Reclaiming and Learning Indigenous Languages on Social Media with Digital Activists: Insights from Lampung, Mayangna and Miskitu Youth

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Abstract

This article explores third space social media spaces for Indigenous language learning, use and activism in secondary schools in Indonesia and Nicaragua. Both studies specifically highlight Miskitu, Mayangna and Lampung youth participation in social media technologies such as Facebook, YouTube, Instagram and Line as a means to reclaim their languages and cultures, as well as their Indigeneity and voices, in the 21st century. In Indonesia and Nicaragua, youth balance intercultural competencies, multilingualism and multimodality layering local, national and international languages as a means to broker between glocal discourse in disparate youth communities. Local and global Indigenous language activists partner with Miskitu, Mayangna and Lampung youth to support their efforts to merge their digital competencies from outside of the classroom into the arena of academic digital activism for both learning Indigenous languages and creating alternative media spaces online.

Keywords: Indigenous language learning, Multilingualism, Multimodality, Digital Activism, Social Media Technologies.

Introduction

"Intercultural and multi-lingual education are necessary to prevent irreparable loss. Failure to provide multilingual and inter-cultural education puts indigenous people at a disadvantage, threatening their very survival".

- Deputy Secretary-General Amina J. Mohammed, United Nations

We begin this article by illuminating some of the concepts in the literature on multilingual Indigenous youth communication repertoires from around the world and their propensities for reversing colonial ideologies that silence Indigenous language and culture. We showcase the concept of multilingualism in both urban and rural localities where Indigenous youth reside. We problematize the notion of "access" both to Indigenous language learning tools and resources as well as safe supportive spaces for practicing Indigenous languages. We then explain that access to Indigenous language resources, youth's personal interests in online learning, and transnational network membership motivated Indigenous youth to be "digital activists" engaging in multimedia production and communication styles using social media technologies.

"Digital activism" in this context directly relates to Indigenous youth creating new spaces for indigenous languages online through multilingual multimedia production and communication. After introducing the "how" and "why" Indigenous youth interact with social media technologies to reclaim their Indigenous language and culture, we introduce two examples of Indigenous youth's multimedia production and multimodal communication styles from opposite sides of the world, Nicaragua and Indonesia.

Multimedia production is a form of multimodal communication. Multimodal communication layers written text, spoken text, images, movement, gesture and sound. Multimodal communication may or may not include all of the above modes but layering some or all of these modes creates the foundation for multimedia production. Garcia and Wei (2013) include multimodalities and multimodal social semiotics in their overall understanding of translanguaging theory. Translanguaging originally comes from the Welsh word "*trawsieithu*" that initially referred to students creating new meaning after alternating between writing (written text) in one language and speaking (spoken text) in another (Garcia & Wei, 2013, p. 20). When speakers and writers translanguage they merge lexical items and sentence structures from socially distinct symbolic systems to create new meaning.

Thus, we can conceptualize translanguaging as a multimodal process because translanguaging includes layered symbols of communication: texts (writing), audio (speaking), and gestures. Both translanguaging and multimodality have, at their essence, the process of creating new meaning. Many signs and symbols in our environment do not pattern quite like language. Images, textures, natural or mechanical sounds, dance movements or the frames of a film reel do not pattern like language. However, when speakers couple these signs and symbols with their language's modes (text, audio, and gesture), they create new meaning. Bilingual and multilingual Indigenous youth in Indonesia and Nicaragua get to know their social worlds by actively creating new meaning through translanguaging and multimodal communication practice.

The Leadership School Student examples state that translanguaging and multimodal communication practices are important aids for youths' second and third language learning. The Indonesian examples highlight the strength of Indigenous youth translanguaging practice in Lampung, national and international languages (Indonesian and English) and multimodal communication on Instagram and Line to engage in Lampung language learning. We open our discussion on Indigenous youth's translanguaging to combat language Indigenous endangerment online.

Indigenous Youth Language Learning Online

Firstly, global scholarly dialog around multimodal discourse and composition is critical to understand how Indigenous youth engage in social media technologies, learn Indigenous languages online and effectively become digital activists. Studies starting in the early 2000s explain that online-based learning is quite different from classroom learning in that it is hands-on and often master apprentice in nature. Youth and adults engage in learning practices online through their own interests which Gee (2004, 2017) calls "affinity spaces." This kind of learning is not measured by grades or assessments but rather engages students based on their own motivations and goals. Situated, game-like or DIY learning through design are just a few ways that global scholars describe online learning (Gee, 2003, 2009; Denner, 2011; Kafai & Peppler, 2011; Hayes & Game; 2008).

Online learning in the present era of social media is highly focused on design or remix culture and involves various multimedia literacies (Mainsah, 2017). Multimedia is multimodal

made of a series of layered modes of communication such as visuals, text (written and oral), gestures, movements, and sound. Thus, youth and adults literate in multimedia design are also literate in now referred to as multimodal composition - the deliberate layering of multiple modes of communication (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001; Harste, 2010; Smith, 2017). Youth and adults encounter various channels of meaning online that depend upon each other to make sense. Many youths share these multimodal compositions on a transnational stage and in the process learn global as well as local languages. Youths and adults share multimodal compositions such as memes, videos or chat with the aid of emojis or .gifs to maintain transnational relationships in networks with similar interests (Blommaert & Varis, 2014; d'Haenens, Koeman, & Saeys, 2007; Lam, 2009; Lam & Rosario-Ramos, 2009; McGinnis, Goodstein-Stolzenberg, & Saliani, 2007; Milner, 2012; Peeters & d'Haenens, 2005). Thus, when we refer to online Indigenous language learning by Indigenous youth the context of social media engagement and multimedia literacy must be understood as both a transnational form of learning by doing and networking based on common interests.

Social media engagement and thus multimodal composition, design, sharing and communication can also be a source of activism for youth creating their own alternative media (Kontny, 2017), particularly Indigenous youth (Forte, 2002; Kral, 2011, 2012; Lee, 2006; San Nicholas-Rocca & Parish, 2013). Indigenous youth use social media technologies to discover their own multiple indigeneities and to reclaim identities that have been silenced in schooling and other colonized spaces (Wyman, Galla, & Jimenez-Quispe, 2016). Many Indigenous youth use social media technologies to decolonize online spaces or recreate their own space to tell their own stories often left out of the mainstream global mediascape.

