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Lusitanization and Bakhtinian perspectives on the role of Portuguese in Angola and East Timor

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A vast amount of literature addresses issues surrounding English and French in colonial and post-colonial communities. However, relative to the spread of English and French language ideology, a limited amount of literature exists on Lusitanization (i.e. the spread of Portuguese colonial ideology by Portugal during colonialism and the role of Brazil in post-colonial Portuguese societies). To fill this gap, this paper analyses the role, functions and spread of Portuguese in colonial and post-colonial Angola and East Timor using Lusitanization as a framework to capture the role played by Portugal during the colonial eras and Brazil in post-colonial societies. Even though Lusitanization creates a space to analyse the role of Portuguese at a macro-level, a macro-view is inadequate for a situated analysis. Therefore, to complement the macro-analysis, we explore the impact of Lusitanization from the bottom up, drawing upon Bakhtinian perspectives of social voices, pluri-diversity, plurilingualism and hybridization.

Keywords: Lusitanization; social voices; hybridization; plurilingualism; pluridiscursivity

Introduction

In this paper, we analyse the political and linguistic situation of two former Portuguese colonies, Angola and East Timor, drawing upon other former Portuguese colonies Brazil and Goa, wherever appropriate. In addition to Angola and East Timor, we also refer to Brazil because of its central role in Lusitanization. We have selected Angola and East Timor because of the key roles that Portuguese language has played in the construction of national identity in these two countries. We included East Timor because, unlike other Portuguese colonies, it was colonised by Indonesia in addition to Portugal. Therefore, it is feasible to compare the nature of Lusitanization in two ex-colonies that ostensibly had different trajectories at a macro-level. In the paper, we systematically compare different regions of the political geography of an ex-multicontinental empire (Bethencourt and Curto 2007) which occupy a geo-linguistic space cutting across at least two important geographical regions, Latin America and Africa, using Lusitanization as a framework.

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Definition of Lusitanization

During Portuguese colonial rule, Lusitanization related to the spread of a Portuguese colonial ideology. Even though we are using the term ‘linguistic ideological factor’, a close investigation reveals that there were competing agendas and power was used inconsistently by the Portuguese.

Freyre’s novelty was to propose a positive interpretation of the negative aspects of Portuguese colonization, rescuing those dynamic and contradictory aspects that could account for what was now seen as Brazil’s specificity as a miscegenated nation, with particular composition of cultural contributions from the native populations, the black slaves and the Portuguese.

At times, such apparatus was facilitated and its adverse effects mitigated by the Christian missions that collaborated with Portugal’s political and economic interests. In the post-colonial era, Lusitanization has emerged with Brazil as its dominant economic and political power. By Lusitanization, economic, linguistic and cultural relations have emerged between ex-Portuguese colonies in which Brazil, not Portugal, plays a dominant role. This culturally and linguistically dominant role is apparent in the launching of an international television station that will broadcast via Mozambique to 49 other African countries, competing with BBC America’s penetration into Africa, according to editor James Read. The cultural impact of Brazil is marked by the popularity of films, telenovelas and soap operas; sports programmes produced in Brazil and some in Portugal are the primary producers of information and content. The cultural content from Brazil is not passively accepted by members of Lusophone, they interpret and assimilate them into their cultural matrix and appropriate them to serve their particular interests. The circulation of cultural products is ‘not unidirectional’ (Sousa and Pinto 1999) because there is information from Lusophone countries into Brazil and Portugal. While the cultural products in African Lusophone countries are adapted and assimilated into African cultural contexts, products produced are still marked as foreign because Brazilian products are regarded as more prestigious than African ones. Intellectually, the impact of Brazil in Africa is evident in the increasing significance of African history and languages in the Brazilian academy and educational field.

