

Routledge Critical Studies in Multilingualism

Edited by Marilyn Martin-Jones, MOSAIC Centre for Research on Multilingualism, University of Birmingham, UK and Joan Pujolar Cos, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, Spain

- 6 **A Sociolinguistics of Diaspora**
Latino Practices, Identities, and Ideologies
Edited by Rosina Márquez Reiter and Luisa Martín Rojo
- 7 **Language, Literacy and Diversity**
Moving Words
Edited by Christopher Stroud and Mastin Prinsloo
- 8 **Global Portuguese**
Linguistic Ideologies in Late Modernity
Edited by Luiz Paulo Moita-Lopes
- 9 **Language and Learning in a Post-Colonial Context**
A Critical Ethnographic Study in Schools in Haiti
Marky Jean-Pierre
- 10 **Multilingualism in the Chinese Diaspora Worldwide**
Transnational Connections and Local Social Realities
Edited by Li Wei
- 11 **Navigating Languages, Literacies and Identities**
Religion in Young Lives
Edited by Vally Lytra, Dinah Volk and Eve Gregory
- 12 **Entangled Discourses**
South-North Orders of Visibility
Edited by Caroline Kerfoot and Kenneth Hyltenstam
- 13 **Standardizing Minority Languages**
Competing Ideologies of Authority and Authenticity in the Global Periphery
Edited by Pia Lane, James Costa, and Haley De Korne
- 14 **Multilingual Brazil**
Language Resources, Identities and Ideologies in a Globalized World
Edited by Marilda C. Cavalcanti and Terezinha M. Maher

Multilingual Brazil

Language Resources, Identities and Ideologies in a Globalized World

Edited by Marilda C. Cavalcanti
and Terezinha M. Maher



 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
NEW YORK AND LONDON

First published 2018
by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

and by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa
business*

© 2018 Taylor & Francis

The right of the editors to be identified as the authors of the editorial
material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been
asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright,
Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced
or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other
means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and
recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without
permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks
or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and
explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
A catalog record for this book has been requested

ISBN: 978-1-138-65297-2 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-315-62387-0 (ebk)

Typeset in Sabon
by Apex CoVantage, LLC

Contents

<i>List of illustrations</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xi
1 Contemporary Brazilian Perspectives on Multilingualism: An Introduction	1
MARILDA C. CAVALCANTI AND TEREZINHA M. MAHER	
SECTION I	
Politics, Language Ideologies and the Changing Shape of Language Policy Processes	19
Introduction: Distinctive and Common Features of Brazilian Language and Education Policy in the Latin American Context	21
RAINER ENRIQUE HAMEL	
2 Changing Policies and Language Ideologies With Regard to Indigenous Languages in Brazil	27
JOSÉ RIBAMAR BESSA FREIRE	
3 Shifting Discourses About Language and Identity Among Indigenous Teachers in Western Amazonia in the Wake of Policy Change	41
TEREZINHA M. MAHER	
4 From Foreign Languages to Brazilian Languages, From One-Language-One-Nation Ideology to Inclusive Co-officialization Policy: The Case of Hunsrückisch and Pommersch	57
GILVAN MÜLLER DE OLIVEIRA	

SECTION II

Language-In-Education: A Dominant Monolingual Ideology in Tension With Multilingual Practices 69

- Introduction: Political-Ideological Issues Within Brazilian Debates and Policies on Multilingual and Multicultural Education 71
INÈS SIGNORINI

- 5 Representations of Deaf Identities and Communicative Repertoires: Conversations With Deaf Teachers 75
IVANI RODRIGUES SILVA AND WILMA FAVORITO

- 6 The Languages on the Brazilian Borders: Documenting Urban Diversity, Researching School and Classroom Practice, Working Towards Change 89
ROSÂNGELA MORELLO

- 7 A Multilingual Life in Transit Between Two Monolingual Orders: A 'Brazilian' Student, Her Linguistic Repertoire and Her Translingual Practices 105
MARIA ELENA PIRES-SANTOS

SECTION III

Local/Global Trajectories 121

- Introduction: Local/Global Trajectories: Historical and Ethnographic Perspectives 123
MARILYN MARTIN-JONES

- 8 The Ongoing Mobilities of Japanese-Brazilians: Language Ideology, Identities and Language Education 129
LEIKO MATSUBARA MORALES, AYAKO AKAMINE AND MARIA EMIKO SUZUKI