Just like other global youth engaged in social media, Indigenous youth engage in transnational forms of communication and learning by doing based on their common interests, but Indigenous youth who learn their Indigenous languages and cultures online insure intergenerational transfer of Indigenous knowledge for current and future generations living in the digital age which is a form of activism. Particularly, through various modes of digital storytelling, Indigenous youth remix their communities long held multimodal communication traditions in new digitally informed ways (Adelson & Olding, 2013; Elington, Gubrium & Wexler, 2017; Iseke & Moore, 2011).

Indigenous youth communicate online layering Indigenous languages with national and global languages (Cru, 2014; Jimenez-Quispe, 2013; Johnson & Callahan, 2013). This translanguaging form of communication online is normal for Indigenous youth and there are examples that show how Indigenous youth see this translanguaging practice as a form of language activism that reifies and empowers their ancestral languages in a transnational zone. A transnational zone that previously only featured internationally spoken transnational languages, now features localized Indigenous languages. An exquisite example of Yucatec Mayan youth asserting their language activism on Facebook is in Josep Cru's article "Language revitalisation from the ground up: promoting Yucatec Maya on Facebook." On page 288, Cru included the lines from a Facebook conversation where a youth explicitly tells her friend to use Maya online. In Yucatec Maya and Spanish, Blanca states, "Sergio, a'alti' a amigo ka u t'aan maya xan." In English, the translation states: "Sergio, tell your friend to speak Maya too." The digital activism that Indigenous youth use in social media dialog is a kind of friendly encouragement to use Indigenous language and (an)other language(s) simultaneously. Many Indigenous youth translanguage in face to face communication, so it is logical that this practice carries over online.

May (2014) and McCarty (2014) echo Indigenous youth's mixed or hybrid communication style in face to face interaction in the concepts of "sociolinguistic borderlands" or deconstructing the "bifurcation of urban versus rural" language(s). But, translanguaging layered with multimodality in digital spaces is a fairly new concept, not yet explored in Indigenous youth contexts. Recently scholars in second language acquisition explored the possibility that transnational youth discourse illuminates the artificial socio-political boundaries of language itself. If youth can fluidly blend written and oral symbols (what we consider languages) and create new meanings why would it be a stretch for them to blend images or movements to make new meaning? Thus, we may begin to re-define translanguaging as just another form of multimodality (Wei & Ho, 2018). In the present world of communication through social media technologies blending, mixing and hybridity both in language choices and modal choices display uncontested manners of youth expression online.

In the next two sections, the Leadership School Student examples from the Caribbean Coast of Nicaragua will show youth translanguaging in Miskitu, Spanish and English. and the Lampung example which blends English from Indonesia show the common practice of youth blending national and global languages with Indigenous languages in social media spaces such as Youtube.com, Facebook.com, Instagram, and Line. The following examples exhibit youth doing multimodal composition practices as well as translanguaging in Indigenous, national and global languages in the name of digital activism to promote Indigenous language use online.

Leadership School Students' Examples

La *Escuela de Liderazgo*, Autonomy and Intercultural Leadership Capabilities

On the North Caribbean Coast of Nicaragua there is a school called *La Escuela de Liderazgo*, The Leadership School. It is located on the University of the Autonomous Caribbean Coast Region of Nicaragua, URACCAN campus. URACCAN's main mission is to support all of the communities represented on the Caribbean Coast to uphold the principle of self-governance or autonomy (Cupples & Glynn, 2014) The Indigenous communities, Miskitu and Mayangna, and the Afro-descendant population, the Creole community, of the Caribbean Coast to administer their own education, medicine and land management systems apart from the rest of the country of Nicaragua, a majority Mestizo population.

The Autonomy Law is due to a peace accord passed and ratified in 1990 after the Sandinista Revolution and the Contra War (Cunningham, 2002). Thus, at the Leadership School Indigenous and local languages are supported by the faculty and administrators. In 2016, the majority of the 54 leadership students identified as Miskitu. Most of the students came from rural areas on the North Caribbean Coast. However, some students came from the nearby city of Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua. Just three of the leadership students self-identified as Mayangna. Some of the students from Puerto Cabezas, spoke Kriol at home or mentioned having a parent who belonged to the Creole ethnic group. There were 18,420 speakers of Kriol in Nicaragua (UNSD, 2009). There were 113,855 speakers of Miskitu in Nicaragua (UNSD, 2009). There are 8,537 speakers of Mayangna in Nicaragua (UNSD, 2009).

There is an expectation at the Leadership School that the teachers implement as many of the students' "home languages" into the curriculum as possible. However, the teachers also feel the pressure to support the national and global languages English and Spanish because they are part of the core curriculum at the Leadership School. The mission of the Leadership school stresses "intercultural leadership capabilities" which privileges cross-cultural communication and

understanding between all of the communities of the Northern Caribbean Coast and according to many of the current generation of the Northern Caribbean Coast, "intercultural leadership capabilities" can also mean cross-cultural communication and understanding with the global community. Stefán and Nataly express in Examples 1 and 2 that a leader must be able to represent his or her local community and be able to converse with the international community, meaning leaders should be multilingual.

Indigenous and Mixed-Youth Voice on Multilingualism Online and Intercultural Leadership Capabilities

At the time of this study Stefán was 16 years old and a sophomore at the Leadership School. Stefán identified as a Mestizo ethnic group member because he spoke fluent Spanish and his family originally came from Managua, the capital city of Nicaragua on the Pacific side of the country. In the Spring of 2016, Stefán was learning Miskitu as a second language and English as a third language at the Leadership School. As his instructor, I taught Stefán that using Miskitu, Mayangna, English and Spanish in multimedia composition was normal. He was aware that before the Spring of 2016, the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua and its multilingualism did not receive much attention online. In Example 1, Stefán expresses in his native Spanish that as a leader in his community, he is proud to "give more knowledge of the languages that are there in Nicaragua."