In the contemporary post-Portuguese era, important institutions that bring together ex-Portuguese countries were formed on 17 July 1996 by heads of state and heads of government. Prominent among them is the political and ideological block referred to as the Community of Portuguese-speaking countries (CPLP 1996). All members of the CPLP have Portuguese as an official language and were all Portuguese colonies at one time: Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, Guinea-Bissau, and East Timor. CPLP gave official status to ‘shared realm of expression’ (P. Wise in *Financial Times*, July 26, 1995). Sociolinguistically, the status of Portuguese varies between CPLP and International Institute of Portuguese Language (IILP) countries. In Brazil, Portuguese is arguably the mother tongue for a sizeable population, while in Angola, Mozambique and East Timor, it is a second or third language; in Cape Verde, the most commonly spoken language is Creole. The primary objective of both the CPLP and IILP is the ‘promoção, defesa, enriquecimento e difusão da língua portuguesa como veículo de cultura, educação, informação e acesso ao conhecimento científico, tecnológico e de utilização oficial em fóruns internacionais’ [Promotion, protection, enrichment and dissemination of Portuguese as a vehicle of culture, education, information, and access to scientific, technological and official use in international forums] (IILP). Both the IILP and CPLP are trans-national institutions whose primary objective is forging unity within ex-Portuguese colonies,

regardless of the social and political dynamics of each country. In light of this context, we address the following two specific questions:

- (1) What role does Lusitanization play in the promotion of Portuguese in Angola and East Timor?
- (2) What impact has a Lusitanization ideology had on the sociolinguistic trajectories of Angola and East Timor?

At a micro-level, we analyse Lusitanization through a number of constructs (Severo 2011; Bakhtin 1975/1996):

- (1) Dialects and languages coexist dialogically in different geographical spaces and are a product of national discourses that hierarchize and classify languages. Conceptually, both monolingualism and plurilingualism can be used to impose specific limits on 'heteroglossic' situations. In the first situation, a unique language 'is not something given [dan] but is always in essence posited [zadan] – and at every moment of its linguistic life it is opposed to the realities of heteroglossia' (Bakhtin 1975/1996, 270). It is not difficult to notice how power explicitly operates, by limiting and imposing a unitary language as a 'system' of linguistic norms. In the second situation, we argue that plurilingualism is also a form of limiting and organising heteroglossia. The assumption is founded on the belief that languages are to be taken as units that can be isolated, described and governed by policies. Plurilingualism is based on the philosophy of diverse languages in Angola and East Timor that are accorded different status in a hierarchical model. Plurilingualism reinforces a philosophy derived from the viability and plausibility of enumerability and countability discourses (Makoni and Pennycook 2007; Makoni 2011). Plurilingualism is a type of multilingualism and is founded on a philosophy of a multiplicity of singularity (Makoni and Pennycook 2007). In plurilingualism the effects of power and the nature of colonial and post-colonial politics are apparent in the separation of linguistic practices, naming and classifying them into languages in an authentic context. The authentic environment of an utterance is filled with specific content and amplified as an individual utterance (Bakhtin 1975/1996, 272).
- (2) *Pluridiscourses* can either be referred to as complementary or conflicting social voices (e.g. by official and lay people in the same or different sociolinguistic spaces). For example, using either official or local languages in urban or rural areas creates opportunities for communicative resources that individuals may strategically manipulate. Voloshinov articulated in this way:

The linguistic consciousness of the speaker and of the listener-understander, in the practical business of living speech, is not at all concerned with the abstract system of normatively identical forms of language, but with language-speech in the sense of the aggregate of possible contexts of usage for a particular linguistic form. (Voloshinov 1973, 70).

