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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATION	PORTUGUESE	ENGLISH
AIB	Acao Integralista Brasileira	Brazilian Fascist Action
ANL	Alianca Nacional Libertadora	Liberator National Alliance
CLSTP	Comite of Libertacao de Sao Tome e Principe	Committee of Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe
CPLP	Comunidade de Pais de Lingua Portuguesa	Community of Countries of the Portuguese Language
FNLA	Frente Nacional da Libertacao de Angola	National Front of the Liberation of Angola
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique	Mozambique's Liberation Front
GELCO	Grupo de Estudos Linguisticos do Centro-Oeste	Language Study Group of the Middle-West
IPOLE	Instituto de Pesquisa e Desenvolvimento de Politica Linguistica	Institute of Research and Development of Linguistic Policy
LDB	Leis de Diretrizes e Bases da Educacao Nacional	National Education Guidelines and Framework Law
LiEP		Language in Education Policy
MLSTP	Movimento of Libertacao de Sao Tome e Principe	Movement of Liberation of Sao Tome e Principe
MPLA	Movimento Popular da Independencia de Angola	Popular Movement of Independence of Angola
PAIGC	Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine e Cabo Verde	African Party of the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde

PCB	Partido Comunista do Brasil	Communist Party of Brazil
ONU	Organizacao das Nacoes Unidas	United Nations (UN)
UNITA	Uniao Nacional da Independencia Total de Angola	National Union of Total Independence of Angola

“I am always sorry when any language is lost, because
languages are the pedigree of nations”.
Samuel Johnson (1709-84)

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

This study is a result of a life trajectory as a professional, a Brazilian Portuguese-speaking citizen, and a student in South Africa. As a teacher of languages, a linguist, and a Brazilian citizen, I had to leave my home country, Brazil, to come to South Africa in order to have a different perception about its diversity of languages and to realize that native languages are being threatened in its territory. A common notion that most Brazilians have is that Brazil is a monolingual nation, that is, the only existing language is the colonial language Portuguese, even though there are indigenous and immigrant speakers within Brazil.

In realising that Brazil is a multilingual country, this research attempts to understand why the notion of Brazil as a monolingual country exists and why Portuguese as a powerful language is so dominant. This study also attempted to identify how specific discourses work to entrench the belief that Brazil is a monolingual country. Therefore, in order to investigate which dominant discourses around language operate and are entrenched, and how Portuguese, African and indigenous languages are positioned, a textual analysis of four key documents from the period of 1500 to 1988 was undertaken. Written or printed documents are a key prime source of information that “provide a record or evidence of events, an agreement, ownership, identification, etc” (The Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1990), and these historical documents provide evidence that help us understand key moments of Brazil's language history.

This study focuses on native languages, that is, both indigenous and African languages. Speakers of African languages who were brought to Brazil by the slave trade have suffered the loss of their languages. For those who still remain alive, they are some of the most endangered languages in the world (National Geographic Society and Institute Living Tongues, 2007).

1.1 Research aim and questions

Based on my new perception, this study aims to investigate how Portuguese, African, and indigenous languages are constructed in Brazilian policy documents. Therefore, the questions relevant for this study are, as follows:

- (1) How are languages constructed in Brazilian policy documents at key moments in Brazilian history?
- (2) What are the dominant discourses operating in these texts?
- (3) How is the role of language in education represented in these texts?
- (4) What ideologies are entrenched in these texts? Have they shifted over time?

In order to answer these questions and fulfil the aims of the research, the following documents will be analysed:

- (1) 1500 Letter of Pero Vaz de Caminha,
- (2) 1755 colonial document entitled Indigenous Directorate,
- (3) 1931, 1933, and 1938 Law Decrees¹, and
- (4) 1988 Brazilian Federal Constitution.

1.2 Rationale

There are five main reasons for carrying out this study. The first one is regarding the importance of understanding the legacy effects of colonial policies in post-colonial contexts. Colonial language policies and practices are found to be the core of long-term problems due to the adoption of the colonial language. The prohibition of African and native languages has also resulted in many language deaths from colonial times to date (Crystal, 2000). Nowadays, Brazil continues the practice of backing elite Portuguese as the only language in its territory. As a result, dominant groups continue to maintain the hegemonic power in the Brazilian society, influencing and enforcing governmental, political, economic and language policies that allocate resources unevenly among different linguistic groups.

¹ These law decrees I worked with are amendments to one document.

The second refers to national identity in the post-colonial world, that is, the way Brazilians see, perceive, and position themselves in the current linguistic scenario. How they read the word and read the world (Freire, 1972) needs to be interrogated. It has been naturalized that Brazil is a monolingual country and this notion has been perpetuated since colonial times. This study is relevant as it will attempt to identify power relations and how dominant groups have used policies to perpetuate social inequality and their hegemony in Brazil.

The third regards the history of language loss in Brazil, and the existence of many indigenous languages that are still endangered. Oliveira (2005) claims that intervention in terms of providing help regarding political aspects of linguistic awareness, the meaning and value of indigenous languages for the Brazilian society is crucial. Therefore, it is vital to provide conditions for the existence of linguistic diversity, and to design language policies that acknowledge and value these languages.

The fourth refers to critical literacy which posits that ideologies and discourses embedded in texts reflect on the representation of the world, and that language sustains and reproduces disparate power relations (Fairclough, 1989; Gee, 1996; Janks, 1994). Therefore, this study may shed light on the power relations embedded in the documents regarding language policy and practice, and enhance the understanding of changing power relations between language at different moments in the society (Barkhuizen, 2002). If my own history is a reflection of Brazilian perceptions, this is needed.

The fifth reason refers to the issue of social justice: dominant groups have used language as a source of power to deprive groups of economic and social ascension and many different kinds of social interaction (Fairclough, 1989, p. 3). Therefore, this study is meant to help reveal the “discourse power, dominance, inequality and bias and how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduced, and transformed within specific social, economic, political, and historical contexts” (Van Dijk, 1988) and to promote awareness of unequal social relations through the use of language

(Fairclough, 1989, p. 4). In order to have a further understanding of this study, it is important to briefly understand the history of Brazil and its language policies.

I turn to this in the following chapter. This will be followed by a discussion of the texts and methods I have used in Chapter 3, followed by a consideration of what the findings of this research reveal. In the final chapter I present my conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review

As I am interested in the construction of Brazilian identity and power relations, this study focuses on a discourse analysis of four Brazilian policy documents. The literature review will be presented in seven subsections. The first subsection provides a brief history of Brazil (2.1). The second examines issues in the field of Language Policy and Planning (2.2). The second deals with Colonial and Postcolonial Policies (2.3). The third discusses the Postcolonial State: Construction of Nationhood and Nation Identity (2.4). The fourth provides an overview of minority and indigenous languages in Brazil (2.5). The fifth examines the ways languages are entrenched in education (LiEP) (2.6). The last section discusses language ideology in Brazil and Lusophone Countries, and the Portuguese language in Brazil (2.7).

2.1 BRIEF HISTORY OF BRAZIL

In order to have a further understanding of this study, it is important to briefly understand the history of Brazil and its language policies. Currently, Brazil has a population of about 192 million people. And the official national language is Portuguese. There are around 210 languages spoken of which 180 are indigenous and 30 are immigrant languages within the Brazilian territory (Rodrigues, 1986). Presently there are approximately 133 threatened indigenous languages in Brazil (Rodrigues, 1986). In other words, not all Brazilians speak Portuguese as a mother tongue, and numbers clearly show the status of the colonial language Portuguese, against the minority languages in Brazil.

This reality was different before the arrival of the Portuguese colonizers in 1500 (Rodrigues, 1986). There were about 1200 indigenous languages in Brazil, but the exact number is contested. However, what is relevant is that Brazil has always been a multilingual country.

The language most commonly spoken among the indigenous people was Tupi (Tupinambá), a language of the Brazilian coast that belongs to the Tupi-guarani

family. Tupi was studied and coined as the general language by the Jesuits and afterwards spread into the Brazilian territory as the nation's official language. One of the objectives with the adoption of Tupi was to eliminate linguistic diversity in the country as a way to control indigenous people. Portuguese was still spoken by the elite and the Jesuits (Elia, 1979, p. 185-188).

By the late 17th century, Tupi was still spoken in Brazil. In the 18th and early 19th centuries, the use of Tupi was declining, mainly by in the working classes (Holanda, 1982, p. 92). In order to maintain religious, cultural, ideological and linguistic control, in 1759, Marques de Pombal established Portuguese as the official language. Consequently, the use of Tupi was devalued and Portuguese carried the highest status in the colony. The Portuguese then decided to create schools that taught only through the colonial language and at the expense of the native languages, causing many language deaths (Elia, 1979, p. 177).

A new disconnection between Brazilian Portuguese and European Portuguese occurred when the spoken language of Brazil during the colonial era did not follow the changes of the spoken European Portuguese during the 18th century. A reconnection occurred between 1808 and 1821 when the Royal Portuguese Family decided to live in Brazil and as a result, an intense "re-Portugueseization" of the spoken language started to occur in Brazil.

In 1822, when Brazil became independent from Portugal, many European immigrants arrived in central and southern Brazil, influencing the spoken Brazilian Portuguese. During this time, indigenous people mixed with new European immigrants. Immigration flow and the new connection of Brazilian Portuguese with other languages produced regional diversities that presently still exist in Brazil.

In 1897, the Brazilian Academy of Languages was created to regulate and control the written and spoken national language, preserving the refined standard variety as the only correct way of communicating in Brazil. However, in the early 1900s, as a result of nationalistic and individualistic ideas, modernists strengthened the initiative to create national literature by using the Brazilian language variety, creating a rupture in traditional Portuguese models. Thus, favouring the distinctiveness of the

Brazilian mode of speaking and, ultimately, establishing the Brazilian norm of Portuguese in 1931 (Brito, 1958).

Concerning indigenous languages in the last 20 years, the scenario has theoretically started to change with the 1988 Federal Constitution. This has guaranteed the use of mother tongue medium of instruction in primary education at indigenous schools. Currently, the general outlook of Brazil is that there is still much violence, disrespect, disregard, and hostility not only by those who have economic and political ambition, but also by those who are uninformed of the linguistic diversity in the country. There is also a disregard for the relevance of diversity for a nation and for humanity, and of basic rights of minority groups (Oliveira, 2005).

2.2 Language Policy and Planning

Calvet (2002, p. 145) defines language policy as a “set of conscious choices regarding the relationship between language(s) and social life” and language planning as “the practical implementation of a language policy, in short, the channel to action”. It can be asserted that language planning is an area of language policy that deals with language promotion and linguistic rights.

For Calvet (2002), it is not important which group designs the language policy – a family, a group of friends, for instance – but, in reality, it is most often the State that has the power and the means to put the phase of planning of language policies into practice (p. 145). Although language policies are designed by government bodies, people make their own policies; they have their own ideologies and beliefs, have the right to choose what language they want to express themselves in, even though they may belong to a minority language group.

Ricento (1996) explains that language policy “is interested in addressing social problems which often involve language, to one degree or another and in proposing realistic remedies” (p.11). This situation is pertinent in postcolonial countries such as Brazil “where governments have not been committed to productively implement multilingual policies that give priority to historically deprived native languages after years of restraint and supremacy by colonial languages” (Mazrui & Mazrui, 1998). In fact, Brazil’s government discriminates against indigenous languages by

decreeing a language policy that recognizes only Portuguese as the official national language.

Although talking about Africa, the words of Kamwangamalu reflect the Brazilian situation where language policy has been employed as “a tool to exercise control and as a way of repression among groups of indigenous people” (Kamwangamalu, 2004). Consequently, language change for the dominant language threatens the vitality of indigenous languages and their speakers’ identities. The moment indigenous languages are disadvantaged and not maintained, their speakers’ identities are disempowered. Indigenous groups must ensure that language policies are successfully executed in order to guarantee impartiality and to promote social justice in social, political and economic structures. The expected death of indigenous languages as a result is likely to affect the stability of democracy and the unity of the country (Perry, 2003).

In Brazil, the field of Language Policy studies in Brazil has recently been established (Oliveira, 2005). One of the most important reasons for the existence of a language policy in Brazil is the need to regulate the relationship between Portuguese and the indigenous languages spoken throughout the Brazilian territory. Only in 1999 an organization entitled IPOL – Institute of Research and Development of Linguistic Policy was created. IPOL has had the largest impact on the protection and promotion of minority language groups in Brazil. An overview of colonial and post-colonial policies in Brazil is provided below, as it is important to understand this study’s policy documents in the light of existing colonial and postcolonial policies.

2.3 Colonial and Postcolonial Policies

In the colonial world, language policies were designed in a way that the language of the coloniser maintained the highest status in the daily life of the colonised community. It also played a significant role in the most important domains of power (Rassool & Mansoor, 2007). This imperialist status still remains in many post-colonial policies. In other words, the assimilation of the coloniser’s language into the political, cultural, and economic body remains present in the colonised society. It is

noteworthy that language is at the core of the state, and that the languages that are highlighted by the national policy will have their status increased and obtain political and economic significance within the country.

Throughout Brazil's history, several policies have been established, but very little has changed in terms of how the elite continues to maintain its hegemony by using language to control power relations. The ideology of language assimilation has underpinned the history of Brazil which is "based on the assumption that linguistic (and, presumably, cultural) unity is at the very least desirable in a society." (Reagan, 2002, p. 160) The ideology of linguistic assimilation is inclined to support monolingual models of society and is concerned that people and groups acquire competence in only one language. It is also concerned with the denial and substitution of other languages in the society, at least, publicly. Thus, it can be said that practice of colonialism pervaded the culture and discourses of Portugal, the coloniser country, and Brazil, the colonised nation. The consequences are still manifested today in the discourse of the colonised nation which reaffirms and grants authority to the coloniser country. Thus it assumes its own position (Fanon, 2005, p. 244) and reflects its language, culture, race, and education curriculum. Therefore, it is important to analyse key policy documents to understand colonial and post-colonial linguistic ideologies in the post-colonial Brazilian society.

2.4 Post-Colonial State: Construction of Nationhood and National Identity

Countries usually promote the coloniser's language as the national language and a symbol of national identity, with the objective of obtaining social unity (Rassool & Mansoor, 2007). Thus, the coloniser's language becomes a very powerful form of cultural capital, thereby, undervaluing native and minority languages.

In Brazil, the construction of nationhood and national identity is similar to the one that originated in the modern European nations (Geary, 2002). Geary asserts that nations were portrayed as "imagined communities" created by efforts of politicians and thinkers of the 19th century who converted old and nationalist traditions into a political agenda. Nationhood is not a natural phenomenon, but is rather cultural. It is

also a construction which has a specific purpose and benefits a certain group of people.

This construction of nationhood in Brazil involved many kinds of death: cultural, linguistic, the death of mythologies of cultural groups, and memories of hundreds of people dwelling in a place before the Portuguese started to inhabit the land. After two centuries, Africans arrived in Brazil and they were also persuaded to forget their languages, memories and mythologies. Some of the African and the indigenous cultures were preserved but these portions were so insignificant within Brazil that all that prevailed from that era was the Portuguese language, Catholicism, the coloniser religion, and the memories registered by the Portuguese. It is noteworthy that the Jesuits learned and transcribed Tupi-guarani, but never taught it to the indigenous people to enable them to record their own histories in their own language, or alternatively in a common *lingua franca*. In addition, African slaves never learned how to read and write in their own languages or in that of the coloniser. There are neither indigenous registers of indigenous people during the colonisation, nor registers² produced by slaves during the period of slavery. The Portuguese controlled the right of registering the memory of the new world as writing was and always has been been a powerful tool of control and for the construction of nationhood and national identity (Ribeiro, 2010).

In Brazil, there is a lack of written registers produced by the indigenous and black African people based on their experiences and point of view. It is clear that Brazilian nationhood was constructed by destroying the prospect of preserving distinct identities of other peoples who lived in Brazil. Geary (2002) asserts that educational bodies were established as the sites of the Nation-State, both imposing the 'nationhood ideology' and facilitating the propagation of the national language which was implicit in this ideology. Through the study of the four policy documents, this project aims to verify how nationhood and national identity were constructed in Brazil. The next subsection deals with minority and indigenous languages.

² Register means a list of names like a class list or a recording of something usually bureaucratic. I have deliberately used this word in this study because of what it means in Portuguese.

2.5 Minority and Indigenous Languages

Minority languages are used daily in the Brazilian territory and they are two-fold, namely, indigenous languages and immigrant languages. The indigenous languages are languages such as the Caingangue, Guarani, General Language, among others. Immigrant languages are languages which were brought from immigrants such as the Japanese, German, Polish, Pomerano, and Italian³ by the end of the 1800s and early 1900s. For the purpose of this study, I will deal only with minority languages in general, and with indigenous languages in more detail.

2.5.1 Minority Languages

According to Maia (2010), linguistic minorities are groups of people who make use of a language belonging to either specific group members or to the state. They can use it publicly and this language is clearly distinct from the language used by the linguistic majority. Based on this understanding, it is important to inquire why protection movements of minority languages have not occurred in Brazil.

Fishman (1991) posits the importance of the maintenance of minority languages in order to preserve traditional cultures. Fishman encourages people and language activists to see local cultures as something beautiful that carry human values and deserve to be promoted and supported (p.33). He contends the importance of gathering forces to preserve and revive minority languages which can result in appreciation of the beauty and uniqueness of other cultures and someone's own language.

In Brazil, the only minority languages recognised in its territory through the 1988 Federal Constitution are the indigenous languages and the African languages. Nevertheless, these minority languages have faced much prejudice and disregard in the national society. They are socially disadvantaged (Bourdieu, 1990), discriminated, segregated, and many of them have rapidly died. In practice, little has been done to change this reality.

³ Pomerano and Talian refer to dialects of the Italian language.

Most minority linguistic groups in Brazil have been increasingly adopted Portuguese on a daily basis. However, it is crucial to preserve cultural values and traditions through the maintenance of other home languages (Maia, 2010).

2.5.2 Indigenous Languages

Indigenous or native languages are the languages used by the natives of Brazil. In this study I will consider African languages also as native languages because Africans were forced to go to Brazil as slaves and to speak Portuguese rather than their mother tongues. Therefore, in my view, in the Brazilian context, African languages are also considered native languages.

According to the UN (2008), “Indigenous peoples ... believe that without language we have lost our culture and the essence of who we are. Language is the most fundamental way that cultural information is communicated and preserved, especially in those that until recently did not use written expressions.” However, indigenous languages worldwide have been discriminated and endangered, thus the implication is that human diversity is not only lost, but also all the knowledge that is embedded in it.

A consequence of language discrimination has been language death. Language death can be compared to the extinction of species of plants and animals. The same way that activists of ecology do not measure efforts to maintain nature, linguists and sociolinguists should be committed to maintain indigenous languages. A balance has to be found where indigenous languages can be used in particular circumstances and international language in others, without disempowering indigenous languages (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

Indigenous languages in Brazil are clustered into families by linguistic evidence of genetic relations⁴. Evidence is found in phonetic correspondences of cognate words in several languages. Based on the great genetic diversity, there are four major

⁴ Genetic clustering of languages refers to groups of languages that stem from the same language, coined protolanguage.

linguistic families⁵ or linguistic trunks⁶ of indigenous languages in Brazil (see the list of Indigenous Languages in Brazil such as Arikem, Juruna, Maue, and Tupi-guarani, in Appendix 1, and Endangered Indigenous Languages such as Anambé, Aruá, Jabutí, and Karipuna, in Appendix 2).

Since the beginning of the colonisation of Brazil, indigenous languages and cultures have been seriously affected. With the arrival of the Portuguese in the 1500s, a linguistic genocide of indigenous languages began in the territory. First, with the substitution of hundreds of indigenous languages to the General Language, then with the replacement of the General Language to Portuguese up to the present. Portuguese became so powerful and so repressive a language that many indigenous languages which were embedded in the Brazilian culture, have disappeared.

The status of the indigenous languages has theoretically started to change since the 1988 Federal Constitution as it guarantees the use of a mother tongue medium of instruction in primary education at indigenous schools. However, indigenous languages have never been valued and established as the language in education in national schools and therefore they have never reached classrooms nationally. In 2006, four languages – three indigenous languages: Tucano, Nheengatu, Baniua, and the colonial language Portuguese – were acknowledged as official in a municipality in the Amazon. However, this attempt to officialise linguistic diversity did not work because this policy was not reflected in practice (IPOL, 2002).

Some groups such as GELCO (Language Study Group of the Middle-West of Brazil) have been interested in the minority languages within the central region of Brazil; mainly in programmes of indigenous language revival, as well as the education policy to indigenous people. GELCO reports the existence of 40,000 indigenous people in the state of Mato Grosso (MT), which is the second largest indigenous population in the country (Maia, 2010). Also, in the same region, there are seven indigenous ethnicities whose villages are in urban areas and their languages are about to become extinct. To make things even worse, they are oral languages and have no written register.

⁵ A linguistic family refers to a clustering of languages stemming from one language only.

⁶ A linguistic trunk refers to a clustering of linguistic families stemming from one language only.

2.6 The ways languages are entrenched in education (LiEP)

Historically, languages have been entrenched in education for many centuries. Bourdieu (1991) considers the education system the main channel for favouring a particular language and for justifying its supremacy. Bourdieu (1991) emphasizes that at the same time that the education system restricts students from inferior social classes to receiving knowledge and access to the legitimate language, this system is successful to instruct them to acknowledge its legitimacy (p. 62).

In Brazil, during the 1500s, education through the teaching and learning of Tupi was the means of evangelising and controlling native people, that is, a way to keep the supremacy of Portugal. In 1757, Marques de Pombal imposed European education on the native people through the teaching of Portuguese. Afterwards, in 1938, President Getulio Vargas with the New State regime closed the immigrant schools whose language was not Portuguese and everyone had to then receive instruction in Portuguese. In fact, the idea of the nationalisation of teaching during the government of Getulio Vargas had the objective of designing a plan with nationalist strategies and policies. It aimed to use school education and the hegemony of Portuguese as the developer of nationhood in individuals' mindsets, especially in German, Italian, and Polish communities found in the Southern Brazil.

2.7 Language Ideology and the Portuguese Language in Brazil

Ideology has been present throughout the history of humanity. According to Silverstein (1979), Kroskrity, Schieffelin and Woolard (1992), and Woolard and Schieffelin (1994), ideologies are permeated by moral and political subjects including the sociolinguistic domain which depends on the benefits of the social position of their holders. Ideologies are reflected in societies for politics, education, economy, and they contribute towards shaping the sociolinguistic scenario itself (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 36). The European manner observers, including Portuguese observers, "described, identified, delimited and mapped the languages in the territory" (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 47) as influenced by ideologies.

