Language Documentation and Revitalization as a Feedback Loop

Colleen M. Fitzgerald
The University of Texas at Arlington

Abstract

In this chapter, I present an overview of language documentation and revitalization focused on the Amazonian context, drawing from several case studies. Prominent areas where language documentation in the Amazon has played and continues to play a significant role are in the innovative use of collaborative or participatory documentation models (i.e., Yamada 2011, 2014; Stenzel 2014; Messing and Nava Nava 2016). In particular, I use the case studies highlighted here to flesh out a model of documentation and revitalization that acts as a feedback loop, with training and linguistic analysis serving as two additional stages in that loop (Fitzgerald 2017a, Fitzgerald and Hinson 2013, 2016). The resources coming out of the documentation, revitalization, training and analysis, especially when archived and accessible, will likely be invaluable resources for Amazonian communities engaged in revitalization, if the examples of North America prove relevant.

1. Introduction[1]

The prominence and urgency of endangered languages came to the attention of the larger community of linguists in a powerful series of articles by Hale et al. (1992). Two of those articles focused on Indigenous language communities in Latin America, one on Guatemala (England 1992) and another on Nicaragua (Craig 1992). In the quarter century since the publication of these articles, there have been numerous developments – theoretical, technological and ethical, among others. Somewhat parallel to this has been a dramatic increase in the description and analysis of languages in the Amazon. The linguistic structures of its roughly 300 Indigenous languages are of interest for a host of theoretical and typological reasons. Moreover, these languages and their communities are situated within ecologies of a larger scientific interest, rooted in the rich

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biodiversity associated with the Amazonian region. Additionally, the dynamics of the language contact situations in this region offer the possibility for more nuanced studies of multilingualism, language contact, and language shift (cf. Aikhenvald 2002, Epps and Michael 2017). Scientific knowledge on these languages has increased immensely in the last three or so decades; Franchetto and Stenzel (2017) describe an "explosion" since the 1990s in descriptive and documentary work on these languages based on dissertation production during this time period.

While the descriptive, typological and genetic contributions of Amazonian linguistics are highly significant and start in an earlier time frame, more recently, language projects in this region are contributing in other ways, including to varying conceptions of community-based language research models. It is important to note that case studies focusing on language documentation or revitalization in the Amazon are still in fewer in number than those from North America, Australia or even Europe, despite the existence of the projects. According to some, the literature on language documentation and revitalization has been more focused on North America (i.e., examples like those in Rice 2006, Czaykowska-Higgins 2009, Fitzgerald and Hinson 2013, 2016) and Australia (as in Wilkins 1992), and less representative of cultural and other practices in different regions of the world (for example, Dobrin 2008). However, a growing body of research from Latin America is emerging to contribute from a linguistically, culturally, and geographically diverse set of perspectives.

A growing literature of process papers contribute Amazonian perspectives to the collaborative production of knowledge on language documentation and revitalization in the region, as well as about the collaborations themselves. Amazon language work in the region is especially represented as pertains for Brazil (Franchetto 2007, 2010; Becquelin et al. 2008; Stenzel 2014) and Peru (Beier and Michael 2006, 2018; Valenzuela 2010, 2012; and Vallejos 2014), but also for Suriname (Yamada 2007, 2014) and Venezuela (Granadillo 2006, 2010; Granadillo and Villalón 2007). That literature notwithstanding, much of the research focused on Latin America has been focused on Mexico and other Mesoamerican countries (see for example, the papers in Bischoff and Jany 2018 and Pérez Baéz et al. 2016). The Amazonian situation has some dimensions that make it very unlike other areas, including the geographic intersection of multiple counties, raising the specter of multiple language policies, legal expectations and attitudes on Indigenous rights. It is definitely worth noting that there have been a number of language documentation projects focused on the Amazon funded by the three large

funding initiatives; Franchetto and Rice (2014) provide a good sense of the work done to that point as a result of major funding initiatives.[2]

This paper is organized as follows. The first two sections outline projects focusing on language documentation and revitalization, respectively. Extrapolating from those projects, I show how they provide more evidence for collaborative models of documentation and revitalization constructed from language work focused in North America. I address several key issues emerging elsewhere in the literature: the importance and role of archives; training; assessing language vitality; and expansion into other domains, like biology, music and public health. I then conclude the chapter.

