that the motivation for learning and mastering the neighbouring language is strongly marked by the economic factor, which has also been noticed by other authors (Vaillancourt, 1996; Erreygers, Jacobs, 2005, Čok, 2006).

We also asked what respondents thought about the language of the neighbouring country being included in the school curriculum – be it as an obligatory or elective subject, or not at all. This question illustrates well the attitude of the participants to the neighbouring language. The results show that most (both children and parents) supported the learning of the language of the neighbouring country within the school programme. In addition, most believed that the neighbouring country should include Slovene in its school programme.

2.3. Self-evaluation of competence in the neighbouring language

Competence in the language of the neighbouring country is undoubtedly a significant indicator of the inter-cultural aspect of life in border towns. The results confirmed our assumptions that there would be a difference between specific areas, particularly between those that are ethnically mixed, since in these environments, for example in Lendava[2], the language of the neighbouring country is also the language of the minority community and enjoys legal parity to Slovene, i.e. it is an official language (Nećak Lük, 2003). We expected to see a marked difference in the self-assessed level among the participants of the three towns; the statistical calculations confirmed the differences among the schools (p= 0.000).

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2   Lendava is a town in the NE of Slovenia, by the border with Hungary. The Lendava area has the status of an ethnically mixed area, which guarantees the Hungarian national minority equal status.

Our research did not measure the level of language competence suggested by theory (Cummins, 1984), but rather we tried to ascertain how the surveyed children and their parents themselves assessed their knowledge of the language of the neighbouring country with regard to different skills ('I can understand, speak, read, write'). We are aware that such an assessment is subjectively coloured and contains numerous external socio-cultural dimensions, but we used it as an orientational value which, together with attitudes, indicates the general attitude to language and the place it holds in society as well as in individuals' views. We thus obtained a statistically average self-assessment of the knowledge of the neighbouring language: in Nova Gorica this language was Italian, in Gornja Radgona German and in Lendava Hungarian, the latter also being a minority language (Table 3).

■ **Table 3: Average self-assessment of the knowledge of the neighbouring language**

Children:

School	average	N	Stand. deviation
Nova Gorica	3.11	40	1.248
Gornja Radgona	3.67	71	1.333
Lendava	**4.59**	52	1.080

Parents:

School	average	N	Stand. deviation
Nova Gorica	3.60	36	1.241
Gornja Radgona	**4.14**	74	1.064
Lendava	4.03	39	1.635

Scale: 6 = very good, 5 = good, 4 = neither good nor bad, 3 = bad, 2 = very bad, 1 = none

The highest rating (4.59) was for Hungarian among the youngsters in Lendava, which was expected since in Lendava this languagehas a different status than Italian in Nova Gorica and German in Gornja Radgona. In Lendava, pupils attend a bilingual primary school, where they encounter the two languages in a guided manner every day; in addition, the area is characterised by institutional bilingualism. In the interpretation of the data it is necessary to take into account that the included sample of pupils from Lendava was ethnically and linguistically mixed and that among the children there was a relatively high percentage of those whose first language was Hungarian. Thus in this context, Hungarian was not only a neighbouring language, but for some their first language (L1) and for others their L2. The data shows (Table 4) that the pupils whose L1 was Slovene self-assessed their knowledge of Hungarian at a high level, which is undoubtedly a result of successful bilingual education. The difference between the

two generations was noticeable – the children's parents assessed their own knowledge of Hungarian as worse than their children's. There are a number of possible reasons for this: perhaps they did not attend a bilingual school, perhaps quite a few years had passed since their bilingual education, or they did not come into contact with the Hungarian language.

■ **Table 4: Self-assessment of competence in Hungarian as the L1 or L2 in Lendava**

Value 1 means "none", value 6 means "very good".

First language- L1	Generation	N	understands Hungarian	speaks Hungarian	reads Hungarian	writes Hungarian
Slovene	children	39	4.56	4.15	4.41	4.31
	parents	16	4.13	4.06	3.88	3.44
Hungarian	children	12	5.75	5.67	5.33	5.50
	parents	15	5.60	5.40	5.27	5.20
Other	children	1	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
	parents	9	2.63	1.75	1.63	1.38

Research data also show that in Lendava there is a relatively high percentage of parents whose first language is neither Slovene nor Hungarian. These are economic migrants from the successor countries of the former Yugoslavia, for whom both Slovene and Hungarian represent a second language and consequently their self-assessment level was expected.

The knowledge of Italian in Nova Gorica was self-assessed as worse than the other languages in thr other two towns, which can be attributed to the fact that Italian is not taught in school, whilst in Gornja Radgona German is taught in primary school as the foreign language (English in other towns). It is interesting that among the parents there were no statistical deviations with regard to the school (and consequently there were no differences regarding language). The highest self-assessed level of competence was given to the knowledge of the neighbouring language – German in this case – by the parents in Gornja Radgona. This can be explained by the fact that German is taught as the foreign language in both primary and secondary schools in Gornja Radgona, and that economic and cultural cooperation among the border towns is very strong. For these people, German is not only the neighbouring language but, in the opinion of our respondents, it is also important as a foreign language – a relatively high percentage put it in first place. The parents from Gornja Radgona, particularly those with higher education, ranked knowledge of German as very important, both for business contacts and employment, as well as with regard to communication within the EU. In Nova Gorica and Lendava, English was put in first place when deciding which foreign language was most important. In contrast to their parents, the children come across

a foreign language in school, many also through the media. In addition, the social climate focuses greatly on knowledge of foreign languages as key to individual success. It is significant that the results of the self-assessed competence in the foreign language did not show deviations between different schools.

2.4. The influence of the media and cross-border contacts on language

Language competence levels are influenced by numerous factors connected with the socio-cultural environment. One is the presence of the media in the other language and the extent to which they are followed and another is cross-border contact. By way of illustration, it is worth mentioning how much the participating children and their parents from the three Slovene border towns watched television programmes from the neighbouring country. The results of our research showed that the inhabitants of the three towns differed in how much they followed the media in the neighbouring language. The relative frequency is shown in Table 5.

■   **Table 5: Do you watch TV programmes from the neighbouring country?**

		Never	Less than twice a month	2-3 times a month	Once a week	Several times a week	N
Nova Gorica	N	12	8	6	10	41	77
	%	15.6%	10.4%	7.8%	13.0%	53.2%	100.0%
Gornja Radgona	N	8	20	14	15	89	146
	%	5.5%	13.7%	9.6%	10.3%	61.0%	100.0%
Lendava	N	19	14	6	14	38	91
	%	20.9%	15.4%	6.6%	15.4%	41.8%	100.0%

The analysis showed a statistical difference between the towns ($p < 0.005$): respondents in Gornja Radgona (particularly the parents) watched Austrian television more than their counterparts in the other towns watched TV from the neighbouring country. We were able to link this piece of data with their self-assessment of their knowledge of German. Parents in Gornja Radgona self-assessed their knowledge of the neighbouring language (German) higher than those in Nova Gorica and Lendava,

As already mentioned, border areas mark division but they also connect: contacts are forged at different levels and in different directions. The inhabitants of a border town shape their view of the country and life across the border in various ways – from direct personal experience, through the media, from contacts with others, etc. All this influences the intercultural aspect of life in these areas and contributes to the preservation of languages. The participants in our research often visited the neighbouring country. The purpose of these visits is shown in the table below (Table 6).

■   **Table 6: Visiting the neighbouring country**

Reasons/persons	in NG		in G R		in LE	
Shops	54	70.1%	101	68.7%	77	83.7%
Friends	31	40.3%	37	25.2%	19	20.7%
Restaurants	31	40.3%	42	28.6%	65	70.7%
Tourism	27	35.1%	31	21.1%	41	44.6%
Relatives	25	32.5%	26	17.7%	16	17.4%
Culture	20	26.0%	22	15.0%	28	30.4%
Sport	15	19.5%	22	15.0%	25	27.2%
Banks	14	18.2%	46	31.3%	44	47.8%
Public institutions	13	16.9%	16	10.9%	17	18.5%

NG= Nova Gorica, GR= Gornja Radgona, LE= Lendava

The results show that the neighbouring country was most frequently visited for shopping, going to restaurants, meeting with friends and attending cultural events; the language used with regard to these was the one that the participants had better knowledge of, which confirms the assumption that the level of linguistic competence had an influence on these visits.

3. Conclusion

This article presents only some of the results of the study, which throw light on the attitude of the young to languages, particularly the language of the neighbouring country, and this creates the conditions for the intercultural aspect of life in border towns. The ethnically mixed border area, where the neighbour's language is also the language of the minority community, stands out with regard to the assessment of the importance of language competence. The presented results indicate that individuals are aware of the cultural and linguistic diversity in the border area. The influence of the border was perceived by both children and their parents, and there was no indication of a generational difference. We found that differences among schools exist mostly in the self-assessment of competence in the neighbouring language, whilst attitudes to individual languages showed no statistical deviations. The linguistic/cultural diversity of the area is perceived by the participants in the various forms of cooperation in socio-cultural and economic fields. The results show a strong connection between language and the economy, where knowing the language of the "neighbour" represents an important, even fundamental element for successful business cooperation in the border area. Although learning and mastering the neighbour's language opens up to an individual another person's world and contributes towards understanding differentness, the study participants mostly concentrated on the economic aspect.

The ability to speak a language, having an opportunity to use that language and creating a climate where speakers see language as the result of social and cultural meanings, are pre-conditions for intercultural communication in every social environment, especially in the border areas involved in our research. In such areas, which can justifiably be called "natural laboratories", learning and using the language of the neighbouring country represents to the young a powerful instrument for overcoming differences and contributes to the social development of the border area.

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JEUNESSE ET REVITALISATION DES LANGUES AUTOCHTONES : LE CAS DU CAMEROUN

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Résumé

Le Cameroun est un pays multilingue et multiculturel, avec plus de 239 langues (Binam Bikoi, C., éd., 2012) parmi les quelle des langues de large diffusion (14), des langues de moindre diffusion, des langues résiduelles et des langues éteintes (14). Ce dernier groupe désigne les langues qui n'ont plus de locuteurs, situation provenant du manque de transmission de ces langues aux jeunes générations. Les recherches antérieures nous révèlent que la pratique orale des langues autochtones en milieu jeune scolarisés régresse. Dans les interactions en milieu jeune, les langues les plus utilisées au Cameroun sont les langues officielles, le français et l'anglais, langues d'éducation, d'administration et de communication publique. Les langues autochtones, malgré le statut de langues nationales auquel elles ont été érigées par le Chef de l'Etat (Cf. la constitution révisée de 1996) ne suscitent pas assez d'engouement, après presqu'un siècle de détournement commandité par l'administration coloniale au lendemain de la première guerre mondiale, que ce soit l'usage oral ou l'usage écrit. La « transmission intergénérationnelle » des langues nationales est indispensable pour une meilleure appropriation de la pratique orale des langues nationales en milieu jeune. Toutefois, à défaut de cette transmission intergénérationnelle, de nombreuses occasions sont offertes aux jeunes pour leur permettre d'apprendre les langues du terroir. La pratique des langues nationales en famille devrait être encouragée à travers les médias et renforcée par des programmes incitatifs. La pratique étendue de l'enseignement en langues nationales et le prestige accordé aux valeurs culturelles endogènes constitueraient également des moyens efficaces qui pourraient être utilisés pour corriger la régression de la pratique orale des langues nationales en milieu jeune.

Introduction

Le besoin de revitalisation des langues autochtones est un phénomène mondial. En 2000, Micheal Krauss prédisait que vers la fin du 21ème siècle, 90% des 6000 langues parlées dans le monde auront disparu. Ces données publiées par Krauss ont éveillé la conscience des communautés linguistiques sur le besoin de revitalisation des langues minoritaires. Les données récentes révèlent que le pourcentage prédit par Krauss a diminué presque de moitié. De nos jours, 46% de langues parlées dans le monde et parmi elle la majorité des langues d'Afrique, sont menacées de disparition d'ici la fin du 21ème siècle. Les communautés linguistiques minoritaires prennent de plus en plus conscience du besoin de revitaliser leur langue. Toutefois, la situation reste inquiétante. Si prêt de la moitié des langues parlées dans le monde sont menacées de disparition, il va sans dire que d'énormes pertes se feront ressentir sur la diversité culturelle mondiale et sur l'équilibre général de la biodiversité. L'avenir des langues minoritaires devrait être

une des préoccupations majeures dans le but d'assurer la préservation de la diversité culturelle mondiale et l'équilibre de la biodiversité. La préservation d'une langue est assurée de prime abord lorsque les jeunes de ladite langue s'en approprient et s'engagent à la faire vivre à travers son usage diversifié. Cet article décrit dans un premier temps les actions entreprises dans le domaine de la revitalisation des langues en milieu jeune au Cameroun. Nous parlerons ensuite de la place et du rôle de la jeunesse dans la revitalisation des langues autochtones.

1. La revitalisation des langues autochtones en milieu jeune : actions entreprises au Cameroun

La langue est généralement « l'expression de la force d'un peuple ». Un peuple dont les langues nationales sont en voie de disparition à cause d'une crise de transmission intergénérationnelle et de l'absence de prestige accordé aux valeurs culturelles endogènes est l'expression d'une faiblesse indicible. La jeunesse désignée par les autorités politiques comme le « fer de lance de la nation », est généralement caractérisée par l'ambition et le dynamisme. Le dynamisme de la jeunesse transparait dans plusieurs secteurs d'activités. Les jeunes sont présents en politique, en économie, et dans divers autres domaines de socialisation. Les attitudes et représentations des jeunes face aux langues autochtones et à la civilisation de leurs ancêtres de manière générale, à la suite du discours et de l'éducation coloniale, étaient dépréciatives d'une façon générale. Cette tendance s'observe dans les anciennes colonies et trouve généralement sa justification dans les pratiques linguistiques assimilatrices imposées pendant la période coloniale. Cinquante ans après les indépendances, la situation a beaucoup évolué. Les peuples dits « indigènes » prennent de plus en plus conscience des valeurs culturelles importantes que les langues autochtones véhiculent. De nombreuses actions sont menées au Cameroun dans le but d'amener les jeunes à s'approprier leurs langues et leurs cultures, et à les faire revivre, pour réaliser leur épanouissement profond et leur développement.

1.1 Les ateliers de vacances en langues nationales

Les ateliers de vacances en langues nationales se déroulent au Cameroun à deux niveaux. Le niveau officiel et le niveau privé. Au niveau officiel, il s'agit des cours de vacances en langues nationales organisés par le Ministère de la Culture à l'intention des enfants de 5 à 20 ans. Au niveau privé, il s'agit des cours de vacances organisés par les comités de langues. Les informations recueillies nous ont permis d'élaborer le tableau ci-après qui rend compte des langues qui étaient impliquées dans ce programme en 2014, du contenu des apprentissages et des compétences des enfants dans l'acquisition de l'expression orale en langue maternelle à la fin de l'atelier.

■ Tableau récapitulatif des informations recueillies au sujet du déroulement des ateliers de vacances organisés par le Ministère de la Culture en 2014

Nom de la langue nationale	Langue première des enfants	Contenu des apprentissages (presque identique pour toutes les langues)	Compétence dans l'expression orale en langue nationale à la fin de l'atelier
fe'efe'e	français	Les salutations, les présentations, le corps humain, les expressions usuelles, comment compter, les chants, les contes	Moyenne
ghɔmálá'	français	Les salutations, les présentations, le corps humain, les expressions usuelles, les chants, les contes et les récits	Moyenne
Fufulde	français	Les salutations, les présentations, le corps humain, les expressions usuelles, les chants, les contes et les récits	Moyenne
Duala	français	Les salutations, les présentations, le corps humain, les expressions usuelles, les chants, les contes et les récits, comment compter	Moyenne

Les encadreurs de ces cours sont soit des personnes formées par les comités de langues, soit des volontaires, soit des étudiants du Département de langues africaines et Linguistique de l'Université de Yaoundé 1.

L'objectif principal de ces cours de vacances est d'éveiller la conscience des enfants sur l'importance des langues nationales et de les amener à acquérir une compétence orale préliminaire en ces diverses langues, afin de pouvoir se sentir en famille dans l'aire linguistique où ces langues sont parlées. La durée des cours n'est que d'un mois, les cours ne sont pas organisés par niveaux d'apprentissage et les élèves qui reviennent chaque année sont différents de ceux qui y étaient l'année précédente. Il va sans dire qu'il ne s'agit que de l'imprégnation aux pratiques linguistiques locales. Ces cours de vacances auraient été plus bénéfiques s'ils étaient mieux structurés.

En marge de l'action du gouvernement, plusieurs organisations non gouvernementales s'activent pendant les vacances pour offrir aux jeunes la possibilité d'apprendre leur langue maternelle.

S'agissant des comités de langues duala, ghomálá', fe'efe'e, beti et medumbà, ngyemboon, yémba, pour ne citer que ceux-là, ils organisent des cours de vacances à l'intention des jeunes de toutes les tranches d'âge. Ces cours ont pour objectif l'inculturation des jeunes à travers les pratiques orale et écrite des langues maternelles et l'imprégnation à quelques pratiques culturelles. Ceux qui enseignent lors de ces cours sont généralement ceux qui avaient été formés lors du Programme de Recherche Opérationnelle pour l'Enseignement des Langues au Cameroun (PROPELCA), ainsi que d'autres que ces derniers ont formés. Le programme PROPELCA fut mené avec succès par les chercheurs du Centre ANACLAC de Linguistique appliquée, ceux de la Société internationale de Linguistique (SIL) et ceux de l'Université de Yaoundé 1 au Cameroun, sous la direction du Pr. Maurice Tadadjeu (lauréat linguapax 2005), de regretté mémoire, assisté par une forte équipe d'universitaires, coordonnateurs scientifiques régionaux des programmes. Il va sans dire que ceux-là qui avaient été formés dans le cadre du programme PROPELCA ont mis leurs compétences en valeur au sein de

leur communautés respectives en formant des formateurs qui assurent aujourd'hui la continuité de l'enseignement des langues et cultures nationales dans des établissements privés d'éducation de base, d'enseignement secondaire, dans des classes d'alphabétisation et d'éducation non-formelle.

Sans être exhaustif, les enseignements en ce qui concerne la langue pendant les cours de vacances organisés par les comités de langues tournent autour de l'apprentissage des chants (les chansons traditionnelles, l'hymne national en langue maternelle), la conversation dans diverses situations de vie, la construction orale des phrases, les formules de politesses, comment se présenter en langues maternelles, l'apprentissage des jours de la semaine en langue maternelle (la semaine de huit jours chez les Bamiléké), les mois de l'année en langue maternelle, comment compter de un à cent en langues maternelles, l'alphabet et les pratiques d'écriture. En ce qui concerne la culture, les enseignements portent sur l'histoire du peuple, les coutumes, la sagesse à travers les proverbes et les contes, les légendes, les chansons et les arts, les interdits sociaux. Ces cours sont structurés par niveau d'apprentissage.

Chez les duala par exemple, pendant les vacances l'année 2014, les élèves se sont imprégnés des pratiques culturelles sawa ; comment nouer les différents types de pagnes par exemple, comment apprêter les mets traditionnels sawa, les pas de dance duala, les rituels liés à la pirogue et à l'eau chez les duala, etc. … Ce qui était impressionnant lors de ces cours de vacances est que les enfants non dualaphones qui ont pris part à ces cours de vacances s'exprimaient très bien en duala comme des natifs duala. Pour les enfants de la langue ghomala' et de la langue basaa qui prennent part à ces cours que nous avons observés, le duala deviendra leur « langue d'ouverture culturelle ». La pratique du multilinguisme favorise l'inclusion sociale. Les cours de vacances en langue duala à des jeunes de différentes classes d'âges vivant dans une localité donnée sans discrimination d'aire linguistique d'origine contribuent à l'intégration sociale en milieu jeune et valorisent les pratiques plurilingues.

