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Cross-mediated elicitation and participative sociolinguistics: the ALMaz project



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• Introduction

- **Cross mediation:** the Cross-mediated elicitation (EM2) endeavor within the Labex-EFL (strand 7) stands itself at the crossroad between **bilingual education theory and practice** (cf. *sciences de l'éducation, pédagogie*), **linguistic anthropology, psycholinguistic** and **formal grammar**.
- **Diamesic Variation:** EM2 focuses on **written and oral texts and word lists** worked out by native speakers of Mesoamerican languages during **literacy and training workshops on Mesoamerican languages**. Most of them are **school teachers** who lack training in formal components of bilingual education. **It answers a crucial and acute collective demand.**
- **Goals:** It aims at developing an experimental methodology to make linguistic fieldwork with speakers of endangered languages strongly cooperative. It aims at **providing autonomous resources from inside the community**.

Introduction

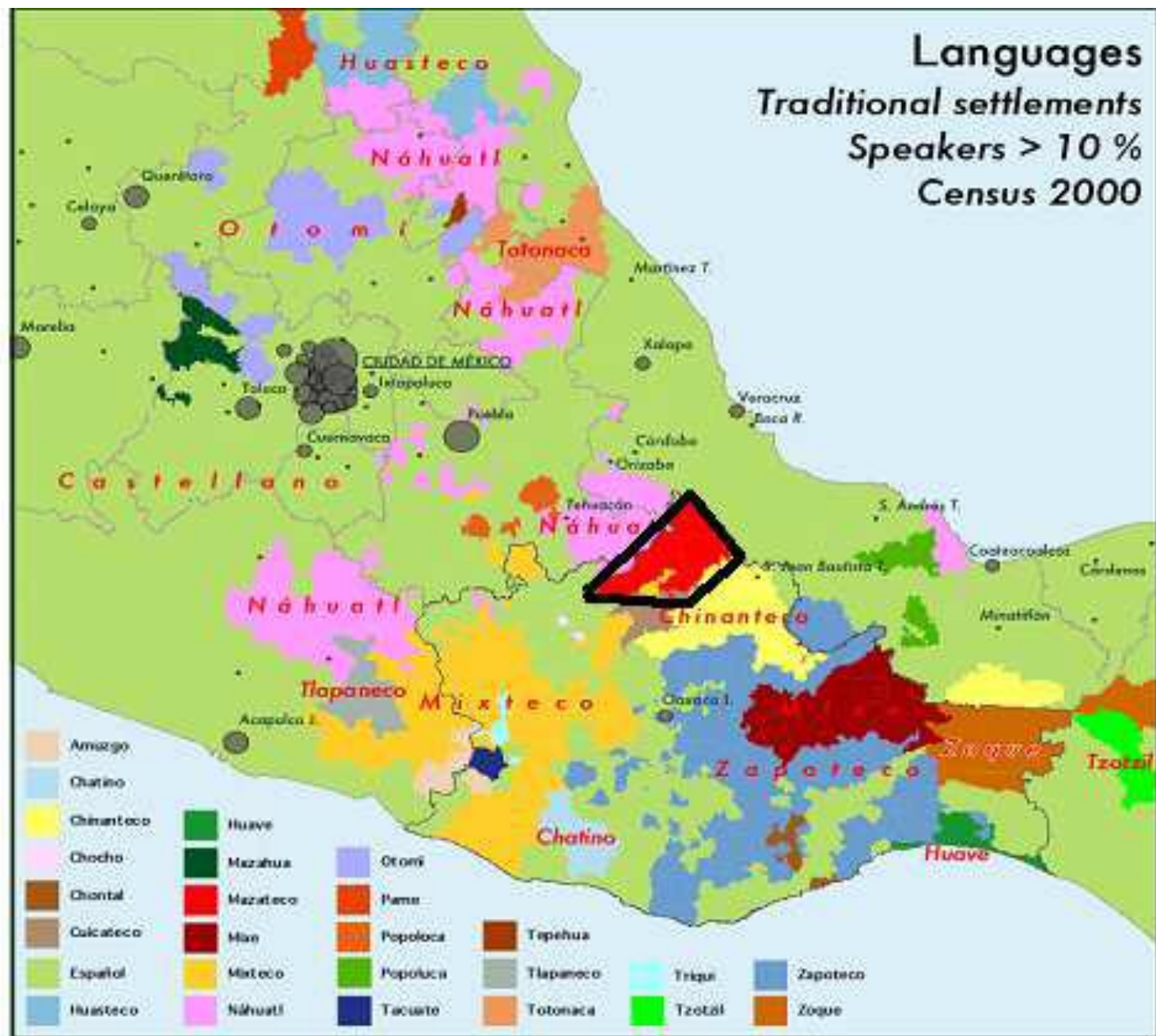
- **Output:** It produces materials for bilingual schools in Mexico and elsewhere in Mesoamerica (e.g. Guatemala, initially) and data for the linguists through **Alternative Educational Literacy Workshops (AELW)**.
- **Fieldwork at stake:** in the **Papaloapam Basin (South Eastern Mexico)**, the EM2 operation has made possible about **20** of these workshops, among which four on inflectional classes and tones, one on dialectology, and **15** focused on the production of educational materials for schools. Over **500** school teachers took part in these activities, which percolated a network of over **100** schools, and benefitted to thousands of pupils.
- **Multilingual setting:** AEW have been held particularly, but not only, with Mazatec and Nahuatl schoolteachers and their pupils and/or the teachers and students of pedagogical institutions and universities, over the last four years (2010-2013).
- E.g. the Santa Maria Teopoxco **AELW** in 2011 gathered eight languages (Mazatec, Nahuatl, Mixtec, Cuicatec, Valley Zapotec, Xhon Zapotec, Chinantec, Mixe) and five languages were used in the Tehuacan Forum (Nahuatl, Mazatec, Amuzgo, Totonac, Tsotsil), in 2012.

2. Challenging revitalization through formal collective praxis

- **Sociolinguistic gap:** so far, documentation and revitalization work has been mostly anecdotal; though it deals with properly sociolinguistic issues it neither draws on nor contributes to current sociolinguistic thinking.
- **Formal models:** In particular, it has no proper theoretical grounding, whether idiosyncratic or based on more general theoretical principles.
- **Framework:** Revitalization is at best an anecdotal field; not even a proper framework for description, much less a theoretical grounding or general principle that would make it possible to identify and replicate effective strategies.
- **Evaluation:** there are not even guidelines for evaluating progress in revitalization.

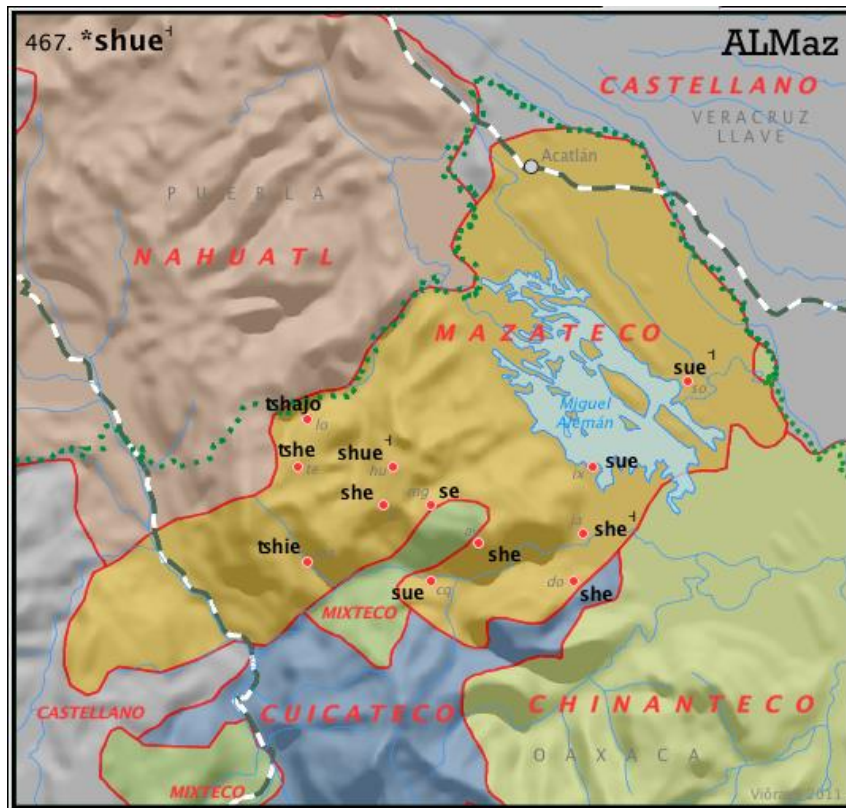
Challenging revitalization through sociolinguistic praxis

- **Praxis:** endangered languages documentation leads naturally to effective praxis. It helps to describe **resilient** communities and identify successful strategies of **resistance to assimilation and language loss (i.e. language shift)**.
- **Political settings:** Mexico is an ideal natural laboratory for such work because of its linguistic diversity (typological and genealogical), its complex and varied sociolinguistic and sociopolitical situation, and a usable body of descriptive and historical work on the political and social situation.