2. Language Documentation and Revitalization

Language documentation essentially is a relatively young discipline, even as it riffs off earlier norms in language description, like the collection of texts. Himmelmann (1998) may be best considered as a paper that itself is an outgrowth from raised attention to language endangerment brought to the forefront by Hale et al. (1992). But moving into the third decade following the publication of Himmelmann (1998), it is helpful to give a rough characterization of the themes that have emerged in the field during the first two decades, and this paper will do that through the prism of Amazonian languages. One development from the attention to endangered languages (cf. Hale et al. 1992) has been the emergence of the subfield of language documentation, which "aims at the record of the linguistic practices and traditions of a speech community" (Himmelmann 1998: 166). Himmelmann's goal is to distinguish between documentation and description, or conceived another way, the contrast between collection versus analysis. In his words, "a clear separation between documentation and description will ensure that the collection and presentation of primary data receive the theoretical and practical attention they deserve" (1998: 164), with an essential component of this work requiring accessibility of that data.

In starting with the delineation of the kinds of linguistic practices relevant to language documentation given by Himmelmann (1998: 166),

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[2] These initiatives are the now inactive Documenting Endangered Languages (DoBeS), which was funded by the Volkswagen Foundation; the joint funding initiative between the National Science Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities, Documenting Endangered Languages (DEL); the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Documentation Project (ELDP), which is funded by ARCADIA; and a fourth smaller, but significant strand of funding provided by the Endangered Language Fund (ELF).

we can establish a larger framework for looking at Amazonian language projects:

> Linguistic practices and traditions are manifest in two ways: (1) the observable *linguistic behavior*, manifest in everyday interaction between members of the speech community, and (2) the native speakers' *metalinguistic knowledge*, manifest in their ability to provide interpretations and systematizations for linguistic units and events…the makeup and contents of a language documentation are determined and influenced by a broad variety of language related (sub-)disciplines… (Himmelmann 1998: 166-7)

In many communities, there is a desire to reverse language shift (Fishman 1991), both by increasing the speaker population and expanding the usage into new domains. The connection of language to use is expressed in terms of vitality by Spolsky (1995: 178 "restoration of vitality to a language that has lost or is losing this attribute" (cf. Spolsky 1995: 178). These processes, of reversing shift, expanding usage, and restoring vitality, are all known as language revitalization.

The classic examples of language revitalization come from Hebrew (Spolsky 1995), which had no living native speakers when it was brought back into use, and from the reinvigoration of communities with very small numbers of speakers, as in New Zealand's Maori (Spolsky 1995, King 2001) and Hawaiian (Wilson and Kamana 2001) in the United States. But less well-known contexts, like the Hualapai community-academic partnership from the southwestern United States, described in Watahomigie and Yamamoto (1987, 1992), also illustrate how revitalization efforts can emerge in the school context, with a focus on teacher training and curriculum development.

While the focus of many revitalization case studies lies on North America, New Zealand and Australia, like some of those just cited, the effots to energize languages occur worldwide, especially as communities' awareness of language shift increases. From the Amazonian context, this can be illustrated by the Shuar language community of Ecuador. Gnerre (2008) recounts a multi-decade set of interactions with this community, starting in 1968 as he came to the community in efforts to do linguistic and ethnographic fieldwork. On a return visit in 1970, he notes that speakers in their early 20s were bilingual in Spanish, and that they pointed to the Achuar community as one that retained the way of life of the Shuar up until the 1940s to 1950s. Within roughly thirty years, the shift of lifestyle and language led to the bilingualism and languages in contact, as

well as the emergence and development of Shuar literacy. By 1980, Gnerre (2008: 46) became "a lecturer on their language for Shuar high-school students…[and] an early organizer of the work for a Spanish-Shuar (not the reverse!) dictionary."