A ce jour, ces cours de vacances cependant se déroulent en très peu de langues, entre une et deux dizaines, des 239 langues parlées au Cameroun. Ils auraient un plus grand impact s'il y'avait une synergie entre le Ministère de la Culture et le Centre ANACLAC de Linguistique appliquée (CLA), au travers des comités de langues camerounaises. Une synergie d'action entre les deux institutions permettrait de mieux implémenter la volonté politique de l'Etat, dans l'initiative des ateliers de vacances en langues nationales. Au cours des années quatre vingt dix et au début des années deux mille, le CLA a accompagné tous les comités de langues locales dans les activités d'alphabétisation des jeunes et des adultes en langues nationales. C'est faute de ressources financières nécessaires que ce programme de revitalisation des langues nationales est réduit à quelques localités où les élites réussissent à mobiliser leurs propres ressources. Les cours de vacances actuels organisés par le Ministère de la culture devaient être structurés par niveau d'apprentissage et devraient s'étendre sur plus d'un mois. L'acquisition des compétences dans l'apprentissage de la langue orale, l'apprentissage de la langue écrite et l'apprentissage des divers aspects de la culture véhiculée par la langue en un seul mois, produit difficilement chez les apprenants l'impact souhaité, surtout chez ceux qui ont le français comme langue première et qui abordent leur langues d'origine comme des langues secondes.

1.2 L'enseignement formel des langues autochtones au secondaire et les cours d'auto-alphabétisation en langues nationales

La vitalité d'une langue est assurée par l'enseignement de cette langue, que ce soit en éducation formelle qu'en éducation non-formelle. Depuis plus de cinq ans, un concours d'entrée à l'Ecole normale supérieure (ENS) à l'Université de Yaoundé 1 au Cameroun, filière Langues et Cultures Camerounaises est ouvert aux jeunes âgés de 28 ans maximum pour le premier cycle et 32 ans maximum pour le second cycle. A la fin de leur formation, les jeunes qui ont réussi à ce concours jouissent des mêmes privilèges que ceux des autres filières. Ils ont également les mêmes obligations professionnelles. Cette décision de l'Etat donne désormais du prestige aux langues et cultures camerounaises. L'une des conditions pour s'en sortir vaillamment au Département de Langues et Cultures camerounaises de l'ENS est que le candidat devrait maîtriser au moins une langue camerounaise. Pour ceux qui n'ont pas une bonne maîtrise de la pratique écrite de leurs langues maternelles, les cours d'auto-alphabétisation leur permettent de se mettre à niveau.

Au sujet des cours d'auto-alphabétisation, Sadembouo dans sa communication présentée au colloque organisé à l'ENS en 2014 donne l'explication suivante en ce qui concerne l'enseignement supérieur au Cameroun :

> *Ce programme est une nouvelle orientation de la formation en langues africaines qui est tout à fait différente de celle des années 1970 qui fut suspendue en 1974 et qui portait sur des langues spécifiques. L'université choisit d'enseigner toutes les langues et offre la possibilité aux étudiants de la filière d'apprendre à lire et à écrire en leur langue et de découvrir les structures grammaticales et des textes de leur langue. Nous nous sommes engagés à développer la pédagogie de ce cours en la rapprochant de celle de la section « systèmes d'écriture » et de la section « grammaire et analyse du discours des cours découvre ta langue que la société internationale de linguistique organisait à l'intention des jeunes chercheurs pendant les vacances»*

> *Le rôle de l'encadreur revient à amener le locuteur participant à découvrir les théories et les procédés linguistiques sur la base desquels le système d'écriture d'une langue est scientifiquement développé et à les appliquer à sa langue maternelle, à travers des exercices pratiques. L'encadreur se charge donc d'exposer à la classe les théories linguistiques(techniques d'analyse des divers aspects d'une langue) et d'assister l'apprenant à les appliquer pas à pas à sa langue maternelle et à lui faire développer ou découvrir, ce faisant, le système d'écriture de ladite langue.*

> *Ce qu'on attend du locuteur-participant, c'est qu'il ait un niveau d'éducation de base qui lui permet de comprendre les théories et les principes exposés, puis de les appliquer selon la progression du cours, étape par étape. Les exposés théoriques sont présentés à tous à la fois, peu importe la langue, mais le suivi de l'application est individuel et chacun doit développer / établir le système de sa propre langue. Toutefois, le travail de groupe est envisagé chez tous les participants-locuteurs de la langue même.*

> *A défaut d'avoir une classe à part pour chaque langue dans un contexte de multilinguisme poussé, l'auto-alphabétisation est une alternative idoine :*

> *L'auto-alphabétisation permet d'admettre dans une même classe tous les étudiants, quelle que soit leur langue.*

Elle permet d'harmoniser les orthographes des langues nationales en leur donnant une même base graphémique : ce qui facilite l'apprentissage des autres langues.

Elle permet de former des enseignants de plusieurs langues à la fois, car tous les étudiants singletons par rapport à leur langue sont rassemblés dans un atelier où ils reçoivent les mêmes cours d'alphabet, d'orthographe, de grammaire (de syntagme nominal, de syntagme verbal) que dans les ateliers de langue spécifique.

Cet exposé sur l'auto-alphabétisation nous fait découvrir le type de formation que les étudiants reçoivent lorsqu'ils sont admis au concours d'entrée à l'ENS, filière Langues et Cultures camerounaises. Ces jeunes enseignants au sortir de l'ENS sont dotés des atouts pédagogiques qui leurs permettent de bien gérer le contexte multilingue et multiculturel qui caractérise l'Afrique en général et le Cameroun en particulier. La vitalité des langues et cultures camerounaises est assurée pour les prochaines années, si le Département de Langues et Cultures camerounaises de l'ENS continue de former les jeunes dans la maîtrise de la gestion du multilinguisme. Les efforts déployés à ce niveau ces cinq dernières années sont prometteurs.

1.3 L'imprégnation des jeunes urbains à la culture des ancêtres

Les centres culturels publics et privés sont de plus en plus fonctionnels au Cameroun. Ils deviennent des lieux d'imprégnation culturelle. Sans être exhaustif, nous pouvons citer ici le Centre culturel camerounais qui vient d'être réaménagé, le centre culturel Nufi qui publie un journal trimestriel en langue fe'efe'e, journal que les locuteurs aiment lire, le centre culturel medumba qui reflète le génie culturel de cette aire linguistique particulièrement à travers les mémoires rédigés et soutenus en langue medumba dans des domaines variés touchant la langue et la culture de ce peuple. Les mémoires en langue medumba sont rédigés par les jeunes séminaristes ayant passé plus de trois années de formation au centre culturel medumba. Le foyer Bandjoun qui est un lieu d'imprégnation à la culture Bandjounaise ou ghomala'phone grouille de jeunes motivés par le désir de s'inculturer pendant les vacances.

En dehors des centres culturels qui constituent des lieux d'imprégnation culturelle, le musée national devrait également être un lieu où les jeunes camerounais peuvent découvrir la richesse de la diversité linguistique et culturelle camerounaise.

1.4 L'implication des jeunes linguistes comme volontaires dans les programmes de recherche du Centre ANACLAC de Linguistique appliquée

Au centre ANACLAC de Linguistique appliquée, les jeunes il y'a quelques années ont travaillé comme volontaires dans le cadre du « Basic Standardisation of all unwritten African Languages (BASAL). Les volontaires BASAL étaient en quelques sorte des pionniers en matière de développement de la forme écrite d'une langue qui jusqu'à leur arrivée dans la localité, existait sous la forme orale uniquement. Ces jeunes une fois présents dans une aire linguistique donnée, passaient 24 mois pour élaborer une forme écrite de la langue parlée dans l'aire linguistique où ils se trouvent et développer le ma-

tériel didactique de référence pour l'enseignement de ladite langue. Tel fut par exemple le cas de la langue bamvele à l'Est-Cameroun, pour ne citer que ce cas. Les manuels de référence développés en bamvele et en gwete sont utiles pour l'enseignement de ces langues tant milieu formel qu'en milieu non-formel. L'absence de ressources financières a malheureusement conduit à l'interruption de ce programme qui était pourtant une stratégie de revitalisation efficace des langues en voie de disparition.

2. La place et le rôle de la jeunesse dans la revitalisation des langues autochtones

Pour assurer la pérennité d'une langue, l'une des méthodes est la transmission de cette langue aux jeunes générations. Les jeunes au Cameroun constituent une proportion très importante de la population totale. L'avenir du Cameroun dépend du niveau d'implication des jeunes dans tous les domaines de socialisation possibles. Une crise de transmission des langues nationales aux jeunes constitue un frein au développement et un handicap à assurer la vitalité de ces langues. En effet, la vitalité d'une langue devrait être fonction du double facteur ci-après :

➔ le niveau d'appropriation de la langue en question par les jeunes générations ;
➔ le niveau d'utilisation de cette langue par les jeunes dans tous les domaines de socialisation possibles.

■ Figure 1 : la vitalité d'une langue est proportionnelle au niveau d'appropriation et d'utilisation de cette langue par les jeunes générations

Appropriation de la langue

Niveau de vitalité de la langue

Utilisation de cette langue par les jeunes générations
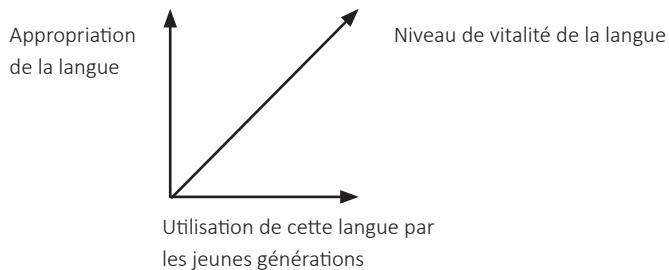
2.1 Les jeunes et l'appropriation des langues autochtones

L'appropriation est un phénomène qui est précédé par la valeur intrinsèque qu'un « sujet héros» se fait de l'objet en quête. En d'autres termes, en l'absence d'un « objet valeur », il n'y'a pas de motivation pour un phénomène d'appropriation. Les jeunes devraient adopter une attitude responsable en matière d'appropriation des langues et cultures endogènes. Un jeune responsable est un jeune conscient des valeurs culturelles endogènes. C'est un jeune qui possède une attitude positive au sujet de ses valeurs culturelles. Puisque la responsabilité s'accompagne de l'action, un jeune responsable entreprendra des actions qui lui permettront de s'approprier sa langue maternelle.

Il est sans aucun doute réel que « la transmission intergénérationnelle » des langues et cultures endogènes aux jeunes générations relève de la responsabilité des adultes de prime abord. Ce sont les parents qui ont la responsabilité de transmettre leurs langues à leurs enfants et cette transmission est importante dans la tendre enfance. Toutefois, les jeunes qui ont pour langues maternelles le français ou l'anglais pour le cas du Cameroun peuvent apprendre leurs langues maternelles comme langues secondes. Plusieurs opportunités se présentent aux jeunes qui voudraient apprendre leurs langues maternelles. Outres les activités sus énumérées qui sont menées au Cameroun en milieu jeunes (les cours de vacances organisés par les comités de langues, les ateliers de vacances organisés par le Ministère de la Culture), les jeunes peuvent également se rapprocher de leurs membres de familles qui maîtrisent leur langue maternelle pour apprendre auprès d'eux. Mba (2012) en faisant le point sur les travaux antérieures en matière de revitalisation des langues au Cameroun nous révèle en citant Ngamgne (2008) que 8% de jeune ghomala'phones se servent de leur langue maternelle, le ghomala', pour s'exprimer en milieu urbain plurilingue, précisément dans ma ville de Yaoundé, au contact du français. Ce pourcentage révèle la situation des autres variantes parlées au Cameroun en milieu urbain au contact du français ou de l'anglais, selon qu'on se trouve en milieu anglophone ou francophone.

Les adultes d'après ce que les études antérieures nous révèlent ont échoué dans la transmission des valeurs culturelles aux jeunes. Au-delà de ce constat et du fait de se plaindre de la situation, il faudrait trouver des voies et moyens pour corriger la tendance et sauver l'avenir des langues nationales. L'une des voies par excellence c'est le prestige accordé aux langues et cultures nationales et le degré jusqu'où les jeunes sont incités à s'en approprier. L'enseignement en milieu formel et informel, des/en langues et cultures nationales par exemple leur accorde du prestige. Cet enseignement devrait viser l'acquisition ou le renforcement de quatre compétences en ce qui concerne l'acquisition de la langue maternelle à savoir, la compréhension, la lecture, l'écriture et l'élocution. Il devrait être effectif dès les premières années de scolarisation. Davantage de prestiges devraient être accordés aux langues camerounaises, les langues du terroir en vue d'inciter les parents à les transmettre à leurs enfants. Un statut officiel par exemple accordé aux langues majoritaires parlées au Cameroun et/ou à certaines langues nationales développées et choisies par les collectivités décentralisées inciterait les jeunes à s'en approprier. Depuis l'ouverture de la filière langues et cultures camerounaises à l'ENS, l'attitude des jeunes vis-à-vis des langues camerounaises a beaucoup évolué. Les effectifs ont augmenté au Département de Langues africaines et Linguistique. Le prestige accordé aux langues est la clé pour inciter les jeunes à s'en approprier.

2.2 L'utilisation des langues en milieux jeunes dans tous les domaines de socialisation

En effet, jusqu'à ce que les problèmes d'ordre terminologique se résolvent pour ce qui est des langues nationales, leur utilisation effective sera toujours limitée. Pour utiliser les langues dans tous les domaines de socialisation possible, cela implique l'élaboration des terminologies adéquate dans ces divers domaines. Mba (2011) cite « l'ignorance des

termes appropriés en langues maternelles » comme l'une des raisons de l'absence de l'utilisation des langues maternelles dans de nombreuses interactions verbales dans les salles de réunion de familles ou de tontines en milieux urbains. L'élaboration des terminologies adéquates en langues nationales par les comités de langues est indispensable pour la survie des langues nationales. La société évolue, la langue devrait également évoluer au même rythme que l'évolution sociale. La langue devrait s'enrichir sur le plan lexical pour pouvoir s'adapter à l'évolution sociale. L'échec à entreprendre des traductions en vue de l'enrichissement lexical des langues nationales est un échec à assurer la vitalité de ces langues, car bientôt, elles cesseront d'être utilisées pour communiquer à cause de l'absence des termes appropriés.

Conclusion

Il en découle au terme de cet article que les jeunes devraient être au centre de la dynamique de revitalisation des langues autochtones. La transmission intergénérationnelle et toutes les activités de revitalisation devraient avoir pour résultat de produire des jeunes qui s'approprient leurs langues, qui les utilisent dans tous les domaines de socialisation possibles, et qui sont engagés à assurer la vitalité de leurs langues. Pour y parvenir, le moteur essentiel c'est le prestige que l'Etat accorde aux valeurs culturelles endogène. Il est ressorti que l'école devrait être le lieu par excellence d'inculturation. La tendance à vouloir conserver les habitudes linguistiques assimilatrices d'entend en milieu scolaire constitue un obstacle au développement et compromet l'avenir des langues et culturelle endogènes. « Aucun pays dans le monde ne s'est développé en mettant ses langues de côté », a-t-on toujours dit. L'avenir d'un peuple et son émergence dépendent du degré jusqu'où ce peuple assure la vitalité de ses valeurs culturelles. La force d'un peuple se trouve dans ce qu'il a d'original par rapport aux autres. Cette originalité se trouve dans les langues et cultures autochtones. Une prise de conscience de cette réalité par les anciennes colonies les pousserait à accorder une place primordiale à la revitalisation des langues autochtones. Les jeunes, de par la position centrale qu'ils occupent au niveau de la retransmission, pourraient donc être considérés comme des sujets et des acteurs en même temps dans le processus de revitalisation des langues autochtones.

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YOUNG PEOPLE AND THE REVITALISATION OF INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES: THE CASE OF CAMEROUN

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Summary

Cameroun is a multilingual, multicultural country with more than 239 languages (Binam Bikoi, C., ed., 2012). These include widely disseminated languages (14), less widely disseminated languages, residual languages and extinct languages (14). This last group denotes languages that no longer have any speakers, because the language has not been passed on to the younger generations. Prior research reveals a decrease in the spoken use of indigenous languages amongst educated young people. In interactions amongst young people, the most frequently used languages in Cameroun are the official languages: French and English, which are the languages of education, administration and public communication. Although indigenous languages have been designated as national languages by the Head of State (in the revised constitution of 1996), they do not generate enough enthusiasm in terms of spoken and written usage, after nearly a century of misuse by the colonial administration following the First World War. The 'intergenerational transmission' of national languages is essential to foster a greater ownership of the spoken use of these languages amongst young people. However, in the absence of this 'intergenerational transmission', numerous opportunities are available to young people to learn the heritage languages of their country. The use of national languages within the family should be encouraged through the media, and reinforced by programmes that incentivise this use. Other ways that could be used effectively to reverse the decline in the spoken use of national languages amongst young people are widespread teaching in national languages and enhancing the prestige of indigenous cultural values.

Introduction

The need for the revitalisation of indigenous languages is a worldwide phenomenon. In 2000, Micheal Krauss predicated that, towards the end of the 21st century, 90% of the 6,000 languages spoken in the world would have disappeared. The data published by Krauss raised awareness amongst the language communities of the need for the revitalisation of minority languages. Recent data reveal that the percentage predicted by Krauss has now decreased by almost half. Nowadays, 46% of languages spoken in the world, including the majority of African languages, are in danger of disappearing by the end of the 21st century. Minority language communities are becoming increasingly aware of the need to revitalise their language. However, the situation remains worrying. If almost half the languages spoken in the world are in danger of disappearing, it goes without saying that there would be enormous loss to the world's cultural diversity and the overall balance of biodiversity. The future of minority languages should, therefore, be one of the main concerns in order to ensure the preservation of the cultural

diversity and the overall balance of biodiversity in the world. The conservation of a language is assured, initially, if young people take ownership and commit to maintaining it as a living language through diversified use. This article describes, first of all, the actions carried out in the area of language revitalisation amongst young people in Cameroun, then discusses the place and role of young people in the revitalisation of indigenous languages.

1. The revitalisation of indigenous languages amongst young people: Actions carried out in Cameroun

Language is generally 'the expression of a people's strength'. A people whose national languages are in danger of disappearing due to a crisis in intergenerational transmission and a lack of prestige given to indigenous cultural values is seen as the expression of unspeakable weakness. Young people designated by political authorities as the 'spearhead of the nation' are generally characterised by their ambition and dynamism. The dynamism of young people comes to light through different areas of activity. Young people are involved in politics, economics, and in other areas of socialisation. The attitudes and behaviours of young people were generally disparaging of indigenous languages and their ancestors' civilisation, following the colonial discourse and education. This trend can be observed in former colonies and its justification can generally be found in the use of languages for assimilation imposed during the colonial period. Fifty years after independence in former colonial countries, the situation has evolved greatly. People considered 'indigenous' are becoming increasingly aware of the important cultural values passed on through indigenous languages. Numerous actions are being carried out in Cameroun to encourage young people to take ownership and maintain their languages and cultures as living languages and cultures, so that they thrive deeply and develop.

1.1. Holiday workshops in national languages

Holiday workshops in national languages take place in Cameroun on two levels; at an official level and at a private level. At an official level, holiday courses in national languages are organised by the Ministry of Culture for children and young people from 5 to 20 years of age. At a private level, holiday courses are organised by language committees. The information gathered has made it possible to produce the table below, displaying the languages included in the 2014 programme, the learning content and the children's spoken skills in the acquisition of their mother tongue national language, by the end of the workshop.

Name of the mother tongue national language	First language of the children	Learning content (virtually the same for all languages)	Skills in spoken expression in national language at the end of the workshop
Fe'efe'e	French	Greetings, introductions, the human body, common expressions, how to count, songs and stories	Average
Ghɔmálá'	French	Greetings, introductions, the human body, common expressions, how to count, songs and stories	Average
Fufulde	French	Greetings, introductions, the human body, common expressions, songs, stories and tales	Average
Duala	French	Greetings, introductions, the human body, common expressions, songs, stories, tales and how to count,	Average

The trainers were either trained by the language committees, or were volunteers, or students at the Department of African Languages and Linguistics at the University of Yaoundé 1.

The main aim of the holiday courses is to raise the children's awareness of the importance of national languages and to allow them to gain preliminary spoken skills in the different languages, so that they feel at home in a language environment in which these languages are spoken. The courses last only one month. They are not organised by learning level and the students are often different to those from the previous year. It goes without saying that the students are not immersed in local language practices. These holiday courses would have had more impact if they had been better organised.

