

墨西哥與厄瓜多之原住民群體的語言保存與學習

メキシコとエクアドルの先住民コミュニティにおける言語保存と学習
Indigenous language preservation and literacy learning
in communities of Mexico and Ecuador

文・圖 | Norbert Francis (北亞利桑納大學榮譽教授 Professor Emeritus at Northern Arizona University)
譯者 | 黃文祈

Central Mexico and the highland provinces of Ecuador formed part of the vast Aztec and Incan empires. Their respective imperial languages, Nahuatl and Quechua, hundreds of years after the Spanish conquest, are still spoken widely throughout the Americas. The research project described here on bilingual literacy in aboriginal communities of Mexico and Ecuador has been supported over the years by a collaboration of Northern Arizona University, the Universitat de València, and the Universidad Técnica Particular de Loja. Local language promoters and teachers complete the partnership at the community level in regions where the languages are spoken, but that today face an uncertain future. Now in its 29th year, the project seeks to better understand problems of language learning and language preservation. As proposed in a recent paper in the journal *Ethnologia*, we believe there is good reason to pursue lines of discussion with colleagues in East Asia working in aboriginal communities that face similar challenges. The changing relationships of bilingualism are at the heart of the language issues that communities face.

The changes in fact have come about rapidly, some of which we have actually observed unfold during the short time that has been given to us for observation and study. Briefly reviewing in this essay the history of the project will serve to highlight the important scientific concepts that came to be relevant in the interpretation of research findings. The primary base of research activity

墨西哥 中部與厄瓜多的高地省份曾分別屬於阿茲特克 (Aztec) 聯邦與印加帝國 (Incan Empire)，兩文明各自的官方語言——納瓦特爾語 (Nahuatl) 和奇楚瓦語 (Quechua)——在西班牙軍隊和文化征服數百年後的今日，仍然在中美洲、南美洲廣泛地被使用著。本文所闡述之研究計畫針對墨西哥與厄瓜多原住民社區的雙語使用能力進行探討，由北亞利桑納大學、華倫西亞大學、私立洛哈技術大學共同進行。然而，這項研究如今面臨不明確的未來。計畫目前



Afterschool study class
課後學習班。

over the years has been the region of greatest concentration in Central Mexico of the Nahuatl language, in the highlands of Tlaxcala and Puebla states. Recently we accepted an invitation to collaborate with educators in the province of Loja in Ecuador.

The first series of studies focused on the literacy learning process of bilingual children to confirm or disconfirm leading psycholinguistic theories on the relationship between first language (L1) and second language (L2). From the point of view of knowledge acquisition, what would be the result when children, in addition to Spanish, make use of the indigenous language for learning concepts and academic abilities? Why were the bilingual students able to skillfully perform, when requested, school literacy tasks in the indigenous language when instruction in school was almost exclusively in Spanish? How do the mental grammars of each language interact in cases of cross-language transfer, borrowing and switching in speech, and then in writing? What is the role of language awareness in learning to read and write, particularly when bilingual competence is part of the picture?

The studies that we carried out on students' progress in literacy learning served to put into broader perspective the problems of language change. In a related way, the research on borrowing and switching between L1 and L2 is important because it helped us to formulate a more accurate conceptual model of bilingualism. In addition, mixing of this kind is often presented as a factor that is related to language erosion, loss of the L1 or of the L2. However, the different scenarios of combining words and phrases from two languages are complex, in part because there are many different bilingual scenarios to consider. Each one presents a different set of factors to take into account. For example, does the frequent borrowing from Spanish when speaking Quechua or Nahuatl show evidence of the erosion of actual knowledge of the indigenous language? The answer has many parts, again because of the many contexts of language use in which the two languages interact; and we should remember that the interaction does not only go in one direction. The Spanish language has incorporated into its lexicon hundreds of

已進行了29年，研究開始尋求對於語言「學習」以及「保存」系列問題的理解。在雙語社區中，語言間關係的演變無疑是議題的核心。

事實上，這些改變已急劇發生，當中某些改變在短時間內即形成了可明顯觀察研究的現象。本文章快速地回顧這項計畫的歷史，並試圖凸顯其研究發現的重要科學化詮釋。起初該研究進行的地點主要都在納瓦特爾語密集的墨西哥中部特拉斯卡拉州與普埃布拉州，而近期我們接受了來自厄瓜多洛哈省教育工作者們協力研究的邀請。