During colonial times, throughout the world, language played a significant role in the construction of the identity of people who lived in the new territories. There was a belief that the culture and languages of European countries had modern origins whereas the culture and languages of colonized countries were primitive and worthy of no value and consideration (Souza, 2006, p. 136).

According to Irvine and Gal (2000, p. 36-38), there are three semiotic processes that are usually used for people to construct ideological representations of linguistic differences, namely, *iconisation*, *fractal recursivity*, and *erasure*. Iconisation “involves a transformation of the sign relationship between linguistic features (or varieties) and the social images with which they are linked” (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 37).

Fractal recursivity uses iconic symbols to construct the ‘other’. Fractal recursivity (Irvine & Gal, 2000) can function on several levels and can construct an identity with a specific group and divide it thereafter. Inside each group there is the creation of differences by which speakers can be separated in relation to those ideologies (Irvine & Gal, 2000).

Finally, erasure is the process by which differences are constructed and sustained (Irvine & Gal, 2000). There is an interconnection of erasure with iconisation and fractal recursivity, since the erasure of any difference is seen according to each ideology as insignificant. It is erasure that establishes what should become iconised and what should become recursive inside a determined group, and the differences which become iconic are employed in the construction of “the other” (Irvine & Gal, 2000).

The three semiotic processes (Irvine & Gal, 2000) are found in the Portuguese ideology present in the economy, politics, and education in Brazil. This ideology reflects the process of independence of Brazil and its subsequent use of Portuguese as the only official language. Portugal established that Brazil would be a monolingual colony as an extension of Portugal. For instance, Portugal introduced Portuguese schools to symbolise the image of the Portuguese empire in the territory and a

national identity. Its purpose was also to employ the Portuguese ideology in new conquered territories where land was repossessed and the coloniser's language to brought civilisation to the natives (Indigenous Directorate, 1755). Poulantzas (1980) asserts that

“[t]he role of a common language in constituting the modern nation does not refer to a process whereby the State takes over a language, causing it to suffer purely instrumental distortions; it denotes the very re-creation of language by the State.”

In other words, the Portuguese language would inculcate a new status and a new identity for the natives. As a result of the Portuguese ideology, throughout the centuries the natives have lost their languages and identities.

When Brazil became independent from Portugal, Portugal's colonial discourse began to change. Portugal used a strategic discourse to make other nations believe that independence was a Portuguese initiative rather than of those people who lived in the colony. Another strategy was to continue considering Brazil as a 'son or brother state', taking into account that Brazil would always be an infant in relation to Portugal.

In the 1920s, the Brazilian nationalist movement was concerned with the identity of the Brazilian people. The Brazilian Portuguese language had its own characteristics. It was a mixture of indigenous languages, African languages, immigrant languages, and Portuguese. It was a language that had its own materials, social and emotional conditions. Gal (1992) claims that language discourses in relation to emotion, simplicity and source of thought are likely to be “deeply enmeshed with conceptions about the nation” (p. 448). Although the superior discourse of the Portuguese language continued to exist, the standard Brazilian variety was also valued in Brazil. Portugal disregarded the Brazilian language variety by arguing that the Empire's Portuguese was correct. However, for Portuguese to be one of the United Nations' official languages, it needed a specific number of Portuguese native speakers. It did not have these numbers, but Brazil did (United Nations, 2008). For economic and political reasons, Portugal was forced into this partnership with Brazil (United

Nations, 2008). These reforms have benefited the variety of the Brazilian Portuguese language more than Portugal or any other Portuguese speaking country.

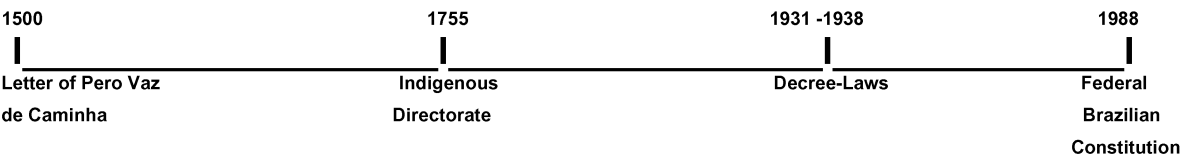
When Portugal began to lose its colonies, it changed laws about the use of language, and began to employ a different approach to colonial times. For instance, universities in Brazil or any other Portuguese speaking countries had not been created before 1961. Therefore, it can be understood that the policy of non-education was a manner of maintaining the natives at a lower social position in relation to the Portuguese. By adopting this policy, two moments in the history of natives were observed. The first one refers to the natives who had 'no history' before the arrival of the Portuguese and only entered the history as dominated people. In fact, in the colonial period, language was used to impose the Portuguese culture. In the post-colonial period, it was employed as a component of the continuity of colonial domination and exacerbation of the lusophony. The notion of the 'linguistic homeland' was the hierarchy that replaced the one in the colonial empire.

Although Portugal attempted to maintain its lusophony in its colonies, Brazil has never identified itself as a lusophone country, but rather as a Portuguese-speaking country. Currently, the role of the Brazilian Portuguese language through the expansion of the Brazilian media in Portugal disturbs the Portuguese intellectuals. By identifying Brazilian Portuguese as 'creative speaking', the Portuguese re-employ their same prejudice by embedding creativity in the primitive and wild Brazilian behaviour, a sign of intellectual inferiority. It is clear that including Brazilian Portuguese into the European Portuguese language would be a way to devalue the 'pure,' 'superior' language, and this action had to be banned. Lusophony attempted to make a distinction between civilisation and savagery, where Portugal brought civilisation through its civilising language. Lusophony maintains the racism, out of which the colonial discourse was founded, erases the 'bloody past', continues to be a powerful subtractive force of assimilation with a monolingual linguistic ideology, and maintains the Portuguese hegemony.

CHAPTER THREE: Method: Data Set and Data Analysis

This chapter describes the selection choices made for the documents in the study. It provides a brief overview of the content of the documents and an explanation of the way in which discourse analysis was used: (a) to show the importance of understanding the legacy effects of colonial policies in post-colonial contexts, (b) to identify power relations and how dominant groups have used policies to perpetuate social inequality and their hegemony in Brazil, (c) to provide conditions for the existence of linguistic diversity, (d) to design language policies that acknowledge and value these languages, (e) to comprehend the power relations embedded in the documents regarding language policy and practice and to enhance the understanding of changing power relations between language and different moments in the society (Barkhuizen, 2002), and (f) to reveal the “discourse power, dominance, inequality and bias and how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduced, and transformed within specific social, economic, political, and historical contexts” (Van Dijk, 1988) and promote awareness of unequal social relations through the use of language (Fairclough, 1989, p. 4).

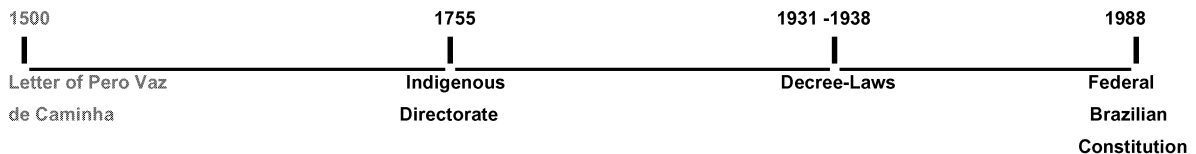
3.1 The data set



An analysis of excerpts of four policy documents was carried out, starting from the era of colonization to contemporary policy documents. It is noteworthy that there is a silence at two different moments for a period of about 200 years in Brazil’s history – from 1500 to 1755 and from 1755 to 1938 – where no policy documents are found. Although the four documents are extensive, for the purpose of this research, I focused on what was is relevant in terms of reference to language and other associated ideas, to language across the documents, and to how language has been constructed. I employed complementary approach in order for me to obtain a bigger picture of the policy documents I have analysed. The approaches were the following:

Huckin's approach (1997), parts of Fairclough's CDA (1995), and Thompson's Modes of Operation of Ideology (1990).

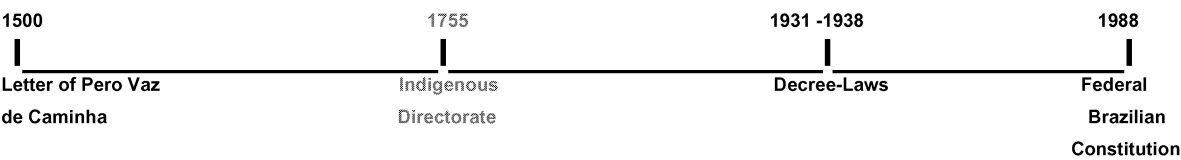
3.1.1 Letter of Pero Vaz de Caminha (1500) (Appendix 3)



Pero Vaz de Caminha, the Portuguese scribe, wrote a letter (Appendix 3) to the Portuguese Royalty announcing the “discovery” of a new land in May 1500. Capistrano de Abreu named this letter “Brazil’s birth certificate” (Conrad, 1965). In this document, Caminha portrays the native people of Brazil and the land. This document was chosen as the first record of the arrival of the Portuguese, describing the territory and the people living in it. It is relevant for this study as it describes the indigenous people as ‘the other’ regularly in the description and reports that they communicated through gestures as the Portuguese could not understand their language. Caminha mentions the importance of learning the language of the natives in order to evangelize them and use the indigenous people for determined purposes.

For the analysis, the importance of this document lies in the fact that these “discourses of power, dominance, inequality and bias and how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduced, and transformed within specific social, economic, political, and historical contexts” (Van Dijk, 1988) can be uncovered, and awareness of unequal social relations through the use of language (Fairclough, 1989, p. 4) can be promoted.

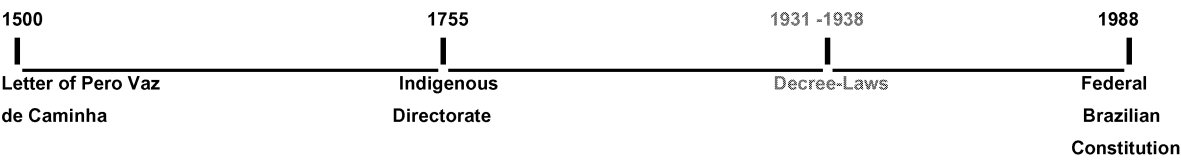
3.1.2 Indigenous Directorate (1755) (Appendix 4)



The document entitled ‘Indigenous Directorate’ (1755) is a result of a change of the Portuguese policy in relation to the management of its colony, Brazil. The Indigenous Directorate established Portugal’s monolingual position of using Portuguese as the only language to be spoken within Brazil’s territory. Behind this discourse, a measure was taken to eliminate the General Language, and to introduce the indigenous people into the ‘white’ society in order to make them active labourers to strengthen the Portuguese government and hegemonic power and to assure the defence of the Portuguese territory.

This document is relevant for this study the shift and death of Indigenous languages was as a result of the Portuguese hegemony and its measure to keep power over the indigenous people by using a discourse that portrayed them as civilized, happier people, speaking ‘the king’s language’. This document is also important for this study as it can help identify the power relations that existed and how dominant groups used policies to perpetuate social inequality and their hegemony in Brazil.

3.1.3 1931 – 1938 Decree-Laws (Appendix 5)



The four decrees in this section were approved during the government of Getulio Vargas in 1931, 1933, and 1938. The first document is the Federal Decree of Brazil number 20.108 (1931) passed by the Brazilian Government in conjunction with the Brazilian Academy of Letters and the Science Academy of Lisbon. It is comprised of

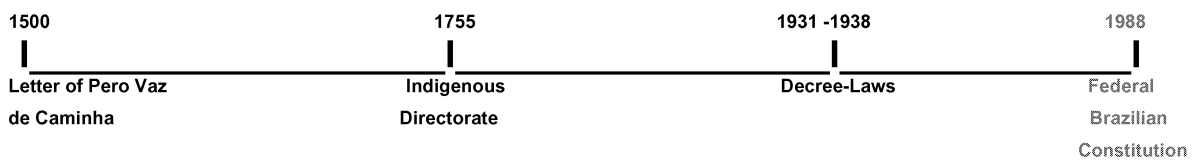
three articles and poses as advantageous to standardise the written national language, Portuguese, by simplifying its orthography and applying this decision in government departments and schools.

The second document, Federal Decree of Brazil n. 23.028 (1933) restates what the previous decree had decreed two years before and is comprised of five articles; two more articles than the previous decree. The first decree was that no student books with the old orthography would be permitted in schools. The second decree stated that if there are doubts in relation to the orthography, the Brazilian Academy of Letters should propose a solution which has to be in conformity with the Science Academy of Lisbon.

The third document, law Decree 292 (1938) readdresses the topic of the agreement established in the previous decree 20.108 (1931) and contains four articles. The fourth document, law Decree 389 (1938, contains 30 articles and deals mainly with the issue of Brazilian citizenship. It maintains that for one to be naturalised as a Brazilian, s/he has to have knowledge of the Portuguese language.

These documents are important for this study because, as a result of this decree, cultural components such as languages and music were forbidden in Brazil. When Brazil joined the Second World War, the Brazilian government decided to reinforce this law as an Act against the presence of Polish, German and Italian immigrants and descendents through police repression, which forbade them to speak their mother tongues in the city. Through language, the government attempted to create a Brazilian identity and memory by making immigrants forget their backgrounds.

3.1.4 1988 Federal Brazilian Constitution (Appendix 6)



The 1988 Brazilian Constitution was a result of a political transition to return to democracy. This democratic ideology was first reflected in educational proposals which were introduced in the 1988 Federal Constitution and, afterwards, in the LDB and in the new structure of the political and institutional areas responsible for education. Many articles in the 1988 Constitution dealt with basic content for education using principles of equality and diversity. They aimed at ensuring a basic common foundation and the coexistence of different cultural registers in any curricular proposal and at different levels of education and government.

The importance of this document is that it was the first Brazilian document to acknowledge the basic rights of the indigenous people such as mother tongue medium of instruction in primary education at indigenous schools. The importance of this document also lies in understanding the legacy effects of colonial policies in post-colonial contexts, and in the provision of conditions for the existence of linguistic diversity. Based on the understanding of power relations entrenched in the document, it is important to adjust or design language policies that acknowledge and value the minority or disadvantaged languages.

3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

In order to examine the data set, three approaches – Huckin’s (1995), Thompson’s (1997) and Fairclough’s (1989) – were used. Firstly, it is important to understand the importance of the use of Critical Discourse Analysis in this study.

3.2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

In this study, I have used Critical Discourse Analysis to examine the discourses that are entrenched in four Brazilian policy documents. According to Gee (1999), Discourse (with a capital letter) refers to the language being used in different social

communities where practices and values, behaviour, food, customs, ideas, ways of thinking and of dressing are specific to a group. Gee (1999) asserts that meaning is constructed socially within Discourse communities, and language is employed from a viewpoint and happens within a context, therefore there is no neutrality in any Discourse. Fairclough (2003) claims that “language...as an element of social life, is dialectically related to other elements” and that “different discourses are different ways of representing the world.” (p.214-215). According to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report (1998), language “...constructs social categories, it gives orders, it persuades us, it justifies, explains, gives reasons, excuses. It constructs reality. It moves people against other people” (p. 7, 124, 294).

Janks (2009) claims that discourses (with a small ‘d’) are socially patterned ways of using language that members of a discourse community draw on (unconsciously) in speaking and writing. Discourses are abstractions that are instantiated in texts which are a material form (p. 15)

As can be seen above, discourses are relevant for this study as they are a representation of the world. They are never neutral and are materialized through texts. Language, in turn, is a practice constructed socially, and can set social groups into categories. Fairclough (1998) explains the relationship between language and power: language contributes to the domination of some people over others.

When texts are prepared, choices are made in terms of what words to employ, who should be included and who should be excluded, what verb tense is used, what subject pronoun is used, whether or not to use active or passive voice, direct or indirect speech, or modal verbs. Choices are influenced through the forms of doing, believing, speaking, writing and appreciating of the communities one belongs to (Gee, 1990). As texts can be put together, they can also be deconstructed in order to become aware of what selections the designers of these powerful groups have made, and what lexical items and grammatical options they have chosen to include and exclude. Once there is an awareness of these selections, critical questions are likely to be raised. Observations of how reality is arbitrated by language and how users of language design the texts that denote their descriptions of reality. Put simply, not only deconstructing, but also critically analysing and reconstructing texts

is embedded in the critical discourse analysis. During this process of critically analysing and deconstructing texts, individuals start to position themselves and build their own identities. Therefore, it can be said that texts shape society, and society shapes texts.

The method used in the analysis of the documents was Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as it was crucial to examine the discourses found in the four documents. CDA considers language as a social practice (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997) and highlights the importance of the context of language (Wodak, 2000). This entails the existence of a relationship between a specific discursive event and an institution, situation, and/or a social structure. Therefore, discourse is represented and conditioned socially, that is, it represents relationships between individuals, situations and social identities. It also helps to maintain, reproduce, and change the social status.

As discourse is such an important part of society, it becomes central in issues of power. One of the main ideological consequences of discursive practices is that they can contribute to the production and reproduction of unequal power relations between social classes, linguistic and ethnic groups, by means of how they characterize things and place people (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258). It is important to acknowledge that language does not carry any power itself. However, it gains power through its use by powerful people. This clarifies CDA's choice to take the standpoint of those who suffer and for the analysis of language use by those in power who are accountable for the existence of inequalities and the control of the instruments to change circumstances and conditions. CDA considers texts as sites of struggle where they present indications of contradictory discourses and ideologies where all are fighting for control. In short, 'power' refers to the relations of dissimilarities and mainly to the effects that these dissimilarities have in social structures (Wodak, 2008).

The harmony of language and social structures show that language is interwoven in social power. It also has distinct roles such as the manifestation of power and the communication of power. Where there is controversy over power and where power is challenged, it also has a unique role. Power does not originate from language, but language can be a tool used to challenge and destabilize power, to modify the

allocation of power in short and/or long term. Language also constitutes a means to communicate disparities in power inside hierarchical social structures (Wodak, 2008). Social structures refer to the diversity of discourses according to social hierarchies such as, the media, gender, race, employment, unemployment, and political program. CDA, thus, is concerned with how linguistic forms are employed in many demonstrations and uses of power.

Therefore, it can be asserted that CDA is concerned with investigating evident organizational relationships of dominance, power, control and discrimination that is displayed in language. Put simply, CDA has the objective of analytically examining social discrimination as it is communicated, established, legitimised and empowered through discourse. Habermas claims that “language is also a medium of domination and social force [and] it serves to legitimise relations of organised power” (Habermas, 1967, p. 259).

As discourses are designed by dominant groups and structures of dominance are established by ideologies of groups who control power, the approach of CDA enables to investigate forces and to analyse ways of resisting unequal power relationships that emerge as conventions in society. These assertions suggest that a substantial analysis should be carried out in relation to socio-political and historical progress of specific discourses, intertextuality, and interdiscursivity of the four Brazilian policy documents in order to reveal the unequal power structures that characterise the experiences of linguistic minority groups.

As CDA is a theory and a method (Fairclough, 2001, p.121), it is necessary to find out which approach would be suitable to analyse the five policy documents. Van Dijk (2001, p. 99) asserts that choices that are pertinent to the study of a social theme have to be made and structures should be selected. Van Dijk (2001) posits that in order to choose the best approach one has to gather some ideas related to text-context that inform which properties of discourse may change in social structures. This information can be found in the research questions of each study. In order to analyse the four Brazilian policy documents, I chose to begin by using Huckin’s (1997) approach, and afterwards by using Thompson (1984, 1990) and Fairclough (1989).

3.2.2 Huckin's Approach (1997)

To start, Huckin (1997) advocates that the analyst should deal with the text in an unanalytical manner and as if s/he were an undiscerning reader. Afterwards, s/he should return to the text in a critical manner. The second time, s/he should revisit the text with a critical eye at different levels, making questions about it, envisioning other ways in which it could have been constructed, and mentally relating it to other texts. Then, Huckin suggests verifying the kind of viewpoint and perspective that is being imparted. This investigation is called 'framing the details' into a consistent whole and it can be achieved through many revealing procedures.

These procedures and strategies were applied as a preliminary frame for the analysis of the four policy documents in order "to uncover hidden ideological meanings behind the discourses expressed in words and sentences" and to find out "how and why these practices and beliefs are reproduced, resisted, altered, and transformed" in these documents (Remlinger, 2002).

3.2.3 Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis Model

Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) concentrates on how linguistic choices are made. These choices are influenced by the processes employed and the social circumstances in which one receives and produces texts. Fairclough's (1995) model of discourse analysis examines the linguistic characteristics of a text. It concentrates on its signifiers, particularly linguistic and visual choices and their order and visuals. It is therefore the most appropriate model to analyse these documents. In this model, discourse has three dimensions namely, text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. Each dimension demands a distinct analysis. The text is examined through *description*, the discourse practice is evaluated through *interpretation*, and the sociocultural practice is investigated through *explanation* (Fairclough, 1995).

Questions for each dimension are useful to guide analysts to scrutinise the text profoundly and carefully. In the first dimension, the *text* (description), the following

questions are raised: (a) How is language used to construct a representation of the world? (b) How do key linguistic features work to position the readers/listener? Do they all pull in the same direction? Is there a pattern? (c) How does the overall construction of the text – logical reasoning, sequencing, visual selection and organisation, interaction patterns – contribute to this representation? and (d) Are there internal contradictions?

In the second dimension, the *discourse practice* (interpretation) may question the following: (a) Who is speaking to whom? When? Where? On which occasion? (b) What relations exist between the speaker/writer and the listener/hearer/reader? (c) What is going on (content)? Who is involved (subjects)? What relations exist between them (relations)? What is language doing (connections)? What is the discourse type? and (d) Who is the ideal reader of this text? How do the assumptions about what the reader knows and values, enable us to work out who the ideal reader is? What do intertextual references tell us about the ideal reader?

In the third dimension the *sociocultural practice* (explanation), questions like the following are raised: (a) What is the socio-historical context? (b) What power relations: social, institutional, situational shape this discourse? (c) What are the common sense assumptions that underlie in this text? What is taken for granted? What is presented as natural? and (d) How is this discourse positioned or positioning in relation to reproducing or changing social practice? Does it work to sustain or transform existing relations of power?

It is the third dimension that is crucial for this research. Understanding sociocultural contexts is a way of providing a deeper understanding of how discourses operate at a specific time and also across time. This was supplemented by the work of Thompson (1990).

