Revisiting the "Language Question" in Post-Colonial Africa: The Case of
Portuguese and Indigenous Languages in Mozambique

by

Gregório Domingos Firmino
Graduate of the University of Coimbra, Portugal, 1985
M. A. (University of California, Berkeley) 1991

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the
degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Anthropology

in the

GRADUATE DIVISION
of the
UNIVERSITY of CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

Committee in charge:

Professor John Gumperz (Co-Chair)
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Professor Leanne Hinton
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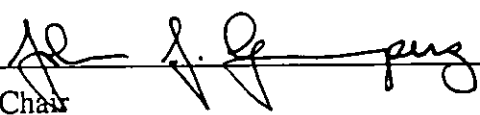Doctor of Philosophy
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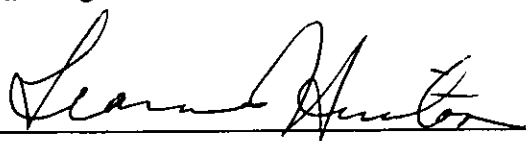

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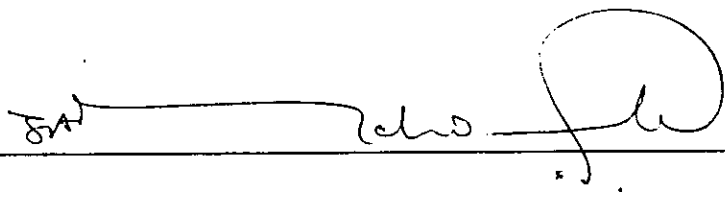   Date

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ABSTRACT

Revisiting the "Language Question" in Post-Colonial Africa: The Case of Portuguese and
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Using the case of Mozambique, the dissertation focuses on the "language question" in post-colonial Africa and elaborates on the relationship between linguistic diversity and the process of nation-state formation. It examines the coexistence of ex-colonial languages with indigenous languages and considers views that contrast the former with the latter in terms of legitimacy, endogenization, and usefulness in African countries. The study argues that the assumption that ex-colonial languages are exogenous in African settings cannot be taken for granted. Moreover, it also posits that the assumption that a shift to African languages can overcome the problems associated with ex-colonial languages cannot be taken as a given.

The dissertation takes an eclectic approach which combines data on language distribution and functions with a focus on discursive and ideological practices. It investigates the following issues: (1) the roles and social functions associated with ex-colonial and indigenous languages; (2) the linguistic and social processes through which ex-colonial languages have maintained and/or deepened their institutionalization; (3) the extent to which ex-colonial languages can be seen as exogenous to African settings; (4) the extent and processes through which indigenous languages have been "minorized;" and (5) the coexistence of indigenous languages with colonial languages and their relationship to nation-statehood.

The study examines the dynamic functioning of linguistic diversity in Mozambique in order to determine what people do with the linguistic resources at their disposal. It addresses the following questions:

a) what is the linguistic situation in Mozambique?

b) what are the roles and status of Portuguese and indigenous languages?

c) how do official and public discourses present the language situation?

d) what kind of language policy is pursued in the country?

e) to what extent has the language policy adjusted to social realities and what kind of readjustments are viable?

The findings demonstrate that Mozambican society has undergone specific political and socio-economic transformations, in which both Portuguese and indigenous languages are embedded. These languages have taken on roles associated with social activities and social relations unique to contemporary Mozambique. In particular, the findings indicate that indigenous languages, as well as Portuguese, have transcended their traditional roles to adapt to the contemporary social conditions in which they are used. Indigenous languages, while still indexing ethnic and/or regional identities, have also acquired the capacity to invoke national realities. Moreover, the symbolic meaning of Portuguese has been redefined. In either official or public discourse, it has largely lost its colonial connotations. In fact, Portuguese is ideologically constructed as a national link language, at the same time that it is developing new discursive patterns. Ultimately, the dissertation argues that these new sociolinguistic trends need to be taken into account in any attempt to introduce improvements in the current language policy of Mozambique. The argument made about the role of Portuguese is also important for Africa in general.

Approved

11/24/95

12/1/95

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, with unconditional love. They showed me the light by teaching me the value of education.

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LIST ABBREVIATIONS

CCR   *Conselho Coordenador do Recenseamento* (Coordinating Committee for the Census)

FRELIMO   *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique),

NELIMO   *Núcleo de Estudo de Línguas Moçambicanas* (Research Center on Mozambican Languages, attached to UEM, *Faculdade de Letras, Departamento de Letras Modernas*)

NGO   Non-government Organization

OAU   Organization of African Unity

TANU   Tanganyika African National Union

UEM   *Universidade Eduardo Mondlane*, in Maputo, Mozambique

UNESCO   United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

INTRODUCTION: PRESENTING THE STUDY

"The choice of a language and the use to which is put is central to people's definition of themselves in relation to their natural and social environment, indeed in relation to the entire universe. Hence language has always been at the heart of the two contending social forces in the Africa of the twentieth century.

The contention started a hundred years ago when in 1884 the capitalist powers of Europe sat in Berlin and carved an entire continent with a multiplicity of peoples, cultures, and languages into different colonies. (...) The Berlin-drawn division under which Africa is still living was obviously economic and political, despite the claims of bible-wielding diplomats, but it was also cultural. Berlin in 1884 saw the division of Africa into different languages of the European powers. African countries, as colonies and even today as neo-colonies, came to be defined and to define themselves in terms of the language of Europe: English-speaking, French-speaking or Portuguese-speaking African countries."

Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1987, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*, p. 4-5

"Of course there are areas of Africa where colonialism divided up a single ethnic group among two or even three powers. But on the whole it did bring together many peoples that had hitherto gone their several ways. And it gave them a language with which to talk to one another. If it failed to give them a song, it at least gave them a tongue, for sighing. There are not many countries in Africa where you could abolish the language of the erstwhile colonial powers and still retain the facility for mutual communication. Therefore those African writers who have chosen to write in English or French [or Portuguese] are not unpatriotic smart alecs with an eye on the main chance —— outside their own countries. They are by-products of the same process that made the new nation states of Africa."

Chinua Achebe, 1975, The African Writer and the English Language, in *Morning Yet on Creation Day*, p. 57

0. 0. Introduction

This introduction outlines the structure of this dissertation and will provide preliminary information regarding the problem under study, the purpose of the study, research design and methodology, the limitations of the study, and the organization of the dissertation.

0. 1. Statement of the problem

Sociolinguistic literature related to African countries often refers to the so-called "language question," that is, the debate among various observers of the African scene, politicians, intellectuals, and regular citizens included, on how to address the dilemma concerning the asymmetrical and competitive coexistence of ex-colonial languages, which are usually associated with the so-called "secondary domains" of national life (including government and administration, the judicial system, education, science and technology, and the media) and African indigenous languages, which are usually associated with "primary domains of life" (including family and friends, traditional social life, and local markets) (cf. Webb 1994). Among certain circles, there is a view that ex-colonial languages in Africa are exogenous entities that not only are strange to most of the citizens, but also alienate them from their "authentic" identity, promote dependency on the Western world, and enforce social inequalities. In this view, ex-colonial languages have a disruptive effect on cultural, social, and economic development, which has warranted calls for the promotion of African indigenous languages. The assumption is that indigenous languages can overcome some of the problems associated with ex-colonial languages. However, recent research indicates that these views oversimplify the complexities inherent in the linguistic diversity which characterizes most African countries.

The idyllic view that African languages promote egalitarianism and neutralize social inequalities has been disproved by research showing that the use of some of these languages produces negative effects comparable to those usually associated with ex-colonial languages. For instance, Goyvaerts (1995) has argued that the spreading of Lingala as a lingua franca in Zaire is immersed in the dynamics of power relationships arising from the economic and symbolic domination of social strata associated with Kinshasa-based political elites. Similarly, the promotion of Chichewa in Malawi has been associated with the invention of a tradition which legitimized the institutionalized power of former President Banda, while at the same time alienating from the national system other ethnolinguistic social groups symbolized by other indigenous languages spoken in the country (cf. Foster 1994; Kishindo 1994; Mchombo 1995: 13; Vail 1981). These two cases suffice to show that the assumption that African indigenous languages overcome the problems associated with ex-colonial languages cannot be taken as a given.

Despite the ideology of Africanization and authenticity that has dominated debates on the language question in Africa (cf. Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1987; Nthawakuderwa 1986; Laitin 1992: 91-4), ex-colonial languages have persisted and advanced as prestige languages suitable for institutional activities, in correlation with an increase in the number of speakers. The case of Portuguese in Mozambique reflects this. In fact, ex-colonial languages have not only advanced as prestige languages in institutional domains, but have also progressed in some countries into non-institutional domains. For many, these languages have even become primary languages for most social activities, if not for all their daily life activities, as proponents of the multi-renationalization of Portuguese (Ferreira 1988), subversion of French (Manessy 1989), or implantation of the so-called New Englishes (Bamgbose 1982; Bokamba 1982; Zuengler 1989) have shown.

Also, it cannot be taken for granted that indigenous languages have been restricted to "minor" roles, as the cases of endoglossic countries such as Ethiopia, Sudan, Somalia,

and Tanzania illustrate (Heine 1990: 169). In fact, even in countries where exoglossic policies are predominant, indigenous languages may have access to public spheres outside the control of the state (e.g. religious activities) and/or to communicative contexts involving a majority of non-speakers of the ex-colonial language (e.g. radio broadcasting). In most countries, they still remain powerful linguistic resources, not only because they constitute a primary medium of communication for the majority of citizens who often do not speak ex-colonial languages, but also because they are major tools in the construction of symbolic identities, sometimes in association with ex-colonial languages, as the case of Mozambique will indicate. These symbolic identities are not necessarily related to ethnicity alone, but may also include nationalistic attachments.

The debate regarding the coexistence of ex-colonial languages and African indigenous languages seems to have overlooked aspects that reflect the real development of linguistic practices in many parts of Africa. This may explain why, despite the persistent calls for the reversal of the role and status of African languages vis-à-vis ex-colonial languages, such changes have not taken place. The fact is that most of the proponents of Africanization have been under the influence of taken-for-granted ideological positions (cf. Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1987; Mateene 1980) which have prevented them from recognizing social and linguistic trends currently underway (cf. Tengan 1994). Furthermore, in this type of analysis Africa has been taken as a whole, ignoring the singularities of each country.

For the aforementioned reasons, there are grounds to posit that the debate on the language question has not been exhaustive, especially in reference to sociolinguistic trends that have been underway since African countries gained independence. Further scrutiny of the social implantation of both ex-colonial languages and indigenous languages is required. This assumption motivates the problem under examination in this dissertation, which is related the following questions:

a) What roles and social functions are associated with ex-colonial languages and indigenous languages today ?

b) Why and by virtue of which linguistic and social processes is it that ex-colonial languages, in most African states, have maintained and/or deepened their implantation ?

c) To what extent are ex-colonial languages exogenous and intrusive entities in African post-colonial countries?

d) To what extent and by virtue of which processes have indigenous languages been "minorized" (Cobarrubias 1986)?

e) What is the relationship between linguistic diversity and nation-statehood?

0. 2. Purpose of the study

This dissertation seeks to understand the nature of the social conditions bearing on the development of the linguistic situation of multilingual countries like those found in Africa. The study is based on the case of Mozambique and describes the shape that the "language question" takes in that country. Supporting research was undertaken in Maputo, the capital city of Mozambique, although a diversity of data referring to the entire country was considered. Thus, the dissertation examines the implantation of Portuguese and indigenous languages, as well as the roles that these languages play in the promotion and operation of nation-state functions and policies. More specifically, the dissertation will address the following issues:

a) What is the linguistic situation in Mozambique ?

b) What are the roles and status of Portuguese and indigenous languages in Mozambique ?

c) How has the language situation been translated into either official or
public discourse ?

d) What has the language policy been in the country ? To what extent has
the language policy adjusted to social realities ?

e) Are there readjustments in the prevailing language policy that can be
recommended ?

As I have indicated, some Africanists take for granted that ex-colonial languages are
exogenous, intrusive, and negative in African contexts. The implication is that they should
be replaced by indigenous languages, which are viewed as the panacea to African problems
(OAU 1986). I depart from this view and assume that more meaningful insights into the
dynamics of the linguistic market can be obtained if, instead of prejudging the issue, one
strives to scrutinize linguistic practices to find out what makes the linguistic situation follow
certain patterns. Data can then be assembled to inform a more realistic language policy
based on the linguistic trends emanating from the real linguistic situation. My study aims at
achieving this final objective.

0. 3.   Design and methodology

This dissertation draws on data gathered mainly through ethnographic methods in
which participant observation played a key role. Using this methods I was able to
participate actively in different social activities and to apprehend linguistic and cultural
practices common in Maputo. I also conducted interviews and participated in informal
conversations with many inhabitants of Maputo in order to clarify some of the issues and
questions that were generated by my observations and knowledge of the milieu. The

interviews helped me systematize information on the language situation, especially in reference to emic views of the subjects' linguistic situation.

With regard to this systematization of information, some informants were asked to respond to a formal questionnaire designed to elicit data on their sociolinguistic background and their views on the language situation in Maputo. Generally, the questionnaire was complemented by an informal conversation in which the respondents were given a chance to elaborate on the answers provided to some of the questions so that I could triangulate information, check its fluctuation, and even generate new insights.

The research used key informants. No criterion other than the fact that they were living in Maputo served as a factor in their selection. The strategy I used to select key research informants was based on a combination of what have been called "big net approach" and "judgmental sampling" (Fetterman 1989: 42-3). Some informants either were or became friends or were friends of friends, with whom I socialized regularly in a variety of social events. On the other hand, my approach was to consider any and all instances of social interaction with anyone in Maputo as a potential source of relevant information. The underlying presupposition is that once one is in Maputo and wants to interact successfully with other city residents in order to accomplish social goals and be part of the social milieu, one must necessarily assimilate certain cultural ideologies that make one part of this social milieu. Any person living in Maputo must have mastered or be in a process of acquiring social practices typical to the city and, therefore, can be a potential source of information.

The research for this dissertation targeted Maputo residents and, as a strategy to include all social sections of these urbanites, focused on the inner zone space[1] where all people somehow converged, because they either lived there, worked there, and/or had to come there to take care of personal business. No one could live in Maputo without having to enter the inner zone space, where hospitals, schools, stores, public offices,

entertainment places, and state institutions are located. Therefore, while many of my research subjects were inner zone residents, I also had access to people from other zones. I also had access to parts of the middle zone, mainly a suburban neighborhood called Maxaquene, where I was raised and lived with my parents during part of my research.

In my research, I made use of information gathered from radio and television programs, as well as newspapers and other written materials. The radio and television aired debates, talk shows or interviews in which Maputo residents voiced their opinions about different issues. These radio and television programs provided a chance to establish inferences on the nature of urban life, social expectations, and, above all, language usage. In this respect, the newspapers were also useful through their news articles, interviews, readers' letters, as well as insightful cartoons and caricatures.[2]

0. 4. Limitations of the study

The main limitations of the study were imposed by the conditions under which the research was undertaken. The advantage of conducting research in a familiar setting, in my hometown, could also become a major liability, given that I could hardly detach myself from the social milieu. For instance, family and professional obligations as well as the political, economic and social changes affecting the country and the city had a significant effect on the organization and conduct of the research, not only in the scheduling of activities but also in the ability to address specific sensitive issues.

Sometimes the research would generate an internal struggle between the citizen of Mozambique residing in Maputo and the ethnographer. At times, I would imagine being the informant and realize that I would prefer to avoid certain issues. This obviously affected the way I interacted with people. Since some of the informants were my friends with whom I regularly socialized, the discussion of thorny issues could risk our mutual

friendship. Though I developed techniques of gathering data without abusing their trust as well as strategies for maintaining mutual respect by talking about issues without conveying the sense that research was underway, still the risk was there. In fact, in some cases I decided to ignore valuable data in order to avoid potential negative consequences.

As a Mozambican national who has been affected by the issues raised by this dissertation throughout his life, a major conflict I faced as a researcher came from the necessity of maintaining my objectivity while addressing issues to which I am deeply attached. One area in which this was felt is connected with the choice of the meta-discourse to describe and explain the findings presented in the dissertation. For instance, in Mozambique, the use of expressions like *africano* (African), *moçambicano* (Mozambican), *língua moçambicana* (Mozambican language), *língua indígena* (indigenous language), and *língua nacional* (national language) can be very sensitive, as their different connotations carry overtones that betray the subjectivity of the user and evoke a specific outlook in regard to social issues in Mozambique. As the writer of this dissertation, I could not overcome all of these problems. In this sense, I cannot claim that my subjectivity has not affected the account presented in this dissertation in spite of all my efforts to the contrary.

0. 5. Organization of the dissertation

The dissertation consists of six chapters, the first of which reviews theoretical issues related to the nature of post-colonial states and the sociolinguistics of societies characterized by linguistic diversity. The aim of the review is to provide a context for the discussion presented in subsequent chapters by uncovering complexities in the relationship between the process of nation-state formation and the linguistic diversity characterizing most post-colonial states.

Chapter II describes the type of linguistic diversity prevailing in Mozambique by providing data concerning the languages spoken in the country as well as their regional and social implantation. Chapters III and IV focus on linguistic practices and ideologies in Maputo by describing language use in different social activities and areas of the city, and by revealing how some city residents view, in their own terms, the linguistic situation that they experience daily.

Chapter V discusses the institutionalization of Portuguese in Mozambique, with a focus on the social and linguistic changes that Portuguese is undergoing as Mozambique's official language and symbol of national unity. The main argument of the chapter posits that Portuguese is undergoing a process of nativization.

Chapter VI is a discussion of language policy in Mozambique. Relying on the findings of preceding chapters, this chapter argues that current language policy needs to take into regard the social and linguistic trends prevailing in Mozambican society and to remove its major contradiction, the officialization without nationalization of Portuguese and the nationalization without officialization of indigenous languages. Proposed readjustments include measures to make use of all these languages for the improvement of national life and to minimize the detrimental effects of an exoglossic language policy.

Finally, the conclusion summarizes the main contributions of the dissertation to an understanding of language issues in Africa. With respect to Mozambique, it demonstrates that the coexistence of indigenous languages and an ex-colonial language is not necessarily oppositional or incompatible, even though they may fulfill different social functions. The conclusion emphasizes that linguistic diversity per se does not necessarily undermine the process of nation-state formation, provided that political, social, and economic systems can accommodate the interests of different social groups.

Notes to the Introduction

[1]As will be explained in chapter III, I will assume, following Mitchell (1975), that the city of Maputo can be divided in three zones, namely the inner, middle, and outer zones.

[2]Of a particular note is caricature section carried by the weekly newspaper "Domingo" called *Coisas de Maputo* (Things of Maputo), that singularly and insightfully depicted life in Maputo, from general social behavior to specific language usage.

CHAPTER I: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

1. 0. Introduction

The dynamics of the type of linguistic diversity prevailing in most African countries, constituted by the co-existence of ex-European languages and indigenous languages, directly affects the process of nation-state formation. Tensions arise from the complex relationship between linguistic diversity and nation-state formation. Linguistic and corresponding socio-cultural diversity impose constraints on the integration of different social groups in a unitary political, economic, and socio-cultural community.

Thus, a clear understanding of the issues raised by linguistic diversity in post-colonial countries like Mozambique requires a grasp of theoretical perspectives bearing on both (1) processes of nation-state formation in post-colonial situations, and (2) sociolinguistic issues related to the linguistic diversity characterizing most post-colonial countries. This chapter presents some of these theoretical perspectives, with the objective of providing the framework as well as the analytic metalanguage through which the issues addressed in this dissertation will be discussed. By doing so, the chapter will also show the theoretical relevance of the issues discussed in the dissertation. It will focus on:

a) the notion of nation-state;

b) the nature of African post-colonial nation-states;

c) the sociolinguistics of linguistic diversity;

d) the relationship between language and statehood.

1. 1. The notion of nation-state

Since the discussion of the nature of linguistic diversity will be framed within the context of nation-state, it is relevant that the notion of nation-state be examined. The ideal and fictitious type of a nation-state is commonly defined as "a polity of homogenous people who share the same culture and the same language, and who are governed by some of their own number, who serve their interests" (Navari 1981: 13). Even though, as Navari (1981) emphasizes, actual nation-states approximate rather than mirror the ideal type, this definition points to the basic aspects that are often associated with a nation-state: a community of people with cultural affinities under one central political authority with one legal rationality. In addition, the emergence of nation-states has been associated with political, economic and cultural transformations that led to the rise of forms of capitalism in Europe. Thus, in this view, a nation-state is a form of a modern state "that was a powerful force in the transformation of traditional societies to industrialized ones, which required mass mobilization and the destruction of old structures" (Smith 1981: 197).

Contemporary studies such as Kellas (1991), show that the concept of nation is related to the notion of nationalism. For Kellas (1991: 3-4), nationalism can be viewed as both an ideology and a form of behavior which seeks to defend and promote the interests of a "nation," thus leading to demands for political expression and national self-determination, usually in the form of independent statehood. Hence, most studies of nationalism and ethnic politics, mainly by political scientists, focus on state and political power, that is, the relationship between nationalism and the state, and the struggle for control of political resources. Nationalism builds on a people's awareness of a nation, that is, a consciousness of people who feel themselves to be a community bound together by ties of history, culture, and common ancestry. Nations may have "objective" characteristics, such as territory, language, religion, or common descent, and "subjective" characteristics, consisting of a people's awareness of their nationality and an affection for it, to the point

that people would die for it (cf. p. 2-3). Gellner (1983) adds a voluntaristic dimension to the notion of nation, that is, members of a nation also recognize mutual rights and duties to each other by virtue of their membership in the same nation (cf. p. 7). Additionally, the concept of nation may be conceived of as "ethnic nation," referring to a nation consisting of one ethnic group; as "social nation," referring to nations with several ethnic groups; and as "official nation," the nationalism of the state, often referred to as patriotism (Kellas 1991:3). Furthermore, the designation nation-state is sometimes used to refer only to countries with a state that shares the features of a nation, as opposed to "multinational states" such as the United Kingdom, Switzerland, Belgium, and Canada. The term "state-nation," instead of "nation-state," has also been used to refer to countries in which the state is the basis for the creation of nationalist sentiments rather than the opposite, such as in many African countries (Hughes 1981: 122).

The notions of "nation" and "nationalism" need to be distinguished from "ethnic group" and "ethnicity," in order to distinguish between "ethnic nation" or "multi-ethnic state," on the one hand, and "nation" or "multinational states" on the other hand. Following Kellas (1991), it may be assumed that the distinction is more a matter of degree than of kind. In Kellas (1991: 2-6), it is argued that the notions of ethnic group and ethnocentrism are comparable with those of nation and nationalism, even though "ethnic group" is more narrowly defined than "nation," and "ethnocentrism" is more rooted in social psychology than "nationalism", which has more ideological and political dimensions (cf. p. 4). Ethnic groups are smaller, more based on common ancestry, and more pervasive in human history, while nations are specific to time and place. Also, membership in an ethnic group is essentially exclusive or ascriptive, that is, based on inborn attitudes. Nations are more inclusive and are culturally and politically defined. Some scholars use "ethnicity" to refer to the state of being ethnic, or belonging to an ethnic group. It needs to be distinguished from "ethnocentrism", which is an individual's psychological bias towards his/her ethnic group, and against other ethnic groups. The

distinction between ethnic and national groups can also be captured by focusing on the distinction between "ethnic politics" and "nationalist politics." The former are primarily concerned with the protection of rights for members of the group within an existing state, with no claim for a territorial "homeland," while nationalism seeks "national self-determination," or "home rule" in a national territory.

Nationalism in the modern world has been explained under several theoretical frameworks, which deserve some consideration because they draw attention to the rise of nationalism as a pervasive political force and to the emergence of the nation-state as the most acceptable form of the state today (Kellas 1991: 34). A summary of some of the theories is presented below, drawing attention to contemporary understandings of the process of nation-state building.

1. 1. 1.   Deutsch (1966[1953])'s notion of nationality: the communication model

Deutsch's (1966[1953]) work, *Nationalism and Social Communication*, is one of the studies that have influenced contemporary discussions on nation-state formation, especially under the so-called modernization theory. Basing his claims on a "communicational model,"[1] Deutsch (1966 [1953]) proposes that a nationality comprises "a group of individuals made interdependent by intense division of labor, the production and distribution of goods and services" (p.61). This intense exchange of goods and services is patterned by culture, a notion that, for Deutsch, refers to a historically created and "invisible configuration of values, of do's and don'ts, of rules for discriminating between actions as good or bad, beautiful or ugly, familiar or strange, safe or dangerous, interesting or indifferent" (p. 62). As one's membership in a group of people is a function of being able to engage in interactions ruled by the patterns of culture particular to the group,

nationality arises from a wide complementarity of social communication among different groups of people, from the ability to communicate more effectively and over a wider range of subjects with the members of one large group than with outsiders (cf. p. 61).

Deutsch (1966 [1953]) also emphasizes that a nationalist process is promoted by a leading group through the mobilization of the masses. A nationality emerges if this symbiosis between the leading group and the masses takes place and is maintained by mechanisms of coercion that strengthen and elaborate social channels of communication, preferences of behavior, political and economic alignments, which, all together, make up the social fabric of the nationality (cf. p. 78).

Since the formation of nations and nationalities entails the integration of different groups into the same communicational networks, two concepts, "cultural assimilation" and "social mobilization" are crucial for understanding Deutsch's insights. "Cultural assimilation" refers to the absorption of smaller communities or nationalities into a larger one. The adoption of the language of the larger community/nationality —— be it a different dialect of one's language or a dialect of a different language —— is the main index of this cultural assimilation (cf. p. 125). Social mobilization, on the other hand, has to do with the uprooting of a group of people from their traditional and agrarian life into a more industrialized one, so that they can be integrated into a more intense communicational network. Urbanization is the major index of social mobilization (cf. p. 122-4).

1. 1. 2. Lerner (1958): Nation-state and national culture as an end-product of modernization

Lerner (1958), who also addresses the process of nation formation, views the nation-state and its national culture as an end-product of modernization, perceived as a universal movement from closed, localized, and traditional communities into open, mobile,

and participant national societies. The movement towards modernity, Lerner (1958) argues, is expressed by the extent to which urbanization, literacy, political participation, and exposure to mass media are significant within a certain society. These four indices of modernization have a "cumulative effect" on social and geographical mobility which, at the end, creates a sense of "empathy," that is, the ability for a person to see himself in other people's situations (cf. p. 50). Lerner (1958) considers empathy to be as an essential element in the functioning of modern participatory societies. In this process, the mass-media assumes a special role because it induces "psychic mobility," expanding the sense of empathy.

Before I refer to other aspects raised by Deutsch and Lerner, I want to stress that both of these authors assume an evolutionary and functionalist notion of culture or society in which a set of discrete and self-contained elements function in harmony as a whole. The models they propose lead them to predict that the constitution of a nation-state entails the homogenization of cultural differences. In contemporary society, such homogeneity is more an ideal than a fact.

Arguably, cultural and linguistic differences persist because they constitute the very fabric on which members of a nation-state have to rely in order to participate successfully in daily interactions. Cultural and linguistic differences turn out to be symbolic and ideological points on the basis of which individuals compete for societal resources. This is so because these differences provide in-group signaling conventions whose knowledge facilitates relationships among those who have access to them. Meanwhile, they establish boundaries that set apart those who do not abide by similar conventions, thereby making difficult though a transition from one social network to another. This dual function of cultural and linguistic differences — speeding up communication among those having similar conventions and maintaining social boundaries — is part of an important component that nation-sates cannot live without: individual and group competition.

Therefore, despite the predictions of Deutsch and Lerner, cultural and linguistic differences are not fading away. Rather they are becoming more and more influential on the ideological and symbolic dimensions of the political, social, and economic life of contemporary nation-states.

Critics of Lerner have noticed an ethnocentric bias in what they consider to be an evolutionist perspective *vis-à-vis* modernization in his postulations. In fact, Lerner views processes that happened in the West as the unique, universal pattern of social progress from which a nation can be born. In this perspective, a nation or national culture is a "thing" that a state has or not, depending on whether it is "modern and developed" or not. I argue that this perspective, by reducing nationhood to a singular phenomenon of modernization, loses sight of the contingencies and historical particularities that inform the processes through which nations come about. These contingencies and historical particularities make each nation a peculiarity in itself.

1. 1. 3. Gellner's theory: industrialization and the development of nationalism

Some scholars have linked the rise of nationalism and the emergence of nation-states to socio-economic conditions. Such is the case of Gellner (1983) who, departing from the assumption that material conditions have primacy in shaping political thought and social changes, argues that nationalism is associated with the development of "industrial society" in Europe at the end of 18th century and elsewhere during the 19th and 20th centuries. The basic argument posited by Gellner (1983) is that industrial economic growth demands particular forms of polity and culture, which can only materialize in a nation-state. For instance, industrialization demanded the replacement of the traditional feudal and agrarian society, with its diversity of languages, cultures, and ethnic groups, by a

homogenized society, with a population free to work where it wished. Feudal, religious, and linguistic barriers would not allow the movement of labor. The movement of labor necessary for industrialization is only facilitated by a social organization with a centralized political authority maintaining control of the mechanisms that can produce a homogeneous society, such as education, law, and religion. In a modern society, education promotes a common "high culture" (e.g. common literacy, common language), a necessary condition that allows mobility and division of labor. It is worth quoting extensively how Gellner (1983) argues with respect to this point:

> "[Industrial society] has pushed the division of labour to a new and unprecedented level, but more important still, it has engendered a new *kind* of division of labour: one requiring the men taking part in it to be ready to move from one occupational position to another, even within a single life-span, and certainly between generations. They need a shared culture, and a literate sophisticated high culture at that. It obliges them to be able to communicate contextlessly and with precision with all comers, in face-to-face ephemeral contacts, but also through abstract means of communication. All this - mobility, communication, size due to refinement of specialization -imposed on the industrial order by its thirst for affluence and growth, obliges its social units to be large and yet culturally homogeneous. The maintenance of this kind of inescapably high (because literate) culture requires protection by a state, a centralized order-enforcing agency or rather group of agencies, capable of garnering and deploying the resources which are needed both to sustain a high culture, and to ensure its diffusion through an entire population, an achievement inconceivable and not attempted in the pre-industrial world." (p. 140-1)

Thus, modern industrial society is only achieved by a strong centralized political authority with the power to promote a homogenous culture through the control over education, law, and religion. While Gellner's theory is compelling in associating industrialization with the rise of nationalism, it over-emphasizes social homogenization, thus dissociating nation-statehood from multicultural society or cultural pluralism. In fact, in some modern societies that have witnessed industrial development, there are indications

that cultural diversity has been used as an excuse to justify exploitative relations, having a negative impact on supposedly "inferior" social groups. This suggests that dominant groups in industrialized societies may also benefit from cultural diversity. In addition, Gellner (1983) does not address issues related to the uneven diffusion of industrialization, and consequent economic inequalities, which, if they correlate with cultural differences or core-periphery polarities, may be perceived as instances of "internal colonialism" (Hechter 1975) and lead to reactive nationalism. In this connection, Smith (1983) has postulated that in Europe nationalism presupposed more mobilization than assimilation, to such an extent that it led to growing cultural differences and eventually to a "reactive ethnic nationalism" when new ethnic groups began to aspire to a different national status or even statehood (e.g. the case of the Basques). Thus, Smith (1983) argues, modernization is more a process of "state-destroying" through cultural differentiation rather than "nation-building" through assimilation. Therefore, Gellner's model must take into account the fact that, as much as modernization requires forms of social organization similar to a nation-state, it may also lead to the development of factional nationalism. In addition, in recent times nationalism has arisen in conditions that are different from 19th century Europe, as in post-industrial societies (e.g. Belgium, Spain), or even in non-industrialized societies such as the Third World, where nationalism is motivated by anti-colonial sentiments.

1. 1. 4. Anderson (1991[1983]): the imagined community

. Advances towards a sophisticated understanding of "nationality" have shied away from an emphasis on a set of discrete and "objective" cultural features that would characterize and guide the social process within a human aggregate like a "nation". Instead, they have focused on (1) how a "nation" is experienced and becomes part of people's consciousness and on (2) its socio-historical constructive process. In this new perspective,

"nation" does not result from the harmonization of cultural behavior but rather is a product of ideological beliefs that are constantly constrained by socio-historical contingencies.

Anderson (1991[1983]) makes a significant contribution in this direction by positing that a nation is an "imagined community," that is, a cognitive and ideological construction, rather than solely a group of people living under a similar set of basic cultural traits. More precisely, Anderson (1991[1983]) has argued that a modern nation is an "imagined community" whose members do not know most of their fellow-members even though, in the mind of each one of them, there is a sense of communion binding all of them. The nation is imagined in the mind of its members as limited, for it comprises only part of mankind and is distinct from other nations; as sovereign, because it is independent in terms of its internal legislation; and, above all, as a fraternal community in which there is a deep, horizontal comradeship despite the inequalities and exploitation that its members may experience.

The emergence of a national community is connected with the development of capitalism and print technology, which enable numbers of people to think about themselves and to relate to others in new ways. For Anderson (1991[1983]) national imagining is a phenomenon of modernity, a form of experiencing conditioned by "print-languages" which allows the commodified and massive production of printed materials such as books and newspapers. These printed materials contribute to the emergence of a new national consciousness that associates a "print" vernacular language with a national community and that, above all, makes possible a connection between fellow-readers who, by being attached to a particular language field, feel that they belong together in a certain space and time.

The major contribution of Anderson (1991[1983]) is that national identity is conceived of as a cultural representation of "belonging together" that arises with the process of modernity in which the availability of printed materials is decisive. In other words,

national identity is not a "given" mythico-cultural entity, as primordialists would suggest, but a socio-cultural construction connected with socioeconomic and technological changes. Anderson (1991[1983]) also posits that a nation can be imagined even if it does not have a homogeneous linguistic community or even if the print-language is not used by all its members. The important point is that the members of a nation must imagine it on the basis of the same print-language.

Turning to the emergence of nationalism in the "New World," Anderson (1991[1983]) considers first how the politico-administrative units designed by Western colonizers started to be identified with national communities. Since they were being administered as autonomous entities, they began to acquire a self-contained character. The sense of autonomy was more prominent among those who, through education and participation in the colonial administrative apparatus as functionaries working in a specific geographical area, experienced a common "consciousness of connectedness." It is within this stratum that the imagination of a nation emerged: "The interlock between particular educational and administrative pilgrimages [this refers to the bureaucratic circuit around which the functionaries were allowed to move] provided the territorial base for new 'imagined communities' in which natives could come to see themselves as 'nationals' " (p. 140).

According to Anderson (1991[1983]), the emergence of a nation was not hindered by the fact that nationalism in the colonies was generated by an "intelligentsia" that was linguistically and culturally marked off from the rest of the population. Nationalism only requires that members of a nation imagine their national community through the same language. In addition, the imagination of a nation does not require an "authentic" language. As Anderson (1991[1983]) claims, nothing suggests that Ghanaian nationalism is less real than Indonesian simply because its national language is English, the ex-colonial language, rather than Ashanti, one of the Ghanaian languages. For B. Anderson, it is always a

mistake to treat national languages as *emblems* of nation-ness, just like flags, costumes, or folk-dances. The importance of a national language resides in its capacity for generating imagined communities, that is, for building *particular solidarities* (cf. p. 133). Anderson (1991[1983]) even considers the case of Mozambique to illustrate his point:

> "If radical Mozambique speaks Portuguese, the significance of this is that Portuguese is the medium through which Mozambique is imagined (and at the same time limits its stretch into Tanzania and Zambia). Seen from this perspective, the use of Portuguese in Mozambique (or English in India) is basically no different than the use of English in Australia or Portuguese in Brazil" (p. 134).

What Anderson (1991[1983]) correctly envisages for countries like Mozambique is a "politically sufficient diffusion of bilingualism" in addition to a perfect use of advances in communications technology such as multilingual broadcasting on the radio or television, which can help to "conjure up the imagined community to illiterates and populations with different mother-tongues" (p. 135).

1. 1. 5. The ideology of "peoplehood"

The positions maintained in Anderson (1991[1983]) are comparable to new anthropological perspectives that view nationalist ideologies and the production of national cultures as a matter of historical practice (cf. Fox 1990: 4). The main argument underlying the articles collected in Fox (1990) assumes that "a national culture does not consist of rigid institutional and cognitive pieces properly fitted together into a stable and immobile structure" but of an <u>ideology of peoplehood</u> dynamically molded as individuals and groups relate to a social world and try to (re)form it. Therefore, national culture is a "plastic construction" subjected to historical contingencies and changing over time and space. According to this perspective, in opposition to Anderson's (1991[1983]) formulation, a state is not something that has or does not have a national culture. Instead, national

consciousness is constantly and dynamically constructed over time in different forms. Anderson's (1991[1983]) model is deficient in this respect because it does not consider how the transformative character of a national identity, which is recreated and "re-imagined" even after the initial formation of a nation-state, is constituted.

Another important point argued by Fox (1990) but neglected by Anderson (1991[1983]), is that a national culture is generated and maintained by agents and agencies, which is to say that the production of nationalism and national cultures is a process rooted in power relationships. So, in the same way nationalist ideologies and national cultures are practiced, they are not neutral: they are linked to the imposition of social and cultural hegemony, and they encode social inequalities.

Like Anderson (1991[1983]), Fox (1990) contributes towards the understanding of national culture by dismissing views that associate "nationhood" with cultural homogenization. For Anderson (1991[1983]) a nation cannot be defined in terms of uniformity of cultural patterns but in terms of how those patterns are objects of an ideological consciousness in the mind of the nation's members. Thus, neither culture nor nation is taken as a given. What is perceived as a nation in certain terms today might be perceived in a different terms tomorrow. The introduction to Fox (1990) reinforces this point: a national culture is an ideological construction of "peoplehood," of belonging together, that is, an object of constant re-creation and, therefore, never a final product. A "nation" is molded and re-molded by socio-historical contingencies.

1. 2. Nation-statehood in African post-colonial states

1. 2. 1. The colonial state

As to the process of nation-formation in Africa[2], Smith (1983) singles out some "intrusive" and "exogenous" factors that have decisively shaped transformations in Africa

since the last quarter of the last century: the imposition of colonial regimes, the slave trade and Christian influence, economic exploitation by Western traders and financiers, and rapid urbanization (cf. p. 18-19). A first consequence of these "intrusive" and "exogenous" factors was the establishment of a colonial state whose basic features were (1) artificial geographical boundaries that had no respect for the pre-existing ethnic and social groupings, (2) an executive and bureaucratic apparatus that split state and society, and (3) an educational ideology claiming the superiority of European values and legitimizing the annexation and retention of colonies.

Thus, one underlying assumption of the analysis of the establishment of colonial territories is that the process involved an element of artificiality: pre-colonial political and cultural units were ignored to such an extent that ethnic groups were bound together or even split in different territories solely on the basis of the interests of the colonial powers. As a result, the colonial state administered territorial units that were culturally and linguistically diverse.[3] As J. S. Furnivall has shown in a classical study of colonial policy and practice (Furnivall 1948), colonial territories are plural societies in which a Western commercial and administrative superstructure is imposed on groups of natives who are involuntarily integrated in the same political unit. Although these groups of natives are under the same colonial power and participate in the same economic environment, "they mix but don't combine," that is, each social group maintains its cultural features.[4]

Thus, the independent states that emerged in Africa, having inherited colonial administrative divisions, turned out to be political communities based on various kinds of "segmentary diversity" (Das Gupta 1971: 9). In these African states national integration, viewed as mutual solidarity among members of a collectivity and reinforced by what some anthropologists refer to as "primordial sentiments" or common traditions, was and is at a minimal level.

1. 2. 2. The post-colonial states: where is the nation-state?

Nationalist movements in Africa were promoted as well as constrained by the characteristics of the colonial state. As Smith (1983) points out "the European state makers were successful in imposing the territorial aspect of the Western state on the African demographic and political map, and hence, they were able to draw sharp boundaries, not only in political and economic reality but also in the psychic identity and cultural vision of the new elites" (p. 50, emphasis mine). Consequently, when African nationalists advocated national independence, they did not think about changing the territorial boundaries of the colony but rather, they aimed at taking over the territorial-bureaucratic state from the colonial powers, utilizing its legacy for their own purposes. As a result of this outlook, African nationalists came to envisage a construction of a "nation of intent" (Rotberg 1967) that would pool different African ethnic cultures into distinctive national identities, say, distinctive Ghanaian, Nigerian, Senegalese, Tanzanian or Mozambican nations.

To understand the dilemmas of the post-colonial nation-state, one must also consider the interface between the state apparatus and the larger civil society. Although African societies are divided along ethnic (for some authors, also class) lines, what has been referred to as "elite" or "intelligentsia" assumes a preeminent role in the affairs of the post-colonial state. As was pointed out earlier in this chapter, the colonial state encompassed a heavy bureaucratic apparatus which led to the creation of a distinct and allied social group associated with this bureaucracy, mainly by virtue of having had access to Western education. After the defeat of (formal) colonialism, this social group became associated with the post-colonial bureaucratic apparatus and, by extension, with the control of the new nation-state. As Smith (1983) points out, "the African intelligentsia has become the politically strategic stratum because it alone commands the institutional heights of the post-colonial state, of which it has been the chief creation and beneficiary" (cf. p. 90).

Recent studies of the realities of the post-colonial state in (sub-Saharan) Africa have pointed out how the development of nation-states has been undercut by several factors, some of which are related to historical contingencies deriving from the colonial or post-colonial situation. The thrust of the argument is that African states have not been able to overcome constraints imposed by cultural pluralism, scarcity of resources and dependence on external powers (Hughes 1981). In fact, some political scientists even cast doubt as to the validity of the concept of "nation-state" or "new nations" in reference to African countries, preferring instead denominations such as "state-nations", "weak-states," or "client-states."

Despite recognizing that cultural pluralism need not, by itself, present a problem to the process of nation-state building, most scholars argue that when associated with differential access to national resources, historical rivalries, or different value systems between sub-national groups, cultural pluralism strains the state and hinders the emergence of a common identity. In consequence, the plural nature of most African countries is an obstacle to nation-state formation and has led to regional and/or ethnic hostilities in some countries such as Zaire, Nigeria, the Sudan, Rwanda, Eritreia, and Burundi (cf. Hughes 1981: 132-3). According to Hughes (1981) the strains of a plural society in nation-state formation are worsened by territorial limitations related to size, geographical configuration, demographic distribution, and availability of resources. Territorial limitations have effects on raising revenues and promotion of economic growth, which may lead to reliance on foreign countries or organizations. In addition, scarcity of resources affects the distribution of valued goods and exacerbates the competition for them (Bates 1983).

The disruptive effects associated with cultural pluralism and territorial limitations have been combated politically by charismatic national leaders (e.g. Nyerere in Tanzania, Sekou-Toure in Guinea-Conakry), mass ruling single-party regimes (e.g. TANU, later Chama Cha Mapinduzi, in Tanzania), or nationalist-collectivity ideologies (e.g. Ujamaa in

Tanzania, Nyau or Harambee in Kenya, Authenticity in Zaire, Humanism in Zambia). Other maneuvers that have been tried are "ethnic arithmetic" by which political office and public investments are distributed in proportion to the importance of ethnic groups, and "consociational democracy", by which ethnic conflict is reduced through elite consensus (cf. Hughes 1981: 139). Nevertheless, in general national and economic development has not ensued, and instead Africa has witnessed personalist or patrimonial states, in which loyalty rests on reciprocity of services between ruler and clients (Jackson & Roseberg 1982). Indeed, the political systems that emerged in independent Africa leaned towards systems of "personal rule" that undercut political institutions that would have democratically harmonized competing interests. Moreover, a system of patronage and clientelism (Colson 1967; Fallers 1974), through which allegiance between leaders and "big men" or from the masses to a leader, formed the basis of a political system of personal rule. Because patronage and clientelism functioned along family, kin, village, chiefdom, and regional lines, it stimulated the political use of ethnicity (Jackson & Roseberg 1982).

1. 2. 3. The future of nation-states in Africa: managing cultural pluralism

Thus, the transplantation of the nation-state concept to contemporary Africa is beset by several questions that defy some of the assumptions associated with the nation-state, notably those of K. Deutsch, E. Gellner , and B. Anderson. Conditions that are viewed as fundamental to the emergence of a nation, such as mass-communication, industrialization, print-language or social reforms are not always obtained amid the fragile political, economic, and social structures characterizing most African countries. The question then is: what are the alternatives?

Virtually any proposal of an alternative concept of nation-state puts an emphasis on the need for a polity that can manage cultural pluralism, often viewed in terms of ethnicity.

One line of thought gives primacy to the establishment of a participatory political framework that can diffuse ethnic conflicts by institutionalizing political practices that cater to a diversity of interests and reinforce the idea of power-sharing. This reasoning would support forms of consociational democracy (Lijphart 1968; 1977; 1985), which seek to promote equal partnership among different social groups. Various forms of consociationalism have been discussed in the literature, but perhaps the most compelling to the African context has been proposed in *Ethnic Groups and Conflict* (Horowitz 1985). Horowitz argues that the effects of consocialism in the diffusion of ethnic conflict cannot be taken for granted, especially in Africa where ascriptive ethnic characteristics are strong and need to be broken down rather than reinforced. Thus, the institutional adjustments and policies that are proposed in Horowitz (1985) include a proliferation of points of power, rather than concentrating power in a single focal point. It is an arrangement that emphasizes intra-ethnic conflict rather than inter-ethnic conflict, that creates incentives to inter-ethnic cooperation, and that encourages alignments based on interests other than ethnicity or reduction of disparities between ethnic groups.

1. 3.   Sociolinguistic theory

The previous sections have focused on the organization of the nation-states as socio-political entities and on the linguistic issues that post-colonial nation-states face. However, a picture of the issues related to nation formation and linguistic diversity would not be complete without a shift of focus towards a sociolinguistic perspective. This section will examine sociolinguistic concepts that bear on the analysis of linguistic diversity in African post-colonial countries. The theoretical issues to be addressed include: (1) the notion of speech community, (2) variation and choice of linguistic practices, (3) linguistic change, and (4) the "political economy" of language use.

1. 3. 1.   The notion of speech community

1. 3. 1. 1.   The relevance of a sociolinguistic perspective

The notion of "speech community" has proven to be troublesome, probably because it is important in setting the foundations of what "studying language" might mean. Some approaches within formal Linguistics postulate their object of study as an abstract set of grammatical rules through which an ideal speaker of language X^5 would structure his or her utterances, language X being taken as a homogeneous and abstract unit. The focus is placed on the study of "langue" and not "parole" (cf. Saussure 1916), of "competence" and not "performance" (cf. Chomsky 1965; 1986).

Sociolinguists have taken a broader view of language. For instance, Hymes (1972; 1974) redefined Chomsky's concept of "competence" by emphasizing that "communicative competence" presupposes a knowledge of rules of appropriateness, that is, competence in a language is bound to a knowledge of appropriate usage in appropriate contexts.[6] By acknowledging factors external to grammar and positing that not only competence but also "performance" is rule-governed, Hymes proves that the latter is not chaotic and, therefore, can be an object of scientific inquiry. Accordingly, Hymes proposes a more comprehensive notion of Linguistics: "A thoroughgoing linguistics must move in another direction as well, from what is potential in human nature, and elementary in a grammar, to what is realizable and realized; and conceive of the social factors entering into realization as constitutive and rule-governed too" (1974: 93).

The shift from structural linguistics to sociolinguistics is a shift from "langue/competence" to "parole/performance" with the aim of trying to understand the rhetorical organization operating beyond the grammatical level, that is, at the discourse/conversational level, and governing what people really "say" and "do" when they

use language. This shift means that language is not viewed in terms of an "ideal speaker" but rather as a shared set of rules of communication at the disposal of a group of people. Within this new perspective, linguists had to more precisely define the social domain in terms of which this set of shared rules could be studied. The notion of "speech community" tries to capture this domain.

Arguably, the structuralist paradigm does not provide a sound basis for defining a speech community in a fashion that accounts for phenomena occurring in real contexts of language use. As is widely accepted, aggregates of individuals communicating with each other are far from being a set of "ideal speakers" constituting a linguistically uniform community in which people communicate via sentences generated by uniformly applied grammatical rules (cf. Gumperz 1990b). However, by trying to incorporate the notion of "performance" —— I prefer "communicative competence" as D. Hymes would put it —— into the notion of speech community, the issue is further complicated by the need of considering linguistic variation, which is intrinsic to communication.

In contemporary societies, social boundaries are becoming fuzzy and individuals act out different social roles in different circumstances. Verbal activities of members of a society encompass a set of "linguistic repertoires" in the form of language varieties, dialects, and styles which speakers manipulate as they resort to rhetorical strategies in order to accomplish certain goals in each social interaction (cf. Gumperz 1971[1964]; 1971[1966]; 1972a[1968]; 1990b; Gal 1987). The range of variation encompassed in such linguistic repertoires constitutes a reservoir of linguistic alternatives associated with the different social activities in which members of a society participate. Knowledge of these linguistic repertoires not only is vital for the appropriate involvement in social activities but also helps to constitute the nature of each of those activities.

1. 3. 1. 2. Towards an interactional perspective

One way of defining speech community is to consider social interaction as a constitutive unit of social reality and focus on what interactants have to do in order to partake successfully in their social activities. Thus, social interactions themselves can be taken as a starting point instead of postulating a normative framework such as social or linguistic group from which the behavior of individuals could be predicted. This perspective has also the advantage of not taking the notion of language for granted because it focuses on how, in particular interactions, people manipulate linguistic resources to convey information, display and evaluate values, beliefs or attitudes, establish cooperation with others, and so forth.

For instance, in an effort to avoid the unwarranted definition of speech community as a delimitable, bounded group of people sharing a unitary system of cultural features, which would amount to advocating a functionalist perspective, Gumperz (1990a) has proposed an interactional perspective as a way of discovering "how and along what lines speaking practices are shared" (p. 6). Gumperz (1990a) argues that when people engage in conversational activities, they rely on "rhetorical strategies" that generate inferences that uncover the communicational intent of the co-participant and help to keep the conversation going by allowing adequate cooperation. A similar manipulation of rhetorical strategies binds a group of people to such an extent that membership in a group is a function of a person's command of the rhetorical strategies characterizing the group (cf. p. 17). Thus, Gumperz (1990a) views aggregates of individuals interacting together as a network, "the kind of sharing that is likely to evolve among individuals who have a common history and have undergone similar communicative experiences within the context of institutional networks of relationships when members cooperate over relatively long periods of time in the achievement of common goals" (p. 18).

Gumperz's speech community in an interactional perspective implies that society —
or in the case under consideration in this dissertation, a nation-state —— encompasses
various types of networks because its members are not likely to undergo similar processes
of socialization and therefore will not have equal access to the linguistic resources available
in a society. In addition, since the sets of networks in a society or nation-state are tied to a
certain "political economy" (cf. section 1. 3. 4), the availability and the characteristics of
the networks will be a function of the power relations shaping society (cf. Gumperz
1990a: 19). An important dimension of these power relationships is the construction of
social ideologies that shape and legitimize (by setting parameters of inclusion and
exclusion) the constitution of social groups with people sharing (or believing to share)
similar histories and/or social goals. Linguistic ideologies have the same effect of
enforcing connectedness among a group of people.

Thus, the interactional perspective suggests that language is a multi-layered
complex encompassing not only the grammatical system, but also the rhetorical, indexical
and ideological systems. Linguistic phenomena are not reduced to "grammar" or insulated
from social practices. Rather, they are incorporated in a broader context of social life, to
which language is inextricably connected. Use of language and the consequent constitution
of a speech community results from the interplay among all these systems.

1. 3. 2. Variation and choice of linguistic practices
1. 3. 2. 1. On the notion of diglossia

As mentioned, a speech community encompasses a multiplicity of linguistic
varieties. Groups of people do not talk in the same way on all occasions, and individuals
are able to use different forms of language. At a time when variationists were focusing on
"large-scale" varieties, C. Ferguson introduced the concept of "diglossia" to account for

inter-language relationships. Fishman (1971), for instance, uses the concept of diglossia to refer to the relationship between Spanish (H) and Guarani (L) in Paraguay.

There have been efforts to predict the outcome of diglossia. For some authors, especially those following ethnographic approaches (e.g. J. Gumperz, D. Hymes), it is impossible to conceive of a human aggregate that is linguistically monolithic and homogeneous. Every language has varieties, be they accents or less mutually intelligible dialects. On the other hand, diglossia might be viewed as a function of social stratification. D. Sotiropoulos, for example, postulates that "diglossia thrives in traditional societies when an educated minority (as part or accomplice of the ruling class) formulates the policies of the society and a large illiterate majority submissively carries them out" (1977: 26). For D. Sotiropoulos, diglossic control loosens only when a ruling class is replaced by another one. Although this view might be too strong[7], it may be correct to predict that diglossia will persist. A "revolution" that replaces a certain ruling class will not eliminate power relationships but only change their dynamics.

Britto (1986) has advanced a distinction between "use-oriented" and "user-oriented" diglossias. For F. Britto, statements relating social stratification to diglossia only apply to the latter form of diglossia. The former diglossia is not a matter of social inequality but of the differentiation of linguistic tasks and therefore "even if aristocracy is replaced by democracy it is inconceivable that a speech community will use an invariant, absolutely monolingual system for all its communicative needs" (1986: 40).

Diglossia, whether in Ferguson's terms or as it has subsequently been reformulated, does not exhaust all explanatory possibilities regarding the interplay of linguistic codes in a speech community. I claim that there are no linguistic features intrinsically linked to a "high" or "low" variety. Rather the fact that a variety might be "high" or "low" stems from the way in which social perceptions towards those features have been historically constructed. The concept of diglossia, as it has been used, does not

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Britto (1986) has advanced a distinction between "use-oriented" and "user-oriented" diglossias. For F. Britto, statements relating social stratification to diglossia only apply to the latter form of diglossia. The former diglossia is not a matter of social inequality but of the differentiation of linguistic tasks and therefore "even if aristocracy is replaced by democracy it is inconceivable that a speech community will use an invariant, absolutely monolingual system for all its communicative needs" (1986: 40).

Diglossia, whether in Ferguson's terms or as it has subsequently been reformulated, does not exhaust all explanatory possibilities regarding the interplay of linguistic codes in a speech community. I claim that there are no linguistic features intrinsically linked to a "high" or "low" variety. Rather the fact that a variety might be "high" or "low" stems from the way in which social perceptions towards those features have been historically constructed. The concept of diglossia, as it has been used, does not

account for this socio-historical and ideological dimension because it takes a diglossic situation as a given and does not try to address the socio-historical and ideological factors from which it is generated. Certain linguistic processes, such as language change, cannot be adequately explained, as recent studies have shown, if diglossia is taken as merely a linguistic phenomenon and not also as a socio-historical and ideological construction.

1. 3. 2. 2. On the notion of domain

Some scholars have advanced the notion of "domain" to explain language choice. In attempting to explain "Who speaks what language to whom and when?," Fishman (1965; 1972[1968]) has proposed that if two linguistic alternates are available, each will be reserved to certain domains. The notion of domain involves a set of factors (topic, group membership, locale of interaction, etc.) that are supposed to determine the use of a specific variant. Critics of this approach have argued that the factors determining language choice are infinite and that, given the enormous number of possibly differing interaction situations, no single coherent picture of a domain can emerge (cf. Appel & Muysken 1989: 23). In an attempt to overcome this difficulty, the notion of domain has been given an abstract configuration that shows the prototypical speaker's perceptions of situations in which linguistic choice is possible. This abstraction, one may argue, still keeps the analyst away from the concrete situations of communication because he/she will deal with what is supposedly likely to happen and not with what really happens. Furthermore, given the lack of adequate "tools" to solve the puzzles related to the intricacies of linguistic choice, the linguist resorts to a reductionist analysis via abstraction that shies away from the very facts that demand explanation. In other words, "domain" is a scientist's notion that cannot account for the complex ways in which the speaker manipulates linguistic varieties that are part of his/her linguistic repertoire.

1. 3. 2. 3. Decision tree model

The literature on linguistic choice also identifies the so-called "person-oriented approaches" (Appel & Muysken 1989: 27). An instance of such an approach is the "decision tree model" which constructs a hierarchical set of binary choices taking the language choices made by the speaker as the dependent variable. Taking an example from Appel & Muysken (1989), an adult Berber from Morocco living in the Netherlands is faced with two types of interlocutors: a non-Moroccan, to whom he/she will speak in Dutch, or a Moroccan, in which case language choice will depend on whether the interlocutor is also a Berber or not. In case he/she is a Berber, then Berber will be used for informal conversation. For formal topics, either Berber or Arabic can be resorted to. If the Moroccan interlocutor is not a Berber, then Moroccan Arabic will be used in informal conversations, and either Moroccan Arabic or French if the conversation is assumed to be formal. The model is too rigid for it does not reflect that (1) in many situations more than two variants are possible, (2) speakers may make unexpected choices, and (3) speakers may use more than one alternate in the same situation, as in the case of code switching. For example, in the situation just described, can't a Moroccan Berber talk to people who are not either Dutch or Moroccan? Can't Dutch be used with other Moroccans? Hence, Sankoff (1980) argues correctly that the model defines general types of speech situations in which particular code usage is felt to be appropriate but does not predict which code will be used in any particular case.

1. 3. 2. 4. Accommodation theory

Social psychologists represented in Giles (1973) and Giles *et al.* (1973) have developed the so-called "Interpersonal Speech Accommodation Theory" which tries to

explain language choice by taking into account the speaker's standpoint. This theory posits that language choice cannot be explained solely on the basis of situational factors. Rather, language choice also depends upon the interpersonal rapport between the interactants. Thus, it is claimed that communication implies (mal-)adjustment between the speakers through the reduction or accentuation of dissimilarities. This adjustment, often referred to as "accommodation," involves two processes: (1) "convergence," in which the speaker will use the variant that is suitable to the hearer and (2) "divergence," in which the speaker creates distance between himself and the hearer by maximizing differences in language use. This approach also falls short of the processes involved in communication in general or code choice in particular, mainly because it gives primacy to the speaker rather than focusing on the interaction as a whole.

1. 3. 2. 5. Holistic perspective

J. Gumperz and his associates have taken a more holistic perspective. They stress the fact that a full array of meanings of linguistic forms arise in connection with the negotiation that occurs within conversations in which social interactants participate. Interpretation depends neither on the speaker nor on the hearer alone but on the speaker's and hearer's on-going process of interpretation of the situations arising in the course of a conversation. In this approach, an important distinction is drawn between referential and social meanings (Gumperz 1982). Referential meanings are related to propositional content and arise with values attached to lexical units and grammatical patterns, whereas social meanings are related to "pragmatic" content and derive from indexical conventions, whose interpretation requires attention to how specific patterns of language use are deployed in specific contexts. In other words, the full array of meanings associated with linguistic forms cannot be assumed in advance, which makes the prediction of the choice of linguistic alternates irrelevant. This approach emphasizes the fact that linguistic variants

have a social function which should be the focus of attention in any account that attempts to understand language choice.

1. 3. 3. Linguistic change

In sociolinguistic literature, linguistic variation has been associated with processes of linguistic change such as diachronic change, language shift, and language death. Since these phenomena are relevant in the understanding of the linguistic issues related to African post-colonial societies, I now turn to explanatory frameworks that attempt to include them.

1. 3. 3. 1. Synchronic heterogeneity and language change

Recent discussions of linguistic change have been associated first with W. Labov who hypothesized that linguistic change had its source in the synchronic heterogeneity of linguistic forms within a speech community. Following the work of Labov and his associates, it is now commonly believed that "new" and "old" linguistic forms are at one point synchronic variants to which new social and symbolic functions are attached. These new social and symbolic functions affect the usage of the variants in the course of time, a process that is connected to the redistribution of the variants to new linguistic contexts, to new social contexts, and to new sets of speakers (cf. Gal 1979: 5). In the course of this process, some of the linguistic forms, be they minute linguistic features of a language or complete varieties, may even cease to be used altogether.

Sociolinguistics considers the motivations behind linguistic change. Why are speakers motivated to change their choice of linguistic forms to such an extent that they can abandon a linguistic feature or even a language altogether? How and why does this happen? (cf. Gal 1979: 5).

For some authors, intraspeaker variation results from the attention paid to speech by the speaker (cf. Labov 1972a, b), which will yield a variety of styles ranging from informal to formal. According to this perspective, variation of speech is a function of the degree to which a speaker monitors his talk. However, as Gal (1979) points out, this perspective assumes mistakenly that linguistic choice is motivated neither by what speakers want to convey nor by the interactional and rhetorical effects speakers want their words to accomplish (cf. p. 8). Gal (1979) considers linguistic variation to be part of the communicative competence a speaker must possess in order to interact in culturally acceptable and meaningful ways. Any linguistic form is considered to be natural in its context of use because somehow it is used with specific meanings which are related not only to referential meaning, but also to the speaker's intent, attitudes, personality, and social background. Language choice and, consequently, linguistic change arise in connection with these meanings.

While Gal (1979) does not deny that linguistic differences act as emblems of group membership or as symbols of group values, she also observes that differences in social status do not necessarily correlate with linguistic differences: "in some communities individuals who clearly belong in different socially significant categories do not present themselves differently in speech" (p. 14). For this reason, she has proposed that synchronic linguistic heterogeneity is maintained by two factors: "linguistic representation of self" and "the speakers' social networks".[8] By this, Gal also wants to stress that macrosociological factors influence language choice and by extension, language shift, through their effects on the shape of the social networks, on the status speakers want to claim, and on the cultural association between linguistic varieties and social groups (cf. p.17).

The approach taken by Gal (1979) seems to be appropriate for deciphering the complexities involved in language maintenance and shift, especially because it highlights

the processes occurring in micro-level contexts in connection with macrosociological factors. This point is further developed in her article on codeswitching and consciousness in the European periphery (Gal 1987). In the article, Gal compares three communities of bilingual minorities that are incorporated within a(n) (inter)state system that supports linguistic policies and ideologies upholding other than the minority groups' languages, and concludes that different political and socioeconomic conditions lead to differences in the speaker's perceptions of linguistic practices. Linguistic strategies in the form of language choice acquire different forms in each one of these bilingual communities as a consequence of the fact that they are differentially situated within regions of the world capitalist system. The Italians in Germany maintain the bilingual repertoire in response to the dual policy followed by the German state: integration into the German society and repatriation to Italy. The Hungarians in Austria are pressed by the state to abandon the Hungarian language and as a result, this language is maintained only as a symbol of ethnic solidarity. The Germans in Transylvania (Romania) have maintained their minority language to symbolize resistance to Romanian nationalism and their socioeconomic preponderance, especially in the past. In all these examples, political economic factors linked to the regional economic system act as the backdrop through which linguistic practices acquire their ideological meanings.