On the North Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua, before this study took place, national and international television channels broadcasted mainly in Spanish and English. There was only one bilingual news television program in Miskitu and Spanish. My students and I created other forms of entertainment media in Miskitu and Mayangna. Thus, I consider Stefán one of my students, to be a digital activist promoting Miskitu and Mayangna in new digital spaces. Teaching digital activism in this part of the world required a lot of language ideology expertise. I had to consider the power hierarchies surrounding Indigenous and non-Indigenous language choice and use (Freeland, 2013). For instance, The Miskitu community has a vibrant reputation for reclaiming and maintaining Miskitu. All three generations on the Northern Caribbean Coast of Nicaragua speak Miskitu (Freeland, 1995, 2003, 2013; Koskinen, 1995). However, the Mayangna language is in danger to this day. The number of Mayangna people is drastically smaller than the number of Miskitu people. Due to hundreds of years of Miskitu leadership, particularly during the British Protectorate years in the 1700s and 1800s, the Mayangna community has faced considerable discrimination and adversity (Benedicto, Shettle, & Mayangna, 2016).

When we consider that Stefán was part of the majority ethnic population of the country, the Mestizos, his statement of solidarity and allyship with his Miskitu and Mayangna peers is very powerful.

Example 1.

"*Yo soy estudiante se la escuela de liderazgo y estoy de acuerdo con publicar videos o sitios wep, asi se daria mas conosimiento de toda las culturas eh idiomas que ahi en Nicaragua, ademas no les estamos quitando nada solo estamos representado las culturas que ahi en la costa atlantica!*"

English translation:

"I am a student from the Leadership School and I am in favor of publishing videos and websites, that way one can give more knowledge of all the cultures and languages that are there in Nicaragua [.] So we are not taking down anything we are representing the cultures that are here on the Atlantic Coast [.]"

- Stefán, "Miskitus y Mayangnas en El Internet" Facebook Page post, April 2016

For Stefán, being a digital activist meant using his intercultural leadership capabilities by cross-culturally communicating with local and international peoples' online. He felt that it was his duty to represent the multilingualism of the Atlantic Coast to Nicaragua as a whole and to an international audience. Nataly, one of Stefán's peers at the Leadership School expressed the same sentiment in her evaluation of our multimedia course at the end of the Spring semester in 2016. Nataly self identified as a Miskitu youth who spoke Miskitu and Spanish fluently. She was also learning English as a third language like Stefán at the time of the study. In Example 2, Nataly explicitly mentions that a leader must be able to speak with her own community and with people in other countries.

The Leadership School applied the theory of cross-cultural communication to its' vision statement which promoted "students' use of intercultural leadership capabilities." As a United States-based researcher, activist, and teacher, I respected local views on Indigenous language activism. I promoted my students' intercultural leadership capabilities as part and parcel of our digital activism work. As part of my relationship with local activists, I directly equated and thus connected my students' intercultural leadership capabilities with our digital activism efforts. Youth such as Nataly and Stefán internalized that mission to emphasize intercultural leadership capabilities and applied it as they composed multilingual multimedia in the Spring of 2016.

Example 2.

"*Una lider necesita saber tener comunicación con sus comunidades o con otras personas de otro pais [.] de esa manera una lider va teniendo experiencia y va descubriendo cosas ect...*"

English Translation:

"A leader needs to know to have communication with her communities or with other people of another country [.] That way a leader goes on having experience and goes on discovering things etc.…"

- Nataly, Multimedia Course Evaluation in May 2016

The Multimedia Course, Youth's Multimodal Composition, and Collaborations with Indigenous Language Activists.

The Leadership School included the first multilingual multimedia design course in 2016. The beginning of the course, February and March mainly stressed video editing with Movie Maker. The Leadership students produced simple video slideshows using MovieMaker with digital photos of family, friends, text in Miskitu and Spanish, and inserted their favorite music tracks from their favorite Youtube videos. However, due to a lack of access to working computers on the

URACCAN campus, the focus of the Multimedia course shifted to theater improvisations on global and local social justice issues by April of 2016. As the instructor of the multimedia course, I stressed that the Leadership students represent visual, audial, gestural, and multilingual textual modes of communication in their videos. I aided the leadership students in layering these modes of communication to produce unique multimodal compositions (Smith, 2017). However, due to URACCAN's mission to support and uphold the autonomy of all of the communities represented on the Northern Caribbean Coast, I began to create materials that featured all of the languages of the students in the course. I reached out to Miskitu and Mayangna linguists and multimedia specialists in non-profit organizations on the URACCAN University campus. The three organizations with these specialists were the Center for Studies and Information on the Multi-ethnic Woman (CEIMM), the Institute for the Promotion of Linguistic Investigation and Cultural Revitalization (IPILC), and URACCAN's television station Channel 5 Studios. These organizations considered themselves advocates for Indigenous language reclamation in the media. These organizations donated their linguistic, cultural and multimodal composition expertise and helped the multimedia students bring Miskitu and Mayangna into the multimedia design process.

Since, I did not personally know Mayangna but knew Miskitu, I endeavored to create multilingual multimodal teaching materials that included the Miskitu language such as the comic strip below called "My Identity." This comic strip below features me, the multimedia teacher and researcher, wandering around the city of Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua. As I encounter friends in different barrios, I hear Kriol (a Nicaraguan variant of English), Miskitu and Spanish. I explained to the multimedia design students by using this comic strip that multimodal and therefore multimedia composition involves layering visuals as well as text in several different languages. This comic strip set a precedent for all of the multimedia design projects in the course. Since Bitstrips.com was a popular space for creating Avatars to post on Facebook in 2016, this software resonated with the youth at the Leadership School. Half of the 54 students already had Facebook accounts before the first multimedia design course started. I tried to mimic the translanguaging practice of my students and their interests in social media participation. This was the only way to get at the appeal of online learning "affinity spaces" and how to help youth create safe spaces for promoting both multilingualism and Indigenous language (in this case Miskitu, Spanish and Kriol).

Figure 1. "My Identity" Multilingual Comic Strip Storyboard Teaching Tool

Note: The numbers in each comic scene above correspond with the numbers in each table row below. Spanish text is italicized. Kriol text is bold and italicized and Miskitu text is in bold.

1	Me	:	"*No sé cuál etnia soy?"* (*I do not know which ethnicity I am*?)
2	Me	:	"*Pienso que necesito escoger a una"* ("*I think that I need to choose one"*)
3	Two Creole friends	:	"***Where you guan?"*** ("*Where are you going?"*)
4	Two Creole friends	:	"***You Creole Gyal"*** ("*You are Creole Girl"*)
5	Me	:	"*Mmm creo que siii pero no puedo hablar el criollo"* ("Mmm I believe so but I cannot speak Kriol")

6 Miskitu Woman	:	"**Miskitu mairin sma? haha**" ("Are you a Miskitu woman? haha")
7 Latina Woman	:	"*No eres Latina verdad?*" (You are not Latina right?")
8 Me	:	" **Swis**! *Dejame!* **Guan***! Soy yo única y feliz!*" ("Leave! Leave me! Go on! I am me unique and happy!")