3.2.4 Thompson's Modes of Operation of Ideology

Thompson's (1990) Modes of Operation of Ideology distinguish five broad ways in which ideology can function, namely, *legitimation*, *dissimulation*, *unification*, *fragmentation*, and *reification*. Thompson (1990) also classifies different varieties of

symbolic structures that are linked with these modes that help detect the linguistic and non-linguistic symbols that usually identify ideological effects. In other words, Thompson's Modes of Operation of Ideology helped me detect the linguistic and non-linguistic symbols in order to identify ideological effects. Thompson explains that different symbols may be used for different purposes and that modes of ideology may not be realized in this manner. However, he provides valuable manners of conceiving the relation between symbolic modes and social effect.

Legitimation (Thompson, 1990) refers to the method used to establish and maintain relations of domination, which is shown as legitimate, impartial, and significant of being granted support. *Legitimation* is commonly obtained through three discursive strategies, i.e., rationalization, universalization, and narrativization. *Rationalization* (Thompson, 1990) refers to an argument that is produced to validate something. *Universalization* (Thompson, 1990) presents a series of institutional procedures which benefit particular groups and are portrayed as serving the interests of everyone. In *Narrativization* (Thompson, 1990), narratives are used as representing realities. In these narratives, stories, histories, films, novels and jokes are included as instances of the power of narrative to form realities which denote the seeming sequence of things (Thompson, 1990).

Dissimulation (Thompson, 1990) denotes the method used to conceal or obscure relations of domination. This is a way to disguise unpleasant actions, events, and social relations and to re-depict them optimistically through euphemisms. In Thompson's view, *dissimulation* can take place through two modes – *displacement* and *trope* (Thompson, 1990). *Displacement* is normally a label used to refer to something else with the objective of transferring either positive or negative meaning from one to the other. *Trope* corresponds to the employment of figurative language that allows portions to represent totals and totals to represent portions. It also involves the figurative and symbolic use of language.

Unification and *fragmentation* refer to similar methods, but they operate in contrary ways. *Unification* creates a communal identity that connects individuals regardless of their differences. *Fragmentation* refers to a method that divides people from one another in spite of their likeness, with the objective of separating and ruling. 'We' and

'us' are established through unity. *Fragmentation* is connected to this method of unification since communal identity is, to a certain extent, built by constructing 'the Other' or 'Others', that is, a 'they' or 'them' that is apart from 'we' and 'us'. People abuse and violate one another as a result of the dehumanization caused by racial, religious and cultural othering.

Finally, *reification* (Thompson, 1990) is a method that turns a process into a thing or an event. Methods are set by employing verbs that occur within time and space each possessing 'actors'. Thompson (1990) defines *reification* as "relations of domination and subordination [that] may be established and sustained by representing a transitory, historical state of affairs as if it were permanent, natural, outside of time" (p. 65). *Reification* (Thompson, 1990) is accomplished through symbolic modes, namely, *naturalisation*, *externalization*, *passivisation* and *normalisation* (Thompson, 1990). *Naturalisation* refers to socially constructed realities portrayed as natural and unavoidable. *Externalization* focuses on social practices, habits, customs, and institutions which are depicted as permanent and stable, outside the socio-historical situations of their production. *Passivisation* converts active voice into passive voice. *Passivisation* and *normalisation* remove actors and agency and modify what is focused on and specific themes in the sentence structure.

3.2.5 Analysis of the Data

The analysis of the four policy documents was carried out through the following process. First, I critically read the four documents written in Portuguese several times as Huckin's (1997) suggests. I read commentaries existing on those documents, wrote down questions about them, imagined other ways they could have been constructed, compared them to important information regarding language, education, land, and related them to other texts. I also analysed the viewpoint from which the document was written.

After framing the document, by using some characteristics of Fairclough's (1995) CDA, I could contextualise how the documents worked in order to help me construct a background to employ Thompson's Modes of Operation of Ideology (1990). Thompson's (1990) framework gave me greater detail and enabled me to uncover

ideology, as my research is interested in this issue. It also allowed me to question power and how practices become invisible in the mind of a nation. When the analysis was completed, I translated the documents from Portuguese to English. The translation from Portuguese to English was the last phase in order not to interfere in the analysis. The reason why they were translated was that English is a language employed in the academic community at the University of the Witwatersrand and by the readers of this study. In other words, all the documents were analysed in Portuguese, the language in which they were initially produced. The reason for this was so that I could capture the distinctive nuances from the discourses produced in each of the four texts.

CHAPTER FOUR: Findings

Chapter 4 discusses the four language policy documents in an attempt to answer the research questions posed in the introduction. I have mapped key moments and verify what trajectory is taken regarding the operation of discourse across 500 years and analyse how language policy in Brazil is influenced by the colonial and post-colonial past. Due to the word constraints of this report I focus on broad patterns.

4.1 Document 1: Pero Vaz de Caminha's Letter (1500)

4.1.1 The Document

The letter of PeroVaz de Caminha (Appendix 3) is considered the most important official document as it acknowledges the finding of a new land and the people living on it. It is a 27-page handwritten- document written in a diary style. In this letter, Caminha recalls his journey and the arrival at the new land which the Portuguese colonisers named Vera Cruz. The description of the letter was in response to the Portuguese king whose desire was to expand the empire and conquer the new worlds. As a result, the Portuguese empire would increase its wealth by exploiting natural resources, such as gold and silver. The Portuguese contact with the indigenous people was not purely to Christianise them, but to use their information to find out where precious resources were which could generate cash flow and accumulate capital, produce more wealth to countries, increase the European and intercontinental commerce, and develop some cities.

From paragraphs 1 to 4, Caminha explains to the King that he was not going to inform him about the daily navigation, but rather about the events that occurred during the expedition, starting on the 9th of March of 1500 in Belem, Portugal. Throughout the letter, Caminha mentions the names of places where the navigation, managed by the main captain Pedro Alvares Cabral, passed and he reports the disappearance of one of the vessels led by Vasco de Ataide which could not be found after two days of the search.

From paragraphs 6 to 19, Caminha reports seeing the first signs of land on Tuesday the 21st April 1500. On the following day, the Portuguese colonisers had the first contact with the land and its people. The Portuguese found many natives on the land, and Caminha describes their appearance and their activities as different from the colonisers and constructs their identity based on what he observed. Caminha describes these natives as “dark-skinned, naked, without anything that could cover their shame” (Par. 14) and people who “brought their bows in their hands and their arrows” (Par. 14). Caminha also mentions that they often walked along the beach (Par. 12), and did neither plant crops or raise animals, implying that the natives were unproductive and lazy.

In paragraphs 14 and 20, Caminha states that the natives did not speak Portuguese, but the way they could communicate was through gestures. Gestures were sufficient for the Portuguese to understand that there were natural resources in the land, thus, fulfilling the objective of their expedition.

From paragraphs 21 to 26, Caminha informs the King that the Portuguese identified what was in the land by showing the natives various items such as a parrot, a sheep, a chicken, bread and cooked fish, sweets, honey, figs and wine. However, he comments that the natives did not care for these items because they could not identify them in their environment. In other words, the natives’ food habits and culture were different from those of the Portuguese.

From paragraphs 30 to 41, Caminha reports that the captain required that two Portuguese men – Nicolau Coelho and Bartolomeu Dias choose two outcasts to be with the indigenous people with the intention of learning about their culture and habits which were so distinct from the Portuguese. Nicolau Coelho gave the natives presents, and the natives gave tools to the Portuguese in return.

From paragraphs 43 to 97, Caminha reports that the main captain ordered that everyone was to celebrate the Easter Sunday mass including the natives. The main objective was to imprint the Christian religion as the natives did not “seem to have or understand any belief” (Par. 87, 94) and to imprint the ways of thinking of their modern and educated nation. In fact, the Portuguese colonisers wanted the natives

to be close to them in order to gain their trust and to make them feel comfortable with their presence in the land. In turn, the natives would reveal to them where the natural resources are and permit their settlement there. After the mass, they decided to eat some prawns and almonds together and the Portuguese decided that it was not necessary to take natives to Portugal by force to obtain information about the land (Par. 52). Rather, they agreed that it would be easier to find out what they wanted to know if they left the two outcasts behind. They could stay and learn the language of the natives, and as a result, they could start preaching Christianity and taming them as if they were wild animals (Par. 52). On this very same day, the Portuguese officially celebrated the finding and the ownership of the land by placing a visible cross with the royal insignia on the land.

At the end of the letter, in paragraph 100, Caminha restates the objective of the letter, revealing that there was gold, silver, various metals and iron in the land, and asserts that it is a very rich land because of its abundant waters. In addition, in paragraphs 94 and 101, Caminha requests the King of Portugal to send a priest to baptise the natives and to preach in order to save them in the “land of the King” which had already been named *Ilha de Vera Cruz* (Island of Vera Cruz).

4.1.2 Social Context in which Document 1 is located

Using Fairclough’s approach, the social context in which Caminha’s letter was written will be discussed. Between the 16th and 18th centuries, the thinking of European countries, such as Spain, England, France and Portugal, was to expand the empire, to increase wealth, and to strengthen their hegemony by conquering new lands. In order to achieve this objective, the Portuguese empire worked under the westernised principle of “one nation, one culture, one language” (Ricento, 1990). Also, the Vatican aimed at having one powerful religion worldwide. Portugal’s strategy to explore and possess the new land involved using the natives as a source of information, as well as Rome’s strategy to evangelise all the natives living in the land. There was an agreement between Rome and Portugal where Portugal would possess the land and Rome would evangelise the world. The Jesuit priests who were deployed by Rome to evangelise the natives had to do this through learning local languages. The priests also had to submit themselves to the Portuguese

kingdom and, in exchange, the Portuguese royalty had to accomplish certain religious tasks and pay the priests' expenses.

This agreement between Portugal and the Vatican granted much power to the Jesuits in the Portuguese colony. The Jesuits stayed in the land for more than 200 years and influenced the colonial language policy. The idea was that through one language, Portuguese thoughts, religion and culture would be taught to the natives and the land would become an extension of Portugal. From the Portuguese empire's perspective, the objective of imposing a one language policy meant they would be able to control and minimise the existing disparities within the indigenous people whose culture and languages that did not fit the European notion of being 'civilised.' However, from the Vatican's perspective, the most effective way to evangelise the natives of the New World was through the implementation of the local language, Tupi, which was also called the General Language. The priests believed that the most effective way to do this was to learn and adopt only one native language since there were so many. This measure of using one language obscured the linguistic variety, causing the death of many indigenous languages and cultures, and resulted in creation of homogeneity of the national language (Rodrigues, 1993). Portugal believed that teaching the Catholic religion could be done in any language but it was necessary to serve the King in his own language, Portuguese.

4.1.3 Analysis of Document 1 based on Thompson's Modes of Operation of Ideology

A discourse analysis reveals the operation of several discourses. This section discusses discourses about land and the construction of colonial and local people. It also considers the way language is used to construct truth.

4.1.3.1 The Land

Caminha describes the new territory as an inhabited place which had rich natural resources such as trees (Par. 10), plants and birds (Par. 9), much water (Par. 62, 100), and gold and silver (Par. 20). For instance, in paragraph 62, he asserts the following:

Andamos por ai vendo o ribeiro, o qual e' de muita a'gua e muito boa. Ao longo dele ha' muitas palmeiras, nao muito altas; e muito bons palmitos. Colhemos e comemos muitos deles. /

We walked around looking at the stream of which has much water and it is very good. Alongside the stream there are many palm trees which are not very tall; and many good hearts of palm. We gathered them and ate many.

In Caminha's letter, language is employed to convince the King of Portugal that the territory they found is worthwhile exploring. He depicts the natural richness of the land and adds that everything one plants grows due to the abundance of water in the land (Par. 100).

He also asserts that the Portuguese are the possessors of the 'new' land, by depicting the natives as 'unworthy' of being owners of the place due to their wild behaviour, lack of language and religion. In paragraph 1, evidence of ownership of the land is seen when Caminha reports to the King about "finding his new land". For the Portuguese to certify of their possession of the land, they had to employ strategies to demonstrate that natives were simply users of the land, but not worthy of being its owners, which will be discussed later in this section.

The colonial discourse used in Caminha's letter attempts to position the reader to see the right of the Portuguese to own the land. That is, it empowers the Portuguese empire to take possession not only of the land, but also of symbols, languages, culture, natural resources, and people as though they were an extension of Portugal.

4.1.3.2 The People

Caminha spends a great deal of his letter describing the people living in the territory. Despite all the richness of the land, there is a very interesting perception that there is no labour in it because the Portuguese did not see the natives working and doing the activities the Portuguese did in Portugal .e.g. raising animals and farming using advanced agricultural methods. In paragraph 88, Caminha portrays the following:

"Eles não lavram nem criam. Nem há aqui boi ou vaca, cabra, ovelha ou galinha, ou qualquer outro animal que esteja acostumado ao viver do homem./

They do not plant or raise. There is neither ox or cow, goat, sheep, or chicken, or any other animal that is used to living with men.”

The Portuguese did not consider that, if a given group of people develops different ways of making a living, such as picking seasonal fruit, it does not mean that this group does not work or is indolent. He also notes that the natives only ate a kind of yam (Par. 88), thus implying that they lived in scarcity and poverty.

In his text, Caminha follows an ideological approach that focuses on the construction of natives as ‘wild animals’, who ‘need to be tamed’, controlled and guided. Furthermore, the letter also mentions explicit concerns on economic issues. For instance, as soon as the Portuguese contacted the natives, they attempted to understand the natives’ gestures in order to fulfil the objectives of the expedition. In paragraph 60,

E ali esperou por um velho que trazia na mão uma pá de almadia. Falou, enquanto o Capitão estava com ele, na presença de todos nós; mas ninguém o entendia, nem ele a nós, por mais coisas que a gente lhe perguntava com respeito a ouro, porque desejávamos saber se o havia na terra. /

And there, he waited for an old man who brought a shovel of the *almadia* in his hand. He spoke while the Captain was with him, in the presence of everyone; but nobody would understand, neither did he understand us, even though we asked him about the gold because we wanted to know if there was in the land.

In this excerpt it can be understood that despite the lack of understanding between the natives and the Portuguese colonisers, they could use gestures to find out about the existence of gold and other minerals in the area.

The description of gestures, nudity, lack of language and of knowledge of foods and drinks offered to the natives, constructed them as primitive people who did not have an ordered system and therefore needed to be governed by a superior people like the Portuguese. The Portuguese colonisers used this approach as an excuse to control the natives by teaching their religion and their ideology, to construct ‘the other’, and to dissimulate the right of possessing the land.

Caminha also posits that religion was a way to unify the natives with the Portuguese, so that ‘the other’/ ‘them’ would become ‘us’ by following the Portuguese lifestyle, religion, and behaviour. For instance, Caminha reports that the natives would follow their ‘actions’ while worshipping. Without hesitating, the natives acknowledged that it was something good and followed what the Portuguese colonisers had told them to do. This attitude was a form of unification (Thompson, 1997) which triggered collective identity, as can be read in paragraph 90 when the natives sit, kneel and raise their hands in the same way as the Portuguese:

*“... perto de cinqüenta ou sessenta deles, assentados todos de joelho assim **como nós**. /*

... approximately 50 or 60 of them, sitting on their knees **like us**. (my emphasis)”

*“... que nos erguemos todos em pé, com as mãos levantadas, eles se levantaram **conosco**, e alçaram as mãos, estando assim até se chegar ao fim; e então tornaram-se a assentar, **como nós** /*

... that we stood up and raised our hands, they stood up **with us**, and raised their hands, being like this up to the end; and they sat down again, **like us**.” (my emphasis).”

Based on the world view of the Portuguese colonisers, the natives lacked religion based on a judgment according to their own understanding of religion. This indicates an arrogance that there was only one correct way to worship. In fact, it is quite possible that the natives knew this was another way of worshipping and were being respectful of the difference.

Religion was a tool used to unify the natives and the Portuguese. After learning about the Portuguese religion, the natives joined the Portuguese colonisers in a repetition of what the Portuguese were doing and somehow started to identify themselves with the Portuguese. Regardless of this example of unification, the Portuguese did not identify themselves with the natives in return and continued treating them as outsiders or as, ‘the others’. This is deemed as fragmentation (Thompson, 1997), as observed in the lines written in paragraphs 94 and 84, respectively:

“... esta gente, não lhes falece outra coisa para ser toda cristã, do que entenderem-nos, porque assim tomavam aquilo que nos viam fazer como nós mesmos. /

... this people, it does not need another thing to be all Christians, than to understand us, because they did what they saw us doing” (Par. 94).

“E estavam já mais mansos e seguros entre nós do que nós estávamos entre eles. /

And they were more tamed and safer in the midst of us than we were in the midst of them.” (Par. 84).

As can be observed above, the natives acted in identification with the Portuguese, accepting them and their customs, but the Portuguese continued treating them as ‘the other’, ‘the different’, ‘the uncivilised’, ‘the rude’, ‘the bestial’, ‘the tamed’, ‘the ones without religion’, ‘them’, but not ‘us’ (see Caminha’s letter, in Appendix 3). By constructing the Indigenous people as animals and not fully human, they are constructed as ‘them’, as ‘those who are not like us’, and therefore not able to enter into the inner circle of Portuguese society. This is what Thompson (1997) describes as “differentiation” in the mode of operation known as “fragmentation”. Caminha asserts in paragraph 68 that the natives had little religious knowledge and thus different from them, as follows:

“Deduzo que é gente bestial e de pouco saber, e por isso tão esquiva. /

I reckon they are devil people and of little knowledge, and therefore very withdrawn.”

Fragmentation is seen when Caminha positions the natives as ‘the wild’ and ‘rude’ and the coloniser as ‘the educated’ and ‘civilised.’ He positions the reader as a Portuguese coloniser who arrived on the land to help the natives have a decent, well-mannered, educated, civilized, respectable, and hopeful life in contrast to a wild, rude, uneducated, deprived, and illiterate life. Caminha’s ideal reader would then be asking: What would happen to us if our ‘saviour’ Portugal had not come to conquer the land? What terrible language would we have been speaking if the Portuguese had not brought their superior language? A chain of reasoning was built to legitimate their possession of the land and their positioning of the indigenous as outsiders. It

has legitimated that it is morally accepted for the Portuguese to be the ones who would control and be the owners of the land to make it valuable and powerful.

Caminha states that the natives had no religion, in order to justify the need for Jesuit missionaries to introduce the 'civilised Christian ideology' embedded in religion. In fact, the natives had their own religion and beliefs which are different from the Portuguese colonisers (da Nobrega, Cartas, Volume 1, Page 99). The mode of operation of ideology used in this context is called legitimation (Thompson, 1997). It is a significant strategy used to transform the new land into a Portuguese land where there was a king, a "superior" language, rules, and religion.

The language used by Caminha was a tool to construct land and people based on the Portuguese ideology, values and economic, political, linguistic, and sociological interests. The land was described as rich and valuable and the people living on the land were constructed as primitive and wild animals who needed to be civilised (Santos, B. 2006, p. 187). This could only be done with the help of the Portuguese colonisers who were willing to help change their mindsets concerning social, political, and linguistic ideas as well as their views on religion, rules, leadership, work, language, and education, in order to create a civilised place to live. The ideological discourse used by Caminha in his letter separates the colonisers and the colonised into two groups: (1) the civilised, the educated, the blessed, the influential, and the superior group, and (2) the different, the uncivilised, the non-educated, the cursed, the voiceless, and the inferior group.

4.1.3.3 Caminha's View of Language

In the previous subsections, language was used to position the reader in relation to both land and the people. In this section, I discuss how language itself is constructed in Caminha's letter. It is important to remember that that the European manner observers, including Portuguese observers, "described, identified, delimited and mapped the languages in the territory" (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 47) and were influenced by their own ideologies.

During colonial times, language played a significant role in the construction of the identity of people who lived in the colonised territories. There was a belief that the culture and languages of European countries had modern origins whereas culture and languages of the colonised countries were viewed primitive and worthy of no value and consideration (Souza, 2006, p. 136).

According to Irvine and Gal (2000, p. 36-38), there are three semiotic processes that are usually used for people to construct ideological representations of linguistic differences, namely, *iconisation*, *fractal recursivity*, and *erasure*. Iconisation “involves a transformation of the sign relationship between linguistic features (or varieties) and the social images with which they are linked” (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 37).

These three semiotic processes are present in Caminha’s letter. An example of iconisation is when Caminha employed a racist colonial discourse which was discriminatory and manipulative in order to achieve their objectives as the dominant colonising group. Examples of discrimination, racism and manipulation are (a) when Caminha poses the imaginary insufficient language of indigenous people to communicate in the language of the coloniser, as follows, “*Falou, enquanto o Capitão estava com ele, na presença de todos nós; mas ninguém o entendia, nem ele a nós* / He spoke while the Captain was with him (native person) in the presence of us all; but nobody could understand him, neither did he”; and (b) when he positions the Portuguese as a superior race which has an advanced written language, as opposed to the native people whose language was compared to animal noises as they communicated with gestures. At different moments of his letter, Caminha mentions the following,

“E ele não sei que diabo falava. /

And him (a native person) I did not know what devilish things he was speaking.”

“... como pardais do cevadouro. Ninguém não lhes ousa falar de rijo para não se esquivarem mais. E tudo se passa como eles querem -- para os bem amansarmos! /

... like sparrows in the pen. Nobody dares to speak hard to them (the natives) in order not to run away. And everything is done according to what they (the natives) want – for us (the Portuguese colonisers) to tame them (the natives)!”

Fractal recursivity (Irvine & Gal, 2000) is also present in Caminha's letter. For instance, Caminha constructs the language of the natives as inferior when compared to his language, seen in the following:

"Estivemos rindo um pouco e dizendo chalaças sobre isso. /

We were laughing a bit and making fun of this (the native's language)"

As seen above, Caminha legitimates his authoritarian and discriminatory discourse by depicting the natives as wild animals who just make noises and gestures, and as not having the right to think or to decide what is best for them, "... *como pardais do cevadouro. / ... like sparrows in the pen*". Therefore, the natives had to be guided and controlled by those (Portuguese) people who are educated, religious and who know what is best for them. Caminha asserts that

".... o melhor fruto que dela se pode tirar parece-me que será salvar esta gente. /

... deduzo que é gente bestial e de pouco saber."

"... the best fruit of it (the land) that can be taken seems to save these people.

/ ... I infer that these people are bestial and of little knowledge."

Caminha emphasises the importance of taking action and saving the natives by bringing their religious knowledge and removing their wild and primitive lifestyle.

Finally, erasure can be found in the letter when Caminha writes to the Portuguese empire. For example, Caminha disregards the existence of several languages spoken by the natives in the territory. In fact, he does not consider the natives' language a language at all. He calls it 'some noise' which is not comprehended by the Portuguese colonisers. Therefore the way to communicate was through gestures as seen in the following excerpt,

"Todavia um deles fitou o colar do Capitão, e começou a fazer acenos com a mão em direção à terra. /

However one of them looked at the Captain's necklace and started to make gestures with his hand towards the land."