In addition to government action, several non governmental organisations provide opportunities for young people to learn their mother tongue language.

The language committees organise holiday courses for young people of all age groups in the Duala, Ghɔmálá', Fe'efe'e, Beti and Medumbà, Ngyemboon, and Yamba languages, to name but a few. The courses aim to enculturate young people through the written and spoken use of their mother tongue languages and to immerse them in cultural practice. Generally, the teachers have been trained on the Operational Research Programme for Language Teaching in Cameroun (PROPELCA). Others have been trained subsequently by those who had followed the programme. The PROPELCA programme was successfully conducted by researchers at the ANACLAC Centre of Applied Linguistics (CLA), the International Society of Linguistics (ISL) and the University of Yaoundé 1 in Cameroun, under the leadership of the late Prof. Maurice Tadadjeu (Linguapax Prize 2005). The programme was assisted by a strong team of academics, who are scientific coordinators of regional programmes. As a result, those trained on the PROPELCA programme have brought their skills to their respective

communities by training other trainers, who now ensure the continuity of the teaching of national languages and cultures in private basic and secondary education establishments, through literacy classes and informal education.

In outline, the holiday language courses organised by the language committees focus on the following: the learning of songs (traditional songs, the national anthem in the students' mother tongue language), conversation in different real life situations, the construction of spoken sentences, forms of politeness, introducing themselves in their mother tongue language, the days of the week (the 8-day week in the Bamiléké culture), the months of the year, how to count from one to a hundred, the alphabet and practice in writing. In terms of culture, the students are taught about the history of their people, the customs and wisdom, through proverbs and stories, legends, songs, art and social rules. These courses are structured by learning level.

In the Duala culture, for example, students were immersed in Sawa cultural practices during the 2014 holiday course; how to tie the different types of pagnes textiles, how to prepare different Sawa dishes, Duala dance steps, canoe-related and water-related rituals in the Duala culture, etc. What was impressive was that children who participated in the holiday courses, who did not speak two languages beforehand, expressed themselves very well in Duala, like native Duala speakers. For children speaking the Ghomala' and Basaa languages who participated in the courses observed, Duala became the language for them to 'open up to different cultures'. The practice of multilingualism promoted social inclusion. The Duala language holiday courses, for young people from different age groups living in a specific area, contributed to social integration amongst the young people and added value to multilingual practice, without discriminating by language of origin.

Today, however, these holiday courses are conducted in very few languages; between one and two dozen of the 239 languages spoken in Cameroun. They would have a greater impact if there was synergy between the Ministry of Culture and the Centre of Applied Linguistics (CLA) of the National Association of Cameroonian Language Committees (ANACLAC), through Cameroonian language committees. Action in synergy between the two institutions would make it possible to better implement State policy, through the initiative of holiday workshops in national languages. In the 1990s, and at the beginning of the 2000s, the CLA accompanied all the local language committees in literacy activities for young people and adults in national languages. It was due to a lack of necessary financial resources that this revitalisation programme for national languages was limited to certain areas where the elites were able to mobilise their own resources. The current holiday courses organised by the Ministry of Culture should be structured by learning level and last more than a month. Acquiring skills over only one month of learning to speak and write a language, as well as learning the different aspects of culture passed on through the language, makes it difficult to achieve the desired impact, especially amongst those who have French as their first language and come to their languages of origin as a second language.

1.2.   Formal teaching of indigenous languages in secondary education and self-taught literacy lessons in national languages

The vitality of a language is ensured by teaching the language, whether in formal education or informal education. For more than five years, an entrance examination for the École Normale Supérieure (ENS) at the University of Yaoundé 1 in Cameroun, in the Cameroonian Languages and Cultures Department, is open to young people of a maximum of 28 years of age for the first cycle and a maximum of 32 years of age for the second cycle. At the end of the training, the young people who have passed the examination have the same privileges as those from the other Departments. They also have the same professional obligations. This State decision now gives prestige to Cameroonian languages and cultures. One of the conditions in order to succeed well in the Cameroonian Languages and Cultures Department of the ENS, is that the candidate must have mastered at least one Cameroonian language. For those who have not mastered the writing of their mother tongue language, the self-taught literacy courses help bring them up to speed.

On the subject of self-taught literacy classes, Sadembouo gave the following presentation on higher education in Cameroun at a conference organised at the École Normale Supérieure (ENS) in 2014:

This programme is a new direction in teaching African languages and it differs completely to that of the 1970s, which was aimed at specific languages and was suspended in 1974. The university chooses to teach all the languages and to offer students in the faculty the opportunity to learn to read and write their language, and to discover grammatical structures and texts in their language. We are committed to developing the pedagogy of this course, by bringing it closer to the section on 'Writing systems', and the section on 'Grammar and speech analysis to discover your language' organised for young researchers by the International Linguistics Society during the holidays.

The role of the trainer is to support the student to discover the linguistic theories and processes on which the writing system of a language has been developed scientifically, and to apply it to their mother tongue language, by means of practical exercises. The trainer is, therefore, in charge of presenting language theories to the class (techniques to analyse the different aspects of a language) and to help the student apply them step by step to their mother tongue language, enabling them, therefore, to develop or discover the writing system of their language.

The participants are expected to have a basic level of education so that they can understand the theories and principles taught, and then apply them as the course develops, step by step. The theoretical teachings are given to all students at the same time, whatever their language. However, the follow-up for applying the knowledge is on an individual basis, and each student must develop or establish the system in their own language. Group work is undertaken with students who have the same language.

In a context of advanced multilingualism, if there is no separate class for each language, self-taught literacy is an ideal option because it makes it possible:

- to teach all the students in the same class, whatever their language.
- to harmonise the spelling of national languages by giving them the same graphemic base, thereby facilitating learning of the other languages.
- to train trainers in several languages at the same time, because all students are grouped together, including students who are the only speaker of their language in the group. Together, in the workshop, they receive the same lessons in the alphabet, spelling, grammar (noun phrases, verb phrases) as in the specific language workshops.

This presentation on self-taught literacy shows us the type of training that students receive when they pass the entrance examination to the ENS, to study Cameroonian Languages and Cultures. When these young teachers leave the ENS, they have educational skills to enable them to successfully manage the multilingual and multicultural context of Africa in general and Cameroun in particular. The vitality of Cameroonian languages and cultures will be ensured for coming years if the ENS Department of Cameroonian Languages and Cultures continues to train young people to master multilingualism. Indeed, the efforts undertaken at this level over the past five years are promising.

1.3. The immersion of urban young people into the culture of their ancestors

Public and private cultural centres are increasingly functional in Cameroun. They are becoming places for cultural immersion. In outline, we can mention here the Cameroonian Cultural Centre that has recently been renovated, the Nufi Cultural Centre that publishes a quarterly journal in the Fe'efe'e language, enjoyed by its the readers, the Medumba Cultural Centre that reflects the cultural genius of this language area, particularly through the memoirs written and supported in the Medumba language on different aspects relating to the language and the culture of this people. These memoirs in the Medumba language are written by young seminarians who have received more than three years' training at the Medumba Cultural Centre. The Bandjoun home is a place for immersion in the Bandjounaise or Ghomala'-speaking culture, and it is filled with young people motivated by the desire to be immersed in their culture during the holidays.

In addition to these cultural centres, which are places for cultural immersion, the national museum should also be a place where young Cameroonians can discover the richness of Cameroonian linguistic and cultural diversity.

1.4 The involvement of young linguists as volunteers in research programmes by the ANACLAC Centre of Applied Linguistics

A few years ago, at the Centre of Applied Linguistics (CLA) of the National Association of Cameroonian Language Committees (ANACLAC), young people worked as

volunteers for the Basic Standardisation of all unwritten African Languages (BASAL). BASAL volunteers were pioneers in the development of the written form of a language that, until their arrival in the location, had only existed as an oral language. When the young people arrived in the location of a specific language, they spent 24 months developing a written form of the language spoken and developing educational reference material for teaching the language. This was the case of the Bamvele language, for example, in East Cameroun, and of Gwete. The reference manuals developed in Bamvele and Gwete are useful for teaching the languages both formally and informally. A lack of financial resources unfortunately led to the programme being interrupted, despite being an effective revitalisation strategy for endangered languages.

2. The place and role of young people in the revitalisation of indigenous languages

To ensure the longevity of a language, one method is to pass this language onto the younger generations. Young people in Cameroun represent a very significant proportion of the total population. The future of Cameroun depends on the level of involvement of the young people in all possible areas of socialisation. A crisis in passing the national languages on to young people constitutes an obstacle to development and a barrier to ensuring the vitality of these languages. Indeed, the vitality of a language should depend on the following factor:

* the level of ownership of the language in question taken on by young generations;
* the level of use of the language by young people in all possible areas of socialisation.

Ownership of the language

Level of vitality of the language

Use of the language by younger generations
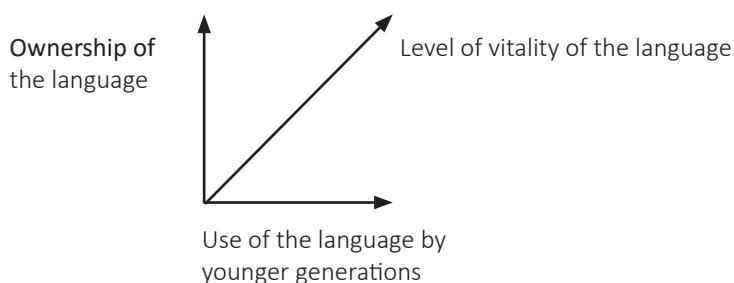
2.1 Young people and ownership of indigenous languages

Ownership is a phenomenon preceded by the intrinsic value that a 'hero subject' makes of the object sought after. In other words, in the absence of a 'value object', there is no motivation for the phenomenon of ownership. Young people should adopt a responsible attitude towards the ownership of indigenous languages and cultures. A responsible young person is aware of indigenous cultural values, and has a positive attitude towards their cultural values. As responsibility is accompanied by action, a responsible young person will undertake the necessary actions to take ownership of his/her mother tongue language.

There is no doubt that the 'intergenerational transmission' of indigenous languages and cultures to young generations is, first of all, the responsibility of the adults. Parents are responsible for passing their languages on to their children and this is important from a very young age. However, young people with French or English as their first language in Cameroun can learn their mother tongue language as a second language. There are several opportunities for young people wishing to learn their mother tongue languages. In addition to the aforementioned activities taking place for young people in Cameroun (holiday courses organised by language committees, holiday workshops organised by the Ministry of Culture), young people can also approach their family members who have mastered the mother tongue and learn from them. In analysing previous work on language revitalisation in Cameroun, Mba (2012), citing Ngamgne (2008), revealed that 8% of young Ghomala' speakers use their mother tongue language, Ghomala', to express themselves in multilingual urban environments, specifically in my town of Yaoundé, which is a Francophone area. This percentage indicates the situation of other language variants spoken in Cameroun in an urban environment, in contact with French or English, depending on whether the speaker is in an Anglophone or Francophone area.

Previous studies reveal that adults have failed to pass on the cultural values to young people. Beyond this observation, and rather than complaining about the situation, it is necessary to find the ways and means to reverse the trend and secure the future of national languages. One of the best ways is through the prestige given to national languages and cultures and the extent to which young people are encouraged to take ownership of them. For example, formal and informal teaching of, and in, national languages and cultures confers prestige. This teaching should aim for the acquisition or reinforcement of four skills, notably, comprehension, speaking, reading, and writing. The teaching should be effective from the first years of schooling. Greater prestige should be conferred to Cameroonian languages, the heritage languages, in order to encourage parents to pass the languages on to their children. Official status, for example, given to the majority languages spoken in Cameroun and/or to certain national languages developed and chosen by decentralised collectivities, would encourage young people to take ownership of their languages. Since the creation of the Cameroonian Languages and Cultures Department at the ENS, the attitude of young people towards Cameroonian languages has evolved significantly. The workforce has been increased in the Department of African Languages and Linguistics. Indeed, the status given to languages is key to encouraging young people to take ownership of them.

2.2 The use of languages in environments with young people in all areas of socialisation

Until the problems with terminology are solved for national languages, their effective use will always be limited. In order to use the languages in all possible areas of socialisation, it is necessary to develop appropriate terminologies for the different areas. Mba (2011) cites the 'lack of knowledge of the appropriate terms in mother tongue

languages'[1] as one of the reasons for not using mother tongue languages in many verbal interactions in family gatherings or in tontines in urban environments. The development of appropriate terminology in national languages by language committees is essential for the survival of national languages. Society is evolving, and language should also be evolving at the same pace as social evolution. Language should become richer lexically in order to adapt to social evolution. The failure to translate new words in order to enrich the vocabulary of the national languages is a failure to ensure the vitality of the languages, which will soon cease to be used as a means of communication because of the lack of appropriate terms.

Conclusion

It follows, at the end of this article, that young people should be at the centre of the dynamics for the revitalisation of indigenous languages. Intergenerational transmission and all activities aimed at revitalisation should lead young people to take ownership of their languages, and use them in all possible socialisation areas, with a commitment to ensuring the vitality of their languages. In order to achieve this, the essential driver is the prestige given to the indigenous cultural values by the State. It is clear that school should be the place par excellence for enculturation. The trend to wish to conserve the assimilation language habits to facilitate understanding in schools is an obstacle to development and compromises the future of indigenous languages and culture. It has always been said that 'no country in the world has developed by putting its languages to one side.' The future of a people and their emergence depend on the extent to which the people ensure the vitality of their cultural values. The strength of a people lies in what is original compared to others. This originality is found in indigenous languages and cultures. If the former colonies became aware of this reality, it would drive them to give prominent place to the revitalisation of indigenous languages. Young people, with their central position in terms of language transmission, could, therefore, be considered as subjects and agents at the same time in the process of revitalisation of indigenous languages.

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BUSCANDO NUEVAS GENERACIONES DE HABLANTES: PROCESOS AMBIVALENTES EN LA REVITALIZACIÓN DE LENGUAS INDÍGENAS DEL SUR DE MÉXICO.

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Introducción

La revitalización de las lenguas indígenas, como campo de investigación y de colaboración, se ha especializado de acuerdo a los ámbitos sociopolíticos, educativos, económicos y metodológicos que cada caso o contexto requiere. Dentro de este desarrollo, las perspectivas más entusiastas en torno a la revitalización lingüística (en lo posterior RL) afirman que, sin importar el ámbito en el cual se decida incidir, la participación de los nativo hablantes y/o de los nuevos hablantes es fundamental para obtener avances considerables en el proceso revitalizador (Crystal, 2000; Grenoble y Whaley, 2006; Flores Farfán y Córdova Hernández, 2012).

El reconocimiento de la agencia de los hablantes no sólo es debido a los avances en el análisis de la interdependencia lengua-sociedad sino porque dicho análisis ha demostrado que sin la participación activa y cotidiana de los actores sociales la lengua de interés no podrá ser revitalizada. "Por lo tanto, puede hablarse de la RL cuando [el uso de la misma] comienza a hacerse evidente dentro de las interacciones y vida cotidiana de una comunidad de habla" (Córdova-Hernández, 2014:26-27).

En el campo de la RL, el desarrollo de discursos sobre la importancia de la agencia de los hablantes o nuevos hablantes es necesario. Sin embargo, no es suficiente reconocer la agencia de los actores sociales sino caracterizar a dichos actores sociales de acuerdo a sus potencialidades o posibilidades de colaboración en el proceso revitalizador y llevar dicha caracterización al plano de la base social. La selección de una metodología revitalizadora tiene un nivel de incidencia a la participación y colaboración de un grupo u otro de agentes revitalizadores.

El análisis de diversas experiencias revitalizadoras permite observar que la clasificación de agentes sociales para la RL se ha realizado de acuerdo a su competencia lingüística,[1] grupos de edad, nivel de escolaridad, entre otros. En cualquier de estos casos, para la RL, los niños y los jóvenes han sido el sector poblacional en el que más interesa incidir.

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1 El uso de "competencia lingüística" en esta ocasión se realiza para referirse al conocimiento formal de la lengua. Es decir, al nivel de literacidad y/o gramaticalidad de la lengua. En este caso, no se considera el uso oral de la lengua pues, lamentablemente, en los procesos de revitalización de los que se tiene conocimiento las formas de clasificar a los hablantes se basan en la competencia en lecto-escritura y no tanto en sus niveles de interacción cotidiana.

Siendo, hasta cierto punto, incierto si dicha incidencia se piensa o proyecta sólo a nivel ideológico o también de competencia comunicativa.[2]

El presente texto tiene como objetivo realizar un análisis sobre la participación o agencia de los jóvenes dentro de algunos procesos de RL en el Sur de México. En específico, es de interés mostrar las ambivalencias con respecto a cómo, en el discurso de los promotores culturales que emprenden acciones a favor de la lengua, los jóvenes son reconocidos como el grupo que tiene que ser concientizado y formado como nuevo conocedor de la lengua. Sin embargo, en la *praxis* revitalizadora, y con algunas de sus excepciones, los jóvenes son un grupo de edad al que pocas veces se le incluye en la toma de decisiones para llevar a cabo los proyectos de RL.

A partir de lo anterior, el presente texto está dividido en tres apartados. En primer lugar, a nivel general, se hace referencia a cómo son concebidos los jóvenes dentro del campo de la RL y cómo dicho reconocimiento es hasta cierto punto una "ley" o "regla". En segundo lugar, a partir de algunas experiencias revitalizadoras desarrolladas en el Sur de México, se realizará un breve análisis sobre la participación y reconocimiento de los jóvenes y jóvenes adultos. Para lograr dicho ejercicio se realiza una tipología de cuatro grupos de jóvenes: *jóvenes profesionistas*, *jóvenes institucionalizados*, *jóvenes urbanos* y *jóvenes comunitarios*.

A partir de dicha tipología se pretende reconocer cierto tipo de rasgos que poseen los jóvenes inmersos en acciones para la RL. Ellos poseen diversas trayectorias, aunque muchas veces no se reconocen como hablantes plenos de la lengua a revitalizar. Sin embargo, en dichos procesos, las ideologías y metodologías a desarrollar no siempre incluyen su participación. Por último, en las conclusiones, se intenta brindar al lector ciertos puntos de discusión que, más que concluir con la temática, busca abrir nuevos debates en torno a cómo los jóvenes participan en los procesos de RL y las ambivalencias que se crean al pensar y poner en práctica dicha participación.

Los jóvenes en la revitalización de lenguas indígenas

La RL "es un programa de acciones a favor de la promoción, uso, transmisión y enseñanza de una lengua que se encuentra en situación de desplazamiento. La RL es parte de un proceso […] que se pone en marcha desde iniciativas locales y externas, que no deberían constreñirse a un nivel de acciones o a un espacio de la lengua en su ambiente social" (Córdova-Hernández, 2014:323). La participación de los jóvenes dentro de la RL ha permitido otorgarle nuevos espacios de uso a la lengua tanto a nivel local como externo. Si bien dicho uso, a veces, no se materializa o constata a niveles comunitarios, la promoción de las lenguas en situación de desplazamiento por parte de los jóvenes

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2 Con el término "competencia comunicativa", en el presente texto, se busca relevar el uso pleno de la lengua indígena. Es decir, el uso de la lengua en prácticamente todos los espacios de interacción del grupo social. Aunque es deseable que este fuera también desarrollado en el ámbito oficial, la intención es enfatizar dicha plenitud en el plano de la vida cotidiana tanto en el contexto familiar como comunitario y extra-comunitario. Es decir, pensar en el uso de la lengua indígena en cualquier tipo de encuentro o diálogo entre hablantes de una lengua y sus variedades.

ha comenzado a superar las barreras políticas, físicas, educativas, económicas, etc. que se pueden interponer en la RL.

Las acciones emprendidas por muchos grupos de jóvenes de manera formal e informal, para la promoción lingüística y cultural, pueden ejemplificarse a partir del uso de nuevas tecnologías de la información (Cru, 2015, Keegan et al., 2015), la producción de paisaje lingüístico (Lanza y Woldemariam, 2014, Jaworski, 2014), el uso distintos soportes artísticos (Lopez y Hall, 2007; Lashua y Fox, 2007; Berkin, 2009; Warren y Evitt, 2010; Collard y Palmer, 2015), entre otros. Estas manifestaciones juveniles son parte de un fortalecimiento identitario individual, comunitario y también "externo". Este hecho motiva a no dejar de considerar las características identitarias múltiples mediante las que los jóvenes se autoidentifican.[3] Asimismo, son evidencias de diversos procesos de (re)apropiación de los usos que se le pueden otorgar a los sistemas culturales y lingüísticos (Vidal y Pol, 2005).