These revitalization efforts to maintain and invigorate the language, shifting into teaching the Shuar language are similar to other communities in other contexts. The language also exemplifies revitalization as expansion into a new domain. With the community spread across large distances, they began to use their language on the radio, including instruction in Shuar for schoolchildren (see Grenoble and Whaley 2006 for an expanded discussion).
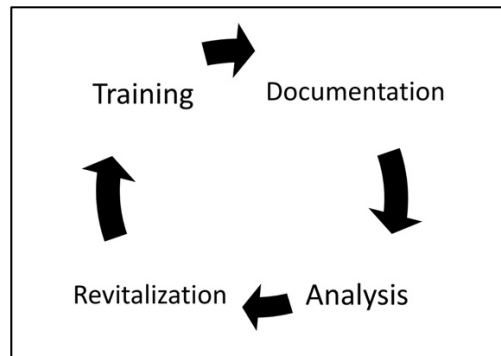
3. Documentation and Revitalization as a Feedback Loop

Having presented an overview of what language documentation and revitalization are, I now present a model where have been argued to interact in a productive and fruitful way. While the articulation of this model is based on North American contexts, I follow up by showing its instantiation in the Amazonian context, laying the groundwork to talk in greater detail about Amazonian case studies of documentation and revitalization in subsequent sections of this paper.

Language work in the Chickasaw[3] language community of Oklahoma in the United States (Fitzgerald and Hinson 2013, 2016; Fitzgerald 2017a, c) provides an excellent example of a relationship where documentation, revitalization, training and linguistic analysis are in the kind of enriching feedback loop, illustrated in Figure 1, which also occurs in other endangered language community contexts. A feedback loop is where the output of one stage is used as the input into the next stage. Each stage is affected by its interaction with the other stages, so the resulting products of each stage feed the interactions. In the case of documentation and revitalization, Fitzgerald (2017a) argues for the benefits of this kind feedback loop between four stages: documentation, analysis, revitalization and training activities, an approach articulated as behind a revitalization-driven documentation project focusing on Chickasaw (Fitzgerald and Hinson 2013, 2016).

Figure 1. The Chickasaw Model (Fitzgerald and Hinson 2013: 59)

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[3] Chickasaw is a Muskogean language.

The model in Figure 1 formalizes a relationship between the different activities where that documentation and revitalization feed into and improve linguistic analysis, with training playing a key role. Turning to the Amazon, an instantiation of these activities is found in the Suriname project focused on Kari'nja[4] (Yamada 2007, 2014), which offers an excellent case study of precisely how this kind of feedback loop operates. As described in Yamada (2007), the Kari'nja collaboration grew out of her time in the Peace Corps, where the community leader, Chief Ferdinand Mandé demonstrated a commitment to documenting the language. Unfortunately at that time, with only a linguistics undergraduate degree, she was limited in terms of the expertise that could support his efforts to further the documentation. However, as Sapién (formerly Yamada) started her doctoral program in linguistics, she proposed a language collaboration drawing on both their respective expertise:

> By working together, we accomplish much more than either of us could alone. He has, among other assets, a knowledge of the language and an ability to talk *about* the language, influence in the community, an existing body of data that he wants to preserve and share, and a strong motivation to document and revitalize his native language. I have training in documentary and descriptive linguistics, tools for preserving and presenting data, and formal training and experience in language teaching. (Yamada 2007: 262)

By documenting the cultural activities surrounding the making of cassava bread served to create training in video and editing for some of the community members. That documentation ended up serving as a prompt for eliciting language data from the elders. The vocabulary from it drove the creation of a thematic, trilingual dictionary, of use for revitalization

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[4] Kari'nja is a Cariban language.

and teaching activities. Linguistic training for Chief Mandé supported curriculum development efforts and fed into more teacher training. And this linguistic training enhanced the linguistic analysis of Kari'nja. Yamada (2007) also describes the process by which she and Chief Mandé collaboratively analyzed the language's grammar in trying to better understand a particular morpheme that both was tricky for learners and was (in their view) described inadequately by previous linguistic work on the language.

