Discourses of language in colonial and postcolonial Brazil

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ABSTRACT

Sparse literature on colonial and postcolonial discourses in English addresses discourse practices of colonial and contemporary Brazil. We argue that analyzing the relationship between colonialism, post colonialism, and national identity is complicated because the relationship between these processes is constantly evolving. Colonial Brazil was characterized by a massive production of grammars and dictionaries of indigenous languages expedited by the use of translation which resulted in the diversification of genres in indigenous languages through creation of hybrid genres that appropriate Old Portuguese genres to serve new social purposes. In postcolonial Brazil, the relationship between language and Brazilian nationality was a source of conflict surrounding which variety of Portuguese could be used to imagine Brazil as a nation. In contemporary Brazil, language diversity integrates the Brazilian internal political agenda, and paradoxically, language homogenization is a defining feature of Brazilian foreign policy, especially Brazil's role in promoting the spread of Portuguese. Throughout the history of Brazil, tension has existed among discourses whose objective is to promote language diversity, local resistance, and strategic use of these discourses. We argue that interest in linguistic diversity and promotion of indigenous languages does not necessarily imply protection of a variety of cultures and multiple ways of thinking in the world. We finally argue that Lusitanization can be used as a framework to understand the colonial and immediate postcolonial discourse practices. The framework, however, has to be situated within a global geo-politics as the relationship between Brazil and other South American countries emerge.

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1. Background

This article is a continuation of colonial linguistics research (Errington, 2008) reflected in some of the work of Blommaert (2008) and Irvine (2008) and interest in diversity as manifested in the invention of indigenous languages (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007; Makoni, 2013). Some research by the aforementioned scholars emphasizes translation and the production of grammars and dictionaries as social artifacts and practices of social control. Even though our work builds upon research by Blommaert, Irvine, Makoni and others, it makes three important contributions: (1) theoretical, (2) geographical and historical contexts, and (3) the geo-politics of Lusitanization (i.e., the spread of Portuguese in diverse contexts such as Mozambique, Angola, and Cape Verde). Theoretically, the paper's colonial linguistics framework is expanded by drawing on the philosophies of Michel Foucault. Secondly, our contribution arises from the range of contexts in which social grammars and dictionaries as artifacts, language invention, and translation are studied by situating them in colonial and postcolonial Brazil. We are referring primarily postcolonial here to refer to the period immediately before and immediately after Brazilian independence even though the idea of postcolonial to refer to the period after independence into an unforeseeable future, a

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more robust geopolitical approach will have to be included, which takes cognizance of the power of regional blocks such as *Mercousul and Unasul* who become key players as well (Rajagopolan, 2008; Massini-Cagliari, 2004). *Mercado Comun de Sur* or Portuguese *Mercado Commun de Sol* are part of an economic block which is facilitating the development of South America to be an integrated political and economic block in which Portuguese, Spanish and Gurani are the three official languages.

The impacts of the political and economic blocks on contemporary Brazil are mitigated by the imagined belief that Brazil is predominantly a Portuguese speaking country. We illustrate how diversity in Brazil has been produced by governmental, educational, academic, and local (indigenous) discourses and language practices and how the meaning also varies according to participants' socio-historical contexts and ideologies. Third, our paper briefly explores the tensions between the conflicting roles of diversity within Brazil and homogeneity in the Brazilian Lusitanization project in contemporary geopolitics of a multipolar world.

2. Structure and organization of the paper

In light of the above contexts, we organize our paper into three sections: First, we explore the colonial and missionary interest in the invention of language diversity (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007) through a combination of colonial linguistics (Errington, 2008) and Foucault's (1980a,b, 2000) works on power relations. In this section, we consider missionary priests' production of dictionaries and grammars (Auroux, 1992) as an instrument of control of others (Foucault, 2010). The second section aims to problematize the Brazilian governmental and academic interest, appropriation, and production of language diversity in contemporary Brazilian bilingual educational and cultural policies (Severo, 2013). Finally, we explore the complex nature of language diversity in Brazil by considering indigenous ways of appropriation, reproduction, or reinvention of the missionary, governmental and academic understandings of language diversity. We conclude the essay by using Lusitanization as a political and theoretical framework an approach we expand on in subsequent work in which we analyze the role of Lusitanization in shaping language policies and practices of ex-Portuguese colonies, Angola, and East Timor.

3. Language diversity in colonial linguistics

Between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, interest in linguistic diversity in colonial Brazil was strong due to both the spread of Christianity and Lusitanization. These are closely linked, even though, for the sake of clarity, we may treat them separately at times. The linkage between the Catholic Church and Portugal is evident in the agreement between the two in which the right to manage churches was to be carried out by Portuguese monarchs. An integral part of the spread of Christianity and Lusitanization was the grammatization (Auroux, 1992) of language and production of dictionaries for pedagogical purposes and as part of a general interest among the Portuguese in categorizing the world around them. *Grammatization refers* to the development of grammars for indigenous languages. The priority in Lusitanization was teaching Portuguese in indigenous communities.