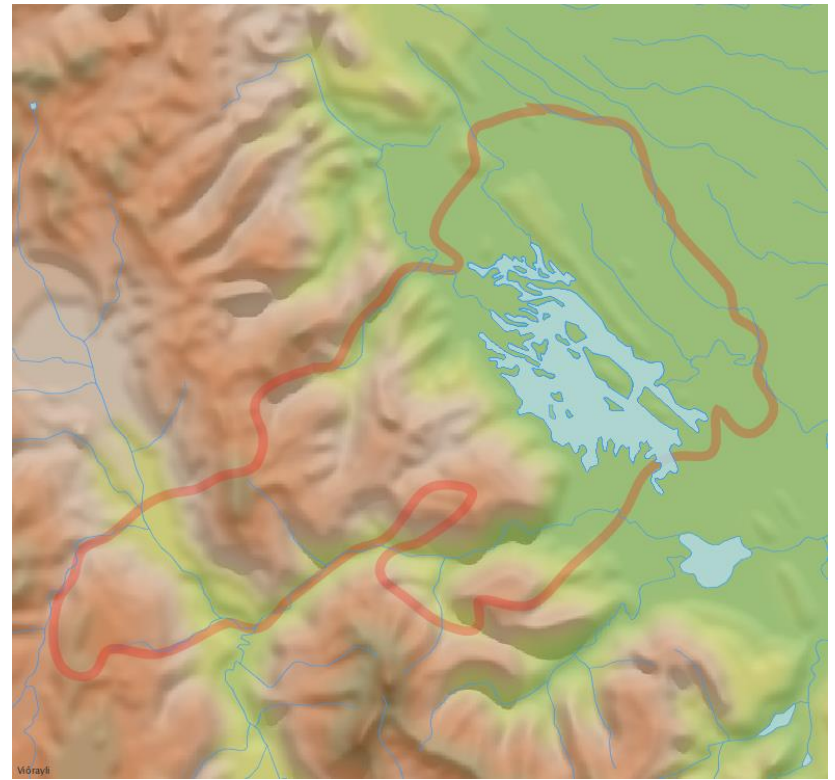
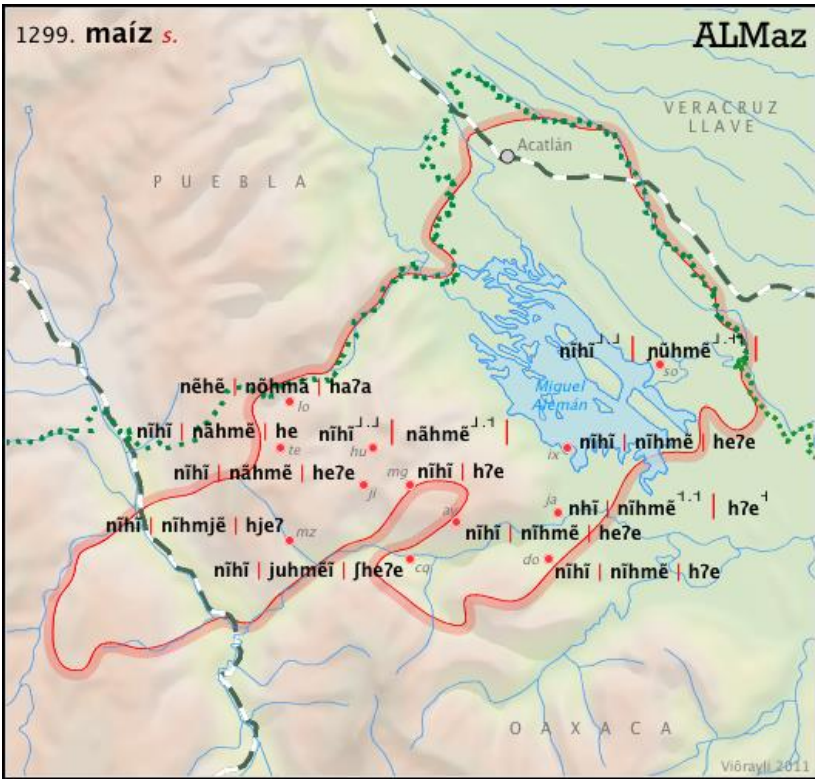


Mesamerican languages (Cartography: Vittorio dell'Aquila)

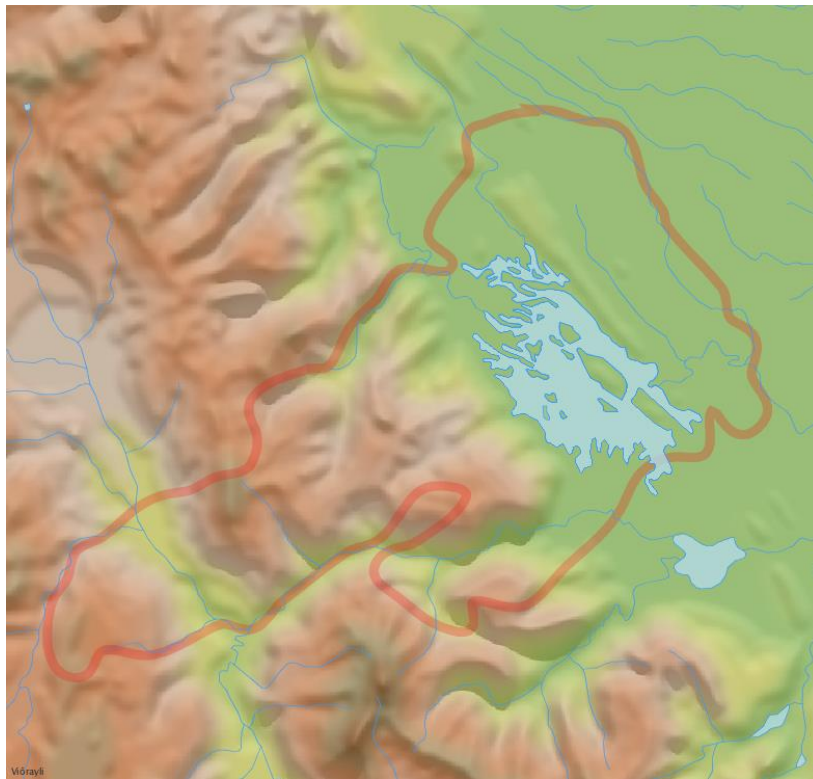
A glimpse at the Papaloapam Basin and the ALMaz area



Highlands, Midlands and Lowlands



Highlands, Midlands and Lowlands



• **Our standpoint (the Beaver's Lesson):**

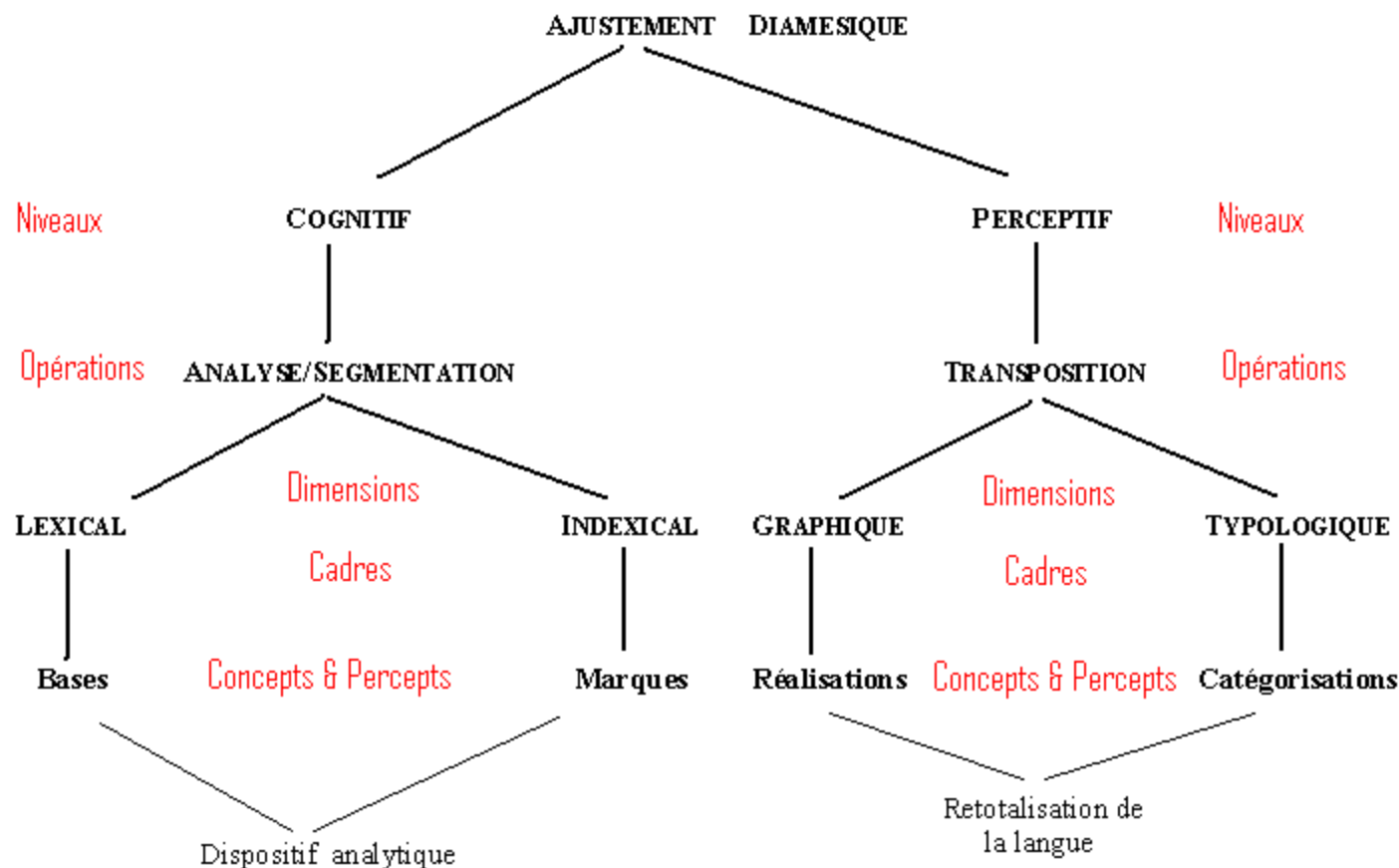
- The Meso-American Morphophonology Project (MAmP, 2009-14) team realized that:
- **Know-How:** the linguistic and pedagogical *know-how* its members possess in **formal grammar, dialectology, endangered language documentation, linguistic anthropology**, could, and furthermore *should*, directly benefit the communities whose languages are being mapped in this project. In other words, linguistics is power... Linguistics can contribute to **empowerment in civil society**.
- **Social Networks:** Providing tools to these communities would also enable contact with larger numbers of speakers with the language skills required for MAmP's linguistic questionnaires by creating a type of bilateral exchange of information (see Léonard & al. 2013).
- **Critical empiricism:** contributing to typological studies and also to social dialectology, based on a critical position, in close collaboration with the speakers of endangered languages.