The Chickasaw Model in Figure 1 offers us an ideal way to characterize the collaboration between linguist Racquel Sapién and Chief Mandé along with the greater Kari'nja community in Konomerume. Each component in the feedback loop between documentation, revitalization, analysis and training enriched the resulting products. Note that in this model, there is considerable more engagement with the community beyond returning the documentation recordings to the community (perhaps with transcriptions and translations, or a pedagogical grammar or dictionary). Documentation and revitalization are integrated and mutually supportive, along with training and linguistic analysis. There is building capacity in the community to carry on language work, to develop skills not necessarily linked to language work (like in video recording and editing), and so on.

Yamada (2007) gives a concrete way to conceptualize this through the specifics.[5] She breaks the outcomes down in a different way, as characterized in Table 1, where the activity is linked to the concrete benefit and outcome for the academic and the community.

Table 1. Activities and associated outcomes from the Kari'nja collaboration (Yamada 2007: 272)

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[5] Her discussion is inspired by Canada's Community-University Research Alliances, or CURAs, which are collaborative projects funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. See Czaykowska-Higgins (2009) for discussion of a CURA.

	Speech Community	Academic Community	Project
1	Conversation practice for elder speakers	High-quality recordings of natural discourse	Language hour
2	Documentation of cultural practices	Varied, naturalistic data with rich ethnographic content	*The Cassava Film*
3	Understanding of forms to be formally taught	Questions of academic and typological interest	Collaborative analysis including choice of topic and method of analysis
4	Access to previous and ongoing linguistic analyses	Access to speaker insights	Linguistic training for speech community linguists
5	Pedagogical materials	Understanding of language in use for novice linguist	Working pedagogical grammar, collaborative working dictionary
6	Reclamation of "lost" language that may have been previously recorded	Data for analyses of language change	Digitization and distribution of previous recordings

These specific activities translate well to the feedback loop (Figure 1) approach for the relationship between language documentation, revitalization, analysis and training. Figure 2 shows how the Chickasaw model can be applied to the Kari'nja context, drawing on Yamada (2007)'s detailed discussion of each component. While not modeled in this way in her work, the extension of the Chickasaw model to this context enables a dynamic way to characterize these four stages and their interaction.

Figure 2. Applying the Chickasaw Model to Kari'nja
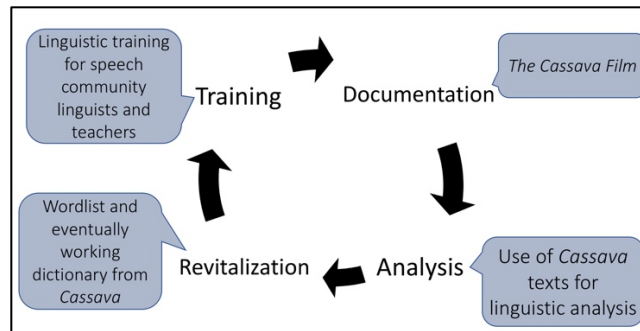
It is worth noting that there are models that detach the documentation activities as separate from language revitalization. Crippen and Robinson (2013: 124), for example, take issue:

> with the viewpoints that linguists practicing language documentation must collaborate with the community, that the linguist's goals should be subordinate to the goals of community members, or that solo research is necessarily unethical research. The field of linguistics is generally described as the scientific study of human language. If the primary goal of documentary linguistics is the documentation of particular human languages in a principled scientific manner, then documentary linguists must generally have scientific goals in their work. These strictly scientific goals are often quite foreign to non-linguists, including most members of the communities where we, the authors, have conducted fieldwork. In projects attempting to pursue such scientific goals, then, collaboration with community members may not be realistic if the community members are uninterested in these scientific goals.

However, a model such as used for the Kari'nja project or Chickasaw language collaborations argues that the scientific value of the documentation is of higher value because it comes out of using this kind of feedback loop as in Figure 1 and 2, thus benefitting from stages in training and analysis as well.