Because of the arrangements between the Catholic Church and Portugal as part of Lusitanization ideology, the Portuguese colonial government was tasked with building churches, developing parishes, choosing and designating religious ministers, and keeping Jesuit missions among the so-called indigenous peoples. The spread of Catholicism (i.e., catechization) was facilitated by the role of interpreters during confessions. The development of bilingualism in indigenous languages and Portuguese was facilitated by children of both Portuguese settlers and indigenous people in early colonial Brazil attending the same schools and learning in the same classrooms (Freyre, 1933/2003; de Lima, 2001). Adult bilingualism took hold among missionaries, some of whom felt obliged to learn local languages as part of their evangelization enterprise, as apparent in the extract below:

> "*uma das competências essenciais do evangelizador é, segundo Manoel da Nóbrega, o domínio da língua, fruto da graça de que todo missionário é dotado*"[2] (Daher, 1998, 2).

The ultimate objective of description of indigenous languages was to systematize them using grammatization (Auroux, 1992), dictionary-making, and translations was to facilitate incorporation of Portuguese Catholic logic within the indigenous language: "*a língua tupi deve inscrever-se na temporalidade da ordem da racionalidade do Império português, na homologia da língua portuguesa*"[3] (Daher, 1998, 4). In other words, the discourse of the colonizer was inscribed on the Tupi language, as illustrated by the verse taught by Jesuits and sung by Indian boys: "The Virgin Mary / *Tupan ey êté / Aba pe ara porá / Oicó endêyabê*." The translation would be, "Oh Virgin Mary, true God's mother, the men of this world are well with you" (Freyre, 1933/2003, 111). Another example would be the translation of the Hail Maria prayer as "Ave Maria, graça *resé tynysémbae* (Hail Mary, full of grace)" (Filho, 2008, 185). In this article unlike other authors we argue that the idea of a description of language may be inappropriate because it inadvertently supports the idea of language as a primordial entity. It is the assumption of naturalness and primordially which we are ideologically questioning.

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[2] "One of the core competencies in the evangelist, according to Manoel da Nobrega, is the mastery of the language, fruit of grace that every missionary is endowed with."

[3] "The Tupi language should enroll in the temporality and in the rational order of the Portuguese Empire, in the homology to the Portuguese language."

Grammatization, on the one hand, led to development of a discourse of heterogeneity; on the other hand, the use of a discourse of Catholicism and Lusitanization led to a discourse of homogeneity, as different languages were embedded in the same discourse. Because of the promotion of indigenous languages, grammatization and Lusitanization, therefore, discursively materialized in the language of the colonized. Consequently, the promotion and official use of local languages does not by itself guarantee the conservation or "protection" of local cultures and identities or indigenous frames of thought and experience, nor does it guarantee retention of indigenous communities' cultural rights (Makoni, 2011). Thus, if catechization in indigenous languages tells us that the (de)colonization process happens at another level, which belongs to the order of discourse and not to the order of language-structure, the promotion of linguistic diversity by some contemporary official speeches and linguistic research does not guarantee discursive and cultural heterogeneity.

The colonial period was characterized by a profusion of many literary linguistic productions in colonial Brazil, as illustrated by the following examples (Daher, 1998; Fávero, 2001; Zwartjes, 2011; Fernandes, 2013):

(1) The publication of a grammar of the Old Tupi by José de Anchieta (1534–1597), who wrote, among other works, (a) *The Art of Grammar of the Most Widely Spoken Language on the Coast of Brazil* (1955, 1595), (b) the *Catechism in Brasilica language* with the *summa* of the Christian doctrine (1618), (c) many letters addressed to the Portuguese crown, (d) literary texts (poems and epics), and (e) theological interpretations (Daher, 1998).
(2) The writing by Luis Figueroa (1573–1643) of *The Grammar Art of Brasilia Language* (1621) (Fávero, 2001).
(3) A systematization of the Quiriri indigenous language (1698) by Louis Vincentia Mamiani (1652–1730).
(4) The systematization of the African language Kimbundu (1697) by Pedro Dias (1621–1700) (Batista, 2005, 2001); and the systematization of the language of Mina (1731 and 1741) by António da Costa Peixoto (Fernandes, 2013).
(5) The translation into indigenous languages of many Catholic texts, such as homilies, spiritual daily practices, gospels, doctrines, biographies of saints and Christ, sacraments' manuals, prayers, religious poems, and hymns, by Antony Vieira into five Indian languages – the General language of the Coast and the Nheengaíbas', Bocas', Jurunas' and Tapajós' languages (Daher, 1998).

Grammatization was a form of knowledge production in which knowledge was produced and acquired the status of truth under certain rational rules rather than divine or natural rules. Indigenous languages were modeled after Latin grammars and were part of knowledge production that included the following arts: rhetoric, poetics, logic, geometry, arithmetic, and astronomy. Although there were many genres of knowledge, "Grammar becomes, during the monastic Middle Ages, the art *par excellence*, one whose importance outweighs the other" (Buescu, 1984; Fávero, 2001, 62).