"... e acenaram que saíssemos./

... and made gestures for us to leave.”

Erasure of other languages was a justification to exterminate the variety of cultures and languages that existed in the territory. It also aimed to eradicate any probable control exerted by the natives, and ultimately, to dominate the natural wealth of the land. In other words, people who did not have language and used gestures to communicate, is considered wild, archaic and prehistoric. These people were assumed to not have knowledge and, therefore, had to be controlled by people who were considered ‘sophisticated’ and ‘fully human.’ This is an example of rationalisation within the category of legitimation (Thompson, 1997). In document 1, Caminha attempts to justify the need for the Jesuits (Par. 94) to be present and for the Portuguese ownership of the land

As can be seen, language ideology used in the new territory reflected sociocultural ideologies which placed either low or no value on the native languages and their speakers. However, it is important not only to detect the ideological structures used to describe the land and the people, but also to uncover its consequences in relation to language change and/or death in the social context.

Caminha omits the description of the several languages spoken in the new territory and therefore disregards its linguistic diversity. However, Caminha and the other Portuguese colonisers might have lacked the ability to either identify the different languages, or to acknowledge the diversity of languages that existed in the territory. If languages were a means of identifying nations or the ‘pedigree of nations’, according to Samuel Johnson (1773), how could the Portuguese colonisers consider the new territory ‘a nation’ if they could not identify any language there? In fact, they would feel it right to own and establish the territory as a nation out of the belief that they belonged to a superior race, were at a higher intellectual level, and owned the necessary ingredients, namely; a language, a political and social system, and a superior religion. In addition, Caminha implies that the natives were a very primitive and simple-minded people who had no social organisation more intricate than a family arrangement. However, Irvine and Gal (2000, p. 50) assert that languages come before any political movement and recognise nations during the colonial era, as follows:

“...if languages were prior to human political activity, they could then serve as its warrant, identifying populations and territories that could be suitably treated as political unities, whether self-governing nation-states ... or units for colonial administration.”

It can be seen above that the Portuguese colonisers used language as a tool to combine politics and religion in order to fulfil their objectives which were: (a) to evangelise the 'lost' native people in order to expand Christianity throughout the world; and (b) to obtain information about the land in order to discover natural resources, to expand and to enrich the Portuguese empire.

This document refers to a product of the existing social forces which resulted in the creation of directives that one language was used while others were silenced. In fact, the dominating Portuguese empire wanted to transform its new colony into an extension of Portugal, and the Portuguese language was one of its characteristics. Put simply, in order for Portugal to declare Brazil as a nation with its own identity at a later stage, it was necessary to declare it as linguistically homogeneous. Therefore, the move to homogenise and control groups of people is contained in this document.

This document shows that the objective of the Portuguese colonial powers was to expand the empire of Portugal. Language was used to enslave and dominate the colonised people, by depicting them as uncivilised, in order to obtain the right to possess the territory found by the Portuguese. With the strategy of evangelising the natives, Caminha demanded that the Portuguese king sent Jesuits to learn one language of the land. By removing the diversity of languages in the territory and using only one native language, Tupi, the Portuguese used religion as a force to assimilate and disseminate a particular set of beliefs

4.2 Document 2: Indigenous Directorate (1755)

The Indigenous Directorate contributed to changing the status of Portuguese, the indigenous languages, the indigenous people and the management of the nation. Below I will elucidate the content of the document and its importance in this study

4.2.1 The Document

The Indigenous Directorate was designed by Portugal to manage the Portuguese colony as a result of a great loss of colonies during conflicts for the *Ilha de Vera Cruz* colony. The Indigenous Directorate banned the use of the General Language, Tupi, which was a contact language with other communities, and imposed Portuguese as a compulsory language (Guimaraes, 2005). Elisa Garcia (2007) states that the Indigenous Directorate aimed to completely integrate the Indigenous people with the Portuguese society, not only by stopping prejudice against them, but also by extinguishing the differences between the white and the Indigenous people.

This document expresses the important features of the Indigenous policy in this period of history. It is comprised of 95 articles, which essentially instituted the following: (a) prohibition of the use of the word “black” (Par. 10), (b) support for marriage between white colonisers and indigenous people (Par. 88-91), (c) replacement of Tupi (general language) to Portuguese (Par. 6), and (d) disapproval of discrimination (Par. 84, 86).

For the establishment of new guidelines in the Portuguese colony, Paragraph 1 provided reasons which justify the existence of the Indigenous Directorate and the institution of its new policies. Paragraph 2 establishes the way in which villages would manage the new rules and laws, who would put these directives into force, and how natives would be punished if they did not follow the rules.

Paragraph 3 restates that the natives continued being as barbaric, uncivilised, and pagan as the natives who lived in the *Serto*, a remote area where the white colonisers did not have access to ‘civilise’ the natives. The Portuguese Directorate claims that the Jesuits had come to the land to bring salvation to the natives, but did nothing to help them follow Christianity and become ‘civilised,’ which were declared as the two main objectives of Portugal. In fact, the Portuguese empire asserted that it had to act in favour of the ‘poor’ natives who were deprived of the wonderful things they had to offer. Paragraph 4 explained the former objective and paragraph 5 the latter.

Paragraph 6 is the most important paragraph of this document for this study. It justifies the choice for the employment of the Portuguese language in the territory. It claims that it is a practice of all **nations** (my emphasis) to introduce the coloniser's language into their new colonies as the most efficient means of removing the 'barbarian' life and customs of 'rough peoples'. It also adds that it is important to teach the language of the Prince because it is a way of showing obedience, reverence, and affection to him. It argues that all polite nations of the world should adopt this system. However, in this conquest, it was an incorrect choice to use the General Language because it deprived the indigenous people of having a better way of living. In order to avoid this cruelty from re-occurring, the directors of the villages would be responsible for the use of the Portuguese language in their territories, thus forbidding individuals to speak anything other than Portuguese. This rule was established to avoid 'complete spiritual damage.'

Paragraph 7 declares that there would be two public schools in each village, one for boys, and the other for girls. Paragraph 8 explains that the indigenous people had to pay for the maintenance of these schools and their teachers, either through cash or services. Paragraph 9 requires the directors to honour indigenous people who had abandoned their 'barbarian' lives.

Paragraph 10 acknowledges the misunderstanding and atrocity of naming indigenous people 'black', as this term was designated to the black slaves who came from the African Coast. In paragraph 11, it was decided to give surnames to indigenous people in order to avoid problems and to honour and treat them as if they were white people. Paragraphs 12 notes that the indigenous people had to build houses that were similar to the white people.

Paragraphs 13 to 15 establish that the governors of villages should be careful with the vices of the indigenous people and that whenever necessary, the indigenous people should be punished in a mild manner. The dress code was also dealt with where the indigenous people, especially the women, were forbidden to be naked.

Paragraphs 16 to 26 explain that the king seeks to provide the indigenous people with spiritual and temporal welfare. This responsibility was given to the Missionary

priests who took the place of the Jesuits. Then economic and political management of the indigenous people could only be obtained by means of a 'culture of commerce.' Therefore, the directors of these villages had to be in charge of persuading the indigenous people to cultivate their land, and to show them the benefits of these actions. The Portuguese empire claimed that there was misery in the land because of two factors. The first was 'indolence of the natives' and the second 'the incorrect use of the land.' The indigenous people were obliged to grow beans, corn, rice and all other kinds of food in the very fertile land in specific regions of the country.

Paragraphs 27 to 33 discuss the evaluation of the yields of what was grown, and the tithes of 10 per cent that the indigenous people had to pay to the directors.

Paragraphs 34 to 58 evaluates the sales or the exchange of the products harvested, and the products consumed by the indigenous people. Concern is raised that the indigenous people may have deceived them. Weights and measures should be used by directors to avoid the falsification of commerce. Indigenous people were not allowed to do any business without the directors' help, nor to exchange their products for *aguardente*⁷ (similar drink to tequila brought by the Portuguese from Portugal to Brazil) in order to inhibit further disorders, iniquities, and problems.

Paragraphs 59 to 81 instruct the directors and authorities to follow the rules established by the Portuguese empire in relation to the indigenous people and the management of the land. For the indigenous people, the King ordered that support be given to build their houses, and that they be treated without violence.

Paragraphs 82 to 87 establish that the directors must express specific conditions to newly hired people regarding their treatment and rights indigenous to obtain peace,

⁷ "Aguardente is the name of the Portuguese grape brandy. It is distilled from the Vinho Verde grapes and aged in old Port wine casks giving the end product an interesting flavour and smoothness." (http://gallerycovas.com/?page_id=69)

union, and public harmony. Paragraphs 88 to 91 discuss the aim of intermarriage as eliminating the prejudice that colonisers have. Finally, from paragraphs 92 to 95, it is again stated that the directors must observe the indigenous rights of the indigenous people so as to reach their objectives namely, to propagate the Catholic faith, to promote the indigenous civility, to increase agriculture, to establish commerce, and to bring opulence and happiness to the State.

4.2.2 Analysis of Document 2 based on Fairclough's CDA (1989)

The Indigenous Directorate was created as a result of a critical moment in the Portuguese colonial regime. After the great period of *Minas Gerais*⁸ where gold mines were discovered in Brazil and the African and Asian colonies were lost, Portugal started to give higher value to its Brazilian territory. Furthermore, in 1750, the Treaty of Madrid instituted territorial boundaries on the American continent between the Spanish and Portuguese.

Until then, the Portuguese empire had two controlling territories. One was the State of Brazil with its capital, Salvador and the other was the State of Maranhao with its capital, Belem do Para (http://www.nead.unama.br/site/bibdigital/cartografia_potuguesa/textos/textos2/texto2.htm). As there were many mines in Para which were a great source of wealth, Portugal did not want to lose that area. Nevertheless, the territory established by the Treaty that belonged to Portugal required some firm action in order to maintain possession as Portugal had to solve three challenges.

The first challenge was that Portugal had to maintain the territory. This implied that the territory had to be productive, and that the possession of their borders would be delimited by the principle of *uti possidetis* (in Latin which means "as you possess"). In other words, Portugal had to occupy the territory before it was taken by others.

⁸ Minas Gerais refers to one of the states of Brazil. According to Brazil Travel's website, "[t]he name Minas Gerais ("General Mines", or "Large Mines") is a reference to the fact that, during the 18th and 19th centuries, large mines of gold and precious stones were found in the State; some cities prospered much because of the gold, and still have a rich architecture: Ouro Preto, Mariana, Barbacena, São João del Rei. (<http://www.v-brazil.com/tourism/minas-gerais/map-minas-gerais.html>)

The second challenge referred to the Jesuit priests who had control over the indigenous communities and who were initially sent to the colonies by the Portuguese king. However, the Jesuits had other advantages in the territory: they did not pay taxes, and had great economic control of the region as the Indigenous people worked for them. In short, as Portugal lost control of the Jesuits in the land, its only recourse was to expel them in order to expand its economy and to put the Treaty into practice.

The third challenge concerned a lack of consistent and systematic production and its effect on the economy. Prices were reduced in an area where that economy was not sufficient to the subsistence of the region. In order to deal with all these three challenges, the Portuguese empire decided to use the Indigenous people to protect the borders and strengthen its right to possess this territory.

To solve these challenges, the Portuguese empire attempted to persuade indigenous people that the empire wanted to provide them with a better lifestyle through the establishment of the Indigenous Directorate. Through the Indigenous Directorate, the natives would be given land for agriculture, be legalised as citizens, and granted freedom to become active labourers. But the natives had to move to certain areas of the territory (Par. 11, 12). In other words, the protection of the Portuguese colony was the justification for the Portuguese empire's interest in 'helping' the native people. In short, Portugal would 'reward' the indigenous people with the King's language, a 'new' and 'noble' mindset of civilised people, and learn how to behave like the whites. In exchange, the natives had to abandon their old 'primitive' culture, language and history which was taught orally. They were required to change their lifestyles of 'laziness' and 'poverty.'

When compared to the beginning of the colonial era in Brazil through the letter written by Caminha, the pretext used by Portugal to conquer new lands was the Christianisation of the world. Two centuries later, in paragraphs 3 and 4 of the Indigenous Directorate, the pretext used to take possession of the land remained religion linked with civility but the argument shifts. The Jesuits were no longer the vehicle through which the indigenous people would be Christianised. Rather, they were seen as a threat to the Portuguese empire's plan to use the indigenous people

to protect their borders. Portugal ironically alleged that the Jesuits did not accomplish the duty of bringing salvation to the savage people who worshipped other gods and continued speaking the primitive language. With this ironic colonial discourse, Portugal disempowered the Jesuits and used a religious discourse to accuse them of having demonic ideas, as seen in paragraph 6 below:

“... se praticou tanto pelo contrário, que só cuidaram os primeiros Conquistadores estabelecer nela o uso da Língua, que chamaram geral; invenção verdadeiramente abominável, e diabólica, para que privados os Índios de todos aqueles meios, que os podiam civilizar, permanecessem na rústica, e bárbara sujeição, em que até agora se conservavam. /

... practiced the contrary in this Conquest and only took care of the first Conquerors to establish the use of the Language called General in this system; invention truly abominable and diabolical as it deprived the Indigenous people of those means that could civilize them.”

As their partnership broke, the Jesuits were expelled from the colony. In short, religion was one of the main excuses and a very powerful manipulative means that Portugal utilised to guarantee the ownership of the territory, to maintain its hegemony, and to increase its wealth.

4.2.3 Analysis of Document 2 based on Thompson’s Modes of Operation of Ideology

In this subsection, the issues of land, education, and indigenous people emerge as key themes that I discuss while applying Thompson’s (1997) Modes of Operation of Ideology.

The Indigenous Directorate was a law designed to transform indigenous people into vessels and active labourers for the protection of the Portuguese empire as a result of the Treaty of Madrid. . On the surface, the Indigenous Directorate seemed to be designed to value the indigenous people and grant them freedom as real citizens of the nation. However, the real intention was to include them into the colonial society and to transform them into active labourers as a response to protect and maintain the Portuguese colony. Therefore, this new situation required a different construction of the Indigenous people in order to maintain the ownership of the land and to

perpetuate the Portuguese hegemony and control of the colony. Language and education were used as means to reach this objective, and are examined below.

4.2.3.1 The Land

Portugal's primary objective in passing the Indigenous Directorate was to protect the Portuguese land and to fulfil the political and economic interests of the Portuguese empire rather than to protect any indigenous communities. This is an example of dissimulation (Thompson, 1997) where the intention of the Portuguese domination conceals the true intention towards the indigenous people.

An example of naturalisation (Thompson, 1997) is also clear in paragraphs 19 to 23. For instance, in paragraph 19, it is discussed that if the Indigenous people do not have enough land to work on, the directors of the communities are supposed to report it to His Majesty, as can be demonstrated below:

“E achando que os Índios não possuem terras suficientes para a plantação dos preciosos frutos, que produz este fertilíssimo País; ou porque na distribuição delas se não observaram as Leis da equidade, e da justiça; ou porque as terras adjacentes às suas Povoações foram dadas em sesmarias às outras Pessoas particulares; serão obrigados os Diretores a remeter logo ao Governador do Estado uma lista de todas as terras situadas no continente das mesmas Povoações, declarando os Índios, que se acham prejudicados na distribuição, para se mandarem logo repartir na forma que Sua Majestade manda. /

And finding that the Indigenous people did not have sufficient plots of land to plan their precious fruits of which this very fertile country produces; or because in their distribution the Equity and Justice Laws were not observed; or because the adjacent lands to their Communities were given in sesmarias⁹ to other particular People; the Directors will be obliged to send the State Governor a list of all the plots of land situated in the continent of these same Communities, declaring the Indigenous people who are damaged in the land

⁹ Sesmarias refers to plot of land that kings of Portugal would give to be cultivated.

distribution and demanding to share them soon according to what His Majesty orders.”

Portugal's decision to concede land to the indigenous people in order to plant crops could be construed as a generous act. By this stage in its colonial history, the fact that the land belonged to Portugal rather than to the Indigenous people had been naturalised. In other words, Portugal positioned itself as doing a favour to the natives by giving them land and teaching them how to cultivate it.

It seems ironic that the Indigenous people were lent something that belonged to them. Indigenous people had to plant what the Portuguese empire demanded and had to grow crops in areas established by Portugal. Portugal imprinted the idea on the native people that it has been good for them to be part of a political and economic system, better housing and even surnames. Besides that, the Portuguese empire made the Indigenous people believe that they lived in poverty, were lazy, and that they came to the land to teach them to work and how to explore the land in order to live in abundance, as read in paragraph 19:

“... e para nelas fazerem as plantações, e as lavouras; de sorte, que com a abundância dos gêneros possam adquirir as conveniências, de que até agora viviam privados, por meio do comércio em benefício comum do Estado. /

... and planting and farming in them; so that with abundance of goods they can acquire things that they were deprived so far, through commerce in common benefit of the State.”

This is an example of rationalisation (Thompson, 1997) which constructs a series of reasons to justify the invasion and ownership of the Portuguese in the indigenous people's land, and their changes in the indigenous people's culture, language and lifestyle.

It was a naturalised 'fact' that the land belonged to Portugal and dissimulation occurred when Portugal decided to be 'good' to the Indigenous people by giving them land and teaching them how to cultivate it. The natives were persuaded through rationalisation that they had to submit to Portugal. They were indirectly forced to work on the land to grow vegetables and, as a reward, they would live in

abundance, which was different from the state in which they were found, according to the Portuguese discourse.

4.2.3.2 Education

Part of the strategy to successfully reach the objectives of the Indigenous Directorate was to prohibit the use of Tupi, directly, and other native languages indirectly, and to institute the use of Portuguese in education and in public. The prohibition of the use of local language at school and in the community was one of the main causes of cultural and linguistic genocide in the midst of the native people (Holanda, 1936; Cunha, 1985).

According to Skutnabb-Kangas (2001, p. 201), “educational systems are the most important direct agents in language murder”. Therefore, dissimulation (Thompson, 1997) is present when then Portuguese justified the benefit of bringing education to the Indigenous people, and ‘civilising them’ at the expense of other languages. Actually, they wanted to impose Portuguese thoughts and beliefs onto the natives and turn the land into an extension of the Portuguese territory.

Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) asserts that “formal education which is subtractive ... is genocidal” (p. 206) because through it children receive instructions about dominant practices in the dominant language at the expense of their mother tongue. As can be seen above, linguistic genocide was once again at play in the society by favouring Portuguese over Tupi, and, previously, by favouring Tupi over a variety of native languages.

Portugal introduced an ideology of assimilation (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) with the institution of Portuguese as a medium of education for Indigenous children. That is, the dominant language was used as a medium of instruction rather than mother tongue education. Even though the indigenous people were the majority in the territory, they did not have economic, political and cultural autonomy and were therefore disempowered in choosing their language as the medium of instruction. However, mother tongue education should be one of the most important demands of the less privileged groups as it reproduces a group’s identity, culture and promotes

better levels of education (1996 National Education Guidelines and Framework Law - LDB, paragraph 3, Articles 32 and 78).

Many boarding schools were also created as a means to remove the Indigenous children from their local contexts. As a result, Indigenous children would not learn local ways of thinking, living, and believing, but only the 'white' and Western mindset and culture. In fact, education was one of the most powerful ways to introduce the Portuguese ideology and to remove Indigenous people from an 'uncivilised' world.

Dissimulation is present in paragraph 8 when the Portuguese offered education to the natives and then required them to work to pay for it, as follows:

“... pagos pelos Pais dos mesmos indios ... ou em dinheiro, ou em efeitos..../
... paid by the indigenous children's parents ... either in cash, or in work ...”

In other words, the indigenous people had to work in the communities established by Portugal to pay for their children's studies. In document 1, it is clear that the Portuguese colonisers did not want to take the indigenous people by force to find out about the land, but wanted to tame them through religion to discover the natural resources. The same strategy was used two hundred and fifty years later, but this time through education and labour. The Portuguese tamed the natives by providing them with citizenship, land and surnames, to benefit themselves economically. Forced work was also used as dissimulation (Thompson, 1997) to pay for education.

Marques do Pombal attempts to persuade local people about how advantageous and beneficial it would be for them to be civilised as 'first-class citizens' and, with this purpose in mind, native boys and girls would have to receive education in Portuguese in conformity with the gender stereotypes prevalent in Europe. Paragraph 7 states,

“E como esta determinação é a base fundamental da Civilidade, que se pretende, haverá em todas as Povoações duas Escolas públicas, uma para os Meninos, na qual se lhes ensine a Doutrina Cristã, a ler, escrever, e contar na forma, que se pratica em todas as Escolas das Nações civilizadas; e outra para as Meninas, na qual, além de serem instruídas na Doutrina Cristã, se

lhes ensinará a ler, escrever, fiar, fazer renda, costura, e todos os mais ministérios próprios daquele sexo. /

And as this determination is the fundamental basis of Civility, that is intended, there will be two public Schools in all new villages: one for Boys in which the Christian Doctrine will be taught through reading, writing, and counting in the manner that it is practiced in all Schools of the civilized Nations; and one for Girls in which besides being instructed in the Christian Doctrine, they will be taught how to read, write, spin, embroider, and all other ministries appropriate for that gender.”

In fact, Portugal wanted to legitimate its plan to convert Brazil into a Portuguese nation where its citizens had its mind, language, religion, and culture, and they would protect its territory and enrich the Portuguese kingdom in return. This mode is known as ‘legitimation’ (Thompson, 1997).

After legitimating the reasons why it would be important to change rules to benefit the indigenous people in the Brazilian territory, the document explains that because they took these people from such great misery and poverty, school has to be paid for. The Portuguese colonizers continued to manipulate the indigenous people and to use laws and rules to oppress, kill and enslave them. After establishing and employing all the measures, which obliged the native people to move into villages to protect the Portuguese territory, learning through the colonizer’s medium of instruction, prohibiting the use of their own languages and finally coercing them to pay for the school fees, the Portuguese colonizer could reassert power over the Indigenous people in the territory to guarantee its possession and control of its colony.

4.2.3.3 The Indigenous People

As in the first document, the indigenous people’s identity is constructed as uncivilised, rustic, miserable, lazy, still pagan, drunkards, poor, and ignorant regarding agriculture (Lery, cited in Olivieri and Villa, 1999, p. 74-75). But there is a contradiction in this discourse of the Portuguese. In document 1 paragraph 25, the Portuguese offered wine to the natives, but they did not like nor want it. In reality, the Portuguese introduced them wine to make them drunk and to manipulate them.