- (3) *Hybridization* can be construed as referring to combinations of linguistic features from different languages to convey specific meanings. Hybridization, in this sense, is strongly linked to monolingualism and plurilingualism, since an amalgam of linguistic features may only make sense if we consider languages as

distinct units. Thus, politically, hybridization is a form of resistance against a standard language ideology based on normativity of forms. Therefore, hybridization works as an ideology that prioritises linguistic stratification and mixture over uniformity, thus running contrary to any governmental language policy or educational linguistic policy centred on the myth of a unique language. Hybridization can be found in fiction, primarily novels and poetry, as well as in some Angolan authors' literary styles. These authors strategically combine the Portuguese and Bantu languages to subvert the dominant presence of Portuguese in national literatures in Angola and East Timor. Hybridization may not only be used for literary purposes but can also reflect the social and political histories of its usage. For example, hybridization echoes the historical presence of Cuba and South Africa when engaged in a protracted conflict in Angola. The Spanish/Afrikaans amalgams capture the social history of Cuba and South Africa, a phenomenon effectively articulated at a general level by Bakhtin: 'We may even say that language and languages change historically primarily by means of hybridization, by means of a mixing of various "languages" [social voices] co-existing within the boundaries of a single dialect, a single national language ...' (Bakhtin 1975/1996, 358–359). Bakhtin and his Circle produced a vast body of literature that addresses complex linguistic, discursive, political and cultural situations from dialogical and multiple epistemological views.

Angola's independence: between nationalism and local diversification

Angola, which is located in central-southern Africa, was colonised by the Portuguese between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries and formally liberated from the Portuguese on 11 November 1975. A number of key institutions have shaped the history, linguistics and sociolinguistics of Angola: (1) the revolutionary movements of liberation, (2) Christian missionaries and (3) Lusitanization.

Three major revolutionary movements fought against the Portuguese colonial regime in Angola. After the 1960s, the primary liberation movements were the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). Although all of them fought against the Portuguese, they differed in their political strategies, language policies, culture and conceptualization of national identity. In addition, their members were recruited from different ethnic groups from a rural and indigenous country. For example, MPLA represented mainly the Mbundu (25% of the population), while FNLA and UNITA represented the Bacongo (15% of the population) and Ovimbundo (the major Angolan ethnic group), respectively (Malaquias 2000). Despite their common search for a national identity that could work as resistance against Portuguese colonisers, we use the term *resistance* as an umbrella category to distinguish between the colonisers and the colonised. We are, however, aware that the two categories (i.e. coloniser/colonised, dominant/dominated) are extremely general and do not capture the local dynamics of conflict because of the 'permeability of boundaries' (Cooper and Stoler 1997, 6) between the categories and the shifting and indeterminacy of the criteria of who belonged where, who was dominated and who dominated. Resistance should not be construed along a single dominated/coloniser, dominated/colonised dimension. It has to take into account local dynamics of power relations taking cognizance of individuals and not groups only. Resistance has to be sensitive to 'the relationship to resistance in terms of consciousness, identity and intentionality' (Bratton 1998, 1). It has to be expanded to take into account individual

orientations because actors can have mixed intentions, and are psychologically ambivalent to the acts they are engaged in. This is not to say that the categories 'coloniser/colonised' lack conceptual clarity but that, in some cases, they should be deployed to open and not foreclose debates.

The FNLA, UNITA and MPLA did not succeed in creating a united front against the Portuguese (Malaquias 2000, 96), primarily due to ethnic differences in political orientation. The geographical and ethnic diversity in sources of recruitment between the liberation cum military movements reinforced the colonial dispositif, since 'the various kingdoms and chiefdoms threatened by colonial domination were not able to create a united front' (Malaquias 2000, 102). For example, MPLA, unlike UNITA and FNLA, was a Marxist-leaning movement composed of urban elites in alliance with left-wing Catholics and Protestants, which made MPLA focus its philosophy on class rather than ethnic or racial issues, as did UNITA and FNLA.