Knowledge production as evident in other geographical regions such as Africa was not the monopoly of missionaries but was also carried out by some European travelers as well. While the missionaries were primarily pre-occupied with the production of a linguistic knowledge, the travelers produced discourses on Brazil in the following genres: notes and diaries with illustrations, such as the work by Oliveira (Freire, 1933/2003). The travelers included André de Thevet (1502–1590); Pero de Magalhães Gandavo (1540–1580), who wrote the *Tratado da Terra do Brasil* [Treaty of Brazil] (1576); Hans Staden (1525–1579), wrote *Two Trips to Brazil* (1557); and Jean de Lery (1534–1611), who narrated the *Story of a Journey to the Land of Brazil* (1578) and subsequently inspired Lévi-Strauss in the production of *Tristes Tropiques*: "Léry left to Brazil at the age of twenty-two or twenty-three, I was twenty-six when I left for the same tri Léry waited eighteen years to write his travel, I waited fifteen to write *Tristes Tropiques*"[4] (Lévi-Strauss, 1994 apud Lestringant, 2000, 87). Both knowledge production (by missionaries and travelers) were not objective enterprises but were sophisticated players in support of a colonial enterprise whose ultimately control was to construct and manage discourses about language.

4. The modern states and language diversity

The historical works of Foucault pointed out that, from the sixteenth century on, the states began to be organized around a certain rationality whose purpose would be the State's strengthening, instead of the relationship of the Prince to the State. This reason of state is seen as an "art," a technique that works according to certain rules (which, by nature, are rational rather than divine, natural, or human) that aim at the production of truth (Foucault, 2000, 2007). Political reason is constituted by knowledge production that takes the State as something to be analyzed, desired, calculated, and understood. Mercantilism – aiming to enrich the State – would be a rudimentary form of rationalization of the State; more elaborate knowledge would include statistics (knowledge of the State's resources) and economics (a form of resource management).

The good functioning of the State, appropriate individuals and population management, and maintenance of state forces would be guaranteed by two apparatus (dispositif): (1) a military-diplomatic one, acting in relation to other states, and (2) a police one, acting within the boundaries of the State (Foucault, 2007). More specifically on the police apparatus with a colonial purpose, Foucault (1980a, 17) states:

Those who were sent to the colonies did not take on a proletarian status. They were used as cadres, administrative functionaries, as tools of surveillance and control over the colonized peoples. And it was certainly in order to avoid the

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[4] "Léry partiu para o Brasil aos vinte e dois ou vinte e três anos; eu tinha vinte e seis quando parti para a mesma viagem. Léry esperou dezoito anos para escrever sua *Viagem*, eu esperei quinze para escrever *Tristes trópicos*."

forming of an alliance between these "lesser whites" and the colonized peoples [...] that a rigid racist ideology was foisted on them: "Watch out, you'll be living among cannibals."

In other words, the colonizing strategy was to maintain a split and a hierarchy in the colony between colonizers and colonized. Identification between the colonizer and the colonized plebeian could establish a resistance movement against the European proletariat and the bourgeoisie. What wouldn't have allowed this alliance was racism (Foucault, 1980a; Quijano, 2000). Paradoxically, in colonial Brazil, miscegenation was used as a colonizing strategy by the Crown and the Church in the sixteenth century: "o casamento e o concubinato entre portugueses e índias, uma política da Coroa para os primórdios da colonização, foi crucial no processo de dominação portuguesa"[5] (de Oliveira, 2009, 187). Thus, paradoxically, racism was inscribed in the apparent appeasement of differences through miscegenation, though, for the Catholic Church, Polygamy was seen as repugnant. Miscegenation did not indicate "friendly" marriages and alliances; rather, it resulted from the rape of indigenous and black women: "Um dos maiores símbolos da conquista foi a mulher indígena, sobre quem recaíram as mais violentas consequências da colonização [...]. Assim como o homem, sofreu com as imposições do varão europeu, mas ainda teve destruídos corpo, sexualidade, subjetividade"[6] (Huzioka, 2010, 2).

The development of the science of state was possible due to demographic expansion in the seventeenth century, when the population emerged as a governmental target to be managed. These facts allowed the connection between the science of government, the population problem, and the centralization of political economy to become the main way of understanding the art of government. The population as the target of the State's reason implies that, when objectified, the population is transformed into an object of knowledge. Statistics play an important role in the constitution of knowledge about populations by, for example, raising rates of birth and death, education, epidemics, public health and sickness, etc. This practice of knowledge production about the population yields, as a political effect, the possibility of governing the conduct of individuals who are made the object of a rationality that aims to both manage their lives and grant them the necessary security.

This article argues that, from the sixteenth century on, the interest in linguistic diversity worked as the target of a reason of state, and especially in the colonial period, religion was operating inside this reason that the dictionary became a theological instrument (de Certeau, 1988). Although the primary objective was to evangelize and spread Christianity, language invention served as important an important project to accomplish their objectives. The two processes i.e. spread of Christianity and language invention are so intricately interwoven that except for expository purposes the two in practice cannot be easily distinguished from each other. From an ideological perspective it was not only people who were converted but languages which were framed through a Christianized scripts.

While discussing the phenomenon of grammatization of European languages, Auroux (1992) explains that, from the late fifteenth century on, production of formalized knowledge (dictionaries and grammars) about languages had been intense, not just in Europe but also in other European colonies across the globe by missionaries from different countries. For example, at the end of the sixteenth century, Latin American linguistic production consisted of the grammatization of 33 languages. In the following century, this number increased to 96 languages, and in the eighteenth century, there were 158 grammatized languages (Auroux, 1992). With these numbers, Auroux diagnoses, although he does not problematize, this intense grammatization in Europe, and in no other continent, could be seen as "um problem histórico e epistemológico de grande importância, ao qual não se consagrou um estudo profundo"[7] (Auroux, 1992, 42).