Being addicted to alcohol meant that the indigenous people could not react against Portugal. Due to the deliberate action of the Portuguese empire, after more than 200 years, Portugal labelled them as 'inebriated people' (Par. 13), thus, unworthy of governing themselves (P. 37). This is an example of rationalisation (Thompson, 1997) where it was claimed that Portuguese leaders had to govern the indigenous communities and territory because of the lack of the natives' capacity. For instance, the governor of the villages had to be with the indigenous people to trade goods, otherwise they would either be deceived or would exchange their food for *aguardente* brought by the Portuguese from Portugal, as seen in paragraph 37 of document 2.

In paragraph 8 the issue about naming the indigenous people was raised and it is another typical example of "dissimulation" (Thompson, 1997). Through the Indigenous Directorate, Pombal expressed the damage caused to indigenous people's life regarding the misuse of the term, 'black.'. This meant that they were treated as black slaves who were categorised in the worst class of citizenship. However, this issue was mentioned in the Indigenous Directorate in order to dissimulate their position regarding racism, as demonstrated in paragraph 10:

"Entre os lastimosos princípios, e perniciosos abusos, de que tem resultado nos Índios o abatimento ponderado, é sem dúvida um deles a injusta, e escandalosa introdução de lhes chamarem Negros; querendo talvez com a infâmia, e vileza deste nome, persuadir-lhes, que a natureza os tinha destinado para escravos dos Brancos, como regularmente se imagina a respeito dos Pretos da Costa da África. E porque, além de ser prejudicialíssimo à civilidade dos mesmos Índios este abominável abuso, seria indecoroso às Reais Leis de Sua Majestade chamar Negros a uns homens, que o mesmo Senhor foi servido nobilitar, e declarar por isentos de toda, e qualquer infâmia, habilitando-os para todo o emprego honorífico. /
Among the pitiful principles, and pernicious abuses what have caused moderate/prudent weakness, is with no doubt the injustice, and scandalous introduction of being called *Black*; maybe with this disgrace/nasty words, and vileness of this name, persuade them that the nature would have destined them to be slaves of the Whites, like it is regularly imagined in relation to the Blacks of the Coast of Africa. And because, besides being very harmful this

abominable abuse to the civility of the same indigenous people, it would be indecent/improper to the Royal Laws of Your Majesty to call *Blacks* to some men, that the same Lord was in charge of ennobling and declaring exempt of all, and any disgrace, enabling them for all the honorific job.”

Pombal revalued and changed the status of the indigenous people. It is clearly mentioned that ‘indigenous people’ are not meant to be slaves, but black people are to serve the whites who consider themselves a superior class of people. With this document, indigenous people would not have the status of black people. Instead they would learn to be civilized, polite, courteous, and be able to work for the king and obtain ‘honorific jobs’ as shown in paragraph 10 above.

Although the Portuguese constructed the natives very negatively in Brazil, they persuaded them to follow their instructions, so that they would be treated like the white and have a better status than the black slaves (Par. 10). They would also be granted the surnames of the whites, would be instructed by them to build houses with rooms like the white people’s houses, and would obtain social mobility, such as taking posts in the indigenous communities. This is the moment the Portuguese empire transformed the indigenous people from ‘the others’, the ‘outsiders’, ‘them’ into ‘the insiders’, the ‘us’ in a dissimulated manner and to use them to promote political stability and to defend the territory which was under threat. In fact, the ideology of Portugal was to have a group which supported and served its power. According to Register (2000), the ruling class must ‘invite’ the subaltern group as outsiders of Portuguese society ‘within hegemony’ in order to make them ‘serve hegemony’.

The language used in this text to represent the world are is metaphors which depict an antagonism between God – the Portuguese colonizer – and the fallen people – the native people – who were expelled from the Garden of Eden as a result of breaking rules. The indigenous people are described as if they were like lost human beings without having any godly guidance and as being pagans, seen in paragraph 3:

“Não se podendo negar, que os índios deste Estado se conservaram até agora na mesma barbaridade, como se vivessem nos incultos Sertões, em

que nasceram, praticando os péssimos, e abomináveis costumes do Paganismo, não só privados do verdadeiro conhecimento dos adoráveis mistérios da nossa Sagrada Religião, mas até das mesmas conveniências Temporais, que só se podem conseguir pelos meios da civilidade, da Cultura, e do Comércio: E sendo evidente, que as paternais providências de Nosso Augusto Soberano, se dirigem unicamente a cristianizar, e civilizar estes até agora infelizes, e miseráveis Povos, para que saindo da ignorância, e rusticidade, a que se acham reduzidos, possam ser úteis a si, aos moradores, e ao Estado. /

It cannot be denied that the Indigenous people from this State continued living in a barbarian manner, like the unpolished people from the Sertoes where they were born, practicing terrible and abominable acts of paganism, not only deprived by the true knowledge of adorable mysteries of our Holy Religion, but even the same Temporary conveniences that can only get by means of civility, of Culture, and of Commerce: And being evident that the paternal providence of Our Sovereign August are only driven to convert people, and civilize them who are unhappy and miserable people up to date, in order to leave ignorance and rusticity that are present in their lives who can be useful to themselves, to the residents and to the State.”

Also, who are rustic and ignorant, inept (Par. 1), and barbarians (Par. 3), reported below:

“... abolir a administração Temporal, que os Regulares exercitavam nos Índios das Aldeias deste Estado; mandando-as governar pelos seus respectivos Principais, como estes pela lastimosa rusticidade, e ignorância, com que até agora foram educados, não tenham a necessária aptidão. (Par. 1) /

... to abolish the Transitory Management that Regulars (managers) exert on indigenous people in villages of this State; asked to be governed by their respective Principals (governors), with them with their unfortunate rudeness and ignorance of the way they were educated so far, without the appropriate skills necessary. (Par. 1)”

“Não se podendo negar, que os índios deste Estado se conservaram até agora na mesma barbaridade. (Par. 3)/

It cannot be denied that the Indigenous people from this State continued living in a barbarian manner. (Par. 3)”

On the other hand, the Portuguese coloniser is portrayed as the saviour (also in Par. 3), the one who is worried about the fallen native people and their situation as they lived with no guidance, and the Portuguese coloniser ‘actively’ and ‘mercifully’ prepared a document in order to protect the natives who were described as naïve and passive people (also in Par. 3) by the Portuguese.

Contrary to the Garden of Eden that Adam and Eve were forced out of as a result of breaking rules, the document also alerts the Portuguese colonisers not to punish the natives so harshly, otherwise they would want to run away from the villages, their Gardens of Eden, a safe and good place that God, Portugal, prepared for the natives. However, they could be rebellious and ‘not want’ to stay in the ‘best’ place which the Portuguese believed was ideal for them. Evidence is present in paragraph 2 as follows:

“[p]rocederão nesta matéria na forma das Reais Leis de S. Majestade, nas quais recomenda o mesmo Senhor, que nos castigos das referidas culpas se pratique toda aquela suavidade, e brandura, que as mesmas Leis permitirem, para que o horror do castigo os não obrigue a desamparar as suas Povações. /

“[w]ill proceed in this issue as Royal Laws of Your Majesty, in which the same Lord recommends that in the punishments of the referred faults all kinds of gentleness and mildness would be practiced/applied, that the same Laws would permit that for the worst that can happen that they would not oblige themselves to abandon their villages.”

In Document 1, the Portuguese wanted the natives to feel comfortable with their presence to allow them into the territory, but the Portuguese colonisers never felt comfortable and safe with the unknown indigenous people, as demonstrated in

Caminha's letter, "E estavam já mais mansos e seguros entre nós do que nós estávamos entre eles. / And they were already more tamed and safe among us than we were among them." However, in document 2, as the problem of losing the land arose, Portugal considered the Portuguese and the natives as two sets of insiders. Portugal made the indigenous people citizens of the colony in order to strengthen their authority to claim to the land before the Spanish empire did. It was the Spaniards who were now considered 'the outsiders'. It can be asserted that in the process of constructing a nation, the Portuguese and the indigenous people are constructed as citizens of the colony, but not the black Africans who had come to the territory as slaves.

4.2.3.4 The language

When the Jesuits arrived in the Portuguese colony upon the king of Portugal's request, more than two thousand languages were killed as a result of the Jesuits' linguistic choice of Tupi (Oliveira, 2008). In addition to the extermination of languages, many cultures and their histories were also annihilated (see document 1). Two hundred years later, due to economic pressure and political conflicts, the Portuguese constructed the Jesuits as harmful, maintaining that they had not made the indigenous people a civilised Christian people. Rather, the Jesuits had a "diabolic and abominable invention" (Indigenous Directorate, 1755) which was the employment of the General Language, Tupi. In fact, the operation of rationalisation operates here as the Portuguese empire used a series of reasons to justify the language switch from Tupi to Portuguese to implant its own ideologies. They described Tupi as a wicked, pagan language for uncivilised and primitive people whereas Portuguese was a superior language of Christian, sophisticated, educated people.

Regarding the semiotic processes, iconisation is a process identified in document 2 as the Portuguese empire placed the ideological representation, which is a sign of the relationship between Tupi and the social identity of indigenous people, as uneducated, inferior, uncivilised, and evil. Another example of iconisation refers to knowledge, or rather, lack of knowledge which is linked with an inferior language whereas more knowledge is related to a more sophisticated, superior language,

Portuguese. The natives' informal knowledge was not taken into account whereas the knowledge brought by the Portuguese was the only valuable in the territory. In other words, the colonial knowledge brought from outside was superior to the knowledge produced within the territory. Not only the knowledge from outside, but also language was considered better, more interesting and superior to the one the nation had to offer.

In addition, fractal recursivity can also be identified in document 2. The projection of an opposition between the Portuguese, and the indigenous people is created where the Portuguese language is posed as superior, advanced, valuable, familiar, wealthy, sophisticated and polite whereas the native's language is deemed as inferior, wild, incomprehensible, simple, poor, miserable, rude, unfamiliar, abominable and barbarian (Par. 3 – 6). In short, Portuguese is regarded as the language of civilised people whereas Tupi is judged as the language of barbarian people. The justification of the spiritual and temporal ruin of the poor indigenous people in the colony is done through the use of the evil language which was approved by the Jesuits.

Finally, erasure is found in document 2 when it does not mention anything about the other native languages that existed in the territory. Naturalisation (Thompson, 1997) is also found in the document. It was naturalised that the Jesuits used an unnatural and invented language, Tupi, rather than the natural national language, Portuguese, in a monolingual territory. In addition, there was a silence about native languages, and these silences and the imposition of the use of one language, obscured the linguistic variety and resulted in homogeneity of Portuguese which has been perpetuated until the present.

Rationalisation (Thompson, 1997) is found in paragraph 6 of document 2. Through speaking Portuguese, civilisation, education, social mobility, Christianity, industriousness, culture, commerce, and prosperity would be achieved. Moreover, the native people's minds would open and they would engage in a new advanced social, educational, financial, spiritual lifestyle through the learning of the Portuguese language. In fact, Portugal attempted to legitimate the assimilation of Portuguese

and education through Portuguese to enforce its ideology, to enslave and oppress the natives with the purpose of safeguarding its territory.

“Universalisation” is found in document 2 when it explains that everyone will benefit from these rules such as speaking the “language of the Prince” (Par. 6) and following *“todas as Nações polidas do Mundo / all polite Nations of the World”* which use *“este prudente e sólido sistema / this prudent and solid system”*.

At no moment is there a consideration of the importance of the native languages as a way to maintain the history and culture of the indigenous communities. The Portuguese empire exterminated hundreds of languages by prohibiting their use at to serve its own political and economic interests. As a consequence, as native languages were oral, there are no records of the local history. At the same time, as Portuguese was written, the Portuguese had a powerful instrument to construct history.

After presenting the situation in the Brazilian territory as pernicious and establishing its place as ‘the one that exerts power’, the Portuguese colonizer decides that, as the ‘God’ and the ‘protector’ of the territory and of the indigenous people, it will solve the problem by compensating for the individual and the State’s great spiritual and temporal loss, as observed in paragraph 7,

“Para desterrar esse perniciosíssimo abuso, será um dos principais cuidados dos Diretores, estabelecer nas suas respectivas Povoações o uso da Língua Portuguesa, não consentindo por modo algum, que os Meninos, e as Meninas, que pertencerem às Escolas, e todos aqueles Índios, que forem capazes de instrução nesta matéria, usem da língua própria das suas Nações, ou da chamada geral; mas unicamente da Portuguesa, na forma, que Sua Majestade tem recomendado em repetidas ordens, que até agora se não observaram com total ruína Espiritual, e Temporal do Estado. /

“In order to remove this pernicious abuse, it will be one of the most important concern of the Directors to establish the use of the Portuguese Language in their respective villages, not consenting at any moment that Boys and Girls who belong to the Schools and all those Indigenous people who are capable of instruction in this subject make use of their own language of their Nations,

or of the one called General; but only the Portuguese language in the manner that Your Majesty has recommended in repetitive orders that to date have not been observed, causing total Spiritual and Temporal ruin of the State.”

In this document, language represents 'civilisation', power, control and social mobility. In paragraph 6, it demonstrates that language was used by the conquering nations to introduce their social, political, economic and cultural views and remove the natives' rustic and 'barbarian' way of living. Language was used to manipulate the natives, by establishing that the king's language was superior. In other words, by speaking the king's language, the natives would create affection and honour to him, and would be persuaded to obey his orders and rules. By eliminating the General language, other ideas and thoughts would be also eradicated.

According to Hornberger, (2003), multilingualism is seen “as a resource rather than as a problem.” As can be noticed in documents 1 and 2, Portugal considered multilingualism a problem, and introduced monolingualism in the territory. First, with the arrival of the Jesuits to Christianise the natives, Tupi or General Language, was chosen as the only language to speak in the territory at the expense of more than two thousand existing indigenous languages. Two hundred and fifty years later, Portugal claimed that Tupi was the Jesuits' diabolic invention, and alleged that the wrong language choice led indigenous people to continue being uncivilised, barbarian, wild, and uneducated. In fact, Portugal's ideology was easier to be introduced when only one language was employed. Terralingua (cited in Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) explains that “if we during the next 100 years murder 50-90% of the linguistic (and thereby mostly also the cultural) diversity which is our treasury of historically developed knowledge, we are also seriously undermining our changes of life on earth. This is exactly what occurred to the indigenous languages and people in more than a hundred years. Not only languages, but also, much of their history, cultures and people within the territory were permanently destroyed and this is a crime which can never be undone.

Through the analyses of this document, it could be seen that language was a very important component to build a nation, embedded with its beliefs, principles and

social, economic, political and cultural interests. Therefore, as a result, it can be reasserted that language can be used to manipulate and oppress people.

As seen in document 2, the Portuguese were at risk of losing the land that they had and had to act. As part of the solution, Portugal decided to use the natives to protect the land. The Portuguese empire designed the Indigenous Directorate to send the natives to areas where the Spanish could colonise and possess the land. As a pretension of doing good to the natives, the Portuguese empire forced indigenous people to be civilised as Portuguese citizens by going to schools established by the Portuguese and learning Portuguese and the Portuguese ideology. As a result, the Portuguese would reward them by giving them land, and teaching farming skills such as growing vegetables. Prohibition of the use of Tupi and education were the most effective actors in the linguistic and cultural genocide. That is, education was also used to lead natives to abandon their culture, religion, and language by the replacement of the Portuguese culture in order to guarantee and strengthen the Portuguese empire, politically and economically.

In conclusion, there is an irony worth noting here that places the belief system of the Portuguese in tension. When they arrived, they believed they were superior and read the local through a European gaze that made them see the world in a particular way. When things were different from their own experiences and beliefs, they read and constructed 'the other', the uncivilised.

The fact that the natives did not cultivate the soil, or live in villages like the whites, did not mean that they were indolent. The fact that the natives were not Christian did not mean that they had no spiritual life. But, because their nakedness offended Portuguese sensibilities and their sense of superiority, they saw the locals as less than human and animals. This logic enabled them to make an argument that they could claim the land because it was empty, *terra nullis*. In other words, if you did not recognise that there are other human beings living there, then you could take the land. And there was also the economic imperative that drove the land claim – they needed the resources. So, in order to do their Christian duty to spread the word, they taught the locals to be Christians, but in teaching Christian values, the Portuguese colonisers also created a docile population who would not rise up against them. .

The religious teachings made a civilised population that could be harnessed for economic purposes.

Two hundred years later when the political landscape changed and the Portuguese's power in Europe was waning, they needed to re-evaluate their rule. In order to exploit the economic resources it was important that they did not lose the colony. The presence of the Vatican and Jesuits was a problem and the religious imperative was overshadowed by the economic one. So the Portuguese expelled the Jesuits and made an argument that they in fact were the ones who had failed to civilise the locals. In addition, in order to secure the territory from the outside threat of Spain, the Portuguese empire needed to grow its population, so they could prove it was occupied territory. In order to do this, they needed to reconstruct the population. Therefore, they attempted to make the uncivilised locals, citizens. So, a racial hierarchy was established and a new group of people created – the whites, the locals and the slaves. The locals could not be fully white because they were still 'bestial' – but they had to be civilised and this happened through education. Local knowledge and practices were inferior so the Portuguese empire sent everyone to school to learn European knowledge. The best way for this to happen was through Portuguese. The moment they did this, the identity of people was set to change because Portugal was valued and local knowledge was not. Prosperity was not located in local life. What is also interesting is the intermarriage which was not condoned in other colonies whose notion of racial purity was stronger. There was a 'godlike' behaviour where the local people were made in the same image of the coloniser. However, the rationale for this was not about equality, but out of a need to protect economic interests. The issue of land remained, but it moved from being claimed to maintaining possession, the people needed to be viewed as part of the whole and to be taught to be civilised. Education was introduced as a way of maintaining an economy, and it happened in Portuguese, so that values would be inculcated. But the fact that a policy had to be passed to change people's identity meant that the dominant group worked to establish its economic, social and cultural dominance.

4.3 Document 3: (a) Federal Decree of Brazil n. 20.108 (1931), (b) Federal Decree of Brazil n. 23.028 (1933), and (c) Law Decrees 292 (1938) & (d) 389 (1938)

In this subsection, four documents which are interrelated at different periods of time are analysed, as follows: (a) Federal Decree of Brazil n. 20.108 (1931), (b) Federal Decree of Brazil n. 23.028 (1933), and (c) Law Decrees 292 (1938) & (d) 389 (1938).

4.3.1 The Documents

The four decrees which are explained in this section were approved during the government of Getulio Vargas in 1931, 1933, and in 1938. The first document is the Federal Decree of Brazil number 20.108 (1931) passed by the Brazilian Government in conjunction with the Brazilian Academy of Letters and the Science Academy of Lisbon. It is comprised of three articles and is claimed as advantageous as it standardises written Portuguese through the simplification of its orthography, respects “the history, etymology and tendencies of the language” (Federal Decree of Brazil n. 20.108, 1931) and applies this decision in government departments and schools.

The second document, Federal Decree of Brazil n. 23.028 (1933) restates what the previous decree had introduced two years before and is comprised of five articles. The first is that ‘no student books with the old orthography would be permitted at schools.’ The second states that if there are doubts in relation to the orthography, the Brazilian Academy of Letters should propose a solution which has to be in conformity with the Science Academy of Lisbon.

The third document, law Decree 292 (1938) readdresses the topic of the agreement established in decree 20.108 (1931) and contains four articles. This document maintains that for one to be naturalised as a Brazilian citizen, s/he has to have knowledge of the Portuguese language.

4.3.2 Documents 3a, 3b, 3c, and 3d: analysis based on Fairclough's CDA

These decrees were written during the era of the Republic. Two main events should be taken into consideration when analysing these documents. The first one is the governmental, economic and political situation in Brazil. The second is the Brazilian modernist movement that was taking place which regarded the demand for a new orthography, influenced by Brazilian nationalism. Therefore, it is necessary to first describe the political, economic and governmental situation of that period and afterwards to deal with the projects of the Brazilian Academy of Letters regarding the alterations and unifications of the orthography of the Portuguese language both in Portugal and in Brazil.

4.3.2.1 Political, economic, and governmental situation in Brazil

When Getulio Vargas took over power in the provisional government and later as the president of Brazil, the political and economic situation in Brazil was very delicate. It was a period before the presidential elections and when World War II broke out. In 1930, president Washington Pereira who was originally from the state of Sao Paulo, chose Julio Prestes as his successor as a presidential candidate from his own state, instead of the state of *Minas Gerais*. He should have chosen the president from *Minas Gerais* because of the rule that stood to change. When Washington Pereira announced the victory of Julio Prestes, members of parties of the southern states of Brazil became infuriated and deployed armed forces to Rio de Janeiro in order to take over the power. Vargas and his army overthrew Washington Pereira and became the provisional president of Brazil and put an end to the Old Republic. His main objective was to obtain internal unity and to demonstrate his good alliance with external governments by establishing the ideology of nationalism. However, politicians from the state of Sao Paulo and other states required the return of a constitutional government, rather than Vargas' military government.

But Vargas' government was unstable. There was the world depression and the price of coffee in the internal and external markets had fallen. In the mid-1930s, the nation was attacked and threatened by revolutionary groups who were motivated to

conquer Brazil and employ communist principles from the Soviet Union along with the ideologies of the Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. Therefore, to protect the markets and the country, Vargas passed a decree which prohibited the entrance of immigrants into Brazil and established that two-thirds of the staff in Brazilian companies had to be locals (Decree n. 19.482 of the 12th December, 1930).

From 1930 to 1934, Vargas governed the country through decrees, rather than by the 1891 constitution which he cancelled on the 11th of November, 1930. These decrees granted Vargas much more power than any other law. Vargas names himself the 'Chief of the Provisional Government of Republic of the United States of Brazil'. In 1933, as a response to citizens' demands, Getulio Vargas allowed the indirect presidential election on the 17th of July, 1934, one day after the approval of the new 1934 constitution (16th of July 1934). The 1934 Federal Constitution, article 150, determined that the language of education would be Portuguese, the 'national language', as follows: "in private institutions, teaching should be performed in the national language, except for the foreign languages". In 1934, Getulio Vargas was elected to officially be the president of the nation and, according to the constitution, his mandate would last for four years, therefore, it would end in 1937.