After I presented this comic strip model to the students, I asked them to create their own comic strips that would serve as storyboards for their multilingual videos. The leadership students created their own storyboards in this style for seven final video projects. Six out of the seven video projects are posted on Youtube.com. When the leadership students created their storyboards, they wrote in multiple languages in the speech bubbles for each character just like I did in the teaching tool above. Since it was tough for all the students to access computers with the internet at school, they created their own paper versions mimicking the teaching tool above. They wrote in Miskitu, Spanish, Mayangna and English. More often than not they blended the languages in each speech bubble.

The video "La Paciente" meaning "The Patient" in English had a comic strip storyboard with speech bubbles in Spanish, Miskitu and Mayangna. The leadership students drew stick figures of a nurse, mother and daughter along with sketches of medical equipment and a cot. I do not have permission to publish the Mayangna language online because it is against the wishes of community elders, but fortunately I can share the final video "La Paciente" which features Miskitu, Spanish and English as well as Miskitu and Mayangna leadership school students acting as a nurse, a doctor, a mother, and a daughter. The leadership student who played the daughter character, depicts a Miskitu youth who contracted a sexually transmitted disease and needs emergency treatment.

The leadership school students created fictional videos that reflected real life circumstances of youth like themselves in their communities. They did these kinds of themes as leaders who wanted to affect positive change and empower youth to voice their struggles and concerns in their own language to adult authority figures such as parents and professionals. They wanted to show how people in their multilingual city naturally translanguage and in the process they created teaching materials for second language Miskitu, Spanish and English learners. This video has gestures where second language learners of Miskitu can see a mother holding onto her daughter as a nurse administers a treatment. Second language learners of Miskitu can read scene transitions in Spanish that state "*Los Resultados Médicos*" and "*La paciente recibe tratamiento*" which in English means, "The medical results" and "the patient receives treatment" respectively. These are explicit aids we added into the video design process to aid second language learners.

But, the creativity and innovation of youth translanguaging expression (Garcia & Wei, 2013 p. 20) is evidenced in the improvisation of the nurse "**Aha** *minit* **kum** *desmer* **baman kuna wan sekan** **naha pain kara**" She goes from Miskitu to Spanish to Miskitu to English to Miskitu. "*Desmer baman*" is some kind of a hybrid between Spanish "Desmayar" meaning "to faint" and Miskitu "*baman*" meaning "only or just" in English. The compound verb to say "faint" in Miskitu is "*bla daukaia.*" "*Bla*" means "dizzy." "*Daukaia*" means "to make." Thus, the youth playing the nurse created her own way to say "faint" because throughout the video "La Paciente" she is going back and forth between Miskitu, Spanish and Kriol.

All of the actors in this video, including Nataly the mother character and the youth voice in Figure 1 above, knew that their peers ranged in language competencies in Miskitu, Spanish and English. Yet our focus on Indigenous language promotion and multilingualism in multimedia design, allowed students at all levels to learn. The movements, gestures, visuals and text in this video were all aids in helping the students learn the languages spoken in the video.

Figure 2. Screenshot of Multimedia Students' "La Paciente" on Youtube.com (Hinton, 2020).
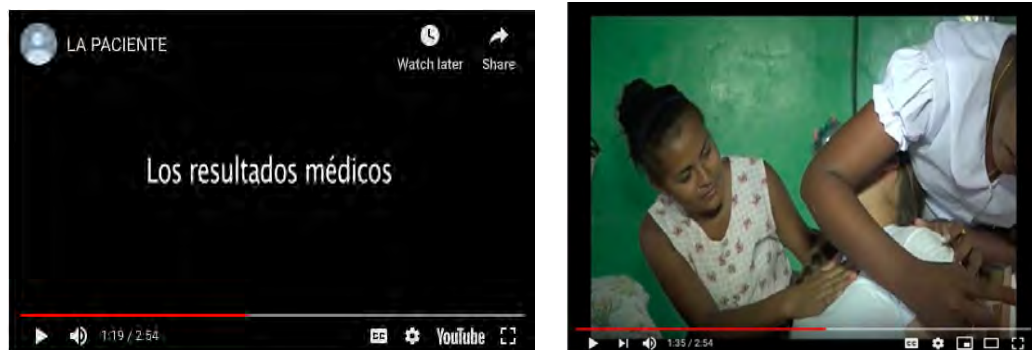
1.31- 2.54

Note. Spanish text is italicized. Miskitu text in bold. Kriol text is bold and italicized.

Nataly	:	*"Enfermera* **bal"** *("Come Nurse")*
Enfermera	:	*"Agarrelo aquí...* **luhpiam pain kaisa"** *("Grab it here….your daughter will be fine")*
Nataly	:	**"Luhpi pain kabia lukisma?"** ("Do you think my daughter will be fine?")
Enfermera	:	**"Au, pain kaisa"** ("Yes, she will be fine")
Nataly	:	**"Dia takan kuna…?"** ("But..what happened?")
Enfermera	:	**"Aha** *minit* **kum** *desmer* **baman kuna** *wan sekan* **naha pain kara"** ("Here one minute she just fainted but one second she will be ok")

As a multimedia teacher at the Leadership School, I tried to mimic the normal multilingual environment of Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua in my classroom as evidenced by figure 4 above. I chose to collaborate with Indigenous specialists in linguistics and the media fields to bring in as much language in the Miskitu and Mayangna language as possible into my course. But, I did not judge my students for using multiple languages in addition to Miskitu and Mayangna in their

multimedia projects but rather I encouraged their "intercultural leadership capabilities" as the school recommended. If they used Kriol or Spanish when they designed their videos, I encouraged it.

Living in the city of Puerto Cabezas, I knew that translanguaging or blending more than one language together was normal in all of the neighborhoods, so I praised students when they blended the languages that they were learning at the Leadership School. As Cru (2014) in Mexico and Johnson and Callahan (2013) in Honduras and Jimenez-Quispe (2013) in Bolivia note, in Latin American contexts where there are both national and international languages in contact with Indigenous languages, youth translanguage in social media spaces.