We believe European interest in languages considered "exotic" was not casual but involved a "will to know" about the other – in religious and/or in scientific terms – that characterizes what would be the "colonial apparatus" (Lopes da Silva, 2006; Mariani, 2004) working within a reason of state that took form in sixteenth century Europe. According to Foucault (2007), Europe in this period can be understood in relation to non-uniform geographical division consisting of relatively autonomous states that dominated the rest of the world through colonization ratified during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by various official treaties.

The colonial apparatus (dispositif) is not restricted to colonial planned actions by the State but encompasses "a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions–in short, the said as much as the unsaid" (Foucault, 1980b, 194). In the case of the argument undertaken in this article, the grammatization or, in Foucauldian terms, the "will to know" about language diversity working within this apparatus logically consists of other varied and heterogeneous elements. The colonial apparatus, as constitutive of the reason of the State, encompassed languages as objects of knowledge and political discourses – something to be mobilized, scrutinized, systematized, and named according to certain procedures of power. From the sixteenth century on, such procedures entailed the systematization of languages in terms of sounds, structure (grammatical), and lexicon (dictionary), aiming for both description and pedagogization, since evangelization and pedagogical instruction were mutually implicated (Daher, 1998). Besides these linguistic products, there was also production in local languages of catechisms, vocabularies, and word lists (Batista, 2005).

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[5] "Marriage and cohabitation between Portuguese and Indian women, as a policy of the Crown in the early days of colonization, was crucial in the process of Portuguese domination."

[6] "One of the greatest symbols of the conquest was the indigenous woman, over whom the most violent consequences of colonization fell [...]. Just like the men, they suffered with the impositions of European man, but still had the body, sexuality and subjectivity destroyed."

[7] "A historical and epistemological problem of great importance, on which a deep study was not made yet."

From the colonial period on, the "will to know" about language diversity worked within a reason of State, being associated primarily with the religious sphere and, from the nineteenth century on, to a certain scientism. In this scientific domain, from the 1870s on, "teorias como o evolucionismo social, o positivismo, o naturalismo e o social darwinismo [...] começam a se difundir [...] tendo como horizonte de referência o debate sobre os fundamentos de uma cultura nacional"[8] (Schwarcz, 2008, 28). In this rational State, from the 19th century on, the production of linguistic knowledge was centered in the constitution of a Brazilian variety of Portuguese language (Massini-Cagliari, 2004) and from the 20th on, Brazilian government focused its attention in the production of linguistic knowledge about the "surviving" Indigenous and African languages from the colonial period in Brazil. The invention of the indigenous "língua geral" (general language) in colonial Brazil by the missionary priests worked within a religious framework in favor of a colonial dispositif. Lingua geral recurred in different parts of the world as a search to harmonize local languages and engendered conflicting responses in Africa (Makoni et al., 2007).

5. The role of academies

In the eighteenth century, literature, language academies, and compilations of official interpretations of law were created to serve as instruments of implementation and control of knowledge production. It is important to understand that the normativity took place during the dictatorship of Marquis of Pombal (Franco, 2007). The creation of such Directories were part of an strategy by the Portuguese Crown to pursue more direct control over its colonies, which would allow it to manage indigenous groups, confiscate their lands, promote Portuguese as an official language, expel the Jesuits, transform villages into small towns, transfer administration to a manager instead of the Jesuits, integrate trade and agriculture as economic activities for indigenous peoples, promote interethnic marriage, and open schools to indigenous peoples (de Oliveira, 2009; Mariani, 2001).

6. Language diversity in modern governmental and academic discourses and practices

The end of Portuguese colonialism and the split between Catholicism and the Portuguese led to Brazilian ports opening to foreign vessels, which facilitated the entry of Protestant immigrants into the country. The entry of Protestant missionaries into Brazil weakened the Catholic Church's role in the Christianization process: "O Brasil começou a desvendar um mundo mais amplo do que o estreitamente português e católico. Iniciou-se uma nova conquista colonial, aparentemente pacífica e liberal, a "conquista burguesa" do Brasil."[9] (Hoornaert, 1992 apud de Oliveira, 2008, 12). Therefore, the coming of Protestant missions to Brazil favored a final rupture of the alliance between Lusitanization and Christianization. The massive influx of Protestant missions into Brazil, especially during the reign of King Pedro II (1825–1891), is paralleled to the spread of Enlightenment ideology and the expansion of capitalism in Brazil: "no século XIX as igrejas protestantes norte-americanas trazem para o Brasil uma fé jingoística, que aceita incondicionalmente as promessas do Iluminismo como interpretado pelos norte-americanos"[10] (Cavalcanti, 2001, 64).