Yamada (2007) exemplifies what we see in similar examples of descriptive or theoretical work strengthened by community training or language revitalization (or both) exist. For example, Rice (2011) notes that her understanding of plurality and animacy in Dene, an Athabaskan language of Canada, came through community workshops where participants wrote Dene stories on a topic that interested them. The reverse might also be true, where a methodology for documentation and analysis

has prospects for revitalization. This may be the case for Desano; Silva and Anderbois (2016) relay using the game *Mastermind* to better understand evidentiality in this Eastern Tukanoan language. Games offer the kinds of contexts for language use like the language hour, and can allow novice speakers to practice grammatical constructions of a somewhat limited nature. It is worth considering whether conceptualizing collaborative activity as a feedback loop (as in Figure 1) and in terms of its outcomes (as in Yamada's Table 1) favors the differences between North America and other geographical regions in terms of collaborative and community approaches.

In the following sections, documentation and revitalization projects in the Amazonian region show additional parallels for these characteristics, either in terms of the presence of the four stages of Figure 1 and 2 or the kind of specific, mutually beneficial projects as in Table 1.

4. Language Documentation in the Amazon

A documentary framework as proposed by Himmelmann (1998) is holistic and focused on the many and varied communicative uses of language. An example of the kind of language resource that aligns with these goals is in the verbal arts texts in Stenzel and Franchetto (2017) that come from Amazon languages. The verbal arts are more stylized or conventionalized discourse forms, as compared to everyday speech practices, such as ritual speeches, oral literature, or speech play. In their volume, Stenzel and Franchetto show precisely how descriptive and theoretical linguists benefit from documenting the verbal arts; they note numerous ways that the texts show linguistic features associated with Amazonian languages, like head-final constituency, evidentials and switch reference markers. This is an excellent example of what Table 1 presented, drawing from Yamada's examples of mutually beneficial activities. Verbal arts enables the documentation of cultural practices which leads to the collecting of rich language data while simultaneously providing insights on typological issues of interest to academics, aligning nicely with two sets of activities and outputs from Yamada's chart in Table 1. Verbal arts is also of interest from an areal perspective in the region (cf. Beier et al. 2002), and provide materials that have much potential for linguistic theory, community training, and revitalization (Fitzgerald 2017c).

Franchetto and Stenzel (2017) also offer an updated view of documentary projects from the region, drawing from key archives of endangered languages and musics (cf. Franchetto and Rice 2014's earlier

summary). By their count, European archives have holdings from 54 languages, the key United States archive for Latin American languages has 60 languages represented, and in Brazilian archives, 98 languages appear in the holdings.[6] I return to the issue of archives and archiving in Section 6 further below.

Drawing from several Amazonian projects begun around the time that Himmelmann's seminal article appeared, relatively contemporaneous documentation and revitalization projects in Amazonian communities give a sense of the local context for languages. While these projects also include the production of descriptive and analytic knowledge of the languages spoken by the particular communities, I focus on the documentary components of the projects, such as the details on the kinds of speech practices and other knowledge gathered during the project and the emergence of the collaboration itself.

Vallejos (2014: 39) describes initial efforts in 1997 as part of a project in Peru with the Kukama[7] community; she served as the linguist on what she describes as part of a "bigger movement initiated by indigenous organizations in the 1980s to address primarily land, education and health issues among indigenous Amazonian groups." Like some of the other projects described in this chapter, the initial efforts grew into something more like the collaborative, community-based case studies, even if the initial efforts may have focused on more traditional linguistic scholarship. Kukama is estimated to have 1,000 speakers of a community of 20,000 people, found across 120 villages (Vallejos 2014).

Coming out of these efforts is a linguistic record for Kukama that represents not only the canonical elements of a documentary collection (The Kukama-Kukamiria Documentation Project), but also two of the three canonical elements of the Boasian trilogy, with Vallejos' record including a dictionary (Vallejos and Amías 2015) and a reference grammar (Vallejos 2016a). A collection of six short pedagogical videos are also accessible on YouTube (Proyecto de documentación del kukama-kukamiria), covering vocabulary like body parts.

Vallejos (2014) describes a documentation team with three key partners from the community, Victor Yuyarima Chota and Rosa Amías

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[6] The archives they calculate these totals from are: DoBeS (a product of the Volkswagen Foundation in Germany), the University of London/SOAS' Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR), the University of Texas at Austin's Archive of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas (AILLA), and in Brazil, the Emilio Goeldi Museum (MPEG) and the Museum of Indigenous Peoples (Museu do Índio/FUNAI).