For Indigenous youth seeking to reclaim their heritage languages online these translanguaging practices may simply mirror their everyday face to face communication practices that are not "purely" in their Indigenous language (Wyman, McCarty & Nicholas, 2014). However, when we look at Indigenous youth who are learning their Indigenous language as a second or third language as well as youth who are not necessarily part of Indigenous communities who are learning Indigenous languages, they translanguage for a different purpose. They intentionally translanguage or blend their first and or second languages in mixed Indigenous language discourse as part of the language learning process.

To conclude the Leadership School Students' example, I must note social media participation both communication through chat technologies and multimodal composition practices aid in second and third language acquisition especially of Indigenous languages (that are increasing in representation online due to digital activism). Youth's online communication in Indigenous languages often mimics mixed face to face communication and draws on national and international languages, but with the added layers of multimodal communication there is new potential for comprehension and understanding. Plus, Indigenous youth and their non-Indigenous peers (such as in the case of the leadership students) can learn how to blend culturally disparate multimodal communication repertoires that previously only took place face to face in digital spaces - effectively transmitting Indigenous language and culture to future generations. The Leadership School's students called this kind of communication "intercultural leadership capabilities" but really they mimicked well known global youth's online language learning steeped in transnational discourse and multimodal composition.

Lampung's Example
Language shift at home and school
Language shift from Lampung to Indonesian has continuously taken place in the home and neighborhood domains of the Lampung families and communities in Bandar Lampung, the capital city of the Province of Lampung (Gunarwan, 1994; Hasan, 2009). Recently, scholars (Katubi, 2006; Rachmatia & Putra, 2015) also reported some cases of expanding language shift in peri-urban and rural areas whose population was still dominated by the Lampung people, causing the trend of the decreasing number of Lampung speakers in the last three decades (Badan Pusat Statistik, 1990, 2000, 2010) and the threat of Lampung language endangerment (Gunarwan, 1994; Putra, 2018). Consequently, many Lampung youths today have lacked resources and opportunities to learn and use Lampung (Putra, 2018). The use of Indonesian as the primary language of instruction at schools and the diverse population in the community have made their Lampung parents prefer using Indonesian at home, instead of their Indigenous language. As a result, today Lampung is used only among elders, while children and youth speak Indonesian with each other.

Sociopolitically, Lampung also does not really have places other than in the lower domains of language use in society, such as at home and in the neighborhood. The recognition of Indonesian as the national and official language of Indonesia has limited the role of Lampung, as well as other Indigenous languages in Indonesia in general, in school, workplace, media, and business, as the use of Indonesian is mandatory in these domains. English, on the other hand, is valued highly due to its role in the job market and globalized world. Parents are willing to send their children to study English in an after school English language course, in addition to studying the language regularly at school, because they want their children to have a better career in the future. Therefore, while family and community should have become the last space where Lampung is used, the case of language shift from Lampung to Indonesian in these domains creates a complex dynamic of multilingualism among youth. Apart from national and global identity that they are pursuing, they also still want to maintain their local identity as a Lampung youth. However, they are faced with inequalities of multilingualism and experiencing linguistic insecurity as they receive minimum linguistic support from their parents and community.

Lampung youth multimodal digital language activism

Although the number of Lampung speakers are declining, there is a hope that many Lampung youths today are willing to take some initiatives to look for resources and opportunities not only to learn and use Lampung, but also to promote the use of the language (Putra, 2018). Their awareness on the challenging situation and their increasing access and literacy on web-based technology open up the possibility for them to take part in the efforts to reverse Lampung language shift, either individually or collaboratively with their peers and adult language activists from their community, academics, government, and NGOs. In other words, their efforts are not only interdisciplinary in nature, but also transdisciplinary and multidisciplinary. Their works are not only informed by their own various experiences and expertise, but also done with people from different backgrounds and sectors.

As shown in the following examples, we will see how in their language activism projects, the Lampung youth used multimodalities, such as texts, pictures, voices, and videos, as a way to creatively deliver their message to the public. We will also see how translanguaging practices were taking place in forms of subtitles in their videos, translations in their posts, and comments from their followers in their pages.
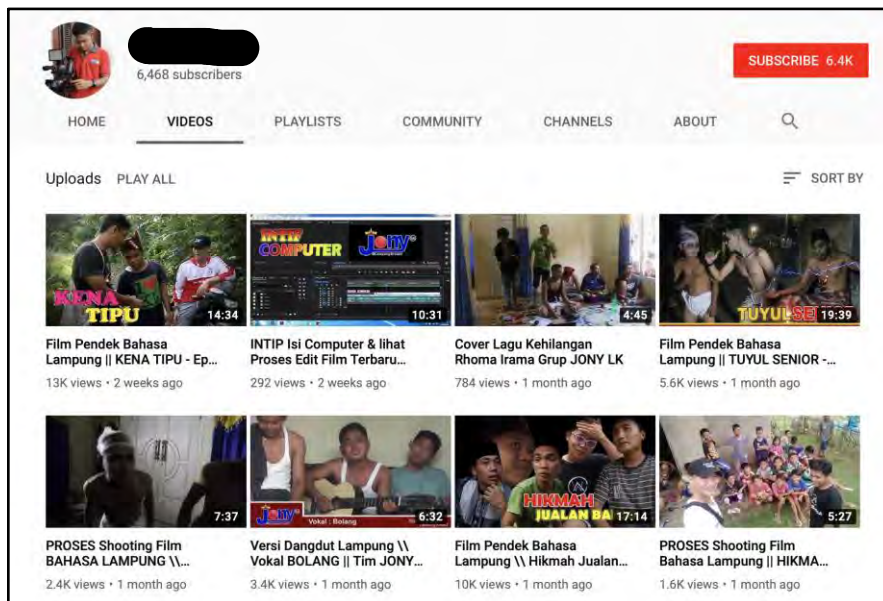
Figure 3. Jony's L.K. YouTube page

Figure 3 above, for instance, shows an example of a YouTube page of a Lampung youth from a peri-urban area in the Regency of Pesawaran, Jonny L.K. who regularly uploads short movies in Lampung. Jonny L.K. collaborates with Lampung youths and elders from his community and produced the movies based on the daily life stories of the people in the community. The movies mostly also have Indonesian subtitles, targeting not only Lampung speakers as their audience, but also non-Lampung speakers to watch and learn Lampung language and culture from the movie. It can be seen from the comments of the viewers who used both languages simultaneously.