•Methods

- The workshop entitled *Imaginary Homelands*, inspired on Calvino's book *Invisible Cities*, aims at generating teaching materials on local history and geography, with a critical position on the environmental and socio-economic issues the community might face today (cf. Lazos & Paré, 2000; Solis & Solano, 2006) or have faced in the past (e.g. Boege, 1988; McMahon, 1971).
- Emerging literacy : the ethnomethodology applied in these workshops shows that the transition orality-literacy-orality in indigenous languages is, and could be, flowing continuously during teaching activities.
- In this vein, our methodology is an alternative way to do elicitations as it puts in practice a *diamesic process*, through the production and analysis of both written and oral tokens of word lists, paradigms, texts, discourse, etc.

- *The psychological reality of phonemes and morphemes:*
- A multi-source of descriptive models and datas that exploits an enormous amount of corpus: the files of lexis and grammar.
- In a few words, remembering Michel Foucault:
 - « Un ensemble multisource de modèles descriptifs et de données, qui exploite une gamme diversifiée de corpora constituant ce qu'on pourrait appeler, en termes foucaaldiens, les *archives* du lexique et de la grammaire » (Léonard, 2012).

3. The *Diamesic Accommodation* (DA) model (Léonard, 2012)



Application to the voice quality correlation

VALEUR => CRAQUEMENT ET SOUFFLE Soit {QUALITE DE VOIX}	
TRANSPPOSITION	
GRAPHIQUE	TYPOLOGIQUE
Réalisations	Catégorisations
Groupes consonantiques (cf. P& P 1947) Ou attaques branchantes => répartition plurisegmentale	Voix craquée ou soufflée => Organicité segmentale, coalescence, alignement
- Alignement flottant : constituance indéterminée ou sous-spécifiée	- Constituance fusionnée
- Absence, oblitération : non discrétisé, omission, cumul	- Discrétude floue
- Erratisme : notation aléatoire	- Variation libre
- Interpolation : <'> pour <j>, <j> pour <'>	- Syncrétisme croisé

An intricate inflectional class system: the Chiquihuitlan preverbal taxonomy model (Jamieson, 1982)

Classe Flexionnelle (Cl. Flex)	3 DEF. ou 1 SG.	3 DEF. ou 1 SG.	Autres Personnes	Autres Personnes
	NTR	INAC.	NTR	INAC.
A	<i>be-³</i>	<i>kue-</i>	<i>be-</i>	<i>kue-</i>
B	<i>ba-</i>	<i>kua-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	<i>kua-</i>
C	<i>bo-</i>	<i>sko-</i>	<i>cho-</i>	
D	<i>bu-</i>	<i>sku-</i>	<i>chu-</i>	
E	<i>ju-</i>	<i>sku-</i>	<i>chju-</i>	
F	<i>ji-</i>	<i>ski-</i>	<i>chji-</i>	
G	<i>fa-</i>	<i>kjua-</i>	<i>fa-</i>	<i>kjua-</i>
H	<i>tsi-</i>	<i>tsi-</i>	<i>nin-</i>	
I	<i>su-</i>	<i>su-</i>	<i>nun-</i>	
J	<i>bu-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>bu-</i>	<i>ku-</i>
K	<i>ba-</i>	<i>kua-</i>	<i>cha-</i>	
L	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ska-</i>		
M	<i>fa-</i>	<i>kjua-</i>	<i>nan-</i>	
N	<i>ba-</i>	<i>kua-</i>		
O	<i>bi-</i>	<i>kui-</i>	<i>bi-</i>	<i>kui-</i>
P	<i>bu-</i>	<i>sku-</i>	<i>ntu-</i>	
Q	<i>ji-</i>	<i>si-</i>	<i>chi-</i>	<i>xi-</i>
R	<i>fa-</i>	<i>kjua-</i>	<i>chja-</i>	

A disystemic model for the ALMaz, according to JLL & Alain Kihm (2014): Highland diasystem

Classe morphonologique	Classe préverbale		Pv	Classe morphosémantique
Attaques labiales	I	A	<i>b'é-</i>	Collocatif non scindé
		B	<i>ba-</i>	
		C1	<i>bi-</i>	
	II	C2	<i>ba-/bi-</i>	Dynamique scindé
		C3	<i>bá-/fa-</i>	
	III	D	<i>b'a-/ch'a-</i>	Collocatif scindé
Attaques coronales	IV	E	<i>sí-/ní-</i>	Causatif
	V	F	<i>tsjoa-</i>	Dation, scindé
Attaque dorsale	VI	G	<i>kjoa-</i>	Mouvement, scindé

4. Literacy and language training workshops (Mazatec highlands)

CLASE A Habitual	Actual	Cercano
an baté	tibaté	kabate
ji batai	ti batai	ka batai
je baté	ti baté	ka baté
ñá batée	ti batée	ka batée
jín bataijin	ti bataijin	ka bataijin
jón batao	ti batao	ka batao
je baté	ti baté	ka baté
CLASE B Ha	(b'ene)	
an bene	ti bene	kab'ene
ji b'enai	ti b'enai	ka b'enai
je b'ene	ti b'ene	ka b'ene
ñá b'enee	ti b'enee	ka b'enee
jín b'enaijin	ti b'enaijin	ka b'enaijin
jón b'ena	ti b'ena	ka b'ena
je b'ene	ti b'ene	ka b'ene
CLASE C ba/bi		
an batsé	tibatsé	kabatsé
ji bindai	tibindai	kabindai

Remoto	Pluscuamperfecto	Futuro
tsakate	tsakatetsakae	kuaté
tsa kati	tsa kati sa kae	kuatái
tsa katé	tsa katé sa kae	kuaté
tsa ka té	tsa ka té sa kae	kuaté
tsa ka taijin	tsa ka taijin sa kae	kuatájin
tsa kato	tsa ka tó sa kae	kuatá
tsa katé	tsa ka té sa kae	kuaté
tsak'ene	tsa k'ene tsakae	kuéne
tsa k'enai	tsa k'enai sa kae	kuénaí
tsa k'ene	tsa k'ene sa kae	kuéne
tsa k'enee	tsa k'enee sa kae	kuéne
tsa k'enaijin	tsa k'enaijin sa kae	kuénaijin
tsa k'ena	tsa k'ena sa kae	kuéna
tsa k'ene	tsa k'ene sa kae	kuéne
tsa katse	tsa katsetsa kae	kuatse
tsa kindai	tsa kindai sa kae	kuatái
	tsa katsetsa kae	kuatse



CLASE A Habitual		Actual	Cercano
an	baté	tibaté	Ka bate
Ji	batai	ti batai	Ka batai
Jé	baté	ti baté	Ka baté
ñá	batée	ti batée	Ka batée
Jin	bataijin	ti bataijin	Ka bataijin
Jón	batao	ti batao	Ka batao
Jé	baté	ti baté	Ka baté
CLASE B		(b'ene)	
an	b'ene	tib'ene	Kab'ene
Ji	b'enai	ti b'enai	Kab'enai
Jé	b'ene	ti b'ene	Kab'ene
ñá	b'enee	ti b'enee	Ka b'enee
Jin	b'enaijin	ti b'enaijin	Ka b'enaijin
Jón	b'enaó	ti b'enaó	Kab'enaó
Jé	b'ene	ti b'ene	Kab'ene
CLASE C		ba/bi	
an	batsé	tibatsé	Kabatsé
Ji	bindai	ti bindai	Ka bindai

Remoto	Pluscuamperfecto	Futuro
tsakate	tsakate tsakae	Kuaté
tsakatai	tsakatai tsakae	Kuatai
tsakaté	tsakaté tsakae	Kuaté
tsakatee	tsakatee tsakae	Kwaaté
tsakataijin	tsakataijin tsakae	Kuataijin
tsakatao	tsakatao tsakae	Kuatao
tsakaté	tsakaté tsakae	Kuaté
tsak'ene	tsak'ene tsakae	K'ue ne
tsak'enai	tsak'enai tsakae	K'uenai
tsak'ene	tsak'ene tsakae	K'uetne
tsak'enee	tsak'enee tsakae	K'ue nee
tsak'enaijin	tsak'enaijin tsakae	K'uenaijin
tsak'enaó	tsak'enaó tsakae	K'ue naó
tsak'ene	tsak'ene tsakae	K'ue ne
tsakatse	tsakatse tsakae	Kuatse
tsakindai	tsakindai tsakae	Kuindai
	tsakatsetsakae	Kuatsé