During this time, many Brazilians joined two parties – the Acao Integralista Brasileira (AIB) (Brazilian Fascist Action) and the Alianca Nacional Libertadora (ANL) (Liberator National Alliance). The former had a fascist ideology and the latter, which was led by the Partido Comunista do Brasil (PCB) (Communist Party of Brazil), followed the old Soviet Union ideology. Through decree 229 of 11th July, 1935, Getulio had support to shut down the ANL, thus leading many communist supporters to plot against Vargas' government. This conspiracy became known as the *Intentona Comunista* (Communist Conspiracy) and was led by Luis Carlos Prestes. Getulio Vargas used this example to strengthen laws against insurrection and the protection of national security, but he also used it to maintain power, to rule tyrannically and when his mandate reached its end, he used it as an excuse to cancel the 1938 presidential election (Albino, 2001).

In 1937, the fourth constitution of Brazil was approved. It granted more power to the president of republic and was authoritarian. According to the law, Getulio was not allowed to run for the 1938 election. Therefore, he secretly decided to carry out a *coup d'état*, to maintain power and establish a new economic and political system entitled the *Estado Novo* (New State). This mandate was to terminate in 1943, but when this period arrived, Getulio proclaimed that due to the urgent and pressing event of World War II, he would have to continue to serve the country. When the war ended, he would announce the next election.

Vargas' New State system was dictatorial and he instituted several nationalist political and cultural measures in order to construct a Brazilian identity and to bring unity to Brazil, in order to perpetuate his power. Vargas' authoritarian regime was very similar to Mussolini's (1922) fascism whose motto was "*Tutto nello Stato, niente al di fuori dello Stato, nulla contro lo Stato*" (Everything for the State, nothing outside the State, nothing above the State)

When World War II began (1939), Vargas firmly stated that Brazil's standpoint was neutral. Therefore, through law decree n.1.561, article 1 (2nd September, 1939), Getulio ordered that both nationals and foreigners who were residents in Brazil to do nothing to infringe on Brazil's neutral position. Vargas, as a fascist, did not want to put himself in opposition to the other fascist countries. Moreover, Vargas wanted to have a neutral position because he could take advantage of a good commercial relationship with the United States and with the Axis countries. However, in 1942, in the conference of South American countries, it was decided that South American countries would support the United States in the war, and these countries had to stop having diplomatic relationships with Axis countries, namely, Germany, Italy and Japan (Albino, 2001).

Vargas did not want to take this position as he claimed that they could suffer retaliation of the German and Italian immigrants and residents in Brazil. However, when Brazil joined World War II, the emphasis was on the danger symbolised by the presence of foreigners and their offspring who could have connections with the Axis countries (Albino, 2001) and be supporters of Brazil's enemy countries. Therefore, Vargas emphasised and consolidated the law decree that established that

immigrants were not allowed to speak in their mother tongues as their communication in a foreign language could be a threat to the Brazilian nation. In addition, immigrant schools were closed and police persecution of immigrants began through the establishment of controlling police, a department of registration, and an inspection of foreigners (Schwartzman, 1983). Also, the use of anthems and immigrant languages of the Axis countries were forbidden and, for many immigrants, their mother tongue was the only language they understood and were able to communicate in. In addition, the possession of letters, photos, paintings and anything related to the Axis countries as well as gatherings of those immigrants such as at birthday parties and balls were banned (Faveri, 2002). The control and authoritarianism were such that the police raided both public and private areas in search of forbidden objects, such as letters, magazines, flags, books, radios, and photos. Any kind of symbol that connected to a language or a memory of the Axis countries had to be eliminated. For instance, police officers would go to immigrants' houses in order to attempt to hear what language people were speaking. If these people were caught breaking the rules, they were frequently sent to prison for a night and had to pay bail. All these measures such as celebrations, parades, civic dates, the Portuguese language, national symbols and all the prohibitions aimed at maintaining Vargas' tyrannical power. He wanted to imprint a new identity and memory into immigrants by making them acquire new thoughts and the ideology of the New State regime under the pretext of protecting nationalism and achieving unity and protection of the country. When World War II ended (1944), Vargas had no choice but to announce the next election, which he lost.

4.3.2.2 Orthographic Reform of the Portuguese Language

During Vargas' mandate, nationalistic ideas were presented in New State discourses. Linguistic nationalism is a discussion which had been present since Brazil was founded as a nation. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, the nationalist sentiment and discussions on the orthography of the Portuguese language arose in Brazil. In fact, there was a need to discuss the establishment of an orthographic system that was in line with the Brazilian linguistic reality. This system would solve the linguistic problem that was imposed on Brazil and lead to the desired linguistic emancipation that would influence the national identity.

Linguistic unification was one of the main concerns of grammarians as there were many graphic differences in the refined register of the same language (Silva, 2011 [http://www.filologia.org.br/revista/artigo/5\(15\)58-67.html](http://www.filologia.org.br/revista/artigo/5(15)58-67.html)). In the early 1900s, due to the increase of publications, of international relations and of literature exchange between Brazil and Portugal, this reality became intolerable, leading to orthographic unification between these two Portuguese speaking countries. It is important to note that Brazilian authors from that period used to write according to the orthography of Portugal as their books were either published in Lisbon or the authors appealed to the Portuguese reader. However, this strategy was not a solution for orthographic variations (Silva, 2011 Available at [http://www.filologia.org.br/revista/artigo/5\(15\)58-67.html](http://www.filologia.org.br/revista/artigo/5(15)58-67.html)). The Brazilian Academy of Letters supported this issue, including an ample and unlimited orthographic unification between Portugal and Brazil despite the resistance of antagonist forces, such as the renowned Brazilian author Euclides da Cunha who disagreed with the substitution of “y” to “i” (1996).

The first project of orthographic reform was designed by the Brazilian Academy of Letters¹⁰ in 1907 and was concluded in 1912. It received much criticism as this idea was revolutionary and innovative. However, the most rejected reform occurred in Portugal in 1911. Portugal designed a simplified reform which served as an example to the following reforms. This reform was as criticised as the 1907 and 1912 reforms, mainly by Brazilian nationalists who did not approve the lack of reference to the orthographic patterns of Brazil which was a nationalist concern. Despite the criticism received from Brazilians, the following reform projects were better accepted than the other previous Brazilian reforms. For example, in 1915 the Brazilian Academy of Letters signed the approval of the Portuguese orthographic system which abolished

¹⁰ In 1897, the Brazilian Academy of Languages was created to regulate and control the written and spoken national language, preserving the refined standard variety as the only correct way of communicating in Brazil. However, in the early 1900s, as a result of nationalistic and individualistic ideas, modernists strengthened the initiative of creating the national literature by using the Brazilian language variety, and having a rupture with traditional Portuguese models, thus favouring the distinctiveness of the Brazilian mode of speaking and ultimately establishing the Brazilian norm. (<http://www.academia.org.br/abl/cgi/cgilua.exe/sys/start.htm?sid=2>)

all kinds of orthographic discrepancies between Portugal and Brazil (Schwartz, 2002).

In 1919, the Brazilian Academy of Letters decided to revoke the agreement with Portugal and annulled the 1915 resolution. Brazilian linguistic nationalism was very significant in the 1920s and the Brazilian national sentiment was the main force when decisions had to be made. In other words, the Brazilian linguistic nationalism led to an anti-Portuguese attitude. Also, it became crucial to address modernists as the ones who would tackle the defence of the Brazilian culture and its linguistic particularities. During this time, modernists were renowned not only as the ones who modernised literature, but also the Portuguese language (<http://www.academia.org.br/abl/cgi/cgilua.exe/sys/start.htm?sid=2>).

In Brazil, debates on the orthographic Portuguese reform had its outset in 1911 and had gone through several stages whereas it only started in 1920 in Portugal (decree 2.553 of 29th of Dec, 1920). After 20 years discussing the project of orthographic reform entitled Luso-Brazilian Orthographic Agreement, it was passed on the 30th of March, 1931 by both Portugal and Brazil. The project was considered impartial to both countries on main issues regarding alterations. This project was coordinated by the Brazilian Academy of Letters and the Science Academy of Lisbon and its main objective was to unify the orthography of the Portuguese language (Silva, N., Buque, D.C., & Cardoso, L.M., 2008). Nonetheless, there was disagreement in relation to a complete unification of both written registers.

However, it is clear that disregarding differences is unreal and impractical. It is also noteworthy that modernists did not question the use of the Portuguese language per se, but the kind of Portuguese language that was used in Brazil. By this stage it had been naturalised that the only language ever spoken in Brazil was Portuguese. Modernists attempted to employ the Brazilian way of speaking the colonial language, but did not attempt to recover or to revive the languages that were eliminated by the colonisers. It has also been accepted that the correct variety of the Portuguese language is the one from the Portuguese colonisers who have adopted the variety of the old metropolis, Lisbon.

In spite of the efforts made by both countries to succeed in practice, it was not as successful as it was expected and evidence of disparities found between the Orthographic Vocabulary of the Portuguese language was launched in Portugal in 1940 and the Small Orthographic Vocabulary of the Portuguese Language was published in Brazil in 1943 (cited in Silva, N., Buque, D.C., & Cardoso, L.M., 2008). These two publications offered their own explanations according to their language and way of speaking.

The 1933 Decree extended the use of the Portuguese orthography established by the Brazilian Academy of Letters and the Science Academy of Lisbon to universities, schools, gymnasiums, primary schools, and other teaching places, either “public or inspected” (Federal Decree of Brazil n. 23028 of 1933, Article 1). One more step is given when books and teaching materials had to be standardised according to the written Portuguese established by both academies (Article 4, 1933). Any material different from the ones printed with the ‘standard’ norm of Portuguese had to be discarded or not allowed in class. The imposition of Portuguese as the only language spoken in the territory demonstrated that speaking Portuguese was an instrument of control, and using the imposed variety lowered the status of other varieties. Portugal’s ideas were perpetuated showing that there was just one variety of a language that is refined and correct, is superior, is a sign of educated people and is the language of the elite. The varieties that are not the ones established by the elite should be deemed as the incorrect variety or version, and cannot be considered, but devalued, and banned as observed in Article 3, 1933. In other words, although Brazil was independent from Portugal, the colonial legacy and mindset were strong, and present in the Vargas era. In this sense, there was no room for linguistic diversity. Language was used as a tool of including and excluding people as citizens within a public space in the society as in the colonial and imperial times.

In 1942, the minister of education Gustavo Capanema delivered a speech at the Brazilian Academy of Letters requiring scholars to employ the Brazilian orthographic vocabulary based on the European Portuguese, but with alterations related to the Brazilian way of speaking ([www.filologia.org.br/revista/artigo/5\(15\)58-67.htm](http://www.filologia.org.br/revista/artigo/5(15)58-67.htm)). In his speech, there are nationalistic traces where he claimed a need for a national vocabulary, or alterations of the vocabulary of the European Portuguese. These

included the addition of neologisms and foreign words, the expressions of usual words in Brazil, Brazilian idioms and words from Tupi and African origins as well as anthroponomical and thronomical names used in Brazil. This further included the elimination of words used in Portugal and its colonies, the replacement of certain uses of vocabulary in Portugal to equivalent expressions used in Brazil, and the correction or alteration of the spelling of geographic names of Brazil.

It is evident that both countries overcame the greatest discrepancies in order to come to an agreement about orthographic reforms. As the results were not as successful as was expected, many other proposals for orthographic reforms of the Portuguese language arose. Therefore, in an agreement between Portugal and Brazil in 1943, they established several agreements in order to reduce their orthographic differences.

In 1955 the last decree regarding orthographic reform of the Portuguese language in Brazil was approved. The most recent orthographic reform between Portugal, Brazil and other Lusophone countries was passed in 2000 and enforced in 2010. Interestingly, most alterations were performed in the grammar and vocabulary of the European Portuguese rather than in the Brazilian Portuguese. In other words, as Brazil, is larger in size and population and has far more publications in the market, it is probable that there will be more Brazilian Portuguese speakers than Portuguese speakers (United Nations, 2008) and therefore, Portugal was forced to agree with the new reform. The colonisers had to adjust their language to the colonised. There has been much criticism amongst the Portuguese citizens and scholars as they assert that their Portuguese language has lost its origins and culture. However, this was exactly what Portugal as a coloniser did to its colonies throughout centuries by imposing its ideologies through the tool of language (Cardoso, 2011).

In summary, the orthographic reform had its outset with a nationalist-based discourse and transformed the linguistic debate as the orthography of the language became a tool to affirm the Brazilian nationality and nationalism. In other words, if someone was Brazilian, it was imposed that s/he had to speak Portuguese only. In addition, s/he had to use the superior variety of Portuguese approved by both the

Portuguese and the Brazilian Academies. Whoever did not comply with these rules would not be considered a Brazilian citizen and had to be sent to prison as a sign of betrayal, disloyalty to the nation, and may have lost his/her citizenship. This measurement provided external support for Vargas to maintain his power and guarantee his and his elite's privileges for a longer period of time.

As can be seen, from 1930 to 1945, Brazil experienced a transition from democracy to dictatorship. Language was used to threaten people, to exert authority, to discriminate and to exclude people in the Brazilian society. Nevertheless, the dialogue on the orthography of the Portuguese language persisted with the nationalist reiteration of the Brazilian language as opposing the Portuguese version.

4.3.3 Analysis of Documents 3a, 3b, 3c, and 3d based on Thompson's Modes of Operation of Ideology

In this subsection, by using Thompson's (1997) modes of operation of ideology, I will discuss how the policy for immigrants is constructed and how language is used to disseminate thoughts of nationalism and linguistic nationalism in documents 3a, 3b, 3c, and 3d.

4.3.3.1 The Immigrants: Brazilian Citizenship

The construction of a policy for immigrants reflected Vargas' repression which was based on reification (Thompson, 1997). Vargas claimed that Brazil was threatened by the Nazis and the fascists, and he wanted to protect the nation and its people from them. Based on this excuse, from 1930 to 1938, Vargas passed many decrees as an attempt to create Brazilian citizens, that is, people who carried two main characteristics, namely, nationalist sentiment and knowledge of Portuguese. One of the main means of diffusing Vargas' government ideology was through education which will be also discussed in this subsection.

In 1938, according to law decree 389, the Portuguese and their descendants along with African slaves and those who had lived in Brazil for centuries were considered Brazilian citizens. Although Brazilian indigenous people were not considered

Brazilian citizens in this period of time, they were deemed as 'insiders' along with the Portuguese descendents and their offspring, since they seemed to cause no threat to the Portuguese and to Brazil.

The construction of Brazilian citizenship was rhetorically intervened and disseminated through Vargas' dictatorship, ideology and discourses of nationalism found mainly in education, media of communication, and public and governmental institutions as demonstrated in documents 3a, 3b, and 3c. Through education, nationalism was introduced at schools and universities by means of student books where new concepts, sentiments, beliefs and ideologies were presented with easy acceptance of the Brazilian population. According to documents 3a, 3b, and 3c, the imposition of a national identity was perceived through educational policies that determined which language variety should be utilised and therefore legitimated in the school domain.

The national identity included having knowledge of Portuguese (Document 3d, Article 10, paragraph 3), adopting the Brazilian culture and revoking the previous nationality and its language (Document 3, Article 19, paragraph 1). As mentioned before, Vargas' governmental attitude was to use danger and the threat of foreign forces in order to reassure his control of Brazil where new concepts, beliefs, identities and ideologies were introduced with easy acceptance of the Brazilian population. In other words, the new Brazilian citizen had to adopt a new mindset and a national identity to be considered a Brazilian citizen. Legitimation (Thompson, 1997) is a mode through which ideology operates. In this context, legitimation was used for Vargas to reassure his control over citizens and to justify that he was acting to safeguard the country.

When Vargas established standards for citizenship, he constructed two kinds of people in the Brazilian territory. The first kind refers to those who were unified by the same national identity, spoke Portuguese, and supported Vargas' political positions and his government. This person was considered a Brazilian citizen, as friends who belong to 'our' group and can be trusted. This is an example of "unification" (Thompson, 1997). However, the second kind of person described in document 3d are those who were considered 'enemies', as 'the others', as not in compliance with

the country's ideology and those who did not speak the national language.. This is an example of "fragmentation" (Thompson, 1997). Blackledge (2005) refers to studies on language that demonstrate that languages happen to be 'gatekeepers' in deciding who is allowed to belong to the community of citizens and who is not. In short, political views were expressed in language policies and these determined who belonged and who did not belong to the nation-state.

Education was also an instrument of disseminating ideas and creating thoughts according to political and governmental ideologies. For instance, in document 1, Jesuits used education to Christianise the natives and to diffuse the Portuguese ideology. In document 2, natives were forced to go to school to be educated, to leave their wild behaviour and to subtract their native languages in exchange for learning through Portuguese. In document 3, education was used to restate that Portuguese was the national language and to revalue the Brazilian variety of Portuguese which was a result of the nationalist movement.

4.3.3.2 The Language: The National Language and the Two Varieties of Portuguese

Blackledge (2008, p. 32) claims that research shows the infiltration of ideologies with the local into the political, nationalist, and institutional dimensions. Heller (1995, p. 374) stated that when a language is metaphorically connected to a national identity, the officious nation-state which had multilingual inhabitants are likely to display a leaning towards monolingualism. This is the case of Brazil, which adopted nationalist politics and a language policy which enforced monolingualism, in spite of the existence of other languages being spoken in the territory.

May (2005) claims that languages can be an essential part of individual and communal identities. The groups of Italian and German immigrants, mainly living in the South of Brazil considered language as an essential and vital instrument in the declaration of their identities. While nation-state borders were easy to demarcate, national identities were very challenging as there were immigrant languages that coexisted with Portuguese. Billig (1995) asserts that nations are ideological constructions found in the historical development of nationhood.

'Nation' can be defined as "the gathering of people, usually from the same ethnic group, which maintains integrated by its same language, costumes, religion, traditions, and national conscience." However, nationalism refers to "the historical route that modern countries have taken as self-sufficient political units. Nationalism is the main ideology of which nation-states become a cultural and political body which substituted the imperial age" (Gellner, 1983). One of the most important characteristics of nationalism is to have a sense of belonging and to be able to share within the group. Some factors create a conscience of nationalism within a group and they are encountered in value systems, government identity, historical traditions, symbols, literature and language. Nations attempt to manage those factors in order to maintain social cohesion and political unity. For instance, the New State of Vargas had powerful nationalist politics, it attempted to ban immigrant languages and intensively teach Portuguese in regions where there were large numbers of immigrants.

National identity, however, considers the sense of belonging to a nation which is encountered in ideologies, value systems, beliefs and symbolisms designed to create a collective identity (Anderson, 1989). At the same time, groups have to have national identity situated historically and deliberately and individual situations should also be taken into account. According to Hall (2003), the notion of a nation should be deemed as pluralistic or in multiple forms, not limited solely to a language, a race, a religion, or a territory, although all these components construct national identity.

In this context, it is important to understand Bourdieu's (1990) notion of "habitus"¹¹ as it contributes to the comprehension of associations between ethnicities and languages. The association between "field" and "habitus" produces circumstances where collective indications are created and recreated. These collective indications are a consistent lack of knowledge which regularly creates and strengthens hegemonic and powerful ideologies. This process defined by Bourdieu (1998) as "symbolic violence," of creation and recreation of reasonable consent and is

¹¹ Habitus refers to a set of dispositions which generate practices and perceptions. (Jenkins, 1992, p. 74)

observed in discourses of media of communication, education, politics, and government. Symbolic violence can be perceived in documents 3a, 3b, and 3c that posed Portuguese as the national language and the advantage of unifying the written language, imposing legitimacy of the agreement in governmental departments and teaching institutions at different moments during Vargas' mandate. It can thus be said that the language ideologies were used to generate social disparities, thus granting Portuguese a greater value than the immigrant languages. This process was successful because immigrant groups were violently forced to accept the greater value of a determined variety in order for them to maintain their Brazilian citizenship (document 3d). The national language, Portuguese, was the language of controlling institutions because both dominant and dominated groups acknowledged it as having greater worth. Bourdieu (1991, p. 170) claims that those who are speakers of the dominant language are likely to be under symbolic domination as the dominant language has legitimised to them and the "[s]ymbolic power [has been] misrecognised as legitimate power". In Vargas' era, Brazilian and immigrants citizens were symbolically dominated by the legitimated and reified language, Portuguese.

However, the German and Italian immigrants in Brazil showed resistance to the linguistic domination of Portuguese. They resisted it by hiding their books and letters written in their mother tongue as an attempt to preserve their own culture and identity. This is a question of language rights which should be dealt with in lieu of the event and be comprehended that it is an intentional political deed that benefits some groups at the cost of others. Therefore, disadvantaged groups such as the immigrant and indigenous communities had to resist the dominant linguistic group, the Portuguese-speaking elite.

4.3.3.2.1 Portuguese as the National Language

In early 1900s, the modernist movement was focused on culture and reflected in the fields of literature and arts. This movement was a result of an adjustment to artistic and cultural European trends before World War I. It led Brazilian modernists to fight for the Portuguese language's freedom of style, and for an approximation of the Brazilian Portuguese spoken language. Due to the pressure of the Brazilian

Academy of Letters, Portugal had to approve orthographic reforms through the Science Academy of Lisbon. There were two important sides of the orthographic reform. The first one re-emphasised “reification” (Thompson, 1997) of Portuguese as the national language of Brazil. The reification is placed as Vargas’ government was threatened by communist movements in Brazil that could use foreign languages to plot against the government and to take over the territory.

The 1931 and the 1933 decrees were designed during Getulio Vargas’ provisional regime and in 1938, during Getulio Vargas’ New State government for the general population in order to continue the process of reification of the simplified standard form of Portuguese. The language was regarded as the only language employed in the Brazilian territory as a symbol of nationhood and unity, and either as a symbol of allies or enemies, of familiar or unknown, of insiders or outsiders. For instance, in 1938, New State restated the 1931 and 1933 decrees and established a clear difference of social and linguistic status between those who spoke Portuguese and those whose mother tongue was not Portuguese.

At this stage, two categories of people were created, namely, the Brazilian-Portuguese speakers and the immigrants. In the 1938 law decree, 389 documents give clear emphasis to the compulsory use of Portuguese and to issues on immigration which highlighted the importance of knowledge of the ‘national language’ as a requirement to be accepted as a Brazilian citizen (Document 3d, article 10). It also discusses the actions that would lead an immigrant to lose his/her citizenship (Document 3d, Articles 13, 19).