[7] Vallejos (2014) notes that Kukama is also known as Kokama and Kukama-Kukamiria; it is a Tupian language.

Murayari, as well as a Kukama teacher, Pascual Aquituari Fachín. Amías is co-author on the dictionary referenced above, and has emerged as "a community linguist with extraordinary intuition about the grammar of her language," contributing significantly to the interlinearization, transcription and translation of the Kukama texts (Vallejos 2014: 44). This parallels Yamada (2007)'s argument for the importance of linguistic analysis for both the indigenous and academic community (cf. Table 1). Yuyarima, as shaman and leader in the community, has himself enhanced the diversity of genres documented by sharing curing songs, for example, as well as led the way in developing a graded set of access protocols for the resulting documentation and recordings, insight possible in part because of his own expertise and privileged access to religious knowledge, which is often restricted in communities. Finally, Aquituari, the teacher, has become a strong activist for the Kukama language, as well as leading in teacher training and materials development.

These kinds of activities, along with other efforts centered in the schools, have enhanced the status of the language, a process known as valorization. López and García (2016) discuss the extension of Kukama language teaching into a private school, students writing a rap song in Kukama and then uploading a video of it to YouTube, and teachers doing a Kukama-language radio show in one of the villages. Kukama language documentation grew in part out of a desire that there be linguistic competence among language teachers in the schools, especially considering that they are second language learners.

The project highlights many of the important elements that need to be worked out in order for documentary projects to be successful and what was shown in the previous section: collaborative production of knowledge; respect for the diverse expertise of the different team members; determination of access for resulting recordings and documentation; community training in documentation and resulting involvement in the actual documenting; and the recognition that different communities have different needs and situations on the ground.

According to Vallejos (2014), the documentary activities and the engagement of second language learners have been productive in generating new Kukama language teachers from the learners, while also highlighting the high value of communicative practices and naturalistic language use for linguistic analysis and revitalization. The documentation and analysis of learner speech (i.e., Vallejos 2016b) will enable this work to better support revitalization efforts, again showing the strength of a

relationship between analysis, documentation and revitalization as noted in the previous section.[8]

5. Revitalization Projects in the Amazon

An early example demonstrating the arc of revitalization projects and how they emerge comes from Granadillo and Villalón (2007), who describe a project starting a decade earlier, when Villalón started the project as a faculty member in Venezuela working with the Mapoyo community. Mapoyo, a Carib language, was spoken by a small group of speakers in a community of approximately 200 people in 1996. From 1993 to approximately 2006, Villalón led a project that started by working on descriptive goals focused on the sound system, but also including a sociolinguistic survey per the community's wishes. Granadillo started the project as one of Villalón's two undergraduate research assistants, who worked in the community onsite and collecting the data. Over the course of life of this project, it morphed in 1999 into a focus on activities oriented towards language classes in the community for the next few years. Over the initial six or seven years, the research team developed a writing system and some preliminary teaching materials, presented to the community in 2003. In the following year, Granadillo returned with copies of audio recordings and the teaching materials, and provided explanations on how those materials could be used. This example again highlights the important role of training argued in Section 3, as well as that these projects are frequently integrating pedagogical projects for communities and being attentive to repatriating recordings made in the course of research projects back to language communities.

Granadillo and Villalón (2007) extrapolate a number of informative lessons for documentary linguistics, one significant one being the increase in esteem and regard for the language spanning a decade. In the early discussions regarding language work, the community's interest and emotions are characterized by "nostalgia and resignation." But they note:

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[8] Some examples of other documentation projects focused on the Spanish-dominant region of the Amazon include those on Ashéninka Perené, Isconahua and Kurripako. Ashéninka Perené is an Arawak language, with a documentary project outlined in Mihas (2012).Isconahua, a Panoan language of Peru, described in Sánchez (2016), is being documented through a collaboration between Peruvian and U.S. researchers. Granadillo (2006, 2010) describes efforts to document Kurripako, an Arawak language of Venezuela, as part of her dissertation research.