The political differences between the military movements were partly resolved in 1988 when a peace agreement was signed by Angola, South Africa and Cuba, under the conditions that Namibia be recognised as an independent country. As part of the agreement, both South Africa and Cuba consented to withdraw their military forces from southern Angola. By 1985, Cuba had approximately 30,000 troops in Angola. The relatively large number of Cuban and South African soldiers helped shape the sociolinguistic landscape of Angola through the emergence of some hybridised linguistic amalgams that included features from Spanish and Afrikaans. One of the conditions for the peace agreement was holding elections; however, UNITA refused to recognise the results of the 1992 elections that had been won by the MPLA. In 2002, after a series of unsuccessful peace efforts, a ceasefire between the warring parties was achieved, in part because a less violent UNITA leader, Isaias Samakuva, emerged, after Jonas Savimbi, the previous leader of UNITA, was killed (Agadjanian and Prata 2002; Henriksen 1977). On the religious front, the Catholic Church adopted conflicting positions toward the liberation movements. In some situations, it strongly supported the Angolan liberation movements; in others, it opposed the political and military strategies adopted by the liberation movements, particularly the MPLA, in part because of the MPLA's Marxist orientation.

Missionaries also adopted different strategies at various times. When Catholic missionaries arrived in Angola, they adopted an orthodox approach that was strongly affiliated with Vatican principles. From the mid-nineteenth century, Christianity became more African and indigenized. In spite of this development, some African intellectuals still felt that Africanization implicitly perpetuated elements of western domination, in so far as it was imagined to undermine local African beliefs, traditions and philosophies. Until 1851, the Catholic Church endorsed the Portuguese policy: Catholics were to be responsible for establishing and managing the Angolan education system. However, the missionaries should be Portuguese, and foreign missionaries would be accepted only in the absence of Portuguese volunteers. In this context, Christianization, Lusitanization and Africanization overlapped. Two factors that destabilized this relationship were the theological and political heterogeneity of the Church and the presence of foreign missionaries who brought with them different ideas about the social and political role of churches, as well as competing theological experiences (Péclard 1998).

Protestant missions differed considerably. They had no central power, originated in different countries and continents, and held allegiance to different religious denominations. They also had diverse political orientations toward the Angolan liberation project. In some cases, Protestant missionaries were regarded as radical and their churches perceived as 'the breeding ground for African nationalism' (Péclard 1998, 172). A main

feature of Protestant evangelism was the promotion of local languages, when the languages were reduced to writing by the grammatization process as a colonial strategy. One of the consequences of grammatization was the production of languages as distinct and separate units, forming the basis of plurilingualism. The discourses that emerged varied, depending on whether the languages had been reduced to writing or not. A new type of discourse emerged that contrasted with discourses that existed prior to the reduction of languages into writing. The pluridiscourses served many functions. In some cases, the languages were construed as forms of national identity, while, in other cases, they were used as markers of local authenticity.

The Catholic and Protestant churches were not the only ones devoted to linguistic issues. The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), an American and evangelical mission founded in 1934, focused on academic work with minority languages. In addition, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) played a strong role in language planning, particularly in post-colonial countries. Another popularised notion was functional literacy. This idea, launched by UNESCO at the 1965 conference in Teheran, Iran, aimed at developing literacy skills by rendering it possible to develop 'human beings as capital to be maximised' (Mazama 1994, 14). In some contexts, Lusitanization was used to serve and legitimate religious and political ideologies. Even though both Catholicism and Protestantism subscribed in varying degrees, they subscribed to a philosophy of languages as units for the purpose of evangelical conversion. Catholicism was much more aligned to monolingualism and Protestantism to plurilingualism, both hierarchizing and subduing cultures, languages and different forms of social organizations.