A partir de lo anterior, se puede observar que los jóvenes son agentes revitalizadores potenciales de las lenguas indígenas pues, con sus iniciativas, logran poner en el ámbito público a las lenguas que ya se encuentran en desuso dentro de su contexto de interacción. Sin embargo, aunque el reconocimiento de los jóvenes es casi una "ley" dentro del campo de la revitalización, sus acciones o estrategias llegan a ser liminales dentro de los proyectos revitalizadores (Shaul, 2014). Las ideologías puristas en torno a promover una lengua "intacta" o no "contaminada" se vuelven inherentes a los procesos de RL y, con ello, se relegan los usos y conocimientos mixtos de las nuevas generaciones o aprendices de la lengua. En este sentido, la ausencia de reconocimiento de las manifestaciones lingüísticas juveniles reduce cualquier tipo de motivación para el proceso revitalización.

De esta manera, es necesario no sólo discursivizar la participación de los jóvenes como un ideal o "deber ser" revitalizador sino hacer que dicha agencia sea parte de la praxis revitalizadora. Por tal motivo, uno de los retos que surge no sólo es la concientización sobre la importancia de las lenguas indígenas como sistema comunicativo e identitario sino también crear las condiciones necesarias para el empoderamiento de los jóvenes en la RL (McCarty et al., nd). Este tipo de empoderamiento —concebido, por lo general, como parte de la educación formal dirigida a la población o con la generación de políticas lingüísticas estatales— se busca através del establecimiento de una "soberania educativa" (McCarty y Lee, 2015) o la creación de institutos, academias u organizaciones que permiten, hasta cierto punto, materializar el empoderamiento lingüístico a partir de la profesionalización de los jóvenes indígenas para las acciones de RL (Spolsky, 2011; Phyak y Bui, 2014).

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3   Con "proceso identitario externo" quiero hacer hincapié en la idea desarrollada por Sheng Yao Cheng, a partir de las aportaciones de Stuart Hall, sobre su propuesta modelo de formación identitaria. Dicho modelo comienza en el nivel individual, seguido por el proceso comunitario y, por último, el nivel externo. "[La] identidad externa incluye la identidad racial, identidad de género y la identidad de clase. También sirve para clasificar a la identidad nacional, la identidad cultural y la identidad indígena. La manera en que lo pueblos indígenas optan para definirse a sí mismos, a menudo, no es la forma en que otros los definen. […] Esto plantea preguntas críticas acerca de la autenticidad: ¿Los nativos o no nativos deciden quién es un indígena?" (Cheng, 2015:387). La definición identitaria y el uso de nuevos soportes se tornan ambivalentes al momento de realizar un proceso de RL pues, por un lado, se aboga por la recuperación de espacios "tradicionales" de la lengua y, por el otro, por el respeto a las múltiples identidades de los actores sociales.

La institucionalización del empoderamiento de los jóvenes en la RL, ya sea desde el ámbito educativo, de las políticas y planeación lingüística, es un hecho que debe celebrarse. Sin embargo, la participación de los jóvenes tiende a conformar cierto tipo de élite cultural que no siempre incluye a todos los grupos de jóvenes que pueden generar acciones revitalizadoras. Si bien los jóvenes indígenas urbanos o los jóvenes que han realizado migraciones temporales, aunque no tengan ningún tipo de reconocimiento oficial, pueden realizar prácticas comunicativas que motivan la promoción lingüística y generan políticas lingüísticas (McCarty et al., 2009), existen grupos de jóvenes y adultos jóvenes que se han permanecido dentro de las propias comunidades indígenas y que pueden generar acciones revitalizadoras más inmediatas, pero su reconocimiento como agentes revitalizadores ha quedado todavía más relegado que el de los jóvenes urbanos o jóvenes profesionalizados (Messing, 2009).

Las ambivalencias en torno al reconocimiento y agencia de los jóvenes y jóvenes adultos en la RL son palpables en algunas iniciativas generadas en el Sur de México. Dichas procesos promueven que la praxis revitalizadora sea más compleja y, hasta cierto punto, menos esperanzadora pues no se generan nuevos puentes de comunicación entre los agentes interesados en la RL y los potenciales nuevos hablantes y transmisores de la lengua.

Taller de paisaje lingüístico, en mayo del 2015, para la revitalización de la lengua zapoteca en la comunidad de Santiago Xochiltepec, Textitlán, Oaxaca.

Experiencias revitalizadoras juveniles en el Sur de México

Los proyectos de RL son generados por individuos o colectivos que, con una actitud entusiasta, construyen discurso que tratan de incluir a todo tipo de actores sociales y sus prácticas sociocomunicativas. Por lo general, cuando se plantea un proyecto revitalizador se piensa que, por primera vez, se resolverán todos los procesos diglósicos existentes y que se limarán todas las asperezas existentes en la comunidad o ámbito de interés.

Los promotores culturales —generalmente personas adultas o adultos jóvenes que en sus discursos promueven todo tipo iniciativas a favor de la lengua y la cultura pero que, por diferentes razones, en su mayoría no transmitieron o transmiten la lengua indígena a sus hijos— han sido concientizados por distintas instituciones u organizaciones para incluir diversas estrategias y metodologías dentro de sus acciones revitalizadoras. Asimismo, han sido "sensibilizados" en torno a la inclusión de todo tipo de propuestas generadas por las comunidades de hablantes sólo si éstas se consideran óptimas.

Los procesos de concientización y sensibilización al ser llevados a la práctica y observados generan una serie de interrogantes. Por ejemplo, qué tipo de acciones o metodologías deben o no incluirse, cómo dicernir entre qué tipo de acciones priorizar, quiénes

deberían participar en el proyecto de RL, cuál es el papel de los jóvenes y adultos jóvenes en dicho proceso, entre otros.

En algunas experiencias de revitalización del Sur de México, específicamente en los estados de Oaxaca y Chiapas, por ejemplo el caso de lenguas como el chocholteco, ixcateco, zoque, zapoteco, mam y chuj— estas pueden ser consideradas, en algunas comunidades, como "lenguas dormidas".[4] Es decir, son lenguas que se encuentran en estado crítico de desplazamiento frente al español pero que aún cuentan con cierto número de hablantes adultos, y adultos mayores, cuyas interacciones en algunas ocasiones se dan en la lengua amenazada (Hinton, 2001b)— el reconocimiento de los jóvenes es ambivalente.

Por un lado, existe la ideología de que los jóvenes al igual que los niños son la esperanza para la RL y, por ello, deben de ser concientizados sobre la RL. Por el otro, se tiene la ideología de que son potenciales revitalizadores si poseen habilidades en el ámbito de la lecto-escritura. O bien, aunque no sean conocedores de la lengua, que cuenten con el respaldo de una institución para ser "aliados" del proceso de RL.

En el discurso de los adultos y ancianos se expresa nostalgia porque la lengua ha sido desplazada de sus contextos comunicativos. Asimismo, se afirma que son los jóvenes los que ya no quieren utilizar la lengua, otorgando una carga negativa a la actitud de los jóvenes. En el discurso de la mayoría de los adultos, los jóvenes ya no respetan, no quieren hablar la lengua, reniegan de su cultura, etc.[5] Sin embargo, cuando estos jóvenes se profesionalizan como lingüistas, antropólogos o profesores, aunque existe cierto tipo de recelo por parte de la comunidad —por considerarlos personas que ya no comparte las mismas ideas que los que no se profesionalizaron—, los promotores culturales retoman otro tipo de postura con respecto a estos jóvenes "híbridos".

Los *jóvenes profesionistas* tienen doble tipo de reconocimiento dentro de la comunidad de hablantes y los promotores culturales.[6] El primero, como ya se enunció líneas arriba, tiene lugar cuando los jóvenes se profesionalizan y se genera un rechazo comunitario (por parte de ancianos, adultos y jóvenes adultos) hacia las nuevas ideas o propuestas de los jóvenes profesionistas. Por ejemplo, en el caso del zapoteco ha sido difícil que los "últimos hablantes" de la lengua participen en un proyecto de elaboración de paisaje lingüístico, planteado por las autoridades educativas de una escuela comunitaria

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4 Cabe aclarar que el zapoteco cuenta con más de 40 variedades lingüísticas reconocidas y es la lengua más hablada en el estado de Oaxaca, pero en algunas comunidades o regiones se encuentra en fuerte grado de desplazamiento. El caso que aquí se referirá sobre el zapoteco es el de una comunidad del Distrito de Sola de Vega, Oaxaca. El caso zoque se nutre de la experiencia obtenida en la región de Santa María Chimalapa, Oaxaca. Al hacer referencia a la lengua mam, ésta es referida para la región del Soconusco, Chiapas.

5 En el contexto de la lengua chuj (maya) en Chiapas este tipo de referencias negativas hacia los jóvenes son constantes. De hecho, en algunos casos, para referirse a los jóvenes se utiliza como analogía a las *semillas transgénicas*, las cuales en algunas organizaciones agroecológicas son vistas como totalmente nocivas para la tierra cultivable y la salud, pues son semillas consideradas impuras o híbridas. "Desde esta perspectiva, para lograr cosas buenas en los jóvenes [...] se necesita una cultura y lengua chuj pura que 'no utilice el español'. En este sentido, hablar de una lengua mezclada es referencia al problema del respeto y hablar de resignificación cultural en los jóvenes un problema de pérdida de la cultura" (Córdova-Hernández, 2009:90).

6 Para fines expositivos sólo se hará referencia a la profesionalización de los lingüistas nativos.

de nivel medio susperior (bachillerato). El rechazo inicial se argumentó a partir de dos razones.

En primer lugar, algunos de los últimos hablantes convocados afirmaron que "a los jóvenes del bachillerato no les interesa cuando se les habla en la lengua, se ríen cuando la escuchan y no entienden nada de los que se dice". En segundo lugar, "porque el profesor de lengua indígena del bachillerato, aunque es de la comunidad, ni siquiera sabe la lengua. Primero [él] debería de comprometerse a aprender y luego ya se vería que los jóvenes vayan, porque quitan el tiempo".[7]

Las dos argumentaciones muestran un rechazo rotundo a desarrollar un trabajo conjunto con los jóvenes y con la propuesta del profesor de lengua, quien es un adulto joven profesionalizado en educación y aprendiz de la misma. El hecho de que el profesor sea de la comunidad, trabaje como profesor de lengua zapoteca y no sea un "hablante pleno", lo hace acreedor a dintintos tipos de críticas por parte de los últimos hablantes de la lengua y de la mayoría de la gente de la comunidad. Si bien el profesor no es el único adulto joven de la comunidad que no habla la lengua, las detracciones de la comunidad se dirigen a él porque posee un trabajo formal dentro de la comunidad y porque dicho empleo se justifica a través de la lengua sin hablarla.

En términos de RL las inciativas del profesor son bienvenidas al observar el estado crítico de las lengua en aquella comunidad. Sin embargo, su iniciativa y la de sus alumnos será fuertemente atacada por los últimos hablantes porque, algunos de ellos, han pedido a diferentes instituciones que se les reconozca monetariamente por la transmisión de sus conocimientos. Asimismo, indirectamente quieren ser reconocidos por la comunidad donde habitan, en la cual la lengua zapoteca se encuentra dormida. Esta misma postura puede observarse en el caso de la lengua zoque, la cual tiene un estado de desplazamiento crítico y cuenta tanto con promotores culturales como con lingüistas nativos que se dedican a hacer estudios formales de la lengua.

En el caso zoque, al igual que el zapoteco, los lingüistas nativos son vistos con cierto recelo por la comunidad en general. Sin embargo, en el caso de los promotores culturales, estos lingüistas nativos son valorados como "sabios de la lengua". Por lo general, los promotores culturales zoques no transmitieron la lengua indígena a sus hijos. Sin embargo, son críticos ante los comportamientos de otros jóvenes no hablantes de la lengua que han salido a la ciudad y el anhelo de los promotores es que sus hijos se conviertan en linguistas profesionales, aunque no sean hablantes de la lengua.[8]

El hecho de que los hijos se profesionalicen como lingüistas responde al prestigio social que el lingüista tiene en dichos contextos. Como sucede con la mayoría de las comunidades indígenas del país, los promotores culturales han sido informantes de lingüistas cognotados. De esta manera, la contradición surge cuando los promotores abogan por tener nuevos hablantes y son críticos con respecto a quienes no lo son. Sin

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7 Notas de campo tomadas en reunión celebrada el 20 de marzo del 2015, con motivo de la puesta en marcha de un proyecto local sobre "Paisaje lingüístico" en lengua zapoteca en colaboración con el Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas.

8 Este anhelo también se ha manifestado por parte de promotores chocholtecas y chujes.

embargo, no les parece criticable el hecho de que muchas generaciones de lingüistas nativos no sean usuarios de la lengua.

Por tal motivo, existe una ambivalencia entre la postura revitalizadora que aboga por la oralidad, en la cual han sido concientizados los promotores, y el hecho de ser menos críticos al momento de enfrentarse a lingüistas nativos que no utilizan o se interesan por la lengua en su ámbito oral y que, problablemente, no transmitirán la lengua a las nuevas generaciones. Este último aspecto se ha podido constatar en el caso zoque cuando algunos lingüistas nativos afirman que su contribución hacia la lengua "es solamente teórica y gramatical".[9]

Los *jóvenes institucionalizados,* aquellos que han sido contratados o seleccionados por distintas insitituciones, como el Consejo Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas (CDI) para ser promotores de la lengua, son objeto de las mismas críticas que los jóvenes profesionalizados por parte de las comunidades y de los promotores culturales. A diferencia de los jóvenes profesionalizados, los jóvenes que son seleccionados por las instituciones no necesariamente tienen estudios universitarios y, en la mayoría de las lenguas aquí referidas, no son hablantes plenos de las mismas. Muchos de estos jóvenes se encuentran "aprendiendo la lengua" y gozan de menor prestigio entre los promotores culturales adultos porque sus contratos o designaciones son temporales y, de manera general, todos los jóvenes de las comunidades pueden ser elegibles. Este tipo de jóvenes, por lo general, son criticados más por una cuestión política y económica derivado de su relación laboral o de colaboración con las instituciones, que por su "deficiencia lingüística". Aunque esta última es parte de la argumentación central.

En el campo de la RL, tanto los jóvenes profesionalizados como los institucionalizados, son potenciales agentes revitalizadores. Sin embargo, es probable que, en términos específicos como la transmisión intergeneracional y competencia comunicativa dichos jóvenes no sean los futuros padres de familia que transmitirán la lengua ni los futuros profesores de la lengua. Este hecho ha comenzado a ser reflexionado en el caso de la lengua chocholteca, una lengua con no más de 500 hablantes y en algunas comunidades se encuentra totalmente desplazada.

La mayoría de profesores bilingües jubilados que emprendieron acciones hace más de tres décadas a favor del chocolteco, ahora manifiestan ya no tener las mismas energías para seguir promoviendo el uso o conocimiento de la lengua. En ese sentido, se necesitan nuevas generaciones que retomen los avances y trabajos que estos profesores realizan. Sin embargo, dicho proceso implica un doble esfuerzo por parte de este grupo de jóvenes. Primero, acelerar su proceso de aprendizaje y uso de la lengua. Segundo, adquirir habilidades didácticas para enseñarla. Este doble esfuerzo requiere de inversión de tiempo, lo cual, en el contexto chocholteco, comienza a ser apremiamiante pero no se cuenta con evidencias de que ya haya sido puesto en marcha.

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9 Esta afirmación fue emitida por un lingüista zoque en una conferencia dictada dentro de un festival de la lengua en San Miguel Chimalapa, Oaxaca, el 6 de diciembre de 2014. La afirmación es una repuesta a la pregunta que un joven, que trabaja en la radio zoque de Chiapas, le realizó sobre cuál era su contribución para evitar que el zoque desaparezca.

Los *jóvenes urbanos*, aquellos de origen indígena que han nacido en la ciudad o que han migrado a ésta de manera permanente o temporal, están generando nuevas formas de uso y promoción de las lenguas indígenas. Como se mencionó en el apartado anterior, en estas acciones se utilizan nuevos soportes y nuevas tecnologías que son esperanzadoras para la RL. Los procesos de migración masiva y acelarada que se viven en las comunidades indígenas hacia las zonas urbanas o ciudades son vistos como preocupantes porque son parte de los factores que influyen en el desplazamiento de las lenguas. Sin embargo, cada día comienza a observarse que los jóvenes hacen uso de distintos tipos de herramientas tecnológicas para reafirmar sus filiación étnica y lingüística. En algunos casos, se utiliza a la lengua como medio de comunicación y, en otros, como recurso poético y contracultural.

Lamentablemente, en las lenguas aquí referidas este proceso aún es lento. Sobre todo porque son lenguas que, en la propia escala social de las lenguas indígenas, gozan de poco prestigio. Por ejemplo, la lengua chocholteca es frecuentemente invisibilizada por los usuarios o promotores de la lengua mixteca. En el caso de la lengua zoque por el zapoteco de la región del Istmo. En el caso chuj, por lenguas de la familia maya como el qanjob'al o el mam. Sin embargo, poco a poco estos nuevos usos comienzan a ser extendidos, pero aún son vistos con cierto tipo de recelo por parte de los promotores comunitarios que emprenden procesos de RL.

El último grupo de la tipología es el de los *jóvenes comunitarios*. Es decir, aquellos jóvenes o adultos jóvenes que aún viven en las comunidades, que son conocedores de la lenguas pero no son reconocidos por las instituciones o por los propios habitantes de la comunidad. Se considera como miembros de este grupo a aquellos que poseen un nivel de escolaridad básica, no han sido alfabetizados en la lengua indígena, hablantes o conocedores de la lengua y padres de familia. En este grupo interesa describir el caso de la lengua ixcateca. Una lengua indígena de Oaxaca que, de acuerdo a cifras oficiales, cuenta con cerca de cinco hablantes hombres, ancianos (abuelos) y con pérdida acelerada de audición.

El caso ixcateco es sugerente porque desde hace 30 años diversas instituciones estatales y fundaciones filantrópicas han dirigido su atención y apoyo para la documentación lingüística y la enseñanza de la lengua. Los últimos hablantes han recibido incentivos económicos por "enseñar el ixcateco en la escuela". El apoyo económico ha motivado a los hablantes a enseñar la lengua. Sin embargo, dicho proceso de enseñanza no ha rendido avances revitalizadores, pues las clases en lengua ixcateca se caracterizan por ser el repaso de listas de palabras. En ese sentido, aunque existe una atención hacia la lengua, al igual que otras lenguas indígenas, existe poco seguimiento sobre los avances adquiridos y una nula formación en las didácticas para la enseñanza de la lengua (Hinton, 2001a).

De manera oficial se reconoce que el ixcateco sólo cuenta con cerca de cinco hablantes, pero en el ámbito comunitario se tiene conocimiento de que existen más hablantes. Estos hablantes son dos madres de familia, una de ellas adulta joven. Ella es una hablante que aprendió la lengua a los 16 años y la utiliza en la interacción cotidiana con los miembros de su familia. Es decir, con sus padres y su hija, ésta ultima una joven de 17 años. Una de las preocupaciones que existe con el caso ixcateco, al igual que el del

chocholteco, es quiénes se quedarán a cargo de la enseñanza de la lengua en caso de que los reconocidos como "últimos hablantes" ya no se encuentren.

El hecho de que existan dos madres de familia y una joven hablante permite reconocer que hay una pequeña generación de hablantes que puede promover la enseñanza y transmisión de la lengua ixcateca. Si este recurso humano y lingüístico es bien direccionado, en términos de formación en la enseñanza de la lengua y promoción del uso de la misma, se pueden generar buenos avances en términos de RL. Sin embargo, tanto las autoridades municipales como los agentes institucionales ponen en duda la competencia comunicativa de estas mujeres jóvenes, lo cual a su vez promueve que ellas no acepten tener competencia comunicativa en la lengua.