Protestant missions managed schools and incorporated an evangelical education into their curriculum. For example, the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) was a "mission that had joined the Latin American indigenous movement named as Indigenous Interamerican Institute. Graduated from American universities, the SIL members seemed as "scientists" (i.e., linguists) which sometimes hid the missionary side of their work"[11] (de Oliveira and Freire, 2006, 147–148). That mission achieved government recognition in 1960 due to the mediation of intellectuals like the Brazilian anthropologist Darcy Ribeiro. During the period of military dictatorship.

In Brazil (1964–1985), that mission was successful in closing the, National Indian Foundation, even though the Bible translator work had been considered, in some cases, as a focus of governmental interest in political espionage. Another "efficient" religious mission was the New Tribes Mission that, in 1950, assembled more than 100 missionaries in Brazil. In many different Brazilian states since the early twentieth century (e.g., in the state of *Mato Grosso do Sul* with the evangelization of the Kaiowa people and in the state of *Pará*, alongside the Xingu River), the presence of evangelical missions led to the conversion of the Kayapo people to Christianity.

It is critically important to maintain awareness of the differences between Catholic and Protestant missionaries. In practice, Catholics tended to seek to convert indigenous communities, integrating them into Western cultural practices, and protecting local and indigenous cultural and language rights, especially after the encyclical *Gaudium ET Spes* and the creation of a National Secretariat for Missionary Activity by the Brazilian National Bishop Conference. On the other hand, Protestant missions have maintained a practice of acculturation of indigenous peoples (de Oliveira and Freire, 2006).

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[8] "Theories such as social evolutionism, positivism, naturalism and social Darwinism [...] started to spread [...] having as a horizon of reference the debate on the foundations of a national culture."

[9] "Brazil began to unveil a wider world than the narrow Portuguese and Catholic one. A new colonial conquest began, apparently peaceful and liberal, the "bourgeois conquest"."

[10] "In the nineteenth century, U.S. Protestant churches bring to Brazil a faith that accepts unconditionally the promises of Enlightenment as interpreted by North Americans."

[11] "missão que havia se aliado ao indigenismo estatal latino-americano representado pelo Instituto Indigenista Interamericano. Graduados em universidades americanas, os integrantes do SIL apareciam como "cientistas" (isto é, linguistas) que em certas ocasiões ocultavam o lado missionário de sua atuação".

However, the entrance of scientific ideologies in Brazil was not only through Protestant doctrine and practice. With the coming of the royal family to Brazil in the nineteenth century (when Napoleon's troops invaded Portugal), the creation of cultural institutions (e.g., the press, libraries, museums, botanical gardens), academic institutions (e.g., schools of law in the states of San Paulo and Recife) and research institutions (e.g., The History and Geography Institute, The Bio-Manguinhos Institute) motivated the formation of an intellectual group that started to take part in social movements. Many of these intellectuals shared the ideologies of the Enlightenment, Darwinism, and positivism and defended abolitionist, republican, and nationalist causes, besides the separation of church and state. For these intellectuals, the separation of church and state was about to scientifically legitimize or support their positions in institutions to which they belonged. Scientism worked inside the practices of government, legitimizing its discourses and practices. Dom Pedro II, the last emperor of Brazil, can be considered a Political symbol of the fusion between science and government, just as Louis XIV repeatedly asserted, "The science is me" (Schwarcz, 2008).

The production of such knowledge was, of course, according to certain rational rules that guided the observer into an imagined objective situation. (Foucault, 1966/1990). Among the naturalists who categorized botanicals "and animals" features were Saint-Hilaire, Carl Philipp Von-Martius, Edward Pohl, and Johann Von Spix. Among the militaries was Leithold Raugo. The experts of the Crown included the mineralogist Eschwege. There were also members from the English and French bourgeoisies, like John Luccock, Koster, and Tollenare (Kury, 2001; Lahuerta, 2006).

In the nineteenth century, the search for a national identity, a central issue in Brazil, was faced with linguistic tension between diversity and uniformity concerning the status of Portuguese and its "Brazilian" varieties. Other than in literary texts, ample literature shed light on the national identity debate and its ties to a particular Portuguese language variety (i.e., "Brazilian language"), as seen in the literary works of Gonçalves Dias, José de Alencar, Aluisio Azevedo, Machado de Assis, and Souza Cruz. Contrary to the position taken by the aforementioned authors, one group of grammarians was devoted to the prescriptive systematization of Brazilian Portuguese on the basis of a European model codified by Portuguese grammarians (Martins, 2008). The differences in view in either supporting endorsement of Brazilian varieties or a normative perspective of Portuguese were apparent in debates around in which language or language variety the Civil Code of the Republic should be written and the controversy between the jurist Rui Barbosa, in support of a classical tradition, against his former teacher, the philologist Ernesto Carneiro Ribeiro, in favor of the vernacular. Another debate involved the writer José de Alencar, who was in favor of "Brazilianisms," and the grammarian Gladstone Chaves de Melo (Pagotto, 1999; Martins, 2008). Incorporating local dialects and varieties in Brazilian literature was intensified during the 1922 Modern Art Week, when the *Manifesto of Pau-Brazil Poetry* (1924) by Oswald de Andrade outlined language's political role in the creation of a national identity: "Language without archaisms, without erudition... a million contribution of all errors. The millionaire contribution of all the errors. The way we speak. The way we are."[12]