最初一系列研究聚焦在兒童雙語者學習雙語讀寫的歷程是否足以證實心理語言學中關於第一語言 (L1) 與第二語言 (L2) 交互作用關係的理論：以「獲取知識」的角度切入，若原住民學童在西班牙文外，還能以母語進行學術能力、概念的培養，那將會如何呢？為什麼研究設計下的受試者在原本被西班牙語獨佔的校園中還能靈活使用母語執行學校功課？從說話到寫作，當語言切換、互相借用辭藻時，異語言文法如何在腦中互相影響？學習讀寫時「語言意識」又扮演著什麼樣的角色？

對學生掌握語言之進程的調查，使我們對於「語言切換」相關問題有更全面的瞭解；類似地，關於L1、L2間相互借代、轉換的研究有助於更準確地為雙語學習建構概念模型。此外，語言切換時「混類」通常是「語言侵蝕」的因素之一。然而，兩語言間詞藻片語的結合是錯綜複雜的，因發生的情境往往迥異、每種情境需要

words of American origin. In this regard, the awareness of this interaction on the part of bilinguals is interesting to examine. How do speakers of indigenous languages perceive the effects of language contact and bilingualism? Objectively, what are these effects evidence of?

Greater access to schooling, the greater number of children who grow up learning how to read and write, in recent years especially girls, has reflected a gradual improvement in economic conditions. While this progress has been far from adequate to alleviate deep-going poverty in the indigenous regions, the most notable change that we have observed is the breakdown of social and cultural isolation that communities had suffered from in the past. While more people speak the national language than ever before, becoming bilingual has coincided with the initially gradual, and with time more rapid, displacement of the indigenous language. The erosion has proceeded at different rates: while in our Mexican site, the majority still speaks Nahuatl fluently, in the Ecuadorian community of the project, only a very small percentage of young people speak Quechua. On the one hand, the many years of discrimination directed against indigenous language speakers has reinforced the unequal status of their language. On the other hand, the modest improvement in social and economic opportunity and the breakdown of segregation has created greater incentives to learn the national language and to learn how to read and write. The latter historical tendency, in some ways in a contradictory way, has coincided with the diminished use of indigenous languages in daily community life, even in daily family life. Language teachers and investigators debate the different strategies for preserving aboriginal languages. On another occasion we can examine the arguments and proposals that have been put forward.

Documentation of traditional literature

After completing the series of language and literacy assessments and analyzing the results, the project shifted its work toward problems of preservation. The change in focus took the form of collaborating with a local Community Literacy Workshop that primarily served Nahuatl-speaking women who enrolled for the purpose of



Community Literacy Workshop
社區讀寫工作坊。

列入考量的因素亦各有千秋，造成了回答研究問題的難度。例如，現今使用奇楚瓦語、納瓦特爾語時，頻繁地從西班牙語中借用語彙的現象，是否說明原住民對母語的知識受到侵蝕？這樣的問題需要先被切成許多部分才能加以回答，因兩種語言在各種環境中的相互作用有不同的脈絡；我們也必需牢記：兩語言間不會只產生單向的影響。

就學管道越普及，便會有更多的兒童有機會在成長過程中學習識字讀寫。近年來女性的識字率提升反映著其社經狀況的逐漸改善，然這對於減輕原住民社區長久以來相對的貧窮來說仍微不足道。隨著國家內相對慣用官方語言的民眾比例大幅提升，雙語人士面臨了原生母語漸漸被取代的問題。在我們墨西哥的研究據點，多數原住民仍十分流利地操著那瓦特爾語；在厄瓜多的據點卻只有非常小比例的年輕人說奇楚瓦語。造成這樣的原因一方面是對原住民族的歧視造成語言的社會地位不對等，另一方面是對原住民族的隔離減弱促進他們學習官方語言的動機。語言教育者和研究

improving their proficiency in Spanish and learning basic literacy skills. Given that the workshop implements a method that also recognizes and valorizes learners' bilingual abilities, we decided to organize an on-line archive of traditional narrative in Nahuatl for documentation of stories and excerpts of oral history. The next step consisted in saving and distributing the material on social media. The program TV Malintzin serves these objectives by conserving the accumulated archival material and sharing it for commentary throughout the region of Central Mexico. Students of Nahuatl, nationwide, as well as internationally, are also encouraged to utilize the on-line modules for commentary and language learning. In three years, viewership has surpassed 50,000. TV Malintzin offers tutorials, free of charge, for other communities, as would be the case for our Ecuadorian colleagues, on how to implement an on-line archive with similar design. Any collective of interested indigenous language speakers is eligible for collaboration, initial investment in equipment and resources being minimal. The most important advantage of the web-based digital anthology is that young bilinguals in the communities today are intensely engaged in the on-line world. It effectively multiplies by many hundreds of times the audience for this kind of material over print-based publications of the same content. In addition, the on-line format adds the feature of interactivity. Learning to read and write, and learning Spanish, are more important today than ever before, and nothing can relativize the importance of these objectives. The approach that the literacy workshop takes is that bilingual ability can also be a part of its mission.