Figure 4. Novri is performing traditional Lampung song at the University of Lampung

Translation:

Eating in the Port of Jukung,
Stopping by in Way Suluh,
The custom, the art and the culture of Lampung,
(We should) never let it fall.

From a different example as shown above, Novri, a young traditional Lampung musician and an undergraduate student at the University of Lampung, uploaded the video of his performance in Instagram and used Lampung language in the caption of his post. In the caption, he sent a message to his followers about the importance of preserving Lampung customs, art and culture, particularly Lampung classical guitar music. In some other posts, he also regularly invited his followers, mostly young generation of the Lampung people, to join his effort. His frequent use of Lampung in the caption of his posts often encouraged his followers in his Lampung speaking hometown and his friends in Bandar Lampung, who were also sometimes non-Lampung speakers, to comment in Lampung language.

Jony and Novri are, in fact, not alone. There are many more Lampung youths who also do various language activism projects using different spaces and modalities and collaborating with different stakeholders of Lampung language. Their participation is undoubtedly crucial for Lampung language survivance. They do not only share contents in Lampung language and create space for their followers to use Lampung, but also actively involve people from their community and invite others to take part in Lampung language and culture revitalization efforts. Their initiatives also indicate how Indigenous youth are not only aware of the challenging situation, but also willing to do something to help their community and defend their cultural identity. The challenge is how we can encourage and assist more youth to follow the steps of these youth language activists.

Creating safe third spaces and providing support to learn, use and promote the use of Lampung at school and the online spaces

Realizing that the biggest challenge that the students faced was lack of exposure to the use of Lampung, I invited eight language activists to come to three Lampung language classrooms in a private senior high school in Bandar Lampung and share the stories of their language activism. In this study, in addition to sharing their projects, the language activists also took part in tri weekly online chats in Line and helped the students to work on four Instagram projects. In general, the main objectives of the study are to create a third space for the students to learn and use Lampung, to encourage them to take part in Indigenous language revitalization efforts, and to give teachers a hands-on experience of the proposed Indigenous language teaching model. In this study, I used participatory action research (MclIntyre, 2007), involving students, teachers and language activists in discussion about all the activities from the beginning until the end.

Over the course of the study, it was observed that the presence of Lampung language activists in their classroom and online settings was able to encourage students to try to speak Lampung. One morning, for instance, when I was in the teacher's room, two students, a non-heritage (NHL) and a heritage learner (HL) of Lampung, entered the room and greeted other teachers in English. After they had small talks with the teachers in Indonesian, they then turned to

me and tried to talk with me in Lampung (see example 3 below). Such interaction also happened when the language activists came to the school.

Note. In the example below, Indonesian appears in bold, English language use is bold and italicized, and the Lampung language is italicized.

Ocha (HL)	:	"*Api kabakh*, **Mister** *Kristian?*" *(How are you, Mister Kristian?)*
Me	:	"Alhamdulillah. *Wawai. Api kabakh nikeu*, Ocha? *Haga belajakh api tukuk hinji*?" *(Praise be to Allah. I am fine. How are you, Ocha? What will you learn this morning?)*
Ocha	:	"*Nyak haga ujian Matematika*, **Sir**. **Doakan ya**, **Sir**." *(I will have Mathematics exam, Sir. Please pray for us, Sir.)*
Niken (NHL)	:	"**Iya**, **Sir**. *Pusing nihan*." *(Yes, Sir. So stressful.)*
Me	:	"Insya Allah *dapok lah nikeu kan pandai*." *Insya Allah you can, you are smart students.*

Example 3. Informal conversation in the teacher's room

Not only in informal and formal classroom conversation, some students also admitted that they contacted some language activists personally, including me, to ask for translations of words and help to check the caption for their Instagram project. In a final interview, Ocha, the heritage learner of Lampung in the conversation above, told me that,

> "What I and possibly my friends, heritage learners of Lampung, need is supportive environment and people who want to patiently help us and do not judge our inability to speak Lampung fluently. I am often reluctant to speak in Lampung with the members of my extended family because I am afraid that my relatives will not be happy if I mix too many Indonesian words when I am speaking." [Ocha, September 15, 2017 interview]

What Ocha mentioned about linguistic insecurity in the interview above are common among Indigenous youth, not only in Lampung but also elsewhere (see McCarty & Wyman, 2009; Wyman, 2012). In addition to not getting enough opportunities and resources to learn and use their Indigenous language, they are also afraid to try to speak in the language with elders from their community, as they are afraid of making mistakes, being teased and shamed in public and becoming impolite. A study done by Smith-Hefner (2009), for instance, shows how Javanese youth avoided speaking Javanese with elders and would rather speak in Indonesian. When speaking with elders, they had to use *Jawa Kromo*, the higher register of the language. If they spoke in *Jawa*

Ngoko, the lower register of the language that they used with their parents at home and their peers in the neighborhood, it would be seen as something impolite.

When I conducted initial focus group discussion with all language activists in this study, we all agreed that we had to minimize the feeling of insecurity among students. Students needed to feel safe and supported, so that they were not reluctant to try to speak Lampung with one another and the language activists. From the interview above, for example, Ocha mentioned about "...mix(ing) too many Indonesian words when I am speaking (Lampung)" or the practice of translanguaging that made her family not happy. While it can actually be seen as a part of learning process, translanguaging, or "the ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system" (Canagarajah, 2011, p. 401), is often mistakenly seen as unacceptable and deficit. We might think that people who are translanguaging are not fluent in one of the languages that they are speaking and violating the norm of speaking the language. In this study, in line with what many scholars have mentioned about the possibility of translanguaging practice among multilingual speakers, such as May (2014), McCarty (2014), and Wyman, et.al (2013), we all also agreed that while in the process of learning, language learners will use the languages they speak to facilitate their L2 or L3 learning and acquisition. What we need to do is similar to what Ruiz (1994) and Moll, et.al (1992) proposed, we need to find a way of how to maximize it, in other words we have to use what they bring from home, in this case first language, as a resource, and not to see it as a deficit.

In the following subsection, I will discuss further how translanguaging practices took place in different designated multimodalities and how we used it to facilitate students' learning in the study.