After the 1930s, the issue of linguistic diversity in the governmental sphere was evident, for example, by the approval of the Orthographic Agreement of 1932 and the policy for nationalizing education, which included the prohibition of immigrants' languages (Germany, Japanese, and Italian) during the dictatorial period of *Vargas Era* (1937–1945). On the other hand, the intellectual-academic sphere paradoxically increased the knowledge production about language diversity in Brazil: The *Caipira* dialect, a variety spoken in the countryside of some Brazilian states, was described by Amadeu Amaral and published in 1920; Antenor Nascentes, in turn, described the dialect spoken in Rio de Janeiro (1922); the language of the Northeast was described by Mario Marroquim (1934); Pereira da Costa listed the vocabulary of Pernambuco (1937); studies on the language spoken in Goias were published in 1944; and in 1951 Edison Carneiro described and published the popular language of Bahia (Castilhos, 1972). The years 1920–1960 were also filled with publications by linguists Serafim da Silva Neto, Silveira Bueno, and Mattoso Câmara, among others, on linguistic theory and the history of Portuguese. All of them advocated study of diversity/variability in the description of Brazilian Portuguese. Despite this discursive explosion around linguistic diversity in Brazil, it was only in 1965, by a decision of the Federal Council of Education, that linguistics was effectively integrated into the curriculum of language graduation courses.

Currently, in Brazil, official discourses on national education tend to focus on and promote linguistic diversity. For example, the 1988 Constitution promotes Portuguese as the official language of the country but also recognizes the right of indigenous communities to use their own languages in the learning process; the National Curriculum Parameters (Brasil, 1997a,b) recognize dialectal varieties and recommend their approach in the classroom; Federal Law 10.436 – April, 24 2002 recognizes Brazilian Sign Language so that schools will provide access to deaf people; Federal Law 11.161 of 2005 obliges the teaching of Spanish in Brazilian high schools; the Didactic Book National Program (PNLD, 2010) postulates that the teaching of Portuguese must consider language variation and dialect diversity in Brazil; finally, the Portuguese Language Exam of the National High School Exam (ENEM, 2011) attaches great significance to linguistic variation.

In the cultural governmental sphere, in 2007 the Brazilian Institute of Historic and Artistic Heritage (IPHAN) with the Institute of Research and Development of Linguistic Policy (IPOL) and the Education and Culture Committee of the House of Representatives created a methodology for the National Inventory of Linguistic Diversity. In 2008, IPHAN launched a program to financially support research on the National Inventory of Linguistic Diversity and Intangible Cultural Heritage Mapping, focusing on indigenous languages, languages of immigration, African-Brazilian languages, Creole languages, and sign languages.

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[12] This *Manifesto* was translated to English by Stella M. de Sá Rego and published in the *Latin American Literary Review*.

All these cases illustrate how, from the nineteenth century on, the constant shift between homogenization and heterogenization of language confirms the political role of language diversity as an object of state interest. Indeed, the production of diversity by official discourses is taken as a condition of discursive homogenization.

7. Local conceptions about language

We present some current indigenous discourses and practices that challenge governmental and academic discourses on language diversity in several aspects. The notion of language among indigenous Brazilians is neither homogeneous nor stable but varies according to cultural background, academic formation in undergraduate or postgraduate Brazilian programs on intercultural education, and political engagement with indigenous causes in Brazil.

So far, we have described the different types of knowledge production by the Portuguese in collaboration with Jesuit missionaries. Now, we turn to an analysis of perceptions and interpretations of indigenous languages by local communities themselves, which vary according to communities' experiences. For example, local indigenous teachers in the state of Acre in northern Brazil believe their local languages and culture are being "rescued" and revived because children are learning to sing traditional indigenous songs (Maher, 2010). Thus, singing local languages is taken as a symbol of knowing the local language, as noted in the narrated experience of these teachers: "*durante esses tempos que... que a gente estava com os velhos... eles sempre falavam que... que o homem MAIS inteligente, ele fala/ele diz tudo o que ele fala, cantando....*"; "*Então a gente acha que cantar é o ponto de partida das pessoas que... que TÊM muito saber*"[13] (apud Maher, 2010). In this case, traditional and religious indigenous songs have local cultural meanings that are not easily comprehensible to those who belong to non-indigenous culture because the Western idea of language proficiency is centered in conceptions of language that differ from the role of traditional songs in the identity and cultural constitution of indigenous communities.

Local conceptions of social practices involving language have been the main theme of some indigenous writers in a recent movement towards the construction and affirmation of indigenous literature. Munduruku (2013), an indigenous writer, describes his grandfather teaching him how to read the signs of nature, rather than words, as if he were learning the "alphabet of nature." Language, therefore, is not reduced to verbal language but involves the language of nature, songs, religious practices, etc. To know a language means to be inscribed in local practices that constitute indigenous ways of understanding and being in the world. In Munduruku's words, "Este alfabeto, que a natureza teima em manter vivo; esta escrita invisível aos olhos e coração do homem e da mulher urbanos, tem mantido as populações indígenas vivas em nosso imenso país."[14]

Fialho and Nascimento, (2009), an indigenous woman and education graduate who works in an indigenous, bilingual school in the state of Mato Grosso do Sul in Midwest Brazil, reports of a situation in her local community (Terena people) in which only the elderly speak the local language. This has motivated locals to "rescue" their identity through the creation of local projects centered on teaching on teaching how to read and write in the local language. Invention and creation of indigenous languages was motivated in part for the 1998 Brazilian constitutional prescription of the right of indigenous communities to use their language in educational contexts. Invention and creation of indigenous languages was motivated in part requirements since 1998 for being accorded land by the Brazilian constitution: the right of indigenous communities to use their language in educational contexts. Therefore, a strong conception – also affirmed by the national constitution – exists that language and identity are mutually bonded and that recognizing and preserving local language means protecting local culture.