A sample of Kenneth Pike's matrices (1948), tonal classes

TABLE 9a

Second (as Last) Main Stem of Personal Compound Verbs Ending in Toneme 1 with Fused Dependent Subject Pronouns

Main stems	Auxiliary stems: zero, ki ³ -, koi ⁴ -	Third persons singular and plural: zero	First person singular: -a ³	Second person singular: -i ³	Second person plural: -o ³	First person plural exclusive: -i ⁴	First person plural inclusive: -a ²
'to send'	Timeless	v ⁷ e ¹ ša ¹	v ⁷ e ⁴⁻³ ša ¹⁻³	v ⁷ e ² šai ¹⁻³	v ⁷ e ² šao ¹⁻³	v ⁷ e ² šai ¹⁻⁴	v ⁷ e ² ša ¹
< v ⁷ e ¹ - 'he deposits'	Complete	ca ³ k ⁷ e ¹ ša ¹	ca ³ k ⁷ e ⁴⁻³ ša ¹⁻³	ca ³ k ⁷ e ² šai ¹⁻³	ca ³ k ⁷ e ² šao ¹⁻³	ca ³ k ⁷ e ² šai ¹⁻⁴	ca ³ k ⁷ e ² ša ¹
+ ša ¹ - 'work'	Incomplete	k ⁷ oe ⁴⁻² ša ¹	k ⁷ oe ⁴⁻³ ša ¹⁻³	k ⁷ oe ¹ šai ¹⁻³	k ⁷ oe ¹ šao ¹⁻³	k ⁷ oe ¹ šai ¹⁻⁴	k ⁷ oe ¹ ša ¹
'to braid'	Timeless	v ⁷ e ¹ n ⁷ i ⁷ q ¹	v ⁷ e ⁴⁻³ n ⁷ i ⁷ q ¹⁻³	v ⁷ e ² n ⁷ i ⁷ q ¹⁻³	v ⁷ e ² n ⁷ i ⁷ q ¹⁻³	v ⁷ e ² n ⁷ i ⁷ q ¹⁻⁴	v ⁷ e ² n ⁷ i ⁷ q ¹
< v ⁷ e ¹ - 'he deposits'	Complete	ca ³ k ⁷ e ¹ n ⁷ i ⁷ q ¹	ca ³ k ⁷ e ⁴⁻³ n ⁷ i ⁷ q ¹⁻³	ca ³ k ⁷ e ² n ⁷ i ⁷ q ¹⁻³	ca ³ k ⁷ e ² n ⁷ i ⁷ q ¹⁻³	ca ³ k ⁷ e ² n ⁷ i ⁷ q ¹⁻⁴	ca ³ k ⁷ e ² n ⁷ i ⁷ q ¹
+ n ⁷ i ⁷ q ¹ 'strong'	Incomplete	k ⁷ oe ⁴⁻² n ⁷ i ⁷ q ¹	k ⁷ oe ⁴⁻³ n ⁷ i ⁷ q ¹⁻³	k ⁷ oe ¹ n ⁷ i ⁷ q ¹⁻³	k ⁷ oe ¹ n ⁷ i ⁷ q ¹⁻³	k ⁷ oe ¹ n ⁷ i ⁷ q ¹⁻⁴	k ⁷ oe ¹ n ⁷ i ⁷ q ¹
'to play'	Timeless	si ¹ ska ¹	si ⁴⁻³ ska ¹⁻³	ni ² skai ¹⁻³	ni ² skao ¹⁻³	ni ² skai ¹⁻⁴	ni ² ska ¹
< s ⁷ i ¹ - 'he makes'	Complete	ki ³ si ⁴⁻³ ska ¹	ki ³ si ⁴⁻³ ska ¹⁻³	ki ³ ni ² skai ¹⁻³	ki ³ ni ² skao ¹⁻³	ki ³ ni ² skai ¹⁻⁴	ki ³ ni ² ska ¹
+ ska ¹ 'it is foolish'	Incomplete	si ⁴⁻² ska ¹	si ⁴⁻³ ska ¹⁻³	si ⁴ skai ¹⁻³	si ⁴ skao ¹⁻³	si ⁴ skai ¹⁻⁴	si ⁴ ska ¹
'to wrap'	Timeless	v ⁷ e ¹ hte ¹	v ⁷ e ⁴⁻³ hte ¹⁻³	v ⁷ e ² htai ¹⁻³	v ⁷ e ² htao ¹⁻³	v ⁷ e ² htai ¹⁻⁴	v ⁷ e ² hte ¹
< v ⁷ e ¹ - 'he deposits'	Complete	ca ³ k ⁷ e ¹ hte ¹	ca ³ k ⁷ e ⁴⁻³ hte ¹⁻³	ca ³ k ⁷ e ² htai ¹⁻³	ca ³ k ⁷ e ² htao ¹⁻³	ca ³ k ⁷ e ² htai ¹⁻⁴	ca ³ k ⁷ e ² hte ¹
+ hte ¹ - 'a bundle'	Incomplete	k ⁷ oe ⁴⁻² hte ¹	k ⁷ oe ⁴⁻³ hte ¹⁻³	k ⁷ oe ¹ htai ¹⁻³	k ⁷ oe ¹ htao ¹⁻³	k ⁷ oe ¹ htai ¹⁻⁴	k ⁷ oe ¹ hte ¹
'to wear (clothes)'	Timeless	v ⁷ a ³ kha ¹	v ⁷ a ³ kha ¹⁻³	č ⁷ a ² khai ¹⁻³	č ⁷ a ² kha ¹⁻³	č ⁷ a ² khai ¹⁻⁴	č ⁷ a ² kha ¹
< v ⁷ a ³ 'he carries'	Complete	ca ³ k ⁷ a ³ kha ¹	ca ³ k ⁷ a ³ kha ¹⁻³	ki ³ č ⁷ a ² khai ¹⁻³	ki ³ č ⁷ a ² kha ¹⁻³	ki ³ č ⁷ a ² khai ¹⁻⁴	ki ³ č ⁷ a ² kha ¹
+ -kha ¹ 'slantwise'	Incomplete	k ⁷ oa ⁴ kha ¹	k ⁷ oa ⁴ kha ¹⁻³	č ⁷ a ⁴ khai ¹⁻³	č ⁷ a ⁴ kha ¹⁻³	č ⁷ a ⁴ khai ¹⁻⁴	č ⁷ a ⁴ kha ¹
'to tighten'	Timeless	va ¹ htj ¹	va ⁴⁻³ htj ¹⁻³	vha ³ htj ¹⁻³	vha ³ htj ¹⁻³	vha ³ htj ¹⁻⁴	vha ³ htj ¹
< va ¹ - 'he places'	Complete	ca ³ ka ¹ htj ¹	ca ³ ka ⁴⁻³ htj ¹⁻³	ca ³ kha ³ htj ¹⁻³	ca ³ kha ³ htj ¹⁻³	ca ³ kha ³ htj ¹⁻⁴	ca ³ kha ³ htj ¹
+ htj ¹ - 'a pile'	Incomplete	koa ⁴⁻² htj ¹	koa ⁴⁻³ htj ¹⁻³	khoa ¹ htj ¹⁻³	khoa ¹ htj ¹⁻³	khoa ¹ htj ¹⁻⁴	khoa ¹ htj ¹

TONALIC PERTURBATIONS IN MAZATECO

Huautla Mazatec, causative inflectional class (data from Pike, revisited according to PFM: Léonard & Kihm, 2012)

- *síská* = « he/she plays »
- (i) $\text{PF}(\text{ská } \sigma \{ \text{AGR } \{ \text{PERS } 3 \} \}) = \textit{síská}, \sigma$
- (ii) $\text{PF}(\text{ská } \sigma \{ \text{AGR } \{ \text{PERS } 2 \text{ NUM } sg \} \}) = \textit{nískái}, \sigma$
- (iii) $\text{PF}(\text{ská } \sigma \{ \text{AGR } \{ \text{PERS } 1 \text{ NUM } sg \} \}) = \textit{s\underline{i}skáa}, \sigma$