It took time for us [the researchers] to realize that in the best scenario, "revitalization" in this case meant maintaining the existing knowledge. And it took time for the Mapoyo to realize they should and could avoid losing their heritage language for good. For different reasons and through different paths, linguists and Mapoyos swayed from nostalgia and resignation over the language situation to hope. Not only the projects themselves, but also the political changes that have occurred in Venezuela in the last ten years have contributed to this roundabout. (Granadillo and Villalón 2007: 17)

The importance of the valorization of the indigenous language was shown above in the Kukama discussion, but also characterizes other Amazonia communities in Peru, including for the Shiwilu community (Valenzuela 2010, 2012) and the Iquito (Beier and Michael 2006, 2018).

In fact, the Iquito documentation project highlights the importance of community dynamics. The project was carried out by the authors as graduate students, in concert with the community and a team of other students, both from the United States and Peru. Beier and Michael (2006: 4) discuss the initial conversations with the community in 2001 and started the documentation project in 2002 with "intensive training in basic descriptive linguistics to community linguistics. Community team members began to work year-round on language documentation."

The goals of this project included better utilizing both community members and graduate students in language documentation, and to do so in a productive way. Beier and Michael (2006) put this in the context of the need to develop new generations of linguists to work on Amazonian languages in need of documentation and analysis. By creating training for community members in descriptive linguistics, the project sought to increase the community's expertise so it could be deployed for documenting and teaching the language. This ultimately was the first phase of this project, which Beier and Michael (2018) describe as ending in 2006. The second phase, starting in 2014, "has included offering language classes for community members, producing new pedagogical and promotional materials" (Beier and Michael 2018: 410) and putting a focus on activities focused more on "symbolic value" and valorization rather than linguistic training. Their description and assessment of this project in the later paper notes some potential pitfalls and challenges of revitalization projects when community and academic goals are misaligned, illustrating "the importance of understanding and respecting

the objectives of local participants" so that academics better understand and support the goals of the community (Beier and Michael 2018: 413).[9]

In comparing the Iquito Documentation Project with the Kari'nja one, both produced teaching grammars and dictionaries, as well as academic dissemination of linguistically-focused analysis. The introspection of the linguist team for the Iquito project offers a cautionary note for academics involved in such projects. In fact, analyzing the mismatch between academics and the language community (cf. Fitzgerald 2007's failure in an archival repatriation project in the Tohono O'odham community or Stenzel 2014, on a project in Brazil) is excellent food for thought for those very experienced in working with communities and those just starting off, and Beier and Michael (2018) is a valuable contribution as such a case study.

An interesting perspective on the challenges of revitalization for revitalization's sake is offered by Henderson et al. (2014). They argue functional approaches offer better prospects for supporting language revitalization. They present a case study from Guatemala, training Mayan midwives in indigenous languages rather than Spanish. These activities expand the domain of use for the indigenous language, a hallmark for revitalization, but do so in a way that aligns with other community goals, in this case, public health. While that example is from Central America, its implications are relevant more generally for challenges in sustaining revitalization.

6. Archives, Training and Language Vitality

In this section, I briefly touch on a number of issues that are of relevance for endangered language communities as well as academics focused on documentation and revitalization: archives, training, and language vitality.

Archives, for example, have been invaluable resources for community members seeking to revive 'sleeping' languages (Hinton 2001, Amery 2009, Fitzgerald and Linn 2013, Sammons and Leonard 2015). The United States and more recently Canada and Australia, have mobilized archival language material in conjunction with linguistic training for communities where languages have ceased to have first language fluent speakers. In the United States, there has been a substantial tradition of recording these languages, first in manuscripts, Bible translations and other written documents, and then in audio and now video recordings. Contemporary best practices in documentation now emphasize archiving

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[9] See also Stenzel (2014).

and making those materials accessible (cf. Himmelmann 1998). So-called "Breath of Life" Workshops show precisely how accessibility impacts communities interested in learning and teaching their own language (see Gehr 2013 for an oral history of the development of this workshop model in California). The U.S. National Anthropological Archives and other long-established archives hold language collections that can be used for such purposes, especially as more curators and archivists bring communities onsite and consider more participatory or community-based archive approaches (see Linn 2014). The repatriation of archival recordings and other language materials has ample value for both linguist and the heritage community, as noted above in Table 1 from Yamada (2007).