The concept of ‘otherness’ is constructed in this context where ‘unification’ and ‘fragmentation’ in Thompson’s (1997) modes of operation of ideology can be applied. Brazilian citizens were unified through the employment of Portuguese, whereas the ones who opposed to speak Portuguese were separated from the dominant group. This suggests that the Portuguese language was a powerful symbol of nationalism. Those who employed it were constructed as in favour of the country whereas those who refused to use it or did not master it, were seen as anti-government and foreigners. The immigrants in Brazil were constructed as ‘the others’ as they came from countries that belonged to a fascist wing, and could disseminate or even

conceal its ideas through the use of their mother tongues. The idea of 'foreign' is that it should be removed from the body, . In this context, the foreign group is 'out' and does not belong in the 'healthy' system. Metaphorically speaking, it can be dangerous, such as cancer, and spread to the whole body, threatening and causing the death of the system. This is the line of thought followed when the hegemony of a person or a group is threatened. In other words, "fragmentation" (Thompson, 1997) is the mode of operation of ideology used to construct the enemy in order to extract it from the society. It was used as pretence for many despotic actions and repression in the name of 'unity', 'protection' and 'safety' requiring all citizens to conform to the new set of norms and to the new ideology imposed by the New State. Thus, immigrants, mainly Germans, Italians, Japanese who brought their home languages and their ideologies were considered 'fascists', 'enemies', 'criminals', 'conspirators', 'strangers', 'unknown people', and 'outsiders.' Language was used as a means to criminalise immigrants, and present them as dangerous people. For instance, document 3d includes the "knowledge of Portuguese" (Article 10, paragraph III) as a condition for someone to be accepted as an insider and a nationalist, and thus become a Brazilian citizen.

Another mode of operation of ideology refers to "legitimation" (Thompson, 1997) where actions are justified by a set of reasons. In order for Brazil to obtain financial and political support from the United States, it had to defend the US in the World War II and construct the German and Italian immigrants as 'the enemies of the nation.' Therefore, Vargas limited the immigrants' actions in Brazil by disempowering them in the society. Schools were closed, their mother tongue languages forbidden, any kind of connections with their home countries banned, and any material in their language was confiscated in the name of the national security and unity. Actually, the country's ideology and use of Portuguese as the one language in the territory was the most appropriate manner to control and punish fascist people and their ideas in the country and to legitimate Vargas' government measures.

In semiotics, 'iconisation' is the conversion of the sign relationship between linguistic features and the social images and is found in this context. The iconic representation of the Portuguese language depicts Brazilian citizens, the people and the nation's

identity as it is a trace of the country's unity. That is, the Brazilian identity is linked to the Brazilian nationality comprised of components such as the language one speaks.

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Moreover, fractal recursivity is encountered when the 'enemy' is constructed as a manifestation of their linguistic choice. In fact, it is embedded in the adoption of communist identities and ideologies when immigrant languages were utilised within Brazil (Document 3d).

Finally, erasure is detected in document 3a, 3b, 3c, and 3d when the use of Portuguese excluded immigrant and native languages and their speakers. Erasure of languages was a means of controlling the population, centralising politics, and muffling the political voice of those who were unable to speak or to write in Portuguese. This was a strategy to disempower other language speakers as it was through the Portuguese language that educational and governmental relationships were formed and in turn, perpetuated the unity and the hegemony of the Brazilian territory through the power of one European language, Portuguese.

Language becomes linked to territory and identity because territory, language, and identity to have the same form (Freeland & Patrick, 2004). An inference of this statement is that the nation should preferably be monolingual by subtracting other languages which are frequently deluded as a result of a lack of faithfulness to the national identity.

Nation-states are assumed as communities that have just one language (Anderson, 1983) and the construction of a national hegemony frequently entails hegemony of language. However, speaking the same language does not imply that speakers belong to the same nation-state. The notion of a single Portuguese language is too simplified as there are many varieties of Portuguese of which result from a diverse cultural and social milieu.

Bourdieu (1991) asserts that "[i]ntegration into a single 'linguistic community', which is a product of the political domination that is endlessly reproduced by institutions

capable of imposing universal recognition of the dominant language, is the condition for the establishment of relations of linguistic domination” (p. 46). According to Gal (1998), language uses and thoughts are connected to power relations and political organisation in societies. Discussions on languages are socially linked to issues of identity and power in societies (Woolard, 1998).

In document 3, Brazil’s support of the United States during World War II was due to political and economic interests as it would bring benefits to the country and it would defend the land against communist forces. However, in document 2, the introduction of the Indigenous Directorate was of interest to the Portuguese who also wanted to protect their territory.

Regarding the issues on territory, document 1 presents the letter of Caminha which officially possesses the land and document 2 presents the Indigenous Directorate which is used to protect the territory against the Spanish. Document 3d raises the issue of citizenship to prevent any invasion of the communists in the Brazilian territory. As can be seen, language is used symbolically to disempower people, to perpetuate power, to construct enemies, to dominate groups in order to maintain a group’s hegemony and to protect a group’s interests, such as their territory.

In short, for two centuries (from 1500 to 1755), Brazil was a bilingual territory: Portuguese and the General Language, Tupi, were spoken . In 1755, with the introduction of the Indigenous Directorate (Document 2), the Portuguese empire considered Tupi ‘a truly abominable invention’ and banned Portuguese children and indigenous people to make use of any other language than Portuguese. Before the 20th century, the Portuguese language was the only language spoken in Brazil, disregarding other languages spoken in the Brazilian territory. During the nationalist movement, a shift of linguistic value occurred: modernists valued and wanted to standardise the Brazilian variety of Portuguese to the European variety of Portuguese. This attitude of Brazilian nationalism caused discomfort to the Science Academy of Lisbon as power was embedded in the variety of language that was already employed. Challenges were faced and the Brazilian language gained some autonomy from Portugal despite its resistance.

4.3.3.2.2 Brazilian Portuguese and European Portuguese

It is necessary to highlight that regardless of the variety of Portuguese used, there are written and spoken versions of Portuguese. These versions come from very different notions. The written language is subject to the standard form, to a normative grammar that considers a good writing style. However, the spoken language is fluid and portrays many varieties within a common linguistic structure. It is clear that as the spoken language is not fixed and evolves, natural variations should be taken into account, and be observed rather than judged. Therefore, the dynamic process of evolving the spoken language cannot be hindered by the Orthographic Agreement as it alters the written language.

In 1911, Portugal decided to approve the first orthographic reform in order to standardise and simplify the written Portuguese language. When the Republic era was established in Portugal, in 1910, the new government resolved to improve education and prevent illiteracy, and brought a committee together to design a simplified orthography which was to be implemented in official and educational documents.

In the 1920s, the modernist movement began in Brazil and reflected the freedom from all previous rules and the search for innovation. This assimilation of the European culture, valued the Brazilian culture and nuances such as the different variety of Portuguese. Therefore, Brazilian modernists demanded the Orthographic reform according to the linguistic variations in Brazil. At this time, there was no agreement between Portugal which had its reformed orthography, and Brazil, with its old pseudo-etymological orthography. In 1924, the Science Academy of Lisbon – which regulates the standard norm of Portuguese in Portugal – and the Brazilian Academy of Letters – which regulates the Brazilian variety – endeavoured to have an orthography in common, and in 1931, they established the first orthographic agreement to unify and maintain the etymology of the language, and to obtain more political and economic advantages as lusophone countries. Since then, there have been many agreements since both languages have presented many diversions.

Diversions on the orthographic reform have been as a result of several factors that Brazil, tried to use to take a stand in relation to the coloniser country, Portugal in a postcolonial era. Portugal used the Portuguese language as an instrument of domination and power, and did not want to give Brazil the linguistic independence as part of its political strategy (Fernandes, 2010).

Also, language is one of the most important characteristics of human identity, and it has a role in constructing and developing nations and national identity. When a language is changed or removed from a group of people, there is much opposition as it also removes people's identity and its cultural trace. First, the Science Academy of Lisbon rejected the alterations proposed by the Brazilian Academy of Letters as it was believed that the alterations of the Brazilian variety of Portuguese would affect the national identity. As language is a powerful symbol of national and ethnic identity (Spolsky, 1999, p. 181), it was important to have an additive reform rather than subtractive one.

Secondly, Portugal would not accept that the European variety of Portuguese was succumbed by a lower status variety of Portuguese, the Brazilian Portuguese, as if the colonised country took control of the power that belonged to the powerful colonisers. Portugal refused to agree with the unification and the orthographic reform, as its European Portuguese was a more 'prestigious variety' and was the standard form (variety of Lisbon) of the language. This is the reason why in documents 3a, 3b, and 3c, the Science Academy of Lisbon, as a 'superior' academy, had to approve any alterations. The shift or share of linguistic power would represent an economic and political defeat to the 'empire' as the control of the language had belonged to Portugal. For instance, the written material published in Brazil previously had to be according to the orthography of the European variety of Portuguese. Fragmentation (Thompson, 1997) is the mode of operation of ideology used to analyse this excerpt. The European Portuguese was constructed as the superior language. Therefore, speakers of this variety would be considered 'superior', 'polite' and 'educated' people, the same way the Portuguese colonisers constructed themselves during the colonial period. The Portuguese citizens would speak the 'correct' Portuguese and were intellectually superior. However, the Brazilian variety of Portuguese was constructed as an inferior language and its speakers would be

considered 'wild', 'lazy', 'inferior', 'non-educated' and intellectually limited. The manner in which Brazilians spoke Portuguese was 'incorrect', and would be an offence for the Portuguese people who would belong to a superior linguistic, educational and cultural community. In other words, in spite of Brazil being 'independent' from Portugal, Portugal again attempted to legitimate its power within Brazil. Portugal would grant the European Portuguese to Brazilians who needed to be civilised and educated.

This notion is also found in semiotics (Irvine & Gal, 2000) which is also present in relation to the two varieties of Portuguese. Iconisation is perceived in the variety of Portuguese where standard Portuguese presented a higher status than the Brazilian variety of Portuguese which imparted a lower linguistic status. Therefore, any modification or doubt regarding the Orthographic Agreement, the Brazilian Academy of Letters had to obtain approval of the Science Academy of Lisbon. In fact, standard Portuguese was associated to those more educated citizens who belonged to a better social class and were more educated. It was implied that the use of Brazilian Portuguese was associated with a lower class Portuguese user who did not have access to better education, and therefore were not likely to have better professional opportunities and faster social mobility.

Finally, Portugal was one of the Western countries that adopted the language ideology of 'one language, one nation'. It had a policy of assimilation that persuaded its minority groups, colonies and ex-colonies to embrace its national language, Portuguese, to which Portugal granted a higher social status. Brazil, Portugal's previous colony, adopted a monolingual national ideology as a process of nation-building which was in line with linguistic nationalism. Portuguese was then legitimated and reified in Brazil. Brazil never claimed for its national languages, but attempted to at least maintain its new Brazilian Portuguese linguistic identity. Since the colonial period, the European Portuguese from the elite of Lisbon had a higher social status than any other language in Brazil. In the post-colonial moment, Portugal wanted to maintain the same hegemonic social standard and opposed to acquire the Brazilian variety. In other words, based on the 'one language, one nation' ideology, Portugal did not want to have a second variety included in its noble and superior Portuguese, as the Brazilian variety did not have a 'complete, pure Latin

origin', because it included the indigenous, immigrant, and black slave cultural and linguistic influences. In addition to having to use aspects of a lower variety of the Portuguese language, Portugal had to acknowledge that Brazilian Portuguese was as powerful and influential as the noble European Portuguese. In short, linguistic diversity was first rejected by Portugal as Brazilian citizens could generate and implement rules that favoured themselves as they constructed their own identity.

4.4 Document 4: 1988 Brazilian Constitution

4.4.1 The Document

The 1988 Federal Constitution of Brazil also known as the Citizen Constitution is the Magna Carta that has ruled Brazil since 1988. In this democratic constitution, levels of citizen rights are delineated, and boundaries of power are established for people in government. This constitution was designed after the end of the military period.

The most relevant alterations and advances in the previous Brazilian federal constitutions were, as follows: the right of illiterate citizens to vote, optional preferential vote for youngsters aged between 16 and 18, reduction of the presidential mandate from five to four years, two rounds of runoff voting for the following posts: president, governor, mayor of more than 200,000 cities, labour rights of all labourers, the right to strike, trade union freedom, decrease of the standard weekly working time from 44 to 40 hours; maternity leave 120 days and paternity leave five days after the child is born, holiday supplement, 13th salary for pensioners, unemployment insurance fund, paid annual leave in addition to 1/3 of the salary. Besides these alterations, the 1988 Federal Constitution dealt with issues of the official language, indigenous languages and indigenous rights.

This is the first time that a Brazilian federal constitution mentions Portuguese as the official language of Brazil (1988 Federal Brazilian Constitution, Chapter III, Article 13), as it reads,

“A língua portuguesa é o idioma oficial da República Federativa do Brasil. / Portuguese is the official language of the Federative Republic of Brazil.”

The term 'Official language' had never been used before the Indigenous Directorate (Document 2). The naturalised assumption (Thompson, 1997) was that Brazil had one language, one culture and one ethnic identity.

Regarding the issue of indigenous people, the 1988 Federal Constitution guaranteed the right of diversity to them. They would receive differential treatment, have distinct relationships, rights and culture (1988 Constitution, Chapter 8, Articles 231 & 232). In fact, the Constitution recognises the existence of several languages and ethnicities. In so doing, an attempt was made to break the ideological perception of a uniform Brazilian subject.

4.4.2 Important considerations regarding the 1988 Federal Constitution

With the approval of the 1988 Federal Constitution, Portuguese became the official and national language in Brazil. However, throughout the history of Brazil, several normative acts which granted higher social status and importance to Portuguese were passed. These laws worked to erode the use of indigenous languages, impacting the survival of the culture and reinforced economic, social, political, and educational power of the coloniser.

An official language is "the language employed in all official events and by governmental institutions" (http://www.wordiq.com/definition/Official_language). This is the language that all Brazilian citizens had to master. The decision of using an official language presents several political implications. One refers to the attempt of unifying a culturally and ethnically diverse territory in order to obtain sovereignty over other territories. It also refers to the exclusion, control and marginalisation of people and communities in addition to political centralisation. In reality, in naming an official language, it potentially silences the political voice of those who do not master it. It would also trigger cultural losses as language is part of the culture and identity of people. In short, the establishment of an official language generates the submission of cultures to a main dominant culture.

Linguistic rights can be individual rights or collective rights. According to Hamel (1995), individual rights represent the right of each individual to freely learn and to develop their own mother tongue, starting from public education and be able to use

it in relevant social contexts, and to learn at least one of the official languages of one's country (p. 12). For individuals, linguistic rights can be seen as a way to protect themselves from any State or private actions that prevent them from expanding their mother tongue. At the same time, linguistic rights that the State provides compels the State to provide services such as education and safeguard the cultural patrimony (Hamel, 1995). Collectively, linguistic rights cover the right of maintaining one's identity and ethno linguistic differences (Hamel, 1995, p. 12).

In theory, the 1988 Federal Constitution was an advance for indigenous rights and their linguistic rights in general. In practice, this has not been entirely clear. The judiciary has not frequently applied the rights granted to the indigenous people as it has utilised doctrines and jurisprudence based on an integrationist stance (http://www.savethechildrenuk.org.br/save/images/save/publicacoes/educacao_infantil_indigena.pdf; Scaramucci, 2011). The evidence shows that there are from 100,000 to 190,000 indigenous people living in the urban areas of Brazil. Even though the indigenous people live in contact with the national culture and have absorbed its culture, they should have the same linguistic rights and opportunities as those still living in indigenous communities. For instance, mother tongue education for indigenous people is provided in some indigenous communities, but not in urban schools. In other words, indigenous people obtained the right to use their mother tongue education in their own communities. If they left their environment, they would have to adjust to the national culture and learn through Portuguese as a medium of instruction.

Since 1500 a set of beliefs were introduced into Portugal's colony, and therefore many changes regarding education (4.4.2.1), identity (4.4.2.2), land ownership (4.4.2.3), and language (4.4.2.4) occurred.

4.4.2.1 Education

The 1988 Federal Constitution is considered revolutionary as it guaranteed indigenous people the right to education in these languages and it protected cultural expressions. In fact, this is the first time cultural and linguistic diversity in education is acknowledged, as article 231 reads:

“São reconhecidos aos índios sua organização social, costumes, línguas, crenças e tradições, e os direitos originários sobre as terras que tradicionalmente ocupam, competindo à União demarcá-las, proteger e fazer respeitar todos os seus bens. /

Indigenous people's social organization, costumes, languages, beliefs and traditions, and the original rights on the lands they traditionally occupy are acknowledged. Therefore, the Union is responsible to demarcate and protect them, and respect their assets.”

In document 1, Caminha requires the King of Portugal to send Jesuit priests to civilise and evangelise the natives through education. Education was used as a tool to eliminate diversity in the land, to dominate the natives, to conquer the land, and to enrich the Portuguese empire. Education affected and was affected by other fields (eg. economic, political, social and religious). In document 1, the iconisation shows the relationship between education in Portuguese and civilisation. This was a pretext to exterminate hundreds of native languages and to legitimate (Thompson, 1997) the use of Tupi as a coine and Portuguese as the superior, imperial language.

In document 2, the Indigenous Directorate employed education as a means to dissimulate (Thompson, 1997) the Portuguese empire's ideology . It needed the indigenous people to move to certain areas of the Portuguese colony in order to protect it against Spain's territorial ambitions. Therefore, the Portuguese empire posited that the Jesuits were cruel to the indigenous people for not teaching them Portuguese . This was a way to legitimate (Thompson, 1997) the teaching of Portuguese in the colony that, in turn, the Portuguese ideology would be implemented through education. Again, the iconisation revealed in document 2 continues to be the same as in document 1.

In document 3, the four decrees were a result of the nationalist movement led by President Vargas. At different moments, these decrees focused on the variety of Portuguese from the Metropolis, (Lisbon), and the immigrant German and Italian speakers. The first refers to the nationalist movement that used language and education as a means of unification and fragmentation (Thompson, 1997) to construct 'us' and 'them'. The nationalist ideology aimed to obtain emancipation from

Portugal and have the entire control of the State. . The latter referred to the prohibition of the use of immigrant languages as they were considered a threat to the Brazilian territory. This discourse was an example of dissimulation (Thompson, 1997) as Vargas used the excuse to remain in power. In short, education in these documents was used to disempower immigrants, and to strengthen the Brazilian Portuguese language in order to fulfil the nationalist ideology and for Vargas and his elite to perpetuate their hegemony and power.

Throughout the documents, it is clear that particular ideological positions are disseminated through education. These positions were not to protect indigenous or immigrant people, but to maintain the hegemony of the Portuguese elite, and, afterwards, of Vargas' dictatorship. The 1988 Constitution was an attempt of indigenous bodies and groups to fight and guarantee their educational and linguistic rights. This fight and process continued as groups campaigned for bilingual rights, better quality of materials and prepared educators for them to be able to compete equally in the national market (Pojo, 2011).

Even though the policies guarantee (1988 Constitution, Article 210) the use of mother tongue languages for indigenous people, other official documents which were published after the 1988 Constitution such as the Guidelines for a National Policy of Indigenous Education (1994) and 1996 LDB¹² (Article n. 9394) are not clear. They assert that indigenous languages should be offered in education to indigenous communities, but it is unclear whether indigenous languages should be a subject, or a medium of instruction. These documents emphasize the fight for the cultural and socio-economic autonomy of the indigenous people, and the need for recovering their historical memory restate their ethnic identity, to value their native language, and to have access to information and knowledge of the dominant society, and of other indigenous communities (1996 LDB, Article n. 9394). But if language is not a priority or used as a medium of instruction and as a subject, its space will be increasingly less significant until its extinction in education (Veiga, 2001). In addition, restricting indigenous languages at school indicates the loss of respect for their cultural value. As the relationship between languages and social life surrounds any

¹² LDB stands for Leis de Diretrizes e Bases / Brazilian Educational Laws and Guidelines

society, no State can refrain from having a language policy. Veiga (2001, p. 137) states that the Brazilian State does not have a specific language policy for indigenous communities. However, language policies of a country are not always explicit, many bodies can establish and make a stand for a language policy, but the power to plan and implement it belongs only to the State. In Brazil, this is the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC). If indigenous and non-indigenous bodies attempted to coerce the State to formulate and implement a language policy that defended, revitalised and promoted indigenous languages, the question still remained as to what the best means of implementation would be.

The idea of having a distinct indigenous education would symbolise a great change in the Brazilian educational system and would demand that government bodies implement new strategies in schools. Indigenous bodies such as GELCO believed that the best teachers of indigenous languages would be native teachers as they are likely to have more knowledge about the indigenous people than non-indigenous teachers, will have a higher standard of education and be more adjusted to indigenous group realities.

As discussed above, the 1988 Federal Constitution guarantees indigenous people the right of having a distinct education, considering their social environment as well as the use of their mother tongues and their own methods of learning. Based on this guarantee, in theory, the 1996 Brazilian Educational Laws and Guidelines (LDB) assure indigenous people of the right to a bilingual and intercultural education. In practice, however, schools did not have teachers prepared to deal with the linguistic and cultural diversity and with the existing prejudice within classrooms (Cloud, 2000, p. 55). Frequently indigenous children devalued their own cultural and linguistic identity (Harmers & Blanc, 2000, p. 124). It is noted that regular schools did not adjust themselves to the indigenous students by teaching them their history, costumes, language, and traditional knowledge. RCB Indigena (1998) asserts that schools contribute to the lack of prestige and the disappearance of indigenous languages in Brazil. However, some argue that schools can have a different role by supporting and assisting in the maintenance or revitalisation of indigenous languages, thus transforming indigenous schools. But educational policies have to

recognise and respect linguistic diversity by encountering identity in the midst of differences (Teixeira, 1995).

4.4.2.2 Identity

Although identity is directly linked to languages, Norton (1995) asserts that identity and language have no fixed notion. They are fluid and depend on time and place. The construction of the identity of a community or a group of people is founded on its collective memory, geography, biology, history, religion, productive and reproductive institutions (Norton, 1995). It is important to consider that the Brazilian is categorised as part of Western Christianity (Norton, 1995). In spite of this European influence, the construction of the Brazilian identity blends with features of its indigenous culture. However, this indigenous identity is thereby affected. Out of 990 indigenous people, only 220 remains. During colonisation, there were six million indigenous people living in Brazil of which only 350,000 are left (Norton, 1995).

For centuries in Brazil, the term 'Indian' was also misused and denoted that indigenous people were wild and savage (Norton, 1995). When indigenous people and their descendents lived in urban areas, they did not consider themselves indigenous. After the 1988 Federal Constitution was passed, this scenario began to change as there are indigenous bodies in several areas of Brazil and was an increasing acknowledgment of city dwellers as having Indian origins.