1. 3. 3. 2. Macro-sociological factors vis-a-vis interactional networks

Many scholars who have addressed issues related to language change have mentioned the role of macro-sociological factors but have failed to provide an explanatory framework that can account for the processes inducing change. Researchers who have relied on ethnographic methods have been able to overcome this shortcoming and observe that macro-sociological factors are important to the extent that they have an impact on how social relationships are structured by "forcing" individuals to play new roles, use new linguistic conventions to enter into new interactional networks, and display new symbolic

forms to act out new social images. Gumperz (1982) offers an account of language shift that is based on this reasoning. Relying on ethnographic data gathered in communicative processes occurring in a Slovenian and German speaking community in Austria, he observes that networks of social relationships favor the creation of behavioral and communicative conventions associated with and marking the social activities performed in those networks. These conventions facilitate cooperation and speed up understanding within the network while, on the other hand, they function as a barrier that makes any penetration into the network difficult for those who do not follow the same conventions. This is a consequence of the fact that these conventions are part of the cues through which participation in social interactions is perceived and judged. Patterns of interpersonal contact remain relatively stable if the "socio-ecological system" in which they occur also remains unchanged. However, if innovations occur as a consequence of political or socioeconomic changes, new communicative situations arise and hence, new social networks with new conventions are formed. For J. Gumperz, verbal repertoires change when their speakers start to participate in networks of relationships related to new social activities. These new social activities will require that the speakers deploy new rhetorical strategies, enabling them to successfully be part of the new networks and symbolizing the change of their social image. Thus, J. Gumperz claims that "language shift reflects basic changes in the structure of interpersonal relations rather than mere macro-alternations in the extra-linguistic environment" (1982:57).

1. 3. 4. The political economy of language use
1. 3. 4. 1. The political economy of linguistic practices: the linguistic market

Recent studies on language use have increasingly questioned the structuralist view that linguistic signs are separated from the material world and have instead examined the

context of language use in order to discover the complex roles played by language as it refers to and is part of social activities. For instance, Bourdieu (1977a) posits that language is "praxis," an exercise of "practical competence"[9] that defines the judicious and appropriate linguistic usage in accordance with the characteristics of particular linguistic production relations that express the structure of power relations between speakers or social groups. Within this perspective, P. Bourdieu argues for a sociological critique of concepts related to linguistics: in place of the notion of "<u>grammaticaliness</u>", he proposes "<u>acceptability</u>", or "<u>legitimate language</u>"; in place of "<u>relations of communication</u>", he proposes "<u>relations of symbolic power</u>", thus shifting from "<u>meaning of speech</u>" to "<u>value and power of speech</u>"; in place of "<u>linguistic competence</u>", he proposes "<u>symbolic capital</u>", which is inseparable from the speaker's position in the social structure (cf. p. 646).

Bourdieu (1977a) provides a good discussion of the processes involved in the legitimation of linguistic practices. By setting his discussion in terms of a metaphoric economic market, he shows that a speech community is a linguistic field of production dominated by market-like forces which determine the price of linguistic goods, that is, the value of the different linguistic practices which compete with each other just like commodities entering an economic market. Linguistic variants have a price yielding a "profit of distinctiveness" obtained through the relationship between linguistic differences and the system of economic and social differences. Speakers are subjected to the forces of the linguistic market in such a way that they acquire durable dispositions on the basis of which they perceive the state of the linguistic market and accordingly, structure their linguistic strategies. The most valuable linguistic practices yield a "profit of distinctiveness" connected with symbolic and material advantages. In other words, verbal skills not only are economic resources accompanying economic exchanges, they are in themselves commodities exchangeable for goods (cf. Irvine 1989: 255-9). The fact that linguistic products function as "gatekeepers" is a good example of this. A person participating in a job interview may lose a job simply because his linguistic strategies

(accent, grammatical structures, language used, rhetorical organization of the argument, etc.) are perceived as an indication of inadequate qualification for a professional position. Another example is the case of many African post-colonial countries in which the use of a "language wider communication" (LWC) is a pre-condition for entering into elite networks, holding prestigious professional positions or for gaining access to social advantages.

For P. Bourdieu, although languages are structurally similar, they have different social values and they are worth what their speakers are worth (cf. 1977a: 652). This fact leads him to posit that a "language cannot be autonomized with respect to the speaker's social properties: the evaluation of competence takes into account the relationship between the speaker's social properties and the specifically linguistic properties of his discourse"(1977a: 653).

On the other hand, given the unequal distribution of power, the imposition of a certain discourse will be a privilege of those who control the mechanisms and institutions related to such imposition. Moreover, since linguistic competence acts as symbolic capital that ensures access to symbolic and material resources, those who dominate the linguistic field of the production, reproduction, and reception of linguistic products will tend to favor and protect their linguistic practices. The legitimation and protection of an authorized language is obtained via control of the social conditions of the production and reproduction of its producers and consumers. For P. Bourdieu, the school system is the major agent of these processes because "it has a monopoly over the production of the mass of producers and consumers [of the authorized language], and hence over the reproduction of the market on which the value of linguistic competence depends" (1977a: 652). A legitimate language is a result of "linguistic coercion" exercised through the power of grammarians, literary tradition, mass-media, and so forth. Linguistic coercion presupposes symbolic domination by virtue of which speakers are led to "misrecognize" the domination implied in the promotion of an authorized language. P. Bourdieu further argues that linguistic coercion

entails (1) the emergence of a group of speakers having a common recognition of the authorized usage and unequal skills in that usage and (2) the unification of the linguistic market in which the various linguistic practices are measured against the "legitimate" one.

However, it has been shown that some of Bourdieu's assumptions should be treated with caution. For instance, some authors question whether (1) a linguistic market is fully integrated, (2) the legitimacy of the dominant forms is consensually accepted by all members of the linguistic market, and (3) schools hold a monopoly in the promotion of the authorized language. Woolard (1985) has shown that in Catalonia, Catalan has managed to maintain a prominent "authority in the ears of the populace" (p. 742) not through the action of the schools and other formal institutions, which promoted Castilian, but through everyday, face-to-face encounters and primary relations. Given this evidence, one can argue that, in Catalonia, the linguistic market was *not* fully integrated and authority and hegemony did *not* result from institutional dominance (p. 743). Irvine (1989) takes a similar stance with reference to Senegal when she points out that some Wolof communities acknowledged the political dominance of France without considering it legitimate at the same time that other ethnic groups favored French as an alternative to the dominance of the Wolof. The cases of Catalonia and Senegal show that within a linguistic market different linguistic ideologies may coexist and even take distinct and/or contradictory directions. State and/or dominant ideologies may be accepted by all or fractions of society, or they may be resisted, circumvented, or just tolerated by all or fractions of society.

1. 3. 4. 2. The political economy of linguistic practices: propositionality, indexicality, and incorporation

Bourdieu's ideas are expanded upon by Irvine (1989), who also takes issue with Saussure's separation of the denotational sign from the material world. For Irvine (1989),

linguistic forms and verbal practices are related to the allocation of resources, coordination of production, and the distribution of goods and services, not only as reflections of these phenomena but also as part of them. Linguistic signs refer to, influence, and are part of the market place, while linguistic practices are commodities exchangeable for cash and goods (cf. Irvine 1989: 249; Gal 1989: 347).

Irvine (1989) has proposed three types of linkages between linguistic phenomena and political economy: "propositionality", "indexicality", and "incorporation". "Propositionality" refers to the ability of the linguistic sign to evoke objects and activities in the material world. While J. Irvine argues that propositionality provides the basis for the organization of the division of labor, other authors have shown that representation of the world via language is a function of the power relations prevailing in a society. P. Bourdieu has claimed that a word as abstractly defined in a dictionary has no social existence. Rather, it acquires its social meaning as it is used in practical social relations because "understanding is not a matter of recognizing an invariable meaning, but of grasping the singularity of a form which only exists in a particular context"(1977a: 647). The capacity of language to denote and represent the world cannot be innocent and transparent (cf. Gal 1989: 348); it is influenced by the power relations defining the linguistic field and shaping the social context in which language use takes place. Linguistic practices, one may conclude, even at the propositional level, reflect and are part of the power struggles occurring within a society. Thus, I agree that authorized or hegemonic linguistic practices, as Gal (1989) would correctly argue, are not simply linguistic forms but also carry cultural definitions of social life, indicating something about the relationships among different social groups.

By "indexicality" Irvine (1989) refers to the fact that linguistic forms index social groups, categories and situations entering into the relations of production (p. 251). As mentioned elsewhere in this chapter, a linguistic community encompasses a heterogeneous

repertoire of linguistic forms which, in their different usage, are culturally construed as indexes of the social order and therefore reflect not only the social relationships but also the history of persons and groups (cf. Irvine 1989: 253) and their social roles. Alongside social differentiation, Irvine (1989) claims, exists a linguistic differentiation whose mutual interplay is mediated by cultural and linguistic ideologies operating in a society. The way people rationalize linguistic choices is a good example of this interplay.

"Indexicality" is one of the conditions leading to "incorporation", the notion proposed to explain the fact that linguistic phenomena are included in the economy as practices and commodities, as Bourdieu has argued. Apart from the fact that linguistic forms denote the world and indicate how people relate to each other, linguistic forms are themselves objects of economic activity. Given the "indexicality" described in the previous paragraph, linguistic forms are used in connection with the social differentiation to be found in a "linguistic marketplace"; that is, linguistic variants are valued to a degree commensurate with the social value of the speakers who use them. For instance, in most societies, forms that usually function as the standard are those used by the most prestigious social circles. Access to them is a pre-condition to high social position, which makes them costly. One has to pay for their acquisition in the schools if one has not acquired them by the benefit of birth. In other words, circulation of prestigious linguistic forms is not only socioeconomically determined but also is an internal constituent of economic activities.

1. 3. 4. 3. The political economy of linguistic practices: micro- vs. macro-domains of language use

Correlations between language and political economy should not be restricted to micro-domains of social interactions, as most of the arguments presented so far would suggest. Relations of power occur not only in local person-to-person encounters but also

in national and international contexts. The assertions of the previous paragraphs can also be extended to these contexts. In fact, processes of language policy and planning in many nation-states express the "economics of linguistic exchanges" at the nation-state level because in many ways they reflect the structure of power relations prevailing in nation-state. For instance, language policies may be perceived as manipulations by elites in their bid for political, social and economic goods. In some cases, these manipulations stem from phenomena of colonialism in their diverse forms, which are responsible for the emergence of a world "political economic system of dependency and inequality," as Gal (1989) puts it. Policies such as the adoption of "world languages," the so-called "languages of wider communication" (LWC), in most cases at the expense of local languages, may be embedded in these systems of dependency and inequality.[10]

However, the political economic dimensions of language use can be more complex than has been suggested in the previous paragraph. The interface between local, national, and international contexts of language use is not simple and straightforward since it can operate in many different ways, thereby yielding several outcomes. Moreover, as mentioned before, linguistic markets are not fully integrated and are subject to various maneuvers engendered by different social forces. For example, a policy pushed forward by an elite may be resisted by the counter-elites or by the "dominated" populace. Therefore, no general formula can accurately predict the impact of linguistic practices or their manipulation by, say, state institutions. Each linguistic market is a special case, no matter how closely it might resemble other linguistic markets.

In conclusion, the political economic perspective sheds a new light onto linguistic practices by stressing that these practices are economic resources and are subject to complex relationships of power and solidarity affecting social interactions and the social position of each member of a society either within a state or at an inter-state level, the so-called "world system." Moreover, this approach highlights the fact that linguistic practices

symbolically reflect power relationships impinging on social interactions. Linguistic practices are intrinsically bound to political and socioeconomic processes operating at a national and international level, a fact which should not be overlooked in an analysis intended to understand the social implications of language usage (cf. Bourdieu 1977a; Gal 1987; 1989).

1. 4. Multilingualism and nation-statehood

Scholars who have analyzed the process of nation formation have emphasized the importance of easy flow of information among the members of a nation (cf. Deutsch 1966[1953]; Haugen 1966). Kelman (1971) argued along the same lines when addressing the relationship between language and involvement in the national system. Departing from the assumption that language is a factor in the establishment of "sentimental" and "instrumental" attachments to a nation-state, Kelman (1971) posits that language is a powerful instrument for unifying a diverse population and involving individuals and sub-groups in a national system.[11] According to him, language is important in reinforcing sentimental attachments because it bridges "immediate loyalties with transcendental ones" and "enhances not only the continuity but also the authenticity of the national tradition" (p. 31). At an instrumental level, a common language helps to integrate people into a national system and facilitates the development of political, economic and social institutions that serve the entire population. Kelman (1971) goes further by proposing that, with a single national language, opportunities to integrate individuals into the national system will tend to be more evenly distributed within the population because there will be less discrimination on the basis of ethnic or social class differences (cf. p. 32). As to the mutual reinforcement of sentimental and instrumental attachments, Kelman (1971) posits that the existence of a common language — more exactly, the sharing of nuances of the common language — allows and encourages the extension of communication beyond its strictly instrumental

domain in such a way that it can foster the sharing of the "old" and the development of new cultural values and orientations.[12]

Before discussing other points raised by Kelman, I must mention that recent sociolinguistic research has shown that the distribution of linguistic repertoires (cf. section 4) is a function of political economic factors. In other words, the distribution of nuances of the common language is not independent of the power relationships prevailing in a society and therefore, it is unlikely that these nuances will be evenly shared by all members of a nation-state. Such is the case because members of a nation-state are not equally positioned in the political economy of the national system (cf. section 1. 3. 4.). I also want to emphasize that the notion of "shared nuances of the common languages" does not correlate strictly with similarity of linguistic features, as one might readily expect. Rather, it derives from symbolic and ideological assumptions that those linguistic features might convey in the general sphere of social relations in which people interact. Research has shown that "languages" that are very similar from a linguistic point of view might be perceived as different as long as they symbolize incompatibilities between social groups. Such is the case of Serbian and Croatian in ex-Yugoslavia, Hindi and Urdu in India, or Bokmal and Nynorsky in Norway whose linguistic differences, are smaller than "some forms of upper- and lower-class English in New York" (Gumperz 1971[1969]: 231). Therefore, one cannot presuppose, as Kelman does, that "speaking the same language" entails necessarily the development of similar cultural values and orientations. Actually, "similar values and orientations" may develop at certain levels among people who do not share the nuances of the same language. The Arab countries are an example. They are "united" more by religion than by language, for Arabic, besides having different colloquial and literary varieties in each Arab country, varies also from country to country.

However, Kelman's claims must be considered in connection with the language policies that he envisages. For him, language policy should be based entirely on functional

considerations because in influencing people's language behavior, it is important (1) to maintain patterns of communication enabling an effective functioning of state institutions and (2) to ensure that different groups have equal access and opportunity to participate in the national system. Significantly, this position underplays "primordial sentiments" and correctly views language issues in the context of the allocation of societal resources to different social groups and individuals. Nevertheless, Kelman's proposal is a contradiction in itself. If he proposes a language policy that serves the interests of state institutions, then he is in fact proposing an elitist policy — given that elites run the state and will not favor a policy that betrays their interests — which will end up giving unequal access and opportunities to participate in the national system.

J. Das Gupta, taking a political perspective, has expressed ideas similar to those advocated by Kelman (1971). In his work, *Language Conflict and National Development* , Das Gupta proposes that language is not a static factor and therefore, language loyalty is not a primordial feature that can be taken for granted. On this basis, Das Gupta takes issue with C. Geertz who has proposed that primordial attachments should be viewed as "givens" of social existence that threaten the integrity of the state (cf. Geertz 1973a [1963]: 261). Das Gupta (1971) argues quite convincingly against these assumptions by pointing out that social segmentation in itself does not dictate the pattern of political participation because this pattern is contingent upon the nature of the political interests of different groups. Specific political issues, styles of leadership, the nature of the political system, methods of action and so forth play a larger role in the definition of social coalitions than do primordial sentiments as such.[13] Once interest groups enter into a competitive structure such as a "civil society" — defined as a "web of autonomous associations, independent of the state, which binds citizens together in matters of common concern, and by their mere existence or action could have an effect on public policy" (Taylor 1990: 1) — social groupings acquire their consistency and impact from the way in which coalitions coalesce in order to obtain societal goods, rather than from strictly primordial sentiments as such.

Thus, it can be argued that social conflicts in post-colonial situations have less to do with divisive primordial sentiments than with the creation of the mechanisms that can promote coexistence of the different social forces within the "civil society". The problem is not about primordial sentiments but the lack of a political system that is based on and accountable to social coalitions representing different social interests.

A case that demonstrates how language is not a primordial source of social conflict, but rather that interest groups transfer social conflicts into language issues, can be found in Das Gupta and Gumperz (1968), in which it is shown how interests attached to different social groups are reflected in different language policies proposed by each one of these groups. More exactly, the article mentions three approaches that were supposed to guide the reform of Hindi-Urdu. The Hindi intellectuals felt that this reform should be done on the basis of Sanskrit whereas the westernized Muslim elite thought that Persian was a more appropriate basis. Both approaches were designed to enhance the position of their proponents, which was denounced by the Ghandians who, because of their interest in mass mobilization, strove to denounce the divisive implications of either one.

1. 5.   The "language question" in African post-colonial countries

The choice between indigenous languages and an ex-colonial language, the so-called "language of wider communication" (LWC), illustrates the fundamental dilemma surrounding the linguistic issues of "developing" countries. Some scholars (e.g. Geertz 1973a; Fishman 1972b) have tended to conceptualize the dilemma as an outcome of two different goals that "developing" countries tend to pursue: on the one hand, the establishment of a "communicational" framework that would cope with the drive towards modernity and on the other hand, the desire for the preservation of indigenous traditions. Thus, the adoption of an LWC — which has occurred in the majority of the African post-colonial countries — has been justified on the grounds that it is vital for the functioning of

the social, economic and political institutions of the New State. Another justification is that an LWC fosters the integration of the different groups into the national system, on which an indigenous language would supposedly have a disruptive effect. In addition, there is the belief that an LWC makes easier the unavoidable integration of the post-colonial country into the international economic system. However, a close consideration of the usual justifications for the use of an LWC as an official language raises some questions for it is well known that the LWC in post-colonial countries is accessible to only a small portion of the society and therefore, like the indigenous languages, it also has a divisive effect.

The role of an LWC in most African countries cannot be explained solely on the basis of political integration, of the efficiency of the economic, political, and social institutions, or even of the unsuitability of the indigenous languages. Deeper explanations probably lie in the organization of the post-colonial state as a political and economic community that contains different social forces with different interests. A factor that should not be overlooked is the role of the elite.

It has been proposed that the use of an LWC is an instance of "elite closure," a strategy through which language policy is used by those in power to maintain their power and privilege (cf. Myers-Scotton 1990; 1993). C. Myers-Scotton argues that, in their efforts to limit access by others to socioeconomic mobility and political power, the elites are motivated to institutionalize linguistic practices that accentuate linguistic divergence of themselves from the masses. As part of this strategy, the elite design and stimulate "official language policies as well as unofficial usage allocation which designate a linguistic variety largely known only by the elite as necessary for participation in situations which yield power" (1990: 25). The officialization of ex-colonial languages in many African countries, which is often accompanied by a lack of measures to enable the large majority of citizens to have access to it or to promote their native languages, is to a certain extent, an instance of such strategy. In some cases, policy makers try to reform the African languages so that

they can be used in connection with new social activities such as formal education. However, such efforts are usually undermined by the fact that they resort to linguistic resources from the ex-colonial languages, which replicates the problems deriving from not knowing the ex-colonial language. A typical example is the process of lexicalization of African languages which, more often than not, is modeled on lexical items or affixes from the ex-colonial language. For someone who has no knowledge of the ex-colonial language, massive use of borrowings from the ex-colonial language in the form of words or affixes leads to difficulties and linguistic barriers similar to those entailed by the use of the ex-colonial language.

Nevertheless, the notion of "elite closure" should not be taken for granted because the elite is usually in fact a constellation of networks based on affiliations related to region, education, race and so forth. This constellation of networks may comprise different interest groups, which in some circumstances may even desire a convergence with the masses. Just as the elite may be interested in institutionalizing policies leading to divergence, there are also situations in which the elite has to look for a compromise and try to converge with the masses, if such a strategy enhances its position. The case of Chichewa in Malawi during the presidency of Kamuzu Banda is illustrative. While President Banda was interested in the promotion of good English, his government also relied on the promotion of Chichewa as a national language to strengthen his power base among the Chewas. Chewa culture was equated with the core of the condition of being Malawian, thus precluding members of other ethnic groups symbolized linguistically by other languages from easy access to societal goods (cf. Vail 1981). Thus, elite hegemony cannot be equated to "elite closure" because it is not solely maintained through seclusion, as the elite is also interested in building legitimacy and mobilizing popular support. Elite hegemony is more a process of controlling access to certain societal resources rather than the impediment of interactions between the elite and the masses, as the term "closure" suggests.

The officialization of LWCs in post-colonial countries raises questions as to whether they can become "real" national languages. Despite the fact that it is usually assumed that the role of LWCs should not go beyond the instrumental level and that LWCs should be replaced by what are perceived as "authentic" national languages (cf. Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1987), there are some indications that such assumption might be unwarranted. In fact, it has been argued that LWCs in post-colonial countries have been undergoing change not only structurally but also socio-symbolically, to such an extent that new functions and usage of LWCs are being created following a sociolinguistic process that has been variably termed "nativization" (Kachru 1982; Schmied 1991: 196), "linguistic adaptation" (Schmied 1991: 196), "contextual dislocation" or "transplantation" (Kachru 1982: 43), or "indigenization" (Moag & Moag 1977: 3; Moag 1982: 273) of European (or North American) linguistic models. This sociolinguistic process leads to the institutionalization of the so-called "non-native varieties" (Kachru 1982; Moag 1982).

The structural and symbolic change of LWCs calls for a new conceptualization of their "competition" (Wardhaugh 1987) with the indigenous languages and for a reformulation of the goals that language policy makers have sought in Africa. Ex-colonial languages have not remained as static products but have acquired new symbolic meanings and structural features raising them to a status of language varieties with value in their own right and not exclusively as mere folkloristic distortions of European languages. As Tengan (1994) has pointed out, African societies were never closed systems immune to an integration of new elements and transformations or changes due to external influence, rather they have open structures that in a continuous process allow new realities and incoming elements to be transformed and adapted to the African context. Transformations of standardized European languages in Africa are part of this process as they suit themselves to rapidly changing socio-cultural and political realities (cf. p. 128-130).

1. 6. Closing remarks

This chapter provided an overview of the complexities involved in the characterization of the linguistic situation of post-colonial countries by discussing theoretical insights referring to nation-state formation and linguistic diversity. It started by focusing on the nature of a nation-state and indicated some of the main aspects that have been associated with the formation and concept of nation-state, in special with regard to post-colonial nation-states. Next it chapter reviewed recent sociolinguistic theories that have attempted to address various issues arising with linguistic diversity and examined the nature and social effects of the coexistence of a variety of linguistic resources within a community. The overall objective of the theoretical overview was to present the assumptions underlying the descriptive and analytical account of the language situation in Mozambique that follows in the next chapters. By doing so, the chapter also demonstrated the theoretical relevance of the issues under consideration in this dissertation.

Notes to chapter I

[1] For K. Deutsch "processes of communication are the basis of the coherence of societies, cultures, and even of the personalities of individuals" (1966[1953]: 61).

[2] Actually, the analysis of Smith (1983) includes both Africa and Asia.

[3] Contrary to the prevalent assumption, however, such socio-cultural and linguistic heterogeneity is by no means specific to Africa, or even to colonial contexts in general; for it has been found even in Europe, from where the model of a nation-state is often taken. However, unlike Europe in the 19th century, which could rely on shared historically established cultural symbols such as those embodied in language to motivate nationalism (cf. Gal 1987: 638), nationalism in (post)-colonial contexts had to resort, rather, to a "sentiment of territoriality," as it mobilized people that historically had been bound together only by the fact of residence in a shared colonial territory.

[4] Furnivall (1948) is a seminal study of colonial plural societies. The concept of plural society has been further elaborated by other studies such as Despres (1968) or Smith (1965).

[5] Actually, in the chomskian paradigm, language X is just a step towards the understanding of "universal grammar", that is, the innate mental operations any normal speaker of a language needs to activate in order to speak a language.

[6] In fairness to the work of N. Chomsky, I must note that such a procedure is determined by the overall research goals and not by simple ignorance of how communication works. The chomskian paradigm attempts to describe a generative grammar that expresses "the knowledge of the language that provides the basis for actual use of language by a speaker-hearer" (Chomsky 1965:9). The generative grammar is understood as mental processes beyond the level of actual and potential consciousness, which precede language use. For this reason, a theory of language use, the theory of performance, falls outside the scope of this paradigm.

[7] In the section on language and political economy I address some insights proposed by Woolard (1985) which call for a more cautious stance in relation to this issue.

[8] That's why in Oberwart, the community studied by S. Gal, "language shift began when German gained prestige because choice of it as opposed to Hungarian came to symbolize the speaker's claim to worker rather than peasant status. Speakers started to present themselves as workers and not peasants in everyday

conversations as their social networks changed, weakening previous constraints to claim only peasant identity in speech" (1979: 17).

[9]I use the notion of "practice" as developed in Bourdieu (1977b).

[10]One French State Secretary for Cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, once made it clear in a speech to the French National Assembly, in 1967:

> "The *first objective* of my Department is to favor the penetration of the French language and culture in countries of Africa and Madagascar [...]. The second objective that we propose is of economic order: the maintenance and development of French commercial and industrial interests constitutes equally one of the constant concerns of the State Secretary for Cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I say all this without any shame. Nothing is illegitimate and sordid in what I said. Cooperation is not a self-interested enterprise in the selfish sense of the term, but it is not a question of waste or generosity either." (quoted in Sow 1977:18; emphasis and translation mine).

[11]I should be cautious not to misrepresent Kelman (1971). He is also aware that the very features that give a unifying power to a language may also have an disintegrative impact and lead to a conflict within a national system.

[12]Kelman (1971) writes:

> "The shared nuances of the common language make it possible to convey more readily not just the message itself but also the way in which this message is to be understood and the kind of credence that can be given to it. Similarly, interactions between different segments of the population are likely to benefit from the existence of a common language because of our general inclination to trust more readily those who 'speak the same language' as we do" (p. 33).

Later on, I will problematize the notion of "shared nuances of a common" language as I follow some scholars who have proved that the distribution of these "shared nuances" depends on the composition of the social networks.

[13]It must be recalled that Das Gupta (1971), when addressing language conflict and national development in India shifts focus from national integration to political integration. According to Das Gupta (1971), this shift allows for a better understanding of a national development process involving various kind of segmentary diversity and yields better insight into the social, cultural and other forms of integration that are subsumed under the general category of national integration (cf. 1971: 8-9).

CHAPTER II: THE LANGUAGE SITUATION IN MOZAMBIQUE

2. 0. Introduction

This chapter will present background information regarding the type of linguistic diversity that characterizes Mozambique. It will show that the languages used in Mozambique can be divided into two groups, each one with a specific history, social implantation, and uses: indigenous languages and languages of foreign origin. Portuguese, given its peculiar history, roles and status, needs to be singled out from other languages of foreign origin like English and some Asiatic languages, whose use in Mozambique is highly restricted to specific speakers and/or domains. Thus, the chapter has three parts focusing respectively on indigenous languages, Portuguese and other languages of foreign origin.

The chapter is based on my first-hand knowledge of the country, gathered through many years of professional contact with issues pertaining to languages used in Mozambique, observations of linguistic practices in many parts of the country I have visited in the recent past, as well as interactions with many people, both nationals and foreigners. The overview of the linguistic diversity in Mozambique will be strengthened by information gathered from official documents and other relevant literature.

2. 1.   Indigenous languages

2. 1. 1.   Guthrie's inventory

One of the earliest inventories of indigenous languages spoken in Mozambique, all of which belong to the Bantu family, is found in Guthrie (1967/71),[1] which groups them into the following four linguistic zones:[2]

a) ZONE G:[3]

    Language Group G. 40: Swahili[4]

b) ZONE P:

    Language Group P. 20: Yao

        Languages:

            . **Yao** (P. 21)

            . **Makonde** (P. 23)[5]

            . **Mabiha/Mavia** (P. 25)

    Language Group P. 30: Makua

        Languages:

            . **Makua** (P. 31)

            . **Lomwe** (P. 32)

            . **Ngulu/ W. Makua** (P. 33)

            . **Cuabo/ Cuambo** (P. 34)

c) ZONE N:

    Language Group N. 30: Nyanja

        Languages:

            . **Nyanja** (N. 31a)

            . **Cewa** (N. 31 b)

            . **Mananja** (N. 31c)

Language Group N. 40: Senga-Sena

Languages:

. Nsenga (N. 41)[6]

. Kunda (N. 42)

. Nyungwe (N. 43)

. Sena (N. 44)

. Ruwe (N. 45)

. Podzo (N. 46)

d) **ZONE S:**

Language Group S. 10: Shona Cluster

Languages:

. Korekore (S. 11)

. Zezuru (S. 12)[7]

. Manyika (S. 13a)

. Tebe (S. 13b)

. Ndau (S. 15)

Language Group S. 50: Tswa-Ronga

Languages:

. Tswa (S. 51)

. Gwamba (S. 52)

. Tsonga (S. 53)

. Ronga (S. 54)

Language Group S. 60: Chopi

Languages:

. Chopi/Lenge (S. 61)

. Tonga/Shengwe (S. 62)

2. 1. 2. The results of the 1980 national census

More recent surveys of the linguistic diversity in Mozambique have presented the linguistic scenario in different ways. For instance, the report of the census of 1980

identifies the following 23 indigenous languages that constitute native first languages for most Mozambicans:[8]

a) Swahili;
b) Mwani (Kimwani);
c) Yao (Ciyao);
d) Maconde (Shimakonde);
e) Macua (Emakhuwa);
f) Lomwe (Elomwe);
g) Ngulu;
h) Koti;
i) Marendje;
j) Chuabo (Echuwabo);
k) Nyanja (Cinyanja);
l) Kunda;
m) Nsenga;
n) Nyungwe (Cinyungwe);
o) Sena (Cisena);
p) Shona (Cishona);
q) Tswa (Xitshwa);
r) Tsonga (Xitsonga, Xichangana);
s) Ronga (Xironga);
t) Chope (Cicopi);
u) Bitonga (Gitonga);
v) Zulu;
w) Swazi;
y) Phimbi;

The report of the 1980 census also provided numerical data that clarify the implantation and distribution of these languages in the entire country. The indigenous languages with the most speakers according to these data are shown in table 2.1 below:[9]

TABLE 2. 1

Mozambican indigenous languages (1980)

LANGUAGES	NUMBER OF NATIVE SPEAKERS	PERCENTAGES OF NATIVE SPEAKERS (N=11 634 583)
MACUA	3, 231, 559	27.7
TSONGA	1, 444, 187	12.4
SENA	1, 087, 262	9.3
LOMWE	907, 521	7.8
SHONA	759, 930	6.5
TSWA	696, 212	5.9
CHUABO	664, 319	5.7
RONGA	423, 797	3.6
MARENDJE	402, 952	3.4
NYANJA	385, 875	3.3
CHOPE	332, 924	2.8
NYUNGWE	262, 455	2.2
MACONDE	224, 662	1.9
BITONGA	223, 971	1.9
YAO	194, 107	1.6

Following the data gathered in the census of 1980, it can be assumed that indigenous languages are spoken by virtually the entire Mozambican population, given that 98.8% of the population claimed to know one of the indigenous languages as a native language, in contrast to Portuguese, which is known as a native language by only 1.2% of the population. Among the speakers of indigenous languages, 75.6% claimed to be exclusive speakers of at least one of the indigenous languages, that is, they do not perceive themselves as knowing Portuguese. At the same time, 23.2% claimed to be bilingual in at least one of the indigenous languages and Portuguese. Portuguese is spoken by a total of

24.4% of the population. A visual representation of these data is provided in chart 2.1 below.

Chart 2. 1

Speakers of indigenous languages (IL) in Mozambique (1980)
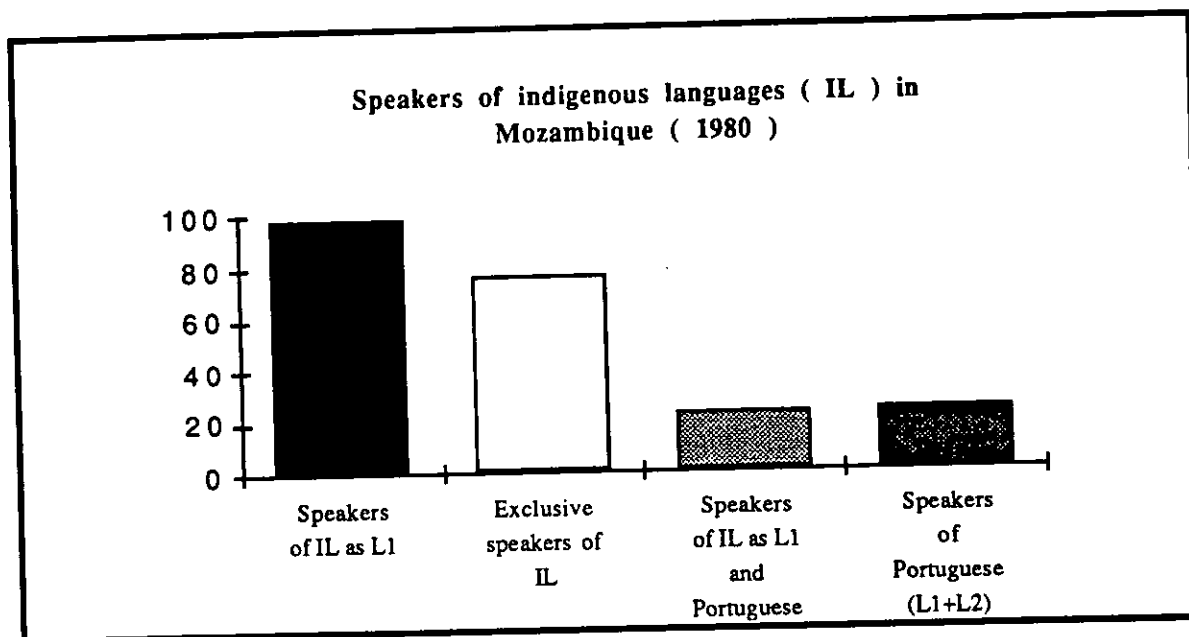
However, given that the country's extensive territory is not evenly populated and that indigenous languages are regionally distributed, neither Table 2.1 nor Chart 2.1 provide a complete and meaningful image of their regional distribution. Not only do the different languages have a restricted regional distribution but also some of the indigenous languages that seem to be less significant on the basis of the percentage of their native speakers at a national level may predominate at a district level.

For instance, **Macua**, which is the language with the most native speakers is, in fact predominant only in some areas of the northern part of Mozambique, namely, in the provinces of:

a) Nampula (96.3% of native speakers);
b) Cabo Delgado (64.8% of native speakers);
c) Niassa (53.7% of native speakers).

In the rest of the country (7 provinces), the presence of native speakers of **Macua** is not significant. Furthermore, in the Provinces of Cabo Delgado (cf. Table 2. 2) and Niassa (cf. Table 2. 3), native speakers of **Macua** predominate only in some areas. In the Province of Cabo Delgado, native speakers of **Macua** are predominant in the provincial capital (Pemba) and in nine of the thirteen districts. In one of the districts, Mueda, where native speakers of **Maconde** predominate, the presence of native speakers of **Macua** is insignificant. Native speakers of **Maconde** are also in the majority in the districts of Mocímboa, where native speakers of **Mwani** are also significant, and Palma. A less attentive observer of the language situation in Mozambique might be misled by the national figures and overlook these facts.

On the other hand, in the Province of Niassa, **Macua** is claimed to be the native language for 53.7% of the population, concentrated in five districts. In one of the districts (Lago), **Macua** has no presence at all while, in five other districts, native speakers of **Macua** are outnumbered by native speakers of **Yao**, namely, in the districts of Lichinga, Mandimba, Mavago, Mecula, Sanga, and, in the district of Lago, by those of **Nyanja**. Yet, in the entire country **Yao** and **Nyanja** account, respectively, for only 1.6% and 3.3% of native speakers, figures that to a less attentive observer may also seem meaningless.

All these facts related to the interplay between **Macua** and **Maconde** or **Mwani**, in the province of Cabo Delgado, or between **Macua** and **Yao** and **Nyanja**, in the province of Niassa, can be overlooked when only national figures are taken into account. Since similar observations can be applied, *mutatis mutandis,* to other indigenous languages in other regions of the country, a more complete picture of the regional distribution and impact of the different languages can only be obtained by combining the data from national and regional/local levels, as indicated in tables and charts 2. 2 to 2. 11 in the following section. These tables and charts indicate, on the basis of the Census of 1980 as reported by Conselho Coordenador do Recenseamento (1983b) in *Os Distritos em Números*, the major

languages, province by province, and the percentages of their native speakers at the national, provincial and district or city levels.[10] They provide the percentages of native speakers of each indigenous language in each province, district or city and, thereby, suggest the regional distribution of the different indigenous languages.

2. 1. 2. 1. Tables and charts with percentages of native speakers of indigenous languages

TABLE 2. 2
PROVINCE OF CABO DELGADO (N=899,268)

	Macua	Maconde	Mwani	Yao	Ngulu	Swahili
MOZAMBIQUE	27.7	1.9	-	1.6	-	-
Province	67.8	23.5	5.5	-	-	-
City of Pemba	77.4	5.4	9.8	-	-	-
Ancuabe	87.9	11.4	-	-	-	-
Chiúre	99.3	-	-			
Ibo	14.6	1.4	82.1	-	-	-
Macomia	51.8	31.2	16.0	-	-	-
Mecúfi	99.5	-	-			
Meluco	95.3	-	-	-	-	-
Mocímboa	15.6	43.2	36.2	-	-.	-
Montepuez	96.3	-	-	-	-	-
Mueda	5.5	88.2	-	1.3	2.9	-
Namuno	96.7	2.3	-	-	-	-
Palma	8.6	63.6	12.0	-	-	6.5
Pemba	94.6	2.7	1.8	-	-	-
Quissanga	70.2	7.0	22.1	-	-	-

Chart 2. 2a

Province of CABO DELGADO: Native speakers of indigenous
languages by district/city (Part I)

Chart 2. 2b

Province of CABO DELGADO: Native speakers of indigenous
languages by district/city (Part II)
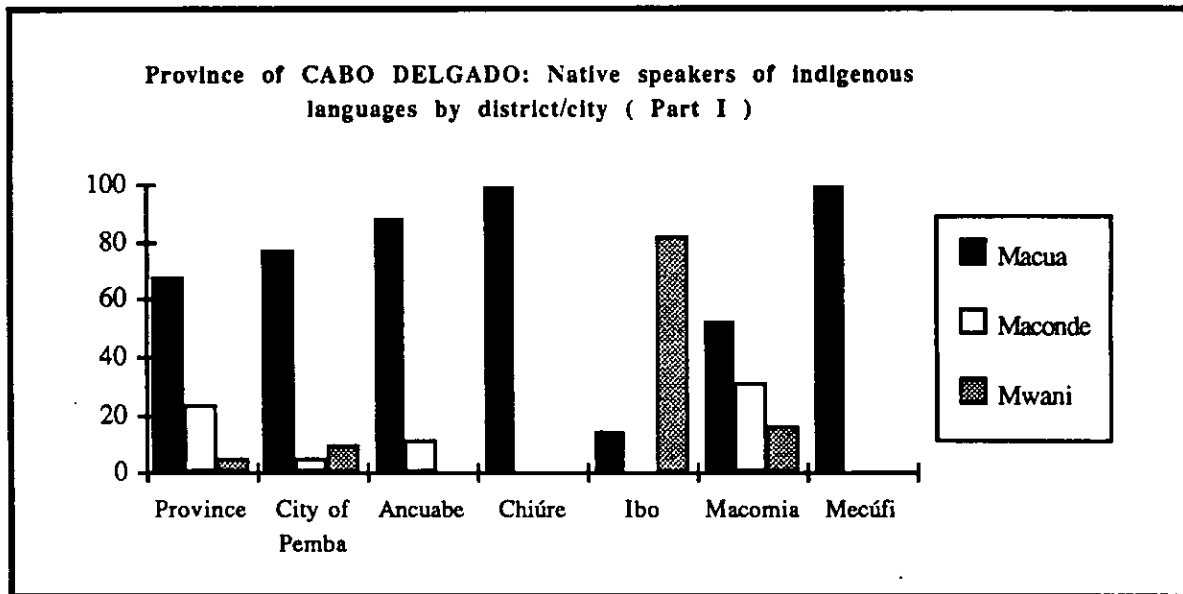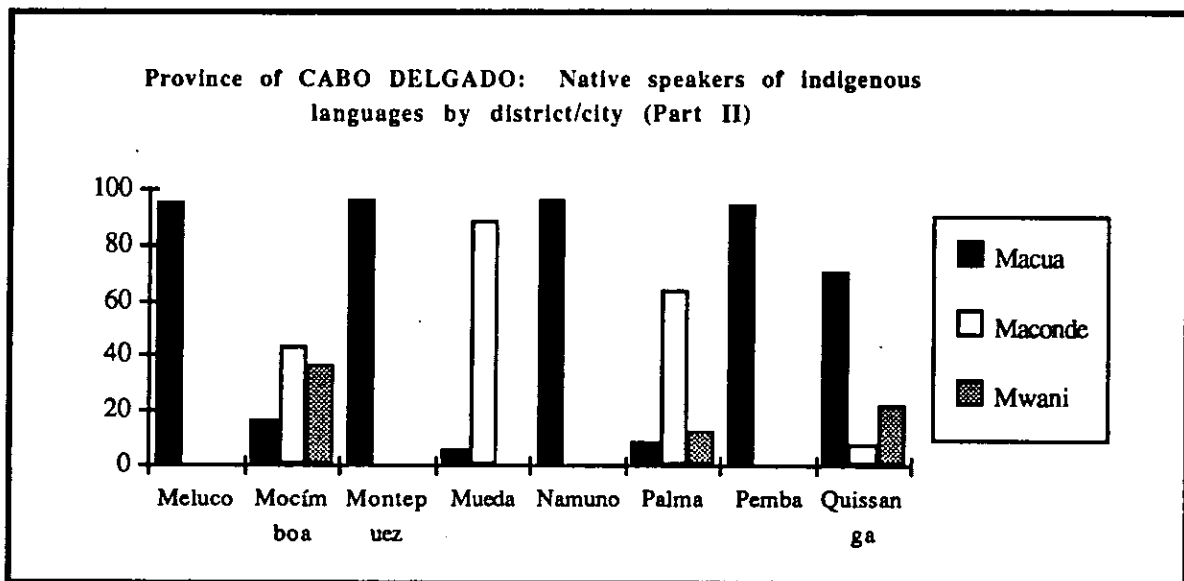
TABLE 2. 3
PROVINCE OF NIASSA (N= 506,974)

	Macua	Yao	Nyanja	Ngulu
MOZAMBIQUE	27.7	1.6	3.3	-
Province	53.7	36.3	7.2	-
City of Lichinga	18.4	68.4	5.7	-
Amaramba	96.9	1.0	-	-
Lago	-	31.2	61.8	2.7
Lichinga	2.1	95.3	-	-
Majune	51.3	46.7	-	-
Mandimba	37.3	61.4	-	-
Marrupa	90.9	7.9	-	-
Maúa	99.2	-		-
Mavago	11.9	84.1	-	-
Mecanhelas	81.3	-	17.1	-
Mecula	25.9	67.1	3.8	-
Sanga	1.2	93.9	1.0	-

Chart 2. 3a

Province of NIASSA: Native speakers of indigenous languages by district/city (Prat I)

Chart 2. 3b

Province of NIASSA: Native speakers of indigenous languages by district/city (Part II)
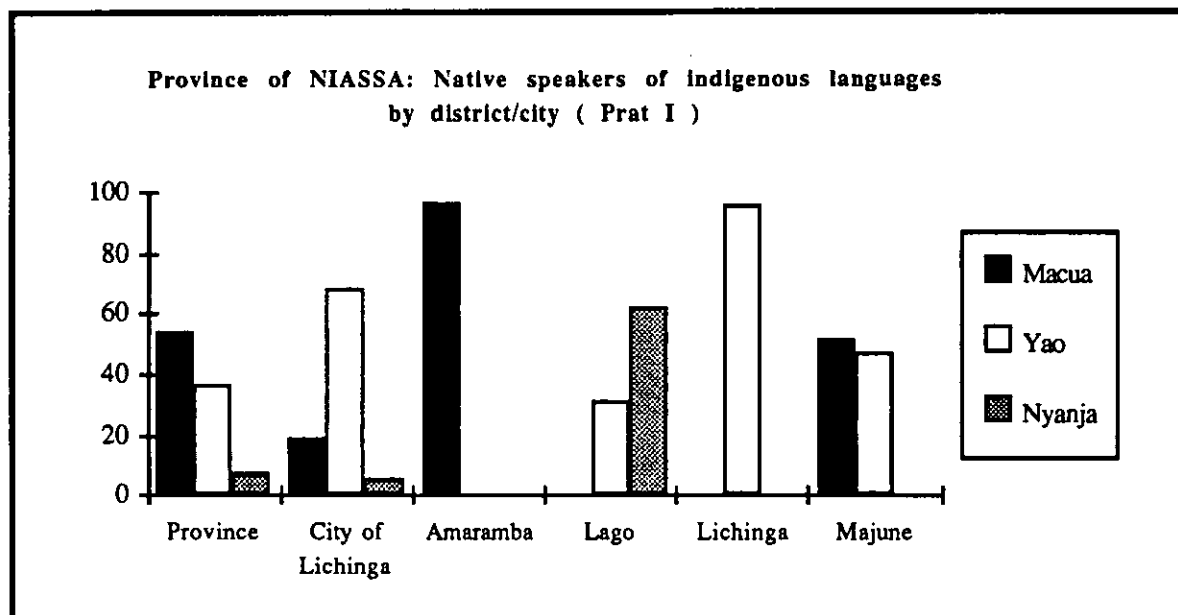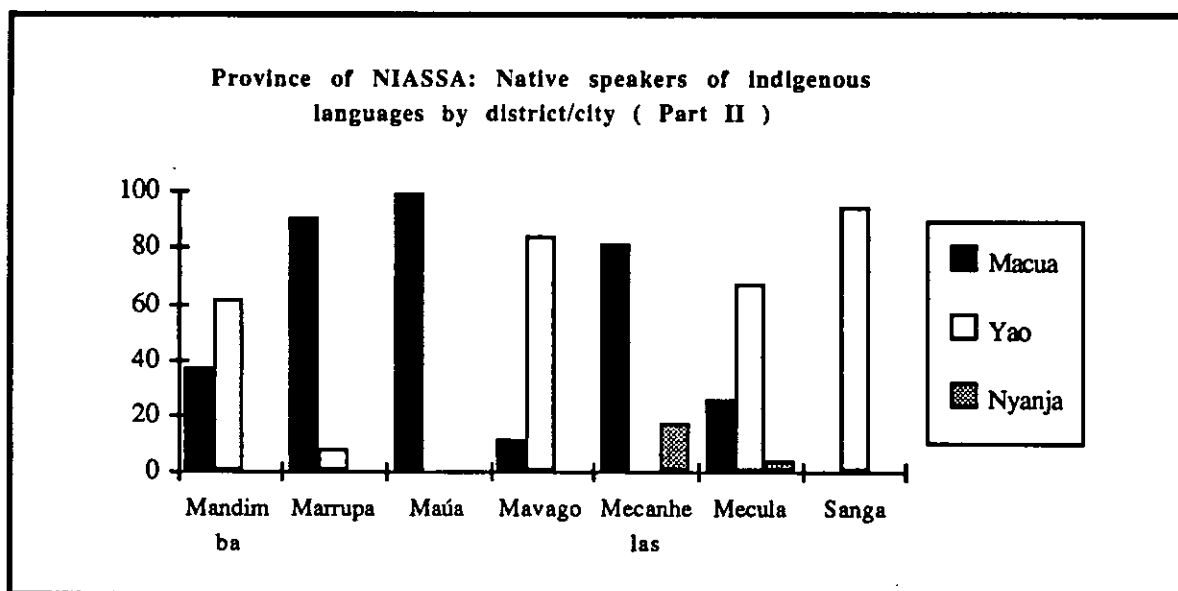
TABLE 2. 4
PROVINCE OF NAMPULA (N=2,239,680)

	Macua	Koti
MOZAMBIQUE	27.7	-
Province	96.3	1.8
City of Nampula	87.5	-
City of Nacala	93.8	-
Angoche	76.3	22.5
Eráti	98.5	-
Ilha de Moçambique	97.9	-
Maiaia	99.6	-
Malema	97.8	-
Meconta	97.8	-
Mecubúri	99.4	-
Memba	99.6	-
Mogovolas	99.6	-
Moma	98.9	-
Monapo	99.1	-
Mongicual	99.5	-
Mossuril	99.5	-
Muecate	99.7	-
Murrupula	99.1	-
Nacala	99.5	-
Nampula	98.6	-
Ribaué	99.3	-

Chart 2.4a

Province of NAMPULA: Native speakers of indigenous languages by district/city (Part I)

Chart 2. 4b

Province of NAMPULA: Native speakers of indigenous languages by district/city (Part II)
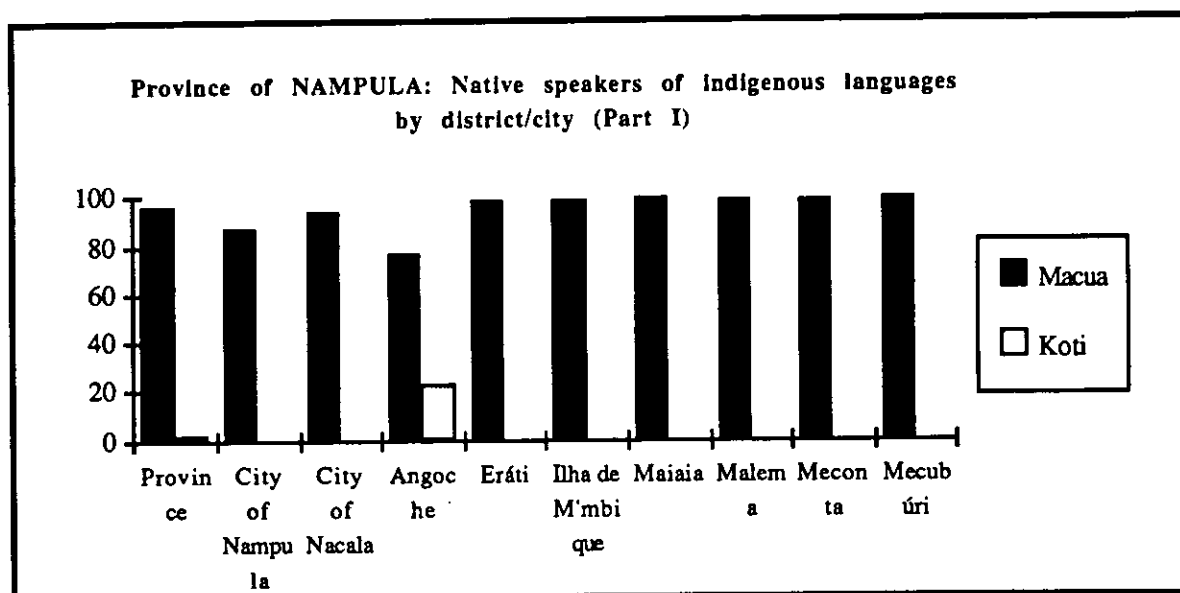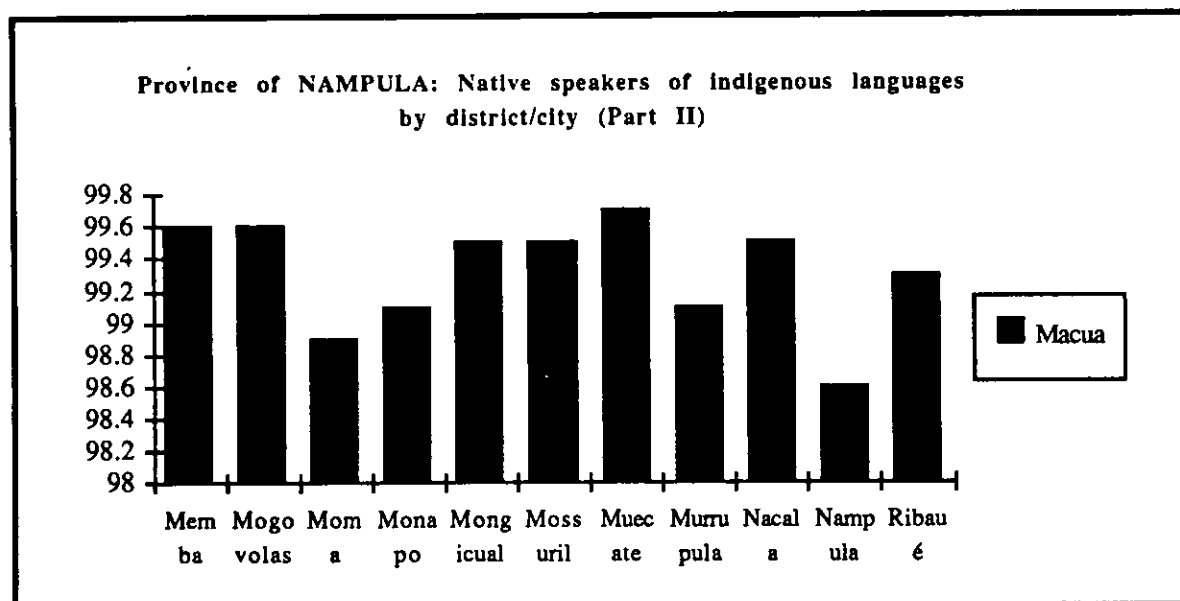
TABLE 2. 5

PROVINCE OF ZAMBÉZIA (N=2,410,837)

	Lomwe	Chuabo	Marendje	Sena	Macua	Nyanja
MOZAMBIQUE	7.8	5.7	3.4	9.3	27.7	3.3
Province	37.2	26.0	16.6	10.4	7.3	-
City of Quelimane	3.7	75.6	2.3	1.4	4.1	-
Alto Molocué	98.7	-	-	-	-	-
Chinde	6.1	1.0	-	89.1	1.6	-
Gilé	97.0	-	-	-	2.3	
Gurué	96.6	-	-	-	-	-
Ilé	80.4	-	-	-	18.6	-
Lugela	1.3	1.3	96.3	-	-	-
Maganja da Costa	5.0	93.3	-	-	-	
Milange	35.2	-	57.1	-	-	4.4
Mocuba	42.4	24.6	29.6	-	1.0	-
Mopeia	1.4	13.3	2.5	68.8	1.1	
Morrumbala	9.4	-	45.2	41.2	1.2	
Namacurra	-	97.5	-	-	-	-
Namarrói	99.2	-	-	-	-	-
Pebane	1.0	-	-	-	97.0	-
Quelimane	-	98.6	-	-	-	-

Chart 2. 5a

Province of ZAMBÉZIA: Native speakers of indigenous languages by district/city (Part I)

Legend: Lomwe, Chuabo, Marendje, Sena, Macua

Districts: Province, City of Quelimane, Alto Molocué, Chinde, Gilé, Gurué, Ilé, Lugela

Chart 2. 5b

Province of ZAMBÉZIA: Native speakers of indigenous languages by district/city (part II)

Legend: Lomwe, Chuabo, Marendje, Sena, Macua, Nyanja

Districts: Maganja, Milange, Mocuba, Mopeia, Morrumbala, Namacurra, Namarói, Pebane, Quelimane

TABLE 2. 6
PROVINCE OF TETE (N=777,426)

	Nyanja	Nyungwe	Sena	Shona	Nsenga	Phimbi	Kunda
MOZAMBIQUE	3.3	2.2	9.3	6.5	-	-	-
Province of Tete	41.7	27.8	17.5	4.4	3.4	1.8	-
City of Tete	2.9	79.9	3.0	1.9	-	-	-
Angónia	98.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cahora Bassa	3.9	50.3	-	23.6	-	13.5	-
Changara	-	90.5	-	5.8	-	-	-
Chiúta	82.7	15.4	-	-	-	-	-
Macanga	87.4	7.6	3.7	-	-	-	-
Magoé	2.1	-	-	95.4	-	-	-
Marávia	34.4	3.4	1.9	8.2	23.0	22.0	-
Moatize	29.0	63.9	3.8	1.1	-	-	-
Mutarara	-	1.3	97.5	-	-	-	-
Zumbo	-	9.0	-	13.0	60.9	-	1.9

Chart 2. 6a

Province of TETE: Native speakers of indigenous languages by district/city
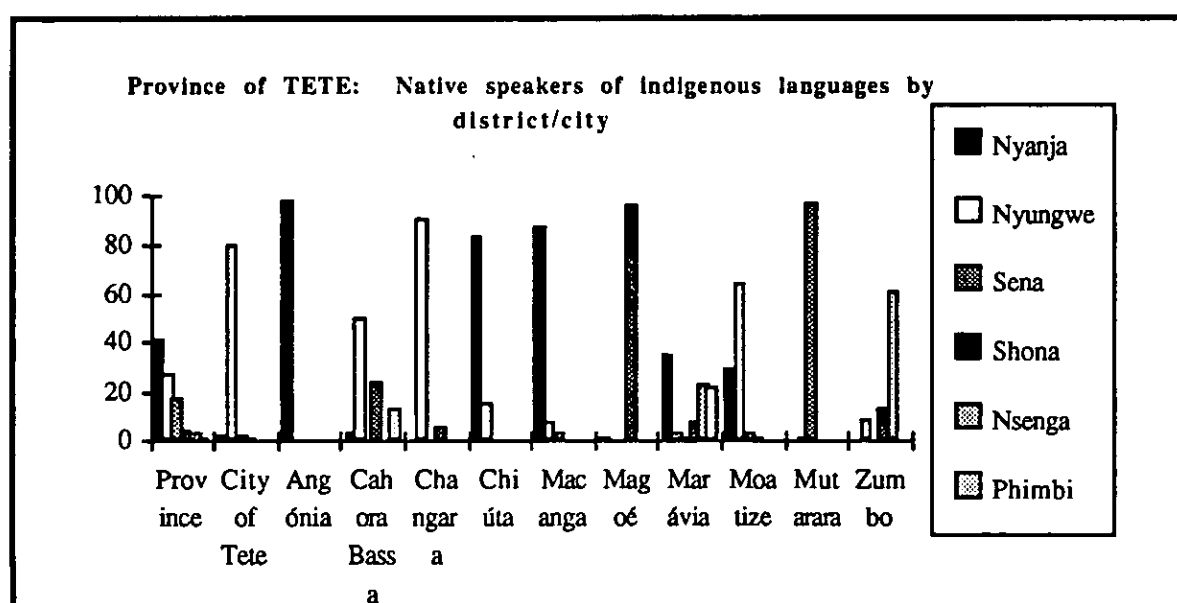
TABLE 2. 7
PROVINCE OF MANICA (N=584,287)

	Shona	Sena	Nyungwe	Tsonga	Chuabo	Tswa	Lomwe
MOZAMBIQUE	6.5	9.3	2.2	12.4	5.7	5.9	7.8
Province	57.7	28.8	6.5	2.7	-	-	-
City of Chimoio	38.0	32.0	11.2	1.4	2.2	2.1	1.5
Barué	10.4	85.6	-	-	-	-	-
Chimoio	72.9	16.9	-	-	-	-	-
Guro	-	54.7	39.6	4.0	-	-	-
Manica	84.5	10.6	-	-	-	-	-
Mossurize	89.7	-	-	9.0	-	-	-
Sussundenga	86.8	7.9	-	-	-	-	-
Tambara	-	98.5	-	-	-	-	-

Chart 2. 7

Province of MANICA: Native speakers of indigenous languages by district/city
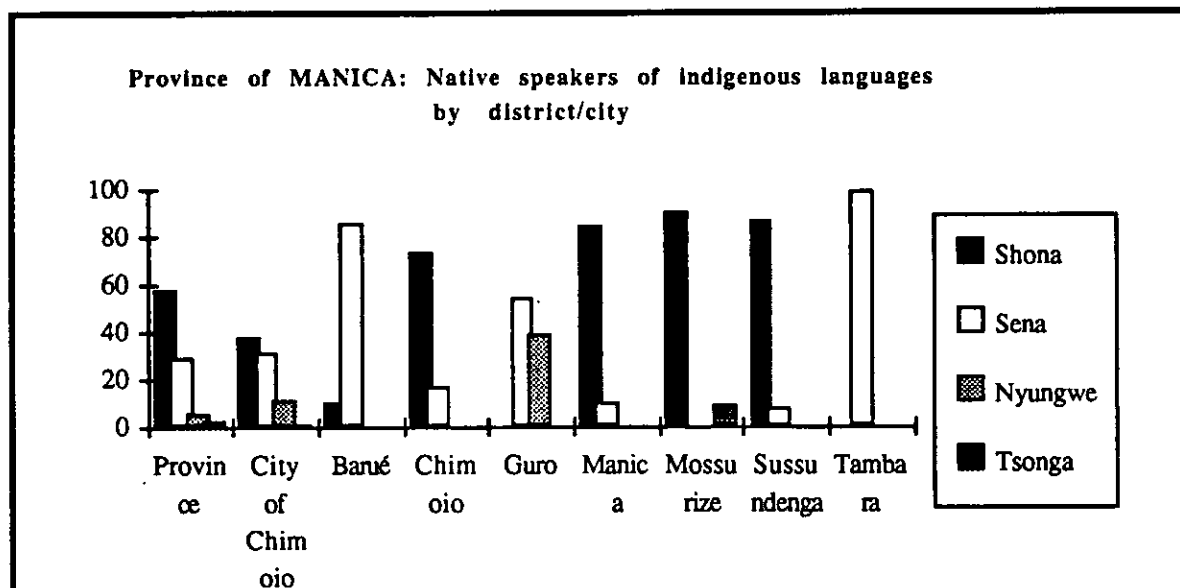
TABLE 2. 8
PROVINCE OF SOFALA (N=986,841)

	Sena	Shona	Chuabo	Macua	Lomwe	Tswa
MOZAMBIQUE	9.3	6.5	5.7	27.7	7.8	5.9
Province of Sofala	53.3	37.0	2.3	-	-	-
City of Beira	34.5	34.5	7.0	-	-	8.7
Búzi	-	97.7	-	-	-	-
Caia	97.8	-	-	-	-	-
Chemba	99.2	-	-	-	-	-
Cheringoma	96.4	-	-	-	-	-
Chibabava	-	97.4	-	-	-	-
Dondo	56.1	33.3	2.5	-	-	-
Gorongosa	99.2	-	-	-	-	-
Marromeu			5.7	3.9	-	-