Translanguaging practices and the learning processes in face to face and online spaces

Situated in a private bilingual senior high school in Bandar Lampung, in which both Indonesian and English are used as a medium of instruction, students have been accustomed to the daily practices of translanguaging both inside and outside the classroom. In the classroom settings, students often worked in pairs or a small group and discussed a certain topic in Indonesian, but once they finished, they presented the result of their discussion in Lampung in front of the class. Such practice can also be seen from the face to face and online interactions between the students and language activists in the study when they were speaking in Lampung. Heritage learners and non-heritage learners of Lampung in the study commonly translanguaged and used Indonesian words when they did not know a certain vocabulary in Lampung or when they wanted to ask for clarification of a particular issue, while their Lampung speaking peers and the language activists translanguaged to provide translation for the students or when they wanted to give clarification over the issues being asked (see the example below).

Figure 5. The example of translanguaging practice between students and a language activist in Line chat

Note. In the example below, Indonesian appears in bold, and the Lampung language is italicized.

Meutia (Activist)	:	*"Tabik pun, sanak-sanak mozart"* *(Hallo, Mozart students)*
Meutia (Activist)	:	*"Nyow khasan debingei, sanak-sanak mozart sai sikep-sikep*?" *(What are your activities tonight, beautiful and handsome Mozart students?)*
Frischa (Student 1)	:	*"Yaa punn* **kak** *meutia* hehe" *(Hi, Sister Meutia. Hehe.)*
Frischa	:	*"Khasan itu api* **kak**?" *(What is the meaning of "khasan", Sister?)*
Daffa (Student 2)	:	*"Nyow khasan itu* **apa**?"

| | | *(What is "nyow khasan"?)* |
| Meutia | : | *"Nyow khasan debingei* **itu** "**apa kegiatan malam ini**"?"
(Nyow khasan debingei means "what (are your) activities tonight") |

In the transcript from Line chat above, Meutia greeted students to initiate free topic informal chat with students on Saturday night. Frischa, a non-heritage learner of Lampung, then answered the greeting and asked Meutia about the meaning of the word *"khasan"*. Daffa, a heritage learner of Lampung, also asked Meutia the same question, which were then answered by Meutia. Meutia used Indonesian to provide direct translation of the question he asked earlier in Lampung. Often, the translation was also given by Lampung speaking students who participated in the chat. Therefore, borrowing the terms from language socialization theory (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986), the expert here is not only the language activists, but also Lampung speaking students in the classroom who helps their non-Lampung speaking peers. Such a similar peer support can also be seen in another example below.

Figure 6. An online chat between a language activist and students

Note. In the example below, Indonesian appears in bold, and the Lampung language is italicized.

Taufik (language activist)	:	"*Wat sai haga nutuk muli mekhanai mak wat?*" *(Who wants to join Muli Mekhanai?)*
Frischa (NHL)	:	"*nutuk api* **artinya kak**" (What is the meaning of "nutuk" Brother?)
Ocha (HL)	:	"Frischa **kak**" (Frischa, Brother.)
Ocha	:	"**Ikut**" (Join)
Frischa	:	"**Apaan**" (What)
Taufik		"*Nutuk* = **ikut**" (Nutuk = join)
Frischa	:	"*Ikam haga* **jadi** *mekhanai* **nya kak**" (I want to be the mekhanai, Brother)

     In the example above, we can see how Taufik initiated a thread and then responded by Frischa, who did not know the meaning of word "*nutuk*". Ocha, a heritage learner of Lampung in the class, provided Frischa the meaning of the word, which then echoed by Taufik. After knowing the meaning of the word "*nutuk*", Frischa answered Taufik's previous question. This learning process frequently took place in the Line chats and flowed naturally. As we also noticed, after Ocha responded, Frischa asked Ocha for clarification in Indonesian. This shows us how Indonesian was used to better facilitate them learning Lampung.

     If we look at the screen capture of the chat in Line in example 8 and 9 above, we also can see how both the language activists and students used different emojis. The use of emojis in general is an example of use of multimodalities in contemporary online communication. In this study, in addition to emojis, students also frequently used stickers and sent picture, audio, video, or links of web pages in the Line chats. The language used in these media was often not necessarily in Lampung. Some of the videos shared by the students, for instance, were often in English, but the discussion done by the students and the language activists about the video was always in Lampung.

     In a different example below, we can also see similar practice of translanguaging done by Dinda, a heritage learner of Lampung, when speaking with Indra after lunch time. Dinda did not ask the translation of the word "*makan siang*" to Indra, but she simply used it in her sentence as she did not know how to say it in Lampung. Noticing that Dinda did not know the Lampung word for "*makan siang*" or "lunch", Indra provided indirect feedback that Dinda could directly understand and correct herself. Such an indirect feedback was proven to be effective, as it reduced students' linguistic insecurity when they were speaking in Lampung. Instead of teasing and shaming that can offend them, providing indirect feedback could give Indigenous youth the feeling of being supported as well as could better facilitate their Indigenous language learning. In this study, we consistently used this approach in both face to face and online interactions with students, in addition to giving them direct translation and explicit explanation in the classroom.

Notes: In the example below, Indonesian appears in bold, English language use is bold and italicized, and the Lampung language is italicized.

Dinda (Student)	:	"*Khadu* **makan siang**, Kak Indra?" *(Have you got your lunch, Brother Indra?)*
Indra (Activist)	:	"*Khadu di kantin jama* **Mister** Kristian. *Nikeu khadu mengan*, Dinda?" *(Already in the canteen with Mr. Kristian. Have you got your lunch, Dinda?)*
Dinda	:	"*Khadu lah*, **Kak** Indra. *Nyak mengan di kelas jama* Norma." *(Already of course, Brother Indra. I ate in the classroom with Norma)*

Example 4. Indirect feedback provided by a language activist to a heritage learner

Some examples above again confirmed that we cannot avoid such a translanguaging practice in the era that May (2014) called a "multilingual turn in second language acquisition." It is the era where people, including Indigenous youth, are situated in a language contact zone and get used to being exposed and possibly speaking in multiple languages. Instead of pessimism about the growing challenges of Indigenous or minority languages in multilingual settings, May argued that such multilingual competence could be potential resources for Indigenous language acquisition and teaching. Similarly, in the school where this study was conducted, students and teachers used Indonesian and English bilingually and have equal competence in the two languages. Therefore, while speaking in one of the languages, they would sometimes translanguage in the other language. Such a multilingual ability and language learning skills helped them when they were learning Lampung and other languages taught at the school.