East Timor's independence: language policy issues

East Timor, which is located 500 kilometers from Australia in the Indonesian Archipelago, presents a complex sociolinguistic reality, having gone through two colonising processes involving relations with Portugal and Indonesia. From a plurilingual perspective, East Timor officially recognizes four languages: Portuguese, Tetum-praça (spoken mainly by urban people), Indonesian and English. Tetum-praça is a sociolinguistic variant of Tetum and is spoken by 80% of the population, mainly in rural areas. Tetum-praça is extensively mixed with Portuguese as a result of the long Portuguese colonial period. It is, however, difficult to count the total number of languages spoken because the languages do not exist independently, autonomously, or in isolation from the analytical frameworks (Makoni and Pennycook 2007). The Constitution mentions the other 20 or more local languages in a very general way, stating that these national languages should be valued and developed by the State (Timor Leste 2002). When East Timor was dominated by Indonesia between 1975 and 2002, a generation grew up without access to Portuguese, which became the official language only after the end of Indonesian colonization. The choice of Portuguese as an official language in East Timor, announced by the National Council of Timorese Resistance, had the political purpose of distinguishing it in linguistic terms from Indonesia and Australia. Portuguese was, therefore, treated as a form of national identity.

Choosing Portuguese to be the language of resistance was complicated by the dynamics of resistance in local contexts. Angolan military movements used Portuguese during liberation wars for three main reasons: (1) the active presence of intellectuals who spoke Portuguese; (2) the availability of a fixed and stable orthography in Portuguese and the fact that many people were literate in this language; and (3) the use of Portuguese in conflicts with the Indonesian military because the Indonesian army did not understand it (Ruak *apud* Feijó 2008). On the other hand, during the Indonesian colonization period, a generation of

people was educated in Bahasa Indonesia. After the country's independence, some people resisted the discourses of the officialization of Portuguese, by inter alia, strategically deflecting and at times appropriating them to serve their own interests which at times ran contrary to those carried by Portuguese because they had built their identities around the Indonesian language.

Although East Timor strategically selected Portuguese as emblematic of its challenges to Indonesian and Australian domination, this selection was influenced by Lusitanization. The status of Portuguese in both Angola and East Timor was complemented by the presence of institutions such as the CPLP, in which Brazil played a more powerful role than other ex-Portuguese colonies or even Portugal, the former colonising power. Portugal had to face the fact of becoming part of a broader strategy of Lusitanization. Lusitanization in East Timor is evident in the educational, cultural and linguistic exchanges between East Timor and Brazil that 'benefited' East Timor, on the one hand, while, on the other hand, consolidating the status of Brazil, its economic elites and the spread of Brazilian Portuguese.

The strong presence of Brazilian Portuguese teachers and language teaching methodologies in East Timor must be viewed within the context of Lusitanization. Although, ostensibly, Lusitanization aims to promote Portuguese language through the IILP, the question of which Portuguese variety to promote is not resolved, leading, in some cases, to a mixture of Brazilian Portuguese, European Portuguese and East Timor Portuguese.

The dialogical coexistence of languages and dialects and the existence of a multitude of social voices in Angola and East Timor

In terms of language policy, the Constitution of Angola (2010) states in Article 19 that (1) the country's official language is Portuguese, and (2) the State values and promotes the study of the teaching and use of other languages of Angola, such as major languages of national communication. Some national languages considered vehicles of culture, communication and expression in Angola are Kikongo, Kimbundu, Cokwe, Umbundu, Mbunda and Oxikwanyama.

Article 21, which deals with the fundamental tasks of the State, mandates that the Angolan government protect, enhance and dignify Angolan languages as part of the cultural heritage of Africa. The article also seeks to promote their development as languages of national identity and communication. Article 23 deals with the principle of equality and is critical of any form of linguistic privilege or discrimination against any language, although this same official discourse produces a hierarchy of languages when proposing different statuses for official and national languages (Angola 2010).