La tipología anterior reafirma que los jóvenes y adultos jóvenes son potenciales agentes revitalizadores de la lengua, pero los niveles de reconocimiento institucional, comunitario y social muestran tendencias e ideologías contradictorias en torno a la RL. En los cuatro casos, son los adultos y ancianos los que, con sus prácticas, obtaculizan los procesos revitalizadores, mientras que con sus discursos tratan de mostrar lo contrario. De esta manera, promueven que la RL sólo sea un recurso retórico y no una *praxis* para la reivindicación sociocultural.

Conclusión

La literatura en RL ha documentado el hecho de que los jóvenes muestran poco interés en los procesos revitalizadores y son los adultos y ancianos los que sí están a favor. Sin embargo, en los párrafos precendentes se puede observar, de manera general, que a la desmotivación existente entre los jóvenes por aprender y utilizar la lengua subyacen las ideologías y acciones contradictorias de los adultos y ancianos. En varios de los discursos documentados, existe una fuerte recriminación hacia los jóvenes por hacer usos híbridos o mezclados de la lengua. Sin embargo, estos jóvenes son hijos de los adultos y ancianos que no quisieron transmitirles la lengua desde una edad temprana. De esta manera, los jóvenes son reconocidos como los posibles nuevos hablantes y transmisores de la lengua, pero dicha agencia se quiere definir y delimitar de acuerdo a lo que los grupos de adultos y ancianos imaginan.

A partir de lo anterior, se puede afirmar que en las experiencias aquí descritas existen ideologías sobre la *omnipotencia de las viejas generaciones* y la *omnipresencia de las instituciones estatales*. Estas ideologías promueven la supremacía de los adultos y ancianos en las acciones de reivindicación de los jóvenes y, contradictoriamente, le otorgan un fuerte papel a las instituciones y agentes del Estado en la validación de quiénes son los potenciales agentes revitalizadores. Esto, en lugar de enriquecer los procesos, genera cierto choque cultural y generacional, pues las definiciones identitarias a partir de los contextos de interacción de los jóvenes no pueden ni deben pensarse como iguales a los de los adultos y ancianos.

De la misma manera, aunque existe un uso cada vez más generalizado de nuevos soportes para la promoción de las lenguas, en los casos aquí expuestos, esto todavía pertenece a una élite cultural en la cual se puede incluir a los jóvenes profesionalizados, institucionales y urbanos; y no, por ejemplo, a los adultos jóvenes que se quedaron en

la comunidad. Por tal motivo, es necesario tener una mayor alfabetización en el uso de los nuevos soportes tecnológicos para promover más procesos de revalorización lingüístico-cultural entre los cuatro grupos de jóvenes.

Cuando el reconocimiento hacia los jóvenes se realiza desde ideologías institucionales o profesionalizantes, manifestaciones para la promoción cultural como el *hip-hop*, el *graffiti*, el uso de redes sociales u otras de carácter más urbano o "moderno" no son consideradas como referentes revitalizadores. En conclusión, si una lengua es revitalizada a partir del uso cotidiano de la misma, ya sea por medio de la recuperación o creación de nuevos espacios, queda a discusión cuál será el rumbo que los promotores culturales adultos y ancianos tomarán para la RL cuando sus nuevos hablantes y transmisores aboguen por el uso de estrategias "no tradicionales" para despertar aquellas lenguas que poco a poco se van quedando dormidas.

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SEEKING NEW GENERATIONS OF SPEAKERS: AMBIVALENT PROCESSES IN THE REVITALISATION OF INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES IN THE SOUTH OF MEXICO

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Introduction

The revitalisation of indigenous languages, as a field for research and collaboration, has become specialised in accordance with the socio-political, economic, educational and methodological areas required in each case or context. Within this development, the most enthusiastic perspectives on language revitalisation state that, whatever the area, in which impact is desired, the participation of native speakers and/or new speakers is fundamental to obtain considerable progress in the revitalisation process (Crystal, 2000; Grenoble and Whaley, 2006; Flores Farfán and Córdova Hernández, 2012).

Recognition that the speakers are agents for revitalisation is not only due to progress in the interdependence between and language and society, but also because this analysis has demonstrated that, without the active, daily participation of the social actors of a language, the language in question cannot be revitalised. Therefore, it is possible to speak of language revitalisation when [the use of] language revitalisation becomes evident within the interactions and daily life of a community that speaks the language' (Córdova-Hernández, 2014:26-27).[1]

In the field of language revitalisation, it is necessary to develop discourse on the importance of the role of the speakers or new speakers as agents. However, it is not sufficient to recognise the social actors as agents. These social agents must be characterised in accordance with their potential or possibilities for collaboration in the revitalisation process and bring this characterisation to the grassroots level. The choice of a revitalisation methodology affects the level of participation and collaboration of one group or another as agents for revitalisation.

The analysis of different revitalisation experiences shows that the classification of social agents for language revitalisation has been conducted in accordance with the language skills,[2] age groups, level of education, etc. In all of these cases, children and

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1 Original quotation: 'Por lo tanto, puede hablarse de la RL cuando [el uso de la misma] comienza a hacerse evidente dentro de las interacciones y vida cotidiana de una comunidad de habla' (Córdova-Hernández, 2014:26-27)

2 The use of 'language skills' in this instance is used to refer to formal knowledge of the language. This refers to the level of literacy and/or grammatical knowledge of the language. In this case, the spoken use of the language is not considered, as, unfortunately, in processes of revitalisation where there is knowledge of the ways of classifying speakers, skill is based on reading and writing and not so much on their levels of daily interaction.

young people have been the population group towards which most interest has been given for language revitalisation. It is unclear, to a certain extent, whether the interest in this population group is considered or projected only at an ideological level or also in terms of communication skills.[3]

This article aims to analyse the participation of young people and their role as agents within certain language revitalisation process in the South of Mexico. It is specifically of interest to show the ambivalences regarding the discourse of those promoting the culture and undertaking action to promote the language; young people are recognised as the group whose awareness must be raised, and who must be trained as the new people with knowledge of the language. However, in the practice of revitalisation, and with some exceptions, young people are an age group that are seldom included in decision making for language revitalisation projects.

On this basis, the article is divided into three sections. The first section, at a general level, refers to how young people are perceived within the field of language revitalisation and how this recognition is, to a certain extent, taken as a 'law' or 'rule'. The second section considers revitalisation experiences developed in the South of Mexico and briefly analyses the participation and recognition of young people and young adults. To do so, four groups of young people are defined: *professional young people, young people selected by institutions, urban young people and community young people.*

These definitions help identify certain types of feature amongst young people immersed in actions for language revitalisation. They have different backgrounds, although are often not recognised as full speakers of the language requiring revitalisation. However, in these processes, the ideologies and methodologies to be developed do not always include their participation. Finally, the conclusions aim to provide the reader with certain discussion points, which, as well as covering the topic, seek to open up new debate on how young people participate in language revitalisation processes, and the ambivalences created when considering and implementing this level of participation.

Young people in the revitalisation of indigenous languages

Language revitalisation 'is a programme of actions to foster the promotion, use, transmission and teaching of a language in a situation of shift. language revitalisation is part of a process […] that begins with local and external initiatives, which should not be limited to a level of actions or to creating a space for the language in its social environment.'[4] (Córdova-Hernández, 2014:323). The participation of young people in language revitalisation has made it possible to create new areas for the use of a lan-

3 The term 'communication skills' in this article seeks to reveal the full use of the indigenous language. This refers to the use of the language in practically all spaces for interaction within the social group. Although this is officially the desired use, the intention is to emphasise this full use of the language at the level of daily life, both within family contexts, the communities and outside the communities. This involves considering the use of the indigenous language in any type of meeting or dialogue between speakers of a language and its variants.

4 Original quotation: 'un programa de acciones a favor de la promoción, uso, transmisión y enseñanza de una lengua que se encuentra en situación de desplazamiento. La RL es parte de un proceso […] que se pone en marcha desde

guage both locally and externally. While such use does not always materialise, or is not observed at community levels, the promotion of languages in a situation of language shift, by young people, has begun to surpass boundaries that are political, physical, educational, financial, etc., and can stand in the way of language revitalisation.

Actions undertaken by many groups of young people formally and informally to promote a language and culture, can be exemplified on the basis of the use of new information and communication technologies (Cru, 2015, Keegan et al., 2015), the production of linguistic landscape (Lanza and Woldemariam, 2014, Jaworski, 2014), the use of different artistic supports (Lopez and Hall, 2007; Lashua and Fox, 2007; Berkin, 2009; Warren and Evitt, 2010; Collard and Palmer, 2015), amongst others. These expressions by young people contribute to strengthening their individual identity, community identity and also 'external' identity. This fact reminds us to consider the multiple characteristics of identity by means of which young people identify themselves.[5] Similarly, they are evidence of the different processes of retaking ownership of the uses that can be made of cultural and language systems (Vidal and Pol, 2005).

As a result, young people can be viewed as be potential agents for the revitalisation of indigenous languages, because, through their initiatives, they bring languages, which are already in disuse in their context of interaction, into the political arena. Nonetheless, although the recognition of young people is almost considered a 'law' within the field of revitalisation, their actions or strategies become liminal within revitalisation projects (Shaul, 2014). Purist ideologies on promoting an 'intact' or 'uncontaminated' language become inherent to language revitalisation processes and, therefore, the uses and mixed knowledge of the new generations or those learning the language are set aside. In this respect, the absence of recognition of the expressions of language amongst young people reduces any type of motivation they may have for the revitalisation process.

Therefore, it is necessary to avoid the participation of young people becoming only a discourse, as an ideal that 'must be' revitalising. Instead, this role as agents must be part of the revitalisation process in practice. For this reason, one of the challenges is not only to raise awareness of the importance of indigenous languages as a communication and identity system, but also to create the necessary conditions to empower young people in language revitalisation (McCarty et al., nd). This type of empowerment -

iniciativas locales y externas, que no deberían constreñirse a un nivel de acciones o a un espacio de la lengua en su ambiente social' (Córdova-Hernández, 2014:323)

5   With 'external identity process', I wish to emphasise the idea developed by Sheng Yao Cheng, based on the contributions of Stuart Hall, on his proposed model of identity formation. This model begins at an individual level, followed by the community process and, finally, the external level. 'External identity' includes racial identity, gender identity, and class identity. It also categorises the national identity, cultural identity and indigenous identity. The way in which indigenous people opt to define themselves is often not the way in which others define them. [...] This leads to critical questions on authenticity: Do native or non native people decide who is indigenous?' (Original quotation used in this work: [La] identidad externa incluye la identidad racial, identidad de género y la identidad de clase. También sirve para clasificar a la identidad nacional, la identidad cultural y la identidad indígena. La manera en que lo pueblos indígenas optan para definirse a sí mismos, a menudo, no es la forma en que otros los definen. [...] Esto plantea preguntas críticas acerca de la autenticidad: ¿Los nativos o no nativos deciden quién es un indígena?') (Cheng, 2015:387). The definition of identity and the use of new supports become ambivalent in a language revitalisation process because, on one hand, the recovery of 'traditional' spaces for the language is advocated, as well as, on the other hand, respect for the multiple identities of the social agents.

perceived, generally, as part of formal education aimed at the population, or through the generation of state language policies - is sought through the establishment of an 'educational sovereignty' [6] (McCarty and Lee, 2015) or the creation of institutes, academies or organisations that make it possible, to a certain point, to achieve linguistic empowerment through the professionalisation of indigenous young people for language revitalisation actions (Spolsky, 2011; Phyak and Bui, 2014).

The institutionalisation of the empowerment of young people in language revitalisation, whether through education, language policies or planning, is to be celebrated. However, the participation of young people tends to conform to a certain type of 'cultural *élite*', which does not always include groups of young people who can generate revitalisation actions. On one hand, there are urban indigenous young people, or young people who have migrated temporarily, who have no type of official recognition, but can conduct communication practices that encourage language promotion and generate language policies (McCarty et al., 2009). On the other hand, there are groups of young people and young adults who have remained within their indigenous communities and can generate more immediate revitalisation actions, but their recognition as agents for revitalisation has been set aside even more so than in the case of the urban or professional young people. (Messing, 2009).

Ambivalence towards the recognition of young people and young adults and their role as agents for language revitalisation are evident in certain initiatives implemented in the South of Mexico. These processes make revitalisation in practice more complex, and, to a certain extent, less hopeful, as they do not generate new bridges of communication between the agents interested in language revitalisation, and the potential new speakers and those who will pass on the language.

Workshop for the revitalisation of Zapoteco in the community of Santiago Xochiltepec, Textitlán, Oaxaca (May 2015).

Revitalisation experiences amongst young people in the South of Mexico

Language revitalisation projects are generated by individuals or groups, who, enthusiastically, create discourse to include all types of social agents in their social and communication practices. In general, when a revitalisation project is defined, it is thought that, for the first time, all existing processes of diglossia will be resolved and that all the 'rough edges' will be removed in the community or area of interest.

Those promoting the culture - generally adults or young adults who promote all types of initiative in their discourse in favour of the language and culture, but, in the majority of cases did not or do not pass the indigenous language on to their children for various reasons - have been subject to

6 Original quotation used in this work: 'soberania educativa' (McCarty y Lee, 2015).

awareness raising by different institutions and organisations of the need to include different strategies and methodologies within their revitalisation actions. Similarly, their 'awareness' has been raised towards the inclusion of the types of initiative generated by communities of speakers only if these are considered optimum.

The implementation and observation of the awareness raising processes lead to a series of questions, such as: Which type of actions or methodologies should or should not be included? How do we choose which actions should be prioritised? Who should participate in the language revitalisation project? What is the role of young people and young adults in this process?

In certain revitalisation experiences in the South of Mexico, specifically in the states of Oaxaca and Chiapas, for example, the case of languages, such as Chocholteco, Ixcateco, Zoque, Zapoteco, Mam and Chuj, can be considered, in some communities, as 'sleeping languages'.[7] This means that they are languages in a critical state of language shift compared to Spanish because they still have a certain number of adult and young adult speakers, whose interactions sometimes take place in the endangered language (Hinton, 2001b)— the recognition of these young people is ambivalent.

On one hand, the ideology exists that young people and children are the hope for language revitalisation, and, it is, therefore, important to raise their awareness of language revitalisation. On the other hand, another ideology exists that they are potentially able to revitalise the language only if they have skills in reading and writing. Alternatively, even if they do not know the language, they must have the support of an institution as 'allies' in the language revitalisation process.

In the discourse of adults and the elderly, nostalgia is expressed because the language has been shifted from its communication contexts. Similarly, it is stated that young people no longer want to use the language, which places a negative burden on the attitude of young people. In the discourse of the majority of adults, young people no longer respect the language, and do not wish to speak it, thereby denying their culture, etc. [8] However, when these young people become become professional linguists, anthropologists or teachers, even if there is a certain level of suspicion from the community - as they are considered to no longer share the same ideas as those did not become

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7 It should be clarified that the Zapoteco language has more than 40 linguistic variants and is the language most widely spoken in the state of Oaxaca. However, in some communities or regions, it is experiencing a significant language shift. The case mentioned here refers to the Zapoteco language in a community in the district of Sola de Vega, Oaxaca. The Zoque case is based on the experience obtained in the region of Santa María Chimalapa, Oaxaca. The reference made of the Mam language is in the region of Soconusco, Chiapas.

8 In the context of the Chuj (Maya) language in Chiapas, this type of negative reference towards young people is constant. Indeed, in some cases, young people are referred to as 'transgenic seeds', which are considered by certain agroecological organisations to be poisonous for the land and for health reasons. The seeds are considered to be impure or hybrid. 'From this perspective, to achieve good things in young people [...] a pure Chuj culture, and language, is required so that "they do not use Spanish". In this respect, referring to a mixed language relates to the problem of respect and referring to cultural redefinition in young people is to refer to a problem of loss of culture' (Original quotation: 'Desde esta perspectiva, para lograr cosas buenas en los jóvenes [...] se necesita una cultura y lengua chuj pura que 'no utilice el español'. En este sentido, hablar de una lengua mezclada es referencia al problema del respeto y hablar de resignificación cultural en los jóvenes un problema de pérdida de la cultura') (Córdova-Hernández, 2009:90).

professional - those promoting the culture take a different type of stance regarding these 'hybrid' young people.

The *young professionals* are recognised in two ways within the community of speakers and cultural promoters. [9] As previously mentioned, the first type of recognition occurs when the young people become professionals, leading to rejection by the community (from the elderly, adults and young adults) towards the new ideas or proposals that they make. For example, in the case of Zapoteco, it has been difficult for the 'last speakers' of the language to participate in a project to develop the linguistic landscape, suggested by the educational authorities of an upper medium level community school (baccalaureate level). Two reasons were given for the initial rejection.

Firstly, some of the last speakers invited asserted that 'young people of baccalaureate age are not interested in hearing about the language, they laugh when they hear it spoken and understand nothing that is said in the language'. A second reason was because the indigenous language teacher at baccalaureate level does not even know the language, despite being from the community. First, he should commit to learning the language and then we will see whether the young people go, because it takes up their time. [10]

The two arguments given demonstrate outright rejection to working together with the young people and with the proposal of the language teacher, who is a professional young person qualified in education and a learner of the language. The fact that a teacher is from the community, works as a teacher of the Zapoteca language, but is not a 'full speaker' leaves him subject to different types of criticism from the last speakers of the language and from the majority of people in the community. Although the teacher is not the only young adult in the community who does not speak the language fully, the objections of the community are aimed at him because he has formal employment within the community and his position is justified through the language that he does not speak fully.

In terms of language revitalisation, the teacher's initiatives are welcomed in light of the critical state of the language in this community. However, his initiative and that of his students will be strongly attacked by the last speakers, because some of them have requested financial compensation from different institutions in return for passing on their knowledge. Therefore, indirectly, they wish to be recognised by the community in which they live, and in which the Zapoteca language is dormant. This same position can be observed in the case of the Zoque language, which is in a critical state of language shift, and has both cultural promoters and native linguists dedicated to conducting formal studies of the language.

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9 For this purpose of this work, reference will only be made to the professionalisation of native linguists.

10 Field notes made in the meeting of 20 March 2015, to mark the implementation of a local project on 'Linguistic Landscape' in the Zapoteca language, in collaboration with the National Institute of Indigenous Languages. (Original quotation: 'Primero [él] debería de comprometerse a aprender y luego ya se vería que los jóvenes vayan, porque quitan el tiempo.')

In the case of the Zoque language, as for Zapoteco, native linguists are perceived with a certain level of suspicion by the community in general. However, in the case of cultural promoters, these native linguists are valued as 'those who know the language'. In general, cultural promoters of the Zoque language did not pass this indigenous language on to their children. Nonetheless, they are critical of the behaviour of other young people who do not speak the language and have moved to the city. The cultural promoters long for their children to become professional linguists, even if they do not speak the language. [11]

The fact that they wish for their children to become professional linguists is a response to the social prestige given to linguists in specific contexts. As in the majority of indigenous communities in the country, cultural promoters have been told about known linguists. Consequently, contradiction arises when promoters advocate the need for new speakers and criticise those who are non-speakers. However, they do not criticise the fact that many generations of native linguists do not use the language.

For this reason, there is an ambivalence between the position taken in favour of revitalisation, advocating the use of the spoken language, of which the promoters are aware, and the fact that they are less critical of native linguists who do not use, or are not interested in, the spoken language and will probably not pass on the language to future generations. This last aspect was observed in the case of the Zoque language, when some native linguists asserted that their contribution to the language is 'only theory and grammar-based'.[12]

Young people selected by institutions are those who have contracts or have been selected by different institutions, such as the National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples (CDI) as promoters of the language, are subject to the same criticisms as professional young people from communities and cultural promoters. In contrast with professional young people, the *young people selected by institutions* do not necessarily have a university education, and, for the majority of the aforementioned languages, they are not full speakers of the languages. Many of these young people are 'learning the language' and have less prestige amongst adult cultural promoters because their contracts or assignments are temporary, and, in general, all the young people in the community can be eligible. This type of young people is, generally, criticised more on the basis of political and economic issues, due to their employment and collaboration status with the institutions, than for their 'linguistic deficiencies', although the latter is part of the central argument.