In Latin America, significant recent investments have been made in archives for endangered languages and musics (Seifart et al. 2008, Seifart 2015, Franchetto and Stenzel 2017, Kung and Sherzer 2013). The attention to archiving, preservation and access is likely to persist and even increase, given both the funding agency requirements and community interest. With numerous linguistic fieldwork projects in the Amazon in the pre-documentary era, there are likely also collections in the hands of academics which have yet to be digitized and archived, much like the one Yamada (2007) describes for Kari'nja.

Another issue of growing importance is the role of training in indigenous language documentation and revitalization. Grassroots training institutes focused on indigenous communities have been around for at least 40 years (Watahomigie and Yamamoto 1992) in the United States and in Guatemala (England 1992, 2003, 2007). In the U.S., for example, a short summer training institute began in 2008. The Institute on Collaborative Language Research, or CoLang, as it is now known, began in 2008 at the University of California, Santa Barbara (Genetti and Siemens 2013). This training venue is a point of intersection for academic linguists and indigenous community members, and it includes numerous participants from other countries. While North and Central America have developed these training venues where communities are welcome, this model has not yet emerged in South America. Instead, training is more situated at the local level, as in the case studies and references cited here. However, the programmatic options of a larger institute like CoLang are able to serve multiple audiences and needs, whether a senior linguist seeking updates to their technological savvy or community members wanting an introduction to linguistics and recording techniques, the curriculum is wide-ranging (CoLang 2014). One possible example is the training center in the Upper Rio Negro area of the Brazilian Amazon

described in Chacon et al. (2013), which was not realized, but gives an idea of a model that might work. It does seem that long-term, collaborative training in a region can strengthen documentation and revitalization efforts for multiple communities in a sustainable way (see Fitzgerald 2018 for more discussion).

Finally, a better approach to assessing and theorizing about language vitality is emerging in the literature. Rosés Labrada (2016) conducts an assessment of language vitality for Mako, a Sáliban language in the Venezuelan Amazon. He uses a variety of methodologies both qualitative and quantitative while onsite for fieldwork to argue that the language is vulnerable due to the dominance of Spanish in the region, but it exhibits more vitality than indicated elsewhere in the literature. Interestingly, Rosés Labrada's discussion of Venezuelan indigenous language policies attends to the lack of inclusion for sleeping languages, like those discussed above, highlighting shortcomings where revitalization approaches do not address such communities. More generally, recent work on language vitality argues that revitalization efforts themselves should be taken into account, since the revitalization efforts of these community members show the vitality of languages even in the absence of fluent first language speakers (cf. Leonard 2017, Fitzgerald 2017b).

7. Conclusions

One important contribution from Hale et al. (1992) is in how many of its articles serve as early outlines of a process-oriented literature on language documentation and revitalization. In fact, the reader will observe the numerous citations in this chapter from two relatively new journals, *Language Documentation* and *Conservation and Language Documentation and Description*. Those early 1992 papers recount community-based projects firmly grounded in participatory or community-based language research models, features seen in many of the Amazonian projects noted here. In the years since, a larger literature has developed showing the scientific and humanistic contributions of such approaches. In this chapter, the discussion in Section 3 focused in particular on how the specific kinds of contributions of those approaches and how to gain mutual benefit for community and academics. In this chapter, I have highlighted projects focusing on documentation and revitalization in the Amazon, working to contextualize these activities as feeding into each other (Fitzgerald and Hinson 2013, Figure 1), and perhaps best framed as viable when both academic and community goals are met and productive (Yamada 2007, Table 1). It is worth noting that even in those contexts where the focus by academics is exclusively on documentation, the

primary data, recordings and annotations of texts will create a record that plays an essential role for communities seeking to revitalize their languages and reverse language shift.

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