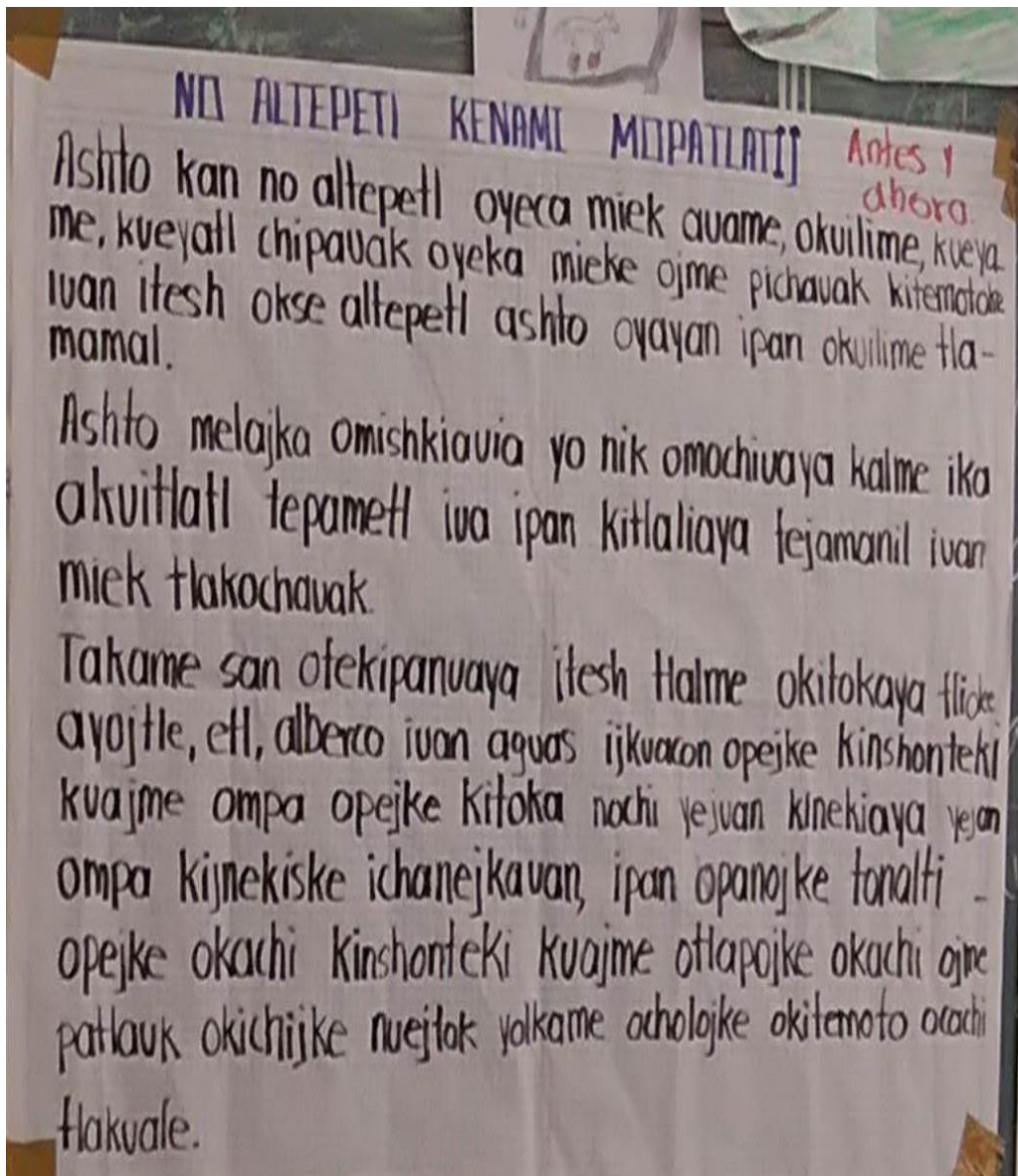
Tone: three basic constraints

- Preservation of lexical structures: **Pres. Struct.**
- OCP through neutralization of preverbal prosodic content: **PCO Default**
- Restricted inflectional marking by a contour on the preverb: **1 SG & Incompletive Preverbal Dowstep** (RIDS: Restricted Inflectional Downstep).

Rewriting

- (i) $\text{FP} (\sqrt{\sigma} \{ \text{AGR} \{ \text{PERS } 3 \} \}) = \mathbf{TP_v} \sqrt{\sigma}$
- (ii) $\text{FP} (\sqrt{\sigma} \text{AGR} \{ \text{PERS } -3, -1sg \}) = \mathbf{\tau P_v} \sqrt{\sigma}$
- (iii) $\text{FP} (\sqrt{\sigma} \{ \text{AGR} \{ \text{PERS } 1 \text{ NBR } sg \}, \text{ASP} \{ \text{CMPL } - \} \}) = \mathbf{BM} \sqrt{\sigma}$

5. Náhuatl (Uto-Aztecan): TEPETITLÁN, Santa María teopoxco, 2012



-
- *NO ALTEPETL KENAMI MOPATLATIJ*
-
- “Mi pueblo cómo ha cambiado”
- September 04, 2012.
- Bilingual Elementary School “Pablo Neruda”.
- Authors: teachers Teresa, Yolanda and Agnelo; pupils Adolfo, Rodrigo, Karla, Marcos, Yamilet and Andrea.

- (1) No altepetl kenami mo-patla-ti-j
- 1POS pueblo-ABS int 3REFL-cambiar-CAUSAT-PAS
- “Mi pueblo cómo ha cambiado”

- This diamesic process, in both the cognitive and the perceptive term, shows a language retotalization:
- Morphosyntactical level :
- -*No altepetl*: POS is represented as an independent unit.
- **Interference**: this segmentation follows Spanish grammar rules (i. e. “mi casa”) ≠
- Nahuatl is a polysynthetic language ➔ suggesting a typological change, in written terms, as Flores Farfán (2009) and Magnus (2003) have evidenced in other nahuatl varieties.

- (1) No altepetl kenami mo-patla-ti-j
- 1POS pueblo-ABS int 3REFL-cambiar-CAUSAT-PAS
- “Mi pueblo cómo ha cambiado”

- Morphological level:

- -*No altepetl*: simplification of the nominal paradigm POS $\neq$ ABS:
- Ungrammatical in conservative Nahuatl varieties and Classical Nahuatl (Flores Farfán 2004)

- (1) No altepetl kenami mo-patla-ti-j
- 1POS pueblo-ABS int 3REFL-cambiar-CAUSAT-PAS
“Mi pueblo cómo ha cambiado”

- Phonological level:

- -Written simplification of the phonemic distinctions of vowel length (VV) or (V:) as in *altepetl*, *kenami* or *mopatlatij* (cf. -patla “to change” vs. “paatla” “to melt”). Not produced in oral contexts.
- -Written hypercorrections of /k/, a productive morpho-phonological marker. In this case, a past marker in *mopatlatij* emerges
- Represented by [j], during the workshops, this ítem has produced oral misunderstandings or confusions between the Spanish phoneme /x/ and the Nahuatl glotal /ʔ/.

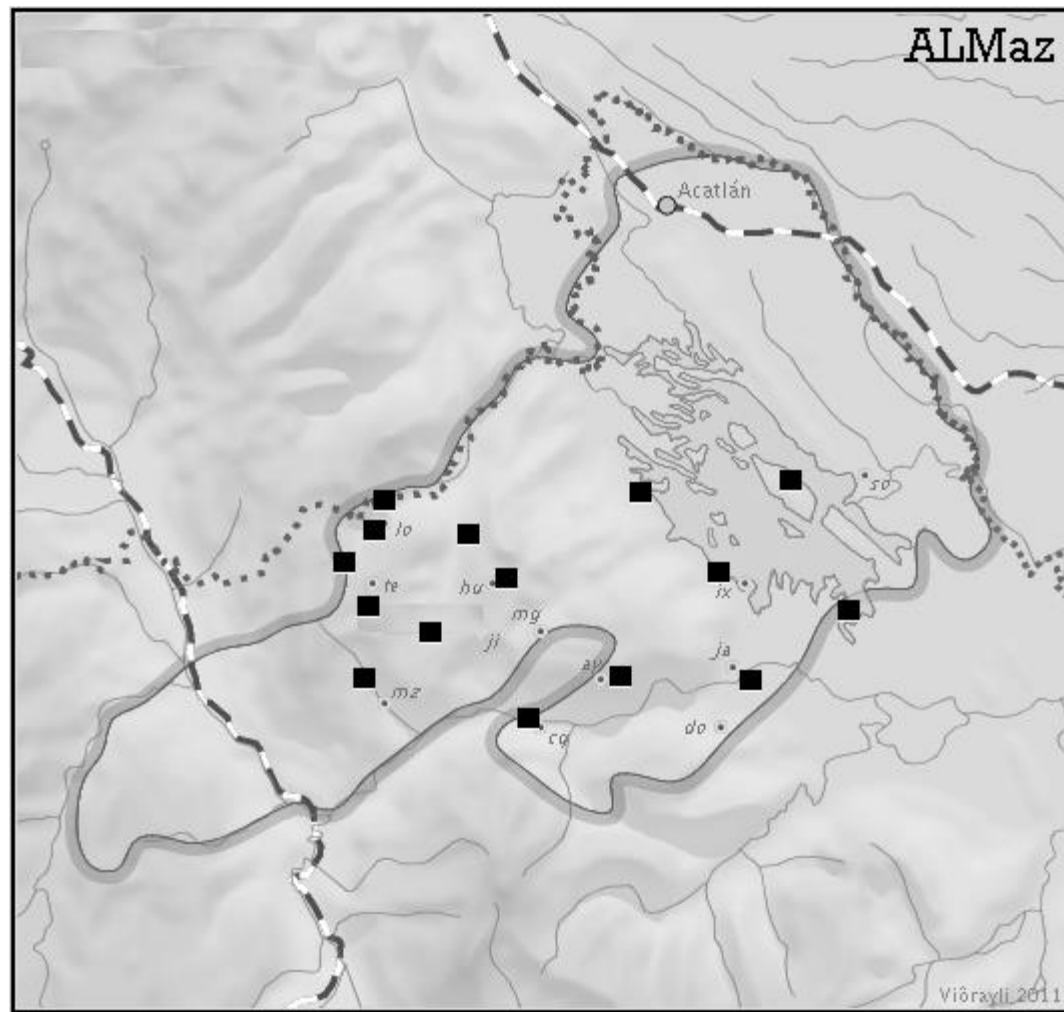
6. Outcome

- -32 workshops held from 2010 to 2013, within the MAmP project
- -Almost half of these 32 workshops (13) have been enterily transcribed and compiled within the Cross-mediated Endangered Language Elicitation (EM2) operation. We want to thank the Labex EFL (and the IUF) for their efficient support.
- -The EM2 endeavour has thus contributed to develop an *epistemological (i.e. critical, reflexive) corpus* of lexical and inflectional models for several Mesoamerican languages, in partnership with native speakers.