In 2017, we responded to an opportunity to apply some of the concepts of the Mexican project to questions about literacy and indigenous language revitalization that teachers in the southern region of Ecuador presented. Two lines of work turned out to be highly productive:

(1) a proposal for classroom-based assessment that offered the possibility of comparing school-wide progress in Spanish and second-language learning of the indigenous language and,

(2) study of the progress in fully integrating girls into

者們已喋喋不休地辯論關於原住民語言保存的策略，日後我們再針對這些爭論和提案加以討論。

紀錄與傳統

完成一系列語言掌握能力評估與結果分析後，研究轉向了如何有效地保存語言。隨著焦點轉換，研究計畫建立起地緣性、社區化的讀寫工作坊，進一步服務並瞭解研究目標的需要以及現況。這些工作坊主要的服務對象為講那瓦特爾語的婦女，她們參與的原因多半是為改善自己的西班牙語能力。滿足這樣需求的同時，我們決定設計一套線上「納瓦特爾語敘事資料庫」以摘錄故事和記下口述歷史，讓工作坊具備雙語能力的學生能將文史「無價之寶」被妥善歸檔保存。然後，我們把這些人文素材上傳到社群媒體中加以流傳。我們的服務也透過TV Malintzin這個網路節目平台進行，用紀實實況報導的方式來累積、保存、分享墨西哥中部原民語言文化的影像素材。我們鼓勵墨西哥國內及國際間納瓦特爾語的有關學習者利用這些線上單元來記錄自己的文化或學習語言的歷程；TV Malintzin 也提供免費的一對一教學給其他語言背景的人。這些經驗皆成為我們的厄瓜多研究夥伴設計這類線上檔案庫的重要資源。這一連串奠基網路的數位影像集錦最重要的優勢莫過於當今社區中的年輕雙語者大多密切參與網路世界。同時，網路也提供最便利的互動可能。當地學習讀、寫、和西班牙語的重要性已勝於以往、大過其他目的。培養雙語能力的措施也成為我們

the school program.

Recall that the bilingual profile of the Ecuadorian research site was different from that of the Mexican site: speakers of the Quechua language in this region represent a small minority. Thus, the task teachers face is that of revitalization—teaching the language as a L2.

Opportunities for future work

Together with the building of an archive of the oral tradition, a number of complementary language and culture-learning initiatives should be considered for continuing research. A study of the language family to which Nahuatl belongs could help trace its historical predecessors and paths of migration southward from their origin. Numerically, Nahuatl represents, by itself, the largest number of speakers of the family. This study can also include the relationship among the different dialects of Nahuatl. To what extent are they mutually intelligible? Communities of the language family include speakers of Huichol, Tarahumara and Yaqui, then the Piman languages and Hopi, among the most northern, crossing the international border into the state of Arizona. This program of study, including study of the language families of Diné (Canada and the United States) and Inuit-Yupik (Alaska and the Chukchi Peninsula, Russian Federation), will help to give us a clearer perspective on the larger movements of migration. The research will then correlate with the scientific consensus on the East Asian-Siberian origin of the aboriginal peoples of the New World. Study of the Quechuan family of languages offers the same kinds of opportunity. In this way findings from linguistic research support conclusions of archaeology and population genetics.