With the increase of indigenous rights through the 1988 Federal Constitution, many bodies that assisted the indigenous people, reacted against some government decisions, these were bodies such as IPOL and FUNAI. They claimed that some indigenous communities had alleged they were Indians when, in fact they were not. These bodies believed and perpetuated the old notion that indigenous people lived separately in tribal communities. Currently, the concept of indigenous people is broader and inclusive. From the analysis of the documents from the 1500 to the 1988 Federal constitution, the indigenous identity has altered considerably. However, much has to be improved. Although laws were passed in the 1988 Constitution that assured indigenous rights, protected the indigenous people and their territory, and provided indigenous primary schools in indigenous communities.

There should be a strategy to maintain and promote indigenous languages, identity and culture in the territory and indigenous groups and government bodies should fight for better education taught in the native languages, as they must be considered as national languages.

Also, Indigenous people are not naïve or defenceless, as Caminha described in his 1500 letter. The issue of Indigenous identity has been discussed in the last decades with diverse criteria.

In the 1950s, participants of the Second Inter American Indigenous Conference, in Peru (1949) presented a text entitled “Cultures and Indigenous Languages in Brazil” which defines indigenous people as “those portions of the Brazilian population who present problems of a lack of adaptation in the Brazilian society, are motivated by conservative habits, and customs that link to the pre-Colombian tradition.” (Geomundo) In other words, “an Indian is deemed as any individual who is acknowledged as a member of a pre-Colombian community that is considered different from the national identity, and it is seen as indigenous by the Brazilian population” (Geomundo). Afterwards, the Indian Statute (1973), law number 6001 presented a definition of indigenous people.

Documents 1 and 2 of this study show evidence that Indigenous people have been stigmatised. Document 3 deals with the construction of the immigrant and national citizen identities. The immigrants are constructed as enemies and traitors when using their mother tongues. National citizens who support Vargas’ ideas are constructed as being united around the same purpose to build a strong nation. However, the identity constructed around those who did not support the nationalist ideology and the decrees meant they were positioned as enemies of the Brazilian people.

Language was used to build people’s social identity in the Brazilian territory. It is important to understand that, in places where there is social conflict, there is often linguistic conflict as well. This is often about whose words, terms or languages are used by which group of people or community, to assume one’s identity and to be able to identify members of other groups.

4.4.2.3 Land Ownership

The land that has been occupied by indigenous people belongs to the Brazilian State, and it is inalienable, and is only available to indigenous communities (Article 231, paragraph 4,

“As terras de que trata este artigo são inalienáveis e indisponíveis, e os direitos sobre elas, imprescritíveis. /

The lands which this article deals with are non-transferable and unavailable, and the rights on them are not deemed to be written.”

Therefore, it can be understood that the indigenous land is a political object and can create conflict. Therefore, articles 231 and 232 of the 1988 Federal Constitution acknowledge the right to cultural differences and the multicultural nature of Brazil as a way to create a better, more democratic and fairer society. Consequently, it provided the scenario to have political changes that could overcome the inequality of rights in several areas such as education, health, and language choice. This also includes the right of land to be occupied by indigenous people.

This issue of land is a core issue throughout the history of Brazil. In Caminha's letter, the Portuguese colonisers possessed the land, and disempowered the Indigenous people. In document 2, the indigenous people were granted citizenship and land in order to safeguard the land from the Spanish. Document 3 highlighted the concern of losing the land to the communists if action was not taken. Article 232 of the 1988 Federal Constitution demonstrated that the State declared that the land belonged to the indigenous people and they could make use of all natural resources. However, they could not and have not been allowed to sell or transfer the land. In fact, the natives were disempowered to manage their own land. What is different is that lack of full ownership is framed in a discourse of the preservation of a valuable national asset, rather than in a colonial one of dispossession.

Therefore, article 232, legitimates the right of indigenous people, their communities, and indigenous supporting organisations. If indigenous people, their rights, language, land, and culture are preserved, the Brazilian national identity will be also preserved.

4.4.2.4 Language

Languages have been used as the identity of nations. It has been naturalised and legitimated that Brazil is a monolingual country and Portuguese is the language spoken throughout the centuries. In Caminha's (1500) letter to Portugal, there is no acknowledgment of indigenous languages, but noises native people made. Erasure is present at this moment of history. With the arrival of the Jesuits, where there was recognition of the existing linguistic diversity, but elimination was the simplest route. One language could be used rather than hundreds, as Jesuits' main purpose was to evangelise the natives, not to maintain their languages and culture. Those who learned Portuguese faster would receive compensation throughout generations, thus leading to the extinction of many languages. Many times indigenous people had to use one indigenous language as a contact language, such as Tucano, as nobody could understand Portuguese.

In the Indigenous Directorate (1755), two hundred years after Caminha's letter was written, indicated a more radical and strict change. Portugal forbade the use of indigenous languages and introduced Portuguese as the only language to be used in the territory. Portugal wanted to eradicate the use of any indigenous language by portraying them as the source of the indigenous wild and barbarian behaviour and thoughts. Iconisation is used to construct ideological representations of linguistic differences (Irvine & Gal, 2000) of natives and the Portuguese colonisers.

In the Decrees (1931 – 1939) passed by President Vargas, Portuguese was not only naturalised as an official language, but the Brazilian variety of Portuguese was valued by the movement introduced by the Brazilian modernists. Indigenous languages were not a problem to Brazil anymore as those languages were erased from the reality and the characteristics of a Brazilian national. At this moment, immigrant languages suffered the Vargas government's pressure. These languages were banned, immigrant schools were closed, and immigrants were constructed as criminals, communists and enemies of the country if they spoke the language of their home nations. Language was again used a means to control the citizens.

The 1988 Constitution attempted to make a change in the history in terms of introducing laws that would provide rights to indigenous communities. Evidence is present in article 231 of the 1988 Constitution:

“São reconhecidos aos índios sua organização social, costumes, línguas, crenças e tradições, e os direitos originários sobre as terras que tradicionalmente ocupam, competindo à União demarcá-las, proteger e fazer respeitar todos os seus bens. /

Social organisation, costumes, languages, beliefs and traditions, and the original rights on the land are acknowledged to indigenous people. The land the indigenous people occupy is responsibility of the Union. Therefore, the Union has to demarcate the land, protect and make indigenous' assets respectful."

However, a few things have changed and most of these rights have worked well in theory, but not in practice. Nowadays there are more than 200 indigenous people within the Brazilian territory. These people communicate in their home languages, of which there are 180 languages besides Portuguese, in spite of all the historical repression that took place.

The same way the indigenous people were reprimanded in the hands of Jesuits in the 19th century, this scenario is repeated in the 20th century with indigenous people who live in several areas in the Brazilian territory. Amongst their tribes and communities, they speak their mother tongue, but when they go into urban areas or contact 'national' people, they are obliged to speak the official language, Portuguese.

Furthermore, in the 20th century, many indigenous people attended boarding schools where they were obliged to speak Portuguese, and to abandon their mother tongue, and their culture. However, indigenous children spoke indigenous languages in a hidden manner at schools since they knew nothing about Portuguese (<http://www.geomundo.com.br/mato-grosso-do-sul-50124.htm>). If the priests found out they were speaking in an indigenous language, these children were punished (Nunes, 2003). In spite of this reality, indigenous communities made all efforts to preserve their languages and culture. Some of these languages were transcribed

and their preservation became easier (Nunes, 2003). Presently, in some areas of Brazil, their resistance is to protect their language and they make efforts to teach this to their descendents (<http://www.geomundo.com.br/mato-grosso-do-sul-50124.htm>). However, many indigenous communities have lost their cultures. For instance, in the south of Brazil where the *Kaingang* language is spoken, indigenous children have been taught in their mother tongue language, and they have registered their history in *Kaingang* in order to preserve their language and culture. However, teachers understand the notion that socially speaking Portuguese is a bridge to become a superior person, whereas speaking *Kaingang* conveys that one is less important possesses a less valuable culture. (<http://www.geomundo.com.br/mato-grosso-do-sul-50124.htm>).

Therefore, an important contribution for the indigenous people was the 1988 Federal Constitution that allowed them to continue speaking their native languages, to maintain cultural diversity, and obligating the government to support their initiatives by being able to acknowledge their cultural and linguistic diversity . By employing their own language in education, many of the indigenous languages and much of their culture can be revitalised. Several times, ancient Indians have contributed in the education of the indigenous children by explaining techniques in their mother tongue, including how to craft by hand.

According to Fairclough (1989), language should be seen as a social practice which deals with the social conditions of the production of a discourse and its concealed power, ideology, and aspects of domination. As can be noticed in documents 1,2,3, and 4, Portuguese is the national and therefore superior language throughout colonialism and in the post-colonial period. With the 1988 Constitution, indigenous people were theoretically empowered to resist and change exploitative and dominating linguistic practices, and were given space to guarantee the strengthening of their ethnic identity, and, consequently, to enrich their cultural patrimony, and preserve biodiversity.

In document 1, iconisation was used to establish a link between language and the indigenous people which justified their 'barbarian lifestyle,' for having no language, and making noises like wild animals. In document 2, language was used as a means

of introducing the Portuguese ideology through the use of the Portuguese as an instrument to shape people's perceptions of the world around them and how they view others as individuals. In document 3, language was employed to maintain Vargas' dictatorship and to unify the country, that is, to bring people together under one common purpose or ideology. In document 4, language is posited as a citizen's right which seems to be an advantage. In practice, little has been done to promote the indigenous languages, mainly in the midst of the national society. Indigenous languages are still seen as an object that belongs to the indigenous society, but this society and language does not belong to the nationals. Indigenous people are not considered 'us' or 'our people' and the nationals are not interested in learning the indigenous culture and language. The great force of assimilation of the Portuguese language and culture is present in the Brazilian society which takes it for granted, while the indigenous culture and languages are not seen as part of the Brazilian identity of other nationals.

According to the author, Jose Afonso da Silva (cited in Souza Junior, 2004), "the 1988 Federal Constitution made an effort to organise a system of norms that protected the interests and rights", including linguistic rights of indigenous people. However, it reached a fair result, but not a satisfactory level. In fact, the 1988 Constitution was meant to provide the right of use of indigenous natural resources which belonged to the Brazilian government, such as the land that will be discussed below.

The reality of the indigenous languages and people in Brazil has slowly changed. Despite the advances of the 1988 Constitution, little has been implemented as there is little political, economic, social and educational will. Land and schools were given to indigenous people, which was what they had fought for a long time, and the 1988 Constitution has granted them what they demanded. Their languages are not forbidden any longer. Technically, they were granted their rights, but their languages should now be employed in their communities. As they have no social value in the Brazilian society, they are considered useless in educational and public places. The media does not promote any of the indigenous languages and mother tongue education is only provided in primary school and indigenous languages are not present in the national society. Thus, the value of a language is questioned if it is not

present in any sector of public places, such as the government bodies. In addition, the Brazilian film industry produces many films with its main approach as social causes, such as poverty, prostitution, violence, principally at slums (favelas) in Brazil, but nothing is mentioned about the indigenous people and their languages.. In short, the discourse of their rights is still in theory.. It appears that they have been protected, but forces of political and economic interests will decide the future of the indigenous people if they do not continue fighting for their education, identity, territory, and linguistic rights, that will grant them autonomy to be respected and identified, and survive as respectful Brazilian citizens.

CHAPTER FIVE: Conclusions and Recommendations

Based on the analysis of this study, I will attempt to answer the questions posed in the beginning of this study, as follows:

- (1) How are languages constructed in Brazilian policy documents at key moments in Brazilian history?
- (2) What are the dominant discourses operating in these texts?
- (3) How is the role of language in education represented in these texts? and
- (4) What ideologies are entrenched in these texts? Have they shifted over time?

The analysis of the four key Brazilian documents has proven that there was a powerful force of assimilation from the Portuguese colonisers to the people who were living in Brazil. The Portuguese colonisers constructed the documents to possess the land and imposed the Portuguese language on the natives as part of their colonisation process. They used the pretence that they were bringing civility and development (Indigenous Directorate, 1755) to the 'barbarians' that lived on the land, teaching them to survive, and bringing a superior and more advanced lifestyle to them. The intent of the Portuguese was to exploit the natives in order to protect the land and to expand the territory.

At a later stage, without the threat of native languages, but with the arrival of immigrants, the threat arose again. As a way to cover up and as an attempt to diminish the existence of diversity, the colonisers made use of forceful legislation. In the 1900s, those who spoke any language other than Portuguese were interrogated as spies, punished, and even sent to prison. After years of assimilation, it appears that no other language had been spoken in the territory before. It seemed as though natives had never lived there and that the Portuguese colonisers were always the only owners of the territory.

It can be asserted that the hegemony of Portuguese is present throughout Brazilian history. In fact, I claim that these four policy documents should be considered hegemonic texts in relation to the Portuguese language in Brazil. The notion of a

language's value is posed by Bourdieu (1991) who classifies it as symbolic power meaning that the language has this power and value because people place a symbolic value on it. According to Bourdieu's (1991) view, it can also have a material value as it is considered valuable to members of groups because it can provide financial returns. Bourdieu (1991) claims that this position of value is manufactured through ideology. For instance, when the Indigenous Directorate was passed, those who could speak Portuguese would get government positions established by the Portuguese court. At a later moment, during Getulio Vargas's era, the use of mainly immigrant languages was forbidden and the Portuguese language was the only language allowed. Indeed, Bourdieu (1991) considers education as the system in charge of teaching languages where the knowledge and different social values are embedded. It is possible to assert that the recognition and misrecognition of Portuguese as a superior language was present in the minds of the indigenous people and immigrants in Brazil.

In 1988 when the Brazilian Federal Constitution was designed, Portuguese was so naturalised that it was considered not only the national language, but the country's official language (1988 Federal Constitution). The teaching of Portuguese as the national language has been done since the colonial times to the present. It is not questioned whether Brazilian indigenous languages would be included and valued in the Brazilian education system. In fact, the Constitution provided native people with bilingual schools where they could learn their mother tongue as well as Portuguese. However, the native languages were not even mentioned in the 1988 Federal Constitution as indigenous cultures were not deemed as part of the Brazilian culture and were to be taught as an additional language at regular Brazilian schools. In other words, since the colonial times, the indigenous people were not truly included as the 'us' in the Brazilian society, except when Portugal had political and economic interests in maintaining its colony. The indigenous people have been considered as 'the others', since the colonial times.

It can be claimed that Portugal brought its ideology to Brazil and it has remained. Brazilian citizens have made no effort to revive their indigenous languages, but they have made a successful attempt to officialise the Brazilian variety of Portuguese. It is clear that Brazilians did not want to lose their social capital (Bourdieu, 1991), the

Portuguese language, but wanted to emancipate themselves from Portugal's hegemony. This battle occurred during the orthographic reforms. Political forces supported the modernist movement and the first steps of linguistic independence started to occur. However, is it linguistic independence if a different variety is spoken of the same colonising language? In my view, genuine independence would be when native people could have their land back, could express themselves in their mother tongues, would be included in their own society and land, and would be valued for contributing with their language, habits, food, music and art in a diverse society. In fact, Brazil has always been a diverse society, but erasure has been employed in order to favour groups and the elite within the society. As a result, minority linguistic groups have been oppressed at the expense of the maintenance and perpetuation of the power and privileges which are in control of the dominant linguistic groups. This is reflected in the society where jobs are obtained by those who have access to a superior education which is only offered in Portuguese. In short, mastery of Portuguese is compulsory for those minority language members who desire to have social ascension and not live in poverty, like most indigenous peoples and communities.

In short, the construction of language in Brazil has been very clear: since 1500 the indigenous languages were considered the languages of the 'wild', the 'uneducated', and those who 'had no knowledge' or 'useless knowledge', and thus, erased from a nation that constructed themselves as educated and civilised. Presently, this discriminatory and biased view of the indigenous people and the native languages remains. Natives are partially considered as citizens of the country and mother tongue education is only provided in primary schools. In addition there are no university courses offered in indigenous languages, Brazilian children are never taught any indigenous language as an additional language, and the Brazilian media only broadcasts in Portuguese. Commercially, the language is also Portuguese, rather than an indigenous language. As a result of centuries of stigma, the indigenous population is seen as 'the others', as 'wild', 'uneducated', 'poor', 'lazy' and outcasts of the national society. In other words, any other language that breaks the symbol of national unity is reprimanded. The colonizer's language as the national language and also as a symbol of national identity, has performed the role of obtaining social unity (Rassool & Mansoor, 2007). This is what dominant groups

have attempted to maintain: that Brazilians and the world to perceive Brazil with one identity where all Brazilians speak Portuguese and have the same Western culture.

Brazil and the other Portuguese colonies presented some similar and some different characteristics regarding their Portuguese legacy. Brazil is the only ex-colony that considers Portuguese its national language. The other lusophone countries such as Mozambique, Angola, Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau consider Portuguese their official language, but not the national language. It is clear that the native languages of the people of these countries are marginalised and disadvantaged, but they are still spoken by the population. However, in Brazil, the indigenous people are the only ones who speak the native languages, and most of the population has never heard them or is aware of their existence. It can be asserted that in Brazil, native language death occurs more rapidly than in any other Portuguese-speaking countries due to the low value given to their social status (Bourdieu, 1991).

Similarly, like other previous Portuguese colonies, Brazilian native people who did not comply with the actions of the Portuguese empire were killed, tortured, murdered, assassinated, imprisoned, arrested, or exiled. They were constructed as enemies like the citizens of previous Portuguese colonies. The colonial ideology is still present in all these countries in a post-colonial time. Those who do not speak the variety of Portuguese established by the Portuguese empire are socially tortured, arrested and exiled within the society (Bagno, 2002). This is happening in their own countries where Portuguese forces of dissimulation, assimilation, fragmentation, and legitimation (Thompson, 1997) have been so powerful.

Semiotic processes such as iconisation, fractal recursivity, and erasure (Irvine and Gal, 2000, p. 36-38) are present in the construction of the language in Brazil. These have also contributed to the employment of the colonial discourse that has been racist, discriminatory, and manipulative in order to achieve the objectives of dominant groups. They have also contributed to the death of many indigenous languages as one of the main strategies is to promote a socially dominant language and to eliminate diversity.

As analysed in this study, a repeated mode of ideology found in the documents was dissimulation (Thompson, 1997) where the Portuguese colonisers posited the need of civilising, educating and promoting a better life to the natives by teaching them the superior language, Portuguese. Embedded in the acquisition of Portuguese, the natives would abandon their barbarian behaviour, and would adopt their civilised way of living. The Portuguese dissimulated the need for having a school for the natives' children (Indigenous Directorate, 1755). Valuing Portuguese as a superior language, the natives had to work for the Portuguese to pay for their children's 'superior' education.

Another frequent mode of ideology found in these documents was the dissimulation (Thompson, 1997) of protection. Both the Portuguese colonisers (Indigenous Directorate, 1755) and Getulio Vargas (Law Decrees, 1931-1939) claimed that the new policy documents were designed to protect the natives, and the Brazilian citizens, respectively. However, they were not interested in helping the natives have a better lifestyle or in protecting them. The Portuguese also dissimulated that the land was theirs and they were doing something good by giving the natives land to learn how to plant and to have enough food for their communities. The main objective was to guarantee that the hegemonic group would maintain its social, economic, and political control and interests through the support of the group which would serve their hegemony and restate their power.

In relation to the role of language in education, the analysis of this study demonstrates that it is in line with Skutnabb-Kangas's (2001, p. 201) statement that "educational systems are the most important direct agents in language murder". The Portuguese colonisers justified the benefit of bringing education to the indigenous people and civilising them (Indigenous Directorate, 1755) at the expense of murdering hundreds of languages. Actually, they wanted to impose Portuguese thoughts and beliefs onto the natives and turn the land into an extension of the Portuguese territory. Also, with the law decrees (1931-1931) during President Vargas' dictatorship, education was used to ban immigrant schools and the use of immigrant languages. As a result, a great number of immigrant children were unable to have mother tongue education and were forced to learn in an unfamiliar language. To many, learning through Portuguese as the medium of education became a

gatekeeper to learning other subjects. Stutnabb-Kangas (2000) argues “formal education which is subtractive ... is genocidal” (p. 206). Although the 1988 Federal Constitution supports bilingual education during elementary school, it only offers education using Portuguese as a medium of education. There has not been room for the native languages in the national society and for a native person to be able to study, s/he has to abandon his/her culture and enter the national culture to have access to higher education. It is a concealed way to discriminate and erase other languages, as previously discussed in the semiotic processes (Irvine & Gal, 2000). The 1988 Federal Constitution established that education is compulsory as an exercise of citizenship. Comparing this to the Indigenous Directorate, education was also imposed in order to introduce the Portuguese ideologies to the natives to bring unity to the colony and to turn the colony into an extension of Portugal. The national ideology has been used to achieve the same purpose which is to impose the national culture on indigenous people and to maintain the hegemony of the dominant groups. As a result, the notion that Brazil is a giant monolingual and mono-cultural nation is perpetuated.

Throughout the history of Brazil, it was found that education has been a very strong source of assimilation of the Portuguese language. It has also been one of the major tools to cause language death in Brazil. As natives have to assimilate Portuguese as the national language, they also have to accept Portuguese and the national customs in the Brazilian society which has noticeably excluded, discriminated, devalued their culture and languages. The neglect of their languages has led them to abandon their communities, identities, languages, costumes, and valuable culture. The price to be paid is very high: minority and disadvantaged linguistic groups, cultures and diversity have been sacrificed at the sake of maintaining and strengthening the dominant and influential ones.

The fight continues. Linguistic minorities should constantly stand out to fight for their basic rights. They should against being socially, economically, and linguistically discriminated in the national society. They should be fighting to be integrated to the Brazilian society as citizens to the full, despite the cultural differences and diversity between the white people and the natives. The natives' social capital such as their history, language and dances should be valued and even introduced to white

Brazilians. Hitherto, the indigenous culture and their languages have not been included as part of the identity of a Brazilian citizen. Our language policy, mindsets and realities have to be changed.

As sociolinguists and Brazilian citizens, it is the moment to acknowledge the hegemony of Portuguese and decide to return Brazilian history and give a voice to the Brazilian native people who have been voiceless in their attempt to save what has remained of their culture. What is our position as Brazilians towards this scenario? I want to challenge Brazilian citizens, linguistic and government bodies, media and sociolinguists to gather strength to promote social justice, bearing in mind that it is vital to provide conditions for the existence of linguistic diversity and to design language policies that acknowledge and value these languages.

By using van Dijk's (1988) words, our role is to help reveal the "discourse power, dominance, inequality and bias and how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduced, and transformed within specific social, economic, political, and historical contexts" and promote awareness of unequal social relations through the use of language (Fairclough, 1989, p. 4). Following Samuel Johnson's (1709 – 1984) thoughts, I can assert that "I am always sorry when any language is lost, because languages are the pedigree of nations".