In the field of language revitalisation, both professional young people and *young people selected by institutions* are potential agents for revitalisation. However, it is probable that, in specific terms, such as intergenerational transmission and communication skill, these young people are not the future parents of families who will pass the language

11 This longing has also been expressed by promoters of Chocholteco and Chuj.

12 This statement was made by a Zoque linguist in a presentation at a language festival in San Miguel Chimalapa, Oaxaca, on 6 December 2014. The statement was the response to a question made by a young person working for the Zoque radio in Chiapas, who asked him what his contribution was to prevent the Zoque language from disappearing. (Original quotation: 'es solamente teórica y gramatical'.)

on, or the future teachers of the language. This fact has begun to be reflected in the case of the Chocholteco language, with no more than 500 speakers, which has experienced a total language shift in some communities.

The majority of retired bilingual teachers who undertook actions more than three decades ago, to promote the Chocolteco language, now express that they no longer have the same level of energy to continue to promote the use and knowledge of the language. In this respect, they need new generations who will take forward the progress and work conducted by these teachers. However, this process involves a twofold effort by this group of young people. Firstly, it is necessary to accelerate their learning and use of the language. Secondly, they must acquire teaching skills in order to teach the languages. This twofold effort requires them to invest time, which, in the context of the Chocholteco language, is becoming urgent, although there is no evidence that it has been implemented.

Urban young people, of indigenous origin who were born in the city or migrated there on a permanent or temporary basis, are creating new forms in the use and promotion of indigenous languages. As mentioned in the previous section, these actions use new support materials and new technologies, which are positive for language revitalisation. The processes experienced in the indigenous communities of mass, accelerated migration towards urban areas or towns are worrying because they are part of the factors that influence language shift. However, it is beginning to be observed every day that young people use different types of technological tools to reassert their ethnic and linguistic identity. In some cases, the language is used as a means of communication and, in others, as a poetic and countercultural resource.

Unfortunately, for the aforementioned languages, this process remains slow, particularly because, on the social scale of indigenous languages, they are languages with little prestige. For example, the Chocholteco language is frequently concealed by the users or promoters of the Mixteca language. This is also the case of the Zoque language by the Zapoteco language in the region of Istmo, and in the case of the Chuj language, by languages in the Maya family, such as Qanjob'al and Mam. Nonetheless, little by little, these new uses are becoming widespread, although they continue to be viewed with a certain level of suspicion by the community promoters undertaking language revitalisation processes.

The last group comprises the *community young people*. These are young people or young adults who still live in their communities, who know their language, but are not recognised by institutions or by the members of the community. They are considered to be those with a basic level of schooling, who are not literate in the indigenous language, but speak and know the language and are parents. In this group, it is interesting to describe the case of the Ixcateca language. According to official figures, this indigenous language of Oaxaca, has approximately five speakers who are elderly men (grandfathers) with rapid loss of hearing.

The Ixcateco case is intriguing because, for the past 30 years, different state institutions and philanthropic foundations have focused their attention and support on documenting and teaching the language. The last speakers have received financial incentives to

'teach Ixcateco in schools'. The financial support motivated the speakers to teach the language. However, the teaching process has not led to progress in revitalisation, as classes in Ixcateca are characterised by learning lists of words. In this respect, although attention is given to the language, as in other indigenous languages, there is little follow-up of the skills acquired and no teaching training to teach the language (Hinton, 2001a).

Officially, the Ixcateco language is recognised as only having five speakers. However, within the community, it is known that there are more speakers. The additional speakers are two mothers, one of whom is a young adult. She is a speaker who learnt the language at 16 and uses it to interact on a daily basis with members of her family; with her parents and her daughter, a young girl of 17 years of age. One of the concerns about the Ixcateco language, as with the Chocholteco language, is who will be responsible for teaching the language if those recognised as the 'last speakers' are no longer there.

The fact that there are two mothers and one young speaker makes it possible to recognise a small generation of speakers who can promote the teaching of the Ixcateca language and pass it on. If this human linguistic resource is well-directed, in terms of language teaching training and promoting the use of the language, it could lead to good progress in language revitalisation. However, both the municipal authorities and the institutional agents doubt the communication skills of these young women, which discourages the women from accepting that they have communication skill in the language.

The definitions of different types of young people reaffirms that young people and young adults are potential agents for the revitalisation of a language, but the levels of recognition at an institutional, community and social level demonstrate contradictory trends and ideologies regarding language revitalisation. In the four cases, the adults and elderly people, through their practices, create obstacles to revitalisation processes, which are in contrast to their discourse aiming to demonstrate the opposite. In this way, they promote language revitalisation only as a rhetorical resource and not as a language used in practice for sociocultural recognition.

Conclusion

Publications on language revitalisation have documented the fact that young people express little interest in the revitalisation processes and that it is the adult and elderly population who are in favour of it. However, the previous paragraphs have demonstrated that, in general, the existing lack of motivation amongst young people to learn and use the language is underscored by the contradictory ideologies and actions of the adults and the elderly. In various discourses documented, young people are strongly criticised for their hybrid, mixed use of the language. However, these young people are the children of the adults and the elderly people who did not pass the language on to them from an early age. In this way, the young people are recognised as the potential new speakers and those who will pass on the language, but this role as agents is defined in accordance with what the groups of adults and elderly people imagine.

On this basis, it can be asserted that, within the aforementioned experiences, there are ideologies on the *omnipotence of the older generations* and the *omnipresence of state institutions.* These ideologies promote the supremacy of the adults and the elderly on the actions of the young people. Paradoxically, they grant a strong role to state institutions and agents in validating who the potential agents are for revitalisation. Instead of enriching the processes, this generates a certain cultural and generation divide, as the definitions of identity based on the young people's contexts for interaction cannot, and should not, be considered to be the same as for adults and the elderly.

In the same way, although there is an increasingly widespread use of new support materials for the promotion of languages, in all the cases presented, this still belongs to a cultural *élite*, which can include *professional young people, young people selected by institutions* and *urban young people*, and not, for example, young adults who remained in the community (*community young people*). For this reason, greater literacy is required in the use of new technological support materials to promote further processes of linguistic and cultural enhancement amongst the four groups of young people.

When young people are recognised on the basis of ideologies related to selection by institutions or becoming professional, the expressions for cultural promotion, such as hip-hop, graffiti, the use of social media and others, which are more 'urban' or 'modern', are not considered to be references for revitalisation. In conclusion, if language revitalisation is based on the daily use of the language, whether through its recovery or the creation of new spaces for its use, it is open for discussion about which direction the adults and elderly promoters will take for language revitalisation when its new speakers and transmitters advocate the use of 'non-traditional' strategies to awaken those languages that are gradually becoming dormant.

Biography

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¡AWKANTU, AWKANTU KÜPAY TA MAPUCHEDUNGUN! EL JUEGO LINGÜÍSTICO, UNA HERRAMIENTA PARA LA REVITALIZACIÓN DE LENGUAS

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Introducción

En los últimos años, la sociedad mapuche está generando diversas acciones orientadas a la revitalización y reconocimiento de su idioma. Estas iniciativas surgen principalmente desde las organizaciones sociales, quienes despliegan diversos esfuerzos que van desde el ámbito político (exigencia de oficialización del mapuchedungun[1] en la región de la Araucanía) hasta actividades orientadas al fortalecimiento identitario (que incluyen, por ejemplo, talleres para niños y jóvenes, donde se les enseña la lengua mapuche). En los últimos diez años, se observa un aumento en las iniciativas tendientes a revelar la existencia del idioma mapuche, más allá de los espacios, preferentemente rurales, donde tiene mayor vitalidad. (Gunderman et al 2010)

Muchas organizaciones sociales incluyen, aunque no siempre como tema central, el uso y práctica de la lengua mapuche además de su reconocimiento a través de actividades, no siempre constantes, y también de elementos visibles, como pancartas, posters o mediante el desarrollo de talleres de enseñanza de lenguas. En este sentido, es posible afirmar que en relación a décadas anteriores, la presencia pública del idioma mapuche es más visible en este último tiempo.[2]

Siguiendo a Flores Farfán (2013) "el término revitalización debe referirse a situaciones en que la lengua está en una posición crítica, alcanzando el punto de la extinción, cuando al menos alguna acción puede emprenderse para revertir el desplazamiento lingüístico". La situación de desuso en la que se encuentra el idioma mapuche, requiere efectivamente, de acciones dirigidas a revertir el desplazamiento. La lengua mapuche ya no es la lengua principal en el entorno familiar y comunitario, al punto que hay una disminución de su uso en las actividades rituales de las comunidades. No resulta extraño observar una ceremonia como el *ngillatun*[3] con uso alternado de castellano y mapudungun. Por otra parte, la mayoría de los mapuches (sobre el 90%) ha aprendido

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1 En este artículo se utilizarán las denominaciones mapudungun y mapuchedungun para referirnos al idioma mapuche.

2 Se requieren estudios que permitan contrastar la información obtenida en el Perfil Sociolingüístico de la Lengua Mapuche (2008) con la situación actual. Cabe destacar que para esa fecha las acciones en torno al mapudungun, eran todavía, incipientes.

3 El *ngillatun* es una ceremonia religiosa de carácter comunitario, que se realiza principalmente en espacios rurales. Aunque en este último tiempo se está recreando también en los grandes centros urbanos. Es una actividad ritual y central para el mantenimiento de las relaciones sociales y culturales entre las distintas comunidades mapuches. Uno de los aspectos que más se valora y se reconoce en el *ngillatun*, es el uso del idioma mapuche, y las autoridades

el castellano como su primera lengua (Lagos, 2013). Frente a este panorama, es clara la necesidad de un trabajo intenso y consciente para restituir el uso de la lengua, pero este accionar no debe estar liderado sólo por el sector público o académico, sino que los integrantes del grupo debieran ser co-partícipes activos de este proceso. Los hablantes son el centro del nuestro esfuerzo, especialmente la población infantil y adolescente (Flores Farfán, 2013).

Los procesos de revitalización lingüística operan desde múltiples aristas, tanto desde lo público, representado por el Estado, como desde el mundo social y cultural. Asimismo, se trata de un esfuerzo amplio, de resultados no inmediatos y que implica una constante sensibilización hacia el grupo cuya lengua está siendo desplazada. Lemus (2008) propone cinco componentes o dimensiones que deben incluirse en el proceso de revitalización y revaloración de una lengua y cultura: identidad cultural, corpus lingüístico, legislación, educación y bienestar social y, considera como el de mayor importancia la recuperación de la identidad cultural, ya que ésta impulsa los otros componentes. Como se sabe la identidad cultural conlleva valores, creencias, tradiciones, símbolos y comportamientos que sirven de referencia de un grupo social y, a la vez, hacen que este grupo se identifique con el mismo. Es aquí donde la lengua tiene un lugar fundamental, porque a través de ella un pueblo transmite sus pensamientos, su historia, sus quehaceres cotidianos, su visión del pasado y del futuro, en definitiva la lengua es el andar de un pueblo, su tránsito y permanencia en la historia.

En el afán de la lucha por el mantenimiento de la identidad, el pueblo cuya lengua presenta estos síntomas de debilitamiento, la revitalización surge como una posibilidad real para continuar, y aún más, para revivir con vigorosidad a través de las voces de los niños y jóvenes, quienes además de "volver a hacer vivas las palabras", deben también ser transmisores de la mismas. Se trata, entonces, de un proceso que cubre varios ámbitos, en este artículo nos enfocaremos principalmente en las posibilidades que existen en la misma lengua, es decir, en la tradición oral y a partir de ahí, iniciar procesos de concientización lingüística y reconocimiento de lo propio. La tradición oral, no es algo que pueda circunscribirse sólo al folclor de un grupo ya que conforma "ni más ni menos que el sustento material más recurrido de las lenguas y culturas del mundo" (Flores Farfán 2008). Al reconocer y retomar los tipos discursivos pertenecientes a la tradición oral de un pueblo, sus integrantes ven reforzada su identidad, ya que por un lado entre los hablantes se produce un reencuentro con prácticas abandonadas, y por otro los aprendices de la lengua contemplan y consideran su propia riqueza lingüística.

Considerando esta situación es que hemos estimado necesario recurrir a la propia lengua y su tradición oral, especialmente, cuando lenguas como el mapuchedungun, son ricas en estos géneros discursivos. En esta línea se diseñaron talleres para niños y jóvenes, cuyas estrategias y recursos de aprendizaje resultaron novedosos, y por tanto, se despertó la necesidad por practicar el idioma mapuche. En el desarrollo de talleres de enseñanza de lenguas, dirigido principalmente a niños y jóvenes, lo habitual es que se realicen mediante estrategias que tienden a repetir el modelo de la escuela, modelo que muchas veces no resulta atractivo para los aprendices. Uno de los discursos presentes

tradicionales exigen y enfatizan el uso de ésta. Sin embargo, en este último tiempo, se observa el uso alternado de castellano y mapudungun.

en todas las lenguas lo constituyen los juegos verbales, el jugar con palabras es una actividad humana universal. En general los grupos humanos disfrutan jugando con las palabras, adivinando, pensando, buscando nuevas formas, recreando sonidos, inventando formas nuevas, complicando expresiones, a fin de cuentas, disfrutando el juego de las palabras (Crystal 1994).

El juego lingüístico, principalmente el que proviene de la tradición oral propia, "constituye un método, una herramienta didáctica – pedagógica que propicia la asimilación consciente y entretenida de los conocimientos. Se utiliza para el desarrollo y perfeccionamiento de hábitos y habilidades lingüísticas, es de gran utilidad para contribuir al desarrollo del pensamiento, de las cualidades morales, volitivas, de la conducta y la formación de convicciones, todo lo cual estará en dependencia de su estructura y de las tareas que los educandos tengan que cumplir" (Díaz Sandoval 2012). Asimismo, todos los pueblos en la historia de la humanidad tienen formas de entretenimiento como parte de su cultura. Si pensamos en los largos inviernos del territorio mapuche, cuando la familia permanecía en la *ruka*[4], a orillas del fogón, los juegos verbales ayudaban a pasar los largos días y constituían la forma en que niños, jóvenes, adultos y ancianos se recreaban. Diferentes tipos de juegos acompañaban el cotidiano del invierno y las tardes del verano, los días de veranadas[5], al final de la recolección de mariscos o algas marinas[6] o frutos del bosque[7]. Estos juegos han perdido vigencia y son desconocidos por la mayoría de la población mapuche, principalmente, niños y jóvenes, aunque permanece en la memoria de los más ancianos y en algunos registros escritos, de modo que es posible su rescate y puesta en práctica.[8]

En este artículo se describirán tres juegos lingüísticos, el *konew, kechukawe* y *awarkuden* y la experiencia de aplicación de dos juegos de ellos: *awarkuden, kechukawe*, los que fueron practicados con niños y adolescentes mapuches en talleres de lengua, desarrollados por organizaciones sociales. En esta ocasión, nos referiremos puntualmente a actividades realizadas con dos organizaciones sociales: Identidad Lafkenche[9] (Tirúa, Región del Bío-Bío) y Asociación Indígena "Lafkenche ñi Zuam"[10] (Puerto Saavedra, Región de la Araucanía) y cómo la utilización de estos juegos son un valioso incentivo al uso de la lengua y la práctica de ella más allá de las salas de clases, y se internalizan en el co-

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4 Casa en idioma mapuche

5 Veranadas, las familias de mapuches cordilleranos 'pewenche', hasta hoy día suben a la cordillera durante el tiempo estival a recoger el fruto de la araucaria, permanecen allí por dos meses consecutivos.

6 Los mapuches costeros o 'lafkenche' acostumbran a recolectar los productos del mar, en grupos en los que participa todo el grupo familiar.

7 Los mapuches de los valles o 'wenteche', donde abundan los hualles (árbol similar al roble) recolectan de éste, unos hongos denominados digüeñes, actividad realizada habitualmente en grupo

8 A principios del s. XX, Manuel Manquilef, un profesor mapuche escribió un libro donde realizó un valioso registro de juegos, ejercicios y actividades desarrolladas en las comunidades de su tiempo.

9 Organización mapuche de carácter territorial, de reconocida trayectoria, que abarca a comunidades mapuches de la costa de las regiones del Bío-Bío, Araucanía, Los Lagos y Los Ríos.

10 Organización mapuche conformada por profesionales mapuches que trabajan en la comuna de Puerto Saavedra y cuyo objetivo es trabajar en pos de la revitalización cultural del pueblo mapuche.

tidiano, produciendo por un lado, el uso de la lengua y por otro, la revalidación de los saberes tradicionales propios.

Juegos lingüísticos en mapuchedungun

La lengua mapuche tiene como la mayoría de las lenguas juegos verbales cuyo fin es desarrollar destrezas y habilidades orales en las personas. Estos juegos son realizados tanto por niños como adultos. Antiguamente, estos tenían mucha vitalidad y eran parte del cotidiano, tanto en reuniones familiares como en encuentros colectivos de comunidades más amplias. Catrileo (2006) identifica los ül o canciones, que son composiciones elaboradas en el momento que ocurre la situación o bien son producto de un hecho relevante para el creador de la misma, *el* ülkantufe, el *konew* o adivinanza; el *koy koy* o trabalengua y el üküm, juego de silencio. Los tres últimos corresponden a juegos que se realizaban principalmente desde los adultos o a ancianos a los niños y niñas, con el objeto de transmitir por un lado, la destreza lingüística y por otro, los saberes propios de su sistema de creencias. En este trabajo se profundizará principalmente en el konew. Por otra parte, existen los juegos donde el uso del mapudungun es fundamental para conseguir el triunfo, pero que no son estrictamente orales, en el sentido que además incluyen elementos para su ejecución, ejemplos de ellos son el *kechukawe* y el *awarkuden*, que también se incluyen en este trabajo.

Konew 'adivinanza'

El konew se enmarca dentro de los juegos lingüísticos orales. Dado el carácter ágrafo del pueblo mapuche, este juego no ha sido muy registrado a lo largo del tiempo, y no es habitual encontrar ejemplos de ellos, no así como ocurre con otros géneros como el relato 'epew', que ha sido ampliamente difundido a través de libros de texto, programas educativos, y obras de teatro entre otros. El konew, por el contrario, ha permanecido en la cultura oral y en franca desaparición, de hecho, son pocos los hablantes que poseen el conocimiento de los konew propios de la cultura mapuche y la tendencia más habitual es recurrir a la traducción de adivinanzas de origen hispano. Sin embargo, es posible identificar aquellos konew que son propios de la tradición cultural mapuche, aquellos que describen sus sistema de creencias, su relación con el entorno natural, sus vestimentas típicas, como también la llegada de elementos de la cultura occidental. Otro aspecto relevante del konew tradicional se relaciona con su estructura lingüística.

Por ejemplo, es común encontrar konew referidos a seres sobrenaturales:

> *Ini tañi kimpel: kiñe kurü wedakelutuley pengentuy, ñamtuy femkey ka pürakawellukey alofkey tañi foro pu<u>t</u>em tripakey,*

> *¿chem am ta fey?*

> ¿Quién sabe? Malvado y negro se ve, desaparece, y luego monta a caballo, tiene sus dientes brillantes, en la noche no más aparece ¿Qué es?

> *(Witranalwe 'el espíritu malo')*

El ejemplo (1) muestra como a través de este *konew* se les enseña a los niños a no salir de casa durante las noches, porque puede aparecer espíritu maligno y causarles algún daño, generalmente asociado a alguna enfermedad ya sea física o sicológica, de allí que el texto sea claro en señalar que "*puntem tripakey* 'en las noches no más aparece'". En otro aspecto, el konew cumple también un fin de entretención, a través del cual se reconocen de manera amena los elementos de la naturaleza. Veamos otro ejemplo:

> *¿Ini tañi kimpel?*
>
> *kake rume tañi ad wenu adkintupüramngeyüm tripakey füllfüll mawünüeyüm.*
>
> *¿Chem am ta fey?*
>
> ¿Quién lo sabe? Se mira en lo alto, se levanta, de allí sale y se reúne con la lluvia
>
> *(Relmu 'arcoiris')*

En el ejemplo (2), el konew describe a un elemento de la naturaleza, *relmu* 'arcoiris' y para ello utiliza formas lingüísticas complejas de formular para un niño, tales como el verbo "adkintupüramngetuy"

> *Ad-kintu-püram-nge-tu-Ø-y*
>
> Imagen- buscar-levantar- ser- VERB- pte/psd-3sg
>
> "se mira en lo alto"

El uso de elementos complejos (de más de una raíz verbal) y pronunciados con rapidez, le agrega dificultad y promueve la habilidad que requiere un buen jugador, de modo que pueda generar en el resto de jugadores la búsqueda de la respuesta y, a la vez, se transmiten las formas propias de la lengua, es decir, su carácter aglutinante y polisintético. Lo mismo se observa en el ejemplo (1) con el uso del verbo "pürakawellutuy", donde hay también se observa esta complejidad.