This recognition triggered several initiatives around the formalization of indigenous education in Brazil (Nincao, 2009) and pressures to rescue indigenous languages. Indigenous languages had to be formalized to be taught in indigenous schools. Formalization was carried out as part of indigenous educational language policy conducted by both indigenous and non-indigenous teachers. Formally-educated indigenous communities also drew upon Western language authorities and Western models of language. For example, they cited Saussure to support local conceptions about language, even though Saussure was not necessarily relevant to local indigenous language practices. It is also interesting that the relation of these indigenous scholars to their tradition and language is reconstructed as a response to globalizing and capitalist discourses: "não somos o que os capitalistas pensam como um fracassado que aceita tudo e em alguns anos iríamos nos dissolver no meio capitalista"[15] (Fialho and Nascimento, 2009, 9).

Another educational situation involving social practices around the preservation of local languages as a tool of identity affirmation can be exemplified by an indigenous community (Tapuia people) in the state of Goias, in central Brazil, that did not have an "indigenous language" that could be considered a symbol of their indigeneity. The "rescue" of their history revealed that they originated from Portuguese, African, and Macro-jê indigenous people. This "miscegenation," which would have "eclipsed" the emergence of an indigenous language, favored the dominant presence of the Portuguese language. Thus, because they do not speak an indigenous language, non-indigenous people resist recognizing them as indigenous; rather, they are considered "negros sertanejos"[16] (Rezende, 2011). Furthermore, when the Tapuia teachers are with teachers from other ethnic groups in a context of intercultural education, the Tapuais face prejudiced discourses that they do not have an

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[13] "During these times that . . . we were with the old men . . . they always said that . . . the MOST intelligent man says everything he says by singing . . ."; "So we think that singing is the starting point of people who . . . have much knowledge."

[14] "This alphabet, that nature insists on keeping alive; this writing, invisible to the eyes and heart of urban man and woman, has kept indigenous populations alive in our country."

[15] "We are not what the capitalists think of as losers who accept everything and that in a few years would dissolve amidst capitalists."

[16] "Rural blacks".

"original" indigenous language that could testify in favor of a local identity. The solution the Tapuia teachers found, with the help of non-indigenous scholars, was to consider their Portuguese, known as Tapuia-Portuguese, as their own language. Tapuia-Portuguese would include specific functional, discursive, and structural features that have been studied and described by scholars from universities in the state of Goias and have been strategically used by teachers and students in their local schools as a signal of bidialectal identity.

8. Translation and language diversity and local indigenous people in Brazil: A dialogical view

In this section, we discuss translation in colonial Brazil as a political and religious instrument of Lusitanization and evangelization of indigenous people and the ways translated European texts were not passively received by indigenous peoples. Translation produced hybrid texts that combined Portuguese and indigenous discourses, creating new genres that did not exist prior to translation, such as confessions, plays, and lyrics. Translation also enhanced diversity with the use of African words in religious contexts, although the words had new meanings. Translation, therefore, increased diversity, at least in form.

9. Struggles for the truth: The dialogical dimension of translation in colonial Brazil

During the colonial period, translation was used as a political, cultural, and religious strategy of domination. Such translations not only involved the search for structural correspondences between languages but were also the translation of discourses and discursive genres (oral and written ones) that carried specific European and Christian worldviews. To exemplify this aspect, José de Anchieta (1534–1597), a Jesuit missionary in Brazil, translated into the *Tupi* language – a general Brazilian indigenous language – three typical European genres: dialogues,[17] lyrical poetry, and plays. The dialogues, widely present in Spain, were based on the Roman Catechism (the *Disputatio Puerorum*, a kind of pastoral guide, in use since the eleventh century) and aimed to shape people's behavior according to Christian morality through a compositional structure that resembled the oral modality. Lyrical poetry was sung and known in Portugal as the poetry of troubadours; such poetry, when translated into the indigenous language, adopted dualistic religious themes and a compositional structure in the form of rhymes:

> Através dessa nova modalidade de criação de textos em língua indígena, Anchieta traduzia a tradição literária ibérica para a cultura do nativo. Em suas poesias, a rima, a métrica e o ritmo são característicos da versificação românica e a sonoridade é tupi (Filho, 2007, 77).[18]

We notice the hybrid dimension present in the translation process, revealing that the cultural mix also implies relations of power and resistance. For example, the sonority of the *Tupi* language carried cultural meanings decipherable only to those immersed in the local culture:

> O Grande Som Primeiro – também chamado Tupã Tenondé, expressão desdobrada das palavras *tu* (som), *pan* (sufixo indicador de totalidade), *tenondé* (primeiro, início) – era como no século XVI os Tupinambá tentaram comunicar aos religiosos estrangeiros quando eram interrogados a respeito do conceito indígena de Deus; no entanto [...] aqueles que vieram do outro lado das Grandes Águas entenderam apenas um aspecto superficial desse Altíssimo Ser-Trovão (Jecupé, 2001, 33).[19]

Finally, eight plays by Anchieta were all inspired by the Portuguese theater, particularly by Gil Vicente; included a mixture of indigenous, biblical, and historical characters; were plurilingual; and ended with music and dance as an attempt to incorporate the indigenous culture into the European format of the plays (Filho, 2008).