Chart 2. 8

Province of SOFALA: Native speakers of indigenous languages by district/city
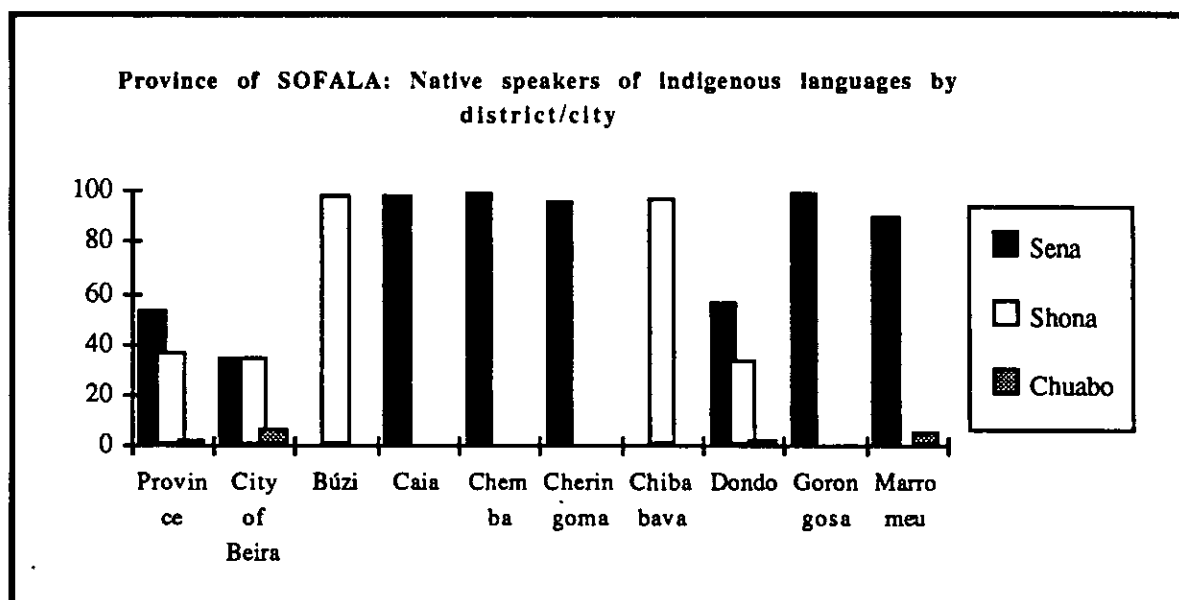
TABLE 2. 9
PROVINCE OF INHAMBANE (N=1,022,641)

	Tswa	Chope	Bitonga	Tsonga	Shona
MOZAMBIQUE	5.9	2.8	1.9	12.4	6.5
Province of Inhambane	61.3	17.4	16.5	1.5	1.5
City of Inhambane	17.5	2.7	70.1	-	-
Govuro	76.3	-	-	5.1	1.7
Homoine	72.9	11.6	13.3	-	-
Inhambane	7.1	4.7	87.0	-	-
Inharrime	1.4	90.3	5.6		-
Massinga	97.2	-	-	-	-
Morrumbene	67.6	1.8	28.7	-	-
Panda	72.1	10.4	2.2	1.3	-
Vilanculos	97.6	-	-	-	-
Zavala	-	97.2	-	-	-

Chart 2. 9

Province of INHAMBANE: Native speakers of indigenous languages by district/city
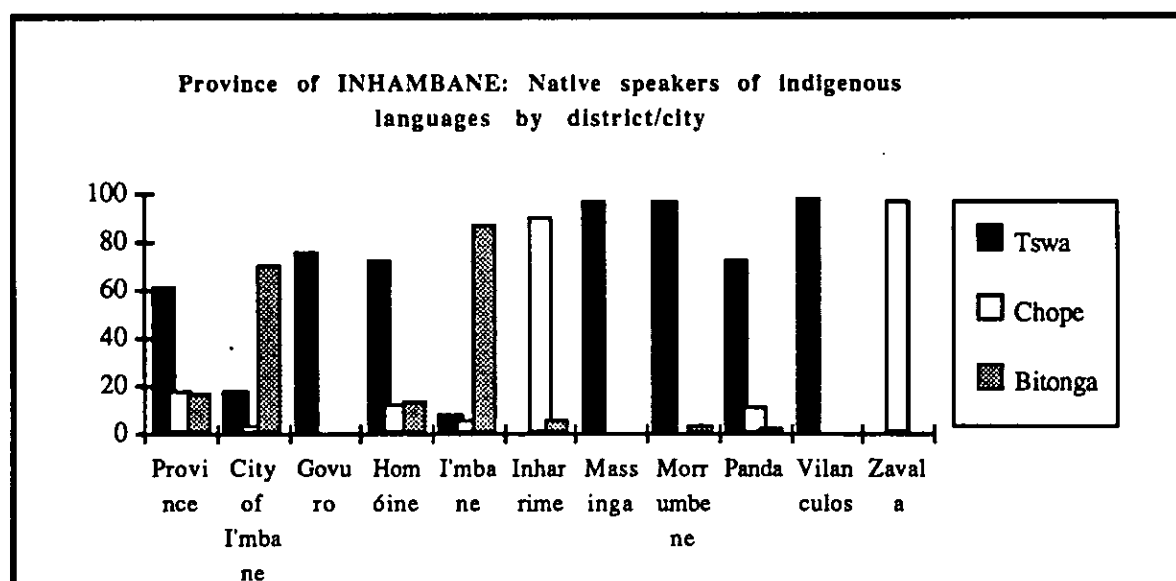
TABLE 2. 10
PROVINCE OF GAZA (N=981,544)

	Tsonga	Chope	Bitonga	Ronga	Tswa
MOZAMBIQUE	12.4	2.8	1.9	3.6	5.9
Province	91.3	6.8	-	-	-
City of Xai-Xai	82.6	5.7	3.6	-	-
City of Chokwé	84.5	2.2	4.2	1.3	1.1
Bilene	98.6				
Caniçado	99.1				
Chibuto	98.8				
Chicualacuala	99.1				
Gaza	97.7				
Limpopo	98.1				
Manjacaze	63.7	34.7			
Massingir	98.5				

Chart 2. 10

Province of GAZA: Native speakers of indigenous languages by district/city
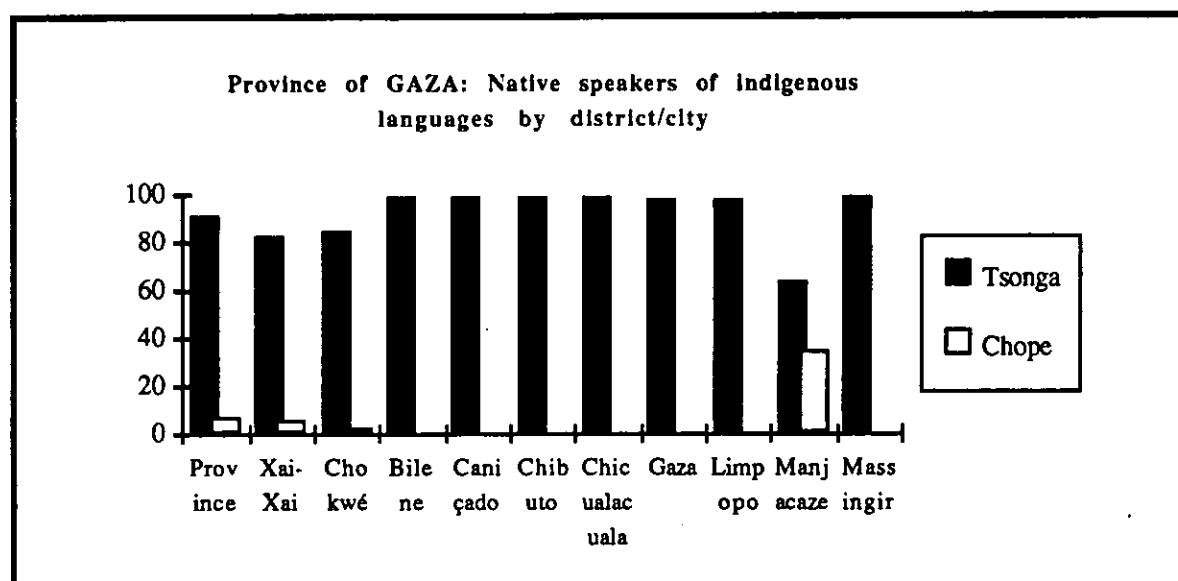
TABLE 2. 11

CITY OF MAPUTO (N= 725,043) AND PROVINCE OF MAPUTO (N=500,042)

	Ronga	Tsonga	Chope	Bitonga	Tswa	Zulu	Swazi
MOZAMBIQUE	3.6	12.4	2.8	1.9	5.9		
Province of Maputo	36.3	55.1	1.5	-	1.1	1.2	1.9
City of Maputo	32.3	32.2	10.7	5.8	4.9	-	-
Boane	52.1	33.4	5.4	1.8	1.9	-	-
Magude	-	97.6	-	-	-	-	-
Manhiça	41.7	53.7	1.2	-	1.8	-	-
Marracuene	85.1	8.7	2.6	-	1.1	-	-
Matutuíne	85.1	2.3	-	-	-	9.9	-
Moamba	11.8	80.7	1.4	-	-	-	2.5
Namaacha	26.2	31.3	4.5	1.3	3.1	-	29.8

Chart 2. 11a

Province of MAPUTO: Native speakers of indigenous languages by district

Legend: Ronga, Tsonga, Chope, Bitonga, Tswa, Zulu, Swazi

Districts: Province, Boane, Magude, Manhiça, Marracuene, Matutuíne, Moamba, Namaacha

Chart 2. 11b

City of MAPUTO: Native speakers of indigenous languages

Categories: Ronga, Tsonga, Chope, Bitonga, Tswa
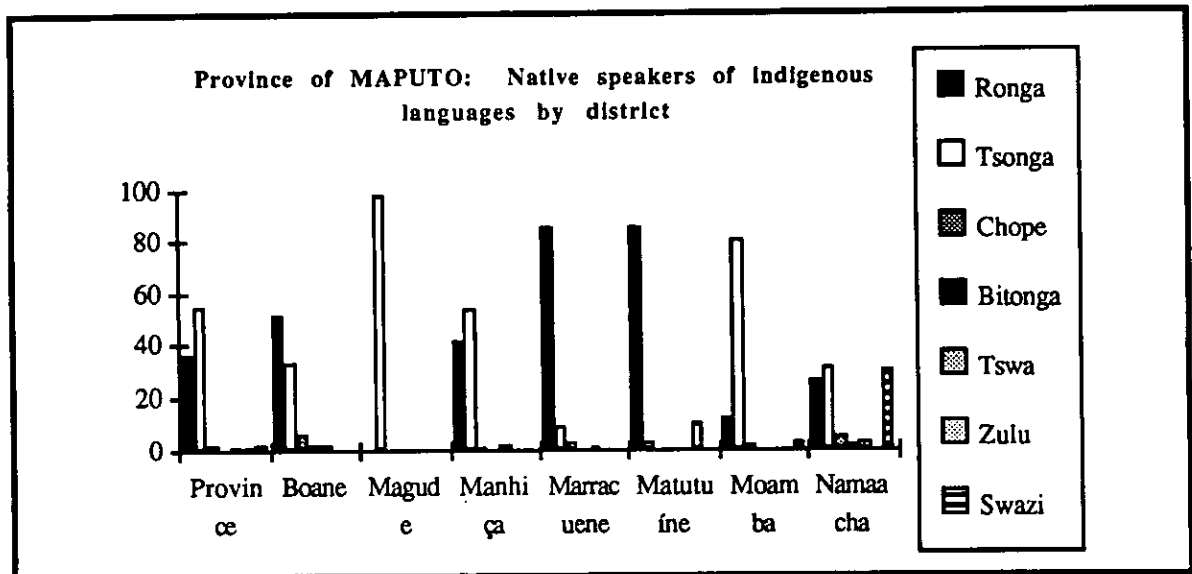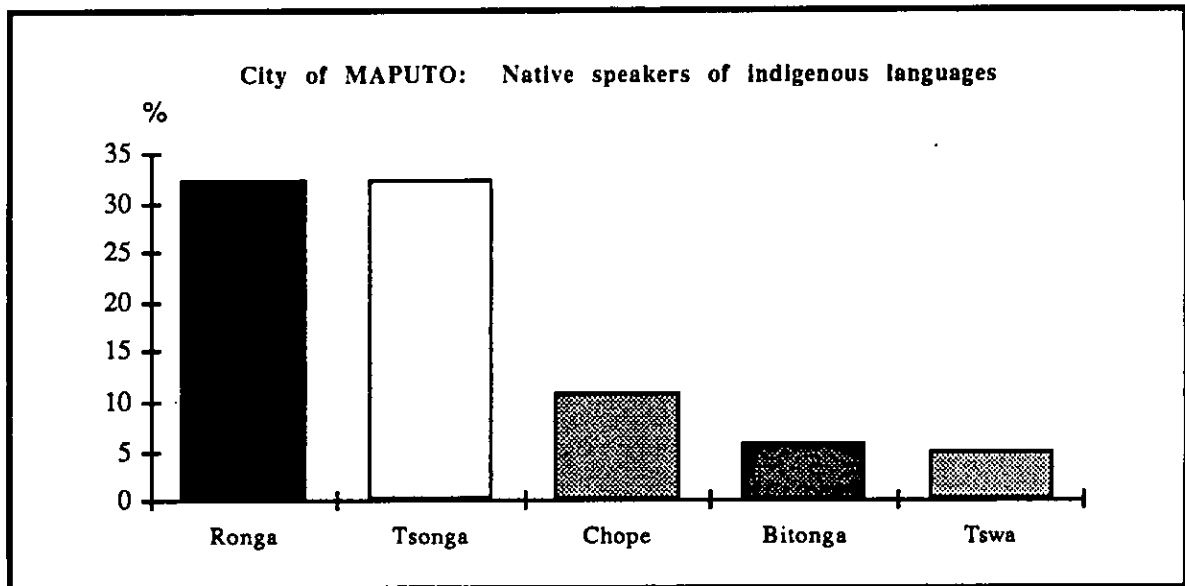
The information tabulated in tables 2.2-2.11 can be summarized as follows:

a) Province of Cabo Delgado

As table 2. 2 shows, the province of Cabo Delgado contains three linguistic zones dominated by:

> a) **Macua**, in the districts located in the south of Messalo River, that is, Ancuabe, Chiúre, Macomia, Mecúfi, Meluco, Montepuez, Namuno and Pemba, and in the city of Pemba;
>
> b) **Maconde** in an area covering the districts of Mueda, Mocímboa, Macomia, and Palma;
>
> c) **Mwani,** in the district of Ibo.

Mwani also claims a significant proportion of native speakers in some coastal areas of the province of Cabo Delgado, namely, in the districts of Mocímboa, Macomia, Quissanga, and Palma. Charts 2. 2a and 2. 2b highlight the relationships between the three dominant languages in the Province of Cabo Delgado, **Macua, Maconde,** and **Mwani.**

b) Province of Niassa

Table 2. 3 shows that three indigenous languages are mostly spoken as native languages in the Province of Niassa, namely:

> a) **Macua;**
>
> b) **Yao;**
>
> c) **Nyanja.**

Macua dominates in the districts of Amaramba, Majune, Marrupa, Maúa, and Mecanhelas. In the districts of Mandimba and Mecula there is also a significant number of native speakers of **Macua.** Native speakers of **Yao** predominate in the districts of

Lichinga, Mandimba, Mavago, Mecula, and Sanga as well as in the city of Lichinga. The districts of Lago and Majune have also a significant number of native speakers of **Yao**. Native speakers of **Nyanja** are dominant in the district of Lago. This language also has a relatively significant percentage of native speakers in the district of Mecanhelas. The relationships between the three languages dominating the Province of Niassa, **Macua**, **Yao**, and **Nyanja**, are highlighted in Chart 3a and 3b.

c) Province of Nampula

As table 2. 4 indicates, **Macua** is the dominant language in the entire province of Nampula. With the exception of the city of Nampula, where native speakers of Macua correspond to 87.5%, and of the district of Angoche, where native speakers of **Macua** correspond to 75.6%, and native speakers of **Koti** to 22.5%, in the city of Nacala and all other districts of the province (Eráti, Ilha de Moçambique, Maiaia, Malema, Meconta, Mecubúri, Memba, Mogovolas, Moma, Monapo, Mongicual, Mossuril, Muecate, Murrupula, Nacala, Nampula, and Ribaué), more than 93% of population claimed **Macua** as their first language. The predominance of Macua in the province of Nampula is also shown in charts 2. 4a and 2. 4b.

d) Province of Zambézia

The Province of Zambézia has a complex language situation with five predominant languages (cf. Table 2. 5):

      a) **Lomwe**, in the northern districts of Alto Molocué, Gilé, Gurué, Ilé, and Namarrói;

      b) **Chuabo**, in south-eastern districts of Maganja da Costa, Namacurra, Quelimane, and in the city of Quelimane;

c) **Marendje,** in the western districts of Lugela, Milange, and Morrumbala;

d) **Sena,** in the southern districts of Chinde and Mopeia;

e) **Macua,** in the north-eastern district of Pebane.

Furthermore, in the central district of Mocuba, **Lomwe** has more native speakers, but native speakers of **Chuabo** and **Marendje** are also widely represented. In the district of Morrumbala, besides native speakers of **Marendje,** native speakers of **Sena** are also well represented. The same applies in Milange, Mopeia, and Ilé, with native speakers of **Lomwe, Chuabo,** and **Macua,** respectively, who coexist with a large representation of native speakers of **Marendje.** A graphic illustration of the complex linguistic situation in the Province of Zambézia is provided in charts 2. 5a and 2. 5b.

e) Province of Tete

Table 2. 6 shows that the most widely spoken indigenous languages in the Province of Tete are:

a) **Nyanja,** in the north-eastern districts of Angónia, Macanga, and Chiúta;

b) **Nyungwe,** in the southern districts of Changara, Moatize , Cahora Bassa, and in the city of Tete;

c) **Sena,** in the south-western district of Mutarara, which borders predominantly **Sena** speaking districts in the provinces of Manica, and Sofala;

d) **Shona,** in the south-western district of Magoé;

e) **Nsenga,** in the western district of Zumbo.

In addition, some districts do have a significant number of native speakers of languages other than those with the majority of native speakers. For instance, the district of Marávia, in which native speakers of **Nyanja** are slightly predominant, has almost an

even proportion of native speakers of **Nsenga** and **Phimbi**, while the district of Cahora Bassa has a relatively significant number of native speakers of **Shona** and **Phimbi**, besides those of **Nyungwe** who constitute the majority. In the district of Zumbo, native speakers of **Shona** are relatively significant, as well as native speakers of **Nyanja** and **Nyungwe**, in the districts of Moatize and Chiúta, respectively. Consider also chart 2. 6a, which shows the relationships among the languages used in the Province of Tete.

f) Province of Manica

In table 2. 7 it is shown that in the Province of Manica there are two languages spoken by the majority of native speakers:

> a) **Shona,** in the southern districts of Chimoio, Manica, Mossurize, and
> Sussundenga;
>
> b) **Sena,** in the northern districts of Barué, Guro, and Tambara.

In the city of Chimoio, native speakers of **Shona** and **Sena** are almost even, but there are also a significant number of native speakers of **Nyungwe**. Chart 2. 7a displays the relationships among the languages spoken in the Province of Manica.

g) Province of Sofala

From Table 2. 8, it can be inferred that **Shona** and **Sena** are spoken by most of the native speakers in the districts of the province of Sofala. Native speakers of **Shona** are predominant in the southern districts of Búzi and Chibabava, while in the rest of the province, that is, in the districts of Marromeu, Gorongosa, Cheringoma, Chemba, Caia, and Dondo, native speakers of **Sena** are predominant. The city of Beira, has an even percentage of native speakers of **Sena** and **Shona**. The percentage of native speakers of

Chuabo and **Tswa** in the city of Beira is also relatively high. A further view of the linguistic scenario in the province of Sofala is provided in chart 2. 8a.

h) Province of Inhambane

As Table 2. 9 shows, three languages predominate in the province of Inhambane, namely, **Tswa**, **Chope**, and **Bitonga**. The northern districts of the province of Inhambane, that is, Govuro, Vilanculos, and Massinga, are dominated by native speakers of **Tswa**, who are also predominant in the districts of Homoine, Morrumbene, and Panda. However, in the districts of Homoine and Morrumbene, the proportion of native speakers of **Bitonga** is also relatively significant. The same holds for native speakers of **Chope** in the district of Panda.

The district of Inhambane as well as the city of Inhambane are dominated by native speakers of **Bitonga**. In the city of Inhambane the proportion of native speakers of **Tswa** is relatively significant. In the southern districts of the province of Inhambane, that is, Inharrime and Zavala, native speakers of **Chope** are predominant. Chart 2. 9a offers a further view of the distribution of these languages in the different districts of the province.

i) Province of Gaza

As table 2. 10 shows, all districts within the province of Gaza, including the cities of Xai-Xai and Chokwé, are dominated by native speakers of **Tsonga**. However, in the district of Manjacaze, even though native speakers of **Tsonga** constitute the majority, the proportion of native speakers of **Chope** is relatively high. The predominance of **Tsonga** in the province of Gaza is shown again in chart 2. 10a.

j) Province and City of Maputo

Two languages, **Ronga** and **Tsonga**, are predominant in the province and city of Maputo. As Table 2. 11 shows, in the province of Maputo, the south-eastern districts of Matutuíne and Marracuene are dominated by native speakers of **Ronga** while the north-western districts of Magude and Moamba are dominated by native speakers of **Tsonga**. The district of Boane has a higher proportion of native speakers of **Ronga** than that of native speakers of **Tsonga**, who fall closely behind, while the opposite holds in the districts of Manhiça and Namaacha. That is, in these two districts there is a higher proportion of native speakers of Tsonga than that of native speakers of **Ronga**. The district of Namaacha also has a relatively significant proportion of native speakers of **Swazi**.

In the city of Maputo, both **Ronga** and **Tsonga** are predominant with an almost even proportion of native speakers. However, native speakers of **Chope, Bitonga**, and **Tswa** are also proportionally significant. Further details regarding the linguistic situation in the province and city of Maputo are displayed in charts 2. 11a and 2. 11b.

2. 1. 3.   NELIMO's (1989) changes

Recent attempts at understanding the linguistic situation in Mozambique have focused on the linguistic status of the languages identified in the census of 1980, especially in reference to inter-linguistic relationships and intra-linguistic variation. Such is the case of NELIMO (1989) which assembled exhaustive information regarding some of the different linguistic units and their dialects, their localization and the inter-linguistic relationships among some of these linguistic units. NELIMO (1989) also occasionally

introduces new languages and/or new designations.[11]   The names of the languages are also given a standard orthography.   Some of the most significant information assembled in NELIMO (1989) includes:

> a) identification of 13 languages (**Kimwani, Shimakonde, Civao, Emakhuwa, Cinyania, Echuwabo, Cinyungwe, Cisena, Cibalke, Cishona, Gitonga, Cicopi, Xitsonga**) and their dialects;
>
> b) introduction of a linguistic cluster, **Emakhuwa** (Macua), in which **Elomwe** is one of the dialects (p. 42);
>
> c) inclusion of Xitshwa (Tswa), **Xitsonga** (**Xichangana**, Tsonga), and **Xironga** in the same linguistic cluster, named **Xitsonga** (cf. p. 104, 112, 120);
>
> d) inclusion of **Marendje**, identified as an independent language in the 1980 Census, as a dialect of **Echuwabo** (Chuabo) (p. 50);
>
> e) inclusion of **Cinsenga**, identified as an independent language in the 1980 Census, as a dialect of **Cinyania** (p. 34);
>
> f) introduction of a new designation **Cibalke**, which apparently refers to a language usually named Barué;
>
> e) introduction of the designation **Gitonga**, for a language that has been misnamed as **Bitonga** (p. 88).

2. 1. 4.   Uses of indigenous languages

If a Mozambican knows an indigenous language, that language is most likely the one that is associated with the ethnic group a person feels to belong to and/or with the area his/her parents are originally from.   There are cases in which people may know more than one indigenous language.   Such may be the case for:

a) members of families that emigrated from one area where one indigenous language is widely spoken to another one where another language is widely spoken;

b) people living in areas where more than one language is widely spoken and where interactions may be carried out in any of the languages;

c) people in constant contact with other people with different backgrounds, such that language choice is usually negotiated so that the language of the person contacted is the one that is used.

Cases of members of families that have immigrated into another area can be found in major urban centers, where immigrants may be socially compelled to learn the language of the area where the urban center is located in order to facilitate their integration in this new environment. Usually, since these immigrants continue to conduct a substantial part of their lives in their languages and, therefore, do not participate extensively in social networks requiring the use of a local indigenous language, they only learn enough of the local language to be able to participate in crucial and indispensable interactions. Some of them may only develop a type of passive bilingualism in such a way that they only have receptive competence in the regional language. This passive bilingualism occurs usually with people who, in their area of immigration, have been interacting only with people coming from the same area and/or the same ethnolinguistic background.

In the case of the offspring of these immigrants, peer group pressure is a major determinant in inducing them to learn the language of the area they inhabit. Often they grow up with good fluency in both the parents' homeland language and the language of the area they live in, or an even better fluency in the latter than in the former. In these situations, the likely outcome is either functional bilingualism or generational language shift within the family.

In instances of functional bilingualism, people carry out their daily activities using either language, depending on the demands of the given social situation. For example, the home language may be used with family members or relatives, in or out of the house, while the language of the area will not be fit for conversation with family members or close relatives. The regional language may be used in "low" domains, in informal conversations with friends and strangers.

Generational language shift occurs with the younger members of the families of immigrants settled in an area whose regional language is not the original and/or main family language. In these situations, the younger members tend to be less and less exposed to their parent's original language while, on the other hand, they are more and more exposed to the regional language. Opportunities for using the parent's original language become scarce, and the children become involved in networks in which acceptance is contingent upon knowledge of the regional language.

There are cases in which members of the older generation also shift, especially when they cut links with their homeland. In these situations, it is likely that the entire family will shift into the regional language. Also in the case of inter-ethnic marriages, in which an immigrant marries a person from the area to which he/she immigrated, the likely outcome is that the family will only use the language of the area. In these situations, the family may also cease to use an indigenous language and resort exclusively to Portuguese, especially in urban areas (cf. next chapter).

In some parts of the country, people may normally know other indigenous languages besides their own native language. Usually this occurs if they happen to live in a region where more than one language is widely spoken. Such is the case of the city of Beira, where **Cisena** and **Cindau** are widely spoken and people born locally are usually competent in both languages.

Indigenous languages are primarily used for communication among family members and relatives and generally among people sharing the same ethnic background, in domains that qualify these languages as low. In the rural areas, indigenous languages are the primary media of communication for all activities, to the virtual exclusion of Portuguese and other languages. In suburban areas, indigenous languages are also widely used although, in some social interactions Portuguese may be used.

However, some indigenous languages are also used in situations other than family interactions, which require a more formal usage and may qualify as "high" domains, such as religious activities, radio and television broadcasting, literacy campaigns or political mobilization. For instance, some indigenous languages have been used in religious activities, more so in Protestant churches than in Catholic ones, especially in the last century. Indeed, in most Protestant denominations the use of one specific indigenous language is so natural that the specific language has become part of the identity of the denomination. It can be argued that this situation stems from the fact that, except for the Catholic church which spread its activities over the entire territory,[12] most Protestant denominations had their missionary work circumscribed to specific regional and/or ethnic areas. Therefore, the various denominations tended to attract people of specific areas with a specific ethnic background, which was obviously facilitated by the use of the local area's indigenous language. For this reason, in the different Protestant Churches, people are attached to each other not only by religious faith but also by ethnic background to such an extent that it can be claimed that nowadays these churches also act as ethnic rallying institutions.[13]

Another context in which indigenous languages are used outside home or family environments is radio and television broadcasting. The major radio station in Mozambique[14] (Rádio Moçambique) offers programs consisting of news, interviews,

debates, story-telling, reports, official communiqués, political information, etc. in some of the indigenous languages, namely:[15]

    a) **Xitsonga** (**Xichangana** and **Xironga**)[16] in Maputo and Gaza Provinces;

    b) **Xitshwa** in the Province of Inhambane;

    c) **Cindau** and **Cisena** in the Province of Sofala;[17]

    d) **Echuwabo** and **Elomwe** in the Province of Zambézia;

    e) **Cimanika** and **Ciwutewe** in the Province of Manica;

    f) **Cinyungwe** and **Cinyanja** in the Province of Tete;

    g) **Emakhuwa** in the Province of Nampula;

    h) **Cinyanja** and **Ciyao** in the Province of Niassa;

    i) **Shimakonde**, **Emakhuwa** and Swahili in the Province of Cabo Delgado

Given that radio broadcasting is viewed as the only way of effectively reaching the masses, efforts are being undertaken to increase the number of languages used in radio programs as well as to improve technical conditions so that the entire country can be covered. Currently, the languages used are not adjusted to demographics, mostly because of technical incapacity. As regards television,[18] only a private television station, RTK, broadcasts news and some reports in **Xichangana**.

Indigenous languages are making their way into other high domains, such as, formal education and political mass mobilization. Under the supervision of INDE, the *Instituto Nacional de Desenvolvimento da Educação* (National Institute for Education Development), a state research institution on education, several experimental educational programs using indigenous languages as the medium of instruction are underway. One such a program consists of literacy classes for women whose language of instruction is **Xichangana**, in the Province of Gaza, and **Cisena** and **Cindau**, in the Province of Sofala. Also in the provinces of Gaza and Tete there are experimental primary school

classes designed for children that use local indigenous languages as the medium of instruction.

The use of indigenous languages for political mobilization occurred, for instance, in 1994, during the electoral campaign. It was a strategy used by politicians to woo potential voters without a good command of Portuguese and, at the same time, to build a populist image. In the past, politicians would shy away from the use of indigenous languages. In official and public urban discourse, the use of indigenous languages could be construed as an index of tribalism or regionalism or even as an indication of backwardness. But, in the 1994 electoral campaign, this political and linguistic ideology was overlooked in what appeared to be a deliberate strategy to convey political messages and build up links between a given politician and the masses.[19]

The fact that indigenous languages are used in activities requiring more formal dispositions such as sermons, radio or television broadcasting, literacy campaigns or political propaganda defies some assumptions taken by some analysts who have pointed out that part of the language problem in Africa or other post-colonial contexts is that indigenous languages have not been used beyond what is often considered as low domains, that is, these languages have had little access to high domains while languages of European origin monopolize high domains (Wardhaugh 1987). In the case of Mozambique, this assumption cannot be taken as a given. In fact, in Mozambique, indigenous languages may be used in domains that do not qualify as low. In addition, Portuguese may be also used in domains that qualify as "low." Thus, as I will elaborate later in this dissertation, the relationship between indigenous languages and languages of European origin in post-colonial countries involves many complexities which cannot be reduced to a conflict emanating from the dichotomous distinction between low and high domains of language use.

2. 1. 5. Indigenous languages and ethnic identity

Indigenous languages communicate not only messages but also ethnic identities. If a Mozambican knows an indigenous language, that language is most likely the one that is associated with the ethnic group he/she feels to belong to, and/or with the area his/her parents are originally from. Thus, for most people, the indigenous language that one speaks or claims to speak, the one that people refer to as *minha língua* (my language), is the major indicator of one's ethnic background, to which one can resort to make claims about an ethnic identity.

Due to this association between indigenous languages and ethnic affiliations, the indigenous language that one speaks or claims to speak is socially construed as a strong indicator of one's ethnic identity, if not as a starting point from which claims of Mozambicanness can be made. Since a one-to-one correlation between language and ethnic affiliation is socially taken for granted, one may be assigned to a specific ethnic group just by knowing or being suspected of speaking a certain language.[20] Also, people do manipulate, to a certain extent, the social meanings that can be extracted from claims of use and/or knowledge of the different indigenous languages.

Those who cannot use or associate themselves with any indigenous language are deprived of a very strong marker of ethnic identity, for which they may feel or be thought of as socially handicapped, more so if they are black Mozambicans. They can compensate that by appealing to their parent's ethnic background and/or their own area of origin and upbringing.[21] There is a widely held view that a "real" Mozambican should know an indigenous language, even though it is clear that the urban elite, regardless of race or ethnicity, hardly uses indigenous languages.[22]

However , people do use indigenous languages without the intention of showing off their ethnic attachment, as in situations where people of different ethnic backgrounds,

usually neither one knowing Portuguese, interact in non-institutional domains. In these situations people resort to the language of the area since it functions as an unmarked choice and people expect that everyone in the area can speak it. In cases where the interlocutors can use Portuguese, this language will be chosen.

In fact, in some parts of the country, Portuguese may be the first language to be chosen, more so if the addressed person can exhibit, by the way he carries himself, signs indicating that he knows the language. These signs are context-bound, that is, their meanings are creatively extracted in each context and cannot be taken for granted. They can range from the way a person dresses to the way an interlocutor manages his face.

Misinterpretations of face management can cause resentment as is illustrated by a friend who quite often would complain about what he considered to be a silly assumption that people have in the city of Maputo of thinking that every person who is black can speak Xironga/Xichangana. He comes from a northern province and, since he did not know any Xironga/Xichangana, he would get upset by the fact that frequently he would be addressed in Xironga/Xichangana as if he had an obligation to know this language.

The issue may be even deeper; for his reaction stems from the shock of not being addressed in Portuguese, the most prestigious language, which he thought he was entitled to. Being addressed in Xironga/Xichangana meant that he was not marketing himself socially very well and, consequently, could be seen as unworthy of the social benefits due to a person knowing Portuguese. In fact, in his view, he was being socially downgraded.

2. 1. 6. Language development

In the colonial days, given the assimilationist colonial policy followed by Portugal in Mozambique, the study of indigenous cultures did not receive great attention.[23]

Consequently, notwithstanding the fact that the Portuguese were the first Europeans to discover African languages and undertake their study, at least as far as Bantu languages are concerned (Doke 1961[1938]a; 1961[1935]b), most Mozambican languages lack descriptive studies, grammar books, dictionaries, standardized orthographies, written literature, etc., except for those languages that were used in religious activities, mainly by Protestant missionaries.[24]

Since independence, work on indigenous languages has not advanced greatly, especially the type of research geared towards "corpus" language planning. Nevertheless, in recent years an interest in indigenous languages has grown among some scholars, most of whom are Mozambicans (Filimão 1987; Katupha 1983, 1991; Ngunga 1987).

Some work connected with corpus language planning has been undertaken by NELIMO. For example, NELIMO organized in 1987 a workshop for the standardization of the orthography of indigenous Mozambican languages,[25] which has been considered as the seminal event related to indigenous languages in Mozambique. Other work undertaken by NELIMO includes small-scale language surveys and some descriptive studies.[26]

2. 2. Languages of foreign origin

2. 2. 1. Portuguese: its uses and users

With the consolidation of colonial rule in Mozambique, Portuguese became the official language through which colonial policies were implemented. Portuguese was imposed as the hallmark of Portuguese cultural identity and became one of the most important instruments in the assimilationist policy promoted by Portuguese authorities. In the context of colonial ideology, natives could become "civilized" only after mastering the Portuguese language (cf. Mondlane 1976[1969]: 46; Newitt 1995: 442). As a consequence of this colonial ideology, colonial authorities banned indigenous languages

from institutional domains, which made social mobility contingent upon the knowledge of Portuguese. For instance, after the beginning of this century, it became a mandatory policy that all schools use Portuguese as the medium of instruction[27] (Helgesson 1994: 125; Mondlane 1976[1969]: 60). Since education was a key factor for obtaining the necessary credentials for social mobility, the requirement for using Portuguese as the only medium of instruction guaranteed that only those who had mastered Portuguese could have a chance of social advancement.[28]

Given the association of Portuguese with colonial assimilationist policy and upward mobility, the language became an empowering asset for some Africans in the context of the limited opportunities awarded by the colonial system. Knowledge of Portuguese was not only an investment that paid off both socially and economically but also a distinctive social capital in the hands of those who had access to education, which set them apart from the rest of the population. In other words, the colonial elite was formed on the basis not only of access to education but also on the monopoly of the Portuguese language.

When Mozambique became independent, the association of Portuguese with a socially distinctive power did not disappear —— quite the contrary. In addition, it turned out that Portuguese was the only language in Mozambique that could bind a pool of speakers, the educated elite, stationed in all parts of the country, mainly as middle- and low-levels state civil servants. Because of the type of speakers with which it was associated, as well as its history of use in institutional domains, Portuguese naturally became the official language of the newly independent country. Arguably, the choice for Portuguese was a logical outcome given the need for co-opting the former colonial civil servants into the state institutions of newly independent Mozambique. This outcome was also facilitated by the fact that Portuguese had already become the "official" language of the nationalist movement that led the anti-colonial uprising and came to power with Mozambique's independence in 1975.

After 20 years of independence, Portuguese has maintained its status as an official language[29] and assumed the role of language of national unity. Moreover, at least in urban centers, it continues to be the most prestigious and desirable language because of the social and economic rewards associated with it. All official activities, from state bureaucracy to all levels of formal education, are exclusively conducted in Portuguese The language is also widely used outside official domains, mainly by the urban elites, who use Portuguese in all activities, including in daily informal interactions.

Chart 2. 12
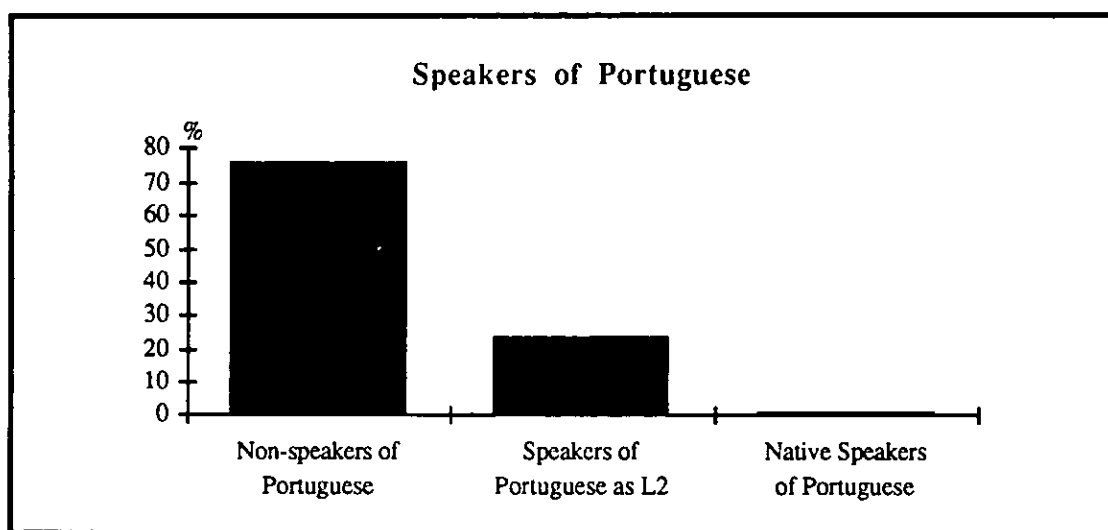
On the basis of data gathered in 1980 census, it is estimated that Portuguese is known by 24.4% of the population (MINED 1986: 46), making it the language with the second largest group of speakers, even though only 1.2% of the population uses Portuguese as a native language, which means that it is generally spoken as a second language.

Unlike the case of the different indigenous languages, whose use is mostly restricted to certain parts of the country, speakers of Portuguese can be found in all parts of

the country, especially among the educated elite, most of whom are concentrated in urban centers. The largest concentration of speakers of Portuguese is found in the city of Maputo where, approximately 50% of the entire population claimed to speak Portuguese. Among this population 70% corresponded to males and 50% to females. In all provinces more males than females tend to know Portuguese (for tables and charts summarizing this information, cf. MINED 1986: 46).

In terms of age groups, more speakers of Portuguese are found in the age group 15-24 (approximately 45%), followed by the age groups 7-14 (approximately 30%), 25-39 (approximately 30%). The age group 0-6 has the lowest rate of speakers of Portuguese, which is consistent with the fact that the language is fundamentally a second language, usually learned in school, from the age of 6. Thus, the data show that Portuguese is usually known by a younger generation, between the ages of 7 and 39. The majority of speakers are found in the age group 15-24. Given that these data were taken in 1980, it can be predicted that this age range would now extend to 39 (for charts summarizing this information, cf. MINED 1986: 46).

As will be shown in the following chapters, one significant aspect of the implantation of Portuguese is that the language has expanded its uses and users. As I mentioned, despite the fact that Portuguese was initially institutionalized as a language for high domains, it gradually penetrated into low domains, especially in urban settings. For many Mozambicans in the cities, Portuguese, apart from being the language for institutional settings, has become the primary language that they use in most daily activities, such as at home with close relatives, in informal conversation with friends, in the streets with strangers or even at the market when, say, haggling for lower prices. It is also used in a variety of forms by a variety of speakers, some of whom may not fit the standard definition of a predictable speaker of an ex-colonial language in a post-colonial African country: a well-educated person operating within the state bureaucratic apparatus and/or in similar

employment, often a member of the elite (Laitin 1992; Scotton-Myers 1990, 1993). In chapter V, I discuss further the overall consequences of the expansion of uses and users of Portuguese within the context of the nativization of the language in Mozambique. I will argue that Portuguese is acquiring new linguistic and symbolic features related to the social ecology of post-colonial Mozambique and propose a review of traditional perspectives towards ex-colonial languages by claiming that a view of these languages as fundamentally exogenous and intrusive may overlook the dynamics of language change they have undergone in some countries.

2. 2. 2. Other languages of foreign origin

2. 2. 2. 1. English in Mozambique

Given the fact that Mozambique is surrounded by English-speaking countries, English has had an impact in Mozambican social life for many years, especially through the migrant laborers that worked in the neighboring countries, most of them in South Africa. Many words from English have been borrowed by indigenous languages, such as, names of many objects that were brought to the knowledge of indigenous communities by the migrants, after returning from South Africa. Other words were introduced by missionaries. Examples include *xipuni* (< spoon, 'spoon'), *xitimela* (< steamer, 'steamship or train'), *buku* (<book, 'book'), *bayibele* (<bible, 'bible'),*wotci* (<watch, 'watch'), *phayiphi* (<pipe, 'pipe, tube') or *penisela* (<pencil, 'pen').

With the independence of Mozambique and new political developments in Southern Africa, regional contacts among the different countries are growing. In order to facilitate these contacts, Mozambicans are compelled to know English. In contacts with people from the neighboring countries, language choice is regularly negotiated in such a way that Mozambicans use English .

Within Mozambique, English is mostly spoken with and by the community of expatriates associated with international organizations such as the IMF, the WORLD BANK, NGOs, and foreign embassies. Recently, interest in learning English has grown considerably, mainly because of the fact that most well paid jobs require knowledge of English.[30] On the other hand, given that English is the *lingua-franca* of the world, it is almost an obligation for people whose duties include contacts with foreigners to know English. Thus, English is mainly a language used in working environments and most of the Mozambicans who regularly use English are those who work in international organizations that require frequent contact with foreigners. As a general rule, unlike indigenous languages and Portuguese, English is not used as a home language by Mozambicans. There is no way to indicate the number of speakers of English in Mozambique, as data with such estimates is not available. However, in a city like Maputo, the interest in knowing the language is very high.

2. 2. 2. 2. The social prestige of English

Nevertheless, English is a prestige language, a distinctive social capital that people may use to show off, *inter alia*, their level of education, their connections with international organizations, etc. In Mozambique, the English language has become a social commodity, whose value is increased by its scarcity and its corresponding social and economic rewards.[31] It is learned in high school as a foreign language or in a specialized language institute (*Instituto de Línguas*). Some people achieve a good command of the language after training in an English-speaking country.

In recent years, the use of English has expanded, and it has become the primary foreign language for contacts with the outside world[32], mainly as a result of the current political economy of Mozambique, which extended the involvement of international and

foreign organizations and contacts with English-speaking countries. This fact has even raised concerns among some "lusophiles,"[33] who feel that the position of Portuguese in Mozambique is being challenged, even though, the use of English is restricted to working environments within international organizations.

2. 2. 2. 3. Languages of Asiatic origin

Other languages of foreign origin include those spoken by families of Asiatic descent, most of whom come from India or the vicinity. There are not many studies on this social segment but its presence has been felt for many centuries along coastal areas, through its primary occupation, business.

These families have preserved their traditional customs mainly because they have been able to maintain close-knit networks, kept together by religious, linguistic and professional ties, which are virtually impenetrable to an outsider.

Since data regarding the status of the languages spoken by these families are not available and my research was not directed towards this issue, I will not present any information on the use of these languages. However, it is certain that this community uses Asiatic languages such as Hindi, Gujrat, and Urdu.

2. 3. Closing remarks

This chapter provided information referring to the various indigenous languages spoken in the country. Such information, which included data on regional distribution and number of speakers, showed that the type of diversity of the linguistic situation in Mozambique is characterized by an atomization of communities, some larger than others, of

speakers of the different indigenous languages in different areas of the country. Portuguese is mostly spoken by people whose first language is one of the indigenous languages. Speakers of Portuguese are estimated at 25% of the population, making this group only second to that of speakers of Emakhuwa. Emakhuwa is the indigenous language with the largest number of speakers, who are estimated at 27.7%.

Portuguese, besides being the language commonly shared by most Mozambicans scattered all over the country, is the official language and symbol of national unity. These roles of language were associated with various factors, namely, the colonial history of the language, the type of linguistic diversity prevailing the country, and the official ideologization of the language as a symbol of national unity (further details in chapter V). One consequence of its adoption as the official language and symbol of national unity, Portuguese is widely recognized as the national link language as well as the institutional language. Among the languages widely spoken by Mozambique, it is the one whose knowledge and use is often correlated with valued social and economic goods. Other languages like English may also facilitate access to social and economic goods, with the difference that their knowledge and use by society is not as wide as that of Portuguese. Besides, English is perceived as a foreign language.

As will be further argued in the following chapters, in urban centers the use of Portuguese has transcended official functions and has been extended to informal social activities, such as social interactions among family members or friends. For many urbanites, Portuguese has become their primary and/or sole language of any daily activities. In comparison to the colonial period, the number of speakers of Portuguese has not only increased, but also diversified to such an extent that it is not restricted to the elites. However, education still remains a key factor in having access to specific well regarded forms of Portuguese. It is the monopoly of these forms which distinguishes the elites and not the knowledge of Portuguese as such.

Notes to chapter II

[1]Guthrie (1967/71) is perhaps the best known comparative study of Bantu languages. It provides a classification of Bantu languages into language zones on the basis of common features and geographical contiguity.

[2]When listing indigenous languages, the name of the languages or their orthography will vary according to the source I am using. To facilitate their identification the names of languages will use bolded characters. However, occasionally I will also use the orthography that was proposed in the Seminar on the Standardization of the Orthographies of Mozambican Languages (cf. NELIMO 1989). I will so indicate by underlining the name of the language in addition to bolded characters. A guide with the correspondences between the names used for the different indigenous languages is provided in appendix II.

[3]In Guthrie's classification, each zone is identified by an alphabetical letter. Language groups and languages are identified by an index number that includes the letter of their zone.

[4]None of the languages/varieties that M. Guthrie includes in this group is spoken in Mozambique. However, in Mozambique there are now varieties which have been related to **Swahili**, such as **Mwani**.

[5]Listed as spoken in Tanzania.

[6]Listed to as spoken in Zambia.

[7]Listed as spoken in Rhodesia, actually Zimbabwe.

[8]In the 1980 census this information was obtained by asking the people in which language they have learned to speak (*Em que língua aprendeu a falar?* , cf. Boletim the Recenseamento, p. 10, in Conselho Coordenador do Recenseamento 1983a: 48). The languages are listed in the order in which they are presented in the report.

[9]The figures refer to the number and percentages of native speakers for each one of the languages. I included all indigenous languages with more than 1% of native speakers.

[10]The provinces, districts, and cities correspond to those that were considered in 1980 Census. In later years, there have been several changes in the territorial administrative division of Mozambique.

[11]Data in NELIMO (1989) were gathered in the First Seminar on the Standardization of the Orthographies of Mozambican Languages in which people from all parts of Mozambique, known for their keen interest in indigenous languages, participated. Useful data regarding these languages were provided by these participants, who were confronted with 1980 census data. In the preparatory work for this workshop linguists undertook field research in some parts of the country, which also provided information that was used to complete 1989 census data.

[12]It has to be recalled that in the colonial period, with the promulgation of the *Acto Colonial* (Colonial Act) in 1930 and the celebration of the *Acordo Missionário* (Missionary Accord) in 1940, the Catholic Church enjoyed the support of the state and was used as an institution for "civilizing" the natives and for reinforcing colonial ideology (cf. Isaacman & Isaacman 1983: 39; Newitt 1995: 479, Mondlane 1976[1969]: 60). Therefore, the church could mobilize enough resources from the colonial state to cover the entire country and, most importantly, could not resort to indigenous languages for it would be contrary to the spirit of "civilizing" the natives.

[13]An illustrative example is the case of the United Methodist Church in Mozambique, whose activities started last century in Inhambane in a **Xitshwa** speaking area (Helgesson 1994). Now, most of its members are of Tshwa ethnic background and the **Xitshwa** language has become the "official" language within the church. **Xitshwa** is the unmarked choice in all religious services (sermons, meetings, written reports, religious songs, plays, etc.) all over the country, wherever the church has a branch. Portuguese can also be used, but that usually happens in special occasions. The same could be said with respect to the Presbyterian Church, in which **Xitsonga** (**Xichangana** or **Xironga**) appears to be the most used language.

[14]By the time I undertook my research, a private radio station, Radio Miramar, was also offering programs in indigenous languages.

[15]I owe this information to Ricardo Dimande, from the Department of Mozambican Languages in Radio Mozambique (Departamento de Línguas Moçambicanas, Rádio Moçambique).

[16]Programs in these languages are broadcast from Maputo.

[17]In the Province of Sofala, the local branch of Radio Mozambique also broadcast in **Shimakonde**, **Emakhuwa**, **Cinyanja**, **Ciyao**, and **Swahili**, languages that are spoken mainly in other provinces.

[18]Television is only available in some cities (Maputo, Beira, and Nampula), and most of the viewers are urbanized Portuguese speakers, which makes the use of indigenous languages somewhat irrelevant. In fact,

for many people it is a surprise that RTK does have a news program in **Xichangana**. This program does not seem to be watched by many people, but, during my research I was able to identify a regular viewer of RTK news programs in **Xichangana**. He was a very proud native speaker of **Xichangana** and claimed that he watched these news programs not because of their content but just to see what varieties of the language were used by the news anchors.

[19]Nevertheless, the use of indigenous languages should not be construed as the demise of Portuguese in the political arena. Quite the contrary, Portuguese continued to play a prominent role in the political arena and, in fact, its command was one of the criteria that should be met by politicians running for office. I recall that once, in a public television debate, a politician was thought by a viewer as unqualified to be a presidential candidate because his command of Portuguese was not good. The viewer explicitly recommended that the candidate learn Portuguese before running for president. Anyway, it cannot be denied that the electoral campaign showed that indigenous languages have not died out, at least, within part of the political elite.

[20]During my research, I used to meet some of my friends in a social club where intellectuals and white-collar workers converged. In this club, conversation was mostly conducted in Portuguese, but quite often, usually when people exchanged greetings, some words, expressions or short sentences in **Xironga/Xichangana** would be uttered. Except for one occasion, in which someone was asked something in **Cisena** and received a response in Portuguese, I do not recall hearing any other indigenous language spoken out loud. This use of **Xironga/Xichangana** cannot be purposeless: those who used **Xironga/Xichangana** knew that they would be heard, wanted to be heard and were aware that their linguistic behavior would lead to certain conclusions, either to the interlocutors themselves or to the rest of the people present in the room. One conclusion, that can be drawn is that the use of **Xironga/Xichangana** was an assertion of ethnic /regional ties, which, ultimately could strengthen friendship and partnership in social activities.

[21]White and other non-black Mozambicans who usually do not use indigenous languages, are also prevented from appealing to these languages to construe an ethnic identity. However, some of them do circumvent this fact by appealing to place of birth.

[22]As a matter of fact, I have heard many people questioning the Mozambicanness of some people in the following way: "What kind of a Mozambican is this that does not know a Mozambican language? (*Que tipo de moçambicano é este que não conhece uma língua moçambicana ?*)."

[23]Unlike the British, who were interested in the preservation of indigenous social systems so that they could even be used to facilitate the administration and control of their colonies, the Portuguese resorted to a

different strategy, which attempted to "civilize" the natives by assimilating them into a supposedly superior Portuguese culture (Harris 1958; Mondlane 1976[1969]; Penvenne 1995). Indigenous cultures were seen as backward and inferior, something that one ought to get rid of in order to be "civilized". Because of this colonial ideology research on indigenous languages could not flourish, as demonstrated by the limited amount of ethnographic work done by Portuguese scholars in Mozambique. Most ethnographic work in Mozambique was done by non-Portuguese scholars, outside the control of Portuguese authorities. Such is the case of Earthy (1933) or Junod 1962[1927]). Significant work by Portuguese social scientists only came after the late 50's (e.g. Cardoso 1958; Dias & Dias 1970; Rita-Ferreira 1958, 1966, 1967, 1975); prior to the 1950's, most of the work has been undertaken by non-trained authors who tended to present a biased and folklorist view of indigenous populations (e.g. Cabral 1910, 1925; Pereira 1966).

[24]Examples of work done within religious circles include, *inter alia*, Alves (1939; 1957), Benolt (1907), Berthoud (1920), Borges (1948; 1959), Chatelain (1909; 1929), Cuenod (1967), Farinha (1946), Ferrão (1967; 1984), Festi (1979; 1987), Kamtedza (1964a; 1964b), Junod (1896; 1929), Maughan 1909; Mucambe (1980), Ouwehand (1965), Prata (1960), Persson (1932), Reichmut (1947), Ribeiro (1965), Santos (1941; 1950), Torrend (1900), Wilson & Mucambe (1978a; 1978b), Young (1948; 1957; 1968), Zeni (1966). However, there is work on indigenous languages that was done in the colonial period outside religious circles, such as Lanham (1955), Nogueira (1959), Quintão (1917), and Do Sacramento (1906).

[25]This workshop was motivated by the fact that indigenous languages were not associated with writing and all of them lacked an official standardized writing system. The workshop was designed to devise official orthographic systems for each of the languages, which ultimately would be standardized so that all indigenous languages could be written similarly.

[26]Most of these studies are unpublished and, therefore, I am unable to provide references.

[27]The following by-laws issued by the Portuguese government testify to this fact: Portaria 730 and 731 as of Dec. 4, 1907; diplomas 167 and 168 (cf. Helgesson 1994).

[28]The odds for a black African to go to school were, anyway, very slim, given the poor conditions under which the school system was organized. According to Isaacman & Isaacman (1983) "... for the overwhelming majority of Mozambicans the deterrents to education were powerful — a limited number of rural schools, excessive entrance fees (equivalent to several weeks' salary per child), instruction in an alien language, age restrictions, and an alarmingly high failure rate — almost 70 percent. (...) By 1960, only 400,000 children out of a total school-age population of approximately 3 million attended classes; more than 90 percent of these were enrolled in the first three grades and only 1 percent in high school" (p. 51).

Therefore, it is not surprising that one of the outspoken ideologues of Portuguese colonial policy, Cardinal Cerejeira, of the Portuguese Catholic Church's high hierarchy, would be quoted in Mondlane (1976[1969]: 59) saying in a pastoral letter:

> "[We try to reach the native population in extension and depth to teach them how to read, write and count, not to make them 'doctors'. [...] Teach and instruct them to make them prisoners of their homeland and protect them from the attraction of the cities, the way that the catholic missionaries have chosen with devotion and courage, the way of good sense and of political and social security in the province [Mozambique was administratively a province of Portugal]. [...] Yes, schools are necessary, but schools where we would teach the natives the way to human dignity and the greatness of the nation that protects them. [Tentamos atingir a população nativa em extensão e profundidade para os ensinar a ler, escrever e contar, não para os fazer 'doutores'. [...] Educá-los e instruí-los de modo a fazer deles prisioneiros da terra e protegê-los da atracção das cidades, o caminho que os missionários católicos escolheram com devoção e coragem, o caminho do bom senso e da segurança política e social para a província. [...] As escolas são necessárias, sim, mas escolas onde ensinemos ao nativo o caminho da dignidade humana e a grandeza da nação que o protege]". (translation into English mine)

[29] cf. Constituição da República de Moçambique de 1990, Título I, cap. I, artigo 5. 1.(Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique, Title I, Chapter I, article 5. 1).

[30] I looked at job announcements in the daily paper with widest circulation in Mozambique, *Notícias*, and I noticed that all well paid, high status jobs, besides Portuguese, which is assumed to be known, required knowledge of English. This requirement is explicitly stated in the announcement.

[31] People who know English, or claim to know it, earn respect within society and this explains why many people brag about their knowledge of English. When I was doing my field work, many people would address me in English, even as it was perfectly clear that we could use Portuguese, which, after all, would be the unmarked choice. My conclusion is that they did so to make a statement that they also could speak English, in pursuit of the prestige accruing to someone knowing English. I have observed that the impact of English is so overwhelming that it is leading also to the incorporation of some English words and expressions into informal oral Portuguese, as in "nice" (as in *estou nice*, meaning 'I'm doing well'), "business" (meaning, 'informal business'), "businesseiro" (meaning 'informal businessman, black-marketer'), "boss" (meaning, 'chief').

[32] To a lesser extent, French is the other foreign language that is used in contacts with the outside world.

[33]Recently, in a chronicle published in a Portuguese newspaper, *Diário de Notícias*, Guilherme de Melo, a Portuguese journalist who was born and lived in Mozambique for many years, has made reference to the same issue in connection with the likely integration of Mozambique in the Commonwealth:

" If I return to Mozambique where I was born, ten years from now, say, twenty years, I doubt whether I will continue to hear it [Portuguese] in the mouths of the children and youth with whom I will then come across. Most likely, I will hear a macaronic *tomorrow I go to the beach* when saying to each other that on the following day they will be going to the beach. The diplomatic promise given by Chissano [current President of Mozambique], that Portuguese will always remain the language that the country will continue to speak after full integration in the Commonwealth, clearly does not convince anyone. Truly, the announcement made recently by the Mozambican president does not constitute a surprise. For a long time, one could predict the pressure exerted by the anglophone ring that completely surrounds the former Portuguese colony of the Indian Ocean and against which, it has to be recognized, Portugal has done little or nothing concrete in the course of the last twenty years. [Se voltar a Moçambique onde nasci, daqui por dez, vamos lá, vinte anos, duvido que a [língua portuguesa] continue a ouvir na boca das crianças e dos jovens com quem então me cruzar. O mais provável é escutar um macarrónico *tomorrow I go to the beach* quando estiverem a dizer uns aos outros que irão no dia seguinte à praia.

A diplomática promessa de Chissano, de que o português será sempre a língua que o país continuará a falar após a sua integração plena na Commonwealth, é claro que não convence ninguém.

Em boa verdade, o anúncio recentemente feito pelo Presidente moçambicano não constitui surpresa. Há muito que se adivinhava a pressão exercida pelo anel anglófono que por completo cerca a antiga colónia portuguesa do Índico e contra o qual, há que reconhecer, Portugal pouco ou nada de concreto fez ao longo destes vinte anos" (extracted from O Manguito de Chissano, in *Diário de Notícias*, August 3, 1995, translation mine)

CHAPTER III: LINGUISTIC PRACTICES IN THE CITY OF MAPUTO

3. 0. Introduction

Since, my overall goal in this dissertation is to reassess the so-called language question in African post-colonial countries such as Mozambique on the basis of the actual social status of the different languages, rather than on generalizations of presuppositions of what the linguistic situation in these countries ought to be, as often has been the case, my discussion of language issues in Mozambique requires evidence of the ways in which the different languages used in the country are manipulated by social actors. By taking this approach, I will also be departing from traditional analyses that assume language use solely on the basis of macro-sociolinguistic data, such as national census data, rather than discovering actual language use by also focusing on micro-sociolinguistic data. This chapter provides this type of data by describing linguistic practices, elicited mainly through ethnographic methods, characterizing the city of Maputo, my primary research site. By linguistic practices I am referring to discursive genres that Maputo residents rely on to interact with each other as well as to construct social perceptions of social order by indexing identities, power relationships, social coalitions, etc.

This chapter will show that in Maputo, a city that can be divided into inner, middle and outer zones, each one with a peculiar linguistic order, discursive genres are constructed in a multiplicity of ways on the basis of Portuguese and indigenous languages, especially **Xironga** and **Xichangana**. In the inner zone, Portuguese has become the primary language of communication, while indigenous languages have mainly been restricted to the symbolic roles as markers of ethnic identities. In the middle and outer zones, **Xironga** and **Xichangana** are the primary media of communication, in the midst of several other indigenous languages, especially in the middle zone where the population is ethnically

diverse. Furthermore, the chapter will also indicate that there is a common perception of linguistic order in all zones, enforced by the dynamics of the socio-economic market, which ranks Portuguese as the language with a higher status.

Thus, by looking at how the different languages are used, that is, what people really do with them, the analysis will show that not only indigenous languages but also Portuguese has been institutionalized into social practices occurring in the city of Maputo. In light of these findings, I will emphasize that policy makers should not only to recognize the role played by indigenous languages, which is often disregarded in current language policies, but also contemplate the legitimate roles that ex-colonial languages like Portuguese are assuming and not view them strictly as exogenous entities that have not transcended their colonial attachments.

The chapter will include three main parts, which will give the general characteristics of the city of Maputo, describe the patterns of linguistic practices in the three zones of Maputo and discuss the significance of some of the findings.

3. 1. General characteristics of Maputo

3. 1. 1. The urban contour

Maputo, the capital city of Mozambique, formerly known as Lourenço Marques, is located in the most southern part of the country (26^0 of latitude S on the East Coast of Africa), in front of a bay that hosts a harbor which is considered to be the natural outlet to the sea for vast areas in the hinterland, especially Transvaal (South Africa), Swaziland and Zimbabwe. In fact, the city owes much of its initial development to the links that this harbor maintained with Transvaal (Covane 1987; Lemos 1987).

Although Maputo acquired the status of a city in 1876 and has been the capital-city of Mozambique ever since 1898 (Lemos 1987), it emerged as a major urban center only after the First World War. By the end of the 1950's, it had acquired the urban contour that can still be seen today. Mitchell (1975), in a study of aspects of urbanization and age structure in Lourenço Marques undertaken in 1957, reports that the city could be divided into three distinct zones (cf. p. xii), namely:

a) an **inner zone**, locally referred to in Portuguese as *cidade de cimento*, which is the core of the city and the domain of the European(ized) section of the population;

b) a **middle zone**, outskirts of the city, locally referred to as *subúrbios* or *cidade de caniço,* where Africans working in the city lived;

c) an **outer zone**, a peri-urban area, where Africans with a rural-like life lived in a countryside environment.