> *Püra-kawellu-tu-Ø-y*
>
> Subir- caballo-VERB-pte/psd-3sg
>
> 'el monta a caballo'

Considerando que el konew es un juego de palabras, el uso de estructuras complejas permite desarrollar en los jugadores las particularidades de la lengua, y en el caso de participantes infantiles, se va adquiriendo a través de lo lúdico, la destreza para ir construyendo y ampliando el léxico y la construcción de discursos.

Teniendo en cuenta las características descritas, este juego se constituye como una herramienta muy adecuada para la enseñanza de la lengua mapuche, especialmente en contextos externos a la escuela tradicional. Así, se propone el konew como una herramienta para el trabajo de revitalización lingüística especialmente con niños, niñas y adolescentes, ya que en el juego lingüístico, especialmente las adivinanzas "constituyen bastiones de la retención lingüística y cultural, y desde el punto de vista de la investigación, conforman indicios elocuentes de la vitalidad (o no) de unas cultura(s) y lengua(s) amenazadas" (Flores Farfán: 2008).

Kechukawe

El kechukawe es un juego de competencia que puede darse tanto a nivel individual como grupal, en el que el uso del mapuchedungun tiene especial relevancia, porque a través del uso de fórmulas lingüísticas se convoca el logro del objetivo, que en este caso implica la obtención de un mayor puntaje y la derrota del rival. Siguiendo en la línea de Flores Farfán (2008) se trata de recrear el patrimonio lingüístico de un pueblo,

foto de: http://www.elperiodico.cl/2012/07/escolares-de-la-araucania-aprendieron-y-disfrutaron-con-ciclo-de-talleres-de-juegos-ancestrales-mapuches/

a través de la puesta en práctica de actividades donde el uso del idioma es fundamental para que se realice el juego. El *kechukawe*, se transforma de un juego de azar en un dispositivo útil para la promoción del idioma.

Descrito por Manquilef (1914), el *kechukawe* "es un prisma que tiene tanto la base superior como la inferior triangulares; las tres caras laterales son rectangulares i en estas hai *dos, tres i cinco* puntitos negros i en la base existe uno. Otras veces el prisma es truncado i el punto es matador al caer descansando el cuerpo en ese lado. Este juego se denomina *kechukawe* o *kechukan* por tener su prisma cinco caras." (Manquilef, 1910: 44).

Como se trata de un juego en el que el uso del mapudungun es necesario, los participantes se ven "obligados" a utilizar las fórmulas establecidas y además, cada uno debe contar con un grupo que anime su participación, con cantos y gritos en idioma mapuche.

El juego consiste en la simulación de una batalla en la que dos equipos rivales deben derribar las rukas (casas) de sus oponentes. En este juego se observan distintos patrones culturales mapuches, tales como la configuración espacial, el uso de la lengua para poner en práctica el juego, y la inclusión de música y gritos. La configuración de espacio es un círculo en la tierra segmentada en su mitad por una línea divisoria, en oposición este (salida del sol)-oeste (donde se esconde el sol). Los participantes se turnan en parejas para practicar el juego y reciben el dado '*kechukan*'. Al inicio, se canta en mapudungun "*kechu, kechu, kechu pürangepe rume*" (cinco, cinco cinco, aunque sea uno siquiera) cada vez que alguien saca un punto todos gritan '*püra*', sumados de gritos como el *afafan*[11] y en caso de ausencia de puntos, por caer fuera del círculo, el público grita: *nielay* (no hay) o *tripalay* (no salió).

Observemos la estructura de esta fórmula (canto de inicio):

> *Kechu kechu kechu püra- nge-pe rume*
>
> Cinco cinco cinco levantar –ser- DES siquiera
>
> *'cinco, cinco, cinco que se levante uno siquiera'*

---

11 Grito de animación y guerra, muy propio de la sociedad mapuche.

Las respuestas en este juego pueden ser muy variadas, porque dependerá del número que se obtenga del kechukan, por lo que se suma el uso del interrogativo *¿tunten?* 'cuánto' y los numerales de uno a diez y las ausencias de punto, antes señaladas. Por un lado, está la práctica lingüística de los jugadores, y por otra, los aportes de sus apoyos, quienes agregan nuevas fórmulas que llaman a que el jugador rival pierda.

Awarkuden

Este juego tenía un su origen un fin competitivo entre los jugadores, cuyo logro era ganar una apuesta. Se trata de un juego en el que participan desde dos a cuatro jugadores, quienes tienen a su haber ocho habas 'awar', de las cuales cuatro están pintadas de negro y las otra cuatro en su color natural. Cada vez que se obtienen cuatro habas de un solo color el participante gana un punto, y cuando se logran ocho habas de un solo color, dos puntos. Gana la partida quien primero obtiene diez puntos. Por cada jugada los participantes enuncian una fórmula que "llama los puntos": "awarkuden, awarkuden, küpape, küpape awar".

> *Awar- kuden, awar-kuden küpa-pe   küpa-pe awar*
>
> *Haba-apostar,   haba-apostar venir- DES   venir-DES habas*
>
> *'apuesto las habas, apuesto las habas, que vengan, que vengan las habas'*

Como se observa, la oración es simple y permite ir realizando cambios; lo que se mantiene es el ritmo de la canción, que acompaña el lanzamiento de las habas. Si la fórmula es proclamada en castellano, el participante pierde, es imperativo el uso de la lengua mapuche. Además se promueve la creación de nuevos enunciados, agregando nuevos verbos.

La experiencia: El juego lingüístico en el espacio rural y comunitario

El ejercicio de los juegos mapuche (*awkantun*) se ha realizado en variadas oportunidades con distintos grupos, cuya característica común es el trabajo con niños y jóvenes. En esta ocasión se describirán las actividades con dos organizaciones sociales: Identidad Lafkenche y Asociación Indígena "Lafkenche ñi Zuam", la primera en la comuna de Puerto Saavedra, y la segunda, en la comuna de Tirúa.

En ambas regiones, del Bío-Bío y La Araucanía, la lengua ha perdido espacios y los jóvenes y niños no son socializados en lengua mapuche, salvo algunos casos que la tienen como incipiente segunda lengua y en la mayoría, no se utiliza. El objetivo de este trabajo es generar interés por su idioma a través de juegos tradicionales. Si los aprendices descubren la lengua de manera lúdica, se despertará en ellos la curiosidad y el compromiso con su identidad, mediante el uso del mapuchedungun.

Identidad Lafkenche, Tirúa

El contexto de trabajo correspondió a un campamento escolar que se realiza cada año durante el mes de enero y al que asisten niños y niñas de entre 5 y 18, todos de origen mapuche. En esta oportunidad se utilizaron el juego de las adivinanzas, el awarkuden y el kechukawe. Para las primeras, se utilizó un cuadernillo con konew, cuyo elemento a adivinar debía ser pintado por los niños. Para el segundo día, el mismo grupo de niños realizó la práctica de los juegos, actividad para la que mostraron una alta motivación e interés. Inmediatamente se agruparon en una mesa grande para dar lugar al saludo y la presentación correspondiente.

Awar Kuden. Para este juego se armaron duplas que compitieron con otras duplas, a los cuales se les asignaron habas pintadas para la realización del juego. Una vez iniciado el awarkuden, se podía observar como los participantes comenzaron a practicar el mapudungun, a pesar de no utilizarlo cotidianamente. La pronunciación de los cantos les resultaba casi natural y como el juego se realizaba en su propio entorno, sumado a la animación y entretenimiento que provocaba la actividad, las fórmulas del juego fueron rápidamente adquiridas.

Kechukawe. Este juego convocó una alta participación. El uso de la lengua fue relevante para apoyar al compañero de equipo, tanto para alentarlo como para desalentar al equipo rival, y en este juego, además, muchos otros participantes de otras edades y presentes en el lugar se fueron integrando y haciéndose partícipes de la experiencia. Cabe destacar que para ambos juegos las personas mapuches adultas y hablantes de mapudungun se sumaron espontáneamente al juego con los niños y colaboraron en ayudarles ideando nuevas fórmulas y cantos breves para amenizar.

Asociación Indígena "Lafkenche ñi Zuam", Puerto Saavedra

En el marco de la celebración del Wetripantu[12] se invitó a quienes participaron de la ceremonia ritual a retomar la práctica del awarkuden y el kechukawe. En seguida, muchos de los adultos reconocieron conocer los juegos tanto de oídas o haberlos practicado alguna vez en su infancia, este hecho motivó a que fueran ellos mismos quienes animaron a los niños y jóvenes a conocer los 'awkantun'[13], lo que coincidió con el objetivo de la experiencia, cuyos destinatarios, eran la población infantil y juvenil asistente a la actividad. Esto fue importante, primero, porque la mayoría de ellos no conocen ni utilizan el idioma, y segundo porque los oficiantes de las ceremonias realizadas son hablantes competentes de mapudungun, aunque por distintas razones asociadas principalmente al bajo status social de la lengua han interrumpido la transmisión de la misma en sus familias y grupos cercanos.

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12 Es una festividad que se realiza cada año con motivo del cambio del solsticio de invierno en el Hemisferio Sur. Las familias y comunidades mapuche se reúnen en torno a una fiesta, habitualmente, comunitaria, en la que se efectúan juegos, ceremonias religiosas y se comparte comida especialmente preparada para la ocasión.

13 juegos

Awar Kuden. Como hemos señalado el juego posee características de juego apuestas, en esta propuesta el acento está centrado en el uso del mapudungun, es decir, se trata de aprovechar las posibilidades que entrega la cultura discursiva de la lengua amenazada y con ello promover el uso de la misma, de manera que se convierta en un instrumento para revitalizar tanto la cultura y la lengua.

En el caso de este grupo, la mayoría de los participantes se interesó por ser parte del juego hablando en mapudungun. Los adultos se sumaron a la práctica del juego, y por consiguiente, al uso de la lengua, animando a sus hijos, dando instrucciones, creando nuevas fórmulas y alentado constantemente a través del ayekan (animación) en mapudungun.

Kechukawe. Este juego resultó estar en desuso en la zona, por lo que una vez entregadas las explicaciones pertinentes, el interés se despertó en los participantes, desde los niños hasta los adultos. Los adultos tomaron partido por los participantes, se sumaron con sus instrumentos musicales y canciones en mapudungun. Hay que destacar que en este grupo el entusiasmo y participación tuvo ribetes inesperados, ya que el juego se prolongó aproximadamente tres horas, y se ha convertido en una práctica habitual en las distintas actividades que realiza esta organización. Los resultados obtenidos con ambas organizaciones permiten sostener que efectivamente el empleo de los recursos propios genera en los grupos una identificación con los mismos. Se trata en estos casos de una identificación asociada a la revaloración y al reconocimiento de la riqueza cultural existente que no había visualizada, tanto por la sociedad que la abandona como por la sociedad dominante que la invisibiliza, especialmente a través de su sistema educativo, en el cual no se considera ni estima, de manera que las nuevas generaciones desconocen las distintas producciones verbales con las que cuenta su pueblo.

Estos procesos de revitalización conllevan un notable carácter político, porque reafirman la identidad de un pueblo, al encontrarse con su pasado, con su historia. Se trata de retomar una tradición cercenada por las distintas políticas dominantes y con este reencuentro, empoderarse, para reiniciar el uso de una lengua que está, en este caso, dormida, y que a través del juego puede despertar. Esta renovación de las prácticas discursivas propias, aunque breves, resultan un incentivo a aprender la lengua, especialmente en los niños y adolescentes. Los juegos, no se quedan sólo en el taller, sino que una vez concluidas las actividades, estas dinámicas continúan reproduciéndose y ya no necesitan ser guiadas por un conocedor de las mismas, sino que son los mismos participantes, quienes pasan de aprendices a enseñantes, de actores pasivos a protagonistas.

Este proyecto de promoción del uso del mapudungun a través de los juegos mapuche en ambos casos nos permite visualizar resultados en dos dimensiones, en primer lugar, a nivel identitario y por otro, como recurso pedagógico.

➡ *A nivel identitario.* Los juegos son estimuladores no sólo del grupo del destino, sino que amplían su espectro de participantes, ya que como hemos señalado, se sumaron los adultos y ancianos presentes, quienes aportaron con su conocimiento de la lengua, cuando eran mapuche-hablantes, por lo que sin quererlo, pasaron a oficiar de tutores de niños y jóvenes. En palabras de Flores Farfán (2008) se trata de herramientas que "constituyen bastiones de la retención lingüística y cultural"

y por tanto, muchas veces se encuentran dormidas en los grupos, pero no desaparecidas. Su despertar convoca a los miembros del grupo, a procesos reflexivos respecto del estado de su lengua, es decir, a partir de estas acciones, los hablantes de las lenguas se posicionan como transmisores de la misma y con ello aumento de su autoestima, muchas veces muy baja. Se genera una puesta en valor de aquello considerado como inferior, y en el caso de los niños y jóvenes, no hablantes de la lengua indígena, suscita en principio curiosidad por aprender y posteriormente las fórmulas se adquieren e instalan en su repertorio lingüístico. La lengua no sólo se define como un elemento cultural, sino como parte de una identidad que les distingue respecto de otros grupos que conviven en un mismo territorio.

◆ *Como recurso pedagógico.* En este nivel, los juegos verbales favorecen ampliamente la competencia oral en una lengua ya que mediante la repetición se instala nuevo vocabulario en el aprendiz y, por consiguiente, el inventario léxico aumenta. Como se puede observar en los ejemplos de fórmulas tanto de adivinanzas, juegos de las habas y el kechukawe, en cada uno de ellos se traspasa a los participantes la estructura de la lengua mapuche. Cabe recordar que este idioma tiene marcadas diferencias tipológicas con el castellano, hecho que muchas veces dificulta su aprendizaje. Sin embargo, a través del juego, sin necesidad de explicaciones gramaticales, la lengua simplemente se vive. Los juegos verbales son un aporte también para la clase de idioma mapuche en las escuelas, por su significación cultural, su estructura simple y de fácil retención, además de la diversión que proveen a quienes los practican.

Otro aspecto relevante se relaciona con el espacio físico donde se realizan los talleres. Como se indicaba al inicio de este artículo, estos talleres se ejecutan en lugares ajenos a la escuela formal, se trabaja en lugares abiertos, de naturaleza abundante y propia, y se aprovechan estos mismos recursos para el desarrollo de las actividades. Tal como se señala en las reglas de ambos juegos, se ocupan elementos naturales, como semillas, piedras, palitos del mismo sector, utilizando todas las nominaciones en mapuchedungun. En este sentido, el hecho que el espacio de exposición de la actividad sea en un lugar no obligado y descubierto permite a los participantes expresarse con libertad y sin miedo. Y si a eso sumamos el aporte que realizan los hablantes de la lengua, quienes adoptan una actitud no prescriptiva sino de apoyo, por ejemplo en aspectos que para los castellano-hablantes resultan complejos como la pronunciación, el panorama se transforma y se observa alentador. En este punto, hay que señalar que muchas veces el desuso del mapudungun por parte de los niños y adolescentes que reciben enseñanza de la lengua en sus escuelas se produce precisamente por el carácter normativo y ritual con que se transmite el idioma. Por otro lado, la enseñanza del mapudungun en las escuelas está suscrita principalmente al desarrollo de actividades de carácter cultural, como celebración de rituales, traspaso de prácticas de vida comunitaria entre otros; información que no constituye novedad ni atractivo para los niños y niñas, dado que al pertenecer ellos al mundo rural, las indicaciones son parte de su vida cotidiana, con las debidas transformaciones propias del tiempo y los cambios culturales.

Como hemos señalado, un proceso de revitalización lingüística tiene múltiples aristas, sin embargo, en cada una de ellas es el hablante el foco central de atención, y quienes lideren estos procesos o sean parte de ellos no pueden olvidar que las tareas a em-

prender, las herramientas a seleccionar, deben ser pensadas en los hablantes y en sus intereses, a la larga, será el grupo quien de vida o deje desaparecer la lengua en peligro.

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AWKANTU, AWKANTU KÜPAY TA MAPUCHEDUNGUN!

LANGUAGE GAMES: A TOOL FOR LANGUAGE REVITALISATION

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Introduction

In recent years, the Mapuche society has implemented different actions aimed at the revitalisation and recognition of its language. These initiatives emanate mainly from social organisations, deploying various efforts, ranging from policy (demanding that *mapuchedungun*[1] is designated an official language in the Araucanía Region), to activities aimed at strengthening identity (such as workshops for children and young people, in which they are taught the Mapuche language). Over the past ten years, there has been an increase in initiatives to bring visibility to the existence of the Mapuche language, beyond the areas, mainly rural, where the language is most widely used. (Gunderman et al 2010)

Many social organisations include the use of the Mapuche language, although it is not always a central theme. They also recognise the language through activities, which are not always be constant, and they use visible elements such as signs, posters or the development of language teaching workshops. In this respect, it can be stated that the public presence of the Mapuche language has been much more visible recently than in previous decades.[2]

In accordance with Flores Farfán (2013) 'the term "revitalisation' must refer to situations in which the language is in a critical position, reaching the point of extinction, when at least one action can be taken to reverse the language shift' [3]. Indeed, the situation of disuse in which the Mapuche language finds itself, requires action aimed at reversing the language shift. The Mapuche language is no longer the main language within the family and community environment, to the extent that it is used decreasingly in the communities' ritual activities. It is not unusual to see a ceremony such as

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1 In this article, the terms mapudungun and mapuchedungun will be used to refer to the Mapuche language.

2 Studies are required to compare the information obtained in the publication Perfil Sociolingüístico de la Lengua Mapuche (2008) with the current situation. It should be highlighted that when the study was published, the actions focussing on the mapudungun language were still nascent.

3 Original quotation: 'el término revitalización debe referirse a situaciones en que la lengua está en una posición crítica, alcanzando el punto de la extinción, cuando al menos alguna acción puede emprenderse para revertir el desplazamiento lingüístico' Flores Farfán (2013)

ngillatun[4] conducted by alternating Spanish and mapudungun. Furthermore, the majority of Mapuche people (over 90%) have learned Spanish as their first language (Lagos, 2013). In this context, there is a clear need for intense, conscious work to restore the use of the language. However, this action should not only be driven by the public or academic sector. Those who are an integral part of the group should be active co-participants in this process. The speakers of a language are the focus of our efforts, especially the infant and adolescent population (Flores Farfán, 2013).

The processes of language revitalisation operate from multiple areas, both through the public sector, represented by the State, and through the social and cultural arena. Similarly, widespread effort is required, often without immediate results, and continual awareness raising must be aimed at the group whose language is experiencing a shift. Lemus (2008) proposes five components or dimensions, which must be included in the process of revitalisation and restoration of the value of a language and culture: cultural identity, linguistic corpus, legislation, education and social welfare. He considers recovery of the cultural identity to be most important, as it drives the other components. Cultural identity is known to be accompanied by values, beliefs, traditions, symbols and behaviours that serve as a point of reference for a social group and, simultaneously, lead this group to identify with it. This is where language has a fundamental role, because, through language, a people express their thoughts, their history, their daily tasks, their vision of the past and the future. Finally, the language represents the 'gait' of the people, their transition and permanence in history.

In the struggle to maintain their identity for the people whose language presents these symptoms of weakening, revitalisation emerges as a real possibility to move forward, and furthermore, to revive the language vigorously through the voices of children and young people. In addition to 'bringing the words back to life', children and young people must also pass on the words to other generations. It is, therefore, a process encompassing various aspects. In this article, we will focus mainly on the possibilities that exist in the Mapuche language, in the oral tradition, and from then on, to initiate processes of awareness raising and recognition of the language. The oral tradition cannot be limited to the folklore of a group, as it is 'no more and no less than the material sustenance resorted to most often by the languages and cultures of the world' (Flores Farfán 2008)[5]. By recognising and taking back the types of speech belonging to the oral tradition of a people, its members see their identity reinforced. On one hand, abandoned practices amongst its speakers are rediscovered, and, on the other hand, those learning the language contemplate and consider their own linguistic richness.