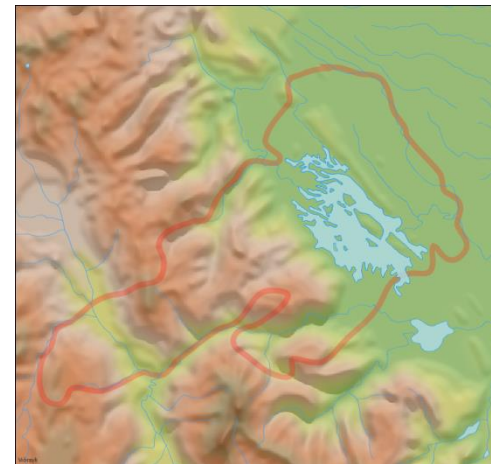
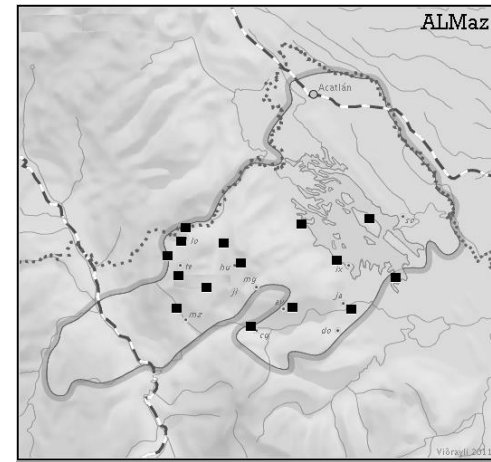
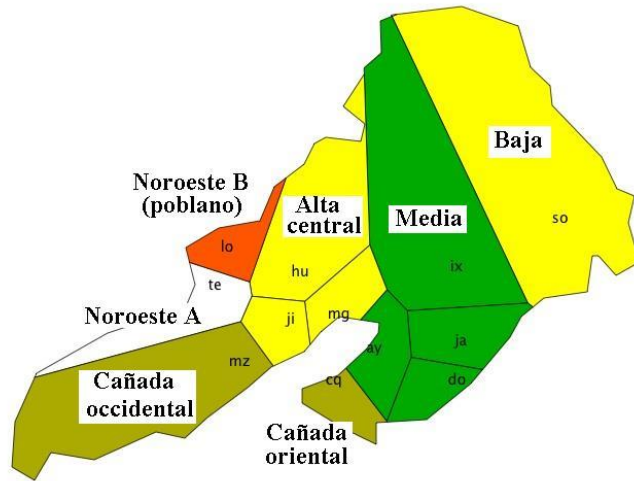
6. Outcome

- -Furthermore, focused on the psychological dimensions of lexis and grammar, the EM2 unravels ideologies such as endangered languages are considered as being passed on through oral tradition, yet many of them are written to a large extent, or have experienced processes of code elaboration (Léonard & al 2013).
- -Literacy is no more the only asset of First World or (inter)national languages, and is a key for efficient revitalization and the promotion of linguistic rights... And practice.

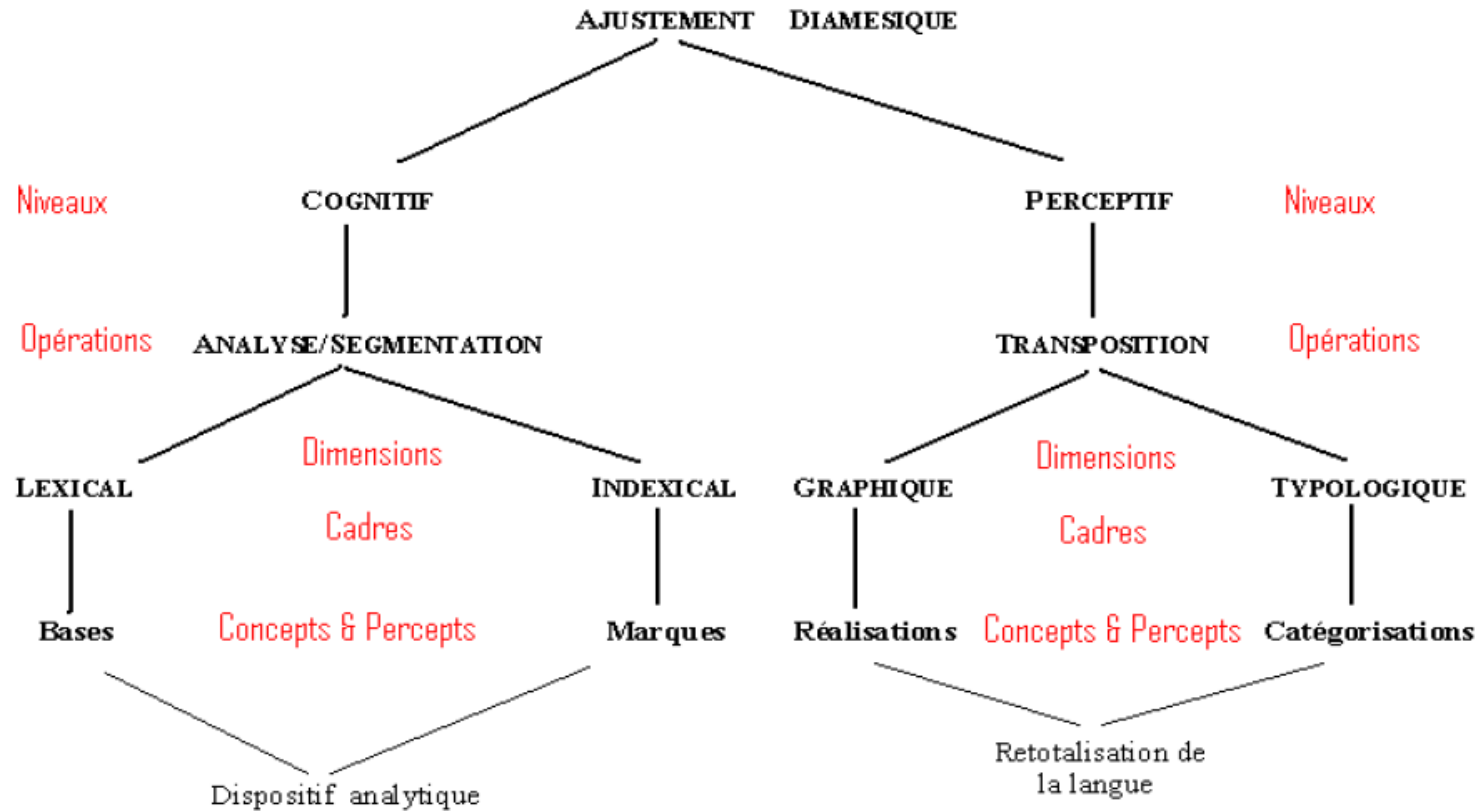
Appendix



Couverture des aires dialectales du mazatec par les enquêtes ALMaz



5. MODÈLE D'AJUSTEMENT DIAMÉSIQUE



Le modèle *d'ajustement diamésique* (Léonard 2011)

Application au système des obstruantes sifflantes et chuintantes

TRANSPPOSITION	
GRAPHIQUE	TYPOLOGIQUE
Réalisations	Catégorisations
Solutions graphémiques : < <i>ts, ch, z, s, x</i> >	=> système d'obstruantes du mazatec riche en sifflantes, chuintantes et rétroflexes simples et affriquées
- Alignement flottant : <s, st> pour <ts>	- Constituance
- Syncrétisme, convergence : <x, d...> généralisés, pour <ts>	- Généralisation
- Erratisme : notation aléatoire des affriquées autres que <ch>, attestée dans la langue toit/parangon (l'espagnol)	- Contrastes segmentaux entre langue couverte (maz.) et langue couvrante (esp.) sur le plan diglossique
- Interpolation : transfert de constituance par effet de langue-toit/parangon : <ts> maz. => <st, d> esp.	
- Persistance : <sh> pour <x>	- Inertie de solutions graphiques antérieures
- Surmarquage : <z'> pour <x>	- Polarisation & réinterprétation de solutions graphiques

Le modèle *d'ajustement diamésique* (Léonard 2011)

Application au système tonal mazatec

VALEUR => TONS PONCTUELS & CONTOURS Soit {QUADRIPARTITION TONALE & CONTOUR}	
TRANSPPOSITION	
GRAPHIQUE	TYPOLOGIQUE
Réalisations	Catégorisations
Solutions graphémiques : á, à, a, <u>a</u> áa, <u>aa</u> , etc.	=> 3 ou 4 paliers tonaux Contours, sandhi tonal
- Alignement flottant : contours non discrétisés	- OCP
- Absence, oblitération : tons ponctuels non discrétisé, omission, cumul	 - Discrétude polarisée sur le ton haut
- Erratisme : notation aléatoire	
- Interpolation : < á > pour < à, <u>a</u> >, contours notés comme tons simples si contiennent le ton haut, etc.	