- 9 Language, Literacy and Religion in the Shaping of the Identities and Social Networks of Ukrainians in Brazil 141
NEIVA M. JUNG AND JAKELINE A. SEMECHECHEM

- 10 Diverse Migration Trajectories, Diverse Linguistic Repertoires, Local and Transnational Ties: Arabic Speakers in Foz do Iguaçu 157
REGINA COELI MACHADO E SILVA

SECTION IV

Representation/Performance of Diversities 169

- Introduction: Representation/Performance of Diversities: Reflections on the 'Multi' 171
LYNN MARIO T. MENEZES DE SOUZA

- 11 Guarani/Portuguese/Castellano Rap on the Borderland: Transidiomaticity, Indexicalities and Text Spectacularity 175
LUIZ PAULO MOITA-LOPES

- 12 Multiliteracies and Multilingualism in Brazilian Youth Culture: The Case of *Anime* Music Video Editing 189
ROXANE ROJO AND EDUARDO DE MOURA ALMEIDA

SECTION V

Internationalization and New Diversities in Higher Education: Policies and Practices 'On the Ground' 205

- Introduction: Affordances and Consequences of Internationalization in Higher Education: Lessons from Brazilian Case Studies 207
FELICIANO CHIMBUTANE

- 13 Portuguese as an Additional Language: Global Trends in Local Actions 211
MARGARETE SCHLATTER AND PEDRO DE MORAES GARCEZ

- 14 Narrating Lived Experiences from the Margins: The Voices of Two Undergraduate Students from the Democratic Republic of Congo at a Brazilian University 225
ANA CECÍLIA C. BIZON AND MARILDA C. CAVALCANTI

- Afterword: Policies, Identities, Trajectories and Practices of Multilingual Brazil 241
NANCY H. HORNBERGER

- Contributors* 249

- Index* 255

etc a pg. 25

Section I

Politics, Language Ideologies
and the Changing Shape of
Language Policy Processes

Introduction

Distinctive and Common Features of Brazilian Language and Education Policy in the Latin American Context

Rainer Enrique Hamel

1. Brazil's Significant Linguistic Diversity and its Management

Just three chapters compose this section, but they cover a wide kaleidoscope of Brazil's wealth of cultural and linguistic diversity. Freire (Chapter 2) traces the impact of language policy in three school models prominent in three periods of history. They range from civilizing monolingualism (fast transition or submersion), through civilizing bilingualism (still transition) to reach the identity bilingualism of our times. The ideological shift that nurtures a new language policy moves away from traditional orientations of diversity as a threat to national unity towards an enrichment perspective, which regards identity bilingualism as a positive option to promote Indigenous languages and cultures.

Maher (Chapter 3) focuses in on some effects of the new language policy at the micro level of local Indigenous teacher training events among members of several Indigenous peoples in western *Amazonia*. The new positive status of Indigenous languages bestows legitimacy on fluent speakers as competent bilingual teachers, whereas non-fluent or non-speakers do not qualify as authentic members or proficient teachers. Maher takes sides in a highly controversial topic debated across countries and disciplines today—namely the relationship between language and ethnic identity. She dismisses the notion that Indigenous language competence is a necessary prerequisite to claim Indigenous identities which, as she shows, can just as well be enacted in hegemonic Portuguese. Thus, Indigenous peoples have the right, but not the obligation to speak a native language in order to be recognized as authentic 'Índios'.

However, if language revitalization is an objective of some Indigenous peoples, then, I would add, they also have the right as a community to define membership in relation to native language proficiency. The pressure exercised on non-proficient indigenous teachers, in Maher's example, to learn and improve their native language may be a strong motivation to make revitalization succeed, as we have seen in a number of other cases all over Latin America. Freire's text seems to point into this direction when he emphasizes

that “strategies which (. . .) promote and legitimize Indigenous bilingualism as a marker of identity” (pp. 27–28) are a goal of present day language policy in Brazil.

Oliveira (Chapter 4) describes the extension of the new language rights and policies, granted under the 1988 Constitution, to Brazil’s large heritage language communities. Initially, these language rights were only granted to Indigenous peoples. Oliveira exemplifies this process of policy extension with reference to two German dialects: Hunsrückisch and Pommersch. These dialects were spoken by immigrants who arrived in Brazil around the mid-19th century and were preserved in semi-autarchic territories. They evolved into recognized Brazilian languages, registered today in the National Inventory of Linguistic Diversity. Hence, their speakers identify themselves today as Brazilians who speak Brazilian languages. They are no longer branded as the languages of foreign powers but are co-official with Portuguese in several municipalities.