In the light of this situation, we have considered it necessary to go back to the language and oral tradition, especially when languages such as mapuchedungun, are rich

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4 *Ngillatun* is a community-based religious ceremony, conducted mainly in rural areas, although recently it is also conducted in large urban centres. It is a ritual activity, central for maintaining social and cultural relations between the different Mapuche communities. One of the aspects most valued and recognised in the *ngillatun*, is the use of the Mapuche language, and the traditional authorities demand and emphasise its use. However, in recent times, the *ngillatun* ceremony has been observed to be conducted by alternating Spanish and *mapudungun*.

5 Original quotation: 'ni más ni menos que el sustento material más recurrido de las lenguas y culturas del mundo' (Flores Farfán 2008)

in these types of discourse. In this respect, workshops were designed for children and young people, using innovative strategies and learning resources, which awakened the need to use the Mapuche language. The development of language teaching workshops, aimed primarily at children and young people, usually implements strategies used in schools, which can often be unattractive to those learning the language. One discourse present in all languages are word games, which is a universal human activity. In general, groups of people enjoy word play, word-guessing, thinking and finding new ways to use words, recreating sounds, inventing new forms, complicating expressions and, above all, enjoying word play. (Crystal 1994)[6].

Language games, mainly from a people's oral tradition, 'are a method, an educational tool that promotes the conscious assimilation of knowledge, in an entertaining way. They are used to develop and perfect language skills and habits, and are very useful to help develop thought, and moral, volitional qualities, behaviour and for forming beliefs, which will all depend on the structure and tasks that the students must carry out (Díaz Sandoval 2012)[7]. Similarly, in the history of humanity, all people have entertainment as part of their culture. If we think of the long winters in the Mapuche geographical areas, where the family remains in the *ruka*[8] , in front of the fireplace, word games helped pass the long days and are a way in which children, young people, adults and the elderly entertained themselves. Different types of game accompanied the winter days and summer evenings[9], after gathering seafood or seaweed[10] or wild berries[11] . These games are no longer used and are unknown by the majority of the Mapuche population, particularly children and young people, although the games remain in the memories of the elderly population and in some written texts, making it possible to recover and bring them back into use. [12]

This article describes three language games, *konew*, *kechukawe* and *awarkuden* and the experience of applying two of them: *awarkuden*, *kechukawe*, with Mapuche children and adolescents in language workshops carried out by social organisations. In this article,

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6 Original quotation used in this work: 'los grupos humanos disfrutan jugando con las palabras, adivinando, pensando, buscando nuevas formas, recreando sonidos, inventando formas nuevas, complicando expresiones, a fin de cuentas, disfrutando el juego de las palabras' (Crystal 1994).

7 Original quotation: 'constituye un método, una herramienta didáctica – pedagógica que propicia la asimilación consciente y entretenida de los conocimientos. Se utiliza para el desarrollo y perfeccionamiento de hábitos y habilidades lingüísticas, es de gran utilidad para contribuir al desarrollo del pensamiento, de las cualidades morales, volitivas, de la conducta y la formación de convicciones, todo lo cual estará en dependencia de su estructura y de las tareas que los educandos tengan que cumplir' (Díaz Sandoval 2012)

8 'House' in the Mapuche language.

9 Veranadas: the Andean Mapuche families (**pewenche**) still go today to the Andes during the summer period to gather the fruit of the araucaria tree, and they stay there for two consecutive months.

10 Mapuches on the coast, called **lafkenche**, usually gather produce from the sea, in groups, in which the entire family group participates.

11 Mapuches in the valleys, called **wenteche,** where there are many **hualles** (a tree similar to an oak tree) collect a type of mushroom called **digüeñes**, an activity usually carried out as a group.

12 At the beginning of the 20th century, Manuel Manquilef, a Mapuche teacher wrote a book containing a valuable record of games and activities carried out amongst the communities in his time.

we refer specifically to activities carried out by two social organisations: Identidad Lafkenche[13] (Tirúa, Bío Bío Region) and the 'Lafkenche ñi Zuam' indigenous association [14] (Puerto Saavedra, Araucanía Region), and how these games are a valuable incentive to encourage the use of the language beyond the classroom, and to internalise it, on a daily basis. This leads, on one hand, to use of the language, and, additionally, the revalidation of the people's own traditional wisdom.

Language games in mapuchedungun

The Mapuche language, like the majority of languages, has verbal games for people to develop spoken skills. These games are played by children and adults. In the past, the games were a living part of daily life, both in family gatherings and amongst larger community groups. Catrileo (2006) identified *ül* or songs, which are compositions created in the moment or as a result of an event that is relevant to the author of the song; the *ülkantufe, konew* (conundrum); the koy koy (tongue twister) and the *üküm* (game of silence). The last three games were played mainly by adults and the elderly with children, in order to pass on language skills, as well as the knowledge belonging to their system of beliefs. This article will focus mainly on the *konew*. Furthermore, there are games for which the use of mapudungun is essential in order to win the game, but which are not strictly verbal games, as they include additional elements to be played. Examples are kechukawe and awarkuden, which are also included in this article.

Konew (conundrum)

Konew is a type of spoken language game. Given the agraphic nature of the Mapuche people, there are few records of this game over time, and it is unusual to find examples of it, unlike other types such as the '*epew*' story, which has been widely disseminated through textbooks, educational programmes and theatre plays. In contrast, konew has remained part of spoken culture and has been overtly disappearing. Indeed, few speakers have knowledge of the konew of the Mapuche culture, and it is most usual for them to resort to the translation of Hispanic *conundrums*. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify konew belonging to traditional Mapuche culture, as those describing the belief systems, those related to the natural environment, typical clothing, and the arrival of elements of Western culture. Another relevant aspect of traditional konew is related to its linguistic structure.

For example, it is common to find konew referring to supernatural beings:

> *(1) Ini tañi kimpel: kiñe kurü wedakelutuley pengentuy, ñamtuy femkey ka pürakawe-llukey tañi foro puntem tripakey,*

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13 Area-based Mapuche organisation, with a proven track record, which works with coastal Mapuche communities in the regions of Bío-Bío, Araucanía, Los Lagos and Los Ríos.

14 Mapuche organisation made up of Mapuche professionals working in the Puerto Saavedra commune, the objective of which is to work towards cultural revitalisation amongst the Mapuche people.

¿chem am ta fey?

Who can guess what it is?

It looks evil and black, disappears, getting on a horse. It has shining teeth and, in the darkness of the night, nothing else appears. What is it?

(Witranalwe, the bad spirit*)*

Example (1) demonstrates how this *konew* is used to teach children not to leave the house at night, because an evil spirit may appear and harm them. It is generally related to a physical or psychological illness, and the text is clear in pointing out that '*puntem tripakey*' (nothing else appears'). Another aspect of konew is its purpose for entertaining, by means of which the elements of nature are recognised in a fun way. Let us take another example:

(2) ¿Ini tañi kimpel?

kake rume tañi ad wenu adkintupüramngeyüm tripakey füllfüll mawünüeyüm.

¿Chem am ta fey?

Who can guess what it is?

We see the top of it, it rises, then it leaves, merging back into the rain

(Relmu, a rainbow*)*

In example (2), the konew describes an element of nature; *relmu* (a rainbow), using linguistic forms that are complex for children to formulate, such as the verb '*adkintupüramngetuy*'

Ad-kintu-püram-nge-tu-Ø-y

Image- to seek-to rise- to be- VERB-PRES/PP-3sg

'We see the top of it'

The use of complex elements (with more than one verb root) pronounced rapidly, adds a certain difficulty and promotes the skills required by a good player, thereby encouraging the other players to seek the answer and, simultaneously, passing on the forms belonging to the language, particularly its binding and polysynthetic nature. The same can be observed in example (1) with the use of the verb 'pürakawellutuy', in which this complexity can also be seen.

Püra-kawellu-tu-Ø-y

To get onto- horse-VERB-PRES/PP-3sg

'Getting on a horse'

As *konew* is a word game, the use of complex structures enables the particularities of the language to be developed by players, and also infant players acquire the skills to build and expand the vocabulary and to construct discourse while having fun.

Taking the features described into account, this game is a suitable tool for teaching the Mapuche language, especially in contexts that are external to traditional school. In this way, konew is proposed as a tool for language revitalisation especially with children and adolescents, as language games, especially conundrum, are 'bastions of language and cultural retention, and, from a research point of view, they provide eloquent signs of vitality (or not) in an endangered culture or language' [15] (Flores Farfán: 2008).

photo from: http://www.elperiodico.cl/2012/07/escolares-de-la-araucania-aprendieron-y-disfrutaron-con-ciclo-de-talleres-de-juegos-ancestrales-mapuches/

Kechukawe

Kechukawe is a game of skill that can be played individually or within a group. The use of *mapuchedungun* is especially relevant because the use of language formulae leads players to achieve the objectives of the game, which, in this case, involve obtaining the greatest number of points and beating the rival. According to Flores Farfán (2008), it involves recreating the language heritage of a people, by putting activities into practice where the use of language is essential for the game to be played. Kechukawe becomes a game of chance, as well as a useful system for promoting the language.

As described by Manquilef (1914), *kechukawe* 'is a prism with a triangular upper base and a triangular lower base; the three lateral sides are rectangular. The sides have two, three and five small black dots and the base has one small black point. Other times, the prism is truncated and the player loses when it falls on this side. This game is called *kechukawe* o *kechukan* because the prism has five sides' [16] (Manquilef, 1910: 44).

As a game in which the use of *mapudungun* is necessary, the participants are 'obliged' to use the formulae established and, in addition, each one must have a group to encourage their participation, with songs and shouts in the Mapuche language.

The game simulates a battle, in which two rival teams must knock down the *rukas* (houses) of their opponents. In this game, there are different cultural Mapuche patterns, such as spatial configuration, the use of language to play the game and the inclusion of music and shouting. The configuration of the space is a circle on the ground divided into two by a line, from East (sunrise) to West (where the sun disappears). The participants take turns in pairs to play the game and receive the 'kechukan' die to throw.

15 Original quotation: 'constituyen bastiones de la retención lingüística y cultural, y desde el punto de vista de la investigación, conforman indicios elocuentes de la vitalidad (o no) de unas cultura(s) y lengua(s) amenazadas' (Flores Farfán: 2008)

16 Original quotation: 'es un prisma que tiene tanto la base superior como la inferior triangulares; las tres caras laterales son rectangulares i en estas hai dos, tres i cinco puntitos negros y en la base existe uno. Otras veces el prisma es truncado i el punto es matador al caer descansando el cuerpo en ese lado. Este juego se denomina kechukawe o kechukan por tener su prisma cinco caras.' (Manquilef, 1910: 44)

At the beginning, the singing is in mapudungun *'kechu, kechu, kechu pürangepe rume'* (five, five, five, at least one). Each time a player wins a point, everyone cries *'püra'*, adding to shouts of *afafan* [17]. If no points are won, because it falls outside the circle, the spectators cry: nielay (no points) or tripalay (it didn't work).

The structure of this formula (the initial song) is as follows:

Kechu kechu kechu püra- nge-pe   rume

Five five five to get up –to be- DES   at least

'five, five, five, at least one'

The responses to this game can vary, because they depend on the number obtained from the *kechukan*, so the following question is added: *¿tunten?* ('how much?'), as well as the numbers from one to ten and the aforementioned phrases in the absence of points. On one hand, the players use the language, whilst, on the other hand, the supporters add to the game, adding new formulae and encouraging the rival player to lose.

Awarkuden

This game originated as a competition between players, the aim of which was to win a bet. The game can be played by two to four players, each of whom have eight *'awar'* beans. Four beans are painted black and the other four are their natural colour. Every time a participant gains four beans of the same colour, they win a point, and when they have eight beans of a single colour, they win two points. The winner is the first person to reach ten points. For each game, the participants 'call forth the points': *'awarkuden, awarkuden, küpape, küpape awar'*.

Awar- kuden, awar-kuden küpa-pe   küpa-pe awar

Bean-to bet,   bean-to bet   come on- DES   come on-DES beans

'I bet the beans, I bet the beans. May they come, may the beans come'

As shown, the chant is simple and enables changes to be made to it. What is maintained is the rhythm of the song accompanying the throwing of the beans. If the call is made in Spanish, the participant loses. Use of the Mapuche language is imperative. Furthermore, the creation of new phrases is encouraged, adding new verbs.

Experience: Linguistic games in rural community areas

Mapuche (*awkantun*) games have been used on different occasions and with different groups. The common feature has been working with children and young people. This article describes the activities with two social organisations: Identidad Lafkenche and

17A cry of encouragement and war, very traditional in Mapuche society.

the 'Lafkenche ñi Zuam' indigenous association, the former in the Puerto Saavedra commune, and the latter in the Tirúa commune.

In both regions, Bío-Bío and La Araucanía, the language has lost ground and the children and young people are not socialised in the Mapuche language. With the exception of some cases where it is a nascent second language, it is not used in the majority of cases. The aim of this work is to generate interest in the language through traditional games. If the learners discover the language in an enjoyable way, it awakens their curiosity and commitment to their cultural identity, through the use of *mapuchedungun*.

Identidad Lafkenche indigenous association in Tirúa

The working context was a school camp organised each year in January for children between 5 and 18 years of age, all of Mapuche origin. On this occasion, the game of *conundrum*, *awarkuden* and *kechukawe* were used. For the first games, a notebook with *konew (conundrums)* was used, and the element to be guessed had to be painted by the children. On the second day, the same group played the games and displayed a high level of motivation and interest. They immediately got together around a large table for the relevant greeting and presentation.

Awar Kuden. For this game, pairs were formed to compete with other pairs, who were given painted beans to play the game. Once the *awarkuden* began, the participants began to use mapudungun, despite not using it on a daily basis. The pronunciation of the songs was almost natural and, as the game was played in their own environment, as a fun, entertaining activity, the phrases used for the game were acquired fast.

Kechukawe. This game had a high level of participation. The use of the language was relevant to support team companions, both to encourage them and to discourage the rival team. In addition, many other participants of different ages who were present joined in with the game and became part of the experience. It should be highlighted that Mapuche adults and speakers of mapudungun spontaneously joined both games with the children, helping them create new phrases and short lively songs.

'Lafkenche ñi Zuam' indigenous association, Puerto Saavedra

As part of the Wetripantu[18] celebration, those who participated in the ritual ceremony were invited to begin to resume practice of *awarkuden* and *kechukawe*. Immediately, many of the adults recognised that they had either heard of the games or played them when they were children. This led them to encourage the children and young people to discover the '*awkantun*'[19] , which was the aim of the experience. The target was the

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18 This festivity takes place each year to mark the winter solstice in the Southern Hemisphere. Mapuche families and communities get together with a party, often organised within the community, featuring games, religious ceremonies and the sharing of food prepared especially for the occasion.

19 Games

infant and child population. This was important, firstly because the majority of them did not know or use the language, and, secondly, because those officiating the ceremonies are competent speakers of mapudungun, although, for different reasons mainly related to the low social status of the language, they no longer pass on the language to their families or close groups.

Awar Kuden. As described above, the game has features of a betting game. In this initiative, the focus is placed on the use of Mapudungun. It is about taking advantage of the possibilities provided by the spoken culture of the endangered language and to promote the use of the language, so that it becomes a tool to revitalise both the culture and the language.

In this group, the majority of the participants were interested in being part of the game, speaking in mapudungun. The adults joined in, consequently using the language, encouraging their children, giving instructions, creating new phrases and constantly providing support through ayekan (encouragement) in mapudungun.

Kechukawe. This game was no longer used in the area. Following the relevant explanations, the interest amongst the participants grew, from children to adults. The adults took sides with the participants, and joined in with musical instruments and songs in mapudungun. It should be highlighted that the enthusiasm and participation took unexpected turns in this group, as the game lasted approximately three hours, and has now become a regular activity carried out by the organisation. The results obtained with both organisations support the effectiveness of using a people's own resources to generate identification within the group. The identification in these cases involves revaluing and recognising the existing cultural richness that had not been visible to the society that had abandoned it. Neither had it been visible to the dominant society that had concealed it, especially through the education system, which does not value the language, leading new generations to be unaware of the different spoken traditions of their people.

These processes of revitalisation have a significant political nature, because they reassert the identity of a people, by facing their past and their history. It involves taking back a tradition, curtailed by the different dominating politics, and thereby empowering the people, to start to use the dormant language again, which, in this case, was dormant and was awoken through the use of games. This restoration of a people's own spoken use of a language, however brief, provides an incentive for learning the language, especially amongst children and adolescents. The games do not remain in the workshop. After the activities, the dynamics continue to be reproduced and no longer need to be guided by someone who knows them, but by the participants themselves, who go from learners to teachers, from passive agents to main players.

In both cases, this project to promote the use of *mapudungun* through Mapuche games enables us to view the results within two dimensions; firstly as an identity, and, secondly as an educational resource.

- *As an identity.* The games encouraged not only the target group. They also widened the spectrum of participants, since the adults and elderly present also joined in, as

we have seen. Their knowledge of the language, in the case of Mapuche speakers, meant that, unintentionally, they became tutors for the children and young people. In the words of Flores Farfán (2008), these tools are 'bastions of language and cultural retention' , and they are, therefore, often dormant within a group, but have not disappeared. The awakening invites members of the group to processes of reflection on the situation of their language. From these actions, speakers of the languages position themselves as those who pass on the language and gain self-esteem, which was often very low. They begin to value what was devalued, and, in the case of children and young people who are non-speakers of the indigenous language, the activities generally awaken curiosity to learn the language and subsequently the phrases are acquired and become part of their language repertoire. Language is not only defined as a cultural element, but also as part of an identity, which distinguishes them from other groups living in the same geographical area.

+ *As an educational resource.* At this level, the spoken games promote spoken competency in a language significantly. Through repetition, new vocabulary is assimilated by the learner and, therefore, the number of words increases. As can be seen in the examples of phrases in the conundrum, the game of beans and the kechukawe, in each game the participants learn the structure of the Mapuche language. It is important to remember that this language has marked differences to Spanish, which often makes it difficult to learn. However, through the games, and without the need for grammar explanations, the language is simply lived. Spoken games also contribute to Mapuche language classes in schools, because of their cultural meaning, their simple structure and because they are easy to retain, as well as enjoyable for the participants.

Another relevant aspect is related to the physical space in which the workshops are carried out. As described at the beginning of this article, the workshops are organised in areas outside formal schooling, in open areas, in the people's abundant natural environment. These resources are used for the activities. As outlined in the rules for both games, natural elements feature in the games, such as seeds, stones, twigs from the area, using the names in mapuchedungun. In this respect, the fact that the space used for the activity is not obligatory, and is outdoors, allows the participants to express themselves freely and without fear. In addition, the speakers of the language contribute by adopting a supportive, rather than prescriptive attitude. For example, in aspects that are complex for Spanish speakers, such as pronunciation, the context is transformed and observed in an encouraging manner. At this point, it should be added that often the lack of use of mapudungun amongst children and adolescents receiving language teaching at school is due precisely to the regulatory, ritual way in which the language is passed on. The teaching of mapudungun in schools mainly develops activities of a cultural nature, such as the celebration of rituals, the transfer of daily community practices, amongst others. This information is not new or attractive for children as they belong to the rural world, and the indications are already part of their daily lives, along with the transformations of the time and the cultural changes.

As we have shown, a language revitalisation process is multi-faceted. However, the inhabitant is always the central focus of attention, and those who lead, or are part of,

the processes cannot forget that the tasks to be carried out and the tools to be selected, must be designed for the speakers and their interests, in the long term, as the group that will either revive the endangered language or allow it to become extinct.

* Picture from: http://www.elperiodico.cl/2012/07/escolares-de-la-araucania-apren-dieron-y-disfrutaron-con-ciclo-de-talleres-de-juegos-ancestrales-mapuches/

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