The process that characterized evangelization in colonial Brazil through the creation of grammars of indigenous languages and the translation of Christian texts (by José de Anchieta, Luís Figueira, Louis Vincencio Mamiani, Leonardo do Valle, and Antonio Vieira, among others) was also characterized by a form of resistance by subjugated people. The diversity, resistance, and appropriation of religious discourses, "essa "tradução" foi re-traduzida, ou seja, de-codificada pelos destinatários indígenas da mensagem cristã: o resultado foi a produção de uma religião "híbrida", no interior de uma cultura de contato"[20] (Pompa, 2001, 80), laid foundations for the emergence of an indigenous Catholicism (Filho, 2008).

The linguistic-discursive hybridisms produced by the translation process included the incorporation of Portuguese or Latin words into the indigenous linguistic universe, lexical amalgam (Portuguese root words + indigenous affixes), Iberian

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[17] An example of translation of those dialogues to indigenous language can be found in the *Chrestomathia da lingua brazilica* (1859), by Ernesto Ferreira Franca, available at https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=QHMSAAAAYAAJandprintsec=frontcoverandoutput=readerandauthuser=0andhl=pt_BRandpg=GBS.PA181.

[18] Through this new way of creating texts in indigenous languages, Anchieta translated the Iberian literary tradition to the native's culture. In his poetry, rhyme, meter, and rhythm are typical of Romanic versification, but the sounding is Tupi (Filho, 2007, 77).

[19] "The First Great Sound – also called *Tupã Tenondé*, expression originated from the words *tu* (sound), *pan* (suffix indicating completeness), *Tenondé* (the first, the beginning) – was how in the sixteenth century the Tupinambá people tried to communicate to the foreign religious when they were asked about the indigenous concept of God; yet [...] those who came across the Great Waters understood only a superficial aspect of that Almighty Thunder- Being" (Jecupé, 2001, 33).

[20] "This "translation" was re-translated, or de-coded by the indigenous addressee of the Christian message: the result was the production of a "hybrid" religion, within a culture of contact" (POMPA, 2001, 80).

syntactic constructions in indigenous languages to express meanings that did not exist in these languages prior to translation, and translators' expansions and appropriation of indigenous meanings (Pompa, 2001; Filho, 2008). For example, missionaries used the Tupi word *Anhangá* to designate "devil" in opposition to God (*Tupa*) and to demonize indigenous rituals and behaviors. However, in the Indian cosmology, unlike a dualist European view, the same word designated a supernatural element that protected the forest and the animals, without the typical Christian negative connotation. Moreover, neologisms were created in Tupi to express Christian meanings: the word *tupãoka* (*Tupã* + *Oka*) – meaning house of God – designated "church," and the word "hell" was translated as *Anhangá rata* (fire of *Anhangá*). Such neologisms did not obviously carry the same meanings in both cultures. Some words were not translated due to their symbolic meaning to the Church, such as "Sunday," "Virgin Mary," and "Holy Church," among others, as we notice in this prayer: "Hail Mary, grace *rese tynysémbae* (Hail Mary, full of grace)" (Filho, 2008).

Thus, one must consider, on the one hand, that, during the process of colonizing indigenous people in the Brazilian colonial period, colonial strategy focused on decoding and systematizing indigenous languages to promote and facilitate the translation of Portuguese and Christian discourses into a language that was "invented" by those instruments. On the other hand, such European discourses were not passively appropriated by local people but were resignified/retranslated in light of the cultural universe of these peoples because "translation . . . is not a process that happens only in the translator's head. Readers decide to accept or reject translations" (Lefevere, 2003, 5).

9. Conclusion

In this article we have sought to analyses the nature and role of discourse practices in light of colonialism and the contemporary Brazilian philosophy of Lusitanization. To us the relations between colonial and postcolonial projects are constantly evolving, so as the relationship between Portugal and its ex-colonies. For example, Brazil has replaced Portugal which was the previous colonial country as currently the major player in Lusitanisation. This means that power relations between Portugal and its ex-colonies are changing with Brazil being the dominant power in ex-Portuguese colonies. Currently the status of Brazilian driven Lusitanization is complemented by other regional blocks which serve both economic and political interests which include the *Community* of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP).

It is unlikely that there will ever be a definitive history of Brazil. In this article we have constructed a history of the production of grammars and dictionaries as artifacts. From our perspective of historiography, the critical issue is not whether one history is more persuasive than the other, but the degree to which the history is consistent with the assumptions and goals which the narrators seek to serve.

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