These authors describe in various ways Brazil’s transition from a predominantly monolingual and monocultural orientation and ideology in the past to a more plurilingual and pluricultural perspective at present, which considers diversity as an asset. In synchrony with the editors’ introductory chapter, the three authors coincide in stressing two landmarks: the history of the construction of a homogeneous nation-state that has attempted to assimilate and thus render invisible Indigenous and immigrant diversity; and the move towards Indigenous rights recognized in the 1988 Constitution that, in turn, triggered a broader change in ideological orientations towards diversity.

However, the question remains open as to what extent the policy innovations represent a profound transformation of Brazilian society itself, encompassing its mainstream majority. For many observers, the changes have primarily involved policy shifts by state institutions on paper (e.g. the drafting of laws and the design and funding of programs). Implementation and profound social transformation seem to lag behind, as happens in Latin America as a whole.

2. Brazil’s Language and Education Policies, Viewed in the Latin American Context

My own involvement in building comparative perspectives on Brazil and Mexico dates back to the late 1980s when I worked as a visiting professor at *Universidade Estadual de Campinas* [State University of Campinas] (UNICAMP). Marilda Cavalcanti and Terezinha (Teca) Maher, the volume editors, generously opened their door to me, enabling me to participate in their adventure of setting up a research unit and a program on Indigenous bilingualism and language education in their thriving Institute of Language Studies (*Instituto de Estudos da Linguagem*—IEL), probably the best place for the social study of language in any Brazilian university. Their academic

work and their research agenda have grown over time to become landmarks within applied linguistics in Brazil and far beyond. This book is a testimony to this.

I experienced an Indigenous world where everything seemed extremely different from my Mexican experience. When I tried to sketch Latin American language policies (Hamel, 1994a) and Indigenous education (Hamel, 1994b) shortly after this period, Brazil and Mexico appeared to me as two polar cases that had differed historically in most aspects: the divergent presence of Indigenous populations in sheer quantitative terms; the two countries’ contrasting histories of colonization (Mexican *mestizaje* and assimilation vs. Brazilian extermination and segregation); the different types of legislation (full citizen status in Mexico vs. paternalistic legal tutelage in Brazil before the 1988 Constitution); and different forms of educational interventions (Mexican governmental monopoly policies vs. Brazilian inattention and non-governmental initiatives).

Mexico represents one out of two macro-ethnoses (Mesoamerica and the Andean space) which comprise well over 80 per cent of the continent’s Indigenous population who live in areas where highly complex societies existed before the European conquest: the Mayas, Aztecs and Incas. In contrast, the ensemble of Amerindian micro-ethnoses, typical for Brazil, are characterized by low demographic density, high linguistic diversity, but less complex social organization, and a much lower degree of socioeconomic and cultural assimilation or integration compared to the macro-ethnoses. Given the significant demographic and socioeconomic weight of Indigenous populations in the macro-ethnos areas, their governments have traditionally opted for far more vertical, widespread and intrusive strategies of assimilation, including educational programs, as compared with the micro-ethnoses. From a comparative perspective, then, Brazil’s history of Indigenous policies exhibits repression, then a degree of *laissez-faire* in the past and, today, a trend towards the granting of levels of autonomy and diversity as regards cultural content, language and the curriculum, that would still be difficult to imagine in the macro-ethnos regions.

Given the profound diversity of ethnicities even within each country, we need to ‘decolonize’ our own pervasive ideological tradition of homogenizing Indigenous peoples in Latin America as being similar. Such categorizations led to harmful common policies and programs for very diverse realities in the past. This prevalent orientation among researchers, decision makers and some Indigenous leaders represents in itself an ideology and colonialist praxis in discourse and intervention.

