My homeland is the Portuguese language*
Some remarks on Portuguese (language) identity in the world

Diana Santos
University of Oslo

*Famous quotation by Fernando Pessoa
Presentation overview

• A crash course on Portuguese language history and dissemination
• Current issues in the Portuguese-speaking world
• A specific analysis of identity building in Portuguese child literature of 100 years ago
Geographic Features of Portuguese

- Countries where it is spoken

- Countries where creoles of Portuguese are spoken

Rough size of native speakers

- Native speakers of Portuguese in CPLP (July 2010)

http://observatorio-lp.sapo.pt/
Roughly size of Internet presence

- In terms of Internet users, 2010 (source http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats7.htm)
Time linguistic periods from Latin on

- Three regions in Roman “Hispania”: Romans followed previous organizations
  - Betica
  - Tarraconensis
  - Lusitania
- V century “Latin” already special in the Iberian peninsula, as opposed to Italy and Gaul (the Ibero-romance branch)
- Visigoth light influence

Teyssier (1984)
Time linguistic periods from Latin on

- 711 Arab invasion, with the creation of the *Moçárabe* community, Christian conservative
- *Reconquista* from ca. 1000 to 1250, bringing a mix of Christian modern speakers

Entwhistle (1983)
Reconquista and the Portuguese territory
Time linguistic periods ...

• Portugal founded ca 1143
• Discoveries and power 1415...1580
• Portuguese as *lingua franca* in Africa, Asia & America
• Spanish rule 1580-1640
• Regeneration to French invasions
• The royal family in Brazil (1/3 of the population of Rio de Janeiro)
• Modern times
  • Lisbon innovations
  • Influence of French
  • Influence of English
• XXIth century
(Rough) chronology of Portuguese

• Important historical events that have some bearing on the Portuguese language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>218 b. C.</th>
<th>409</th>
<th>711</th>
<th>1249</th>
<th>1350</th>
<th>1415--1520</th>
<th>1580-1640</th>
<th>1808-1821</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latin became the language of the Iberian peninsula</td>
<td>Roman invasion</td>
<td>Germanic invasions</td>
<td>Muslim invasion</td>
<td>End of Reconquista</td>
<td>Separation between G and P</td>
<td>Discoveries</td>
<td>Spanish domination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainly visigoths were arian (religious) and left few traces</td>
<td>During Arab domination Mozarabe community kept an old dialect</td>
<td>Reconquista created a new “common” language, Galician-Portuguese</td>
<td>After this date the two languages parted</td>
<td>During discoveries Portuguese became the first world lingua franca</td>
<td>During this period there was a lot of bilingual speakers</td>
<td>There was a lot of linguistic innovation in Lisbon (&amp; Rio)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Naval expansion and Camões

- From 1415 on till 1580 a naval empire was built
- Camões was the poet of Portugal’s glory, and led a life as adventurous as his country
- He was the single most important person for national identity, with his «Os Lusíadas», which presented Portugal’s history and glory as an epic poem
- Portuguese is still called the language of Camões
Brasil’s gold and the close connection between the two countries

- Portugal regained independence in 1640, but with its possessions and power severely weakened
- In 1755 a gigantic earthquake destroyed Lisbon
- A strong character, Marquês de Pombal, took over – hard to describe because he was both conservative and progressive
- Brazil was the “crown’s jewel”
- MP not only expelled Jesuits from the whole Portuguese empire, but enforced Portuguese as the only language in Brazil
French invasions and the flight to Brazil

- The royal family, and its large court, fled in haste to Brazil
- Leading to a huge cultural and economic development of this colony and to its independence without war
- D. Pedro abdicated from the Portuguese throne and proclaimed himself emperor of Brazil (1822)
- To this day the bureaucracy in Brazil and some of the administrative traditions come from Portuguese colonial practice
Portuguese Africa and the new colonialism

• Having “lost” Brazil, Portugal looked to the rest of its empire and in particular to Africa

• An important surge of Portuguese nationalism against the British in the 1890’s

• It was mainly in the XXth century that the issue of the language became crucial, with the local schools teaching in Portuguese and access to administration by the local population depending on school success
Emmigration and migration

- Republican ideals win in 1910 with the first Republic (until 1928)
- During the Portuguese fascism (48 years) there was a lot of emigration, and also migration to Africa
- In the last years, due to the colonial war (1961-1974), emmigration was political as well as economical
Case studies: language and identity in modern history

- National language in Mozambique
- The “loss” of Timor and its relevance for Portuguese consciousness
- The “Brazilian language” debate
Mozambique

- Very little penetration of Portuguese language until the XXth century
- Change in colonial politics created a black elite, the *assimilados*, Portuguese native speakers
- The vast majority of the revolutionary leaders for the independence belonged to it (studied in Portugal)
- Language of government and teaching
The linguistic situation in Mozambique

• Before independence, almost no higher education available

• The first university was created in 1962, renamed 1968, and in 1976, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane

• 1980 census, cited in 1996 (1.2% nat, <30%)

   In 1985, there were
   • 24.4% Portuguese speakers (1.2% native)

   In 1997, 6.5% native Portuguese (INE)

   In 2004, there were
   • 39% Portuguese speakers (6% native)

   Wikipedia: 39.6%

   In 2006 (Ethnologue), 35,000 native (1.75%)
Interesting questions

• Why was the story of Brazil so different from the one of (Portuguese) Africa?
  • Population density / cultural level / other factors

• How much is colonial style responsible for differences in modern states?
  • Miscigenation vs. separation
  • Naval vs. inland