Recent descriptions of the city have also identified these three zones. For instance, Dos Muchangos also (1987: 129) proposes three zones in the city of Maputo, named *núcleo da cidade* (nucleus or core of the city), *subúrbio* (suburb, slum) and *periferia urbana* (urban periphery), with the first two constituting the city proper. The *núcleo da cidade, subúrbio* and *periferia urbana* correspond, respectively, to what I will call, following Mitchell (1975), inner zone, middle zone and outer zone. However, Dos Muchangos (1987) adds a fourth zone, named *meio rural* (countryside), which surrounds the *periferia urbana* . The zones and neighborhoods recognized by Dos Muchangos (1987:131) are indicated in the following tables (see also Appendix B and C).

Table 3. 1

Zones and Neighborhoods of Maputo

Zone	Neighborhood
Núcleo da Cidade (Inner Zone)	Central Polana Alto Maé Sommerschield Coop Malhangalene
Subúrbio (Middle Zone)	Mafalala Maxaquene Aeroporto Chamanculo Xipamanine Inhagóia Laulane Polana-Caniço Hulene Malhazine Matola-A Matola-H Machava-A T-3 Vale do Infulene
Periferia Urbana (Outer Zone)	Mussumbuluco Bunhiça S. Damanso Zona Verde Ngonine Mahotas
Zona Rural (Countryside)	Malhanguene Cobe Congolote Magoanine Albazine

The inner zone constitutes the core of the city, and until the independence of Mozambique, it was virtually an exclusive domain of the white settlers. Consequently, the inner zone was socially and racially divided from the middle and outer zones, with the former being the domain of the white colonizers and the latter two were populated overwhelmingly by black Africans.

In the inner zone people benefited from all urban amenities such as such as fancy houses (*vivendas*) and apartments, tall buildings, roads with asphalt, squares, boulevards and avenues, telephones, electricity, etc., while in the middle zone, apart from some *bairros* (neighborhoods), such as *Bairro Indígena*, most of the houses were of a simple construction, that is, thatch-roofed huts built out of river reeds, scattered amongst houses of more advanced technology made of brick or corrugated tin and wood. These types of houses are also found in the outer zone but in a more spacious environment.

Access to farm land, as opposed to pure dependency on wage earning, is the main feature distinguishing residents of the outer zone from those of the middle zone. In the middle zone, residents depended on wage earning and did not have access to land, while in the outer zone, although families had at least a member involved in wage earning activities, especially in industries located in the area, for instance in Matola and Machava. The population in the outer zone could also take advantage of the land for the supply of some food necessities. The middle zone can be seen as the reservoir of African labor that was used in the industries and services owned by the colonizers, most of them in the inner zone. To some extent, the outer zone was also a reservoir of manpower, but, in addition, it provided some food and cooking fuels, (mainly, charcoal, and wood) to the middle and inner zones.

The middle zone distinguished itself also for being populated by an overwhelming majority of city immigrants, most of them coming from the southern parts of Mozambique (provinces of Inhambane, Gaza, and Maputo). Thus, the residents of the middle zone are ethnically diverse[1]. Eventually most of these immigrants established themselves in Maputo and over time became more and more urbanized, weakening, gradually and over generations, their ties with the rural areas from which they came.[2]

3. 1. 2. The city now

Physically, the urban contour of the city of Maputo has remained the same and the three zones can still be recognized. However, the social composition of the inner zone has radically changed, due to the return to Portugal of most Portuguese settlers after the independence of Mozambique in 1975 and due to FRELIMO's politically motivated decision to change the inner zone's social composition. Right after independence, in a political move that was symbolized by the change of the name of the city from Lourenço Marques to Maputo, all privately rented houses and apartments were nationalized and the state set up policies intended to allow Africans to live in the inner city (cf. Pinsky 1985: 291). Many people living in the middle zone took advantage of these measures, and ever since, the social make-up of the core of the city has taken on a new configuration. In addition, after independence, most people came into the city from the different provinces of the country, most of whom to work in state institutions as state officials or public servants (*funcionários do Estado*). In recent years, a number of expatriates operating within embassies, international organizations, and NGOs also live in the inner zone.

The social composition of the middle and outer zone continues unaltered, despite the fact that many people from the middle zone have moved to the inner zone and that the middle zone tends to expand at the expense of the outer zone. This expansion of the middle zone is due to the increase in the population of Maputo and influx from rural areas. Also numerous displaced people fled to Maputo from war-torn areas, in the outer zone or from other places in the countryside of Mozambique.

Accurate estimates of the number of the people living in Maputo are not available, but it was predicted that in 1990 the population of Maputo would be 1.5 million (Dos Muchangos 1987: 128), which represents a large increase, since the estimated total population of Maputo in 1980 was 800,000 (Pinsky 1985: 286). However, official estimates for 1980 issued by the *Gabinete Central do Recenseamento/ Unidade de*

População e Planificação (cf. Gabinete Central do Recenseamento 1991: 26) are as follows:

Table 3. 2. Population of Maputo in 1980[3]

Urban District	Population
Distrito Urbano # 1	130, 813 (24.3 %)
Distrito Urbano # 2	114, 295 (21.2 %)
Distrito Urbano # 3	107, 923 (20.0 %)
Distrito Urbano # 4	75, 623 (14 %)
Distrito Urbano # 5	108, 740 (20.2 %)
Total	537, 394 (100 %)

The urban districts shown in table 3. 2. correspond to the current official administrative division of the city and do not conform to our postulation of the three zones. Assuming that Distrito Urbano # 1 corresponds to the inner zone, and the rest of the urban districts to both middle and outer zones, the distribution of the population of the city by zones can be represented as in the following chart:

Chart 3. 1

Distribution of the Population in
Maputo by Zones (1980)

Inner zone
24%

Other zones
76%
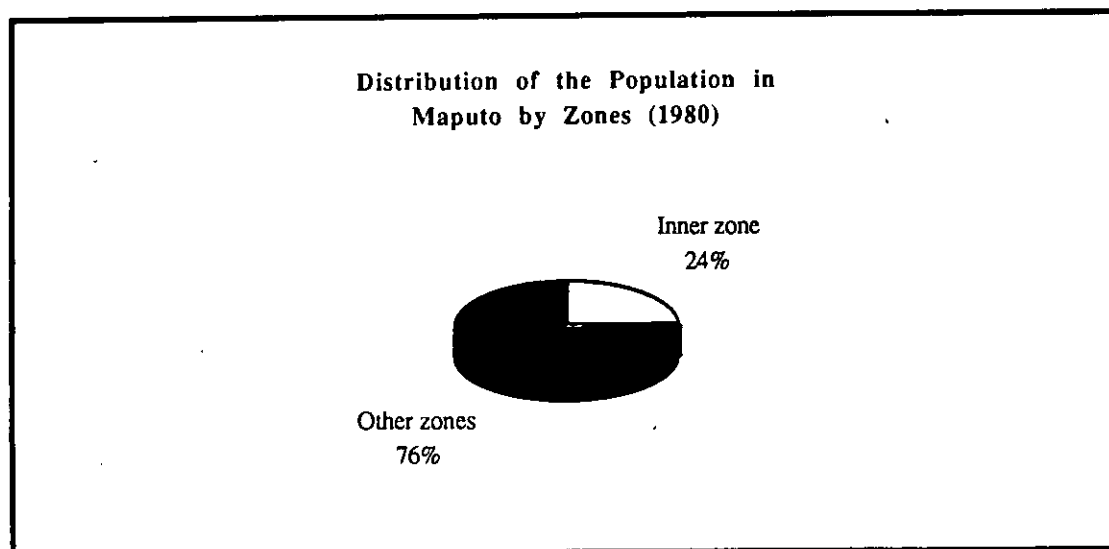
Currently, the three zones are linked in a variety of ways. Since the inner zone contains all the infra-structure and socio-economic institutions, most Maputo dwellers have daily contact with this zone. It is the area of the city where most people work, and state institutions, schools, banks, hospitals, shops, etc. are concentrated there. On the other hand, some people in the inner zone maintain ties with the middle or outer zones mainly for social reasons, to contact relatives. As in the past, the outer zone supplies the middle and inner zone residents with foodstuffs and other necessities.[4]

3. 2. Linguistic practices

3. 2. 1. Inner zone

3. 2. 1. 1. Social composition

As I mentioned, the inner zone is the core of the city and people living in it may be considered to be the most urbanized social segment in the whole country. Most of them tend to be people living in families with incomes from white-collar jobs within government institutions, state or private companies, international organizations, etc. A significant

portion of income-earners in the inner city of Maputo are civil servants with different occupations. This social stratum includes the local elites[5] who are in command of the state bureaucratic apparatus of the Mozambican nation-state. To a certain degree, people with blue-collar jobs associated with state or private institutions are also found in the inner zone, although most of them are concentrated in the middle zone.

Lately, however, many income-earners are involved in private enterprise, which is booming in the city of Maputo. In fact, some of the activities related to these enterprises are within the informal sector, outside the control of the state. This group of income-earners may be former civil servants who are taking their chances in the private sector or young people who have not been able to secure a regular job within the formal sector.

A large number of inner city dwellers are young people, most still at a school age and, therefore, attending different schools, from the pre-primary level to the university. However, more recently there has been a dramatic rise in school drop-outs or young people who have not found admission to the different schools. It is a relatively new social phenomenon, emerging in connection with the increase of the school population and, to some degree, also with the lack of employment as a result of economic stagnation.

Since most social services (banks, hospitals, schools, supermarkets, etc.) and jobs are concentrated in the inner zone, the inner zone regularly attracts people living in the other zones of the city. Therefore, people of different social extraction residing in all zones of the city can be found regularly within the confines of the inner zone. As a consequence of the recent war in Mozambique, within the inner zone there are also communities of displaced people usually living in abandoned houses.

People living in the inner zone tend to be literate, most of them with at least a primary school diploma. A significant number of them also hold secondary or technical schools diplomas and, to some extent, even university degrees. Their access to the type of

high or medium income jobs available in the inner zone in the civil service, the private sector or other national or international organizations is due to these qualifications.

3. 2. 1. 2.   Language use

3. 2. 1. 2. 1.   Portuguese as the primary language of the inner zone

Portuguese is *par excellence* the primary medium of communication in the inner city of Maputo, where it constitutes the unmarked choice in virtually any formal or informal social interaction, such as at home, in the work place, or in other daily contacts. Despite the fact that indigenous languages are known as native languages by many people living in the inner zone, mostly among the older generation, they are hardly spoken in most families; nor is there any effort or even concern in the older generation for passing them to their descendants.

Symbolically, Portuguese is felt to be the language of the city and one cannot feel one is a legitimate part of the inner zone, with the ability to be immersed in its networks, unless one has a proper command of Portuguese. For this reason, learning indigenous languages is not a tempting project for the younger generation, given the social dynamics of life in the inner zone (further details in section 3. 2. 1. 2. 2, below). In some social networks, however, claims of a knowledge of an indigenous language may also be necessary in order to display what is perceived as a legitimate Mozambican face. Also, as will be mentioned later, knowledge of an indigenous language may be desirable for symbolic attachments linked to ethnicity and even claims to Mozambicanness (further details in section 3. 2. 1. 2. 3, below). Nevertheless, in such instances, one cannot know an indigenous language without knowing also Portuguese, while the opposite is not always the case. In other words, knowledge of Portuguese does not necessarily correlate with knowledge of an indigenous language.

Portuguese has become the language of the inner zone as a consequence of the fact that historically, as I have indicated in the previous chapter, it has always been the official language for institutional domains, even in the colonial times. The Portuguese language has been the only medium of instruction in all schools in Mozambique, which means that all educated people —— including those who operate in public service and government positions and are likely to ascend to a higher socio-economic status ——— have been required to master it. In fact, social perceptions in Mozambique have assumed that educated people speak Portuguese, that is, that education entails the acquisition of Portuguese. This expectation has enhanced the social prestige associated with Portuguese. This prestige is further reinforced by the fact that education and, by extension, knowledge of Portuguese, are correlated with prestigious occupations within government institutions, state or private companies, international organizations, etc. Knowledge of Portuguese is seen as a means to higher social status.

Apart from the social prestige attached to Portuguese, there are some additional factors that may have accelerated the adoption of Portuguese, the institutional language, as the language of the inner zone. First, besides being the official language in Mozambique, Portuguese has been promoted as a symbol of national unity (Ganhão 1979; Newitt 1995: 547), as opposed to indigenous languages which generally connoted segmentary tendencies, otherwise known in official discourse as *tribalismo* (tribalism) and/or *regionalismo* (regionalism).[6] Therefore, in Mozambique the use of indigenous languages in official domains was discouraged —— to be considered a regionalist was seen as very negative and damaging to national unity —— and Portuguese benefited from the official ideological discourse. This discourse naturally had a significant impact on and acceptance among the people of the inner zone who, in fact, were the main conceivers and/or beneficiaries of the post-colonial state supported by this ideology. Furthermore, this ideological constraint was given more justification by the fact that the multi-ethnic composition of the inner zone made the use of indigenous languages impractical, at least

outside the home domain. Contact between these people could only be facilitated by the use of Portuguese, the only linguistic resource that was commonly possessed and could function as the link language among the social segments dominating the inner zone.

Consequently, the wider use of Portuguese in the inner zone of Maputo is associated with the situation described in the two previous paragraphs. In other words, for those working in government institutions, state or private companies, international organizations, etc., Portuguese has been their working language and also their badge of identity. These factors have, in turn, led to the establishment of Portuguese as the language of daily use in the inner zone, where they are the dominant group, whose patterns of social practices were and are emulated. Therefore, despite that the initial spread of Portuguese started in the colonial period, it only became remarkably visible after the independence of Mozambique, when many Mozambicans came into the inner zone and took, on a large scale, positions within government institutions, state or private companies, international organizations, etc. (Firmino 1987).

3. 3. 1. 2. 2. Language shift into Portuguese

As a result of the extensive use of Portuguese in the inner zone, speakers with varying linguistic abilities can be found in the inner zone. For an older generation (roughly, people over twenty years of age), Portuguese is the dominant and preferred language of communication. This generation can use Portuguese with various degrees of competence in virtually any linguistic task. In addition, this older generation also maintains competence in indigenous languages, especially for speaking and listening (but, usually, not for writing or reading).

Members of this older generation are bilinguals who grew up speaking an indigenous language as a native language and have learned Portuguese in school.[7]

Nowadays, Portuguese has become their preferred and dominant language of communication, mostly because, as I have said earlier, in the inner zone it is the preeminent language, such that, in their professional and other daily activities they are constantly involved in social activities demanding the use of Portuguese. For members of the older generation, indigenous languages were their first languages, and in their younger days they used them categorically in all contexts, until they learned Portuguese, which was then used alternately with the native language. In a following stage, Portuguese started to replace the indigenous languages until its use became quasi-categorical in most contexts, even outside institutional domains. Thus, among members of this generation there has been a shift, in terms of competence and frequency of use, from indigenous languages, which were used in the earlier stage of their lives, to Portuguese, which, from the school age, progressively becomes their primary language of communication.

The offspring of this older generation, which I will refer to as the younger generation (mostly children and youngsters under the twenties), grows up with extensive exposure to Portuguese. Unlike their parents, these individuals may learn and use Portuguese at home before they enter school. With few exceptions, the younger generation's knowledge of indigenous languages is minimal or non-existent, generally limited to listening comprehension skills. Their exposure to indigenous languages may be restricted to relatives who do not know Portuguese, for example, grandparents, or to some sporadic interactions with strangers that may not relinquish using indigenous languages (e.g. street sellers).[8] In general, members of this younger generation are not motivated to learn and/or use indigenous languages, mainly because Portuguese is, for them, the language of daily life that also marks their identity as inner zone dwellers.

There is, thus, a language shift from indigenous languages to Portuguese occurring in the inner zone within both the older generation and its descendants. This phenomenon follows patterns associated with language shift elsewhere. Such a pattern includes the

existence of two linguistic alternates used quasi-categorically in some context by some people or as variables in other contexts by other people. In addition, the alternates involved in the shift are allocated different socio-economic status by the speech community, which determines the social attitudes displayed towards either of the alternates as well as the linguistic norms necessary for entering specific social networks (Gal 1979). In this case, the two alternates are Portuguese and one of the indigenous languages.

A similar process is occurring intergenerationally. Within the younger generation, Portuguese is being used categorically, or at least more extensively than indigenous languages. Thus, in the same way that, in their life-span, members of the older generation have shifted from indigenous languages to Portuguese, Portuguese has become the language of daily activities for their descendants. This means that a language shift has occurred between the two generations: while for members of the older generation, the native language was one of the indigenous languages, for members of the younger generation, Portuguese is, in fact, the native language. Furthermore, for members of the younger generation, Portuguese has been the primary and/or sole language of communication in their entire life. For these reasons, members of the younger generation have a minimal competence in indigenous languages and, in some cases, they may have no competence in an indigenous language at all.

The relationship between social attitudes and language shift follows from the description of the position of Portuguese in the socio-economic and linguistic markets. As it was already pointed out, Portuguese connotes urban life and is associated with access to prestigious jobs in the state apparatus or private companies in the city. Through this association, Portuguese is the language for "getting on" (Siachitema 1986) and, as a consequence, it has earned a higher status in the city, both socially and economically. Portuguese has become the language of the inner zone to such as extent that the ability to represent oneself as a person belonging to the inner zone, and consequently with due

legitimacy to be part of urban inner zone social networks, is contingent upon its knowledge. Consequently, indigenous languages are being excluded from most social interactions in the inner zone as Portuguese becomes the dominant and preferred language for most speakers in most contexts.

3. 2. 1. 2. 3. Resilience of indigenous languages

Nevertheless, indigenous languages have not completely disappeared from the inner zone. For instance, indigenous languages are used in some households as family languages. They are also used in interactions among relatives, friends or acquaintances from the same homeland. Also, indigenous languages, especially **Xironga** and **Xichangana**, may be used in working environments, mostly among low- and middle-ranking civil servants or blue-collar workers.[9]

Outside family circles and in public domains, the use of indigenous languages as a means of communication among inner city residents is sporadic. Often, when they are used, allusion to shared background rather than communication per se, is the main motivating factor.[10] Thus, in these situations, choice of an indigenous language is an attempt to highlight ethnic and/or regional solidarity, or other indexical values, such as "genuine" Mozambicanness. Usually, in these situations, indigenous languages would be used at the onset of a verbal interaction to convey the salutations and phrases that establish the initial rapport between the interlocutors, after which the conversation would normally slip into Portuguese.

Two reasons may be linked to this practice. On the one hand, even though it may be useful to resort to an indigenous language to assert one's ethnic affiliation in an effort to build or reinforce ethnic solidarity and form coalitions based on ethnicity, most urbanites lack sufficient competence to carry out a lengthy conversation in an indigenous language.

On the other hand, the indigenous languages may soon be dropped since they may not be the languages indicated to address the kind of issues linked to social activities in which inner-zone urbanites regularly participate. This argument has nothing to do with the debate on the structural ability (e.g. poverty of lexical items) of indigenous languages; rather, I am claiming that social actors in their linguistic practices associate language with certain social activities in connection with the political economy of the linguistic market (Bourdieu 1977a; Gal 1989; Irvine 1989).

In fact, in the same way that indigenous languages may not be fit for certain contexts, so too Portuguese may not be fit for other situations. For instance, "traditional" practices, which still persist in the inner zone, such as medicine and spiritual healing, ancestor's worship, some wedding ceremonies, legends, and storytelling constitute examples of social activities that normally require the use of indigenous languages. Portuguese, on the other hand, is basically linked to what is perceived as "modern" knowledge (cf. Passanisi 1990). This means that the contention that indigenous languages may be used to facilitate certain linguistic and/or social tasks is also warranted. In other words, the use of indigenous languages cannot be linked exclusively to assertions of ethnic identity. For instance, the use of indigenous languages as family languages, which in some families has become an entrenched habit, may be an expedient practice intended to maximize interactions within the family, as some members may not know Portuguese. Certain linguistic and social tasks may also require the use of indigenous languages. For instance, I have often seen people using indigenous languages to salute each other in a long ritual requiring that specific linguistic cooperative tasks be performed. This ritual cannot be performed in Portuguese, at least with the same elegance.

3. 2. 2. The middle zone

3. 2. 2. 1. Social composition

The middle zone is perhaps the most populated area of Maputo, owing its development and growth to the influx of people coming mostly (but not only) from the southern provinces of Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane. For this reason, the middle zone has a heterogeneous ethnic composition and, in this sense, it epitomizes the ethnic cultural diversity that the country, as a whole, encompasses.[11] However, Rongas are regarded as the local ethnic group.

As in the inner zone, most of the work force from the middle zone is absorbed by government institutions, state apparatus, state or private companies, international organizations, etc. Self-employment also exists, with some people holding small businesses.

Since one's level of education is a key factor in one's integration in the labor market, the majority of working people from the middle zone fall into two categories:

a) those holding jobs that require certain professional or technical training, working as lower- and middle-level public servants (*pequenos funcionários do Estado*) or even in private or small personal enterprises. They may be clerks, typists, drivers, teachers, secretaries, auto-mechanics, electricians, carpenters, etc.

b) those with subordinate menial jobs in public service, factories, small enterprises, private houses, etc. They may be hairdressers, cooks, doormen, housekeepers, street cleaners, house-guards, etc.

Lately, most people in the middle zone have been failing to secure regular jobs and are forced to enter the informal sector or even engage in illegal activities. Most housewives also engage in personal businesses in the informal sector.

Those holding jobs that require certain professional or technical qualifications are obviously literate, even if, in most cases, their level of education may not go beyond primary education (*4ª classe*, fourth grade).[12] This is the group of middle zone people who maintain close contacts with people in the inner zone due to professional interests or because their social orientation is to emulate inner zone life. Furthermore, they also possess the significant social capital that permits them to penetrate the inner zone: a reasonable competence in the Portuguese language. As I have mentioned before, competence in Portuguese is determined by access to education.

However, it is within a younger generation of the middle zone dwellers that most people emulating inner zone life can be found. Given that school opportunities have expanded significantly in the years since independence, life prospects have also increased, especially among those who have been able to go beyond primary education. The symbolic system in Maputo grants high value to what is socially perceived as the inner city way of life and, as a result, it is a natural outcome that people would be tempted to emulate it. In fact, it is mainly in educational institutions such as secondary and technical school or institutions of higher education —— concentrated in the inner zone and catering to students from any part of the city —— that this symbolic system is produced and reproduced and becomes a social disposition (Bourdieu 1977a;1991) widely shared among the urban educated class.

On the other hand, those performing menial or other low-status jobs are mostly illiterates or semi-literates. Some of them perform their professional duties in government institutions, state or private companies, international organizations, factories, shops, etc., and others are employed in small private businesses now flourishing in Maputo.

3. 2. 2. 2. Language use

3. 2. 2. 2. 1. Indigenous languages

Xironga is socially perceived as the local indigenous language in the city of Maputo, but, in fact, Xironga and Xichangana[13] are the native and primary language of communication for most people living in the middle zone. However, most people often use a typical city variant, a mixture of both Xironga and Xichangana with a considerable number of linguistic forms borrowed from Portuguese.

In addition, Xironga and Xichangana are the languages that most people in the middle zone are likely to know and use in non-private domains. Since these languages are perceived as the primary language of the middle zone, they are the first unmarked choice in any ordinary conversations outside the home environment for most of those living in the area. These linguistic forms are used not only in interactions involving members of both local ethnic groups (Rongas and Changanas) and non-local ethnic groups (non-Rongas) but also in those involving only members of non-local ethnic groups. It is for this reason that immigrants who have settled in the area who are not speakers of any of the Tsonga group languages, that is, neither Ronga, Changana nor Tswa, are compelled to learn Xironga and Xichangana. Thus, in the middle zone, forms of Xironga and Xichangana have become the lingua franca.

As a consequence of this fact, native speakers of languages other than Xironga and Xichangana also have some knowledge of a variant of these languages. The reverse, however, does not usually occur; that is, native speakers of Xironga, Xichangana, and to some extent also Xitshwa, do not learn other indigenous languages when they are in Maputo.

Nevertheless, inside households, people usually use the indigenous language that identifies their ethnic background and/or area of origin, be it Xironga, Xichangana or

any other. This means that families of non-speakers of **Xironga** or **Xichangana** may make wide use of their native indigenous languages in private situations or other intra-ethnic interactions.

Therefore, indigenous languages do play a significant role in the maintenance of ethnic solidarities as they act as one of the most salient indicators and symbols of ethnic identity. In fact, most social networks found in the middle zone, whose rallying points might be church organizations, civic and cultural associations, social events like weddings, traditional ceremonies, etc. owe much of their vitality to this role played by indigenous languages.

In the middle zone, one's ethnic background is recognized first by the indigenous language one speaks or is thought to speak and second by the way in which that indigenous language interferes with variants of **Xironga** and **Xichangana** or even with Portuguese. Because languages other than **Xironga** and **Xichangana** can hardly be heard in public domains, people can only perceive one's ethnic group through linguistic cues by paying attention to the accent with which one speaks **Xironga** and **Xichangana** or, in some cases, Portuguese.

3. 2. 2. 3. Presence of Portuguese

Alongside indigenous languages, Portuguese is also widely used, especially by younger educated people or those with close contacts with the inner zone social life. As in the inner zone, Portuguese is granted high social prestige in the middle zone and, for this reason, it has become a social capital that people like to possess and even to show off. In most instances, it can be explained as a pursuit of a "profit of distinctiveness" (Bourdieu 1977a; 1989; 1991), warranting more social prestige than economic rewards as such. Users of Portuguese capitalize upon the prestigious social status that is granted to

Portuguese as by virtue of speaking Portuguese, one may not be perceived as an *atrasado* (backward, lagging behind) or *um gajo qualquer* (just another guy).

Among users of Portuguese in the middle zone, specific patterns of linguistic practices develop. The majority are bilinguals with better speaking abilities in an indigenous language. Usually, they are able to use Portuguese only enough to perform simple linguistic tasks. People who have developed this type of bilingualism are likely to be illiterates engaged in menial and low-status jobs where they have contact with Portuguese in interactions with their bosses.

Another type of bilinguals in middle zone may have good competence in both languages and may be able to perform any linguistic task in an indigenous language and Portuguese, in whatever context either one may be appropriate. People with these characteristics are very rare and some of them can be found within Protestant church organizations. They tend to be of an older generation (roughly, over 30 years of age), males and educated in Protestant missionary schools. This group of people has continued to use its indigenous languages at home and even in some institutional domains, such as church organizations. In state institutions, where they work, they use Portuguese.

There are also cases of those who resemble inner zone bilinguals in that their competence in Portuguese has overshadowed their knowledge of indigenous languages. They operate in networks with strong links with the inner zone people and for them Portuguese has become their main language in all daily activities. Within the middle zone they are a minority and tend to be young (say, less than 35 years of age), well educated, and with high ambitions. The inner zone life and values epitomize their aspirations toward upward social mobility.

The position of Portuguese in the middle zone warrants the conclusion that linguistic practices and the language status system point toward different directions.

Indigenous languages, especially **Xironga** and **Xichangana**, are widely spoken while their social prestige falls behind Portuguese, whose use is far more restricted to part of the dwellers of the middle zone and, in fact, may be marked. Even those who do not know Portuguese wish they knew it.

A further indication of the social prestige of Portuguese comes from the fact that even in the middle zone, where indigenous languages are of daily use, parents make efforts to raise their children in this language. This trend is common in the inner zone, but it has spread into the middle zone, especially among children of parents that have —— or think they have —— a good command of Portuguese. Therefore, a generation of children who first spoke Portuguese in a milieu where indigenous languages are widely used is now also part of the middle zone linguistic scenario.

3. 2. 3. The outer zone

My research did not focus on the outer zone, and, therefore, I will not elaborate on linguistic practices in this area. However, I have reason to expect that the outer zone resembles the middle zone in the sense that variants of **Xironga** and **Xichangana** are the languages widely used there. Nevertheless, given that, unlike the middle zone, the outer zone does not have a massive influx of immigrants, variants of **Xironga** and **Xichangana** may be the only indigenous languages widely spoken. The majority of the inhabitants of the area are not likely to know Portuguese and, in fact, I can presume that they rarely come into contact with it. The only people that might come into contact with Portuguese are local officials attached to local administrative institutions, where the use of Portuguese is required. The same could be said in reference to school children, since Portuguese is the mandatory medium of instruction. However, in all these cases,

Portuguese is strictly an institutional language, hence virtually unused outside administrative or school tasks.

3. 3. The relevance of the findings

In the previous sections of this chapter I have described the main features characterizing linguistic practices found in the three zones into which the city of Maputo can be divided. The description has shown that the linguistic situation characterizing the city of Maputo mirrors complexities arising in connection with the linguistic and socio-cultural diversity to be found in the entire country, mainly with the coexistence of various indigenous languages and Portuguese, along other languages of foreign origin. To all these languages are allocated different functional and symbolic value, by different speakers in different social and territorial spaces.

In the following sections, I will address some of the issues raised by the peculiarities of the linguistic market in Maputo and highlight their relevance with regard to the focus of this dissertation. I will particularly focus on the following issues:

a) variation of linguistic practices in the city of Maputo;

c) institutionalization of Portuguese and resilience of indigenous languages;

b) Portuguese as an aid in the imagination of a nation-state within in the inner zone.

3. 3. 1. Variation of linguistic practices

The description of the three zones of Maputo revealed that they also represent three distinct socio-ecological fields, with distinct linguistic practices. Such is a consequence of the fact that the three zones show differences in their social make-up, which ultimately also correspond to differences in access to the different linguistic resources used in Maputo.

Portuguese not only has become the primary medium of communication in the inner zone but also a fundamental social capital permitting participation in inner zone social networks, since activities related with these networks, ranging from informal daily interactions outside institutional domains to formal interactions inside (para-)official domains require primarily the use of Portuguese. On the other hand, indigenous languages are the primary media of communication in the other two zones, namely, in the middle and outer zones. Variants of **Xironga** and **Xichangana** are the most used linguistic forms in the middle and outer zones, where they also function as lingua-franca.

However, it was also pointed out that there is no clear-cut distinction between the two linguistic fields related to Portuguese and indigenous languages. In the inner zone, where Portuguese is the primary medium of communication, there are activities in which indigenous languages are used. Similarly, in the middle zone, where **Xironga** and **Xichangana** are the primary media of communication, Portuguese is used in many activities by some speakers. The difference is that the use of indigenous languages in the inner zone is regressive while the use of Portuguese in the middle zone is progressive, especially among educated people, as a consequence of the social prestige that is granted to Portuguese not only in the inner zone but also in the middle zone.

One of the indications of the social prestige that is associated with Portuguese lies in the fact that, even in the middle zone, where indigenous languages have a daily use in most social interactions, some parents, especially ambitious ones who already have a reasonable command of Portuguese and are well aware of the dynamics of the linguistic market in Maputo, raise their children in Portuguese. Although it occurs in an environment where indigenous languages are widely used, this social practice is still a marked choice, which can only be explained by the high regard that people have for Portuguese. Thus, a generation of children who literally spoke Portuguese before any indigenous language in a milieu that indigenous languages have high currency is now part of the middle zone

linguistic scene. Naturally, since they live in an area where indigenous languages are widely used, these children also learn indigenous languages, thus becoming bilinguals. In the inner zone, by contrast, the emergence of a generation of residents whose sole and/or primary medium of communication is Portuguese has become a social fact. This development is accompanied by phenomena of language shift from indigenous languages to Portuguese as this language is adopted as the language of the inner zone.

The fact that higher social prestige is granted to Portuguese, even in the middle zone, gives rise to a complex situation: in the inner zone, linguistic practices and the language status system point in the same directions; in the middle zone, they point in different directions. In other words, in the inner zone, the language that is widely used, that is, Portuguese, also has higher social prestige and acceptability. In the middle zone, indigenous languages, especially **Xironga** and **Xichangana**, are widely spoken and have more acceptability. Their social prestige, however, falls behind Portuguese, whose use is restricted to only a small part of the residents. Thus, despite the variation of linguistic practices, which means that Maputo dwellers do not constitute a fully integrated speech community (cf. Woolard 1985), the dominant linguistic forms, which are related to Portuguese, are, nevertheless, widely accepted across the community.

Portuguese has become the primary language in the inner zone as a result of the fact that the most educated people in Mozambique are concentrated in this area of the city. Hence, the symbolic predominance of Portuguese can be associated with social stratification within Mozambican society. Portuguese-speakers owe much of their privileged social position to their possession of specific credentials, including a sophisticated knowledge of Portuguese, attained through access to formal education, especially at a higher level. Thus, the school system is the major social institution playing a role in the dissemination of dominant linguistic forms in Maputo (Bourdieu 1977a). Hegemonic social practices, such as "elite closure" (Myers-Scotton 1990; 1993), with

which the use of ex-colonial languages in African countries have been associated, arise in connection with this role of the school system.

However, unlike other ex-colonial languages in Africa which are generally associated with high-status persons (cf. Laitin 1992: 79-80), in Maputo there are indications that Portuguese is not used exclusively by those elites "who have made it." Forms of Portuguese are being appropriated even by regular citizens not associated with the elites. Naturally, the forms that these "regular" citizens use are distinct from those that are monopolized by the elites, especially those whose speech is associated with high levels of education, as distinguished by, say, accent, grammatical construction, or sophistication of vocabulary. Nevertheless, these "regular" citizens are conversant in Portuguese and, most importantly, are socially perceived as speaking Portuguese, even if they use unsophisticated forms.

Taking into account that Portuguese is spreading even into social segments that are not integrated in the elite structure, there is further ground for assuming that forms of Portuguese are being absorbed into the social life of Maputo, thus becoming legitimate linguistic tools whose use is pivotal for the prosecution of social interactions outside formal institutional domains. In other words, this is one more piece of evidence for positing the nativization of Portuguese in Maputo, and by extension, in Mozambique.

3. 3. 2. Institutionalization of Portuguese vis-`a-vis resilience of indigenous languages

As indicated in the previous section, as far as linguistic ideologies in Maputo are concerned, Portuguese is in general assigned a higher prestige than indigenous languages in all three zones, even though in terms of actual practice, Portuguese is the primary medium of communication in all social activities only in the inner zone. Furthermore, the

sense of belonging to the city is in part symbolized by the command of Portuguese. As a consequence Portuguese has become a major socio-cultural asset of inner city residents, to such an extent that a generation of speakers of Portuguese as a first language has emerged.[14] The constitution of this generation is a significant social phenomenon that arises in conjunction with a shift towards Portuguese, among residents of the inner zone, and the spreading of Portuguese among residents of the middle zone.

However, the fact that Portuguese is becoming the dominant language in the inner zone does not entail the disappearance of indigenous languages from the social scene. Although indigenous languages are less used as media of communication, they still remain subtle and powerful means through which claims to ethnic and regional identities are made. In these instances, knowledge of Portuguese may be secondary; it is also secondary whether one really speaks an indigenous language well. It suffices that one can make valid claims to a relationship with any indigenous language, a claim which may be established by the use of language, transference of features of the language into Portuguese, the type of surname one uses, etc. If one does not speak the language, such claims can be made through appealing to one's parent's indigenous language and/or their regional origin, or to the part of the country where one was born or grew up. While Portuguese evokes the idea of a nation beyond ethnic and regional boundaries, the same idea of a nation is also built upon ethnic and regional identities. The omnipresence of indigenous languages in Maputo· as indexes of ethnic and regional identities demonstrates this fact. Thus, most people in the inner zone are caught between these two socio-cultural orientations, that is, identification with ethnic or regional attachments or with the dominant national socio-cultural ideology. For these people, life evolves around a constant pursuit of an equilibrium between the two orientations, which cannot be seen as necessarily contradictory or conflicting. In fact, for most Mozambicans, being a "real" Mozambican entails an association with traditional ethnic values: in Maputo some people may not be seen as "real" Mozambicans only because they

do not know any indigenous language, despite the fact that they know Portuguese, the symbol of national unity, extremely well.[15]

Social perceptions of ethnic identity have not died out, despite the wider use of Portuguese in the inner zone and the official ideological discourse that promotes this language as a symbol of national unity in an effort to reinforce inter-ethnic and inter-regional relationships. Rather, indigenous languages are now being expressed in new, transformed ways that are activated in accordance with the evaluation of the social goals that in different contexts can be achieved by playing with ethnicity and/or regionalism. In other words, ethnic or regional attachments have been redefined so that they can be readjusted to the dominant socio-cultural ideology, to which the middle or upper social strata dominating the inner zone have also interest in conforming. Values associated with indigenous languages are used to channel social meanings related to contemporary situations.

3. 3. 3. Portuguese vis-`a-vis the conception of a nation-state in the inner zone

The association of Portuguese with the political and cultural elites dominating the inner zone of Maputo also reflects the prominent role that Portuguese played in the rise of nationalism and in the process of nation-state formation in Mozambique. Proficiency in Portuguese distinguishes the type of social actors that had leading roles in both the nationalist movement and in the nation-state that followed the end of colonial rule. Subsequently, inner zone elites, through the use of Portuguese, have played a central role in the conceptualization of post-colonial national ideologies and in the operation of institutions of the Mozambican nation-state. Ultimately, this central role played by inner city elites shows once again how Portuguese is deeply involved in the life of the

Mozambican nation-state, contrary to assumptions that ex-colonial languages are exogenous entities in post-colonial contexts. Granted that its use is mainly associated with particular segments of society elites and as such correlates with divisions within Mozambican society. This, however, does not make the language less involved in the life of the Mozambican nation-state. In any society, even in the so-called monolingual communities, linguistic forms are not uniformly distributed and the diversity of linguistic forms reflect social divisions. Yet, this fact does not justify the rejection of the forms associated with upper social strata. For this reason, Portuguese should not be rejected on this ground.

Various authors have associated the rise of nationalism in the Third World with the constitution and vision of local elites. For instance, as I mentioned in chapter I, Anderson (1991[1983]) has argued that the emergence of nationalism in the New World arises in connection with the constitution of local elites that were linguistically and culturally marked off from the rest of the society and experienced a "common consciousness of connectedness," by virtue of having participated in a similar educational and administrative systems of a specific colonial territorial unit. As a result of their participation in similar educational and administrative systems, the local elites shared a common "print language," on the basis of which they imagined a national community.

The post-colonial nation-state was primarily the creation of the local elites, and it was obviously designed to suit their interests, mainly through the control of the bureaucratic system. Furthermore, the linguistic and educational skills that had made them a particular group with specific interests within the colonial state were those that they used to legitimize their access to and control of the bureaucratic system of the post-colonial state (Landman 1978; Smith 1983). In other words, they transported with them into the post-colonial nation-state a set of social and professional skills and practices that eventually set

up social standards through which participation in the bureaucratic system could be legitimized.

In the case of Mozambique, Portuguese is the language that was bestowed to those that took advantage of colonial education and/or operated in the colonial state apparatus. It also had an influential role in the nationalist movement, where it even became the unifying language in the midst of several indigenous languages (cf. Machel 1974: 91; Mondlane 1976[1969]: 141). When the country achieved its independence, Portuguese-speakers were in a position to be co-opted into the organization and operation of the new state apparatus. The skills and practices that they were familiar with, through contact with colonial education and/or involvement in colonial state institutions, could provide them with distinctive qualifications that legitimized their access to and control of state institutions. Among these skills and practices, Portuguese ranked as one of the most important, as shown by the fact that those high state officials whose knowledge of Portuguese is weak are usually perceived as incompetent.[16]

From being the language of institutional bureaucratic settings, Portuguese moved rapidly to other domains of social life dominated by members of the elite, an expansion that affected the linguistic practices of the people in the inner zone of Maputo. One must bear in mind that the use of Portuguese came as a perfect solution to problems arising with the cultural diversity of the people co-opted into national institutions. Portuguese was easily adopted not only as an institutional language but also as the language of the inner zone after realization of the fact that it was the only language that could function as a link language. For this reason, besides being the official language, Portuguese was also promoted by official ideology and public discourse as a symbol of national unity while indigenous languages connoted segmentary tendencies, usually termed in official discourse as *tribalismo* (tribalism) and/or *regionalismo* (regionalism). Since people living in the inner zone were the main conceivers and beneficiaries of the state associated with this ideology, it

is not surprising that Portuguese became the main institutional language as well as the language of the inner zone.

Thus, it follows that the inner zone acts as a prominent site for the production and promotion of ideologies related to the conceptualization of the nation-state in Mozambique. In this process, Portuguese is a major instrument because the anti- and post-colonial official nationalist ideology, of which the type of the residents in the inner zone is likely to be the main conceivers, or recipients, and/or propagators, has always emphasized the role of Portuguese in the construction of a united Mozambican nation. Furthermore, the society at large has developed "relations of symbolic power" (Bourdieu 1977a; 1982; 1990) institutionalizing cultural and linguistic practices, in which Portuguese is a major component, dominated by urbanites as the driving force in the construction of a nation-state in Mozambique.[17] In this connection, the inner zone in Maputo is socially perceived as the *avant-garde* in the construction of the Mozambican nation-state.

3. 4. Closing remarks

This chapter has described linguistic practices characterizing the city of Maputo. It has explained the intricacies of discursive genres used by residents in their social activities, and the way they enter in the construction of specific forms of linguistic and social order. The significant finding is that, beneath a common sense of linguistic and social order, symbolized by the general recognition of the predominance of Portuguese, there is variation in the forms in which the different languages are deployed in the different zones as tools of communication. That variation reflects differences in the social composition of the different zones and in the corresponding levels of access to different linguistic resources for participation in national affairs.

In the chapter that follows, the issues raised by linguistic practices in Maputo come under further scrutiny. The upcoming chapter will explore data on how social actors themselves experience language issues raised by the linguistic diversity of the country. The data were gathered in a survey that was submitted to residents of Maputo, in which they responded to various questions regarding linguistic practices in Maputo.

Notes to chapter III

[1]Ethnic diversity has been one feature characterizing Lourenço Marques (now Maputo) for many years. For instance, Mitchell (1975) estimates that in 1957, in Lourenço Marques, there were 100, 000 Africans (p. 14), of whom 60% were Rongas, Thongas and Changanas, 30% were Chopes and Bitongas, and 10% other than the above (p. 46).

[2]The oldest families in Maputo are in their 3rd or 4th generations, and the younger members of these families generally have little or no knowledge of the region, culture or language of their ancestors.

[3]The table follows the new administrative division of the city of Maputo that has been adopted lately. This new delimitation of the city excludes many areas that previously had been included in the boundaries of Maputo. Taking into account the preceding delimitation of Maputo the total population of Maputo would be estimated as 739, 077 (Resident Population) as reported in *Os Distritos em Números*, Vol. 10, issued by the Conselho Coordenador de Recenseamento (1983b), p. 8.

[4] A reliable indicator of this fact is that most public transportation, known as *chapa-cem* , going to areas in the outer zone have their terminal close to a local market called Xipamanine. In this main market, are sold most supplies coming from the outer zone.

[5]The notion of "elite" will be pervasive in this dissertation, especially in reference to the dynamics of social life in Maputo. By the notion of "elite," I mean to indicate three types of influential and prestigious social segments in the city of Maputo:

a) the **political elite**, usually defined in political scientist's discourse as "ruling elites" (cf. Schraeder 1994), in control of key political and/or governmental positions;

b) the **economic elite**, a group of businessmen that is growing with the institutionalization of a market economy under the IMF-led program of structural adjustment and/or with the increase of the informal sector. These individuals own enterprises and small businesses;

c) the **cultural/intellectual elite**, the intelligentsia consisting of people whose major personal capital is education which guarantees them access to prestigious jobs, mostly in state institutions.

These three groups are interconnected and, indeed, feed each other. However, they need to be distinguished, given that belonging to one does not necessarily imply belonging to the other. Their social prestige, moreover, is not perceived similarly by society. For instance, the economic elite gains its prestige in certain circles through the accumulation and display of wealth while members of the cultural/intellectual elite usually are not rich but are respected because of their level of education and/or

professional achievements, guaranteeing social mobility. The political elite is mostly drawn from the cultural/intellectual elite.

[6]I have to recall that the promotion and preservation of national unity over any type of segmentary tendencies was always part of FRELIMO's ideological stance, before and after independence. The idea of national unity, echoed in all official pronouncements of FRELIMO's leadership, is expressed clearly in the once most prominent motto of post-independence Mozambique: *Unidade, Trabalho e Vigilância* (Unity, Work and Vigilance). Dissent from this ideological and political outlook was very much discouraged.

[7]On average, in the city of Maputo, people start to go to school when they are six years old. In the past, mainly in the rural areas, people would normally start schooling at a later age.

[8]In connection with this situation, when I was doing my research I noticed that older people, usually working in menial jobs (car washers, security guards, gardeners and the like) did not bother about using Portuguese, rather they would resort to variants of **Xironga** and **Xichangana**, irrespective of whom they were speaking to, as long as the person was black. In other words, some people do use exclusively indigenous languages within the inner zone. However, these people tend to be middle zone dwellers and to have come to the inner zone to work.

[9]For example, in the place where I work (Faculdade de Letras, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane) I have often noticed that low and middle ranked *funcionários* (functionaries), usually when they are among themselves, resort to indigenous languages, typically variants of **Xironga** and **Xichangana**. Portuguese is usually reserved for issues related to work or to situations involving functionaries that do not know **Xironga** or **Xichangana**. However, I have observed situations in which work-related issues are handled in indigenous languages. For example, when a boss is giving orders, some of the workers may find indigenous languages more comfortable than Portuguese. Indigenous languages are used in these situations in the interest of getting the job done with expediency.

[10] During my research, once I participated in a social gathering in which some people were constantly showing off their pride in being *Rongas*. In this event, while it was clear that the main language that people were using was Portuguese, some of the participants would chat now and then using linguistic forms from **Xironga**. Since I could tell that most of these people do not use **Xironga** in their daily life — in fact, some of them were the prototype of a former full-fledged *assimilado* — and they could have stuck to plain Portuguese without disturbing mutual communication, I assume that the use of linguistic forms from **Xironga** was a conscious and intentional choice linked to the desire to show off their ethnic background as *Rongas*. They were using **Xironga** to make claims to this ethnic identity and construct and/or reinforce ethnic solidarity with some other people present in the social event. In fact, most of the

people with whom they were interacting also seemed to be *Rongas*. At least, they were sufficiently conversant in **Xironga** to pass as *Rongas*, such that the choice of **Xironga** was acting as a selector of potential interlocutors.

[11]It might be useful to clarify that what the middle zone encompasses is the ethnic diversity within one racial segment of the Mozambican population, that is, the black population. On the other hand, Maputo as whole, that is, taking into account the three zones, can be considered as a microcosm of not only the ethnic diversity among the black population, but also of the racial, social, and economic divisions characterizing Mozambique.

[12] Most of middle-zone wage-earners of the older generation (over 35 years of age), who were educated in the colonial period, could hardly go further than *4ª classe*. In those days, having 4ª class was a major achievement and, in fact, colonial authorities discouraged attempts to advance beyond this grade.

Most of those Africans living in the middle zone who went beyond primary school have lately enrolled in schools providing adult education, or are of a younger generation that was not affected by colonial policies.

[13]It must be recalled that **Xironga** and **Xichangana** are mutually intelligible.

[14]I must add that I am referring to a generation of black people, who hitherto have tended to have an indigenous language as their native language. For people of other racial extraction, it is normal that their native language be Portuguese.

[15]In connection with this issue, I recall that in 1993, during the *Conferência Nacional da Cultura* (National Conference on Culture) it was assumed that Mozambican national culture consisted of Bantu, European and Asiatic elements, but with primacy given to Bantu roots, considered to be the essence of Mozambican national culture. Since all Mozambican indigenous cultures and languages are related to these Bantu roots, many concluded that those Mozambicans who were socialized into indigenous languages and cultures were more "legitimate and genuine" Mozambicans than those who were not. Since this definition of Mozambicanity correlates, in some degree, with social divisions around race, level of education, ethnicity, or urbanization, it might also indicate "hidden" social tensions within Mozambican urban society, overriding the official ideology of unity. This fact, in my view, explains the heated debate that evolved around this conception of Mozambicanity.

[16]There is the case of a well known state official who was sent to Portugal only to improve his Portuguese. Indeed, in the last general elections held in 1994, people in the inner city generally mocked all candidates with a weak command of Portuguese who, because of this fact, were perceived as unfit for

political office. There was even a case of a candidate who while participating in a TV debate, was harassed by a viewer on the grounds that he did not know how to speak Portuguese very well.

[17]However, I am not discounting that the use of Portuguese for the conceptualization of the ideologies related to the Mozambican nation-state has led to a vision of a Mozambican society that is Portuguese and inner zone centered, thus alienating the vast majority of rural and non-speakers of Portuguese from playing an active role in the creative process. This point will be central to my argument in favor of the readjustment of language policy in Mozambique so that indigenous languages be given more prominent roles.

CHAPTER IV: TALKING ABOUT TALK (GETTING TO KNOW THE POINTS OF VIEW OF THE SOCIAL ACTORS)

4. 0. Introduction

The account of linguistic practices and ideologies that was presented in the previous chapter is mainly based on the systematization of my observations as recorded in my research notes and was restricted to descriptions of linguistic and social practices without focusing on the perspectives of the social actors themselves. In this chapter, I want to complement this account by shifting attention toward the perceptions that the actual social actors have with regard to linguistic and social practices in their daily lives. The chapter will include an examination of verbatim accounts of how Maputo residents perceive the language situation in which they are immersed, thus strengthening the sociolinguistic profile of the city of Maputo presented in the previous chapter.

Questionnaire data to be presented will include reports on the languages used in Maputo, the social conditions under which they are used, attitudes displayed toward them, and their actual or potential functions within society. The main purpose is to examine data qualitatively in order to discover underlying cultural and ideological practices which are important to the residents of Maputo and which may have been overlooked in my ethnographic observations. For this reason, as it will be shown in the following section, the questionnaire included a significant number of open-ended questions, in which respondents were encouraged to formulate answers in their own way. This does not mean that surveys or questionnaires are the panacea for some of the shortcomings that have been associated with participant observation, such as the high level of intrusion of the researcher's subjectivity. Rather I resorted to this research method to enrich my ethnographic findings and to illustrate the varieties of consciousness that Maputo residents

have of their sociolinguistic landscape. However, surveys or questionnaires, like any other research *modus operandi*, also raise some problems with regard to reliability and validity. For instance, surveys or questionnaires are also affected by the researcher's subjectivity in the way questions are framed and administered. Responses may be biased by the selection of respondents or may even report social facts that do not relate to actual socio-cultural practices either because respondents want to present a certain image, do not recall the facts, do not want to deal with delicate issues, do not communicate adequately with the researcher, or simply want to mislead the researcher (Bernard 1988; Briggs 1986; Fetterman 1989).

4. 1. Selection of respondents

The questionnaire was administered to a pool of respondents consisting of adults residing in the inner and middle zones of Maputo that were chosen randomly among friends and other acquaintances that I met in the research site. However, some respondents were directly approached to participate in the questionnaire by intermediaries that acted on my behalf. Two major goals guided my selection of the respondents. On one hand, I intended to survey people I knew reasonably well so that later I would be able to cross-check their information with my own knowledge of their social life, which could eventually enrich my findings. Thus, some of the respondents are also the key informants on whom I based the descriptive account presented in the previous chapter. On the other hand, I also wanted to prevent exclusive inclusion in the questionnaire of respondents that were acquaintances of mine, which would eventually bias the findings toward my social network's perceptions and confine the validity of the findings to this small network.

The questionnaire was submitted to 30 respondents (13 females and 17 males), ranging in age from 23 to 61 years old, but with most of them (93%) below 40 years of age (cf. Table 4.1 & 4. 2, below).

Table 4.1
Sample of the questionnaire

Males	17	57 %
Females	13	43 %
Total	30	100%

Table 4.2
Age of the respondents

Age	20-29	30-39	40-49	60-69
Subjects	9	19	1	1

The respondents came from almost all parts of Mozambique, even though most of them, that is, a total of 21 respondents, were born in one of the three southern provinces of Mozambique (13 in Maputo, 3 in Gaza and 5 in Inhambane). The rest of the 9 respondents came from the central and northern provinces of the country, namely Sofala (2), Tete (1), Zambézia (1), Nampula (3), Niassa (1) and Cabo Delgado (1). Further details are presented in tables 4. 3.

Table 4.3

Place of birth of the respondents

Province	Subjects
Maputo	13
Gaza	3
Inhambane	5
Sofala	2
Zambézia	1
Tete	1
Nampula	3
Niassa	1
Cabo Delgado	1

The majority of the respondents had been living in Maputo for more than 10 years. Only nine of them (30 %) had been living in Maputo for less than 10 years. Therefore, most of them had experienced the changes in Maputo that had occurred during the post-independence era.

Table 4. 4
Respondents' years of residence in Maputo

Years	0-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40
Informants	2	7	2	5	1	5	7	1

The nature of the questionnaire, with questions presented in Portuguese, required that the respondents have a reasonable degree of literacy in Portuguese, and, for this reason, all of them have completed at least primary education. Most of the respondents have completed high school or even a university degree, even though the questionnaire managed to include some respondents with a lower level of education. These last respondents did require some assistance while responding to the questionnaire to help them understand the questions or even formulate their thoughts. This is the group of respondents whose responses may have been most affected by the researcher.

Table 4.5
Level of education

Frequency or Completion of:	Subjects
High School	7
University	23

As regards occupation, the respondents included civil servants, high school teachers and university professors, professionals, or students in secondary schools or the university. Overall, the pool of respondents is a fair representation of the type of occupations that Maputo residents would consider as prestigious. The whole range of the professions indicated by the respondents is shown in table 4.6.

Table 4. 6.
Occupation of the respondents

Occupation	State Civil Servants	Professionals	University Professors	High School Teachers	University Students
Respondents	6	11	4	6	3

Arguably, the relatively small number of respondents (30) may be considered a potential risk factor in terms of representativeness, reliability, and validity of the findings. However, this potential risk was weighed against the main purpose of the questionnaire, which implied a thorough examination of the content of the responses of each respondent, most of which were open-ended. Such a purpose might have been undermined, had the pool of respondents not been limited to a controllable number. As a solid insider (Agar 1980: 86) I was in a position to conduct my questionnaire after taking precautions to maximize the adequacy of the data. As Bernard (1988) argues, the key to successful research depends less on a large number of representative informants than on their cultural competence (cf. p 170).

My primary interest was to develop a questionnaire that could bring forward relevant information regarding the issues under discussion in this dissertation. This objective was achieved by relying on my knowledge of Maputo as a native and lifelong resident as well as on the experience gathered throughout my field research[1]. The selection of respondents itself relied also on judgmental sampling (cf. Bernard 1988: 97; Fetterman 1989: 42). In addition, the cultural relevance of the questionnaire itself was established through pretests, which provided clues with regard to the framing of the questions and the type of respondents required.

The majority of the respondents were urbanites living in the inner and middle zones, most of whom would qualify, by virtue of their education and occupation, as members of the urban cultural elite, which, in collaboration or contention with political and economic elites, is the major carrier and conveyor of dominant cultural practices and ideologies bearing on Maputo social life. The position of these elites in Mozambican society allows them to experience and influence dominant social and linguistic practices, not only with regard to social life in Maputo, but also in Mozambique as a nation-state. This social segment of urbanites is strongly associated with the idea of Mozambique as a nation, and, therefore, its perceptions of social practices have national implications. In other words, there is cultural relevance in focusing on this social segment because it could lead to views that are likely to reverberate within the dominant strata in the whole country, which ultimately has an impact on the perceptions of the language situation in Mozambique and related decision-making processes.

Preliminary information regarding the respondents is summarized in the tables that follow.

Table 4. 7. a[2]

Social identity of the respondents

RESP	AGE	Gender	PB	NL	EDUC	OCCUP	YRM
1	38	Male	Gaza	Cicopi	Univ	Teacher	19
2	26	Male	Nampula	Emakhuwa	Univ	Civil Servant	7
3	33	Male	Inhambane	Gitonga Portuguese	Univ	Teacher	15
4	23	Female	Sofala	Portuguese	Univ	Student	2
5	35	Male	Nampula	Emakhuwa	Univ	University Reader	9
6	32	Female	Maputo	Portuguese	Univ	Teacher	32
7	28	Female	Gaza	Xichangana	Univ	Journalist	20
8	34	Female	Maputo	Gitonga	Univ	Lawyer	34
9	35	Female	Maputo	Portuguese	Univ	Teacher	35
10	-	Female	Sofala	Cisena	9th grade	Civil Servant	-
11	33	Female	Inhambane	Gitonga Portuguese	Univ	Civil Servant	14
12	36	Male	Maputo	Xironga	Univ	University Professor	31
13	35	Male	Maputo	Xironga	11th grade	-	35
14	23	Female	Inhambane	Xitshwa	11th grade	-	6
15	30	Female	Maputo	Cicopi	9th grade	-	30

Table 4. 7. b.

Social identity of the respondents

RESP	AGE	Gender	PB	NL	EDUC	OCCUP	YRM
16	61	Male	Maputo	Xichangana	Univ	Religious Pastor	45
17	28	Female	Maputo	Portuguese	Univ	Student	13
18	32	Male	Cabo Delgado	Emakhuwa	Univ	University Reader	9
19	40	Female	Maputo	Portuguese	Univ	University Professor	18
20	29	Male	Tete	Cisena	Univ	Civil Servant	10
21	30	Male	Inhambane	Portuguese	Univ	Teacher	7
22	33	Male	Maputo	Xironga Xichangana	Univ	Civil Servant	31
23	25	Female	Zambézia	Portuguese	Univ	Student	22
24	32	Male	Gaza	Xichangana	Univ	Teacher	28
25	36	Female	Maputo	Xironga	Univ	University Professor	36
26	27	Male	Maputo	Gitonga Xichangana	5th grade	-	20
27	28	Male	Maputo	Xironga	Univ	-	28
28	27	Male	Inhambane	Portuguese	Univ	Civil Servant	27
29	30	Male	Maputo	Xironga	Univ	-	27
30	37	Male	Niassa	Emakhuwa	Univ	-	8

4. 2. Organization of the questionnaire

As I pointed out in the introduction to the chapter, the main purpose of the questionnaire is to undertake a further examination of linguistic practices by complementing the descriptive account presented in the previous chapter with data reporting the views that residents of Maputo hold in relation to the linguistic situation in the city, especially with respect to language knowledge, uses and usage, attitudes toward these language uses and usage, and functional allocations of Portuguese and indigenous languages. In order to achieve this objective, the questionnaire addressed the social history of the respondents (questions #1-6), and also included other four groups of questions regarding:

a) knowledge and uses of Portuguese and indigenous languages (question #7-12 & 19);

b) attitudes toward Portuguese and indigenous languages (questions #13-18, 21);

c) Portuguese usage (questions #17 & 18);

d) actual and prospective functional allocations of Portuguese and indigenous languages in public and/or institutional settings (questions #20, 22-3).

The first group of questions referred to the languages known in Maputo as well as to their sociolinguistic relevance, that is, which languages are used by whom and with whom, for what and where. Also such data would inform macro-sociolinguistic concerns raised in this dissertation with a micro-sociolinguistic perspective. The questions used to elicit this data inquired about native languages of the respondents; other indigenous languages known by them; how and where these indigenous languages were learned; how and where Portuguese was learned; languages used with specific relatives, acquaintances in specific contexts; and the language(s) the respondents felt more at ease with. Thus, the information gathered patterns of language competence and use suitable for comparison with

my own observations summarized in the previous chapter, providing clues as to how people relate to the different languages. Ultimately, this comparison would contribute toward an understanding of the ideologization of linguistic practices in the city of Maputo, that is, "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (Irvine 1989: 255).

The ideologization of linguistic practices was further probed by the second set of questions, which were designed to elicit the attitudes of Maputo dwellers toward either Portuguese or indigenous languages. By "attitudes," I am referring to social dispositions affecting the willingness or the restraint with which residents of Maputo relate in whatever way with Portuguese or indigenous languages. The underlying assumption was that an understanding of the social implantation of the languages used in Maputo is enhanced by discovering the attitudes motivating linguistic practices.

My strategy for inferring these social attitudes was to ask questions in which the respondents would reveal the indigenous languages they would like to gain or improve their knowledge of, how they felt when they used Portuguese, the advantages associated with knowing Portuguese or an indigenous language, the type of Portuguese usage they liked to hear, and social indexes that speakers of Portuguese could be associated with.

The views of the respondents toward different types of Portuguese usage and of Portuguese speakers were specifically explored in a third set of questions (question #17-9). Members of a linguistic community do not have equal access to different linguistic varieties. Hence, social actors will possess a range of distinct linguistic repertoires and will use these repertoires to achieve a variety of social goals and evaluate differently their speakers in different interactions (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993: 149). These linguistic repertoires and their social values may indicate how a language is embedded in social life, since, by invoking the social contexts in terms of which it is to be interpreted, a language becomes a constitutive part of social realities (cf. Bourdieu 1977a; Gal 1989; Irvine 1979,

1989). Thus, typical users of Portuguese in Maputo have developed typical ways of manipulating the language, to such an extent that there are already social perceptions arising in connection with the forms of Portuguese that Mozambicans may resort to and with their respective social values. In other words, the forms of Portuguese and their respective social values merit scrutiny because they indicate the ways in which Portuguese has been incorporated in urban life in Maputo (and, arguably, in other urban parts of the country).

Given my ultimate interest in relating the understanding of actual social implantation of Portuguese and indigenous languages to issues related with the formulation of a language policy in Mozambique, a fourth group of questions addressed respondents' views regarding appropriate social allocations and functions of these languages in different social and national activities, especially in those under the control of the state. Respondents were asked to state whether they favored the obligatory use of Portuguese in specific institutional settings, which specific settings should contemplate the use of indigenous languages, and the languages that should be used in different settings in the city of Maputo.

The final version of the questionnaire (cf. Appendix III) was developed after three trials with a group of potential respondents, which helped to clarify the questions, eliminate ambiguities and sources of misinterpretation, delete superfluous questions, add new relevant questions, or rearrange the ordering of the questions for the sake of consistency and logic. Most respondents answered the questionnaire by themselves and were able to work on it for a reasonable amount of time.[3]

While a substantial number of the questions were directed toward yes-or-no responses (cf. questions # 8, 10, 14.1-7, 15.2.1-6, 16.2.1-6, 17.1, 18.1, 19.1-3, 20, 21.1-8, 22, 23), the questionnaire was also designed in such a way that respondents would find space for elaborating extensively in their responses, by introducing open-ended "why-questions" (cf. questions #12.2, 13.2, 17.2, 18.2), or by asking respondents to refer to "other reasons"(*outras razões*) besides the hypothesis presented (cf. questions #14.8,

15.2.7, 16.2.7, 21.9). Thus, the respondents were given leeway to expand on their views, which eventually resulted in more sophisticated comments on the language situation in Mozambique.