Discussion

One of the caveats about comparing and contrasting Indigenous youth digital activism in different parts of the world surrounds the socio-historical context of language movements in each region in each country. Languages can be in shift, reclaimed and maintained in Indigenous community contexts around the world. Activist movements thus look really different for every language status. If a language is in shift generally it is gradually losing ground in a particular context. Maybe in school, teachers refrain from using an Indigenous language to aid students' learning or at home a parent decides to omit usage of an Indigenous language. These are just some very simplified indications that a language is losing ground in particular contexts or is in shift. If a language gains more territory in a community than in the past it is being reclaimed. If a television program appears in a language when there were only television programs in national or international languages, it is being reclaimed in that space. If a language has recently been reclaimed and the community is taking steps to ensure that it stays vibrant in new spaces it is being maintained. If parents decide to speak a language at home and omit school and work languages purposefully this could be a case of maintenance of a language in the home. All of the examples highlight a few of the differences between the terms languages in shift, reclaimed languages and maintained languages. For deeper contemplation on the subject, Author 1 and Author 2 suggest

reading classics on global language planning and policy in school and community contexts (Hornberger, 1988; Fishman, 1991; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1994).

As a researcher, a language teacher and an advocate for Indigenous languages in youth discourse, determining the status of the Indigenous language in question is not always clear and can change from one year to the next. There is no correct or most effective way to support Indigenous youth facing each circumstance (language shift, reclamation or maintenance). Some signs indicate that a language is endangered or facing adversity compared to other languages in school, commercial spaces, and the media. Hinton and Putra researched the history of language policies in Indonesia and Nicaragua to understand these vital signs regarding Miskitu, Mayangna and Lampung. Everyday youth interactions shed light on commonly held language ideologies and attitudes which colored understandings of the individual language statuses discussed herein.

Working in environments where youth are reclaiming or maintaining more than one language, requires a special kind of understanding of power relations what can and cannot be done in the name of youth's wants, needs and desires. Each Indigenous community needs an intergenerational dialog. Differences exist between reclaiming language and culture for online spaces and fighting against language endangerment or shift. Both the former and the latter should be done in consultation with all three generations: seniors, adults and youth. In both the Indonesian and Nicaraguan examples, Hinton and Putra consulted with Indigenous language activists and specialists for the benefit of all three generations. Research with youth in Indigenous settings is not possible without strong collaborations with community members (Brayboy & McCarty, 2014). The knowledge exchange between cultures cannot be underestimated particularly between youth and their interests in digital literacies and elder's interests in passing on Indigenous ways of knowing and doing (Kral, 2012). Although Hinton and Putra studied the youth perspective on Indigenous translanguaging and multimodal expression online, they saw these two Indonesian and Nicaraguan communities' overall representation in the international arena and the long-term impact of digital activism in both communities. The multilingual Youtube videos herein are still available for views and continue to receive comments.

Teaching Lampung in schools in general still has not been able to reverse Lampung language shift. The data from the Statistics Indonesia and the series of previous studies examining the cases of language shift from Lampung to Indonesian in urban, peri-urban and rural areas (Gunarwan, 1994; Hasan, 2009; Katubi, 2006; Rachmatia & Putra, 2015) supported this claim. Even with efforts to expand language programs each grade level in school, language shift has continued in home and community domains so that some Lampung youth now only use Lampung at school. New language programs have not extended Lampung language use in the family and community, in which the sociocultural functions of Lampung still need to be revitalized. The use of Indonesian also continuously dominates the higher domains of language use, such as media, education, business and government. Indonesian also influences parents' language use with their children at home and in their neighborhoods.

From both of our studies, we see how Lampung, Miskitu and Mayangna youth experience adversity in some communication contexts. The similarity between all of the cases is the youth we encountered in each community embraced these languages online. Another strong similarity is that all of the youth encountered translanguaged within a multimodal transnational communication scape. All youth participants made sense through cross-cultural communication repertoires.

Conclusion and Implications

In Nicaragua and Indonesia, Indigenous youth engage in both multimedia-based communication and production. Youth use social media technologies to both learn and create new alternative media spaces for Indigenous languages. Youth translanguage, blending Indigenous languages with national and international languages. National and international languages aid Non-heritage speaking youth learn Indigenous languages. Heritage speaking youth blend their Indigenous languages with national and international languages to be members of transnational online communities. Indonesian youth indulge in common interests in multimedia and online learning. Nicaraguan youth can consider themselves digital activists because they create new spaces for Indigenous languages and cultures. We met youth on opposite sides of the world with patterns in engagement in global discourse. Moreover, these same youth engage in the active reversal of Indigenous language loss.

The findings from the two studies suggest further the need for guides for digital activists (adults and youth) to work with multi-ethnic communities both face to face and online. Indigenous languages are in contexts at different stages of reclamation or maintenance — many different education policies gear toward assisting youth and adults in the process of learning Indigenous languages. A general guide for working in different contexts with similar youth online would be helpful. We hope that our work in Nicaragua and Indonesia can aid and inspire other digital activists.

Recommendations for Further Research

Kristian's research project described above focused on how to connect students Lampung learning with language activists in online spaces. Hinton's project focused on facilitating Nicaraguan youth's digital activist multilingual multimedia projects. Both showcase heritage and non-heritage learners' learning processes. Both of them used the target Indigenous languages and featured translanguaging practices. Both continued previous Indigenous youth language studies (Wyman, 2012) that encourage youth's funds of knowledge to take part in Indigenous language revitalization efforts.

In future work, there is still a need for the longitudinal inquiry to see how Indigenous youth continue their digital activist works without language activists' help. We have yet to understand the full impact of digital activism by Miskitu, Mayangna, and Lampung youth. Hinton examined the number of views and comments on her former multimedia students' videos on Youtube.com. It is still unclear how Nicaraguan youth see the impact of their activist work three years after the multimedia course.

Hinton and Putra need to hear youth's voices on learning and using Indigenous language with elders from their community. Elders can help and collaborate with them in future online endeavors. Hinton spent a considerable time collaborating with Miskitu and Mayangna specialists in the Media fields in the multimedia course but does not know if these specials still help youth. Putra and Hinton both faced multi-ethnic youth populations in the schools. Both faced power hierarchy issues in Multi-ethnic/Indigenous communities. However, since the field of youth digital activism in Indigenous language reclamation practice is relatively new, Putra and Hinton needed best practices for working with multi-ethnic/Indigenous communities.

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