Atelier ALMaz de phonologie diachronique (et de dialectologie) mazatèque (août 2010, Huautla)

6. REALITE PSYCHOLOGIQUE DES PHONEMES ET DES TONEMES : L'ATELIER PARTICIPATIF DE DIALECTOLOGIE MAZATEQUE

N°		N° Kirk 1966	Etimol.	Mazatlán	Jalapa	Huautla de J.	Jiotes (Santa Maria)	Soyaltepec	San Lorenzo
1	quatre	426	* <i>ñunjun</i>	<i>ñunju</i>	<i>ñjun</i>	<i>ñ<u>u</u>un</i>	<i>ñinjun</i>	<i>ñunjún</i>	<i>ñinjin</i>
2	gousse de maïs	329	* <i>ninjin</i>	<i>ninjin</i>	<i>njin</i>	<i>nínjín</i>	<i>ninjin</i>	<i>nínjín</i>	<i>nenjen</i>
3	papier	560	* <i>xujun</i>	<i>xujun</i>	<i>xujun</i>	<i>x<u>u</u>n</i>	<i>xun</i>	<i>xujun</i>	<i>xöjön</i>
4	deux	128	* <i>jau</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>jau</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>jó</i>	<i>jwö</i>
5	oisif-	690	* <i>'a</i>	-	<i>'a</i>	<i>'a</i>	-	<i>'a</i>	<i>o</i>
6	dix	570	* <i>te</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ta</i>
7	proche	621	* <i>tyisñaán</i>	<i>tiñan</i>	<i>tiñan</i>	<i>chian</i>	<i>chiñan</i>	<i>tiñ<u>a</u>n</i>	<i>chiñon</i>
8	huipil	45	* <i>tsú'ú</i>	<i>ts'u</i>	<i>ts'ú</i>	<i>ts'ú</i>	<i>ts'u</i>	<i>ts'u</i>	<i>tsö'ö</i>

Tableau 5.1. Micro-corpus : du protomazatec à six variétés modernes, d'après les données de Kirk 1966.

	Nº Kirk	Trad.	Etym.	SanM Soyal.	HTep	Maz.	Maz.	Huautila de Jiménez			
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
1	107	animal	* <u>chu</u>	<i>chu</i>	<i>chu</i>	<i>chu</i>		<i>cho</i>			<i>chó</i>
2	610	bras, épaule	* <u>tyja</u>	<i>tjiá</i>	<i>tjia</i>	<i>tjia</i>		<i>xja</i>	<i>xjaa</i>	<i>z'a</i>	<i>xja</i>
3	202	loin	* <u>kjín</u>	<i>kjín</i>	<i>kjin</i>		<i>kjin</i>	<i>kjin</i>		<i>kjin</i>	
4	23	grillé	<u>tsjù</u>	<i>tsjú</i>	<i>tsju</i>	<i>tsju</i>		<i>tsjo</i>			<i>tsó</i>
5	271	nopal	<u>nanta</u>	<i>nanda</i>	<i>nanda</i>		<i>nanda</i>	<i>nanda</i>		<i>nanda</i>	
6	392	chemin	* <u>ntiyá</u>	<i>ndiya</i>	<i>ndiá</i>	<i>ndiyá</i>	<i>ndiyá</i>	<i>ndiá</i>	<i>ndiaa</i>		<i>ndia</i>
7	394	fourmi	*' <u>nti'</u> yu	<i>ni'yú</i>	<i>niy'u</i>	<i>ninyu</i>	<i>niyu</i>	<i>ni'yo</i>			
8	397	large	* <u>ntuju</u>	<i>ndujú</i>	<i>ndu</i>	<i>ndujú</i>		<i>ndo</i>	<i>ndoo</i>	<i>ndo</i>	
9	406	pierre	* <u>ntyaju</u>	<i>ndiajo</i>	<i>lojo</i>	<i>laju</i>		<i>lajao</i>	<i>lao</i>	<i>lajao</i>	<i>lajao</i>
10	411	feu	* <u>nti'</u> i	<i>ndi'i</i>	<i>l'i</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li'i</i>	<i>l'i</i>	<i>lií</i>	
11	100	cochon	* <u>chinka</u>	<i>chinga</i>	<i>chinga</i>		<i>chinga</i>	<i>chinga</i>		<i>chinga</i>	<i>chinga</i>

Tableau 5.2. Résultats de l'éllicitation par écrit sur posters à partir d'une liste d'étymons de Paul Kirk (1966), atelier de Huautila 2010 (suite)

23. *tshu¹

*chu

ALMaz



Viôrayli 2011

*tshu^H *p.p.* toasted; tostado ♦ mz tshu, ay tshu, cq tshu, ja tshu, hu tshu, ji sʔitshu, so tshu, ix tshu, mg tshu, lo tshu, te tshu

Comentarios





*ntsha/*ntsa s. hand; mano ◊ mz
 ntsha, mz ntsa, ay ntsha s. 3s. his/her
 hand; su mano, ay ntsa s. 1s. my hand;
 mi mano, cq ntsha a s. 3s. his/her
 hand; su mano, cq ntsa s. 1s. my hand;
 mi mano, hu ntsha, hu ntsa^B so tsha, so
 ntsa^B, ix ntsha s. 3s. his/her hand; su
 mano, ix ntsa?a s. 1s. my hand; mi
 mano, lo tsho s. 3s. his/her hand; su
 mano, lo ntsaha s. 1s. my hand; mi

Comentarios



Figure 7. « Main », « ma main », « sa main » : contrastes flexionnels de qualité de voix (possession/personne)

	N° Kirk	Traduc- tion	Etymolo- gie	SanMSo yal.	HTepec	Mazatlán		Huautila de			
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
13	349	menton	*nki'wa	ngui'ba	ngi'ba		ngui'ba	ngui'ba		ngui'ba	ngui'ba
14	294	bouche	*ntsu'wa	ts'ua	ndsub'a	tsu'ba	tsa	ts'obá	tso'ba a		ndo 'ba
15	568	chèvre	*téntsú	tendsu	tindsu	tendsu	tendsú	tindso	tindso		tindso
16	297	atole	*nchajá	nchaja	nchyá	nchajá	nyaja	ncha	nyia		nya
17	308	épis de maïs	*nchutín	nchutín	nchutin		nyutín	nchotín			nyotín
18	302	nixtamal	*nché	nche	nyee		nyea	nchee			nyee
19	369	vent	ntjau	tjao	ntjo	tjo	ntjo	tjao	ntjao		ntjao
20	288	cheveux	*ncha	tsja	tsja		ntsja	ntsja		nsja	ntsja
21	303	Il/elle parle	*nchja	tjichja	tichja		tinchja	tjichja		jinchja	tinchja
22	149	salé	*jntya	ndia	ndia	ndiá	ndia	nra	nrja	nrjaa, njra	nra
23	143	aile	*juka	tjunga	ngà	langa	langa	nga	ng'a	ngaa, njga	nga
24	523	adobe	*xi'nte (adobe)	xinde	xind'e	xindie	xinde	xinde	xi'nde	rinde, xinde	xinde
25	709	haut	*'nka	k'a	nk'a		nga	jnga		nga	n'ga
26	705	mouillé	*'nchi	nchi	ny'i		nyi	nchji		nchyi, nyi	nyi
27	485	poisson	*stj	ti	tii		ti	jti		djti, jti	jti

Tableau 5.3. Résultats de l'élicitation par écrit sur posters à partir d'une liste d'étymons de Paul Kirk (1966), suite.

Ateliers d'écriture et d'élaboration de matériaux pédagogiques (ALMaz, 2010-2012)

Tiempo presente		
Yo	<i>Nantsé ña an b'ajmenguiña jno, kjine ña nyitin, xka ko zanahoria. Nga bena chjita b'ena tjo mangatjenguina koa sitoka tjenguina nañale, tsakie ijona, naxí fisenguía tsokjonle chjita nga skinena.</i>	Yo soy un conejo que anda en las milpas, como elotes, hojas y zanahoria. Cuando me ven las personas me balacean, me corretean y me echan los perros, le gusta mi carne, me meto debajo de las cuevas, me da miedo las personas no quiero que me coman.

Tú	<i>Natsé ni jí bitojmenguini jno chinení nyitín, xka ko zanahoria. Nga belí chjita b'eli tjo mangatjenguili koa sitokatjenguili nañale, tsakie ijoli, naxí misenguí, biskonlí chjita nga skineli.</i>	Tú eres un conejo andas en las milpas comes elotes, hojas y zanahoria. Cuando te ven las personas te disparan, te corretean y te echan los perros, le gusta tu carne, te metes en las cuevas, te da miedo de las personas no quiero que te coman.
Nosotros	<i>Natsé nia jña bimanguña jno chineña nyitín, xka ko zanahoria. Nga bená chjita b'ena tjo, mangatjenguina koa sikanga tjenguina nañale, tsakie ijona naxí mangasenguía, biskonle chjita nga skinena.</i>	Somos unos conejos, andamos bajo la milpa, comemos elotes, hojas y zanahoria. Cuando nos ven las personas nos disparan a balazos, nos corretean y nos echan a los perros, le gusta nuestra carne, nos metemos en las cuevas, nos da miedo de las personas a que nos coman.