4. 3. Presentation of the findings
4. 3. 1. Knowledge and use of indigenous languages
4. 3. 1. 1. Which indigenous language do you know?

Predictably, most respondents claimed to have an indigenous language as their native language (cf. question #7). Languages that were mentioned include[4] **Xironga**, **Xichangana**, **Cicopi**, **Gitonga**, **Xitshwa**, **Cisena**, **Emakhuwa** and **Ekoti**. Some of the respondents considered two indigenous languages as their native languages, such as **Xichangana** and **Gitonga** [respondent #26], **Emakhuwa** and **Ekoti** [respondent #2]. One of the respondents [respondent #22], a native of Maputo, named his native language as "Changane/Ronga," that is, **Xichangana/Xironga**. As mentioned in chapter III, **Xironga** and **Xichangana** are two linguistic entities recognized as mutually intelligible. For some residents of Maputo, the distinction between both is not clear-cut.

In general, the responses confirmed my assumptions with regard to knowledge of indigenous languages in Maputo, namely that native speakers of virtually any indigenous language can be found in the city, although **Xironga** and **Xichangana**, followed by other southern languages (**Xitshwa**, **Cicopi**, **Gitonga**) are the most widely spoken indigenous languages in Maputo.

When asked about other Mozambican indigenous languages[5] they knew, most respondents claimed that they could also speak other indigenous languages besides their native language. This type of bilingualism in indigenous languages followed particular patterns: respondents tended to know the languages that are regionally or linguistically

close to their own native indigenous languages, that is, the languages widely spoken in Maputo (**Xironga** and **Xichangana**). Native speakers of either **Xironga** or **Xichangana** or **Xitshwa** systematically claimed also to know the other two languages, a situation that arises with the mutual intelligibility existing between these three linguistic varieties. Three speakers of **Gitonga** (two of them, native speakers of **Gitonga**) claimed to speak **Xironga**, **Xichangana** and **Xitshwa**, and one of them also claimed to speak **Cicopi**. One speaker of **Gitonga** who lived for many years in the city of Beira claimed to speak **Cindau** and **Cisena**, languages widely spoken in Beira. Finally, two speakers of **Cisena** (one of them a native speaker of **Cisena**) claimed also to know **Cindau**.

With respect to knowledge of indigenous languages other than their own native language, regional contiguity and localization of the speakers are determining factors. In other words, people seem to learn the languages of the place where they are living or those that are spoken in close geographic proximity. For this reason, most people in Maputo can use **Xironga** and **Xichangana**, and these language have become lingua franca in the city (the other lingua franca being Portuguese). The fact that people learn the language of the area where they have lived is demonstrated by the above-mentioned case of a respondent whose native language is **Gitonga** but also could speak **Cindau** and **Cisena**, languages widely spoken in Beira, the city where the respondent had lived for many years.

The fact that localization of the speaker and regional contiguity play a major role leads to the generalization that no indigenous languages can act as single lingua franca in the entire territory of Mozambique, unlike some other African countries that may have a major lingua franca, such as in Tanzania with Swahili. Only in some of Mozambique's urban centers may indigenous languages emerge as lingua franca, as in the case of **Xironga** and **Xichangana** in the city of Maputo. As data shown in chapter II have indicated, in rural areas, the concentration of speakers of a similar indigenous language in a particular area of a district is a common phenomenon. In such places, people will most

likely use the same language and, therefore, will not require a lingua franca. However, there is evidence that people may regularly use an additional indigenous language with neighboring communities. For instance, in northern parts of the province of Cabo Delgado people are likely to know Swahili.

Significantly, however, there were cases of respondents who claimed not to know the indigenous languages that are widely spoken in Maputo, that is, **Xironga** and **Xichangana**. As I have stated in the previous chapter, indigenous languages play a minimal role in the social life of many of Maputo residents who, in fact, face no social demands to know and/or use indigenous languages. In fact, most of these respondents lived in the inner zone, where, as mentioned in the previous chapter, Portuguese, and not variants of **Xironga** and **Xichangana**, is the primary medium of communication in most social activities. It could be expected that structural similarities among the different indigenous languages would have facilitated mastery of **Xironga** and **Xichangana**, but such an outcome is not born out by the facts. This leads to the conclusion that it is the social situation in which these respondents are immersed as well as the symbolic and indexical values associated with Portuguese and indigenous languages that moves them toward Portuguese and inhibits knowledge of indigenous languages.

Predictably, even though some respondents reported to have also learned some Mozambican languages with friends, the majority of the respondents confirmed that Mozambican languages were learned in home environments. Home environment is also the domain where Mozambican languages are mostly used. It is a logical outcome, since indigenous languages are the native languages for most Mozambicans and their use is restricted to family interactions, as my ethnographic account in the preceding chapter has indicated.

4. 3. 1. 2. In which situations do you use indigenous languages

The fact that indigenous languages are restricted to family interactions surfaced again when the same respondents were asked about the language they used with a variety of people including various types of relatives, friends, colleagues and bosses (in total there were eight possibilities, cf. question #11). The responses show that indigenous languages are basically used by most of the respondents in conversations with a very restricted set of relatives, that is, parents, grand-parents, and to some extent also with "other relatives," a category that was used in the questionnaire to refer to relatives other than grandparents and members of the nuclear family (parents and brothers and/or sisters). Thus, it can be inferred that indigenous languages are not used outside home environments or in interactions with brothers/sisters, friends, colleagues, bosses, that is, people falling into similar professional and/or generational circles.

This information can be read as an indication of a generational gap prevailing in the city of Maputo between an older and a younger generation in regard to knowledge and use of indigenous languages and Portuguese, which correlates with the phenomenon of language shift that I mentioned in the preceding chapter. People who responded to the questionnaire can be considered representatives of the social segment dominating social life in Maputo, which include mostly civil servants (*funcionários públicos*) acting as bureaucrats, professionals, and technocrats, for whom Portuguese is the primary medium of communication. However, most of them were raised speaking indigenous languages, with which they still interact with their progenitors, who may not be conversant in Portuguese.

The generational gap manifests itself primarily in this linguistic discrepancy between the group of professionals, bureaucrats and technocrats, who control Portuguese and use it as their preferred language, and their immediate forebears, who, in general, are less conversant in Portuguese or do not know this language at all, have a good mastery of

indigenous languages and conduct most of their lives in an indigenous language. On the other hand, the offspring of this group of professionals, bureaucrats and technocrats is raised in Portuguese and, in contrast with their parents and grandparents, its knowledge and use of indigenous languages is minimal.

Significantly, the data seems to indicate that awareness of and regret for the imminent lost of indigenous languages has emerged, as demonstrated by the eagerness of some respondents to improve their knowledge of indigenous languages. Such is the case of respondent #17, whose native language is Portuguese but would like to improve her knowledge of **Xironga** because it is the native language of her parents and grandparents; or of respondent #19, whose native language is Portuguese, but would like to know **Xitshwa**, the native language of her parents. In fact, even some respondents with a reasonable competence in an indigenous language as a native language also indicated their eagerness in improving their competence in indigenous languages. For instance, respondent #7, a native speaker of **Xichangana**, said that "**Xichangana** and **Xironga** I know very badly (...) and I would like to know them to facilitate contacts with people who speak these languages."

4. 3. 2.   Knowledge and use of Portuguese
4. 3. 2. 1.   How is Portuguese acquired?

With respect to the knowledge and use of Portuguese, the first question was directed toward the mechanism through which it is learned. Respondents were asked how/where they had learned Portuguese, under the assumption that such a process could be undertaken in the following four environments, namely, at home, with friends, in school, or in the workplace (cf. question #8). Most of the respondents admitted to have learned

Portuguese in school and very few reported to have learned the language at home. The other two alternatives were not mentioned by any of the respondents.

The fact that most respondents reported to have learned Portuguese in school corroborates the general perception of the mechanism by which Portuguese is acquired in Mozambique and also corresponds to the history of the institutionalization of the language in the country. As I have mentioned in the preceding chapters, for most Mozambicans Portuguese is a second language that is learned in formal settings, that is, as one has access to school education, except for a younger generation coming of age in urban centers, such as in the inner zone of Maputo. Recently, this younger generation has come into contact with Portuguese before entering school and, in fact, it can be claimed that Portuguese is their native language. In comparison with the older generation, this represents a new pattern of language acquisition, as, in the past, the segment of the African population raised in Maputo with exclusive knowledge of Portuguese and without knowledge of an indigenous language was negligible.

4. 3. 2. 2.   In which situations do you use Portuguese?

As in the case of indigenous languages, the uses of Portuguese were examined under question #11, which asked the respondents to indicate the language(s) they are likely to use in eight different situations, namely with parents, brothers/sisters, grand-parents, other relatives, friends (outside the school), friends (in the school but outside the classroom), colleagues (in the workplace), and bosses (in the workplace). Being an institutional language, predictably Portuguese is the language that is used in the workplace. All respondents confirmed that Portuguese was the language they used with their colleagues or bosses in the workplace, or with colleagues in the school. A few admitted to also occasionally use an indigenous language in the workplace or even in school outside the

Portuguese in school and very few reported to have learned the language at home. The other two alternatives were not mentioned by any of the respondents.

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classroom, but only with colleagues [respondents #3 & 16]. Also, all respondents reported using Portuguese widely in interactions with friends. However, some of the respondents indicated that in interactions with friends they alternated between Portuguese and indigenous languages. As to the family domain, most respondents mentioned that Portuguese is the language they resort to in conversations with brothers and sisters, while in conversations with parents and grand-parents, they use indigenous languages more than Portuguese. In conversations with "other relatives" (excluding parents, grand-parents and brothers/sisters), most of the respondents could use either Portuguese or an indigenous language. Nevertheless, indigenous languages tend to be used with older people, who tend to know Portuguese less.

Overall, the responses to question #11 seem to reflect the position of Portuguese and indigenous languages in the linguistic market, namely, that the former is an formal official language while the latter are mainly restricted to familial and/or intra-ethnic interactions. However, most significantly, the responses also reflect the fact that Portuguese is gaining ascendancy in informal domains, as indicated by the usual choice of Portuguese for interactions with friends, brothers and/or sisters, and other relatives. Some respondents acknowledged that they also use indigenous languages in these interactions. I have observed, however, that in the inner zone of Maputo when an indigenous language is used, it is in addition to (and not in spite of or instead of) Portuguese. In most cases, Portuguese is the primary choice, unless the interlocutor is recognizably a non-speaker of this language or when an indigenous language is used to establish a rapport between the interlocutors by helping to set a friendly and relaxed tone to the conversation. In these instances, language mixing or code switching may arise, for instance in formulaic expressions that are in greetings, as an indication of politeness and solidarity, or in jokes.

Thus, the data on the uses of Portuguese confirms its ascendancy as a primary medium of communication in the inner zone of Maputo. With respect to other zones of

Maputo, the questionnaire could not reveal any significant information, given the type of respondents involved.

4. 3. 2. 3. Are you comfortable with Portuguese?

The ascendancy of Portuguese as a medium of communication in Maputo is further confirmed by the fact that most of the respondents indicated that Portuguese was the language with which they were more comfortable, in response to the question "In which language(s) do you feel more at ease and why ?" (question #12). Some of the respondents indicated that they were comfortable with both Portuguese and an indigenous language, but none of them mentioned an indigenous language exclusively.

Most of the respondents claimed to be more comfortable in Portuguese than in any other language because it is the language they mostly, if not always, use in their daily life. As a consequence, they have developed more fluency in Portuguese. Such is the case with:

a) respondent #21, a native of Inhambane city, who claimed that he felt more comfortable in Portuguese because "All my thinking is organized along parameters set by the Portuguese language. Also my daily affairs and contacts are conducted in Portuguese;"

b) respondent #22, a native of Maputo, who claimed that "with indigenous languages I cannot be articulate because of the mixture of **Xichangana** and **Xironga** vocabulary. In addition, my thinking patterns are strongly affected by Portuguese;"

c) respondent #23, a native of Chinde in the Province of Zambézia who has lived most of her life in Maputo and for whom Portuguese is also the most comfortable language, who said that "maybe it's a question of habit. I almost always speak Portuguese while the other language, **Xitsonga**, I rarely speak, usually only with relatives who do not know any Portuguese."

In the cases where both an indigenous language and Portuguese were indicated, the former were associated only with family life and/or sentimental reasons. Respondents would be comfortable with indigenous languages only in interactions with close relatives or for boosting some sort of social identity, while Portuguese would be the dominant language in any other situation. This is exemplified by the case of respondent #3, a native of Inhambane, who responded that he felt comfortable in **Gitonga** and Portuguese "[because] I think, speak, and study in Portuguese. I also feel at ease with **Gitonga** as a matter of regional identity. It is rare that young people of my generation have a good mastery of **Gitonga** and I have a special sentiment for the language of my ancestors."

Some of the respondents justified the fact that Portuguese was the language they felt more comfortable with on the basis of the fact that they recognized it as the national link language. This view was indicated by respondent #20, a native of Sofala, who felt more comfortable in Portuguese since "I use it in most of my life and I have developed a fluency that cannot be matched by that of any other language. Another strong reason is the fact that it is a language of national unity and its use has become a habit." Also, respondent #10, a native speaker of **Cisena**, affirmed that Portuguese was the language she felt more comfortable with "because I speak and understand it correctly, because it is a national language and it is easy to communicate in, and because most of my colleagues do not speak **Cisena**." She is living in Maputo where the most spoken indigenous language is **Xironga**.

It could be argued that the fact that none of the respondents indicated they were at ease exclusively with an indigenous language may be due to either the social type of the respondents or to impression management (no one in Maputo, especially the type of respondents I interacted with, would like to hint that they do not know Portuguese). The eloquence of some of the justifications provided by the respondents carries enough plausibility to conclude that Portuguese is, in fact, becoming the primary and preferred medium of communication for some residents of Maputo. These dwellers of Maputo are

losing fluency in indigenous languages while, at the same time, gaining communicative competence almost exclusively in Portuguese. In fact, Portuguese may be considered the unmarked choice in most situations, especially in public domains, since the respondents indicated that they use indigenous languages instead of Portuguese only in unavoidable circumstances such as with relatives who do not know Portuguese. However, indigenous languages are still highly valued as indexes of social identity, as the above-mentioned comment by respondent # 3 showed.

Thus, one generalization that can be inferred is that Portuguese has been appropriated by a significant social segment in Maputo and integrated into Maputo social life as a natural linguistic resource. Furthermore, the use of Portuguese is not dictated by exogenous forces; rather it rests on the dynamics of social life in Maputo and, by extension, in the whole of Mozambique. Nevertheless, I believe that the picture shown by the responses cannot represent all zones of Maputo. This generalization is most appropriate for the inner zone.

4. 3. 3. Attitudes toward indigenous languages

4. 3. 3. 1. Which indigenous language(s) would you like to know ?

My inquiry into the feelings that the respondents held toward indigenous languages started by eliciting their willingness to learn these languages. In one of the questions, the respondents were asked to name which unknown or badly known indigenous languages they would like to be able to speak with good fluency (question #13). I assumed that the respondents would show willingness to learn indigenous languages, under the assumption that they would resist learning languages other than those that each one of them considered to be *minha língua* (my language), the expression people use in reference to the indigenous language which indicates their ethnic and/or regional background and often is their native

language. On the other hand, in case people were willing to learn an indigenous language different from *minha língua*, I hoped the responses would indicate a pattern by which the languages were chosen, which eventually could be related to how different indigenous languages and their speakers are generally viewed by society. Even though there were indications that these assumptions were born out in some cases, in general the responses were much more complex. For instance, even though most respondents expressed willingness to learn other people's native indigenous languages, there was a clear indication that the respondents would follow a pattern in the selection of the specific languages they would learn. They would not select just any language.

The ability to communicate with other people was indicated as one of the motivations to learn any indigenous languages not already known, languages of particular areas of the country (e.g. languages of the central or northern parts of the country), or even one specific language of the area where the respondent was living (e.g. **Xironga**, for people living in Maputo). A number of respondents were willing to learn some of the indigenous languages on the basis of subjective criteria such as beauty, elegance, or even exoticism. Others explicitly offered ethnic and/or regionalist feelings as their main motivation. Ethnic claims were also used by some informants to justify their unwillingness to learn any other people's native indigenous languages.

While some of the respondents showed openness to learn as many indigenous languages as possible, others manifested total unwillingness to learn any language besides their own native language (*minha língua*) and Portuguese. One justification given by those respondents who were open to learning any indigenous language emphasized "instrumental" needs (Kelman 1971). Such is the case of respondent #8, a southerner who claimed to know the main languages spoken in southern Mozambique, namely **Gitonga, Cicopi, Xironga, Xichangana** and **Xitshwa**, and who expressed openness to learn as many indigenous languages as possible "in order to be able to communicate with

any citizen of Mozambique." Such a desire to learn other indigenous languages may be motivated by the fact that, in Maputo, one is in contact with Mozambicans from all over the country, as indicated by respondent #25, who expressed willingness to learn all indigenous languages "because in Maputo one is in contact with speakers of all Mozambican languages." In connection with this situation, some of the respondents indicated that the nature of their social network may be relevant. Informant #13 said that he would like to improve his knowledge of <u>Cicopi</u>, <u>Gitonga</u> and <u>Cindau</u> because "I have friends and relatives who are speakers of these languages; I don't like that they communicate with me in my language, <u>Xitsonga</u>, while I cannot reciprocate the gesture. A similar view is expressed by respondent #3, a native speaker of <u>Gitonga</u>, who also claimed to know <u>Xichangana</u>, <u>Xitshwa</u>, <u>Cisena</u> and <u>Cishona</u> but would also like to know <u>Emakhuwa</u> and <u>Cicopi</u>: "because I have the obligation to know them. I have many friends who speak these languages and I feel restricted when I cannot express myself with ease in those languages." Also respondent #14 expressed a similar opinion: "The languages <u>Gitonga</u>, <u>Xironga</u>, <u>Cicopi</u>, I know them but very badly, so I would like to know them better because I have been hanging out with people who speak them."

The willingness to learn specific languages may be motivated by communicational needs in the context of the language situation in Maputo. This is the case of respondent #10, a native speaker of <u>Cisena</u>, who mentioned that "I would like to know <u>Xironga</u> because I live in the midst of Rongas and it would facilitate communication in the markets, on the streets, in the buses, etc." This view is expressed by those who do not speak the indigenous language associated with Maputo, that is, <u>Xironga</u>. It has its opposite correlative, that is, speakers of <u>Xironga</u> may resist learning other indigenous languages, especially those from the central or northern part of the country. Respondent #29, a native of Maputo whose native language is <u>Xironga</u> and who feels most comfortable in Portuguese and <u>Xironga</u>, was adamant about this: "I would not like to know any other language besides those I have already

mentioned [that is, **Xironga** and Portuguese], for I feel no interest in doing that." The fact that respondent #29 is a native of Maputo living in Maputo may be the determining factor in his lack of motivation for learning any other indigenous language besides his native one. In Maputo, knowledge of **Xironga** and/or Portuguese is sufficient for complying with most of the instrumental and sentimental demands arising from the type of social interactions characterizing the city. However, it should not be inferred that all speakers of **Xironga** have no interest in learning other indigenous languages. Informant #13 is also a native speaker of **Xironga**, but was willing to learn any indigenous languages from the central and northern part of the country, "as a way of becoming more Mozambican."

Sentimental reasons were also invoked by some of the informants willing to learn other languages. For instance, respondent #1, who knew all southern languages except **Gitonga**, was willing to learn this language "because if I spoke **Gitonga**, I would feel proud of being able to speak all languages spoken to the south of the Save river."[6]

Sentimental imperatives also surfaced in a number of respondents who justified their appreciation of certain languages and their disposition to learn them by associating them with qualities such as goodness, beauty, elegance, and even exoticism. Of importance here is that the respondents were, in fact, exposing their positive attitude toward the speakers of those languages. In fact, one respondent did express his willingness to learn specific languages only because he liked their speakers. Respondent #2, a native speaker of **Emakhuwa** and **Ekoti** who has been living in Maputo for the last 7 years, mentioned the following: "I like **Gitonga**, **Cishona** and **Kiswahili**, and I like to associate with their speakers." On the other hand, respondent #11, a native speaker of **Gitonga** and Portuguese who claimed to speak **Cindau**, **Cisena**, and **Xitshwa** and has been living in Maputo for the last 14 years, presented this view: "I would like to learn these languages [**Xironga**, **Kimwani** and **Cishona**]. I appreciate them, they are beautiful. It is beautiful to hear someone speaking **Xironga**, **Kimwani** and **Cishona**." Respondent #21 indicated

Emakhuwa on the following grounds: "I associate that language [Emakhuwa] with the impression that it has mingled with other cultures, especially those from the East. ... I don't know whether I am looking at it as exotic."

Statements of interest in learning other people's indigenous languages should not be taken at face value, as the respondents may be just trying to convey a positive image. This is supported by the fact that some respondents felt that it was irrelevant to know other people's indigenous languages, as in the case of respondent #29 reported earlier. This conclusion is also supported by the fact that the questionnaire provided evidence that attitudinal factors such as ethnic and/or regionalist sentiments inhibit people from being willing to learn other people's indigenous languages. For instance, respondent #30, a native speaker of Emakhuwa who has been living in Maputo for the last eight years, would only improve his knowledge of Emakhuwa, "because this is my language" (emphasis mine). Regionalist affiliations arose, for example, in the case of respondents who would learn indigenous languages limited to specific regional domains. Such is the case mentioned earlier of respondent #1, who was willing to learn Gitonga, the only southern language he did not know "because if I spoke Gitonga, I would feel proud to being able to speak all languages spoken to the south of the Save river." Likewise, some respondents would learn only the language of *minha terra-natal* (my homeland). Respondent #4 said explicitly that she would improve her knowledge of Cisena and Cindau "because they are the languages of the province where I was born and it is senseless that I don't know them well. ... since I was born in Sofala, I should feel proud to knowing the languages of my homeland." Another case is that of respondent #9, whose native language is Portuguese. She expressed that for her it was important to learn Xitsonga "in order to be able to understand and speak with people from my homeland who do not have a command of Portuguese."

Other respondents associated indigenous languages with national sentiments. I mentioned earlier the case of respondent #13, a southerner whose native language is **Xironga**, who showed interest in knowing indigenous languages from the central and northern part of the country (not mentioning which ones), "as a way of becoming more Mozambican."

The association of indigenous languages with traditional knowledge is also important. Respondent #12 would like to know **Cindau** and **Cicopi** because: "They are languages for accessing certain aspects of cultural tradition."[7] Respondent #22 stated the same idea: "The most serious stages of the life of a Mozambican are conducted, described, discussed and judged in an African Mozambican language."

The generalizations that can be drawn from the responses point toward different trends, some of which are contradictory, namely:

    a) strong attachments to *minha língua;*

    b) the association of indigenous languages with ethnic, regionalist or even nationalist identities;

    c) subjection to constraints imposed by the linguistic market in the area where one lives;

    d) the association of indigenous languages with traditional life.

Although a strong attachment to native indigenous languages (*minha língua*) was shown by those respondents who would not learn any other people's languages, it should not be inferred that those respondents who were willing to learn other indigenous languages do not also hold strong feelings toward their *minha língua*. The fact that some respondents were willing to learn indigenous languages limited to specific areas may indicate just such an attachment, since the particular area that is selected is often the one

associated with those languages closest to the respondent's *minha língua..* This illustrates that the use of indigenous languages invokes ethnic and/or regionalist identities.

Willingness to learn other people's native language(s) surfaced in connection with the need to communicate with other people in their own languages. For some of the respondents such willingness was associated with nationalist sentiments, as in the case of the informant who felt that learning all languages would make him more Mozambican. For other respondents such willingness correlated with regionalist sentiments, as with the respondent who would feel proud if he could learn **Gitonga**, the only southern language he did not already know.

The responses also indicated that willingness to learn a specific language may be imposed by the dynamics of the linguistic market in the area one is living. For instance, some respondents whose native language was not **Xironga** (the main indigenous language spoken in Maputo) and who were not natives of Maputo expressed a desire to know this language, as it would facilitate contacts in the area of Maputo. On the other hand, some of the respondents whose native language is **Xironga** were not interested in knowing other people's indigenous language. The choices expressed by these respondents conform to their awareness of the linguistic situation in Maputo, where, if one needs to communicate in an indigenous language, **Xironga** is enough to connect anyone to a wider range of interlocutors.

The reference to the links that indigenous languages maintain with tradition provides a confirmation of one of the main spheres in which their use is fundamental. In fact, virtually only indigenous languages are used in this domain. As I mentioned in the preceding paragraph, one of the reasons for the resilience of indigenous languages in the city Maputo is associated with the fact that they are still very much embedded in traditional life. For this reason, it is not surprising that some respondents refer to indigenous languages as carriers of traditional life. However, the reference to indigenous languages

also relates to an important aspect of social life in Maputo, mostly in the inner zone. There is a conflicting double-life in which most Maputo residents are caught, that is, they feel compelled to hide their links with "tradition" to show that they are "civilized" and have absorbed urban values.

4. 3. 3. 2. Why do you feel that it is good to know indigenous languages?

The perceptions that the respondents have toward indigenous languages were further probed by asking them specifically whether knowledge of an indigenous language was useful and why (cf. question #16). Respondents were given several yes-or-no questions to justify their response, in addition to the possibility of ignoring the fixed alternatives and elaborating freely on other reasons. The alternatives included whether an indigenous language helped to build a better personal image, facilitated contacts with relatives, colleagues in the workplace or friends, access to jobs, or knowledge of daily events in the country or in the world. Most informants skipped the yes-or-no questions and instead explored the possibilities provided by a free response.

Among those who resorted to yes-or-no questions, there was an admission that knowledge of indigenous languages was useful mainly for building a better personal image and facilitating contacts with relatives. As to other alternatives, the responses were negative. Regarding those who preferred to resort to a free response, facilitation of communication was one of the reasons linked to the usefulness of indigenous languages. However, the overwhelming majority of the free responses invariably stressed the association of indigenous languages with a national Mozambican identity, as the following samples demonstrate:

a) "As a matter of national pride, it is good to speak one or more indigenous languages"[respondent #3];

b) "It is a way of identifying ourselves with what is ours"[respondent #6];

c) "An African Mozambican language is part of our culture, it cannot be despised, for we would be ignoring completely our culture, the reality that we are Africans and our origin"[respondent #14];

d) "For a Mozambican to know a Mozambican language, besides that it is good, is extremely important because it makes us feel truly Africans, more concretely, more Mozambican. My point is that any Mozambican should know, at least, one national language and that the national languages should be taught in the secondary schools"[respondent #17];

e) "As a Mozambican, to speak a Mozambican language is a sign of pride. It dignifies the individual and the country"[respondent #18];

f) "As a citizen it is good to know something of our Bantu heritage which, in association with the European and Asiatic components, makes up the Mozambican reality"[respondent #21];

g) "Because I feel my identity as a Mozambican more reinforced"[respondent #24].

These responses have significant relevance, given the metapragmatic awareness with which they can be associated. The question was framed with no specific language in mind, although it was clear that it made reference only to indigenous languages, therefore excluding Portuguese and foreign languages used in Mozambique. The respondents were taking indigenous languages in general without focusing in any of them in particular. Thus, if focus is shifted from particular languages to indigenous languages in general, ethnolinguistic attachments are overcome and indigenous languages are perceived as national languages, as revealed even by the recurrent reference terms that are used, that is, either *línguas nacionais* (national languages) or *línguas moçambicanas* (Mozambican languages).

This metapragmatic awareness confirms my earlier observation that indigenous languages, even though they are losing ground as tools of communication, especially in the inner zone, still remain powerful indexes of a diversity of social identities arising in

connection with regional and ethnolinguistic as well as national attachments. The following section will further corroborate this observation, by giving evidence showing that the perception of genuine Mozambicanity is often linked to knowledge of indigenous languages.

4. 3. 3. 3. What do you feel when using an indigenous language?

Question #21 explicitly asked the respondents what they felt when using indigenous languages. The question included several fixed alternatives requiring yes-or-no answers, in addition to space for elaborating in a free response. The fixed alternatives inquired whether the use of indigenous languages aroused feelings of pride, more or less Mozambicanness, tribalism/regionalism, shame, backwardness, more intelligence, or genuine Mozambicanness. Most respondents were inclined to associate the use of indigenous languages with pride and genuine Mozambicanness and none of them admitted that its use brought feelings of less Mozambicanness, tribalism/regionalism, shame or backwardness. Only three of the respondents claimed that they felt more intelligent when they used indigenous languages.

Very few respondents opted for the possibility of expressing their views through free commentary, which may mean that the set of fixed alternatives were sufficient to cover the general feelings associated with the use of indigenous languages. Among those who did comment, emphasis was placed on both instrumental and sentimental achievements. For instance, respondent #7 stated that when using indigenous languages, "I felt happy by managing to communicate my message to my interlocutor, since I speak that language in order to be able to have my message come across." On the other hand, respondent #3 said that he felt like "an owner of my own culture," whenever he used an indigenous language.

An important generalization supported by the responses to questions #21 is that indigenous languages are of fundamental value in the symbolic construction of national identities. Thus, the indexical association of indigenous languages with Mozambicanhood stands out as one of the recurrent themes revealed by the questionnaire. However, the association of indigenous languages with sub-national loyalties should not be left out, as responses to other questions have indicated. My impression is that respondents only stressed what they perceived as positive values and avoided the explicit expression of negative perceptions. For example, none of the informants admitted that indigenous languages could bring, for instance, feelings of shame or regionalism, which feelings have been substantiated by my experience in Maputo. My experience in Maputo leads to the conclusion that, even though the indexical association of indigenous languages and Mozambicanhood is warranted, such association is also interspersed with "negative" feelings that people may not express openly. This is understandable, given the nature of the linguistic and social markets. Indigenous languages have been historically and socially "minorized,"[8] while Portuguese has been the most socially valued language.

4. 3. 4.   Attitudes toward Portuguese

4. 3. 4. 1.   What do you feel when using Portuguese?

Perceptions of Portuguese were partially examined in a question that explicitly inquired about the feelings that respondents had when using the language (cf. question #14). I expected that the responses would indicate something about the nature of the social implantation of Portuguese. The question asked, "How do you feel when you speak Portuguese?" and offered seven fixed alternatives requiring yes-or-no answers, in addition to a possibility of elaborating freely on other aspects that could not be covered by the seven alternatives. The fixed alternatives asked whether the respondents felt proud, more or less

Mozambican, like a Portuguese national, ashamed, more intelligent or like a foreigner in their own country.

For most respondents only the first two alternatives could express their feelings; they admitted that they felt proud and more Mozambican when using Portuguese, which seems to indicate that most of the fixed alternatives could not adequately reflect what Portuguese represented to them. For this reason, some respondents avoided committing themselves to any of the seven possibilities, preferring to elaborate their own free response. A recurrent theme that was expressed is that the use of Portuguese is a "normal" social practice, to which no other special meaning than effective communication could be attached. Such a view was articulated in the following examples:

a) "I feel normal, that is, as a person who uses a language as any other, to communicate"[respondent #6];

b) "Portuguese language is part of myself, when I speak it I don't feel anything strange"[respondent #17];

c) "I feel the same as when I express myself in **Xironga**. For me it is as simple a question as this: when it is necessary to communicate with other people the language is not an issue" [respondent #25].

Some respondents linked the normalcy with which they use Portuguese with a sense of unavoidable fatality, given the fact that it was the official language that guarantees effective communication with all Mozambicans and access to social goods. Some of the most revealing opinions are the following:

a) "I don't feel more or less Mozambican because it is the official language and if we didn't speak it, this our country would be in disorder, with such a diversity of languages" [respondent #4];

b) "I take Portuguese as a force of destiny"[respondent #2];

c) "I feel myself more at ease knowing that it is possible to communicate with any other person, regardless of whether or not he/she knows an indigenous language. Therefore, it is a tool for survival"[respondent #5];

d) "Portuguese for me is a language of wider communication and to speak this language means having access to education, work, etc. For this reason I feel that Portuguese provides me with the possibility of fulfilling these needs"[respondent #7];

e) "I feel normal because it is a language I need to know to follow the path of civilization"[respondent #10].

Other respondents justified the normalcy of the use of Portuguese on the grounds that the language has been "africanized" and its use is for them as normal as that of any indigenous language. This view is expressed in the following statements:

a) "When I speak Portuguese I feel that I am taking advantage of a tool that is strategically viable for more expansion and insertion in the various linguistic communities in our country. Notwithstanding that some would argue that it is an element of cultural denaturalization, the influences that African languages exert or have exerted on Portuguese allow me to say with some plausibility that effectively there is no space for such denaturalization, because Portuguese may also be already an African language"[respondent #28];

b) "I don't feel more or less Mozambican, but a Mozambican. I think that I abstract myself from the connotations that the Portuguese language has. In a way, Portuguese can be perceived as a Mozambican language because we speak it as naturally as any other Mozambican language that we speak" [respondent #23];

c) "I feel normal, as with any other Mozambican language, for this language is part of our day to day life. It also fits into our culture, even though it was brought here by our colonizers"[respondent #14];

Finally, one respondent admitted that Portuguese can be used to identify Mozambique:

"I haven't had any special sentiment regarding Portuguese, except feeling like a person using a language to communicate with other people. When I am in an English speaking country, then yes, if I am speaking Portuguese I particularize and identify myself with my Mozambique"[9] [respondent #20].

It should not be assumed, however, that Portuguese has been embraced without resistance by all Maputo dwellers. For instance, respondent #16 displayed views that were different from most of the other respondents. He claimed that when he spoke Portuguese he did not feel proud and that it made him less Mozambican. His contention with the wide use of Portuguese is shown clearly in the following words:

"When a stranger addresses me in Portuguese, I think that he associates me with a foreigner, unless he is of a different skin color than mine. I prefer that a black person like me addresses me in his language and only after I tell him that I don't understand his language we can use a different one".

It seems that this respondent does not have negative feelings toward Portuguese, but rather he resents the fact that indigenous languages are not widely used. It is a very singular view and it may not be an accident that it was expressed by a person of an older generation (he claimed to be 61 years old)[10] who for most of his life has been deeply involved with Protestant religious institutions, whose history of commitment to the use of indigenous languages has been peculiarly outstanding. The fact that this respondent is of an older generation is consistent with the linguistic generation gap prevailing in Maputo between the older and younger generations with regard to linguistic practices, which was mentioned in the preceding chapter.

Again, the major generalization that can be inferred from the feelings indicated by the respondents toward Portuguese is that this language has become an important linguistic tool in Maputo, partly in response to the demands of the linguistic and socio-economic market but also as a result of a conscious metapragmatic awareness of its changing social status. As the respondents have indicated, the use of Portuguese is now a natural practice, as much as the use of indigenous languages is assumed to be. Furthermore, respondents showed an awareness of the symbolic and linguistic transformation that Portuguese is undergoing, to the point that some of them even refer to it as a *"língua nacional"* (national language), a designation usually reserved for indigenous languages. In other words, most residents of Maputo not only regard Portuguese as a tool for social advancement, but also perceive it as their language in the sense that they use it with normalcy, and are attached to it as a legitimate Mozambican linguistic resource.

4. 3. 4. 2. How useful is it to know Portuguese?

The attachment that the respondents might have to the Portuguese language was further inspected with the question, "Is it good to know Portuguese and why ?" (question #15). This question carried the underlying assumption that the respondents would admit that knowledge of Portuguese was good, which indeed did occur, but my primary intention was rather to go further and apprehend their rationalizations on why it was good to know Portuguese. The respondents were first given the choice of considering six fixed alternatives, namely, whether the knowledge of Portuguese helped to provide a better personal image, facilitated contacts with relatives, co-workers and friends, was necessary for getting a job, or enabled easy access to information on national and worldwide affairs. The respondents were also given the choice of elaborating a free response that could include aspects not adequately covered by these six alternatives.

In general, most respondents agreed with all six alternatives that were presented to them. This confirmed my observations with regard to the types of social functions that Portuguese is fulfilling in Maputo, namely, that it is:

a) a language conferring social prestige to whoever speaks it, as most respondents were aware that it gave them a better image;

b) the institutional language, as demonstrated by the admission by most respondents that it was their language in the workplace and that it facilitated access to work opportunities (cf. below the responses to question #20);

c) the language of daily mundane activities as shown by its wider use in contacts with friends and some relatives;

d) the primary language for exchange of information on national affairs and contacts with the outside world, as it was unanimously accepted by the respondents.

However, more telling motivations associated with the advantage of knowing Portuguese surfaced when the respondents further elaborated freely on their justifications. The crucial motivation seemed to be that, given the fact that it was the official language, knowledge of Portuguese was a "must" for social mobility and communication with other fellow countrymen. This is demonstrated by the following opinions:

a) "In Mozambique it is an obligation to know how to speak Portuguese very well"[respondent #3];

b) "It is the language that allows one to succeed in life"[respondent #6];

c) "It is very important to know Portuguese because it is an official language in our country and, therefore, it makes communication with people all over the country easy" [respondent #14];

d) "It is the only tool allowing access to knowledge, education, and work compatible with the minimum of expected social stability"[respondent #21].

Thus, an inference that can be made from these responses is that the usefulness of the knowledge of Portuguese derives mainly from the recognition of the roles played by the language, namely, that Portuguese is <u>the</u> language associated with institutional activities and access to societal goods as well as wider communication. Furthermore, the respondents regard this situation with resignation or acceptance rather than contention, which means that knowledge of Portuguese is viewed more as a challenge to be overcome than an obstacle to be eliminated. This inference departs from many commentators of linguistic situations in Africa who have disregarded such roles and treated ex-colonial languages only as negative obstacles, leading to unrealistic proposals to changes in language policies.

4. 3. 5. Portuguese usage

4. 3. 5. 1. How about *afinar* ?

Attitudes toward Portuguese and its speakers were further examined by asking how the respondents related to forms used by most Mozambicans. The questions attempted to find out about usages of Portuguese, how people use those usages to characterize their social personae, and how those usages affect the progress and outcome of social interactions. Attitudes toward usage were probed with a focus on the most salient linguistic feature, the accent (*sotaque*), and particularly a feature locally known as *afinar* (to sharpen), a type of stylish affected pronunciation perceived as resembling the accent associated with "Portuguese Portuguese" or white Mozambicans. Two open-ended questions were submitted to the respondents:

a) "Do you like to hear Mozambicans speaking Portuguese with an imitation of a European accent (with an affected pronunciation, imitating some expressions or types of phrases, etc.)? Why?" (question #17);

b) "Do you like people who "sharpen" when speaking Portuguese? Why?" (question #18);

Questions #17 & 18 tackled the same issue, that is, perceptions of forms of Portuguese and their speakers. They were framed in different ways to maximize the information and feelings that the respondents could be encouraged to present. With question #17 I probed how Mozambicans perceived the forms of Portuguese *vis-à-vis* European Portuguese with regard to issues of national identification, while question #18 focused on the evaluations of *sotaque* and their users.

4. 3. 5. 1. 1. Do you like to hear Mozambicans mimicking the European Portuguese accent?

The respondents manifested negative feelings against speaking "Portuguese like one was a Portuguese" on various grounds. A group of respondents stressed the fact that the use of a "Portuguese Portuguese" form of accent was unacceptable because it was unnatural, ridiculous, and reflected a lack of self-esteem as Mozambicans on the part of those who used it. Some ways of expressing such a view were the following:

a) "When they speak like Portuguese they end up being ridiculous, imitating things that are either non-existent in the European Portuguese or even making mistakes, since they over-generalize. On the other hand, I even think that such imitation results from an inferiority complex that those individuals feel when they speak with an accent that shows their African origin. Therefore, they imitate others with the aim of hiding who they are and where they come from"[respondent #1];

b) "... the Portuguese language in Mozambique has specific functions and we should speak it not as an imitation, but because it is a tool of communication. Portuguese should have the features that identify it as a language of Mozambique"[respondent #19];

c) "I don't like it [to see people speaking like they were Portuguese], because it indicates something like self-denial, mainly when the accent is forced. Why not speak Portuguese with naturalness?"[respondent #18];

d) "I dislike it absolutely [to see people speaking like they were Portuguese], for they are trying to hide their real condition as Africans and are seeking an identity that they will never achieve"[respondent #28];

In connection with this view, some respondents went even further and remarked that by mimicking such forms of Portuguese, the speaker was scorning his/her Mozambicanhood. Such an opinion is shown in the following statements:

a) "Because they are few [those who speak like Portuguese nationals], they look like they are less Mozambican" [respondent #12];

b) "Obviously not [I don't like speaking Portuguese like a Portuguese] because we should speak the language as we feel it and not like the Portuguese speak it since we are Mozambicans and we know that the Portuguese language here is different"[respondent #17];

c) "It is superfluous, it gives the impression of a lack of character and denial of Mozambicanhood"[respondent #22].

Notice that respondents showed contempt against "Portuguese Portuguese" forms of speaking, not because the European grammar should be dismissed, but rather out of an awareness of the emergence of distinctive forms of manipulating the language, which deserve to be considered on their own terms and appreciated in association with assertions of Mozambicanhood. Examples of such views include:

a) "I don't like it [speaking the Portuguese language like a Portuguese national] because it does not seem natural. I also think that we ought to develop the local variety of Portuguese ("falar" do português de Moçambique), that is, the different Mozambican ways of speaking Portuguese (falares moçambicanos)"[respondent #6];

b) "For me, speaking Portuguese correctly is essential but imitating the European Portuguese accent with the intention of speaking Portuguese like a Portuguese is a departure from our culture. For me Portuguese has to be spoken in our way, but without a disregard for the rules of the Portuguese language"[respondent #14];

A major conclusion that can be drawn from these statements is that the respondents displayed an awareness of a Mozambican way of speaking Portuguese, with which they maintain strong positive ties. However, this Mozambican way of speaking Portuguese is not construed from a divergence at a grammatical level, in the strict sense of grammatical rules defined in a prescriptive grammar book, but rather from para-linguistic and discursive features, such as accent.[11]

Another important point is that since, in fact, no Mozambican really speaks like a Portuguese, "speaking Portuguese in Mozambique like a Portuguese" is part of a social construction whose understanding may shed light into the processes of the institutionalization of Portuguese languagehood in Mozambique. For most of my respondents "speaking Portuguese like a Portuguese" refers to ways of using Portuguese perceived as typical of white Mozambicans, but only when they are used by black Mozambicans. In other words, this form of speaking is associated with blacks when they are perceived as "speaking white" artificially.[12] A person speaking white is regarded as pretentious (*gingão*) and associated negatively with, inter alia, uppity orientations, despise for "traditional" Mozambican values. As I have argued that language invokes social realities, here is a demonstration of how forms that Portuguese may take in Maputo and the ideologies they are associated with are an indication of the ways people perceive each other, as well as, the complexities involved in social relations characterizing the city.

4. 3. 5. 1. 2. Do you like to hear Mozambicans with a *sotaque afinado* (affected accent)?

Question #18 also focuses on "speaking white", but this time by bringing this form of speaking to the attention of the respondents by using a local term, *afinar*, which is widely used in reference to this type of affected pronunciation. The question generated responses similar to those of questions #17, as for instance, the association of *afinar* with the idea of cultural alienation and inferiority complex. Notice the following statements:

a) "I don't like it [having an affected accent] because I think that we Mozambicans have our own way of feeling and dealing with the language. We cannot forget that the Portuguese language in Mozambique has been affected by dynamics that are different from the European Portuguese because of our multilingual universe which, naturally, triggered interferences in sentence structuring as well as in the appearance of pronunciations different from those of a speaker of European Portuguese" [respondent #17];

b) "[I don't like people who "sharpen" the accent]. They lack self-esteem and have an inferiority complex. I don't have the patience to relate with people who cannot accept who they are ..." [respondent #21];

c) "[I don't like people who "sharpen" the accent] because they are very artificial and attempt to refuse themselves"[respondent #25];

d) "...this linguistic practice clearly represents the climax of cultural alienation"[respondent #28];

e) "it gives the sense that they are ashamed for having been born without speaking Portuguese and they want to change that"[respondent #22];

Also some disliked "*afinar*" because they regarded a person using it as a ridiculous show off, and that its use indicated lack of personality and arrogance:

a) "I think that *afinar* weakens the personality of a person. It is possible to speak Portuguese with style without having necessarily to "sharpen"[respondent #6];

b) "... When people "sharpen", some of the words cannot be well understood. On the other hand, I have the sense that the person is showing off his wide knowledge, which many times is not true"[respondent #14];

c) "I don't like people who "sharpen". They look arrogant to me"[respondent #30];

Respondent #15 expressed more meaningfully the ideological position motivating these opinions: "I think that everyone should speak with his/her accent and it is beautiful."

4. 3. 5. 1. 3. What can the usage of Portuguese indicate to you?

The different types of speakers indexed by different types of usage of Portuguese were examined through a yes-or-no question that asked whether the respondents would be able to discover the social status, level of education, or regional origin of a speaker of Portuguese by relying only on the way he/she speaks Portuguese (question #19). Most of the responses were affirmative, especially in the case of regional origin.

Thus, the responses confirmed our prediction that usage of Portuguese is a major source for constructions of judgment as to the social persona of Portuguese speakers. Regional origin was one of the focal points of this judgment, as indicated by the convergence of all respondents on this issue. Furthermore, the responses show that as far as the social implantation of Portuguese is concerned, what matters is not just the knowledge and use of Portuguese, but also the use of specific forms of Portuguese. This aspect has been overlooked by analysts of the situation of ex-colonial languages in African countries who tend to argue in absolute terms as if the these languages are used as homogeneous entities with unique symbolic and communicational value. These analysts rarely view the larger context in which the ex-colonial languages are used, namely, that their use comes to extend beyond the elitist and neo-colonial practices with which they are often associated. The responses that have just been discussed show that, even though the

elitist dimension cannot be dissociated from Portuguese in Mozambique, the diverse uses and usage of Portuguese have also been incorporated into the specific ways in which people relate to each other. In this sense, Portuguese is a natural linguistic resource that has been mozambicanized.

4. 3. 6. Officialization of indigenous languages and Portuguese
4. 3. 6. 1. To which domains should indigenous languages be allocated?

My inquiry into the situation of indigenous languages focused also on functional allocations that could be granted to these languages and investigated what the respondents' views were about the use of indigenous languages in some public and/or institutional domains. One question asked whether indigenous languages should be used in some specific domains, namely, in political speeches, court sessions, official documents, appointments with top state officials, newspapers, radio broadcasting, top state officials' public speeches, primary schools, secondary schools, and universities (cf. question #22). For each one of these domains, respondents were asked to provide a yes-or-no answer. My underlying assumption was that the use of indigenous languages would not require the replacement of Portuguese.

As I already mentioned in preceding chapters, except in the case of some church services, radio broadcasting, and political speeches, indigenous languages are mostly restricted to face-to-face interactions outside official activities, mainly with relatives or people with similar ethnic and/or regional background. Thus, the respondents were induced to react to a hypothetical linguistic scenario in which indigenous languages had access to domains that have so far been restricted to Portuguese.[13]

A number of respondents reacted to the complexity of the question by avoiding a definite yes-or-no answer, as it demanded, and instead opted for hesitant responses such as

"maybe", "it depends", "sometimes" and the like [cf. respondent #11]. The vast majority of the respondents were willing to accept the allocation of indigenous languages only to some domains, mainly those that do not seem to require the use of writing. In fact, the vast majority of the respondents did not envisage the use of indigenous languages in official documents or newspapers, while most accepted its use in political speeches or radio programs. The respondents also resisted the use of indigenous languages in the schools, especially in secondary schools and universities. There was more willingness to accept indigenous languages in the primary schools, though some respondents resisted even that [cf. respondents #1, 8, 14, 23, 28 & 30]. As far as court sessions or appointments with top officials were concerned, opinions were divided between acceptance and rejection of the use of indigenous languages, but with a slight bent toward non-use. Very few of the respondents accepted that indigenous languages be used side by side with Portuguese in all of the indicated domains [cf. respondents #16, 18, 19, 20, 26].

The responses seem to indicate that the respondents have mixed feelings toward the allocation of indigenous languages to official and/or public domains and so are unable to provide definite answers. However, there was an indication that most respondents do not conceive of indigenous languages as "print-languages" and, therefore, resist their use in domains that would require writing. This may be associated with the fact that in Mozambique there is no far-reaching tradition of using indigenous languages in writing. Another important conclusion that can be drawn from the responses is that many respondents would not reject the idea of using indigenous languages in primary schools.

4. 3. 6. 2. In which situations can the mandatory use of Portuguese be recommended?

Further information regarding the official allocation of the languages used in Mozambique came from a question that asked whether the respondents approved the mandatory use of Portuguese in political oratory, court sessions, official documents, appointments with top officials, newspapers, radio broadcasting, top officials' speeches, or as a medium of instruction in primary schools, secondary schools or universities (question #20). For each one of these fixed alternatives the respondents had to provide a yes-or-no answer.

A number of the respondents accepted the mandatory use of Portuguese in the situations indicated previously [cf. respondents #1, 7, 14, 15, 20, 22, 23, 29, 30], though a few resisted the exclusive use of Portuguese in some particular situations. For example, some respondents resisted the mandatory use of Portuguese in radio broadcasting and primary education. In these domains, the respondents expressed that the use of Portuguese should be complemented by the use of indigenous languages [cf. respondents #3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 24, 27].

Other respondents also took issue with the exclusive use of Portuguese in political oratory [cf. respondent #11, 12, 25, 28], court sessions [cf. respondent #25, 27], official documents [cf. respondent #27], newspapers [cf. respondent #9, 11], appointments with top officials (respondents #25, 27, 28), and top officials' speeches (respondent #25, 28). Most of the respondents who questioned the exclusive use of Portuguese in these domains were motivated by an acute awareness of the differences, in terms of linguistic practices, between urban and rural areas. Such is the case of respondent #12 who, in response to whether Portuguese should be an obligatory language in political oratory, stated the following: "In direct contacts with people in rural areas, no. In official occasions and contacts with people in the cities, yes."

There were also a few respondents who resisted the fact that Portuguese should be the only language used in any of the situations indicated in the question [respondent #2, 16, 18, 19, 26]. Respondent #18 justified his position with the remark that "... what is obligatory tends to be unpleasant. The citizen should be given a chance of exercising the right to speak any language, particularly his own language or the one he feels more comfortable with."

Even though opinions on question #20 were varied, there is also some common ground. Regardless of whether the respondents considered that Portuguese should be used exclusively or not in institutional domains, all of them shared the assumption that it belongs there. The general acceptance of the role of Portuguese as an institutionally official language was so broad that it can be said that this role is taken for granted. For this reason, none of the respondents expressed the feeling that Portuguese should be replaced in any of those domains altogether. However, this is not to say that the respondents are not aware of the a major shortcoming associated with the exclusive use of Portuguese as an institutional language, that some Mozambicans do not know Portuguese. For this reason, the respondents also made it clear that in some situations, such as political oratory, radio broadcasting, primary education, and court sessions, the use of indigenous languages is also advisable.

Significantly, the situations that were indicated in response to question #20 are consistent with the responses discussed in the previous section, which elaborated on the possible allocations of indigenous languages. Therefore, one major inference that can be made is that the respondents accept the role of Portuguese as an official language, but also would like to see this role complemented by indigenous languages.

4. 3. 6. 3. Which specific indigenous languages should be officialized in the city of Maputo ?

The final question regarding the official allocation of the languages used in Mozambique was directed toward the possible institutional and/or public use of indigenous languages in the city of Maputo. Since the underlying assumption was that an indigenous language should complement the use of Portuguese, the issue was to determine which one(s) should be chosen. The respondents were asked to indicate, in the case of Maputo, which specific Mozambican language(s)[14] should be used in political oratory, court sessions, official documents, appointments with top officials, newspapers, radio broadcasting, top officials' speeches, and as a medium of instruction in primary schools, secondary schools and universities (cf. question #23). The aim was to pose to the respondents a real-life situation in which they would have to make concrete decisions which could assist in forming socially meaningful language policy procedures for the city of Maputo, in terms of selection of indigenous languages for institutional and/or public domains.

Invariably, those respondents who felt that an indigenous language should be used in institutional and/or public domains selected **Xironga** or **Xichangana**, irrespective of their regional origin or their native indigenous language. Again, most of the respondents indicated that political oratory, court sessions, radio broadcasting, and instruction in the primary school are situations that require the use of **Xironga** and **Xichangana**. However, the vast majority of the respondents also indicated that such an allocation could not be done at the expense of Portuguese, that is, that the use of indigenous languages in official domains should be for the benefit of those who have not yet mastered Portuguese. They viewed the use of indigenous languages is not viewed as an end in itself but rather as a measure to assist those who do not know Portuguese.

The selection of **Xironga** and **Xichangana** is related to the fact that these languages are not only recognized as the most widely spoken in Maputo but also as languages in that area, especially in the case of **Xironga**. It is clear that the respondents did not resist the official use of the language that identifies the city of Maputo.

4. 4. Closing remarks

This chapter was intended to strengthen my ethnographic description of the linguistic situation in Maputo by presenting the points of view of those who experience it daily. On the basis of the responses to a questionnaire that was submitted to a group of respondents in Maputo's inner zone, the chapter analyzed a variety of opinions of the situation of indigenous languages and Portuguese as perceived by residents of Maputo. The responses reported on the knowledge, uses and social attitudes regarding Portuguese and indigenous languages, and led to generalizations related to various issues on the topic under discussion in the dissertation. The questionnaire gave evidence showing that indigenous languages are learned informally, mostly in a home environment, and are used mostly in oral communication in informal situations, especially with close relatives. Indigenous languages may also be used to establish solidarity among friends and index ethnic identities and/or even "genuine" Mozambicanness. In general, they are not perceived as suited for formal and official activities in institutional settings, even though there is willingness to accept their use in some institutional and/or public activities, for the benefit of those who cannot speak Portuguese. In contrast, Portuguese is learned formally in the schools, though a segment of a younger generation also learn it informally in home environments. It is perceived as the legitimate official language as well as the legitimate national link language. In addition, it has become the primary language of communication in the inner zone and is recognized as such by residents of this area. Also, manipulations of Portuguese and the ideologies to which they are connected reflect the incorporation of

the language into social activities in the inner zone and the types of social relationships associated with them. Overall, the findings were consistent with my own ethnographic observations and, in this sense, confirm the descriptions provided in chapters II and III.

Notes to chapter IV

[1] I was born and raised in Maputo, where I lived for all my life except for the years that I was abroad doing my studies, that is, four years in Portugal (1981-1985) and four years (1989-1992 & 1995) in the United States. Research for the dissertation was undertaken in Mozambique in 1993 and 1994.

[2] The following abbreviations are used:

> RESP- Number by which the respondent is identified
>
> PB- Place of birth
>
> NL- Native language
>
> EDUC- Level of education
>
> OCCUP- Occupation
>
> YRM- Years of residence in Maputo
>
> Univ- Enrollment in a university or completion of a university degree

[3] Some respondents even kept the questionnaire for about a month. In the try-outs I discovered that the subjects were more willing to collaborate if they were not rushed, so I decided to give them as much time as they wanted. Also I wanted to avoid a situation where they responded to the questionnaire in my presence so that they would feel less constrained from expressing their thoughts. Likewise, even though I would have liked to have had them indicate their names, I also made it clear to them that this was optional.

[4] In spelling the names of the indigenous languages, I will use the orthography proposed in the *Primeiro Seminário sobre a Padronização da Ortografia de Línguas Moçambicanas* (First Seminar on the Standardization of the Orthography of Mozambican Languages) as reported in NELIMO (1989). This proposed orthography will be indicated by bolded and underlined characters. However, in parenthesis I occasionally indicate other names and/or spellings by which some of the indigenous languages have also been known. A guide with the correspondences between the different spellings is provided in Appendix II.

[5] The expression "Mozambican languages" (*línguas moçambicanas*) is ambiguous for it can refer either to solely native languages (therefore excluding Portuguese) or to the languages mostly used by Mozambicans (not only native languages but also Portuguese). The same applies to the expression "*línguas nacionais* (national languages)," which can be used to convey the two meanings. When I framed question #9, "(*Que língua(s) moçambicana(s) fala?*)" (Which Mozambican language(s) do you speak?), with which I intended to elicit information regarding native languages, I was aware of this ambiguity and, in fact, I also wanted to know how people would react to it. Except for one respondent [respondent # 30], none of the informants associated the expression "*língua moçambicana*" with Portuguese. However, the questions were framed in

Portuguese, which presupposed that the informant spoke this language and, therefore, would not need to mention that he/she spoke it. This may have affected the type of reaction that was obtained.

[6]The general perception is that Mozambique can be divided up into three macro-regions, South, Center and North. The south covers the provinces of Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane, the region of Mozambique that is delimited in the south by the border with South Africa and in the north by the Save river.

[7]Notice that **Cindau** is often the language that is commonly used by traditional spirit mediums.

[8]The expression "minorized language" has been proposed to refer to the situation in which a language is restricted from institutional domains, even though it might be a majority language as far as numbers of speakers are concerned, in opposition to a minority language, which refers to a statistically minor language. (cf. Alvarez-Caccamo 1991: 66; Cobarrubias 1986; Roseman 1995: 5)

[9]Respondent #20 is a civilian state functionary working in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and has been to many English speaking countries, especially those surrounding Mozambique. In addition, he has close relatives in one of the neighboring countries, whom he visits quite often.

[10]I do not claim that all or only people of an older age show more resentment toward the use of Portuguese to the detriment of indigenous languages. I only want to say that this view is typical and should be expected within this generation, without excluding the fact that members of a younger generation may also have similar views. However, in this younger generation such a view cannot be seen as typical and should not be expected.

[11]In the following chapter dealing with the institutionalization of Portuguese in Maputo I will come back to this issue, which I think is pivotal for understanding how Portuguese is endogenized in Mozambique.

[12]There are black Mozambicans who "speak white" as a result of having been socialized in settings where this form of speaking was normal. For instance, I know cases of people who grew up with Portuguese godfathers (*padrinhos*) as was common before independence and, therefore, had a chance of being socialized into "speaking white." Notice also that white Mozambicans, similarly, can be perceived as "speaking black" artificially.

[13]Of course, the linguistic situation in Mozambique sometimes makes the exclusive use of Portuguese, as the official policy would theoretically dictate, impracticable. For instance, although Portuguese is theoretically the only official language for carrying out work in the courts, I believe that indigenous languages are widely used. I cannot conceive of, say, a local level court session in rural areas working exclusively in Portuguese.

[14] Again, the question was framed with the aim of exploring the ambiguity of the expression "*língua moçambicana*" that was pointed out before (cf. Note 5). Indeed, some informants interpreted the expression as referring only to indigenous languages and others included both indigenous languages and Portuguese.

CHAPTER V: ON THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF PORTUGUESE IN MOZAMBIQUE

5. 0. Introduction

Previous chapters in this dissertation described different aspects of linguistic diversity in Mozambique and cited evidence suggesting that Portuguese has become a significant communicative and symbolic tool in Mozambican society. An important claim made in those chapters was that Portuguese has been endogenized. However, contrary to indigenous languages, whose intrinsic connection with Mozambicanness is not questionable, a similar claim for Portuguese may raise valid questions given its foreign origin and its recent past as a colonial language. Thus, arguments for the endogenization of Portuguese have to be supported by solid evidence. The objective of this chapter is to present this evidence. It will achieve that objective by evaluating the social and linguistic processes involved in the appropriation of the Portuguese language in Mozambique. The chapter will use data gathered primarily in the city of Maputo.

This chapter begins by reviewing the debate on ex-colonial languages in African countries in order to provide a comparative perspective and show that issues arising with the institutionalization of Portuguese in Mozambique have also been attested in other countries. In addition, the review will provide a theoretical framework that will be essential for understanding the situation of Portuguese in Mozambique. In the final sections, the chapter focuses specifically on the process of institutionalization of Portuguese in Mozambique. It will discuss historical aspects as well as the socio-symbolic and linguistic features showing that Portuguese in Mozambique is undergoing a process of endogenization, which I will designate as "nativization."

5. 1. LWCs in the post-colony: the case of sub-Saharan Africa

5. 1. 1. The debate on LWCs

A pervasive argument among people who discuss the language situation in Africa suggests that ex-colonial languages are culturally exogenous entities which alienate Africans from their own environment and distance them from a "genuine" African identity. For instance, Makouta-Mboukou (1973) has characterized French in Africa as an instrument of mental and cultural alienation that oppresses and narrows the horizons and smothers the minds of Africans (cf. p. 50). Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1987) has also argued that European languages were means of "spiritual subjugation" (p. 9) and that their use perpetuates "colonial alienation" (p. 28). In connection with this argument, it is often posited that ex-colonial languages perpetuate social stratification in African societies by alienating the (urban) elites, who usually have control over the mechanisms enabling their knowledge and use (cf. Myers-Scotton 1990; 1993), from the (rural) masses who have little access to ex-colonial languages. In a similar argument, Van der Berghe (1968) posits that the status that the monopolization of European languages confers to the elite and their ability to pass these languages to their offspring lead to a "crystallization of the Black mandarinate" (p. 4) and subsequent consolidation of social stratification in African societies. Djité (1991) considers also that the use of international languages results in the crystallization of closed and individualist oligarchies interested only in preserving their power and privileges at the expense of the masses (p. 124). It is claimed that European languages, therefore, create obstacles to social integration[1] by virtue of their limited capacity of enabling participation of the masses in political and socio-economic activities at the grass-roots level. This has been argued by Mazrui (1972) in reference to English in Uganda and Kenya (p. 98-100).

In addition, European languages are associated with the political and socio-economic domination of the elites over the masses in African societies. Mateene (1980) assumes this view when he argues that scientific underdevelopment or lack of international status are just excuses that power holders use to maintain their domination over the majority that speaks African languages (cf. p. 12). Advocates of this view question the officialization of ex-colonial languages on the grounds that it negatively affects the participation of the masses in the national system and, consequently, the distribution of societal goods to a wider social spectrum. For instance, Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1987) maintains that European languages disallow democratic participation, because people are prevented from discussing their own lives in the languages that they can understand (cf. p. 30).

Some analysts associate ex-colonial languages with the retardation of national development. For instance, Djité (1991) links unsuccessful development in Africa to dependency on superimposed international languages. He calls for the integration of African indigenous languages, especially the regional lingua franca, to guarantee full participation of the masses and enhance development in Africa. Since European languages lack the "function of participation" (Djité 1991: 125), they are also regarded as barriers to rural administration, popularization of knowledge, transference of "know-how," and expansion of formal education (Djité 1991; Mateene 1980).

With reference to education, European languages are viewed as a major hindrance to academic success for children whose native language is African. In this view, reliance on these languages limits the formation of a trained class that would take an active role in the development of African societies. Such argument is evident in Bokamba and Tlou (1980), when they say that the use of European languages limits access to post-primary education to a small minority of Africans, which leads to a waste of potential human

resources and, consequently, to a slowdown in the achievement of self-reliance and a perennial dependence on foreign experts (cf. p. 45).