Plurilingualism in Angola can be summarized in terms of the following factors: (1) Portuguese is not the mother tongue of most Angolans, with less than 20% of the population speaking the language, among whom are the young, urban elite; (2) Portuguese is the official language and the language of education; (3) the teaching of Portuguese does not imply the extinction of national languages but their coexistence for specific functions; (4) Umbundu is the language spoken by most of Angola's population, followed by Kimbundu, the language of the capital Luanda, which is strongly mixed with Portuguese producing a Kimbundu/Portuguese amalgam; (5) The promotion of Angolan languages was partially developed by the Language and National Institute (LNI), which focuses on linguistic research, standardisation, preservation and promotion of national languages, as well as studies of oral tradition; and (6) popular radio programmes operate in seven languages. These statistics should be considered in a political sense and as a reflection of argument for state policies and cooperation policies in CPLP.

Even though in East Timor official policy recognizes languages such as Portuguese and Tetum-praça in daily communicative practices, Tetum-terik is widely used for several linguistic practices. This also applies to the conscious choice of a given dialect for a specific socioverbal purpose. In the city of Ainaro, for example, only older people speak the dialects Nogo-Nogo and Mambae in family contexts (de Brito and Bastos 2007).

Angola and East Timor pluridiscursivity

Portuguese provides an excellent example of pluridiscursivity (i.e. the presence of many discourses within a single language). For example, the following discourses are associated with Portuguese in Angola: (1) the official contexts; (2) politically and economically dominant groups; (3) nationalist discourses from MPLA in Angola, which were associated with a strongly urban mestizo and white elite, far from the reality of rural and indigenous country (FNLA and UNITA); (4) discourses by Catholics that, at times, encouraged allegiance to Portugal and were used to challenge Portugal; and (5) in contrast, Protestant discourses and practices that promoted/invented local cultures and languages (their Africanisms) against Portugal.

Soon after Angolan independence was achieved, a centrifugal movement of recognition and revaluation of cultural and linguistic diversity was strengthened, headed by intellectuals, members of the government and jurists, among others. We notice, therefore, a tension between discourses and practices of unification and diversification in the formation of Angolan nationality, affecting both language policy and standardization of local languages. Thus, tension existed between centrifugal and centripetal forces that, on the one hand, sought to unify Angola as one major identity (against Portuguese colonisation) and, on the other hand, sought to ensure a diverse community (in relation to a multitude of ethnic groups).

In the case of East Timor, we enumerate three main discourses that are potentially in conflict with each other: (1) discourses of many political parties that, at times, cut across different languages; (2) discourses by age cohorts who had access to Portuguese before Indonesian colonization and the cohorts that did not have access to Portuguese during Indonesian colonialism; and (3) Catholic discourses and practices that confronted Indonesian language policy by keeping Portuguese as its liturgical language (Corte-Real and de Brito 2006).

The dialogical relation between social voices in different languages and dialects and the hybridization phenomena

The dialogical coexistence of social languages and voices in Angola can be exemplified by the following: (1) The impact of Catholic and Protestant discourses in ex-Portuguese colonies in the promotion of local education and development of indigenous languages. (2) Consistent with a recognition of local cultures and languages are political discourses of diversity reinforced by the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity whose main objectives and action plans were:

Safeguarding the linguistic heritage of humanity and giving support to expression, creation and dissemination in the greatest possible number of languages ... Encouraging linguistic diversity – while respecting the mother tongue – at all levels of education, wherever possible, and fostering the learning of several languages from the earliest age. (UNESCO 2002, 15)

This ideological voice is also echoed in the Angolan government's education policies with the creation, in 1985, of the National Institute of Languages that, in collaboration with UNESCO, aims to create orthographic scripts and produce educational materials in local languages like Kimbundu, Umbundu, Kikongo, Mbunda, Cokwe and Kwanyama (Hamilton 1991).

In the cultural sphere, the 1940s and 1950s were characterized by the 'Black Consciousness' movement (BCM), which was dominated by black Caribbean literature written in Spanish and French, the writings of Haitian Jacques Roumain and the poetry of Cuban Nicolas Guillen. Such political and artistic movements affected the Angolan Portuguese-speaking residents in Portugal, including the nationalist poet Agostinho Neto (Chabal 1995). The BCM generated a series of literary writings known as *Negritude*, which influenced Angolans in Portugal in their struggles and nationalist writings.