The further historical study of documents passed down by the Aztec scholars at the time of the European conquest will represent an important recovery of a cultural inheritance. This heritage of the Nahuatl-speaking communities needs to be fully understood and appreciated for its far-reaching historical, documentary and artistic value. Unlike the Mayan manuscripts, which were composed with a full writing system (morpho-syllabic), the Aztec codices utilized a pictographic-type system beginning

工作坊中的一環。

我們在2017年開始把由墨西哥地區計畫整理出的概念運用在厄瓜多計畫中關於原民語言復甦的問題挑戰上。其中兩套工作方針成果豐饒：一項課堂的提案比較了讓全校以本地原民母語為第二語言，來學習西班牙語和母語之可能性。以及研究如何在現階段充分將女孩視為學校計畫發展畫之考量。先前提到，厄瓜多研究站點的雙語概況與墨西哥站點的雙語概況不同，因此，教師面臨的任務是設法振興該語言，同時先以教授第二語言的方式教授奇楚瓦語。

未來的方向

為口述傳統建立檔案的同時，還應考量許多有關周邊語言、文化的計畫，以利研究後續進行。研究納瓦特爾語所屬的語系有助於追溯其歷史和先人南遷的路徑。數字上而言，納瓦特爾語本身因使用者最多而產生代表性，但這項研究的範疇還可以包括：不同納瓦特爾方言之間的關係為何？它們在多大程度上彼此相通？這個語系的群體包括說惠喬爾語（Huichol）、塔拉胡馬拉語（Tarahumara）、雅奎語（Yaqui）、往北方的比馬語（Piman）和跨越國際邊界位於亞利桑那州的霍皮語（Hopi）等的原住民族。研究計劃也涵括對迪內（Diné，加拿大和美國）和因紐特—尤皮克語（Inuit-Yupik，阿拉斯加和俄羅斯聯邦的楚科奇半島）的語系的研究。這一切都將助使我們對更大範圍移民軌跡更清晰地認識，終究，或使該研究得以透

to transition toward full writing. An important historical period that deserves more study is the rapid adoption of alphabetic writing by the colonial-era Aztec scholars based on the model of Spanish orthography. This appropriation of alphabetic writing coincided with the establishing of extensive university-level bilingual education in Nahuatl and Latin (in addition to Spanish) during the early colonial years. The historical lessons of 16th Century New Spain are clearly relevant to discussions of bilingual education and language preservation in Latin America today. During the colonial period the most authoritative—still to this day—grammars and dictionaries of Nahuatl language were written by the students and teachers of the great bilingual institutes such as the Colegio de Tlatelolco. Similar developments during the same period regarding the use of Quechua in the Andes region have been studied, and deserve further research.

One question that both communities and researchers ask is about how conditions have changed over the five-hundred years of contact between Spanish and the indigenous languages. While the major languages of the former New World empires are still spoken by millions of people in South America and Mesoamerica, they face today the pressures of replacement by Spanish. Many of the smaller local languages still spoken within the regions of the former empires are today on the verge of complete replacement and loss. However, the primary factors driving this erosion, in both cases (the major indigenous languages and the smaller languages), are the same. In addition to the tasks for researchers outlined above, our responsibility is to describe with greater reliability the current processes of language change and to explain them better.



Robert Francis

北亞利桑那大學榮譽教授（Professor Emeritus at Northern Arizona University）。研究的範疇為從認知科學的角度去解析語言學習的問題及雙語主義。

過科學方法串起關於新大陸原住民的和東亞—西伯利亞血統的確切關聯。研究奇楚瓦語的語言家族亦然！如此可見語言研究得以支持、幫助考古學和人口遺傳學找到結論。

阿茲特克學者在面臨歐洲人征服時，將若干文件流傳了下來，納瓦特爾語社區能如此代代傳承深遠歷史記憶、文獻和藝術價值令人讚賞，而對內容的研究也代表文化遺產的恢復。另一個更值得進一步研究的重點是，殖民時期下的阿茲特克學者參考了西班牙拼字法而衍伸字母系統進行書寫。殖民初期，這種按字母排列的書寫法與當時廣泛建立起大學水平的納瓦特爾語—拉丁語（不單指西班牙語）雙語教育密不可分。「十六世紀新西班牙」的歷史與當今拉丁美洲的雙語教育和語言保護的討論息息相關。殖民時期至今最權威的納瓦特爾語語法和詞典即這些專業學校師生之作。奇楚瓦語在安地斯山脈地區經歷了類似的歷史發展，已有相關研究出現，但值得更進一步的研究。

過去五百年來西班牙語和原住民語言的處境發生了什麼樣的變化，應當是在地社區和研究專家都需探究的問題。儘管在中南美洲仍有數以百萬計的使用人口，這些原本的主流語言面臨被西班牙文取代的極大壓力；許多更小眾的方言甚至瀕臨失傳的命運。無論何者，在此驅使語言被侵蝕的主因是一樣的。除了以上所介紹研究單位的任務，我們也有責任更加可靠地描述當前語言變化的過程並更好地解釋它們。◆