No doubt some of my initial comparative observations in the late 1980s still remain relevant, but a lot has changed over the past 30 years (Hamel, 2013). Brazil has moved from being a country characterized by a lack of state attention, segregation and even violent oppression of Indigenous peoples until the 1970s, to a nation that is now developing unique leadership in Latin America. It has induced ideological changes and policies of

recognition that embrace both the Indigenous and the immigrant communities and put them on an equal footing—a unique case in the continent. As Oliveira reports in this section, there are even more municipalities that have co-officialized immigrant languages than Indigenous languages. And, unlike the era when Portuguese was the only instrument for the ‘integration’ of immigrant ‘nationalization’, now their languages have been ‘Brazilianized’. This allows immigrant descendants to identify themselves as Brazilians in different languages. Moreover, different groups, within the much larger population of African-Brazilian descent, are now moving from the margins of exclusion towards the center of Brazilian identity construction and nation building.

Two processes relate Brazil to Latin America and, at the same time, distinguish it from the Hispanic countries. In past centuries, Hispanic America and Brazil lived back to back and essentially ignored each other. However, over the past 50 years or so, the traditional pre-eminence of Argentina over Brazil, in terms of development and wealth, has been turned around and Brazil has become the leading country in South America. Accordingly, the asymmetry in the prestige of Spanish and Portuguese has been inverted on most parameters, and Portuguese has become the language associated with progress and higher living standards, especially on the borders. This has, in turn, affected the programs of bilingual borderland schools (see Morello, chapter 7). The countries of the southern cone of Latin America have now opened up and promoted linguistic integration through Mercosur, the free trade agreement between Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay and Venezuela. Portuguese and Spanish are co-official languages (Hamel, 2003).

Beyond its leading role in South America, Brazil has steadily taken over leadership in the Lusophone community from Portugal, which is resisting this process, in the promotion of Portuguese as an international, super-central language. In contrast, in the Hispanic language sphere, Spain is still hegemonic outside Latin America in the international field of Spanish language promotion and teaching.

3. Commonalities between Brazil and Other Latin American Countries

Brazil shares a number of specific characteristics with the Amazonian regions of Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia. I cannot comment on all of these here due to space constraints. However, the main similarities lie in the fact that, in practically all countries, advanced legislation and innovative programs for Indigenous peoples are accompanied by poor enactment. Given the widespread nature of the mismatch between policies and actual practices, this can hardly be understood as mere shortcomings in ‘implementation’; rather, hidden agendas and covert language policies are at work which are bound up with dominant class reluctance to engage in any empowerment of minorities.

Another characteristic that exhibits astonishing similarity across countries, and across diverse contexts, is the growing divergence between the linguistic (bilingual) and the cultural (intercultural) component of Indigenous community life and education. Increasingly, the discourses of interculturalism are driving the debate away from bilingualism and the language question. As Maher argues forcefully in her chapter, individuals should not be required to speak an Indigenous language in order to be recognized as true ‘Indios’. This tendency can be observed all over Latin America where the number of citizens self-reporting as Indigenous, while not reporting knowledge of an Indigenous language, has doubled, from one census to the next, in countries like Brazil, Chile or Mexico. Sociolinguistics has traditionally identified minority language shift as part and parcel of a reorientation of identity, as a move away from a minority identity toward mainstream society. This relation no longer holds in the same way it did before, due to increasing identity politics and Indigenous movements, but also to the creation of social, economic and legal programs that provide advantages for recognized members of an Indigenous people, as occurs in the US and Canada.

A pervasive feature of the neo-liberal era is that the advancement of Indigenous movements, policies and legal frameworks for recognition, including bilingual education, turns out to be compatible with the progression of neo-liberal economics. While, on the one hand, the state grants cultural and linguistic concessions, on the other hand the neo-liberal model dispossesses peasants including Indians, destroying the territorial base of Indigenous communities through the devastation of their local economies and the persistent invasion of their territories. These are certainly common characteristics across Latin America, and beyond that help to explain some of the contradictions dealt with in the different chapters of this section.

References

- Hamel, R. E. (1994a) Linguistic rights for Indian peoples in Latin America, in: Skutnabb-Kangas, T. and Phillipson, R. (eds.) *Linguistic human rights: Overcoming linguistic discrimination*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- . (1994b) Indigenous education in Latin America: policies and legal frameworks, in: Skutnabb-Kangas, T. and Phillipson, R. (eds.) *Linguistic human rights: Overcoming linguistic discrimination*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- . (2003) Regional blocs as a barrier against English hegemony? The language policy of Mercosur in South America, in: Maurais, J. and Morris, M. A. (eds.) *Languages in a globalising world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . (2013) Language policy and ideology in Latin America, in: Bayley, R., Cameron, R. and Lucas, C. (eds.) *The Oxford handbook of sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.