The hybridization phenomena in Angola can be easily observed in the publications by two literary nationalist writers who used Portuguese: Luandino Vieira and Agostinho Neto. Although Angolan literature was used as an index of anti-colonial struggle and search for a national or continental identity (the Africanisms), almost all Angolan literature was written in Portuguese (Hamilton 1991). Challenges to the colonization of identity and culture can be noted in the Angolan literary writings whose predominant objective was to address local issues, reflecting the coexistence of diverse ethnicities and cultures in Angola. Another style of writing was a hybridized form that combined local languages with Portuguese. In this context, it matters how Angolan writers used languages (linguistic features that carried social and political meanings) to challenge discourses of standard Portuguese and complemented by Lusitanization ideologies. Some Angolan writers and scholars explicitly articulated a utopian view of ex-Portuguese colonies as captured by the following critics of Lusitanization:

Não sou lusófono. Em termos culturais, o meu ideal de casamento, de morte, de convívio, de riso, é um ideal não necessariamente português, mas, necessariamente, Bantu. 'Lusofonia', 'expressão portuguesa' ... são adjectivos que não têm nada a ver comigo. Daí preferir expressões como países de língua portuguesa, países africanos de língua portuguesa, literaturas africanas de língua portuguesa, e sempre no plural, evidentemente, porque Angola é diferente de Moçambique; Moçambique é diferente da Guiné; Guiné diferente de Cabo Verde; e por aí em diante. (Fortuna 2013)¹

Angolan writer Luandino Vieira, for example, relied on oral tradition and used aesthetic and literary resources similar to those of the Brazilian writer Guimarães Rosa. He used both hybridized Kimbundu and Portuguese linguistic elements, producing an Angolan Portuguese language, and reproduced features of orality in his prose (Chabal 1995). Vieira deliberately created a hybrid literary language in which he not only combined different linguistic structures but also created new words and attributed innovative meanings to old words. Similarly, Agostinho Neto also aimed to create an anticolonial and national literature. Differently, however, he composed poetry, reproducing aesthetically African rhythms in his poems and also prioritising local themes, like Angolan cultural traditions. He sought, therefore, to have a double effect: to construct feelings of nationhood and involve people in the anti-colonial struggle.

The dialogical coexistence of social languages *and voices* in East Timor can also be exemplified by Goan migration to Mozambique. The expulsion of the Portuguese colonizers from Goa by the Indian army in 1950 led the Goans to feel that their identity might be threatened, and consequently they migrated to Mozambique. Substantial

differences existed between how the Goans, Mozambicans and East Timorese experienced colonialism. Goans in Mozambique were more closely aligned ideologically to the Portuguese than both the Mozambicans and East Timorese. The ideological behavior of the Goans in Mozambique resulted in conflicts between Goans and Mozambicans. The Goans felt uncomfortable with the BCM philosophy of Africa for Africans: They did not regard themselves as Africans and felt excluded from Mozambique. Even as the newly elected government made the claim that Goans had no place in post-colonial Mozambique, they saw each Goan migration to Portugal as confirming their betrayal and collusion (as a group) with the prior Portuguese colonial government (Gupta 2009, 37).

The above Goan/Mozambican example reflects the complexity of the Portuguese empire (Bethencourt and Curto 2007). Lusitanization should, therefore, not be seen as a single and generic ideology but, rather, as a complex set of discourses and practices that legitimised power relations. Another example of power relations was the invention of race and its use during colonialism:

During the Conquest, the Iberians – Portuguese and Castilian – used the term ‘black’, a color, as shown in the documents of that period ... Here, obviously, ‘white’ is the constructed identity of the dominators, counterposed to ‘black’ (‘Negro’ or ‘nigger’), the identity of the dominated, as ‘racial’ classification is already clearly consolidated and ‘naturalized’ for all the colonizers and even, perhaps, among some of the colonized. (Quijano 2007, 50)