However, European languages have been playing important roles in the national life of virtually every African country, as the predominance of exoglossic languages policies in Africa shows (Heine 1990;1992). Ex-colonial languages dominate state bureaucracies, educational systems, scientific and technological discourse, as well as other institutional and public domains. They also have social prestige and enable social mobility.

There is a view that such an outcome is predictable given that contemporary African societies are dominated by elites that have been educated and socialized in these languages (Wardhaugh 1987: 12). However, there are practical constraints that limit the options available to African countries. An instance of such constraints is illustrated by the case of Uganda, in East Africa (Obote 1967). Milton Obote, while president of Uganda, claimed to have no other alternative but to resort to English because of, *inter alia*, the following reasons:

(1) teaching or adopting a local African language could result in serious riots and instability;

(2) no local language is spoken by every citizen including government officials, which would make the administration of the country difficult;

(3) an Ugandan language would lead to isolation from the international world.

Milton Obote acknowledged that there were disadvantages inherent to this language policy, such as the following:

a) English was the language of the former colonial masters and of a privileged group within Ugandan society (cf. Obote 1967: 4);

b) English could not be extended easily to all Ugandans;

c) having to "think in a foreign language in order to express myself to Africans on problems affecting Africans" (Obote 1967: 6).

5. 1. 2. On the relevance of the recognizing the subversion of LWCs

The debate on LWCs has taken the form of an open-ended discussion mainly because the two main sides, the "abolitionists" and "adaptationists"(cf. Schmied 1991), have emphasized different aspects: the abolitionists stress cultural considerations such as promotion of African values, while the adaptationists give more weight to practical considerations such as the functioning of state institutions and the integration into the modern world. The common feature characterizing the two sides is disregard for the consideration of the actual institutionalization of LWCs, which is often assumed rather than inspected. Examination of the uses of LWCs and processes involved in their institutionalization would also reveal that LWCs are adapting themselves to some African societies. They have been integrated within the sociolinguistic context prevailing in these societies in such a way that they have become natural linguistic resources. This integration of the LWCs into African societies shows that these languages are undergoing transformations which lead to their nativization. They are becoming legitimate components of national life.

Analysts of African societies have suggested that LWCs are becoming renewed social and cultural entities that are being appropriated by African societies. For instance, several African writers have embraced LWCs[2] on the grounds that they have acquired ways of expressing African realities. For instance Gabriel Okara, a Nigerian writer, has wondered the following:

> "Why shouldn't there be a Nigerian or West African English which we can use to express our own ideas, thinking and philosophy in our own way?" since "living languages grow like living things, and English is far from a dead language. There are American, West Indian, Australian, Canadian and New Zealand versions of English. All of them add life

and vigor to the language while reflecting their own respective cultures" (Okara 1963: 16).

Compelling evidence of the transformations that LWCs are undergoing as they are institutionalized in some African countries has been presented by linguistic research, which has documented the innovative vitality of these languages in many post-colonial countries all over the world. Research shows that LWCs are acquiring new grammatical, rhetorical, indexical and ideological features which are closely linked to some social activities defining social life in some African countries. In fact, the acquisition of these new features demonstrates the incorporation of ex-colonial languages into social changes occurring in African societies. As a result, in some African countries ex-colonial languages are being "subverted" (Manessy 1989) by acquiring distinctive forms. Their institutionalization is deepening, as more people, the elites and the masses included, use different forms of ex-colonial languages in different social activities.

5. 2. The transformation of LWCs in the post-colony: understanding the process

5. 2. 1. Introducing the concept of "non-native varieties"

Current understanding of the process leading to the institutionalization of LWCs in the post-colony is mostly drawn from the case of English, the ex-colonial language with by far the widest and deepest presence in various parts of the world. For this reason, my general analysis of the phenomena will have to rely primarily on the emergence of New Englishes and it will not be restricted to Africa. This does not mean that other ex-colonial languages are not undergoing similar processes or that scholars have not addressed the situation of these other languages. In fact, in the African continent, there is evidence pointing towards the nativization of French also (Manessy 1989). Research on the case of Spanish, used only in Equatorial Guinea and Western Sahara, or of Portuguese, used in

five African countries (Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé and Príncipe, Angola, and Mozambique) is still scarce. However, Lipski (1985) has described the peculiarities of the linguistic development of Spanish in Equatorial Guinea. With regard to Portuguese in Africa, several authors have indicated the emergence of typifying linguistic features (e.g. Mateus, et al 1983: 24-7), mainly following the so-called "interference approach" (Bamgbose 1982). Ferreira (1988:37) has also suggested that in Africa, Portuguese is undergoing a process of multi-renationalization, which resembles what I will call nativization.

5. 2. 2. Development of non-native varieties

In different African post-colonial countries, LWCs are used as native languages, second languages or foreign/international languages. In most cases, an LWC is used as a second language. Its use as a native language is usually associated with a small social segment of expatriates or even locally born Africans, most of whom are descendants of the former European settlers (cf. Angogo & Hancock 1980). Hence, the linguistic forms that LWCs are taking in the post-colony are called "non-native varieties" to emphasize that the LWC emerges outside of where most of the original native speakers can be found, such as Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal. Thus, the development of non-native varieties occurs fundamentally within the community of speakers of LWC as a second language (cf. Kachru 1986: 19).

The use of an LWC as a foreign/international language refers to situations in which it is learned often, but not always, as an additional language for restricted domains in international communication. This situation is different from the previous two cases, where as a native or second language, an LWC serves for both intranational and international communication. For instance, in Portuguese-using African countries some

people may learn English or French as a foreign/international language, while Portuguese would qualify as non-native second language.

5. 2. 3. Moag (1982)'s approach: The life-cycle model

Moag (1982) has proposed a general model describing the development of non-native varieties. The model establishes a life-cycle of non-native Englishes that includes five phases, namely, transportation, indigenization, expansion in use and function, institutionalization, and restriction in use (cf. p. 270). These phases cannot be regarded as stages in a strict sense because they are not fully consecutive and may overlap. As Moag (1982) posits, "each process begins in the order stated, but once under way, it overlaps with succeeding processes. Indigenization, for example, precedes but runs concurrently with, expansion of use and function, and well into institutionalization" (p. 271).

5. 2. 3. 1. Transportation

Transportation refers to the stage in which an LWC is imposed as a colonial language, especially after the consolidation of European domination. An LWC is used not only to operate the colonial state (for instance, in the administrative apparatus) but also to act as a symbolic element in the subordinate relationship between colonizers and the colonized. Some of the colonized people, especially those who are co-opted into colonial institutions, such as clerks assisting in colonial administration or domestic servants working for colonial households, learn forms of the colonial language.

The transportation phase started in the 15th century when Europeans traded on African shores. In this period, trade languages were developed, especially in West Africa,

which lead to the emergence of pidgin languages (and later on creoles) with elements from European languages (Schmied 1991: 194-5).

5. 2. 3. 2.   Indigenization

As an LWC is transported to the colonies, it starts to change and become distinct from other parent varieties elsewhere. Moag (1982) refers to this process as "indigenization." Kachru (1982) uses the term "nativization" to refer to the same process. For Moag (1982) the phase of indigenization includes two steps. The first step occurs when the colonial settlers come into contact with new realities and must relate to items of local environment with no equivalents in their European language or culture. Thus, in this initial phase the European language will borrow lexical items from local native languages. However, transfer of linguistic elements from native languages beyond the lexical level is blocked to a minimum, since the natives who learn the colonial language are subjected to a high degree of exposure to a native speaker model of the LWC in the classroom or working environment, and use the colonial language primarily in interactions with LWC native-speaking aliens.

The second step of indigenization is underway only when members of the local colonial elite use the colonial language for communication among themselves in two ways:

a) as a *lingua franca*, in addition to or instead of a local link language, to overcome inter-linguistic barriers;

b) as a preferred prestigious language, primarily for discussing topics related with the alien dominant culture.

According to Moag (1982) this second sub-phase of indigenization is characterized by an increase of transfer of native features into an LWC, which can include additional

lexemes, grammatical features via direct transfer or overgeneralization, and discursive patterns. In the section 5. 3. below, I will provide further details related to indigenization.

5. 2. 3. 3. Expansion in use and functions

During the phase of expansion in use and functions, an LWC is extended to new domains, such as education, media, and government services, as it shifts its role from a foreign to a second language. The non-native variety is, meanwhile, decompressed, that is, it evolves into different sub-varieties and develops an internal variation. For instance, as the development of this internal variation proceeds, a separate variant associated with informal contexts or low-status speakers emerges. Such is the case of Pidgin English or Popular French in West Africa. Thus, the decompression of non-native LWCs arises in correlation with their extension to a new type of speakers and social functions, some of which are outside of institutional settings (Kachru 1982: 42).

5. 2. 3. 4. Institutionalization

The institutionalization of new varieties of an LWC in the post-colony marks the stage in which divergence from the imported native model is established and accepted by (segments of) society. Moag (1982) identifies different factors playing a role in the process of institutionalization, namely local creative writers, localization of teachers, media policy, and the use of vernacular language. Local creative writers are an important factor because their literary works provide examples of localized forms of non-native varieties, especially if these works are incorporated into school curricula and consequently become part of the "authorized language" for a new generation of students. The effect of this exposure to local creative writers is reinforced by the localization of teachers, who will use a non-native

variety of the LWC to conduct their classes. The media contributes to the legitimation of the non-native variety by exposing the localized forms and familiarizing them to readers of newspapers, listeners of radio, and viewers of television. This is more pronounced when the media rely on local personnel and address issues related to local environments.

The institutionalization of an LWC is also marked by its ascendancy over native languages, which may be ousted from formal activities and receive little attention from the authorities. A generation of "skewed" bilinguals emerges with functional competence in a non-native variety of the LWC and passive aural competence in native local languages.

5. 2. 3. 5. Restriction in use and function

According to Moag (1982), restriction in use and function is the final phase in the process of development of non-native varieties. It involves the displacement from official domains of an LWC by a local language, through a process of language planning. The LWC returns to the status of a foreign language, which the elites use in more restricted domains, such as technical and scientific discourse. It seems that this final phase is justified more by the need of maintaining a consistency in the model of life-cycle than by empirical evidence, as Moag (1982), taking into account the case of New Englishes, recognizes:

> "The concept of life cycle implies that there is both a beginning and an end to the process and organism under study. Once the local national language is firmly established, the creative writing, media activities, and other support mechanisms in English will fade. There could then be a reorientation away from the indigenized non-native model and toward an external native model of English. This potential death of the new English variety has not yet happened in any country, but may be in the cards for Malaysia, the Philippines, and perhaps even India" (p. 283, emphasis mine)

5. 2. 3. 6.   Contemplating alternative predictions to restriction in use and function

Other directions in development of indigenized LWCs than restriction in use and function can also be hypothesized. For instance, one can contemplate the hypothesis that the indigenized LWC may become so entrenched in the post-colony that it may turn into new varieties that will be regarded as a different language, that is, distinct from its parent language (the European varieties) or other indigenized varieties elsewhere, similarly to what has occurred with Latin and Romance languages in Europe.

Currently, such a hypothesis can be linked to the emergence of pidgin and creole languages, which could be viewed as the most transformed forms of European varieties in a linguistic continuum which encompasses the sub-varieties of a non-native variety of an LWC in a post-colonial setting. There are reports that in some areas of some African countries the use and knowledge of pidgins and creoles is widespread. They are, however, perceived as low languages, which means that they are not in a position to compete with other non-native varieties in terms of prestige or access to high functions. Nevertheless, it has been proposed that these forms should become the official languages of some countries, which renders my hypothesis rather less speculative. For instance, in Nigeria, Pidgin English is in Nigeria a strong *lingua franca* which has the possibility of being officially recognized and developed (Akinnaso 1994: 155). In fact, it is widely used even by state functionaries in official functions and there are suggestions that it should be a national language (Oladejo 1991) or a medium of instruction (Gani-Ikilama 1990).

Another hypothesis is the opposite of what Moag (1982) referred to as "restriction in use and function," that is, the consolidation of the social position of non-native varieties and the consequent replacement of native languages by non-native varieties in most social activities. There are indications that such an outcome can be observed in some African urban settings. In some urban settings or among the elites, the use of a non-native variety

of an LWC is a common way of life. As the phenomenon becomes socially reproductive, say among the offspring of the urbanites or the elites, the position of non-native varieties is consolidated. Such is the case in the inner zone of Maputo, as indicated in chapter II. In virtually any social activity undertaken in the inner zone, Portuguese is the most appropriate linguistic resource, which has led to the consolidation of its social position. Discursive practices in the inner zone rely on knowledge of forms of Portuguese while indigenous languages are basically restricted to solidarity functions.

5. 2. 4. The ontological status of non-native varieties of LWCs
5. 2. 4. 1. Recognition of non-native varieties

Other authors have considered the transformation of LWCs by focusing on the agentive role that the speaker plays in the process of development of non-native varieties. B. Kachru argues that a non-native variety acquires an ontological status only if it develops a model that is recognized as such and accepted by its speakers. In other words, the institutionalization of a non-native variety implies not only a linguistic process per se but also an attitudinal process of recognition of its existence by its speakers (cf. 1982: 39). Under this assumption, Kachru (1982) posits the following not mutually exclusive phases in the development of non-native varieties:

    a) non-recognition;

    b) diffusion of bilingualism in an LWC;

    c) recognition.

In the first stage, the local variety is not recognized as such and speakers of an LWC maintain a conscious identification with native speakers on the basis of an "imitation model" that emulates the native way of using it. The LWC is associated with the colonizer. In the second stage, there is an extensive spread of bilingualism in the LWC, which leads

to the development of varieties within the non-native variety. Yet the local model is still low in the attitudinal scale. Moreover, a tension between actual linguistic practices and linguistic norms emerges: in actual performance. speakers will use localized forms while the native model of LWCs is still highly regarded. In the phase of recognition, this tension is reduced as the non-variety is gradually accepted as a national language. For Kachru (1982) this recognition entails two processes:

a) linguistic realism and identification with the non-native variety;

b) contextualization of LWC teaching materials into the sociocultural milieu.

5. 2. 4. 2. "Performance" vs. "institutionalized" non-native varieties

In the characterization of non-native languages, B. Kachru makes a distinction between two broad categories, "performance" and "institutionalized" varieties (1982: 38-9; 1986: 19). "Performance varieties" are used more as foreign languages than as second languages and have a highly restricted functional range in very specific contexts. "Institutionalized varieties" have a wider range of uses and styles in the sociolinguistic context of a post-colonial nation. According to Kachru (1982) a non-native variety starts as a performance variety that gradually becomes an institutionalized variety with increased time and extension of use, change in the emotional attachment of its speakers, and expansion of its functional importance and sociolinguistic status.

The institutionalized varieties of non-native LWCs are regarded as a "lectal continuum" comprising a set of sub-varieties within a variety, each one with distinct social, functional, and linguistic characteristics. These sub-varieties have also been described within a framework developed in studies on creolization that distinguishes between basilects, mesolects and acrolects, in reference to varieties found after creolization. These varieties are arranged along a post-creole linguistic continuum, with the acrolect being the

closest variety to the superstrate language while the basilect is the furthest one from the native model. Mesolectal varieties occupy an intermediate range between the two (cf. Romaine 1994). Extending this conceptualization to non-native varieties, the mesolect would correspond to the variety that is closer to the native model, while the basilect would correspond to the most distant variety.

5. 3. The process of nativization
5. 3. 1. Defining nativization

Following Kachru (1982), "nativization" (also called indigenization or endogenization elsewhere in this dissertation) can be defined as a process of acculturation by which an LWC comes closer to the sociocultural context of a post-colonial country. Through nativization, a non-native variety is culturally bound to the social ecology of the post-colony and acquires new social functions. Moreover, it develops linguistic innovations that gain communicative and social meaning in the context of these new functions. New linguistic innovations include lexical items, phonological, morphological, and syntactic features, as well as discursive practices, all of which different speakers deploy in different ways. Differences in the incidence and deployment of these linguistic innovations make the uses of the different non-native sub-varieties valuable resources to index the social persona of social actors. Within a non-native variety, two extremes can be predicted:

a) a "cheap" basilectal sub-variety with a high incidence of nativized forms;

b) an "expensive" acrolectal sub-variety close to a native standard variety.

For example, in the case of Nigerian English, the variation may range from pidginized forms to a "been-to" sub-variety (Banjo 1971, Brosnahan 1958):[3]

Level of education has been used as an indicator of level of competence in a non-native LWC (e.g. Brosnahan 1958; Criper 1971; Sey 1973), under the assumption that a higher level of education will correlate with the ability to use a more "sophisticated" variety. It has been pointed out that non-native varieties have developed what has been termed an "educated variety" (cf. Bamgbose 1982: 102; Odumuh 1993: 40) associated with educated elites. The "educated variety" is also viewed by some analysts as the model that can be used for the standardization of nativized non-native varieties, thus leading to an elaboration of an "endo-normative" linguistic standard.

Even though the school plays a major role in the social distribution of linguistic practices, one has to consider that people may perform above or below the expectation. In fact, language acquisition has to be considered part of the socialization process, of which school education is just one form and, therefore, speakers may have other avenues for learning a language. For this reason, level of education may not be a reliable indicator of competence in a non-native variety. Furthermore, the placement of speakers along a language variety scale may not correspond to the way language is manipulated by its speakers. A language is not a set of compartmentalized varieties, each one with its own speakers. Rather, speakers develop an ability to shift among the different varieties according to different communicative needs in different situations.

5. 3. 2. The nature of linguistic innovations: mistakes vs. creative deviations

A question often posed with regard to the ontological status of a non-native varieties is whether the linguistic manifestations of nativization represent deficient models of language acquisition or different realizations of a similar linguistic system arising with the transplantation of the LWC into a different sociolinguistic environment. Hence, the

discussion on whether the linguistic innovations of non-native varieties are "mistakes" or creative "deviations." Following Kachru (1982), I will assume that a "mistake" is a linguistic error that cannot be justified with reference to the socio-cultural context and does not a result from a productive process used by speakers of the non-native variety. On the other hand, a "creative deviation" produces a linguistic innovation that is related to the new linguistic and cultural environment, and conforms to a productive process marking typical features of the non-native variety. It has a systemic rather than an idiosyncratic nature (cf. p. 45).

Bamgbose (1982) identifies the following three perspectives to account for the linguistic innovations emerging in non-native LWCs:

a) the interference approach, arguing for the transfer of linguistic features from native substratum languages into non-native varieties, especially at the phonetic and phonological levels;

b) the deviation approach, which compares native and non-native varieties and explains all differences as resulting from imperfect mastery of the targeted native model;

c) the creativity approach, which explains new and distinct expressive characteristics of a new non-native variety by focusing on linguistic features in substratum languages as well as in the native varieties of an LWC.

Each approach has its own shortcomings and their explanatory power can be enhanced by combining their positive aspects. For instance, the interference approach cannot account for the fact that the native speakers of specific language may not always deploy the same linguistic features. For example, in actual instances of language use, "transferred" features may be deployed not categorically, but in accordance with the "feeling" of the social contexts in which the social interaction takes place. It cannot be assumed that native speakers of a specific language will always transfer specific features

from the language, or that the specific "transferable" features associated with the specific language will be always deployed by its native speakers. There is not a necessary correlation between use and/or knowledge of a specific substrate language and transference of features from the specific language. In instances of talk, speakers play with linguistic forms to achieve different goals. They can, therefore, emulate or avoid forms or features associated with the substrate language, depending on the communicative circumstances. Thus, the interference approach may identify the origin of some linguistic innovations, it does not explain their manipulation by speakers in actual social practices.

The deviation approach assumes that non-native varieties are imperfect realizations of a targeted native variety. It is opposed by the creativity approach, which sees the innovations as instances of language change. The basic shortcoming of the deviation approach is that it denies the ontological status of a non-native variety by taking it not on its own right but as a deficient native variety. In contrast, the creativity approach recognizes the development of non-native varieties as a type on their own right. The question that remains in the creativity approach is whether all innovations can be regarded as part of the creativity process or whether some of them can be viewed simply as linguistic errors that are common to the process of second language acquisition.

5. 3. 3. More on the socio-symbolic dimension of nativization

As shown in the preceding summary, existing descriptions of the process of nativization of ex-colonial languages place emphasis on the linguistic dimension of the phenomenon. In my view, analysts should instead give primacy to the socio-symbolic dimensions. The relevant issue is not whether the ex-colonial language is turning into a new language in strictly linguistic terms, but whether a new ideology of languagehood is emerging as social actors integrate the ex-colonial language within a new political, social,

and economic environment and, consequently, view it with new eyes. Indeed, except for the basilectal varieties of the nativized languages, usually the linguistic transformations do not modify the "core" grammar of LWCs but mainly affect lexical items and discourse pattern. Still ex-colonial languages can be viewed with a new socio-symbolic values, which means that the main motivation for the institutionalization of non-native varieties is not primarily related to the linguistic side of the process. Rather, this institutionalization is motivated by the new political, economic, and social environment, which gives rise to new ideological attachments. Irvine (1989) provides compelling evidence supporting this position, when she describes how, in a trilingual Senegalese community, the local views on an ex-colonial language, French, and other languages with which it shares the social space (Wolof and Arabic), have changed in response to changes in the social context:

> "From the linguist's point of view, of course Arabic and French are equally unrelated to any form of Wolof; the three are historically, and denotationally, autonomous. But some Wolof villagers have not always seen them that way. In 1970, I was told that Arabic " is really Wolof underneath, at heart. ... Only the pronunciation is different." French, on the other hand, was said to be alien, even formed in a different part of the body. ... the advent of Senegalese independence, by altering some aspects of the political and economic connection with France, eventually affected villagers' ideas about French, now the official language of the Senegalese state. While no one has told me that French "is really Wolof," by 1984 it was apparent that many people who used to consider French unlearnable and unspeakable had changed their minds"(p. 254-5, emphasis mine)

Most discussions on the nativization of ex-colonial language have overlooked the socio-symbolic dimension mainly because their focus has been placed on structural features rather than on discursive and ideological factors. In general, the structural differences of non-native varieties are minor in comparison with native varieties. Non-native varieties are mainly distinguishable on the basis of new discursive patterns as well as ideological assumptions that typify the social context in which they are used. These aspects can only

be apprehended by focusing on social interactions and analyzing the manipulation of language.

5. 3. The case of Portuguese in Mozambique

5. 3. 1. The acquisition of Portuguese by the urban African middle class in the colonial period

The seeds that led to a wider use of Portuguese in Mozambique are directly linked to political, economic and cultural transformations that followed the establishment of the colonial state in the aftermath of the signature of the Berlin Act in 1885, by which European colonial powers agreed on how to undertake the partition of Africa. Under this act, each colonial power was obliged to prove effective control of its colonial territories. Following this obligation, Portuguese authorities changed their colonial posture by the beginning of this century, and undertook actions to assert their authority and make the colonies more profitable to their interests (cf. Newitt 1995: 415-6).

Thus, colonial authorities promoted a set of reforms, which included the introduction of new labor legislation designed to attract investment through a supply of cheap labor (Newitt 1995; Penvenne 1995: 3) and the reorganization of the administration of the colony. In 1902, the city of Lourenço Marques, now Maputo, became the capital of the colony, as a consequence of the increment of economic ties with nearby South Africa (Newitt 1995: 382). The designation of Lourenço Marques as the capital of the colony was accompanied by the installation of a bureaucratic infrastructure to supported the colonial state as well as the economic activities now intensified by contacts with South Africa. This intensification of contacts was epitomized by the development of the port and rail system that linked Lourenço Marques to South Africa.

closely attached to the economic, ideological, and symbolic systems that controlled social mobility and the assignment of personal abilities and of social status in the colony. This generation of middle class Africans was, however, bilingual in both Portuguese and an indigenous language, mainly Ronga, the native language spoken in Lourenço Marques. The indication that Ronga was still very important for this generation can be grasped in the intellectual activity of its most prominent representatives. Some of them were prolific writers, mainly as journalists and columnists, and part of their work was published in Ronga in the local press (e.g. *Brado Africano*). Besides, even when writing in Portuguese, part of their communicative strategies would rely on resources from Ronga, often in the form of lexical items.[9] Anyway, for most of natives of Lourenço Marques, at least among Africans, Ronga was still the main language of socialization. There is reason to believe that they conducted their daily activities in Ronga, for instance in social interactions with relatives outside institutional settings. Ronga was also widely used in religious activities, mainly in Protestant and Muslim circles, with which most Africans were connected (Honwana 1989).

Contacts with the Portuguese language occurred mostly in institutional settings or in interactions with Portuguese settlers, such as in work environments or eventually in some social gatherings where the native middle class assembled, such as intellectual activities or dancing sessions (*bailes*) organized, for instance, by local associations like the *Grémio Africano*, later *Associação Africana* or the *Instituto Negrófilo*. Nevertheless, in some of these social gatherings Ronga may have been profusely used. For instance, in the "timite" (Honwana 1989: 74) people engaged in cultural activities such as dancing, singing, and playing music in which they used Ronga. Given the links with South Africa, many members of this middle class also had knowledge of English.[10] It appears that knowledge of English was more common among Africans educated in Protestant missionary schools under the influence of foreign missionaries with links in South Africa. Students in these schools were often sent to South Africa.

Thus, it can be concluded that in Lourenço Marques there was a triglossic situation:

a) Portuguese was the "high" language associated with colonial ideology of
"civilization," institutional activity, and social advancement;

b) English, with which many Africans were familiar, was used in the
private sector;

c) Ronga was mostly used in "low" domains of daily family and informal
life and had no access to institutional settings.

In the late 1930s, after the establishment of the *Estado Novo* (New State) in
Portugal, Mozambique witnessed a new impetus in the expansion of economic activities,
under several development plans that were implemented until the end of Portuguese rule in
1975 (Newitt 1995: 461). This expansion spurred the enlargement of the bureaucratic
sector. It was also tied to the promotion of "white immigration" from Portugal, which was
to increase the colony of native speakers of Portuguese. The linguistic consequences of
this policy were far-reaching. Given the preferential treatment that the Portuguese received,
the skilled and educated natives faced an unfair job competition.[11] In most instances, they
had to prove they were over-qualified in order to gain access to "decent" jobs. One index
of this over-qualification was obviously knowledge of Portuguese; thus, it can be assumed
that with the establishment of the *Estado Novo* the association of Portuguese language and
social mobility was reinforced. This can be observed in the disputes within the middle
class, as some groups fought for an edge in competitive job market. An important aspect
of these disputes is that they followed linguistic lines, which correlated with other factors
such as level of education, ethnicity (e.g. Rongas vs. Changanas), religion (e.g. Catholics
vs. Protestants vs. Muslims), race (e.g. Afro-Europeans vs. Africans), and social/legal
status (e.g. *assimilado/não-indígena* vs. *não-assimilado/indígena*). Notice, for instance,
the following statement by a historian of Mozambique who has addressed this issue:

"The Catholic-trained Portuguese-speaking elite, for example, looked to the state for
patronage while the Protestant mission constituency often spoke English as a second
foreign language, and looked to the English-speaking private sector for employment.

Contrasting networks exacerbated divisions, particularly in hard times when too many qualified applicants competed for too few jobs. The Catholics felt that the state owed them preference as good Catholics and good Portuguese. They criticized Protestants for their use of the vernacular, and harshly dismissed the Muslim community as 'subjects of the Sultan of Turkey' " (Penvenne 1982: 8).

Throughout the pre-independence period, the acquisition of Portuguese by the African population was primarily motivated by the position that the language maintained in the colonial ideological, socio-cultural, and economic systems. However, the limitations imposed by the colonial system, which had neither the capacity nor the willingness to enlarge the class of "civilized" Africans forbade its acquisition by a large segment of the African population. The reduced number of *assimilados* testifies to this fact. As table 7. 1 shows the population of Africans was estimated in 1955 as 5, 651, 511, of which only a tiny minority of 4, 554 were considered *assimilados*. The major concentration of *assimilados* was in Lourenço Marques (31% of the total in the country), where, however, they constituted only about 1% of the entire population, and only 2.4% of the African population in the city.

Table 5. 1. Population groups in Mozambique and Lourenço Marques (Maputo) in the 1950's[12]

Groups	Moçambique (1952)	Lourenço Marques (1952)	Moçambique (1955)	Lourenço Marques (1955)
"Uncivilized" Africans	5, 640, 363	56, 515	5, 646, 957	56, 477
"Civilized" Africans	4, 349	1, 278	4, 554	1, 439
Afro-Europeans	25, 149	6, 478	29, 873	7, 384
Europeans	48, 213	23, 439	65, 798	28, 301
Others	14, 243	5, 593	17, 180	6, 635.
Total	5, 732, 317	93, 303	5, 764, 362	100, 236

The designation of Lourenço Marques as the capital of Mozambique led to the first signs of use of Portuguese by part of the African community in that city. As Penvenne (1982) indicates, the growing capitalist sector in Lourenço Marques, signaled by the expansion of the port complex, the implantation of the state bureaucracy, and the development of international commerce, required the use of native people because not many Portuguese settlers were present[4]. The system required not only local traders, artisans, and commodity producers, but also the training and education of skilled labor at a lower cost that could make the bureaucratic and commercial institutions functional. In addition, the inclusion of natives in the growing colonial capitalist sector helped to form a comprador group with a consuming power. Thus, there was a local tiny "African petite bourgeoisie" (Penvenne 1982) with a command of Portuguese by the first decades of this century. The beginning of this century seems to be the first time that a social group of native Afro-Europeans and Africans[5] in Lourenço Marques started to establish, distinguish, and impose itself on the basis of peculiar skills, which included literacy in and mastery of Portuguese. In other words, the phase of transportation in the process of institutionalization of Portuguese has to be associated with this generation.

The "African petite bourgeoisie" included Afro-Europeans and Africans who either through property, prestige, and social networks[6] or through education[7] had been able to attain a stable social condition within the colonial social system, mostly working as bureaucrats or professionals. For instance, under the law they were not considered as *indígenas* (natives) but as *não-indígenas* (non-natives) or *assimilados* (assimilated)[8], which meant that, at least theoretically, they had been granted full Portuguese citizenship.

A fundamental requirement for acquiring the status of *não-indígena* was mastery of Portuguese, which meant that the assimilation policy set a precedent: the emergence of a social ideology that connected social mobility among the African population with knowledge of Portuguese. The Portuguese language became one of the social capitals

Chart 5. 1

Population Groups in Lço Marques (Maputo) in 1955

%

60
50
40
30
20
10
0

Africans   "Uncivili-zed" Africans   "Civilized" Africans   Euro-Africans   Europeans   Others
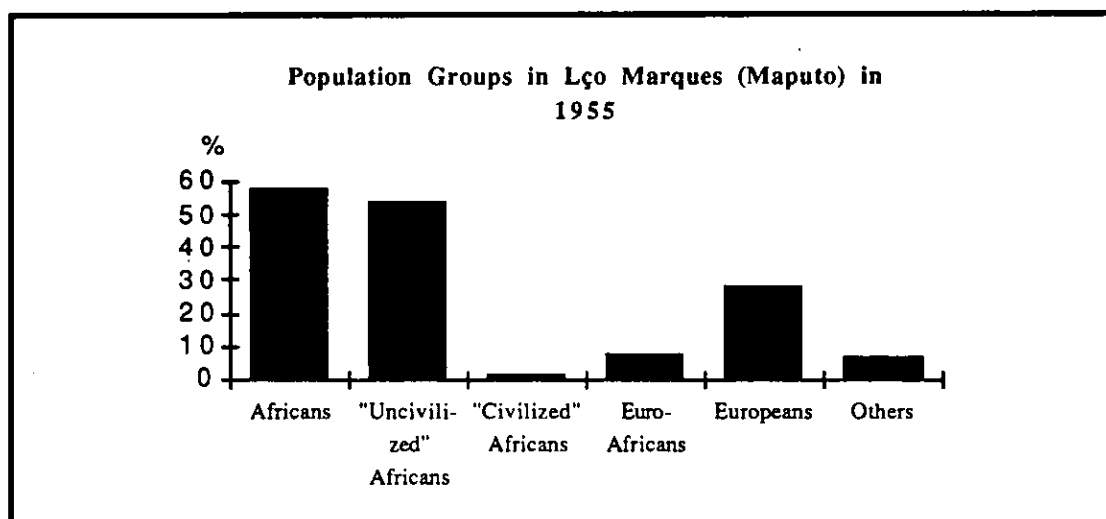
For a lack of better data, considering the data in table 5. 1 the community of speakers of Portuguese in Lourenço Marques (Maputo) can be estimated at 43% of the population, under the assumption that the civilized population (that is, those that were classified as Europeans, Afro-Europeans, Civilized Africans, and Others) corresponded to the community of speakers of Portuguese. Note that this assumption is not totally accurate because some African assimilados, Afro-Europeans, Indians and Chinese did not speak Portuguese. In this community of speakers of Portuguese (a total of 43 759), Africans comprised 3%, Afro-Europeans 17%, Europeans 65%, and Others 15%.

Chart 5. 2

Speakers of Portuguese in Lço Marques (Maputo) in 1955
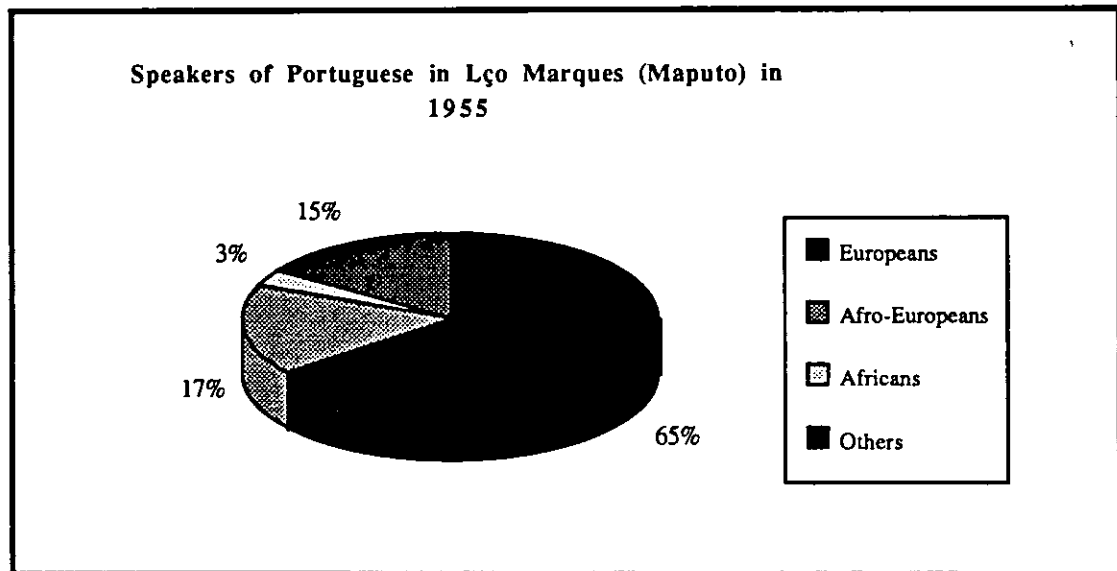
Estimates of speakers of Portuguese among the African population in the 1960's can be inferred by considering Rita-Ferreira's (1967-68) work.[13] Referring to social stratification in Maputo, Rita-Ferreira (1967-68) distinguishes the following three groups of Africans:

a) qualified professionals (e.g. *motoristas* 'drivers', *enfermeiros* 'nurses', *sacerdotes* 'priests', *funcionários públicos* 'civil servants', *operários especializados* 'specialized workers', *artífices* 'craftsmen', and *comerciantes prósperos* 'prosperous merchants') ;

b) semi-qualified professionals (e.g. *criados domésticos* 'domestic servants', *empregados dos hotéis* 'hotel servants', *serventes de comércio, dos escritórios e dos serviços públicos* 'shop, office and public servant assistants/servants/clerks', *operários semi-qualificados*, 'semi-qualified workers', *guardas* 'guards', *pintores* 'painters', *carpinteiros* 'carpenters',

pedreiros 'stone masons', *barbeiros* 'barbers', *sapateiros* 'shoemakers',

alfaiates 'tailors', and *engraxadores por conta própria* 'shoe-shiners');

c) non-qualified professionals (e.g. *pescadores* 'fishermen', *marinheiros*

'sailors', *carregadores do porto, da estiva, da construção civil, dos*

transportes, 'porters, loaders', or *pessoal de saneamento* 'city cleaners').

The most educated Africans, among whom fluent speakers of Portuguese could be found, were obviously among the qualified professionals and according to the estimation in Rita-Ferreira (1967-68: 245-7)[14] they constituted only 4% of the urban population in Maputo. In the group of semi-qualified professionals (66 %), people had normally, at best, a passable Portuguese. In the group of non-qualified professionals (27 %), knowledge of Portuguese was low, or none.

By the time colonialism ended in Mozambique, the Portuguese language was part of the linguistic repertoire of a minority group of Mozambicans, mostly in urban centers. For most of these speakers, Portuguese was their second language, learned formally in the school and used mostly in institutional domains. Moreover, these speakers of Portuguese perceived it as a prestige language.

As will be shown in the following paragraphs, the association of Portuguese with social prestige and upward mobility did not disappear with independence. Rather, this prestige was reinforced by wrapping Portuguese in a new ideological framework, which promoted and embraced it as a major symbol of national unity and official language of Mozambique. As a result, the use and users of Portuguese expanded. In terms of the life-cycle model proposed by Moag (1982), it can be argued that Portuguese reached the phase of expansion in use and functions after the independence of the country. In parallel, the process of indigenization/nativization was accelerated.

5. 3. 2. The appropriation of the Portuguese language in post-colonial Mozambique

In independent Mozambique, the Portuguese language has been granted the status of official language, which means that, just like during the colonial period, Portuguese continues to be the only language used in official functions. Besides, Portuguese has also been promoted by official discourse as *língua de unidade nacional* (language of national unity).

The choice of Portuguese as official language and symbol of national unity was a predictable outcome given its history of use in Mozambique, the type of linguistic diversity prevailing in the country, the ideological premises related to the type of society conceived for the country, as well as the need to co-opt the elites in the power structure and the bureaucratic institutions of the new state.

As it was shown earlier, as a consequence of colonial policies and correlated linguistic ideology, Portuguese emerged as the prestigious language associated with institutional activities and social mobility. In addition, it was also the fundamental symbolic marker of the educated elite, regardless of ethnic, regional, or racial origins. As the functioning of the national institutions of the new state had to rely on this social segment, which could not operate in any other language but Portuguese, the officialization of this language followed naturally. In addition, no indigenous languages with which Portuguese was competing could claim an overwhelming majority of speakers evenly distributed over the national territory, as shown in chapter II. Moreover, no indigenous language had a history of use in institutional domains. In fact, since the elites were educated in Portuguese and communicated in indigenous languages exclusively in family or non-institutional domains, they were not prepared to conduct official activities in an indigenous language.

However, the most important rationalization behind the officialization of Portuguese does not arise in connection with practical reasons such as those mentioned in the previous paragraphs. Rather, it is connected with the development of an ideological framework that associated Portuguese with the promotion of national unity and the creation of a national consciousness. The first indications of the development of such an ideological framework were given during the anti-colonial Armed Struggle for the Liberation of Mozambique, when the nationalist movement, FRELIMO (*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique*, Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) decided to adopt of the Portuguese language in the interest of the preservation of unity among Mozambicans of different backgrounds involved in the uprising.

This politically strategic decision signaled the first appropriation of Portuguese and consequent expurgation of its colonial connotations. Portuguese, which had been known by Mozambicans as a colonial language, was now serving anti-colonial purposes. According to Fernando Ganhão, a prominent member of FRELIMO and first rector of Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, despite the fact that most members of FRELIMO did not know or use it, Portuguese was perceived as the language of consensus that could level out linguistic differences and help to maintain unity within the movement, as well as understand the common enemy. In his view, the decision of adopting Portuguese was dissociated from any sort of cultural determinism related to the fact that the leaders of the movement had been educated in Portuguese and assimilated to Portuguese values. If such was the case English would have been chosen, given that some of the prominent founding members of FRELIMO were fluent speakers of English, which they had learned while in exile in neighboring countries. Even the leader of the movement, Eduardo Mondlane, had been educated in English-speaking countries (e.g. South Africa and the United States) and was a fluent speaker of English (cf. Ferreira 1988: 79-80; also Gonçalves 1983: 1-2, where F. Ganhão is extensively quoted). Thus, to understand the choice of Portuguese in Mozambique it is important to realize that at the same time that Portuguese was

ideologically a colonial tool, an opposing ideology within the nationalist movement was giving the same language a new symbolic meaning.

When FRELIMO came to power in 1975 with the independence of Mozambique, the ideological assumptions that had guided the nationalist movement during the Armed Struggle were extended to the entire territory. The main motivation that had led to the adoption of Portuguese during the anti-colonial uprising, preservation of national unity, continued to be relevant in the process of nation-state building. FRELIMO envisaged a *nova sociedade* (new society), which integrated people with diverse backgrounds and strove to build "modern social relations in a modernized economy" (Newitt 1995: 547). Such a society would be symbolized, *inter alia*, by the adoption of Portuguese not only as the link language and promoter of social integration but also as an instrument of national progress. Such a vision is documented in the following passage by the then Minister of Education and Culture, taken from the Opening Address to the *I Seminário Sobre o Ensino da Língua Portuguesa* (First Seminar on Teaching Portuguese) held in 1979:

> "The Portuguese language is the mean of communication among all Mozambicans, which allows the breaking of the barriers created by the native languages. Through it, the ideology of FRELIMO, which incarnates the interests of the working classes and expresses their revolutionary values, is diffused and studied in order to be put in practice, leading our People in the struggle for the creation of a just, prosperous and happy society, the Socialist Society. The Portuguese language is also the language conveying scientific and technical knowledge. In literacy campaigns for thousands of workers and peasants, it fulfills an important role because it provides the necessary instruments for controlling production, in sum, for improving social and material welfare. ... It is also by using the Portuguese language that we communicate with other people in the world, letting them know the rich experience of our people and receiving the contribution of the world cultural heritage."[15]

The fact that Portuguese, the language of the enemy, had been appropriated by FRELIMO from the outset of the liberation struggle provided a powerful legitimacy to its adoption in independent Mozambique. The adoption of Portuguese could not be not

perceived in the eyes of the general public as a sign of colonial nostalgia. Moreover, the official regime in Mozambique pursued a strong non-aligned stance which could not be associated with neocolonialism. For this reason, it has been argued that, in Mozambique, "unlike in many countries in the [African] continent, the situation of the Portuguese is not one of an inconvenient legacy with a transitional nature while a 'genuine' African language is not found. ... It is a project that aims to nullify all the consequences of the arbitrary geographical borders of the country, give it a national identity and cultural consciousness, through the people that lives in it."[16]

Portuguese became, consequently, the primary medium of communication in public domains, not only in institutional settings all over the country but also in daily urban interactions in public spaces, such as restaurants, streets, marketplaces, etc. An effort was made to widen the community of speakers of Portuguese, through the expansion of education and literacy campaigns, both of which were conducted exclusively in Portuguese. Pressure was even exerted to the population in general, so that Portuguese should be widely used. For instance, signs posted in public offices reminded people that the use of the official language was mandatory.[17] At some public rallies, the translation of Portuguese into indigenous languages was avoided in order to reinforce its importance as the official language and symbol of national unity.

This policy favoring Portuguese led to a climate conducive to its social appropriation, with the consequent expansion of its use to new speakers and new domains. As people used Portuguese in many different ways, it started to transcend its role as a political and administrative tool to become a carrier of new types of communicative and symbolic messages. These new types of messages related to the vitality of new national life in Mozambique. The number of speakers of Portuguese also rose significantly, especially in urban centers.[18]

Accurate figures of speakers of Portuguese in 1975, the year that Mozambique became independent, are not available. It can be estimated, however, that less than 10% of the Mozambican population knew Portuguese, given that the illiteracy rate was about 90% and Portuguese was mainly acquired through education. In the city of Maputo the illiteracy rate was lower (50%), which means that the community of speakers of Portuguese was relatively large there. The only factor that needs to be taken into account is that such a figure still does not reflect the distribution of Portuguese among the different population groups, since illiteracy rates were unevenly distributed among them. Most of the residents of Maputo were Portuguese settlers.

Chart 5. 3

Illiteracy Rates in 1970
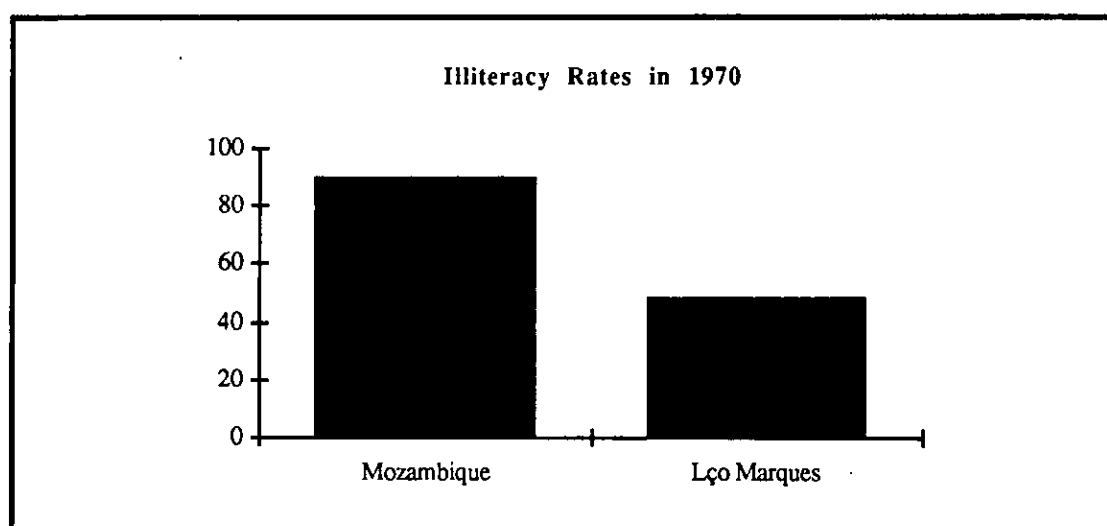
By 1980, the illiteracy rate was about 80 % in the entire country and about 40 % in the cities. As indicated in chapter II, 24.4 % of the population of Mozambique claimed to know Portuguese: 23.2% as a second language, and 1.2 % as native speakers. The census of 1980 also showed that the illiteracy rate in Maputo was estimated at 46.7%, and about 50% of the population living in the city claimed to know Portuguese (cf. Conselho Coordenador do Recensemento 1983b; MINED 1986: 46). Thus, many residents of

Maputo claimed knowledge of Portuguese, with the difference that the community of white settlers had dwindled considerably. This means that most of these speakers of Portuguese were Africans.

Chart 5. 4

Speakers of Portuguese in Mozambique (1980)

- Native speakers of Portuguese
- Speakers of Portuguese as L2
- Non-speakers of Portuguese

1.20%
23.20%
75.60%
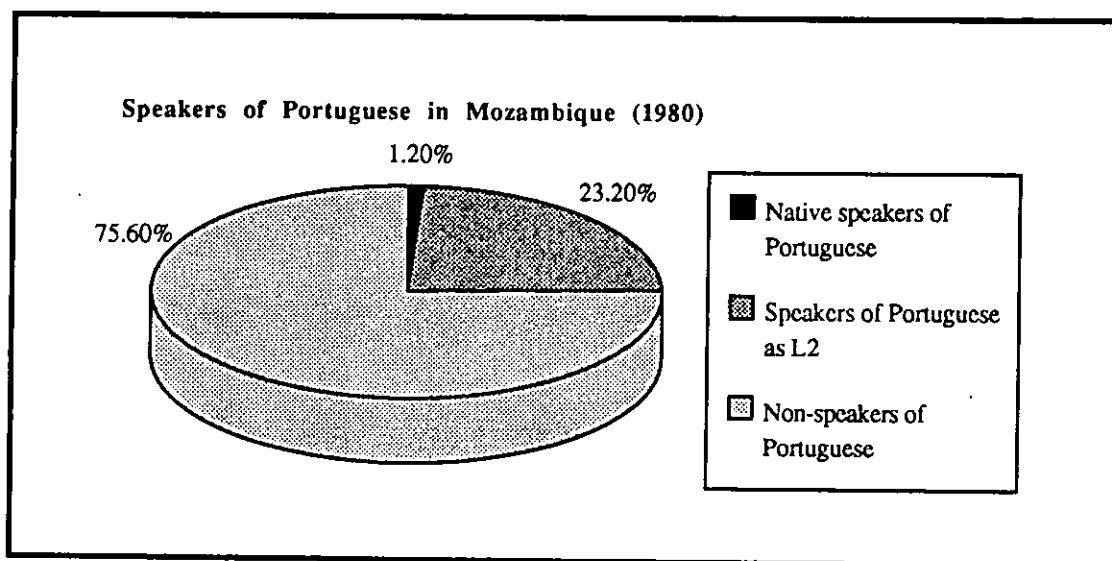
Following its expansion in use, Portuguese has started to fulfill new discursive functions connected with new social activities that emerged in post-colonial Mozambique. Portuguese is expressing a new ideology and carrying new socio-symbolic values. Moreover, Portuguese is acquiring new grammatical and rhetorical features which social interactants have to manipulate. In this way, Portuguese is coming to be seen as less and less intrusive and exogenous to Mozambican realities, especially in urban centers. It is used to enact typically Mozambican relationships and to invoke social realities particular to Mozambique.

5. 3. 3. Nativization of Portuguese in Mozambique

Portuguese is becoming embedded in the socio-cultural context of post-colonial Mozambique and is therefore undergoing a process of "nativization"(cf. section 5. 3. 1). This process corresponds to the development of a new ideology of "languagehood" as both official authorities and public opinion perceive and recognize Portuguese as an official and national link language. Meanwhile, as the new ideology of languagehood evolves, the Portuguese language in Mozambique incorporates new distinctive linguistic characteristics. Thus, the process of nativization of Portuguese encompasses two dimensions: a symbolic one, with the emergence of new attitudes and social ideologies towards the use of the language; and a linguistic one, with the development of new forms of language usage.

5. 3. 3. 1. Socio-symbolic change

The crucial aspect in the emergence of new attitudes towards the use of the Portuguese language in post-colonial Mozambique is linked to its promotion as an official language and symbol of national unity. The social appropriation of Portuguese is a consequence of the fact that people associate Portuguese with these roles and recognize it as a vital instrument for social integration and nation-state building. In the process, Portuguese has been undergoing an ideological transformation and acquiring socio-symbolic values arising in connection with the political, social, cultural, and economic environment in the independent Mozambican nation-state.

A variety of examples indicate the social recognition of Portuguese as a vital instrument for social integration and nation-state building in Mozambique. One example is the frantic efforts of representatives of the authorities to enforce official policy, such as when public offices display signs urging people to use Portuguese.[19] Another is the prompt willingness of many people to use Portuguese as a national link language,

especially in places where those of different backgrounds meet regularly. For instance, in Maputo addressing an unknown person in an indigenous language can be construed as an offense and a sign of "tribalism." This may be a direct consequence of the conscious awareness of the role of Portuguese as a national link language. With respect to this issue, notice what a resident of Maputo from the northern Niassa Province, who regularly takes the bus, had to say :

> "Everyday whoever arrives at the bus-stop will ask me whether I am the last one in the line. But this question is posed in the local language. Since I don't understand it, I simply respond in Macua, or Ajaua, which is the language that I know. Then the other person will get upset with me and a discussion will follow, with him saying that I cannot respond in Macua or Ajaua. Let me ask, in which dialect should I respond ? Ronga, Changane, Xitsua ? How could I, since I don't know them! I suggest to people from here, if they don't know the person, it is good to address him/her in the official language, because the fact that we are of the same race does not mean anything. We belong to different dialects" (translation and emphasis mine)[20]

The above passage demonstrates that many people have realized the importance of Portuguese as a national link language. Such realization is further documented by appeals of respect for Portuguese, as in the case of reader of the weekly magazine, TEMPO, who justified the need for speaking Portuguese correctly on the following grounds: "Portuguese is our language, let's respect it"[21] (translation mine).

Other indications of the awareness of the socio-symbolic change of Portuguese were provided by the responses to the questionnaire described in the preceding chapter. In general, the respondents praised Portuguese as a national language and as a decisive instrument of social integration. Below are some of the responses that can be construed as indications of this awareness:

> a) "It is very important to know Portuguese because it is an official language in our country and, therefore, it makes communication with people from all over the country easy" [respondent # 14];

b) "[When using Portuguese] I don't feel more or less Mozambican because it is the official language and if we didn't speak it, this our country would be in disorder, with a diversity of languages" [respondent # 4];

c) " [When speaking Portuguese] I don't feel more or less Mozambican, but a Mozambican. I think that I abstract myself from the connotations that the Portuguese language has. In a way, Portuguese can be perceived as a Mozambican language because we speak it naturally as any other Mozambican language that we speak" [respondent # 23];

d) "[When I speak Portuguese] I feel normal, as with any other Mozambican language, for this language is part of our day after day life. It fits also into our culture, even though it was brought here by our colonizers" [respondent # 14];

e) "When I speak Portuguese I feel that I am taking advantage of a tool that is strategically viable for more expansion and insertion in the various linguistic communities in our country. Despite the fact that some would argue that it is an element of cultural denaturalization, the influences that African languages exert or have exerted on Portuguese allow me to say with some plausibility that effectively there is no space for such a denaturalization, because Portuguese may also already be an African language" [respondent # 28].

As official ideology continues to promote Portuguese as the official language and the language of national unity, the awareness of the importance of the socio-symbolic values attached to the language is further consolidated. For this reason, Portuguese may now be the only national symbol that is widely recognized by Mozambicans and through which the idea of a nation is imagined and experienced, especially among urbanized Mozambicans.

Portuguese is, however, both an asset and a liability. As will be argued in chapter VI, because many rural Mozambicans have minimal contact with Portuguese and with

corresponding ideological values, for whose understanding knowledge of Portuguese is fundamental, it remains an open question to know how Portuguese is perceived or even what kind of national consciousness is experienced by the rural population. The fact that national and official activities are enacted exclusively in Portuguese may alienate non-speakers of the language from the national system and motivate them to create alternative forms of communion.

Thus, the possibility that rural populations have created particular solidarities, in parallel or even in opposition to the national solidarity promoted by the official ideology, should not be dismissed. In a way, this explains why official ideology has avoided reliance on indigenous languages and on corresponding values in the project of nation-building in Mozambique. This is not to say that official discourse never dwelt on indigenous languages, or even that the authorities are not willing to recognize the value of indigenous languages. On many occasions, the authorities have shown the intention of doing so, though with little success. The problem is that promoters of the official ideology are caught in a dilemma: emphasis on indigenous languages and corresponding values, such as what is commonly viewed as "tradition," might erode the authority of the "modern" state and the unity of the nation; however, by not emphasizing indigenous languages, the potential for the erosion of the nation-state through sub-national loyalties is still there, as the alienation from the national system of those who relate more easily with these languages may lead to alternative forms of the nation-state.

5. 3. 3. 2. Linguistic change

In the same way that Portuguese in Mozambique is acquiring new social roles in independent Mozambique, it is also developing typical structural and rhetorical features. The development of these features is, however, a continuation of a process that started

before independence. Even before independence, the Portuguese spoken in Mozambique included widely propagated typical features, the so-called *moçambicanismos* (Cabral 1972) used even by Portuguese settlers. They can be exemplified by lexical items, such as *machimbombo* ('bus', the equivalent to the more European form *autocarro*, also used in Mozambique), *maningue* ('many, much', the equivalent of *muito*), *quinhenta* ('fifty cents'), the European form being *cinquenta centavos*, also used in Mozambique.

After independence the use of Portuguese widened and the signs of "mozambicanization" of Portuguese expanded. A number of reasons can be linked to this expansion of Mozambican forms, such as the following:

a) most Portuguese settlers left the country;

b) authoritative institutional settings were massively occupied by Mozambicans;

c) school teachers were localized, as Portuguese teachers were replaced by Mozambicans;

d) some people compelled to use Portuguese had not learned it formally in the schools for an adequate period of time (the standards for teaching the language had also lowered).

While the use of Portuguese was spreading, the mechanisms that had contributed to enforce the European model and the emulation of Portuguese settlers or Portuguese teachers were disrupted. In fact, given the overriding imperative of communicating in the official language, incorrect forms of usage *vis-à-vis* the European model became widespread, to the point that they even became a common theme of discussion, for instance, in the local press. A pervasive point of discussion was the disruption of grammatical standards, which some felt as downgrading and disrespecting Portuguese.[22] Others, however, called attention to the fact that Portuguese was mirroring the

transformation that society was undergoing.[23] As Rosário (1982) points out, with little exaggeration, in the following passage:

> "The trauma of *Pretoguês*[24] started to disappear and today any citizen makes sure that he/she expresses himself/herself in correct Portuguese and how many of them, being bosses in their working sectors, would not make brilliant interventions in an expressive style full of momentary neologisms, totally new structures strange to the language, various instances of interference ..." (p. 65, translation mine). [25]

A more important argument supporting the nativization of Portuguese has to do less with the "subversion" of the European grammatical patterns than with the incorporation of features such as lexical items and communicative patterns invoking the new "political economy" in which it is used. An elucidative example is the shift from *moleque* to *empregado doméstico*, both referring to a housekeeper or domestic servant. The form *moleque* is associated with the colonial period, hence has racist and oppressive overtones. It is now hardly used in Mozambique. The expression, *empregado doméstico*, is more neutral and more common in independent Mozambique. This shift represents a change in the social perception of housekeeping as a result of a change in the political and social environment. A similar instance is the word *indígena*, widely used in the colonial period to make reference to the native population. Many people in Mozambique avoids its use because they associate it with colonial connotations.

Meanwhile, new words and expressions are being coined or used in different ways. Such is the case, for instance, of:

a) *estruturas*, referring to officials in the government;

b) *homem novo*, referring to the new type of citizen abiding by the principles through which FRELIMO, the ruling party, was conceiving Mozambican society;

c) *continuadores*, referring to children, "who will continue the revolution."

Given that, as it is well understood in sociolinguistics, a language is never used as a homogeneous social institution that is uniformly manipulated by all speakers in all communicative situations (cf. chapter II), variation is part of the way people use Portuguese in Mozambique. Part of this variation is related to different manipulations of the linguistic features that are typifying Portuguese spoken in Mozambique. These features are not evenly spread among all people in Mozambique or used in all communicative situations, and attitudes of acceptance, tolerance, or rejection of them may vary from speaker to speaker or with the same speaker from situation to situation or feature to feature. This point is significant, especially in reference to the association of ex-colonial languages like Portuguese with elitist practices. Often the criticism against ex-colonial languages takes language as a singular homogeneous entity, ignoring the intricacies with which a language is manipulated as speakers participate in social interactions. For instance in Mozambique, the association of Portuguese with social prestige and high social status is indexed more by the forms of language that one uses than by the knowledge of the language per se. In other words, it does not suffice to know Portuguese; rather, one has to know specific forms of Portuguese usage, generally associated with educated people, and be able and/or attempt to speak a grammatically "correct" Portuguese. In Maputo, particularly, most people think that one should speak a Portuguese that is pruned from markers of regional accents, that is, with no features of areas other than Maputo and close to what is perceived as European-like Portuguese.

Portuguese in Mozambique can be thought of as a "continuum" ranging, say, from forms of broken Portuguese (the derogatorily named *Pretoguês*) to European-like forms of Portuguese. The European model of Portuguese is still perceived as the standard and, in theory, it is still enforced in the schools. This implies that the most valued and/or most formal usages of Portuguese in Mozambique tend to display fewer deviations. People, however, also react negatively towards explicit and exaggerated attempts to follow the European-like forms of Portuguese, especially in terms of accent, as shown in the

preceding chapter with the commentaries to the linguistic phenomenon I designated as *afinar*. Thus, the European model that is valued in Mozambique has in itself been reconstructed to follow specific socially acceptable linguistic patterns. In other words, in Mozambique there is a social construction of Portuguese, a process that creatively makes uses of resources available in the European model as well as innovations rooted in the political, economic, social, cultural, and linguistic conditions prevailing in the country.

The following instances illustrate some cases of the linguistic features indexing the nativization of Portuguese in Mozambique. They are provided as an indication of the linguistic trends that the language is taking, with no aim of giving either an exhaustive systematization or an extensive linguistic analytical account, both of which are beyond the scope of this dissertation. All examples are underlined to facilitate their identification.

5. 3. 3. 2. 1. Phonetics/Phonology

A salient feature that gives a unique character to the Portuguese spoken in Mozambique is the variation of accent (*sotaque*), which arises in connection with a transfer of linguistic properties of native indigenous languages. Features showing this type of transfer include the following:

a) insertion of an epenthetic vowel in syllables starting with non-homorganic double consonants, in replication of the syllable structure in Bantu languages. With the exception of syllables with homorganic consonants, syllabic structure in local Bantu languages is typically CV.[26] Examples:

> P1. problema [prublema]> purubelema[purubelema].
> P2. subsídio [subsidiu]> [subisidiu].

b) devoicing of voiced stops, typical of native speakers of Emakhuwa. The phonological system of Emakhuwa only contains voiceless stops (NELIMO 1989: 43) and therefore, does not maintain a phonological distinction between voiced and voiceless stops as Portuguese does. Examples:

P3. introdução [introdusãu]> [introtusãu].

P4. boxe [boksə]> [poksi].

P5. gato [gatu]> [katu].

c) fricativization of the voiced velar stop, typical of native speakers of Gitonga. The phonological system of Gitonga does not contain a voiced velar stop, as Portuguese does (Mateus 1982; Mateus et al. 1983: 525); rather, the corresponding sound is a voiced velar fricative (cf. NELIMO 1989: 89). Examples:

P6. golo [golu]> [γolu].

P7. agora [agora]> [aγora].

5. 3. 3. 2. 2. Lexicon

Several types of lexical innovations resulting from an application of different processes can be noticed in speakers of Portuguese in Mozambique. They include the following:

a) borrowings from indigenous languages. Examples:

L1. Khanimambo, 'thank you', from Xironga and Xichangana.
L2. Djico, 'walk', from Ku-djika 'to walk around' in Xironga and Xichangana.

L3. <u>Tchovar,</u> 'to pull', from ku-tchova, 'to pull' in Xironga and Xichangana. The word has been turn into a Portuguese verb by adding the Portuguese verbal suffix "-ar."

L4. <u>Navelar</u>, 'to desire or yearn for something', from ku-navela, 'to desire or yearn' in Xironga and Xichangana. The word has been turned into a Portuguese verb by adding the Portuguese verbal suffix "-ar."

L5. <u>Bacela,</u> 'bonus', from ku-bacela 'to give a bonus to someone' in Xironga and Xichangana.

L6. <u>Hoyo-hoyo</u>, 'welcome' in Xironga and Xichangana.