Tableau 6. Prosopopée du lapin, atelier de San Antonio Eloxochitlán, septembre 2011

(transcription Karla Janiré Avilés González, Labex EFL, 7-EM2, 2013)

7. Réalité psychologique des Morphèmes (et des ... « Flexèmes ») : les ateliers participatifs de Grammaire mazatèque (ALMaz, octobre 2012, San Mateo et Huautla)

						<i>barrer</i>
An	Batechá	Tibatechá	Kabatechá	Tsakatechá	Tsakatechatsakae	Kuatechá
Ji	Batechai	Tibatechai	Kabatechai	Tsakatechai	Tsakatechatsakae	Kuatechai
Jé	Batécha	Tíbatécha	Kabatécha	Tsakatécha	Tsakatéchatsakae	Kuatécha
Ñá	Batechaá	Tibatechaá	Kabatechaá	Tsakatechaá	Tsakatechaátsakae	kuatechaá
Jin	Batechaijin	Tibatechaijin	Kabatechaijin	Tsakatechaijin	tsakatechaijintsakae	kuatechaijin
Jón	batechao	Tibatechao	Kabatechao	Tsakatechao	Tsakatechaotsakae	kuatechao
Jé	batécha	tjíobatécha	kabatécha	tsakatécha	tsakatéchatsakae	Kuatécha
	barrer					
						<i>Hacer lumbre</i>
An	B'etse	Tib'etse	Kab'etse	Tsak'etse	Tsak'etsetsakae	K'uetse
Ji	B'etsai	Tib'etsai	Kab'etsai	Tsak'etsai	Tsak'etsaitsakae	K'uétsai
Jé	B'étse	Tib'étse	Kab'étse	Tsak'étse	Tsak'étsetsakae	K'uetse
Ñá	B'etseé	Tib'etseé	Kab'etseé	Tsak'etseé	Tsak'etseétsakae	K'uétséé
Jin	B'etsaijin	Tib'etsaijin	Kab'etsaijin	Tsak'etsaijin	Tsak'etsaijintsakae	K'uettsaijin
Jon	B'etsao	Tib'etsao	Kab'etsao	Tsak'etsao	Tsak'etsaotsakae	K'uettsao
Jé	B'étse	Tjíob'étse	Kab'étse	Tsak'étse	Tsak'étsetsakae	K'uetse

Tableau 7.1.

Modèle de Juan Casimiro Nava (Huautla, 2010)

Classe A

Clase A Barrer	Habitual (asp. Neutro)	Actual (progresivo)	Cercano (completivo 1)	Remoto (completivo 2)
1sg. <i>an</i>	<i>batechá</i>	<i>tibatechá</i>	<i>kabatechá</i>	<i>tsakatechá</i>
2sg. <i>ji</i>	<i>batechai</i>	<i>tibatechai</i>	<i>kabatechai</i>	<i>tsakatechai</i>
3sg. <i>jé</i>	<i>batécha</i>	<i>tíbatécha</i>	<i>kabatécha</i>	<i>tsakatécha</i>
1pl.incl. <i>ñá</i>	<i>batechaá</i>	<i>tibatechaá</i>	<i>kabatechaá</i>	<i>tsakatechaá</i>
1pl.excl. <i>jìn</i>	<i>batechaijìn</i>	<i>tibatechaijìn</i>	<i>kabatechaijìn</i>	<i>tsakatechaijìn</i>
2pl. <i>jón</i>	<i>batechao</i>	<i>tibatechao</i>	<i>kabatechao</i>	<i>tsakatechao</i>
3pl. <i>jé</i>	<i>batécha</i>	<i>tjíobatécha</i>	<i>kabatécha</i>	<i>tsakatécha</i>

Tableau 7.1.

Modèle de Juan Casimiro Nava (Huautla, 2010)

Classe B

Clase B Alumbrar	Habitual (asp. Neutro)	Actual (progresivo)	Cercano (completivo 1)	Remoto (completivo 2)
1sg. - <i>an</i>	<i>b'etse</i>	<i>tib'etse</i>	<i>kab'etse</i>	<i>tsak'etse</i>
2sg. - <i>ji</i>	<i>b'etsai</i>	<i>tib'etsai</i>	<i>kab'etsai</i>	<i>tsak'etsai</i>
3sg. - <i>je</i>	<i>b'étse</i>	<i>tib'étse</i>	<i>kab'étse</i>	<i>tsak'étse</i>
1pl.incl. - <i>ñá</i>	<i>b'etseé</i>	<i>tib'etseé</i>	<i>kab'etseé</i>	<i>tsak'etseé</i>
1pl.excl. - <i>jín</i>	<i>b'etsaijín</i>	<i>tib'etsaijín</i>	<i>kab'etsaijín</i>	<i>tsak'etsaijín</i>
2pl. - <i>jón</i>	<i>b'etsao</i>	<i>tib'etsao</i>	<i>kab'etsao</i>	<i>tsak'etsao</i>
3pl. - <i>je</i>	<i>b'étse</i>	<i>tjíob'étse</i>	<i>kab'étse</i>	<i>tsak'étse</i>

Tableau 7.1.

Modèle de Juan Casimiro Nava (Huautla, 2010)

Classe C

Clase C Banarse	Habitual (asp. Neutro)	Actual (progresivo)	Cercano (completivo 1)	Remoto (completivo 2)
1sg. - <i>an</i>	<i>bangoya</i>	<i>tibangoya</i>	<i>kabangoya</i>	<i>tsakangoya</i>
2sg. - <i>ji</i>	<i>bindoyai</i>	<i>tibindoyai</i>	<i>kabindoyai</i>	<i>tsakindoyai</i>
3sg. - <i>je</i>	<i>bangoya</i>	<i>tibangoya</i>	<i>kabangoya</i>	<i>tsakangoya</i>
1pl.incl. - <i>ña</i>	<i>bindoyaá</i>	<i>tibindoyaá</i>	<i>kabindoyaá</i>	<i>tsakindoyaá</i>
1pl.excl. - <i>jin</i>	<i>bindoyaijin</i>	<i>tibindoyaijin</i>	<i>kabindoyaijin</i>	<i>tsakindoyaijin</i>
2pl. - <i>jón</i>	<i>bindoyao</i>	<i>tibindoyao</i>	<i>kabindoyao</i>	<i>tsakindoyao</i>
3pl. - <i>je</i>	<i>bangóya</i>	<i>tjiobangóya</i>	<i>kabangóya</i>	<i>tsakangóya</i>

Tableau 7.1.

Modèle de Juan Casimiro Nava (Huautla, 2010)

Classe D

Clase D Bailar	Habitual (asp. Neutro)	Actual (progresiv o)	Cercano (completivo 1)	Remoto (completiv o 2)
1sg. - <i>an</i>	<i>tée</i>	<i>titée</i>	<i>katée</i>	<i>kitée</i>
2sg. - <i>ji</i>	<i>chái</i>	<i>tichái</i>	<i>kachái</i>	<i>kichái</i>
3sg. - <i>je</i>	<i>té</i>	<i>tité</i>	<i>katé</i>	<i>kité</i>
1pl.incl. - <i>ñá</i>	<i>chá</i>	<i>tichá</i>	<i>kachá</i>	<i>kichá</i>
1pl.excl. - <i>j̃in</i>	<i>cháij̃in</i>	<i>ticháij̃in</i>	<i>kacháij̃in</i>	<i>kicháij̃in</i>
2pl. - <i>jón</i>	<i>cháo</i>	<i>ticháo</i>	<i>kacháo</i>	<i>kicháo</i>
3pl. - <i>je</i>	<i>té</i>	<i>tjioté</i>	<i>katé</i>	<i>kité</i>

Tableau 7.1.

Modèle de Juan Casimiro Nava (Huautla, 2010)

Clase E

Clase E Trabajar	Habitual (asp. Neutro)	Actual (progresivo)	Cercano (completivo 1)	Remoto (completivo 2)
1sg. - <i>an</i>	<i>sixá</i>	<i>tisixá</i>	<i>kasixá</i>	<i>kisixá</i>
2sg. - <i>ji</i>	<i>nixái</i>	<i>tinixái</i>	<i>kanixái</i>	<i>kinixái</i>
3sg. - <i>jé</i>	<i>síxá</i>	<i>tísíxá</i>	<i>kasíxá</i>	<i>kisíxá</i>
1pl.incl. - <i>ñá</i>	<i>nixá</i>	<i>tinixá</i>	<i>kanixá</i>	<i>kinixá</i>
1pl.excl. - <i>j̲in</i>	<i>nixáij̲in</i>	<i>tinixáij̲in</i>	<i>kanixáij̲in</i>	<i>kinixáij̲in</i>
2pl. - <i>jón</i>	<i>nixáo</i>	<i>tinixáo</i>	<i>kanixáo</i>	<i>kinixáo</i>
3pl. - <i>jé</i>	<i>síxá</i>	<i>tjíosíxá</i>	<i>kasíxá</i>	<i>kisíxá</i>

Tabla 7.2. Classes flexionnelles du verbe mazatec de Huautla, selon Juan Casimiro Nava (remanié)

	Présent	Futur	Prétérit
A	<i>wa-</i>	<i>kua-</i>	<i>tsa-ka-</i>
B	<i>we-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>tsa-kV-</i>
C1	<i>wa-</i>	<i>kua-</i>	<i>tsa-ka-</i>
C2	<i>wi-</i>	<i>kui-</i>	<i>tsa-ki-</i>
D1	<i>Radical_1</i>	<i>(j)-Radical_1</i>	<i>ki- Radical_1</i>
D2	<i>Radical_2</i>	<i>j- Radical_2</i>	<i>ki- Radical_2</i>
E1	<i>si-</i>		<i>ki-si-</i>
E2	<i>ni-</i>		<i>ki-ni-</i>