Hybridization, as the political mixture of linguistic and semiotic features (Bakhtin 1975/1996), is discernible in the use of proper names in East Timor. Portuguese names in East Timor do not follow Portuguese format in a number of different dimensions. Linguistically identified as Portuguese, the logic that rules their choices is modified in at least three aspects (Feijó 2008):

- (1) European surnames are used as first names (e.g. Baptista and Nunes);
- (2) Names tend to reproduce the spelling pronunciation (e.g. Zaquiel instead of Ezekiel);
- (3) European colloquial names are used as proper names (e.g. Carlitos instead of Carlos or Manecas instead of Manoel/Manuel). Unpopular, rarely used names in Portugal are widely used in East Timor (e.g. Juviano, Railando, Trifonio and Estorio).

Concluding reflections

In the conclusion, we return to our initial concepts – Lusitanization and its accompanying constructs (hybridization, plurilingualism and pluridiscursivity) – and argue that they need to be reframed in order to be appropriate to multilingual post-colonial countries such as Angola, Mozambique and others. Lusitanization cannot successfully capture even the dynamics of Brazil. The Portuguese-centered nature of Lusitanization overlooks the strong cultural and sociolinguistic trends of Japanese, Italian, German and indigenous Brazilian communities and its status in the Latin American market (Mercosour).

In this article, we have attempted to illustrate that hybridization, plurilingualism, and pluridiscursivity are not only linguistic but can also serve politically to endorse or resist political powers. For example, hybridization can be used as a strategy to resist standardization associated with educational and political establishment, and the same discourses can serve radically different objectives. More specifically, the use of the

discourse in support of Portuguese in East Timor can serve radically different objectives in Angola. Because of the diversity within Lusophone countries, it is inappropriate to refer to the CPLP countries as a community. Community implies a homogeneity which runs contrary to the complexity of Lusophone countries. The diversity in the CPLP is also apparent in the history of its members. Some territories were not treated as colonies. Cape Verde and India were treated as products of miscegenation. Cape Verdians were treated as middle men and not colonized individuals.

An analysis of the status of Portuguese as part of Lusitanization is also resisted by people who articulate their positions through other languages, such as Bantu. In such contexts, the underlying notion that Portuguese carried the cultural practices of most Lusophone members is open to challenge. If Portuguese is to be used as a common language unifying the Portuguese-speaking world, then it has to reflect the emergence of Africanized or Timorized Portuguese, over the one-sided ideological use of the conception of hybridity.

Lusitanization is, at times, inadequately sensitive to the geopolitics of some of the histories and contemporary status of some of its members. For example, countries such as Mozambique have strong ties with Zimbabwe and, to some extent, South Africa. Mozambique has strong ties with Zimbabwe because of the role that Mozambique played in the liberation wars in Zimbabwe. Some members of Lusophone countries have robust linguistic, commercial ties with both Francophone and Anglophone countries.

Linguistically, this means that there are some features from Shona in Portuguese and vice versa. Lusitanization is also an ongoing process, as illustrated by German women retaining Portuguese spouses. Even though this submission was on Portuguese and Lusitanization, future studies should examine to what extent Lusitanization is comparable to other institutions, such as the Francophonie, and institutions that seek to promote Spanish.

Note

1. 'I am not lusophone. In cultural terms, my ideal of marriage, death, living together, laughing is not necessarily a Portuguese ideal, but a Bantu one. "Lusophone", "Portuguese expression" ... are adjectives that have nothing to do with me. Hence, I prefer expressions, such countries, of Portuguese language, Portuguese-speaking African countries, African literatures in Portuguese, and always in the plural, of course, because Angola is different from Mozambique, Mozambique is different from Guinea, Guinea is different from Cape Verde and so on'.

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