L7. <u>Dumba-nengue</u>, literally meaning 'rely on your legs', used in reference to a type of informal market. The word is a combination of ku-dumba, 'trust/rely' and nengue 'legs'. It points to the fact that informal markets are illegal and therefore, the vendors have to run constantly away from the police.

L8. <u>Tchova-Xitaduma</u>, literally meaning 'keep pulling, it will start', used in reference to a type of carriage pulled by a man. The word is a combination of ku-tchova, 'to pull', and ku-duma, 'to start a car engine'.

All these words are widely known and/or employed by most people who can speak Portuguese in Maputo, irrespective of whether they know local indigenous languages or not.

b) Morphological neologisms, which are derived through an overgeneralization of morphological processes existing in the language. Examples:

L10. <u>desconseguir</u>, which means 'not to succeed', from conseguir 'to manage, succeed'.

Example L10 uses the prefix "des-," which can be attached to many verbs to indicate a contrary action, such as in the pair fazer/desfazer 'do, make/ undo, unmake'. In the European model, however, such a derivational process is proscribed for the case of conseguir; so example L10 is not part of European Portuguese.

L11. bichar, 'to line up', from bicha 'queue, line'.

In example L11, a noun bicha has been verbalized by suffixing the verbal ending "-ar." This process occurs in Portuguese in pairs like ficha/fichar ('file/to file'), caça/caçar ('hunt, safari / to hunt'), or "canto/cantar" ('song/to sing'). The verb "bichar," however, is unknown in European Portuguese.

L12. confusionar, 'to confuse', from confusão 'confusion'.

In example L12 there is an over-generalization of a pattern that can be recognized in the language, such in the "adição/adicionar" ('addition/ to add'). Nouns that end with "-ão," can be verbalized by replacing this ending with "-ionar." Such a rule is applied in "confusionar"; however, this form is not used in European Portuguese.

L13. bizinisseiro, 'businessman, smuggler', from the English word business.

In example L13 a typical Portuguese suffix "-eiro" is added to an English word "business." The suffix "-eiro," to indicate a relationship with a place or activity, as in "caseiro" ('person liking to stay at home') or "mineiro" ('mine-worker'). The word "businesseiro" is, however, only used in Mozambican Portuguese, probably as a consequence of contacts with South Africa.

c) Semantic neologisms, which are derived through semantic shifts and/or extensions to lexical items in the language. Examples:

L14. chapa-cem, used in reference to a type of public transport in Mozambique. It owes its name to the fact that the original fare was the equivalent of a bill of 100 meticais[27], which was called "chapa-cem." The word combines "chapa" 'bill' with "cem" 'one hundred'.

L15. barraca, used in reference to a type of pub found in Maputo, usually housed in a building made of non-durable material such as rivercane.

L16. mola, which usually refers to a 'spiral spring'. Now it is also used with the meaning of 'money', in "Estou sem mola" ('I have no money, I am broke').

L17. abrir, whose original meaning is 'to open', but is now used also with the meaning of 'to run away', 'to go away', or 'to leave', as in "Ele abriu para a África do Sul," ('He ran away to South Africa') or "Ele já abriu para a casa," ('He went home').

L18. tio, whose original meaning is 'uncle', but is now used also in reference to an adult male person, sometimes as sign of respect, as in a sentence like " Eu vi um tio com bandeiras," ('I saw a person with flags').[28]

L19. deslocado, used in reference to a "dislocated" person from the war zones who took refuge in safe areas like Maputo city, as in the sentence "A cidade está cheia de deslocados," ('The city is full of dislocated people').

L20. desmobilizado, used in reference to former soldiers who have been dismissed from the army, as in the sentence "A estrada foi bloqueada pelos desmobilizados," ('The street was blocked by the desmobilizados').

L21. <u>batedor</u>, used with the meaning of 'thief', as in "<u>batedor de carros</u>,"
'carjacker'. It comes from the verb "bater," 'to hit', which in informal
Mozambican Portuguese can also mean 'to steal'.

5. 3. 3. 2. 3. Grammatical patterns

By grammatical patterns I am referring to syntactic processes that affect the
organization of sentences. Examples of innovative grammatical patterns that can be heard
in Maputo include the following:

a) frequent substitution or elimination of prepositions attached to a prepositional
verb. Examples:

G1a. Vou <u>na</u> escola.
  I go in the school (na = em + a, 'in + the')
  'I go to school.'

G2a. Cheguei <u>em</u> casa às seis horas.
  I came in house at the six hours (às = a + as, 'at + the')
  'I came home at six o'clock.'

G3a. Assisti um bom filme.
  'I watched a good movie.'

In standard Portuguese, the verbs in the three examples require the preposition "<u>a</u>,"
such as in ir a ('to go to'), chegar a (to arrive at), assistir a ('to watch'), as in the
following sentences:

G1b. Vou <u>à</u> escola (<u>à</u>= preposition <u>a</u> + definite article <u>a</u>).

G2b. Cheguei <u>à</u> casa às seis horas.

G3b. Assisti <u>a</u> um bom filme.

The use of the preposition "em" ('in') instead of "a" ('at, for, at') in examples G1a
and G2a may reflect the fact that the verbs indicate a movement towards the interior of a
space (school, house). Speakers seem to associate the preposition "a" with directionality

rather than interiority, which is normally expressed in Portuguese by the preposition "em." The lack of a "transparent" meaning in the preposition "a" may also lead to its elimination in sentence G3a, where it does not seem to have a semantic input.

b) in sentences with a prepositional verb in a relative clause, retention "in situ" of the preposition after the verb and insertion of a resumptive pronoun. In the European model, in this construction the preposition is "moved" to the initial position of the relative clause and precedes the conjunction that introduces the relative clause. Examples:

> G4a. O rapaz que ela gostava dele é moçambicano.
> The boy that she liked of him is Mozambican
> 'The boy whom she liked is a Mozambican.'

Example G4a uses the verb "gostar de" ('to like') and, following the European model, the sentence should be as in G4b:

> G4b. O rapaz de que ela gostava é moçambicano.
> The boy of whom she liked is Mozambican
> 'The boy whom she liked is a Mozambican'

There is a variation of sentence G4 often heard in Maputo, in which contraction between the preposition "de" ('of') with the personal pronoun "ele" ('he'), that is, the form "dele," is omitted altogether as in example G4c:

> G4c. O rapaz que ela gostava é moçambicano.
> The boy that she liked is Mozambican
> 'The boy whom she liked is a Mozambican'

Another example is the following sentence G5a:

> G5a. O homem que eu falei com ele é esperto.
> The man that I spoke with him is smart'
> 'The man with whom I spoke is smart or The man I spoke to is smart'

Following the European model, the sentence in example G5a, which uses the prepositional verb "falar com" ('to speak with'), should be structured as in G5b:

G5b. O homem com quem eu falei é esperto.
The man   with whom I spoke is smart
'The man with whom I spoke is smart'

Unlike in sentence G4c, sentence G5a is not used without the resumptive pronoun "ele."

c) substitution of dative forms of personal pronouns for accusative forms of personal pronouns. Examples:

G6. Eu vi-lhe ontem.
'I saw him(dat.) yesterday.'

G6b. Eu vi-o ontem.
I saw him(accus.) yesterday.'

G7a. Este João José é primo directo de José Jaime mas, mesmo assim, ele conseguiu matar-lhe, tirar-lhe a viatura e vender ao preço de 70 milhões.[29]
'This João José is a first cousin of José Jaime but, even so, he was able to kill him (dat.), take his vehicle, and sell at the price of 70 million.'

G7b. Este João José é primo directo de José Jaime mas, mesmo assim, ele conseguiu matá-lo, tirar-lhe a viatura e vender ao preço de 70 milhões.
'This João José is a first cousin of José Jaime but, even so, he was able to kill him (accus.), take his vehicle, and sell at the price of 70 millions.'

In the European model, the verbs "ver" ('to see') and "matar" ('to kill') require a patient with the syntactic role of direct object. Thus the noun phrase representing the patient would be pronominalized by an accusative personal pronoun, as shown in examples G6b and G7b. In these circumstances, however, some speakers of Portuguese in Mozambique use the dative forms of the personal pronouns, which should refer only to indirect objects. It seems that speakers are collapsing semantic roles relate with direct and indirect pronouns in the forms that in European model are associated only with indirect objects.

Sentence G7a also omits the accusative pronoun that would represent the object of the transitive verb "vender" ('to sell'), in this case, "viatura" ('car'), as in the following example from the European model:

> G7c. Este João José é primo directo de José Jaime mas mesmo assim ele conseguiu matá-lo, tirar-lhe a viatura e vendê-la ao preço de 70 milhões.

> 'This João José is a first cousin of José Jaime but, even so, he was able to kill him (accus.), take his vehicle and sell it (accus.) at the price of 70 millions.'

In another typical construction with an accusative pronominal object, some speakers of Portuguese in Mozambique prefer to use the nominative personal pronoun preceded by the preposition "a," as in the following examples:

> G8. Eu vi a ele ontem.[30] (instead of Eu vi-o ontem)
> I saw to he yesterday
> 'I saw him yesterday.'

> G9. Eu dei a ele uma manga. (instead of Eu dei-lhe uma manga)
> I gave to he a mango
> 'I gave him a mango.'

The variety of the phenomena related to pronominalization of objects suggests that this is an area that still requires further research.

e) sentence constructions with the so-called dative passive, in which a noun phrase with a dative case is raised to the position of a subject. This construction, which is possible in many languages (such as English and Bantu languages), is ungrammatical in the European Portuguese model. In this model, the subject of a passive sentence usually must bear the role of patient and the accusative case. Examples:

> G10a. <u>Nós fomos ditos que hoje não há aulas</u>.
> We were told that today not there is classes
> 'We were told that today there are no classes.'

The personal pronoun "<u>Nós</u>" represents the indirect object with a dative case and, therefore, cannot become a subject of a passive sentence. In the European model, sentence G10a would be as follows:

> G10b. <u>Foi-nos dito que hoje não há aulas</u>.
> was us told that today not there are classes
> 'It was said to us that today there are no classes'

Preferably, however, the same idea would be conveyed by a sentence like example G10c:

> G10c. <u>Disseram-nos que hoje não há aulas.</u>
> 'They told us today there are no classes.'

The following example G11a displays a similar construction:

> G11a. <u>Nenhum cidadão poderá ser negado o direito de se</u>
> <u>queixar ou apresentar petições aos órgãos competentes,</u>
> quando se sentir lesado nos seus direitos.[31]
> 'No citizen will be denied the right to complain or present petitions
> to competent organs when he/she feels his/her rights are infringed.'

In this example the verb "negar" ('to deny') takes two internal arguments: a patient, in this case, the long noun phrase "o direito de se queixar ou apresentar petições aos órgãos competentes"; and a beneficiary, in this case, "nenhum cidadão," which in the European model needs to be preceded by the preposition "a," as is usual in Portuguese with all indirect objects. Example 11a is a passive sentence that deviates from the European norm by having as its subject a noun phrase that corresponds to an indirect object with a dative case in a corresponding active sentence. Such deviation may be related to the tendency to omit prepositions from prepositional verbs described before in a). The noun phrase "nenhum cidadão" is dislocated to the initial position of the sentence without the necessary preposition. Had this been the case, "a nenhum cidadão" could not become a subject; rather, such a grammatical role would be occupied by the noun phrase "o direito de se queixar ou apresentar petições aos órgãos competentes," as in sentence G11b.

> G11b. <u>A nenhum cidadão poderá ser negado o direito de</u>
> <u>se queixar ou apresentar petições aos órgãos competentes</u>
> quando se sentir lesado nos seus direitos.
> 'To no citizen should be denied the right to complain or present
> petitions, when he/she feels her rights infringed.'

f) neutralization of the opposition between the personal pronouns "tu" ('you') and "você" ('you') and correlated fluctuation in the use of corresponding patterns of agreement.

According to Cintra & Cunha (1984), the form "tu" is used in European Portuguese when closeness and intimacy is involved, such as from parents to sons/daughters, grandparents to grandsons/grand-daughters, uncles to nephews, and between brothers and sisters, husband and wife, or co-workers of the same age. Lately, it has been extended to

interactions involving people in the same profession, members of the same party, as well as a son/daughter and a parent. The form "você," on the other hand, is normally used by a person with a higher status in terms of age, social class, or rank, to one with a lower status, or when the interlocutor has the same social status. In terms of verbal agreement, "tu" is used as second person pronoun singular, whereas "você" is used as a third person pronoun. Both, however, refer to the addressee, the person to whom one is talking. In imperative sentences, in terms of verbal tenses, the form "tu" requires the imperative proper, formed from the present indicative, whereas "você" requires the present subjunctive.

In Mozambique, the distinction between "tu" and "você" is often overlooked, and two situations have emerged: either the two forms are used interchangeably or "você" takes the place of "tu."[32] One consequence of the fact that "você" and "tu" are collapsed the common confusion with corresponding verbal agreement patterns, usually with "você" taking forms of agreement that correspond to "tu," as exemplified in example G12.

G12a. Se deseja trabalhos de tipografia e litografia, exige qualidade consulte-nos.
If want   works   of   typography and lithography, demand quality consult us
'If you want typographical and lithographic work, demand quality. Consult us.'

Sentence G12a, which is taken from a commercial advertisement in a weekly newspaper (*Savana*, October 21, 1994), uses three verbal forms, "deseja," (present subjunctive), "exige" (present indicative), and "consulte-nos" (present subjunctive) with different patterns of agreement. Two of the forms, "deseja" and "consulte-nos", agree with "você," and, for this reason, one would expect that "exige" be replaced by "exija"(present of the subjunctive), to agree with "você." Thus, the corresponding in the European model would as follows:

G12b. <u>Se deseja trabalhos de tipografia e litografia, exija qualidade.</u>

<u>Consulte-nos</u>!

g) use of the indicative mood in concessive clauses that use the conjunction "**embora**" (although, even though), which in European Portuguese requires the subjunctive (cf. Mateus et al. 1983: 471). Examples:

> G13a. <u>Embora estou doente, eu vou para o serviço</u>
> although am (ind.) sick, I go to the work.
> 'Although I am (ind.) sick, I am going to work.'

In a sentence like G13a, some speakers will another conjunction "<u>que</u>" (that) to the conjunction "<u>embora</u>" (although, even though), which is also unusual in European Portuguese. This usage is exemplified in the following sentence G13b:

> G13b. <u>Embora que estou doente, eu vou para o serviço</u>
> Although that am (ind.) sick, I go to the work
> 'Although I am sick, I am going to work.'

Following the European model, the same sentence would be structured as follows:

> G13c. <u>Embora esteja doente, eu vou para o serviço.</u>
> Although am (subj.) sick, I go to the work
> 'Although I am (subj.) sick, I am going to work.'

5. 3. 3. 2. 4.   Rhetorical strategies

By "rhetorical strategies" I am referring to discursive devices by which social actors convey and interpret both referential and social meanings. They represent cultural features acting as "contextualization cues" (Gumperz 1982) that typify and signal the significance of social activities, as people interact with each other. Since they arise with cooperative participation over time in similar contexts of social interaction, they also fulfill symbolic functions that give an identity to social groups. Such is the case with the following

linguistic phenomena, which can be fully understood only in the context of the social interactions occurring in Maputo. Instances of such rhetorical strategies include:

a) "preferentialization" of certain lexical items and expressions instead of other equivalents, which may be preferred elsewhere where Portuguese is spoken. Examples:

R1. gajo/gaja, the equivalent to "tipo" (Portugal), or "cara" (Brazil), used as in "O gajo é alto" ('he is tall') or "Um gajo está doente" (literally meaning, 'A person is sick'). Pragmatically, "Um gajo está doente" can be understood as meaning 'I am sick', in contrast to "O gajo está doente" ('the person is sick'), which has to mean 'he, an other person, is sick'. Thus, people use the expression "um gajo" in the place of a first person personal pronoun "eu" ('I'). The word "gajo/a" is also known and used elsewhere, such as in Portugal but not with the same nuances or frequency.[33]

R2. pito/a. ('boyfriend/girlfriend'), the equivalent of "namorado/a" (Mozambique, Portugal, Brazil, etc.), or "xodó" (Brazil). The word "pito/a" is not widely used in other Portuguese-using countries.

R3. nesta altura do campeonato, which has the literal meaning of 'at this stage of the championship', but used to mean 'at this point/moment', as in the following sentence:

> R3a. "nesta altura do 'campeonato' (político, comercial e social) não fica bem que uns concebam, divulguem e eternizem um produto (neste caso de marca cultural) e outros o vão buscar para fins meramente políticos [at this political, commercial, and social moment it is bad that some will conceive, divulge and eternalize a product (in this case of a cultural nature) and others go and take it merely for political purposes]"[34]

In Portugal, the same expression is occasionally used in political discourse.

R4. ya, used as an equivalent of "sim" ('yes') .

c) incorporation of imagery and metaphors from indigenous cultural systems into Portuguese discourse as a way of increasing expressivity by appealing to local sociocultural practices and symbols. For someone who is not familiar with local sociocultural practices and symbols, most of these discursive devices are opaque, regardless of the knowledge of Portuguese. Cases of application of this strategy include (R6-R10):

R6. use of the term "malume" and its correlate "ntukulo," as in the following dialogue:

> R6a. **Person A:** Malume, chegou o dia, vamos todos votar, não é ?
> 'Malume, the day has arrived, let's all go and vote, all right?'
>
> **Person B:** É verdade n'tukulo! Mas, atenção, não vais com essa camisete nem as bandeiras, OK ?
> 'That's right, n'tukulo! But, listen, don't you go with that T-shirt or the flags, OK?'

This dialogue, taken from the daily newspaper *Notícias* (October 27, 1994), is part of a message intended to mobilize people to vote and to explain the procedures to them. The reference to T-shirts and flags is related to the fact that voters were not allowed to take to the polling-stations any item alluding to the parties and candidates running in the elections. The message builds its communicative intent by making reference to a fundamental feature of patrilineal societies in the south of Mozambique, namely, the joking relationship between the "malume," the mother's brother, and the "n'tukulo," the sister's son (cf. Junod 1962[1927]; Kuper 1981; Radcliffe-Brown 1940)

R7. Use of the epithet xiconhoca.

The word "Xiconhoca" was introduced in Mozambique as a name of a character featured in a well publicized series of caricatures depicting questionable behavior in

Mozambique society. "Xiconhoca" was supposed to be the "people's enemy," whose moral and political values set him apart from the rest of society. The word "xiconhoca" is a pun, combining "xico," which is related to Chico (a short form for Francisco), which carries the connotation of cleverness, and "nhoca," meaning 'snake' in most local languages, which is associated with danger or unmerciful harm. Thus, "xiconhoca" is someone perceived as harmful to society who, through mischievous maneuvers, attempts to satisfy his/her selfish ambitions.

R8. Use of the word ngoma.

The word "ngoma," in some local languages has the meaning of 'drum', and by extension, also that of 'music' or even 'traditional music ensemble'. The meaning and connotations of this word have been widely exploited in Portuguese spoken in Mozambique. For instance, a popular hit-parade radio program presented in Portuguese, which features only Mozambican music, is named "Ngoma-Moçambique."

R9. Use of the word xikwembo.

The word "Xikwembo" refers to a spirit embodied by traditional healers when in trance. A "xikwembo" is believed to have superpowers which can affect the life of anyone, sometimes with malignant actions. A "xikwembo" can also have protective powers. The use of "xikwembo" can be illustrated by the following passage taken from a reader's letter in a local newspaper. A well-known Western ambassador in Maputo, who had been involved in a diplomatic controversy, was accused of having xikwembos:

R9a. "Os <u>xikwembos</u> do embaixador (....) . Espero que os espíritos dos nossos antepassados, particularmente dos que se bateram contra a dominação do nosso país, nos iluminem os caminhos para escaparmos dos <u>xikwembos</u> do Sr. Embaixador.[The xikwembos of the ambassador (....). I hope that the spirits of our forefathers, particularly those who fought against the domination of our country, will illuminate our way to escape from the xikwembos of Mr. Ambassador]" (in *Domingo*, October 16, 1994)

The use of <u>xikwembo</u> in this passage is only understandable in connection with the mythological life related to traditional magic and religion in Mozambique.

R10. Use of the word <u>porcos</u>

In Mozambique, people worship dead ancestors who are believed to grant protection to their descendants (cf. Fortes & Dieterland 1965). In southern Mozambique, these ancestors are generally referred to as "nguluve(singular)/tinguluve(plural)," words that in some indigenous languages are homophonous to other ones that in Portuguese can be translated as 'pig/pigs,' that is "porco/porcos." This association of "nguluve/tinguluve" with both "dead ancestor" and "porco" ('pig'), motivates the use of "porco" with the new meaning of ancestor, as in the following sentence:

R10a. <u>Fui à Gaza visitar os meus porcos</u>.
'I went to Gaza to make ceremonies for my ancestors.'

5. 3. 3. 3. The creative nature of the changes

As was mentioned earlier, most studies on the nativization of ex-colonial languages usually consider interference from local indigenous languages as the main cause for

linguistic innovations. Given that, for most speakers, Portuguese in Mozambique is a second language that is acquired through a formal process of learning, there is an assumption that most of the linguistic features characterizing the use of Portuguese are a result of interference from local indigenous languages (Da Silva 1993; Firmino 1987; Gonçalves 1990[1983], 1990, 1992) and subsequent formation of a fossilized "interlanguage" (Selinker 1972; Selinker & Lamendella 1978). The fossilized "interlanguage" consists of imperfectly mastered linguistic patterns. Thus, the deviations in the use of Portuguese in Mozambique are considered as fossilizations of errors resulting from a transfer of features from L1s (indigenous Bantu languages) to an L2 (Portuguese).

There are grounds for assuming that transfer from indigenous languages plays a significant role in the emergence of some of the features of the Portuguese used by Mozambicans, as indicated by the fact that some of the "deviations" reproduce features from indigenous languages or from the cultural system to which indigenous languages are related. However, it seems that, in ascertaining the ontological status of the forms that Portuguese is taking in Mozambique, other aspects have to be considered as well. For instance, some of the morphological and grammatical deviations in the Portuguese spoken in Mozambique have also arisen in other countries, such as Brazil, which suggests that they might just be language-specific manifestations of language change trends. Linguistic deviations, such as substitution of prepositions, the erosion of the distinction of "tu" and "você," preferentialization of "você," and the use of relative clauses without the movement of the preposition and with the use of resumptive pronouns, are also common in Brazil.

In addition, even though the interference approach may only explain the origin of some of the features, it does not account for their social distribution, manipulation and institutionalization. A careful observation of linguistic practices in Maputo would reveal that interactants are aware of the social "marketability" associated with the different forms of Portuguese, according with which specific features may be manipulated and valued. As

a result of the awareness of this social marketability, most of the deviations are less noticeable in the most valued forms of usage, especially in the Portuguese associated with highly educated people and formal situations. The deviations may be perceived as imperfect usage of the language, implying that the respective speaker as lacking. Consequently, the following facts, *inter alia*, can be noticed:

> a) not all "transferable" features are used or recognized as legitimate or "passable" features of Portuguese in Mozambique in all social activities or by all social actors;

> b) there is not always a correlation between the speakers of a specific indigenous language and the linguistic features associated with that language;

> c) speakers of a specific language may make efforts to dissociate themselves from the transfers associated with their specific language, as with those with an affected accent known as *afinar*;

> d) some transfers are used even by speakers whose native language is Portuguese.

Thus, there is a dimension of creativity in the development of a "communicative competence" or "social acceptability" associated with the manipulation of Portuguese in Mozambique, not only in the creation of typifying linguistic features but also in their use and usage. As it has been argued in studies that have considered the sociocultural dimensions of language change, linguistic innovation is linked to changes in social context. The features that are typifying Portuguese constitute some of the "rhetorical strategies" and "contextualization cues" that guarantee social cooperation as carriers of communicational intent as well as symbols that index the identity of members of Mozambican society (Gumperz 1982). In this sense, in the social context of their occurrence, the use of forms of Portuguese in Mozambique have to be seen as natural because they are enmeshed in the social interactions emanating from the sociocultural environment (Gal 1979). The creativity

plays a part when social actors manipulate the resources in the language(s) they speak to construct and convey meanings related to this sociocultural environment.

However, nativization of Portuguese in Mozambique is not shown by the new linguistic forms per se, but by the ways these forms are integrated in interactional practices. As seen, structural peculiarities are minor and, furthermore, most of them are perfectly understandable within the grammatical system of the language. Besides, some of them have even arisen in other Portuguese-using countries. Portuguese in Mozambique is in a process of nativization, primarily because it is associated with a new discursive and ideological system, which provide the social context from which the use of Portuguese (and consequently, of the new linguistic forms) can be understood. Primacy has to be given to discursive and ideological systems, rather than to structural features.

5. 4. Closing remarks

This chapter focused on the institutionalization of Portuguese in Mozambique and analyzed processes that determined its change in position from a colonial language to one that is recognized as the official language and symbol of national unity. The analysis was preceded by an account of the process of institutionalization of ex-colonial languages in other post-colonial settings, particularly in Africa. This account indicated that the case of Portuguese in Mozambique is comparable to other situations in the world.

I posited that Portuguese is undergoing a process of nativization as new socio-symbolic values and linguistic features are attached to it. This nativization, however, has to do more with the new social use and usage than with the differentiation of the language per se. Portuguese in Mozambique is given a unique character by the ideology informing its use, and not solely by the linguistic innovations. Such a conclusion is supported by the fact that most of the linguistic innovations in the Portuguese in Mozambique exploit

possibilities existing in the system the language or are instances of "preferentialization" of certain usages instead of others, which may be preferred elsewhere. With few exceptions, the elements that are transferred from other languages, such as, the Bantu languages, are also conformed to the structure of Portuguese. For this reason, some of the innovations have arisen in other varieties of the language.

Given that Portuguese is manipulated both structurally and symbolically in connection with the social ecology prevailing in Mozambique, there is reason to argue that it has been endogenized. Portuguese in Mozambique has been "mozambicanized," which warrants its recognition as a national language as I will argue in the next chapter.

Notes to chapter V

[1]I use the concept of "social integration" as defined in Mazrui (1972), "the process by which the gaps of the elite and the masses, of the town and the countryside, the privileged and the underprivileged, are gradually narrowed," in opposition to "national integration" which is "a process of merging subgroup identities into a shared sense of national consciousness" (p. 97).

[2]This is not say that some African writers have not taken an opposite attitude. Probably, Ngugi wa Thiong'o has made the most known statement to this effect (1987:xi).

[3]In general, the variation of Nigerian English ranges from pidginized forms to a "been-to" sub-variety. However, Banjo's classification does not consider Pidgin, unlike, for instance, Brosnahan's (1958). "Been-to" sub-variety is a reference to an affected English used by those who have been to England.

[4]In early 1960's, the European population in Mozambique is estimated as 100, 000. By the end of the colonial regime in 1975, it had doubled (Newitt 1995: 477).

[5]I borrow the distinction between "Afro-Europeans" and "Africans" from Penvenne (1982). The term "Afro-Portuguese" has been used in Newitt (1995) in the same sense as the term "Afro-Europeans." The distinction captures socially significant racial categories in the native population, the mulattos or *mistos*, who usually had a European father and a native black mother, and the black natives. I will also coin the term "Euro-Africans", to make reference to white Mozambicans descending from former Portuguese settlers. I will use "Africans" to refer to black Mozambicans.

[6]Penvenne (1982) indicates that "The privileges which accrued to the Afro-European elite of late nineteenth century Lourenço Marques were due to the fact that some very important and wealthy African women lived with or married some equally influential and wealthy Europeans. By the turn of the century, their children comprised the city's only settled middle class. They were able to exploit the property, prestige and social networks of both their African and European families and prospered until white families began to settle in significant numbers" (p. 2). A similar point is made in Newitt (1995: 441).

[7]By the end of last century, as the supply of literate manpower became necessary, Portuguese authorities recognized that some educational opportunities should be given to the *não-indígenas* in the towns. In 1907, legislation was passed which gave the power to the local government to enforce standards in all private and state schools. Teachers and textbooks had to be approved by local authorities, and instruction had to be in Portuguese. Indigenous languages would be used during a transitional period of three years, after which only Portuguese could be the language of instruction (Helgesson 1994: 125). Education was never to be

conducted in any other foreign European language, which was an effort to curtail the activities of foreign Protestant missions that were educating mostly Africans (cf. Newitt 1995: 439). In 1929, a two-track primary education system was established, separating *ensino elementar* (elementary education) from *ensino rudimentar* (rudimentary education), also known later as *ensino de adaptação* (adaptation education), and *ensino missionário* (missionary education). The former was designed for the *não-indígenas* and *assimilados*, and the latter for the *indígenas*. Theoretically, after rudimentary primary education an *indígena* could proceed to a unified secondary education system.

There are indications that formal education was reaching a tiny minority, mostly in the southern provinces of Inhambane and Maputo (then districts of Inhambane and Lourenço Marques). There are now many studies on Mozambique which have addressed the question of education in the colonial period with more detail such as Hedges (1985), Helgesson (1994), Mondlane (1976[1969]), or Newitt (1995: 438-441).

[8]The distinction between *indígenas* and *não-indígenas* was established in 1899, with the colonial labor law prepared by Antonio Ennes. It distinguished between citizens with full Portuguese citizenship living under the metropolitan law (não-indígenas) and those that were under the African law, who were subjected to contract labor and *shibalo* (forced labor). The distinction was further refined several times, for instance, with the introduction of the *Carta Orgânica* (Organic Charter) of 1933, the first constitution of Mozambique. To acquire the status of *não-indígena* or *assimilado* (full Portuguese citizenship), an African had to fulfill certain criteria, which included knowledge of Portuguese, steady income, level of education (4ª classe), and acceptance of monogamy.

[9] e.g. *kubvana*, 'rabble' (Ronga), used by João Albasini to refer to the illiterate Portuguese immigrant (cf. *O Africano*, 27 January 1917) or *Djambu dja Africa*, 'Sun of Africa' (Ronga), the title of a monthly magazine published by the *Congresso Nacional Africano de Moçambique* (African National Congress of Mozambique), one of the political organizations representing Africans that flourished in the beginning of this century (cf. Honwana 1989: 74).

[10]An illustrative example is the case of João Tomás Chembene, the first leader of the *Congresso Nacional Africano de Moçambique*, a political organization that was founded in the 1920s. According to R. B. Honwana, he was a well-educated man and could speak both English and Portuguese very well. After having spent some time in South Africa, where he had contacts with the South African ANC, he came back to Mozambique and worked for a British firm as a clerk.

Other prominent Africans who knew English include Brown Paulo Dulela, who worked for the *Fábrica de Cimentos do Língamo* and was the first President of the *Instituto Negrófilo* (later *Centro Associativo dos Negros de Moçambique*) Jeremias Dick Nhaca, and Lindstrom Mathithe (Honwana 1989: 74-5).

[11]Note what Penvenne (1982) had to say:

> "In the nineteenth century some Africans and Afro-Europeans held important military and civil service positions and enjoyed equal pay and mobility with whites. By the nineteen thirties, only a handful of Afro-Europeans, all of whom had very strong family and patronage ties, still held top positions. By the end of the Second World War, most educated Africans and Afro-Europeans were trapped in designated black jobs, subordinate professions, apprenticeships or lower echelon civil service posts" (p. 8).

[12]Data in table 5. 1 is taken from *Anuário Estatístico* of 1952 and 1955, published by the *Direcção dos Serviços de Economia e Estatística Geral*. The *Anuário Estatístico* recognized five population groups, namely *Europeus* (Europeans), *Amarelos* (Chinese), *Indianos* (Indians), *Mistos* (Mixed), and *Africanos* (Africans). The Africans were further divided into "civilized" Africans, the *assimilados* or *não-indígenas*, and "uncivilized" Africans, the *não-assimilados* or *indígenas*. In the table, I combined data on *Amarelos* and *Indianos* under Others and used Afro-Europeans to refer to *Mistos*. The distinction between Civilized Africans and Uncivilizided Africans was used until de end of the 1950's, which is why there is no data in these categories for the 1960's.

[13]In 1955, Portugal became a member of the UN, and Portugal's colonies came under the scrutiny of the Committee for Decolonization. A wave of nationalism was sweeping other colonies and the British and French had decided to grant independence to their colonies. In the colonies themselves, nationalists had started to demand independence and by 1961 an anti-colonial armed rebellion broke out in Angola, followed by one in Guinea-Bissau in 1963, and in Mozambique in 1964. Portugal paid lip service to these demands by introducing some social reforms, which included legislative changes in the classification of the African population. The distinction between "civilized" and "uncivilized" Africans was abolished. As a result, it becomes difficult to make estimates of speakers of Portuguese on the basis of official data, since the African population is lumped together under the category of Africans.

[14]However, note that the estimate is based only on adult males.

[15]The original passage as quoted in the weekly magazine TEMPO, published in Maputo, is the following:

> "A Língua Portuguesa é o meio de comunicação entre todos os moçambicanos que permite quebrar as barreiras criadas pelas línguas maternas. Através dela, a ideologia do Partido FRELIMO, que encarna os interesses das massas trabalhadoras e exprime os seus valores revolucionários, é difundida e estudada para ser aplicada, orientando o nosso Povo na luta pela criação de uma sociedade justa, próspera e feliz, a Sociedade Socialista. .

> A Língua Portuguesa é também a língua veicular do conhecimento científico e técnico. Na alfabetização de milhares de trabalhadores, operários e camponeses, ela desempenha um papel importante pois fornece os instrumentos necessários para orientar e controlar a produção, em suma, para melhorar o bem-estar social e material. (...) É ainda utilizando a Língua Portuguesa que comunicamos com outros povos do mundo, transmitindo a rica experiência do nosso Povo e recebendo a contribuição do património cultural mundial" (TEMPO no. 471, p. 12).

[16] The passage is my translation of the following:

> "Diferentemente de muitos países do continente, a situação da língua portuguesa não é a de uma herança incómoda com carácter provisório enquanto se não encontra uma língua 'genuinamente' africana. (...) É um projecto que visa anular todas as consequências da arbitrariedade do traçado geográfico do País, dar-lhe uma identidade nacional e uma consciência cultural, através do povo que nele habita"(Rosário 1982: 64-5).

[17] Literally, some of the signs would say *"é expressamente obrigatório falar a língua oficial* (it is expressly mandatory to use the official language)" (cf. Rosário 1982: 64).

[18] In connection with this point, there is an assumption that African Portuguese-using countries have done more for the expansion of Portuguese in the few years of independence than colonial Portuguese authorities did during the colonial period (Ferreira 1988: 38).

[19] cf. Rosário (1982:64) as indicated in footnote no. 17.

[20] The original passage, in a Mozambican Portuguese, reads as follows:

> "(...) Todos os dias, qualquer que seja, quando chega à paragem dos machimbombos, pergunta-me se sou o último na bicha. Mas esta pergunta é feita na língua local. Como não oiço, limito-me a responder em macua ou em ajaua que é a língua que conheço. Então a pessoa fica logo um pouco aborrecida comigo. Então logo começa a discussão,dizendo ele que não podia responder em macua ou em ajaua. Pergunto eu em que dialecto posso responder ? Ronga, changane, xitsua ? Se eu não conheço! <u>Peço aos naturais quando não conhecem a pessoa é bom falarem com ela em língua oficial porque o ser da mesma raça não significa nada. Somos de vários dialectos</u>" (in *Tempo* no. 555, 31/May/1981, p. 50, emphasis mine).

[21] The passage is part of the following letter sent to the weekly magazine, TEMPO:

"PORTUGUESE IS OUR LANGUAGE, LET'S RESPECT IT. It is with great concern that I write this letter to warn that our language is being downgraded in a shameful fashion. ... There are people who ignore that Portuguese is our official language and for this reason we need to express ourselves respecting the grammatical rules, because that can contribute towards a good education of the new generation and convinces the visitor that we have good expression [O PORTUGUÊS É NOSSA LÍNGUA, RESPEITEMO-LO. É com incalculável preocupação que redijo esta carta p/ alertar que a nossa língua, está senso desvalorizada de forma vergonhosa. (...) Há quem ignore que o português é a nossa língua oficial, por isso expressemo-nos respeitando as regras gramaticais, isso pode contribuir para a boa educação da nova geração e convence o visitante que somos senhores de uma boa expressão]" (in *Tempo* no. 540, 15/February/1981, p. 45).

[22]This point is also illustrated by the passage in the previous endnote. The irony is that the passage contains some of the deviations that it is arguing against.

[23] Albino Magaia, a well-known local intellectual and a journalist by profession, is of this opinion. In one of his several articles on the issue, *Língua: vida de um povo espelho da sua história* (Language: Life of a people, mirror of their history), he wrote:

"[... because of changes in the political relationship between Portuguese and national languages (it became the official language, the language of unity) Portuguese was inevitably disarmed from its traditional role as an instrument of cultural oppression. With an exuberant creativity, the national languages violate it, change it, turn and re-turn it around, shape it according to their own grammatical structure, as we can see in the daily life of our revolution. Impossible to attempt to maintain the purity of Portuguese or the opposite, to attempt to eliminate its influence which has an effect on and is consolidated in national languages [... alterada a correlação política que ligava o português às línguas nacionais (ele transformou-se em língua oficial, língua de unidade) foi por isso e inevitavelmente desarmado do seu papel tradicional de instrumento de opressão cultural. Com uma criatividade exuberante as línguas nacionais violentam-no, viram-no e reviram-no, moldam-no por vezes à sua própria estrutura gramatical como podemos constatar no dia a dia da nossa revolução. Impossível pretender manter a pureza do português ou, o inverso pretender eliminar as influências por ela exercidas e consolidadas nas línguas nacionais]". (in TEMPO no. 477, p. 33, translation mine).

[24]The word *Pretoguês* is a derogatory pun made up from a combination of *preto* (black, negro) and *português* (Portuguese), in reference to "incorrect" forms of Portuguese associated with the black population.

[25] The original passage reads as follows: "O traumatismo do 'Pretoguês' foi desaparecendo e hoje qualquer cidadão faz questão de se exprimir correctamente em português e quantos deles, sendo responsáveis de sectores, não fazem brilhantes intervenções numa expressão recheada de neologismos de momento, estruturas totalmente novas e alheias à língua, interferências várias. ..]" (p. 65).

[26]Some Bantu languages contain CC-sequences but only with heterorganic consonants. However, in these instances the CC-sequence is not a single phonological unit and it can be broken down into two distinct syllables with the first C as a syllabic consonant (such as the so-called syllabic nasal). Portuguese, on the other hand, has many instances of syllables with CC-sequences (cf. Mateus, M. H. et al 1983:527).

[27]The Mozambican currency is called *metical*, whose plural is *meticais*.

[28]In rural Portugal, tio/a may also be used in a similar sense (Florbela Rebelo-Gomes, personal communication).

[29]Taken from an interview broadcast in ONDA MATINAL, popular radio program in Maputo. Personal names were changed.

[30]This type of pronominalization appears in archaic Portuguese.

[31]Taken from an interview with a local politician in a radio program known as SABADAR.

[32]A similar situation is typical in Brazilian Portuguese.

[33]In Portugal, gajo/a has been used as slang. After 1974, it was extended to the revolutionary language that followed the coup d'état (Florbela Rebelo-Gomes, personal communication).

[34]Taken from a chronicle by Lourenço Jossias, entitled "Ngoma é música", which was published in the weekly newspaper *Savana* (September 16, 1994). The translation into English is mine.

CHAPTER VI: TOWARDS A (NEW) LANGUAGE POLICY IN MOZAMBIQUE

6. 0.   Introduction

A recurrent theme in sociolinguistic literature related to African countries is the so-called "language question." This refers to the dilemma arising from the asymmetrical and competitive coexistence of ex-colonial languages alongside indigenous languages (Wardhaugh 1987). Despite the ideology of Africanization that characterized the initial stages of the nationalist movement in Africa, which was supposed to stimulate the promotion of African indigenous languages over ex-colonial languages, exoglossic language policies still predominate in most African countries (Heine 1990; 1993). Only a few countries pose an exception to this rule (e.g. Tanzania, with the promotion of Swahili as a national language). There is, however, growing opposition to the continuing use and/or officialization of ex-colonial languages.

The opposition to the officialization of ex-colonial languages is based on the belief that these languages are not only exogenous entities, but also detrimental to the process of nation-state formation. Mazrui & Tidy (1984), for instance, consider this situation problematic on the grounds that although they help to integrate Africa into world culture and are politically neutral in the context of Africa's multi-ethnic societies, ex-colonial languages do not foster national integration (cf. p. 300). Others have questioned the continuing use of ex-colonial languages on the grounds that these languages are intrusive entities whose institutionalization and use correlate with elitist policies (Myers-Scotton 1990; Ngugi 1987), as well as with alienation from what is perceived as a genuine and authentic African identity (Ngugi 1987). Still others have linked the preference for ex-colonial languages over indigenous African languages to economic stagnation. The

argument is that the use of these languages prevent active participation of the masses in the conceptualization and implementation of national development policies (Djité 1991).

The perspective under which analysts view the linguistic situation of some African post-colonial countries requires reexamination. Views about the coexistence of ex-colonial languages and indigenous languages have been influenced by ideological considerations which, while they may be justified within the anti-colonial stance, fail to recognize the linguistic scenario as it has developed in recent years. After three decades of independence, the ex-colonial languages have expanded their social space and roles in some African countries, both as symbolic artifacts and as communicative tools. At the same time, the indigenous languages have not remained as static entities; rather, they have also acquired new social functions following their adaptation to the dynamics of a post-colonial country. For this reason, to view the coexistence of ex-colonial languages and indigenous languages as conflicting, on the assumption that they can be contrasted in terms of legitimacy, endogenization, and usefulness to national development, seems to oversimplify the actual situation. The use of ex-colonial languages may have negative effects, but such effects do not always occur and do not always occur exclusively with those languages. Similarly, indigenous languages are not necessarily a panacea for linguistic problems in African countries, even though they may have positive effects on society. Notice, for example, the cases of Chichewa in Malawi during the presidency of Banda (cf. Foster 1994; Kishindo 1994; Mchombo 1995: 13; Vail 1981) and of Lingala in contemporary Zaire (Goyvaerts 1995). Both languages have also been associated with divisive, elitist, and hegemonizing policies.

The linguistic diversity characterizing post-colonial Africa should be examined from a more realistic approach, in order to organize and develop the language resources of African communities in harmony with societal trends, unlike some of the recommendations that dominate discussions of language policy in Africa. Salient examples of the latter

recommendations include a number of UNESCO and OAU deliberations (cf. Bamgbose 1991: 125-128; Mateene 1980), whose implementation has, in general, failed. Arguably, the failure to implement of most of these deliberations may be due to the fact that they include recommendations that are against societal trends. In short, they do not conform to political, economic, social, and cultural characteristics of contemporary African societies.

In a quest for such a "realistic" approach to linguistic diversity, this chapter will consider the "language question" in Mozambique and point out some aspects that need to be reexamined *vis-à-vis* language policy there. The chapter will argue that the *de facto* official language policy that has emerged in post-colonial Mozambique has failed to recognize the vitality and complementarity of Portuguese and indigenous languages. Portuguese is the official language and the "language of national unity," but, ironically, official discourse does not recognize it unambiguously as a national language. On the other hand, indigenous languages are recognized as "national languages" or "Mozambican languages," but have no access to official domains of national life. The official discourse not only sends contradictory signals but also affects how people are empowered to participate in the national system and take advantage of societal goods. A general discussion of language policies prevailing in Africa will precede the examination of the language question. This discussion is intended to enable a comparative perspective.

6. 1. Coping with the "Language Question" in Africa
6. 1. 1. Exoglossia Vs. Endoglossia

Two main considerations dominate the debate over language policy in Africa. Taking Treffgarne's (1986) formulation, these are "cultural relevance" (which refers to the promotion of national identities, mostly on the basis of local traditions, customs, and languages) and "functional relevance" (which refers to the functioning of state institutions,

such as the administration, the school system, the courts, and the mass-media).[1] On the basis of functional relevance, many independent African countries have officialized ex-colonial languages, which has given rise to a never-ending discussion on the merits and shortcomings that option.

Thus, the majority of the African states pursue "exoglossic" policies (Heine 1990; 1992), that is, they have officialized an ex-colonial language, that in most cases, is used in government-controlled activities such as administration, education, justice, mass-media, etc. According to Heine (1990), only five African countries, Tanzania, Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia, and Guinea-Conakry (up to 1984, cf. Calvet 1987), pursue an active endoglossia, whose objective is to develop local language(s) into media of communication in official activities. Foreign languages, if not entirely excluded, are restricted to highly specific domains such as university education and international relations. Heine (1990) also distinguishes African countries pursuing a "non-active endoglossic" language policy, such as Botswana, Burundi, Lesotho, Malawi, Rwanda, and Swaziland. According to Heine (1990), the difference between the two types of endoglossic policies can be seen in the way they are implemented:

> "States pursuing an active endoglossic policy are fully committed to developing the indigenous language or languages into viable media of *all* important communication, with the effect that for the average citizen there is no need to acquire a foreign language. In non-active endoglossic states, on the other hand, there tends to be a remarkable gap between declared language policy and actual patterns of language use. Promotion of the indigenous language on all levels may be the declared goal of policy, but the most important government-controlled linguistic communication remains confined to a foreign language, which forms either the sole or one of the several official languages. Without a sufficient command of the foreign language an active participation in the governing process seems impossible, but creative writers, singers, and other non-governmental actors continue to promote the languages" (p. 171).

Thus, even in countries with endoglossic policies, ex-colonial languages may still have prominent roles. Regardless of the officially stated language policy, actual promotion of indigenous languages into official contexts and substitution of ex-colonial languages is more an exception than a rule.

6. 1. 2. Some recent models of language policy: Bamgbose (1991) and Laitin (1992)

Some recent proposals on language management in Africa have moved beyond the traditional controversy associated with the coexistence of ex-colonial languages and indigenous languages by taking an approach that recognizes the multilingual nature of African societies, in which all the languages are linked in different ways to national life. Bamgbose (1991), for instance, has suggested a three-language model, with different languages used at the local/regional, national, and international levels (cf. p. 54). Under the assumption that in African multilingual situations, people have to learn more than one language to survive or become integrated in their regional communities, the model predicts that native languages and/or languages of the immediate community will serve as in-group languages symbolizing group solidarity at local levels. The one known by the majority as a second language will also serve as a regional or trade language. The model proposes the adoption of an African indigenous language as a "national language for national communication" (p. 121), even though an ex-colonial language can be used as a transitional additional national language. For international communication, the model proposes the use of an ex-colonial language.

In terms of educational policy, this model suggests the use of three languages: a mother tongue or the language of the immediate community, a second African language, (usually the national language), and an LWC. In the case of countries where all citizens

have a common African indigenous language, only two languages will be needed as media of instruction: the common African language and the LWC. The model does not rule out instruction in additional national or international languages as elective or mandatory subjects.

Bamgbose (1991) illustrates the three-language model with the case of Tanzania. This country uses various mother tongues for traditional activities; the national language, Swahili, for schools, some government and ruling party functions, and inter-ethnic communication; and English for higher education, administration and international communication (cf. p. 121).

The three-language model has some flexibility. For example, in a country that has no common indigenous language, one dominant language may be promoted as a national language. Nevertheless, the model is rigid in pre-assigning roles to the different languages as if linguistic situations in every African country could be reduced to similar features. Consequently, it cannot account for the intricacies of the language situation in many African countries. Despite recognizing the multilingual nature of African societies, the model does not take into account the fact that this multilingual nature may have different configurations, so cannot be subjected to equivalent solutions. In addition, it assigns a subsidiary role to ex-colonial languages, since it takes for granted the suitability of indigenous languages to many national activities. The only context that the model assumes to be perfectly suitable for ex-colonial languages is international communication. The model assumes that ex-colonial languages are necessarily less legitimate than indigenous languages, which overlooks the endogenization of ex-colonial languages in some countries.

On the other hand, Laitin (1992) has advanced the "3+/-1 language outcome" to capture the micro- and macro forces shaping the contemporary language situation in Africa. This model assumes that the type of language rationalization that occurred, for instance, in European countries with "the territorial specification of a common language for purposes of

administration and rule" (Laitin 1992: 9) will not be the norm in Africa.[2] The model predicts a trilingual situation, in which citizens normally need to know three languages:

> a) a European language, used in "domains where the central bureaucracy or educational establishment is tenacious" (p. 117);
>
> b) an indigenous national language, that is, a country's indigenous link language, which will replace the European language in many domains;
>
> c) their own vernacular languages, which will be used as medium of instruction in primary schools and as a language of administration in home regions.

Those citizens whose native language is the same as the national language which serves as the *lingua franca* will not need to learn more than two languages. They need only learn their native language (which is also the national language) and the ex-colonial language. On the other hand, citizens emigrating within a national territory may need to learn even a fourth language, that is, the native language of the area to which they have emigrated (cf. p. 117). Laitin (1992) also posits a "2-language outcome" for countries with no potential national language, that is, where no vernacular language, *lingua franca*, or pidgin could symbolize national values. In these countries, citizens will need two languages, a European language, as the inter-regional link language, and the local vernacular as a medium of regional communication (cf. p. 118).

Laitin's model presupposes ideal situations with ideal citizens who rigidly conform to a norm and, for this reason, assumes that language outcomes can be rigidly predicted. Since the model stems from the Weberian notion of state rationalization, it views the process of language planning only from the perspective of the authority of the state, which amounts to a top-down approach that overlooks the agentive power of those to whom the policies are directed. Just as social actors may accept state policies, they may also resist, circumvent, or simply reject them. This means that language planning also requires a bottom-up perspective in combination with a case-by-case approach. Even in states with

similar linguistic scenarios, state authorities will not necessarily be interested in following similar forms of language outcomes, and similar state policies may not be followed in similar ways, as Laitin's model seems to suggest.

The complexities of a linguistic market are undercut by a variety of political, economic, and social facets, which can affect it in distinct ways. Suffice it to mention the cases of Tanzania and Kenya, both with similar linguistic scenarios, but distinctly different language outcomes. Both are multilingual countries with a number of indigenous "ethnic" languages, but with Swahili standing as the language of inter-ethnic communication. Both countries also inherited English from the former colonial power. In Tanzania, Swahili was able to rise to the status of national language, promoted and accepted as such by state policy and society in general (Abdulaziz 1980; Whiteley 1968;1969). In Kenya, however, the use of Swahili as a national language has faced more barriers, even though it is widely used as a *lingua franca* (Bamgbose 1991: 120). While English remains an important language in both countries, it has a more influential role in official domains in Kenya, where it has become the *de facto* official language (Abdulaziz 1980; Gorman 1974). Different political and economic orientations have been assumed to be one of the causes of such different outcomes (Leys 1975: 196-7).

Given the current language situation in Mozambique, there is no reason to assume that the predictions of the "three-language model" or the "3+/-1 language outcome" will hold. In Mozambique, I envisage a situation in which, on the one hand, most citizens will conduct their lives in either an indigenous language (one or more) or Portuguese. Some Mozambicans, however, will use both an indigenous language and Portuguese. No one indigenous language will be extended to most Mozambicans in the near future. Thus, a widely spoken indigenous national language cannot emerge nor will Portuguese become a tool of communication for all Mozambicans in the entire country, even though there are social conditions and efforts from the state that favor its spread to a wider number of

citizens. The following discussion addresses this situation and proposes measures to defray some of its negative consequences

6. 2. Language policy in Mozambique
6. 2. 1. Historical considerations
6. 2. 1. 1. Language policy emerging after independence in 1975

As mentioned in the preceding chapter, when Mozambique became independent in 1975, Portuguese was adopted as the official language and as a symbol of national unity. The assignment of these roles to Portuguese was a natural outcome. Portuguese had already been assuming such roles, both in colonial Mozambique, where it was the official language, and within FRELIMO, where it had been adopted as an instrument of national unity. Moreover, the ideological climate prevailing in the years after independence also favored and legitimated the officialization of Portuguese and its use as a symbol of national unity. At the time, official ideology was perceiving ethnic and regional divisions as major threats to the consolidation of the new Mozambican nation-state. Portuguese emerged as an adequate instrument that could not only surpass linguistic differences among Mozambicans, but also raise the consciousness of a united country.

In addition, by the time Mozambique became independent, only Portuguese was in a position to function as a state language and overcome most of the problems posed by indigenous languages. Such problems include the following:

a) indigenous languages lagged behind in terms of "corpus" language planning (they lacked reference grammars, descriptive studies, standardized orthographies, dictionaries, etc.);

b) no indigenous languages could cover the entire country, one of the reasons why they are regionally and ethnically marked;

c) the elites that were co-opted into state institutions did not, in general, know indigenous languages well enough to use them as working languages in official activities;

d) no indigenous languages had a history of use in "high" domains.

On the contrary, Portuguese had a history of use in institutional settings, was known by the people co-opted to work in institutional settings, and was a prestige language acting as a distinctive marker of identity for these people.

As indigenous languages were associated with divisive ethnic loyalties, such as *tribalismo* (tribalism) and *regionalismo* (regionalism), state authorities did not contemplate their use in official domains except for radio broadcasting. Arguably, society in general, especially the elites, also did not perceive them as fit for official functions. Official discourse, however, often recognized their role as creators, carriers and an integral part of what was regarded as authentic, genuine Mozambican culture. The following statement by Fernando Ganhão, then rector of Universidade Eduardo Mondlane in Maputo, illustrates this point:

> "[It was through the Mozambican languages] that throughout centuries of domination and exploitation, the Mozambican culture was shaped and passed on. And because it is a culture that is intrinsically and genuinely Mozambican, the [Mozambican] languages forged the words and concepts that transmitted the culture and that give it a historic rationale. It is a heritage of our People and of all Humanity. It is the essence of our authenticity, which comes from the roots of our personality ..." (translation mine)[3]

The reasoning behind this statement led the *Primeiro Seminário Nacional sobre o Ensino da Língua Portuguesa* (First Seminar on the Teaching of the Portuguese Language), held in Maputo in 1979, to suggest that the diffusion of Portuguese in independent Mozambique should not obstruct the development of "Mozambican languages." In this

connection, one of the recommendations of the *Primeiro Seminário Nacional sobre o Ensino da Língua Portuguesa* even suggested the scientific study of these languages. This scientific study was, however, proposed to help in designing materials and methodologies for teaching Portuguese and not for the sake of the indigenous languages themselves. For this reason, in the period following the *Primeiro Seminário Nacional sobre o Ensino da Língua Portuguesa* there were no significant steps taken by the state to assure the development of "Mozambican languages," with the exception of the work undertaken by NELIMO (cf. chapter II), a small research unit attached to the local university that specializes in indigenous languages.

Nevertheless, state officials continued to reiterate the view that indigenous languages were an essential part of Mozambican culture. The Minister of Education, in an opening address delivered at a conference on the standardization of the orthography of indigenous languages organized by NELIMO in 1988, reminded the participants of the following:

> "Our independence was conceived to affirm our culture, our national personality. The demands of unity and development entail the knowledge and recognition of the identities and particular forms of cultural consciousness, of how they manifest themselves through concrete cultural practices. The strengthening of national unity does not necessarily imply the obliteration of the different aspects that translate the variety and differences that enrich our culture. In the multiplicity of expressions in which the fabric of our cultural identity is substantiated, one of the most privileged is, without doubt, that of our national languages. Ethical, moral, and esthetic values implicit in the conception of social organization, religious thought, and political, military, and judicial traditions in our past, were passed on to us essentially by oral transmission. It is within the extremely rich depository of Mozambican languages where the main elements constituting our cultural singularity reside and are preserved." (translation mine)[4]

Out of this view of indigenous languages as the genuine markers of Mozambicanness arises one of the major contradictions in the official policy that emerged in Mozambique after 1975. Despite the fact that no significant roles were assigned to indigenous languages, official rhetoric associated indigenous languages with the roots of Mozambican national identity. On the other hand, both the adoption of Portuguese as the official language and its recognition as the language of national unity were perceived as strategic political assets that could help to facilitate national integration in Mozambique. Portuguese would not, however, be associated with the expression of "authentic" Mozambicanhood, nor would indigenous languages be allowed access to official activities.

A vivid illustration of this contradiction is visible in the common expressions used to refer to either indigenous languages or Portuguese. Often, official discourse designated indigenous languages as "*línguas moçambicanas*" (Mozambican languages) or as "*línguas nacionais*" (national languages), but never as *línguas étnicas* (ethnic languages). In contrast, Portuguese was referred to as "*lingua oficial*" (official language) or as "*língua de unidade nacional*" (language of national unity), but never as "*língua moçambicana*" (Mozambican language) or even as "*língua nacional*" (national language). The expression "*línguas indígenas*" was never used in reference to indigenous languages because of its colonial meanings. Colonial discourse used the word "*indígena*" to refer to the African population that was perceived as "uncivilized" and not assimilated to Portuguese culture, as I have explained in previous chapters.[5]

Thus, in the prevailing Mozambican language policy, Portuguese is <u>officialized but not nationalized</u> while indigenous languages are <u>nationalized but not officialized</u>.[6] I argue that the main problem of the current language policy derives from this contradiction. State authorities construe indigenous languages as vehicles of Mozambican national identity, yet these languages do not allow participation in the national system. Though Portuguese is the official language as well as the language of national unity and allows participation in the

national system, still it is not, in official discourse, a "perfect" vehicle of a genuine national identity.

6. 2. 1. 2.   Claims for the revision of the language policy emerging after independence in 1975

The fact that the language policy that emerged in Mozambique in the mid-1970's could be explained by taking into account the socio-political context of the time did not prevent some intellectuals from viewing it as failing both instrumentally and sentimentally to satisfy all the needs of the new nation-state. As a consequence, in the 1980's new views, some of them coming from state officials, suggested some adjustments in the *de facto* policy being officially followed. Without challenging the officialization of Portuguese, they argued for the allocation of indigenous languages to more significant roles in society.

The main assumption of these views was that nation-building was impossible without the involvement of all segments of Mozambican society, which could be achieved only with the use of indigenous languages in addition to Portuguese. At the same time that it praised Portuguese as an ethnically and regionally neutral language, official discourse overlooked other social differentiations which were reinforced and indexed by the knowledge and use of (specific forms of) Portuguese. Such was the case of the differentiation between rural and/or uneducated/illiterate versus urban and/or educated/literate segments of the Mozambican population. Knowledge and use of (specific forms of) Portuguese were the main factors distinguishing the latter from the former. As a consequence, rather than fostering national unity, Portuguese was a factor in the disenfranchisement of most Mozambicans from the national system. In Mozambique,

participation in dominant political, social, and some economic institutional domains depended largely on the knowledge and use of (specific forms of) Portuguese.

The argumentation in favor of a wider use of indigenous languages reached a milestone in 1988, with the organization of the *I Seminário sobre a Padronização de Línguas Moçambicanas* (First Seminar on the Standardization of Mozambican Languages). In the opening address to the seminar, the then Minister of Education suggested publicly, for the first time, the use of indigenous languages in some public domains. The suggestion was argued in the following terms:

> "... our linguistic development, instead of antagonisms, should give place to unity, to the interaction in the development of the language of national unity and of the other national languages. And there, what will be determinant will not be so much the linguistic factor as such but the nature of the relationship among people in society, the way by which we will be building the Mozambican Nation. It will be a building process in which there will be no place for cultural repression, reduction, or uniformization of the multiplicity of expressions, but only for affirmation and respect for the capacity of living together in the midst of diversity, freedom of expression and creation of cultural pluralism. It is in this context that we have to envision the social use of Mozambican languages, either in areas of immediate use such as mass-communication, ideological work undertaken by the party, and literary and artistic expression, or in those areas that require further preparation such as literacy and school education, so that they can assume a truly national dimension." (translation and emphasis mine)[7]

The change of views on language issues in the 1980's was triggered by the work of researchers at NELIMO, which indicated that linguistic diversity in Mozambique was not as complex and pronounced as it had been perceived. Some researchers at NELIMO believed that in Mozambique there were four major indigenous languages (Makua, Nyanja-Sena, Shona, and Tsonga),[8] that were mutually intelligible and spoken by 90% of the population. The claim was that these languages covered the entire Mozambican population in the following ways (cf. Marinis 1981):

a) Makua, in the northern provinces of Niassa, Cabo Delgado, and Nampula;

b) Nyanja-Sena in parts of the northern and central provinces of Tete, Zambêzia, Sofala, and Manica;

c) Shona, in parts of the central provinces of Manica, and Sofala;

d) Tsonga, in the southern provinces of Inhambane, Gaza, and Maputo.

That is, Mozambique included four linguistic areas dominated by Makua, Nyanja-Sena, Shona and Tsonga, in which other indigenous languages were encompassed. The ensuing assumption was that each one of these four languages could be used in official roles in its linguistic area, so that and promotion of indigenous languages could be implemented by resorting to only four languages. An underlying argument was that, by relying only on these "four major languages," promotion of indigenous languages could not imperil the integrity of the Mozambican nation-state.

Researchers at NELIMO argued for a far-reaching plan which envisaged the following aspects:

a) the promotion of Portuguese as a national link language;

b) the promotion of some indigenous languages to the status of national languages;

c) the creation of a community of bilingual speakers in Portuguese and indigenous languages;

d) the introduction of indigenous languages in the schools as media of instruction or as subjects of study;

e) the use of indigenous languages as well as Portuguese in cultural and artistic activities.

Moreover, researchers at NELIMO associated indigenous languages with the extension of Portuguese to a wider community of speakers. They assumed that people who knew one of the indigenous languages would have facility in learning others, since all indigenous languages belonged to the same linguistic family and therefore, shared

grammatical and semantic features. People would also have similar difficulties and patterns of errors when learning Portuguese and therefore, similar materials and methods could be used for teaching Portuguese to all Mozambicans. Furthermore, Mozambique could profit from the experience of the neighboring countries in using teaching materials that had been developed in these countries, since all of the "major languages" except Makua were also spoken in neighboring countries where they had undergone language treatment and were being used in school activities.

Although further scrutiny has shown that some of the findings postulated by researchers at NELIMO were questionable,[9] they were influential mainly because they carried scientific authority. For instance, the Office of the State Secretary for Culture, then attached to the Ministry of Education and Culture, issued a document that suggested a language policy which would give a more prominent role to indigenous languages (cf. MEC-Gabinete do Secretário de Estado da Cultura 1983). The justification was that a Mozambican language policy should express Mozambican identity and do away with any vestige of colonial alienation and depersonalization, which contribute to repudiation of essential African cultural traits. The document argues also that the use of indigenous languages would enable the involvement of Mozambican citizens with no knowledge of Portuguese in the process of national reconstruction. Katupha (1985) supported this point on the basis that there was a discrepancy between official policy and actual linguistic practices, given the following:

a) Portuguese was spoken more in the cities than in the countryside;

b) indigenous languages were spoken more in the countryside than in the cities;

c) Portuguese was spoken less in the countryside than indigenous languages are in the cities.