• How much are religious attitudes responsible for the colonization outcome?
  • Catholic, Jesuitic, protestant, Muslim

• How much do colonizers’ spirit, style and values influence the new societies? How important is previous cooperation/fight between populations?
Timor (Timor Leste, or East Timor)

- **November 28 1975**: independence from Portugal proclaimed
- **December 12 1975**: Indonesian invasion
- **October 1989**: Pope’s visit calls for demonstrations against the invasion
- **November 12th 1991**: Dili's cemetery of Santa Cruz, 271 non-armed demonstrators killed
- **Nobel peace prize 1996**
- **30 August 1999**: 98% of population votes for independence
- **20 May 2002**: independence

*East Timor and the surrounding countries. The inset shows the compositing territories: the mainland (with capital Dili), the enclaves of Oecussi-Ambeno, and the island of Atauro. There’s still the tiny isle of Jaco, unnoticeable at these scales, but that can be imagined as a dot in the easternmost of Timor. Across the Timor Sea, Australia is at about 450 km away, and Java 1000 km.*
A huge solidarity wave

• Everyone was doing an embargo to Indonesia
• From left to right, all Portuguese parties and society sections engaged themselves, church and revolutionaries
• In addition to many refugees, a lot of cooperation from Portuguese individuals
• This was “our” problem

Xanana Gusmão
The national language debate in Brazil

- Nationalism
- Purism
- Tradition
- Brazilianness
- Influence from Indian and Black strata
- Creolization?
- Diglossia, urban norm

Most grammarians and writers were faithful and proud*

Huge distance between social strata

- Labov and generative schools together on divergence

* but also harsh words and famous debates

The more diversified the background of the participants is, the more global and homogeneous a language is.
• 1920-45 neologism experimentation
• Guimarães Rosa
• reinvented half the lexicon
Brazilian language policy (Faulstich1999)

• 1824: first constitution: Port. is national language
• 1891: you have to read to vote (and again in 1937)
• 1934: teaching is in the fatherland’s language
• 1945: Acordo Ortográfico para a Unidade da Língua Portuguesa
• 1946: no vote if you cannot talk in the nat. lang. (1967)
• 1959: Portaria *Nomenclatura gramatical brasileira*
• 1961: obligatory primary education, nat. lang.
• 1988: Portuguese official language of RFB"
• 1995: Acordo Ortográfico da Língua Portuguesa
Does every person count equally?

• Mattos da Silva (1994) describing Brazilian conditions
• Only 67% start (obligatory, primary) school
• Less than half ends primary school
• Only 17% ends secondary school

• In 1994 there were 20 million analphabets, plus 20 million who never use reading or writing
Convergence vs. divergence

- **One** language is a question of will
- There are never linguistic criteria to distinguish languages from dialects or simple regional social variation
- For Portuguese, the emergence of 6 new states with their national varieties is actually positive in that it removes the two poles dichotomy and allows for “variety in unity”

When a country/society is poor, language is not valued, it is not a priority. Social/power status of the language speakers tells.
Convergence signs

• Internet, and Wikipedia
• The spelling agreement (took ages to sign and a lot of anger)
• Music and films
• Increased migration between the two countries
• Global shrinking
• Economic growth that allowed mass tourism
• Telenovelas
• Computational processing of written text

• Publishers and distributors still lagging behind
Céu aberto and Em pleno azul

- Author: Virgínia de Castro e Almeida (1874-1945)
- Title glosses: Open heaven/sky and Full blue
- Written in 1907, still with Portugal as monarchy, still current – and read – in 1973
- Three children are going to be educated in Swiss boarding schools. Before that, they take a boat journey from Lisbon to Italy as a present from their parents
The plot... and building national pride

• The first book introduces them to Italian renaissance and history, the second to Swiss politics and education
• They go out to learn from abroad to go back to do better for their country, they represent Portugal
• They incidentally also learn some Portuguese history while travelling
• They meet relevant people who teach them and/or work as role models: a Brazilian old man on the boat, a Portuguese boy, and a Brazilian girl in the respective schools
How one hears about Camões

• First, by a passionate reference by the star boy, Pedro, who tells both *Os Lusíadas* spell and his adventurous life

• Second, by the acknowledgement of all foreigners in the train compartment, including the Swiss president (!)
How Brazil is presented

• The meeting with Constança, who is the star girl (the feminine role model)

• The two countries are siblings, they understand each other better

• *We are almost sisters*
Concluding remarks

• Can one learn from the past?
• Is there any reason why history should repeat itself?
• Are there universals of human domination, contact, progress?
• The only thing I could do was to provide a short overview of Portuguese (language, history, culture) in general, based on the hope that, now that we live in a global world, the knowledge of the others is one of the goals of this university and of the university institution itself

Obrigada!
Thanks to

My colleagues of the Portuguese section

• *Birte Stengaard* with whom I learned almost everything I know about language history

• *Anne Sletsjøe* for extending the students and mine horizons in what concerns literature in Portuguese

• *Kåre Nilsson* for sharing his deep linguistic and contrastive insights and expertise with me

My grammar students

• For their enthusiasm and interest in matters of language and culture

**Note:** List of references available at http://folk.uio.no/dssantos/PortugueseWorld.pdf
Afterword

• Opening speech on Wednesday 21 September 2011, United Nations, New York, Dilma Rousseff

• (...) Na língua portuguesa, palavras como **vida**, **alma** e **esperança** pertencem ao gênero feminino, e são também femininas duas outras palavras muito especiais para mim: **coragem** e **sinceridade**.