For Katupha (1985) the discrepancy was more pernicious if one noticed that those who take a major role in economic activities, the peasants, were less likely to know Portuguese.

The document issued by the Office of the State Secretary for Culture did not question the role of Portuguese as the official link language or language of national unity (cf. p. 12), even though it emphasized that the adoption of Portuguese should not occur "at the expense of cultural amputation which could signal the extinction of Mozambican languages"[10] or ignore that "Portuguese spoken in Mozambique will necessarily transform and distance itself away from the Portuguese of Portugal because Mozambican reality has its own proper course of development different from Portugal's."[11] For this reason, the document argued that the institutionalization of Portuguese should be a process of appropriation rather than alienation.

> In conformity with these arguments, the document proposed the following actions:
> a) promotion of bilingualism by increasing the study, instruction, and diffusion of Portuguese and the Mozambican languages;[12]
> b) assessment of the influence of Mozambican languages on Portuguese;
> c) definition of a new standard for the Portuguese used in Mozambique;
> d) selection of the Mozambican languages that could be granted the status of national languages and prepared to serve in official activities such as formal education;
> e) use of indigenous languages in literacy and adult education, in regions where Portuguese is not commonly used;
> f) creation of a Center for the Study of Mozambican Languages, that will be in charge of all activities related to Mozambican languages.

Throughout the 1980's and to recent times, other intellectuals and scholars have continued the discussion on the language question in Mozambique. In fact, the discussion

has by now been extended to the public domain, as witnessed by many debates in the local press. Although pressure in favor of indigenous languages has grown in recent years and a significant segment of society and the political establishment seem to be receptive to the general principle of promoting indigenous languages,[13] state authorities have not taken concrete measures intended to address the problem. This supports the conclusion that language policy in Mozambique is undermined by one of the problems appointed by Bamgbose (1991): "declaration of policy without implementation" in combination with some sort of "vagueness" (cf. p. 111).

6. 2. 2.   Some Prospects

Since official and public discourse on language policy in Mozambique seem to be converging, as the preceding section has shown, some prospective steps can be envisaged. Such steps should guarantee the following results at the level of functional relevance:

a) efficient functioning of nation-state institutions;

b) implementation of the policies that are advocated by the state;

c) opportunity for all citizens to participate in the national system.

At the level of cultural relevance, language policy in Mozambique should guarantee the following results:

a) promotion of a unifying linguistic symbol;

b) protection of Mozambican cultural identity.

To achieve these objectives language policy in Mozambique should seek a balanced nationalization and officialization of both Portuguese and indigenous languages. Nationalization and officialization of both Portuguese and indigenous languages would overcome the main problem associated with using Portuguese as the exclusive official language and as the symbol of a national language, while restricting indigenous languages

from institutional domains at the same time that they are perceived as depositories of Mozambican deep-rooted cultural heritage. In other words, official ideology should promote the construction of both Portuguese and indigenous languages as indexes of Mozambican national cultural expressions. State authorities should also assign official roles to both Portuguese and indigenous languages. In my view, such an objective could be achieved by the following measures:

    a) concession of the unambiguous status of **national language** to both Portuguese and indigenous languages;

    c) concession of the status of the **main official language** in the entire territory of Mozambique to Portuguese;

    c) concession of the status of **regional official language** to the different indigenous languages in their dominant areas.

As will be argued in the following sections, these measures would maintain the positive aspects while overcoming the shortcomings that have been associated with the current *de facto* language policy. Portuguese would continue to be the major official language in the entire country and symbol of national unity. It would, therefore, earn its recognition as a national link language. At the same time, indigenous languages not only would have their due recognition as national languages but also would allow access to institutional settings in their regional domains. In other words, these measures are part of status planning procedures that <u>nationalize and officialize</u> both Portuguese and indigenous languages.

6. 2. 2. 1. Nationalization of Portuguese and indigenous languages

The immediate motivation for considering both Portuguese and the indigenous languages as national languages is the need to grant them parity at a status level, which, as I

have argued, is not suggested by the current *de facto* language policy. Furthermore, granting the status of national language to Portuguese and the indigenous languages would be a measure that not only fulfills a legal void but also has symbolic effects in reinforcing the consciousness of a single unified nation-state in Mozambique while recognizing the socio-cultural diversity of the country. In fact, besides the declaration in the Constitution of 1990 which establishes Portuguese as the official language in Mozambique, state authorities have issued no legal decision regarding any other aspect of the language situation in the country. Nonetheless both official and public discourse, as indicated earlier, have perceived Portuguese as *símbolo de unidade nacional* and indigenous languages as *línguas nacionais* or *línguas moçambicanas*.

Given that, according to the census of 1980, the majority of Mozambicans (98.8 %) speak at least one of the indigenous languages as a native language, these languages have a fundamental role in the cultural socialization of the overwhelming majority of Mozambicans. The socio-cultural universe of the majority of Mozambicans is conveyed through and on the basis of indigenous languages. Moreover, most Mozambicans construct their identity mostly through the symbolic value of indigenous languages as carriers of genuine cultural traditions. The concession of the status of national languages to these indigenous languages would be an official recognition of this fact. Arguably, it is an abnormality not to concede the status of national languages to languages that the vast majority of citizens view as carriers of genuine cultural traditions.

The association of Mozambican socio-cultural identity solely with indigenous languages to the exclusion of Portuguese, may, however, be inaccurate. The history of the use of Portuguese in Mozambique, following its official promotion as the language of national unity, shows that its has been instrumental in reinforcing the sense of belonging together (Anderson 1991[1983]). As mentioned in chapter IV, social actors in Mozambique use Portuguese to include themselves in a national Mozambican community.

Thus, Portuguese is a determining factor in the social construction of a pan-ethnic community defined by its use. It identifies Mozambique as a country. In addition, the process of nativization that Portuguese is undergoing in Mozambique provides further evidence that it is becoming an important tool for channeling the cultural universe of the country. It has transcended the role of a pragmatic link language chosen for reasons of practicality. In other words, Portuguese is becoming a culturally endogenized language. In addition, it is ironic that a language that official and public discourse perceives as *símbolo de nacional unidade* is not recognized as a national language.

The socio-cultural and linguistic situation in Mozambique makes impractical the assumption that a national language should be a single language or necessarily one of the indigenous languages as, for instance, Bamgbose's three-language model predicts. Rather, the case of Mozambique resembles roughly the 2-language outcome posited in Laitin (1992), which suggests that "an exogenous language can serve as a national symbol." In fact, Laitin (1992) even indicates, as an example, that Portuguese in Mozambique is a "national" language (cf. p. 133, quotation marks in the original). The case of Mozambique also shows that the role of national language does not need to be assigned to only one language, either an indigenous language or an ex-colonial language. As indicated in this section, in Mozambique both indigenous languages and Portuguese should be viewed as national languages because they have been nationalized in distinctive but complementary ways:

a) indigenous languages, because they are native to the Mozambican reality and are associated with African traditions;

b) Portuguese, because of the roles attached to it by official discourse and of its social appropriation (that is, nativization).

6. 2. 2. 2. Officialization of Portuguese and indigenous languages

Even though the majority of the population in Mozambique does not speak Portuguese, it is the language with the widest group of speakers scattered all over the country, mainly among the educated elites. These elites have been introduced to the language through school education and through work in official institutions. Thus, indigenous languages are at a disadvantage vis-à-vis Portuguese in terms of association with the educated elites, or even in terms of neutrality in the context of the multi-ethnic diversity of the country. In addition, Portuguese facilitates social mobility and the ensuing social prestige. This set of factors make Portuguese a perfect candidate for the role of a national official language, which, as indicated in previous sections, has been sanctioned by the authorities and consensually accepted by society, especially the elites. Portuguese not only is the *de jure* official language of Mozambique but also has been embraced by society as a natural and logical option for such a task (cf. Chapter IV).

Despite the fact that Portuguese is the best candidate for the role of official language, most citizens without an adequate knowledge of Portuguese are, however, kept out of the national system. They are discouraged from adequately articulating their views because they do not know or understand the language of the national system. Given that these citizens are only fluent in indigenous languages and, for most of them, the possibility of learning Portuguese in the near future is unrealistic, their access to official domains and related state "commodities" can be facilitated only by the use of indigenous languages.

Recently, language policy decisions have been viewed not only in terms of the unification of linguistic markets, which emphasizes integrative policies and the ideology of assimilation, but also in terms of the preservation of language rights under the ideology of linguistic pluralism and vernacularization. The second view sees language diversity in connection with language-as-resource, language-as-right, and right-to-language orientations (Akinnaso 1994), as well as in connection with legitimizing post-colonial

states by increasing the efficiency of government and popular participation (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas 1994). According to my proposal, linguistic unification could be achieved in Mozambique with the officialization of Portuguese at a national level and with the officialization of indigenous languages at a regional/local level. Officialization of indigenous languages would also respect concerns for language rights, under the ideology of linguistic pluralism and vernacularization. In other words, linguistic unification does not entail unification of the linguistic market through the use of only one language. Rather, I envision a situation in which participation in the national system is not limited by differential access to linguistic resources. For this reason, I propose the use of the different languages known by the citizens in different official activities, that is, both Portuguese and indigenous languages.

As shown in chapter II, the regional distribution and predominance of each indigenous language is limited to specific parts of country, where the state should authorize their use as regional official languages (cf. section 2. 1. 2.). One of the reasons for exhibiting data on the indigenous languages spoken in the different districts of the country was to allow comparisons with regard to the regional distribution of all indigenous languages.[14] Thus, it was shown that each one of the indigenous languages identified in the Census of 1980 has a regional domain where virtually all the residents use it as a native language.

There is reason to believe that in the regional domain of an indigenous language, hardly any other indigenous language penetrates. Indigenous languages are associated with intra-ethnic domains of social interaction, even though in some areas, especially in urban centers, some of them are used in inter-ethnic communication. In most parts of the countryside one of the indigenous languages is the main, if not sole, tool of communication, which supports the assumption of a high degree of monolingualism in those areas.[15] The fact that percentages of speakers of some indigenous languages are

relatively high at the national level or even in some regional areas says little about their acquisition and use by native speakers of other indigenous languages.

The assumption of a high degree of monolingualism[16] in indigenous languages implies that exclusive regional domains can be posited for all indigenous languages, irrespective of the percentage of speakers that each one may have in the country as whole. Tables and charts 2.2-2.11, shown in chapter II, corroborate this fact. The regional domains represent a territorial space where a specific indigenous language is predominant. Most of the residents who consider the territorial space as their homeland will normally speak the respective indigenous language as their native language and view it as endogenous to the area. Moreover, most of the residents will consider any other language spoken in the area as from another regional domain and the respective speakers as newcomers. Sociolinguistically, the regional domains may be viewed as areas where an indigenous language has its natural "habitat" so that, *inter alia*:

a) its use is unmarked;

b) it is normally learned by those who move to the area;

c) occurrence of language shift results in its acquisition and loss or weakening of the knowledge of the language that is not from the area;

d) borrowings into Portuguese and language mixing and code switching resort to its lexical resources.

6. 2. 2. 2. 1. Prospective regional languages

Taking into account data from the 1980 Census, as reported in *Os Distritos em Números (The Districts in Numbers)*, published by the Conselho Coordenador do Recenseamento (1983b), the districts and cities in which each one of the indigenous languages spoken in Mozambique is predominant can be located. These districts and cities represent the regional domain of the different indigenous languages. The following tables

b) **Province of Niassa**

Table 6. 2. Regional languages in the districts/cities of Niassa

MACUA	YAO	NYANJA
Amaramba	City of Lichinga	Lago
Majune	Lichinga	
(Mandimba)	(Majune)	
Marrupa	Mandimba	
Maúa	Mavago	
Mecanhelas	Mecula	
(City of Lichinga)	Sanga	
	(Lago)	

(6.1-6.10), which are organized by province, show the regional domains that can be hypothesized for the different languages. Each table indicates the languages widely spoken in each province and the districts and/or cities in which their native speakers are numerically predominant. I also inserted parentheses around those districts or cities in which an indigenous language has a relatively high percentage of native speakers and, therefore, may function as a second regional languages.[17] To clarify the understanding of the data that has guided the identification of regional languages, I also refer to tables with the percentages of native speakers of the different indigenous languages and to charts representing the predominance of each one in the different provinces and districts. These tables and charts were shown in chapter II (2.2-2.11).

a) **Province of Cabo Delgado**

Table 6. 1.   Regional languages in the districts/cities of Cabo Delgado

MACUA	MACONDE	MWANI
City of Pemba	(Macomia)	Ibo
Ancuabe	Mocímboa	(Mocímboa)
Chiúre	Mueda	(Quissamba)
Macomia	Palma	(Palma)
Mecúfi		
Meluco		
Montepuez		
Namuno		
Pemba		
Quissanga		

c) **Province of Nampula**

Table 6.3. Regional languages in the districts/cities of Nampula

MACUA	KOTI
City of Nampula	(Angoche)
City of Nacala	
Angoche	
Eráti	
Ilha de Moçambique	
Maiaia	
Malema	
Meconta	
Mecubúri	
Memba	
Mogovolas	
Moma	
Monapo	
Mongicual	
Mossuril	
Muecate	
Murrupula	
Nacala	
Nampula	
Ribaué	

d) **Province of Tete**

Table 6.4.   Regional languages in the districts/cities of Tete

NYANJA	NYUNGWE	SENA	SHONA	NSENGA	PHIMBI
Angónia	Cahora Bassa	Mutarara	Magoé	Zumbo	(Cahora Bassa)
Chiúta	Changara		(Cahora Bassa)	(Marávia)	(Marávia)
Macanga	Moatize		(Zumbo)		
Marávia	(Chiúta)				
(Moatize)					

e)'Province of Zambézia

Table 6.5.   Regional languages in the districts/cities of Zambêzia

LOMWE	CHUABO	MARENDJE	SENA	MACUA
Alto Molocué	City of Quelimane	Lugela	Chinde	Pebane
Gilé	Maganja da Costa	Milange	Mopeia	(Ilé)
Gurué	Namacurra	Morrumbala	(Morrumbala)	
Ilé	Quelimane	(Mocuba)		
Namarrói	(Mocuba)			
Mocuba	(Mopeia)			
(Milange)				

f) Province of Manica

Table 6. 6. Regional languages in the districts/cities of Manica

SHONA	SENA	NYUNGWE
City of Chimoio	Barué	(Guro)
Chimoio	Guro	
Manica	Tambara	
Mossurize	(City of Chimoio)	
Sussundenga	(Chimoio)	

g) Province of Sofala

Table 6. 7. Regional languages in the districts/cities of Sofala

SENA	SHONA
Caia	Búzi
Chemba	Chibabava
Cheringoma	(Dondo)
Dondo	City of Beira
Gorongosa	
Marromeu	
City of Beira	

h) **Province of Inhambane**

Table 6. 8. **Regional languages in the districts/cities of Inhambane**

TSWA	CHOPE	BITONGA
Govuro	Inharrime	Inhambane
Homóine	Zavala	City of Inhambane
Massinga	(Homóine)	(Morrumbene)
Morrumbene	(Panda)	(Homóine)
Panda		
Vilanculos		
(City of Inhambane)		

i) **Province of Gaza**

Table 6. 9. **Regional languages in the districts/cities of Gaza**

TSONGA	CHOPE
City of Xai-Xai	.
City of Chokwé	
Bilene	
Caniçado	
Chibuto	
Chicualacuala	
Gaza	
Limpopo	
Manjacaze	(Manjacaze)
Massingir	

j) Province and City of Maputo

Table 6. 10. Regional languages in the districts/cities of Maputo

RONGA	TSONGA	SWAZI
Boane	Magude	Namaacha
Marracuene	Manhiça	
Matutuíne	Moamba	
City of Maputo	(City of Maputo)	
(Manhiça)	Namaacha	
(Namaacha)	(Boane)	
(Moamba)		

6. 2. 2. 2. 2. Prospective institutional uses of regional official languages: the case of formal education

In the main, to grant the status of regional official language to indigenous languages entails that they can be used in some official functions, such as formal education, local administration, politics, mass-communication, and public service. The use of indigenous languages in official functions should, however, depend on further examination of the sociolinguistic data. Probably formal education, especially at the primary level, is the area that can benefit the most from the officialization of indigenous languages, as the following discussion will show.

Assuming that children should be taught in their native language,[18] school instruction in most primary schools will have to be conducted in indigenous languages. As pointed out earlier, most Mozambican children are initially socialized in these languages and, by the time they enter school, they have little knowledge, if any, of Portuguese. However, Portuguese is currently the sole medium of instruction, which may be a major

barrier to most school children. In fact, some scholars have raised concerns over this situation. Hyltenstam & Stroud (1993), for instance, claimed that in Mozambique, "the exclusive use of a second language [Portuguese] as the medium of instruction is one of the most important factors in the complex of reasons behind the high wastage rates at the primary school level." (p. 30-1) As a matter of general principle, while a better description of the linguistic situation in Mozambique is not available, the regional official languages indicated above (which, by definition, will be the main languages in their regional domains) should be selected as media of instruction in the different areas of the country.

Taking into account the dynamics of the social and linguistic market in Mozambique, initial education in indigenous languages should not, however, be a way of impairing children by providing them means that, in the long run, may not be useful for social integration, upward mobility, or job security. Society perceives these achievements as the fruits of education, and an educational program that does not offer guarantees of their fulfillment is likely to face social resistance. As I have noticed, the main reason why many parents resist education in indigenous languages is that they foresee no future for their children if they do not know Portuguese. Thus, education policy makers should take into account that school programs should guarantee not only academic success, but also the prospective future of the students who, as members of a society, will use what they have learned in the school to face social challenges, for instance, in the competition for employment.

In my view, the use of indigenous languages should, therefore, be part of transitional bilingual programs, whose aim is to guarantee that the children are not only able to succeed in learning during the first years of their education —— that they do not have to "swim or sink" in immersion programs —— but are also introduced into the major institutional language, whose knowledge is currently a socio-economic asset and

fundamental symbolic capital. In this regard, Portuguese should be taught as a compulsory subject to those students will start school with an indigenous language as a medium of instruction. The objective is for the children to build up enough competence in Portuguese that it can be used as a medium of instruction at a later stage in the school program.

My position is that only children whose native language is not Portuguese should have their initial education in indigenous languages. As shown in chapters II and III an increasing number of children whose knowledge of Portuguese is reasonably good are entering the school system in urban centers. For these children, Portuguese is the native language and/or the language they know the best. For this reason, they should not be taught in an indigenous language, because such a procedure would contradict the principle under which mother tongue education has been proposed, that is, the prevention of the home-school language mismatch. Thus, in the context of Mozambique, what has been referred to as mother tongue education should not be interpreted as necessarily synonymous with education in indigenous languages. For some children, Portuguese is their native language.

6. 2. 2. 3. Corpus Planning

The implementation of the language policy recommended in the previous sections requires a plan of action that includes the necessary background information as well as the procedures to be followed. One important dimension of this plan of action is the collection of updated sociolinguistic data to support its implementation. As indicated previously, current understanding of the language situation in Mozambique is mainly based on census data collected in 1980. After fifteen years marked by tragic social upheavals in Mozambique, there is no guarantee that such data are still valid. There is, therefore, a need for the preparation of updated information.

Some of the necessary steps include the assessment of linguistic practices related to indigenous languages, which should lead to descriptions of indigenous languages as well as of patterns of their use. Such assessment should focus, *inter alia*, on the following aspects:

a) linguistic features of indigenous languages;

b) inter- and intra-linguistic variation in indigenous languages and patterns of evaluations of such variation (e.g. which languages are mutually intelligible to whom? Which are the marked and unmarked usages of indigenous languages? Which varieties can be standardized? Are there discrepancies and of what kind between emic and etic evaluations of linguistic variation, from both structural and attitudinal points of view?);

c) patterns of bilingualism (e.g. what type(s) of bilingualism can be found in Mozambique? Which languages are likely to be spoken monolingually or bilingually? What are the attitudes displayed towards these languages, by whom towards which one(s) and why?);

d) patterns of language shift (e.g. are there communities in a process of language shift from one indigenous language/dialect to another? Are there people shifting to Portuguese? Who is likely to shift or retain an indigenous language if s/he knows Portuguese? In urban centers with people of different ethnic backgrounds, which language(s) is/are likely to be learned, desired, looked down upon, abandoned, or maintained? Are there gender, age, racial, ethnic, or regional effects in all these questions?).

Basic sociolinguistic research on the situation of Portuguese in the country is also needed. For instance, most of the data used in this dissertation were gathered in Maputo, which suggests the need for further research to provide indications of the status of Portuguese in other parts of the country. Such an objective can be accomplished by undertaking a survey of the present uses and forms of Portuguese in Mozambique.

Eventually, this survey could also give indications of how to conduct the standardization of Portuguese in Mozambique in connection with the process of its nativization.[19]

Taking into account that the school system is a major agent in the production, reproduction, and reception of linguistic practices (cf. Bourdieu 1977a: 652-3), educational programs should have a key role in the implementation of the language policy proposed in the preceding sections. For instance, the extension of Portuguese to a wider community of speakers cannot be achieved without the use of the school system. In the same way, the school system can be essential in raising the prestige of indigenous languages and encouraging their acceptance in official domains. As is known, the prestige of a language or forms of a language can change depending on whether they are used in the schools or not. For this reason, the authorities should pay special attention to the preparation of the school system for these tasks. Such a preparation would include, *inter alia*, the design of adequate school curricula, elaboration of teaching materials (e.g. textbooks, referential grammar books, dictionaries), and the training of teachers. This preparation can also be supported by the results of the assessment of linguistic practices in Mozambique.

Besides the school system, the regional officialization of indigenous languages will affect other areas of national life, so preparative steps need to be undertaken in other domains of national life as well. For instance, the officialization of indigenous languages implies the use of this languages for, *inter alia*, filling out forms, writing petitions to state authorities, running commercial ads, implementing health education campaigns, conducting hearings in the courts, and writing public announcements. The state should, therefore, take steps to guarantee the use of indigenous languages in these tasks. Such steps may include, *inter alia*, the following:

a) a clear demarcation of the official uses of regional official indigenous languages (i.e., which one(s), where, when, for what, with whom?);

b) training state officials in the use of regional official languages (e.g. interpreters and translators);

c) adaptation of indigenous languages to official functions (e.g. relexification).

The fact that all indigenous languages belong to the Bantu linguistic family and share similar linguistic features and discursive patterns can be used to enhance the harmonization of this linguistic adaptation.

6. 3.   Closing Remarks

The main objective of the chapter was to elaborate a realistic policy that can address problems associated with the linguistic scenario in Mozambique, especially in connection with the process of nation-state formation. My main argument was that, given the current language situation and the need for the consolidation and legitimation of the nation-state, the *de facto* language policy pursued in Mozambique requires adjustment. Reliance on Portuguese for the execution of official functions and the concomitant exclusion of indigenous languages not only alienates a significant segment of Mozambican society from the national system, but also has adverse effects on the efficiency of state policies. I proposed that the officialization and nationalization of both indigenous languages and Portuguese could raise the level of instrumental and sentimental identification with the national system by eliminating language barriers disallowing wider participation in it. This proposal departs from current language policy by recognizing Portuguese as one of the national languages and by allowing the use of indigenous languages in official functions.

Thus, the case of Mozambique suggests that the language question in post-colonial Africa is not solely a matter of choosing either LWCs or indigenous languages, but of understanding the dynamic process through which both LWCs and indigenous languages are institutionalized within society. The issue is to find mechanisms to make all linguistic

resources, including ex-colonial languages and indigenous languages, more profitable to national life in African countries. As Tengan (1994) claims, "if language planning and development are not to be done in a vacuum but are to reflect authentic social and cultural needs of society, then the multilingual character of society will have to be recognized and all languages, in spite of their parental origin, must be recognized for what they represent today. It is only by means of such recognition that the authentic historical process pertaining to Africa can adequately be understood." (p. 133)

The costs associated with the officialization and nationalization of both Portuguese and indigenous languages are high. These costs are worsened by a combination of socio-political and economic factors that have undermined the stability of the Mozambican state (Hanlon 1991; Harrison 1994; Scott 1988; Sidaway 1992). Any attempt to redress the language situation in the country may, therefore, be undermined by the lack of resources, immediacy of other concerns, and even political constraints. Nonetheless, the potential benefits justify attention to such adjustments, given their implications for the accommodation of social differences, the edification of a more participatory society, and the legitimation of the Mozambican nation-state.

Notes to chapter VI

[1]Other scholars have expressed the distinction between "cultural relevance" and "functional relevance" in different ways. For instance, Fishman's (1968) distinction between "nationalism" and "nationism" captures essentially the same aspects.

[2]Laitin's (1992) notion of rationalization is taken in a Weberian sense of "rationalization of a modern state," a process by which a state establishes efficient and orderly rule which presupposes, *inter alia*, the development of civil service, establishment of territorial boundaries, standardization of the calendar, weights and measures, and issuance of common currency. Laitin (1992) considers that language rationalization can also be included in the Weberian sense of rationalization, as the operation of a state is facilitated by its power to regulate language use. For instance, he argues that standardization of legal systems, tax collection, dissemination of state regulations, and definition of territorial boundaries are easier if a nation-state uses a common language (cf. p. 10).

[3]This excerpt is part of a speech delivered in the *Primeiro Seminário Nacional sobre o Ensino da Língua Portuguesa* (First Seminar on the Teaching of Portuguese Language) by Fernando Ganhão, then Rector of Universidade Eduardo Mondlane in Maputo, which, in the original, as quoted in TEMPO no. 471, p. 12 (October 21, 1979), reads as follows:

> "[Foi nas línguas moçambicanas] que ao longo dos séculos de dominação e exploração se foi transmitindo e criando a cultura moçambicana. E porque é uma cultura intrínseca e genuinamente de moçambicanos, as línguas forjaram as palavras e os conceitos que a transmitem e lhe dão uma razão histórica, e que constitue um Património de todo o nosso Povo e da Humanidade. É aquilo que somos de mais autênticos, que vem donde temos as raízes da nossa personalidade ..."

[4]The original passage reads as follows:

> "A nossa independência foi feita para afirmar a nossa cultura, a nossa personalidade moçambicana. As exigências da unidade e do desenvolvimento passam pelo conhecimento e reconhecimento das identidades e das formas de consciência cultural particulares, de como elas se manifestam através de práticas culturais concretas. O fortalecimento da unidade cultural não implica necessariamente a obliteração dos diferents aspectos que traduzem a variedade e as diferenças que enriquecem a nossa sociedade. Na multiplicidade de expressões em que o tecido da nossa identidade cultural se consubstancia, uma das suas expressões mais privilegiadas é, sem dúvida, a das nossas línguas nacionais. Os valores éticos, morais e estéticos implícitos na concepção de organização social, no pensamento

religioso, nas tradições políticas, militares e judiciais do nosso passado, foram-nos
transmitidos essencialmente pela transmissão oral. É no riquíssimo depositário das
línguas moçambicanas que residem e se preservam os principais elementos constitutivos
da nossa singularidade cultural." (NELIMO 1989: 4)

[5]The title of this dissertation uses the English equivalent of *indígenas* (indigenous) in the expression
"indigenous languages." The purpose is to explore the etymological meaning of "indigenous" and indicate
that Bantu languages spoken in Mozambique belong "naturally" to this country. This fact distinguishes
Bantu languages from any other languages spoken in Mozambique. The colonial connotations of *indígenas*
should not, therefore, be associated with the use in the title of the English expression "indigenous
languages."

[6]By *nationalization* I am referring to the appropriation of a language as a national language by official
ideology and its recognition as part of the cultural heritage identifying a nation. *Officialization* refers to the
authorization by a state of the use of a language in official activities.

[7]In the original, the passage reads as follows:

"... o nosso desenvolvimento linguístico, em vez de antagonismos, deverá dar lugar à
unidade, à interacção no desenvolvimento da língua de unidade nacional e das outras
línguas nacionais. E aí, o que será determinante não será tanto o factor linguístico em si,
mas a natureza das relações entre as pessoas na sociedade, a maneira como formos
construindo a Nação moçambicana. Será uma construção onde não haja espaço à repressão
cultural, onde não haja redução, nem uniformização da multiplicidade de expressões, mas
afirmação e respeito pela capacidade de conviver na variedade, na liberdade de expressão e
criação na pluralidade cultural. É nesse contexto que teremos de perspectivar o uso social
dàs línguas moçambicanas, quer nas áreas de uso imediato, como:

A informação

O trabalho ideológico partidário

A expressão artística e literária

quer nas de uso que requer mais longa preparação, como:

A alfabetização

O ensino

para que elas assumam uma verdadeira dimensão nacional."

(extracted from Discurso de Abertura proferido por S. Excia o Ministro de Educação. in NELIMO 1989: 4)

[8]Katupha (1994) names these languages as e-Makhuwa, chi-Nyanja, chi-Shona, and shi-Tsonga.

[9]The main problems with the assumptions and arguments made by researchers at NELIMO in the early 1980's derive from the fact that they were not based on intensive fieldwork but were conjectures of "armchair" linguists. The assumption of the "four major languages" proposed by these researchers is problematic, because it is a simple adaptation of M. Guthrie's inventory (cf. Chapter II). In the main, it seems that the selection of major languages was based on the language groups established by Guthrie (1967/71), although other data about the regions of distribution and/or the percentages of speakers was probably also considered. For this reason, the "four major languages" include one language from the P zone (Makua), one language from the N zone (Nyanja-Sena), and two languages from the S zone (Shona, Tsonga). This selection does not reflect the social implantation of the different indigenous languages and oversimplifies their linguistic relatedness. Some of the assumptions are simply inaccurate, for example the assumption that the four major languages are mutually intelligible and spoken by 90% of the population. There is no mutual intelligibility between the proposed four major languages. Actually, maybe there is no mutual intelligibility even among sub-varieties associated with some of languages. For instance, Makua, which is supposed to be the language with the largest number of speakers, probably consists of varieties that are not mutually intelligible or whose speakers perceive them as different languages. The identification of what the Makua language is needs further investigation, especially in sociolinguistic terms. The debate on whether Lomwe is a dialect within Makua or an independent language, as was demonstrated in the *Primeiro Seminário sobre a Padronização da Ortografia de Línguas Moçambicanas* (First Seminar on the Standardization of the Orthography of Mozambican Languages), illustrates this need for further study. The same could be said in reference to the so-called Nyanja-Sena, whose ontological status is questionable. At present there is a wide perception that Nyanja and Sena are two independent languages.

In addition, the identification of the four *línguas veiculares* (vehicular languages) requires further reexamination and in some cases it is questionable whether it is applicable at all. For instance, Tsonga is claimed to be the vehicular language in the south of Mozambique, that is in the provinces of Inhambane, Gaza and Maputo. However, my observations in parts of the Inhambane province around the Bay of Inhambane do not support the claim that Tsonga is the vehicular language. Also, the concept of *língua veicular* was postulated without taking into account sociolinguistic attitudes; therefore, it overlooks socio-historical processes that affect the construction of social and linguistic realities as well as the conceptions of togetherness that bind people or keep them apart.

[10]In the original the same passage reads as follows: "às expensas da amputação cultural que poderá vir a significar a desaparição das línguas moçambicanas" (in MEC-Gabinete do Secretário de Estado da Cultura 1983:13, translation into English mine).

[11]The original reads as follows: "O Português falado em Moçambique há-de necessariamente transformar-se e distanciar-se do Português de Portugal porque a realidade moçambicana, à partida diferente da de Portugal, tem o seu próprio curso de desenvolvimento" (in MEC-Gabinete do Secretário de Estado da Cultura 1983:14, translation into English mine).

[12]The document uses explicitly the designation *línguas moçambicanas* (Mozambican languages) to refer to indigenous languages.

[13]For instance, major local newspapers quite often publish articles and letters in favor of the promotion of indigenous languages. Examples include reactions to an article published in the daily newspaper *Notícias* by Máximo Dias, a local politician, titled *O Rei Vai Nu* (The King Goes Naked , cf. Jornal *Notícias*, November 23, 1994 & December 5, 1994), in which a critical view was taken against the use of indigenous languages in education or literacy activities. Two of these were *Ainda a Propósito do " O Rei Vai Nu"* (Again on "The King Goes Naked"), by Fernando Kanyana (in *Notícias*, December 12, 1994), and *Uma Achega ao "O Rei Vai Nu"* (A remark on "The King Goes Naked"), by Gabriel Simbine (in *Notícias*, January 5, 1995). Some local scholars have also written and presented articles arguing for the promotion of indigenous languages, especially in educational activities (cf. Machungo & Ngunga 1991).

The FRELIMO party, after wining the recent general elections in 1994, has also vowed to promote indigenous languages. At the same time, it will continue to pursue a linguistic policy that recognizes Portuguese as the official language and the language of national unity and creates space for the use of foreign languages as a complement to Portuguese in the acquisition of scientific and technical knowledge. With regard to indigenous languages, FRELIMO promised to support studies conducive to the appreciation of their social value and to their use in formal education, as well as in other political, social, and economic activities (cf. *Notícias*, November 26, 1994, p. 3).

[14]My view, however, is that the figures represented in tables 2.2-2.11 are just one step towards the understanding of the sociolinguistic status of indigenous languages. There are many important aspects, such as linguistic attitudes, that the figures cannot indicate, which may turn out to be useful in uncovering linguistic practices related to Mozambican indigenous languages.

[15]High monolingualism has been associated with linguistically homogeneous communities, limited access to education, poor systems of communication, low personal mobility, and strong constraints against using other languages (cf. Polomé 1982: 268). The first three premises certainly hold in most areas of Mozambique; hence I posit high monolingualism in most parts of Mozambique.

[16]This is not to say that bilingualism in indigenous languages does not exist. The point is that such bilingualism often does not surpass offhand knowledge of the second language for use in specific linguistic tasks. My empirical assumption is that some people in the countryside may need to develop an offhand knowledge of the language of a neighboring ethnic group with whose members it might be necessary to maintain contact. This offhand knowledge is facilitated by the fact that all indigenous languages belong to the Bantu family and so are structurally similar.

[17]After all, I view the concept of regional domain as a social construction. It does not imply thatmore than one language may not be spoken in a given geographical area. For instance, the city of Beira has been associated with two languages, Sena and Ndau.

[18]Such is the spirit of the UNESCO recommendation of 1951, as the following passage demonstrates:

> "It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium" (UNESCO 1953: 11).

[19]The standard for Portuguese in Mozambique continues to be the one used for European Portuguese. For some of the problems raised by this fact, see Firmino (1987).

VII. CONCLUDING REMARKS

7. 0. Introduction

This dissertation analyzed issues related to the coexistence of ex-colonial languages and indigenous languages in contemporary Africa, especially in Mozambique. As its main argument, the dissertation posited that a better understanding of the functioning of linguistic diversity in African countries requires an examination of data on discursive and ideological practices, which need to be researched rather than assumed. Examination of discursive and ideological practices can provide information on how indigenous and ex-colonial languages are used in different social activities, as well as on the dynamic development of the roles associated with these languages. Thus, by focusing on the dynamics of the linguistic market, this study showed how indigenous languages along with an ex-colonial language and other foreign languages have been integrated into contemporary Mozambican society as legitimate linguistic resources that citizens manipulate in a variety of social activities to accomplish a variety of social goals. On the basis of this observation, a further argument was that language planning approaches in contemporary African countries need to take into account the dynamics of the linguistic markets as they stand today, rather than relying on common generalizations. These generalizations often avoid ethnographic data and, therefore, misinterpret societal and linguistic trends occurring in African societies.

I started to build my argument by summarizing theories of nationalism and linguistic diversity in a contrasting review of traditional structuralist and modern ideology-based approaches. The review of these approaches highlighted the importance of taking an eclectic perspective that pays attention to structural and functional features of linguistic and cultural diversity, as well as to ideological motivations underlying their social impact. By mixing these approaches, I was able to consider not only the distribution of languages and

linguistic practices, but also the manipulation of historical and contextual constructions of linguistic and socio-cultural identities. I emphasized the manipulation of linguistic and cultural patterns in interactional practices, rather than merely on the occurrence of linguistic and cultural features per se. Consequently, my view that integrates linguistic diversity into the social processes that reflect the types of social relations prevailing in a community.

After the presentation of the theoretical review, chapter II offered a general description of the language situation in Mozambique. Chapters III and IV focused particularly on linguistic practices in Maputo. These three chapters combined information about language distribution and functions with data on official and/or public ideologies regarding language use *vis-à-vis* linguistic diversity and nation-statehood. This approach leads to a recognition of the roles that Portuguese and indigenous languages have assumed as a consequence of their incorporation into social activities undertaken in Mozambique. Portuguese and indigenous languages combine to perform tasks within rhetorical, indexical, and ideological systems shaped by the nature of social relations characterizing contemporary Mozambican society.

Indigenous languages, while still indexing ethnic and regional identities, can also invoke trans-ethnic and trans-regional realities, thus acquiring the capacity to act as national languages. Portuguese, on the other hand, not only invokes a pan-ethnic and national realities but has also transcended the colonial past and become a "mozambicanized" language. Despite its structural similarities with the European variety, Portuguese in Mozambique is discursively and ideologically distinct, which makes it a nativized language as argued in chapter V. This view departs from traditional notions of nativization by giving primacy to discursive and ideological factors rather than to structural differences. Grammatical peculiarities in the Portuguese spoken in Mozambique are minor. Yet, in the context of indexical and ideological systems characterizing Mozambique, the language has developed unique rhetorical strategies.

Taking into account the description of the language situation, I pointed out that current language policy in Mozambique has misunderstood the roles played by both Portuguese and indigenous languages. In short, this language policy officialized Portuguese without nationalizing it, and nationalized indigenous languages without officializing them. As a result, current language policy does not conform symbolically or instrumentally to the nature of the linguistic diversity characterizing Mozambique. Chapter VI suggested ways of redressing the shortcomings of current language policy that resulted from those misconceptions. In this regard I argued that language policy in Mozambique needs the nationalization and officialization of both Portuguese and indigenous languages.

7. 1. Linguistic diversity in Mozambique

The description of the situation of indigenous languages presented in chapter II showed the fragmentary and regionalized nature of ethnolinguistic variation in Mozambique. In fact, what the data showed is that Mozambique includes regional pockets of speakers of the different indigenous languages, each one dominating in specific areas of the country. There is no indigenous language widely spoken across the country and, consequently, none of them is in a position to function as a single national link language.

Indigenous languages are mostly associated with intra-ethnic communication. People may use some of the indigenous languages in inter-ethnic interactions in certain areas, especially urban centers. Although indigenous languages have been institutionally "minorized" and excluded from official settings, there are also social activities, such as religious activities, in which indigenous language are used more than Portuguese. This fact indicates that the coexistence of indigenous languages and Portuguese does not necessarily entail the over-valuation of the latter at the expense of the former, as has often been

assumed in the representation of the competition between ex-colonial languages and indigenous languages.

Members of Mozambican society interact with each other using verbal or linguistic repertoires which encompass linguistic varieties that range from indigenous languages to Portuguese. The varieties are not, however, uniformly distributed among Mozambicans, which enables them to be used as symbols of social differentiation that individuals manipulate as markers of their social personae. One's social image is built on the basis of the manipulation of specific linguistic forms of a language in specific social activities. Furthermore, not only linguistic forms derived from Portuguese but also those from indigenous languages may, in some social activities, bring about social rewards. Thus, the case of Mozambique shows that it is unjustified to associate elite formation, symbolic domination, and social inequalities exclusively with the use of ex-colonial languages.

With respect to the interplay between indigenous languages, Portuguese, and other foreign languages, it can be concluded that all of them have been allocated their social space and value in conformity with the complexities of the types of social activities particular to Mozambique. The implication of this remark is that all languages spoken in Mozambique should be given their due social value. In dealing with the "language question," in Africa the issue that needs to be addressed first is how far and in what ways different languages have become linguistic resources suited to the environment of the different countries. The social institutionalization of the different languages, regardless of their origin, needs to be researched rather than assumed.

7. 2. Linguistic diversity and nationhood

The ethnolinguistic diversity of Mozambique raises issues regarding the edification of a cohesive and unitary nation. In fact, this aspect is one of the issues that has echoed in

socio-cultural analyses of many African countries. Many studies have attempted to demonstrate that ethnic diversity, the correlate of ethnolinguistic diversity, is the most salient feature shaping politics in Africa, in ways that are not replicated elsewhere in the world. Ethnic diversity, however, is not unique to Africa, nor does it necessarily lead to national disintegration or to "reactive nationalism" (Smith 1983), as the case of Switzerland shows. The same can be said in relation to the artificiality of frontiers. In other words, there is no causal relationship between ethnic diversity and national (in)stability, nor does a nation-state necessarily require cultural homogeneity to be viable.

Arguably, social conflict in a polity is not predicated on the pattern of primordial cultural differences. Rather, it has more to do with how interest groups, most of them based in urban centers where contacts among people of different social background are frequent, advance their demands and play with ethnicity or other cultural symbols (e.g. race, gender, and age) to make coalitions in order to compete for societal goods (Das Gupta 1971; Horowitz 1985). In other words, ethnic boundaries are fluid constructions that are manipulated to serve particular objectives in a certain space and time, as ideology-based approaches to nationalism would argue (cf. Fox 1990).

I conclude that cultural diversity, as such, does not necessarily affect the process of nation-state building in a negative way. In fact, I argue that the stability of a nation-state is not proportional to the degree of cultural assimilation its members might have achieved, but rather to how different interest groups, which are usually based on the ideologization of cultural differences, are made mutually compatible by an adequate political, social, and economic system. In this regard, it can be argued that the accommodation of conflicts of interest lies in the organization of a "civil society" (cf. Taylor 1990: 1) with institutionalized mechanisms for addressing the interests of different social groups and making the state accommodate their demands. Language conflicts do not exist in themselves; rather, they reflect conflicts at other levels over other issues related to the

distribution of social goods. For this reason, claims to revise the role and status of ex-colonial languages *vis-à-vis* indigenous languages as a way of redressing social inequalities in post-colonial Africa (as proposed, for instance, by Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1987)) are misdirected. They focus on language as such and not on other political, economic, and social issues that bear on the reproduction of social inequalities. Language loyalties are symbolic manifestations of other grievances on a political, economic, or social level.

Thus, the stability of Mozambique will not depend strictly on whether Portuguese is replaced by, used instead of, or used in conjunction with (one of the) indigenous languages. Similarly, the use of Portuguese as a national language will not per se guarantee the unity of the country. Rather, the strength of the Mozambican nation will be a function of how the different social groups (or more exactly the elites, who derive power from their relation to social groups) are allowed to be part of the nation-state and feel that they benefit from the resources made available by the national system.

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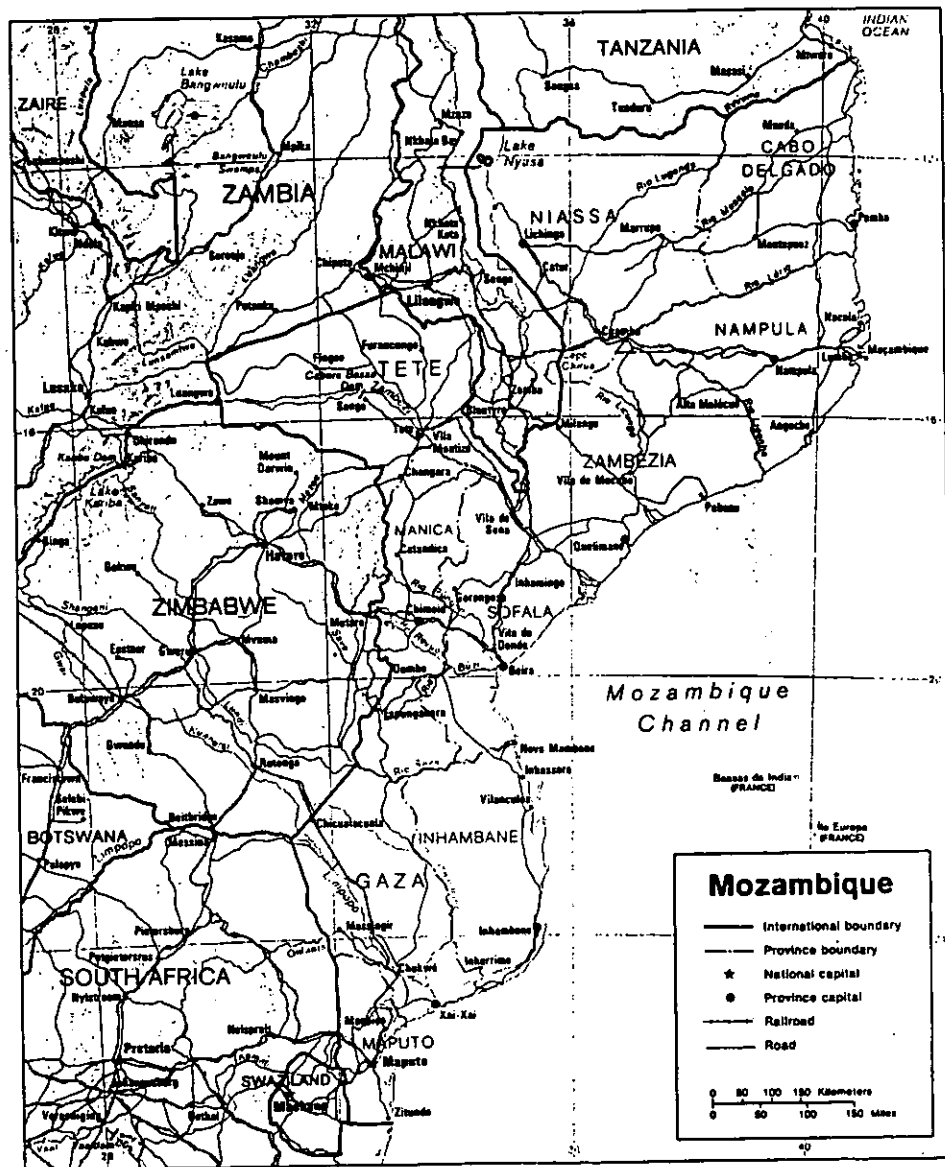 1968. *Tisimu ta Ivangeli.* Cleveland: Central Mission Press

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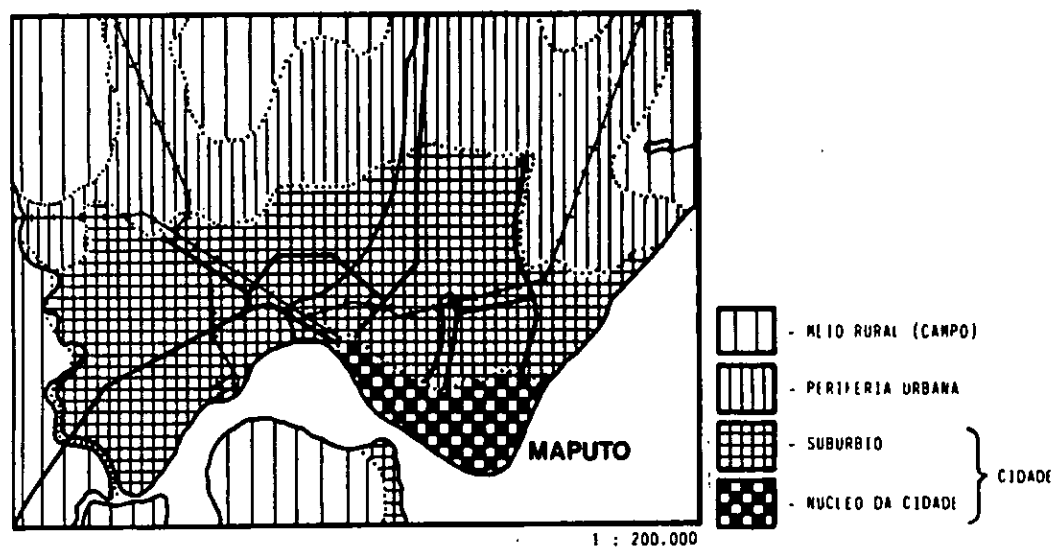
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
MAP OF MOZAMBIQUE

APPENDIX B
ZONES OF MAPUTO

Source: Dos Muchangos (1987: 129)

Translation:

Meio Rural (Campo)	Countryside
Periferia Urbana	Urban Periphery (Outer Zone)
Subúrbio	Suburb (Middle Zone)
Núcleo da Cidade	Nucleus of the City (Inner Zone)

APPENDIX C
NEIGHBORHOODS OF MAPUTO AND POPULATION DENSITY

Source: Dos Muchangos (1987: 134)
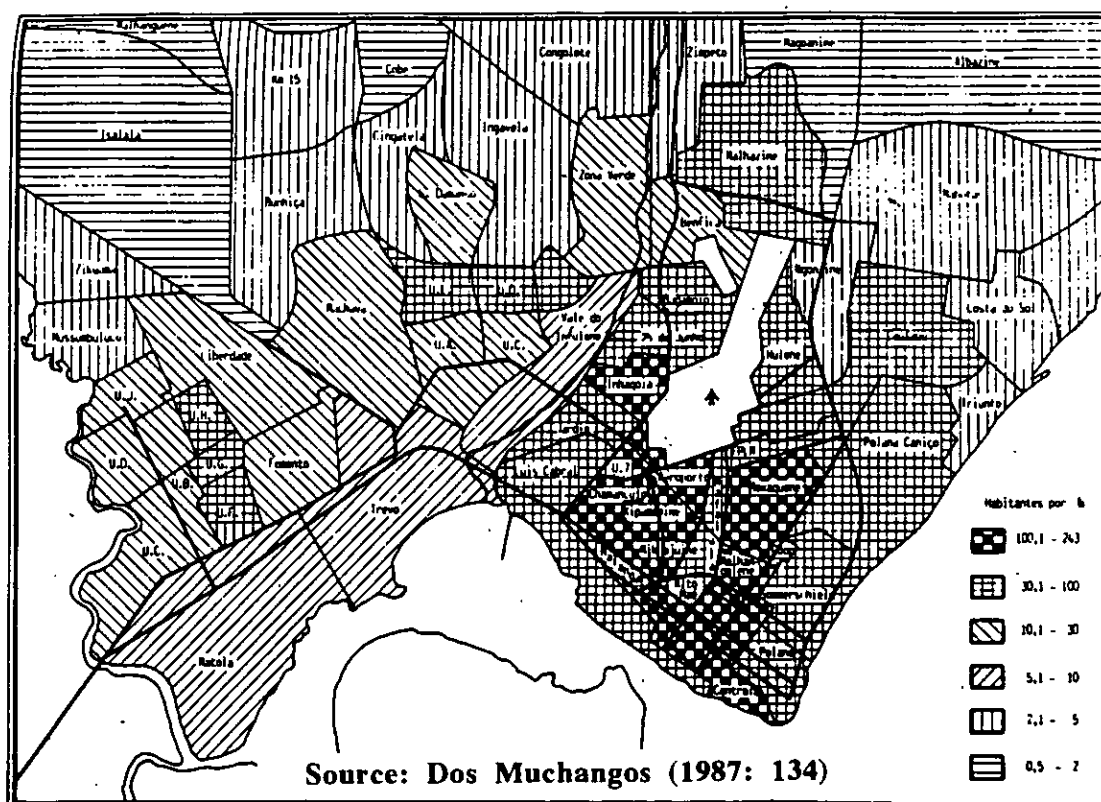
Translation:

Habitantes por h   **Inhabitants per hectare (ha)**

APPENDIX D

LINGUISTIC MAP OF MOZAMBIQUE

Source: NELIMO (1989: 8)
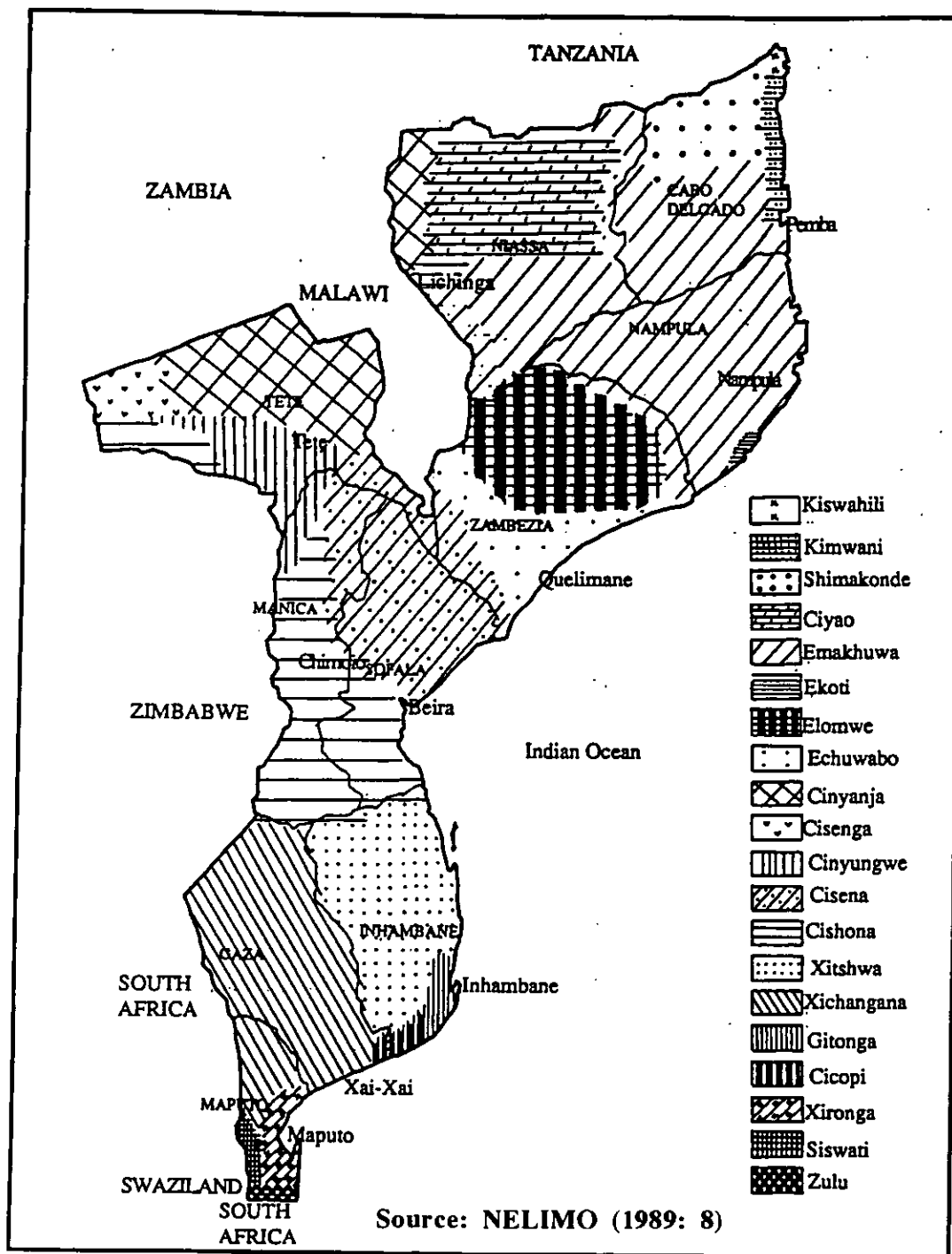
APPENDIX E

GUIDE TO THE CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN MOZAMBICAN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES' NAMES[1]

CCR (1983)	NELIMO (1989)	GUTHRIE (1967-71)
Swahili	Kiswahili	Swahili
Mwani	Kimwani	-
Yao	Ciyao	Yao
Maconde	Shimakonde	Makonde
-	-	Mabiha (Mavia)
Macua	Emakhuwa	Makua
Lomwe	Elomwe	Lomwe
Ngulu		Ngulu (W. Makua)
Koti	Ekoti	-
Marendje	-	-
Chuabo	Echuwabo	Cuabo (Cuambo)
Nyanja	Cinyanja	-
Kunda	-	Kunda
Nsenga	Cinsenga/Nsenga	-
Nyungwe	Cinyungwe	Nyungwe
Sena	Cisena	Sena
-	-	Podzo
Shona	Cishona	Shona Cluster
-	-	Korekore
	Citewe	Tebe
-	Cindau	Ndau
-	Cibalke	Rue
Tswa	Xitshwa	Tswa
-	-	Gwamba
Tsonga	Xitsonga/Xichangana	Tsonga
Ronga	Xironga	Ronga
Chope	Cicopi	Copi (Lenge)
Bitonga	Gitonga	Tonga (Shengwe)
Zulu	Zulu	-
Swazi	Swazi	-
Phimbi	Phimbi	-

APPENDIX F
INQUÉRITO SOCIOLINGUÍSTICO

1. NOME:_____

2. NATURALIDADE:_____3. IDADE:_____4. SEXO:____

5. 1. ESCOLARIDADE:_____5. 2. OCUPAÇÃO_____

6. ZONAS ONDE VIVEU/ DURANTE QUANTO TEMPO:

_____

_____

7. LÍNGUA MATERNA:

_____

8. COMO/ONDE APRENDEU PORTUGUÊS ?

8.1.EM CASA ?_____8. 2. COM OS AMIGOS?_____8. 3. NA ESCOLA ?__

8. 4. NO SERVIÇO?_____

9. QUE LÍNGUA(S) MOÇAMBICANA(S) FALA?_____

_____

10. COMO/ONDE APRENDEU A(S) LÍNGUA(S) MOÇAMBICANA(S) QUE FALA?

10. 1.EM CASA ?_____10. 2. COM OS AMIGOS?_____

10. 3. NA ESCOLA ?_____10. 4. NO SERVIÇO?_____

11. QUE LÍNGUA(S) USA:

11. 1. COM OS PAIS:_____

11. 2. COM OS IRMÃOS:_____

11. 3. COM OS AVÓS:_____

11. 4. COM OUTROS FAMILIARES:_____

11. 5. COM AMIGOS:_____

11. 6. NA ESCOLA, COM AMIGOS/COLEGAS FORA DA SALA DE AULA:_____

11. 7. NO SERVIÇO, COM COLEGAS:_____

11. 8. NO SERVIÇO, COM OS CHEFES:_____

12. 1. EM QUE LÍNGUA (S) SE SENTE MAIS À VONTADE:

_____

_____

12. 2. PORQUÊ?_____

_____

_____

13. DE ENTRE AS LÍNGUAS USADAS EM MOÇAMBIQUE, QUAL(IS) É/SÃO A(S) QUE:

13. 1. NÃO CONHECE OU CONHECE MAL E GOSTARIA DE CONHECER MELHOR?

_____

_____

13. 2. PORQUÊ?_____

_____

_____

14. COMO SE SENTE QUANDO FALA PORTUGUÊS:

14. 1. ORGULHOSO ?_____

14. 2. MAIS MOÇAMBICANO ?_____

14. 3. MENOS MOCAMBICANO ?_____

14. 4. COMO UM PORTUGUÊS ?_____

14. 5. ENVERGONHADO ?_____

14. 6. MAIS INTELIGENTE?_____

14. 7. ESTRANGEIRO NO SEU PRÓPRIO PAÍS ?_____

14. 8. OUTRAS RAZÕES?_____

_____

_____

15. 1. FICA BEM SABER PORTUGUÊS ?_____

15. 2. PORQUÊ:

15. 2. 1. DÁ UMA MELHOR IMAGEM PESSOAL ?_____

15. 2. 2. FACILIDADE DE CONTACTO COM FAMILIARES ?_____

15. 2. 3. FACILIDADE DE CONTACTO COM COLEGAS DE SERVIÇO ?_____

15. 2. 4. FACILIDADE DE CONTACTO COM AMIGOS ?_____

15. 2. 5. BOM PARA O EMPREGO ?_____

15. 2. 6. FACILIDADE DE CONHECIMENTO DO QUE SE PASSA NO PAÍS OU NO MUNDO ?_____

15. 2. 7. OUTRAS RAZÕES?_____

_____

_____

16. 1. FICA BEM SABER UMA LÍNGUA AFRICANA MOÇAMBICANA ?_____

16. 2. PORQUÊ?

16. 2. 1. DÁ MELHOR IMAGEM PESSOAL ?_____

16. 2. 2. FACILIDADE DE CONTACTO COM FAMILIARES?_____

16. 2. 3. FACILIDADE DE CONTACTO COM COLEGAS DE SERVIÇO?_____

16. 2. 4. FACILIDADE DE CONTACTO COM AMIGOS ?_____

16. 2. 5. BOM PARA O EMPREGO ?_____

16. 2. 6. FACILIDADE DE CONHECIMENTO DO QUE SE PASSA NO PAÍS OU NO MUNDO?_____

16. 2. 7. OUTRAS RAZÕES?_____

_____

_____

17. 1. GOSTA DE OUVIR MOÇAMBICANOS A FALAREM PORTUGUÊS COMO SE FOSSEM PORTUGUESES (afinando o sotaque, imitando expressões, tipo de frases, etc.)?

17. 2. PORQUÊ?_____

_____

_____

_____

18. 1. GOSTA DE PESSOAS QUE "AFINAM" QUANDO FALAM PORTUGUÊS ?_____

18. 2. PORQUÊ ?_____

_____

_____

_____

19. ATRAVÊS DA FORMA COMO AS PESSOAS FALAM PORTUGUÊS, SERIA CAPAZ DE DESCOBRIR:

19. 1. O SEU ESTATUTO SOCIAL?_____

19. 2. O SEU NÍVEL ACADÊMICO ?_____

19. 3. A SUA ZONA DE ORIGEM?_____

20. ACHA QUE O PORTUGUÊS FICA BEM COMO LÍNGUA USADA OBRIGATORIAMENTE:

20. 1. EM DISCURSOS POLÍTICOS ?_____

20. 2. EM SESSÕES DO TRIBUNAL ?_____

20. 3. EM DOCUMENTOS OFICIAIS ?_____

20. 4. EM AUDIÊNCIAS COM RESPONSÁVEIS ?_____

20. 5. NOS JORNAIS ?_____

20. 6. NA RÁDIO ?_____

20. 7. DISCURSOS DE RESPONSÁVEIS ? _____

20. 8. NAS AULAS:

20. 8. 1. NO ENSINO PRIMÁRIO ?_____

20. 8. 2. NO ENSINO SECUNDÁRIO ?___

20. 8. 3. NO ENSINO SUPERIOR ?_____

21. COMO SE SENTE QUANDO FALA UMA LÍNGUA AFRICANA MOÇAMBICANA :

21. 1. ORGULHOSO ?_____

21. 2. MAIS MOÇAMBICANO ?_____

21. 3. MENOS MOÇAMBICANO ?_____

21. 4. TRIBALISTA/REGIONALISTA?_____

21. 5. ENVERGONHADO ?_____

21. 6.. ATRASADO?_____

21. 7. MAIS INTELIGENTE?_____

21. 8. UM MOÇAMBICANO MAIS GENUÍNO ?_____

21. 9. OUTRAS RAZÕES?_____

_____

_____

_____

22. ACHA QUE AS LÍNGUAS AFRICANAS MOÇAMBICANAS DEVEM SER USADAS

22. 1. EM DISCURSOS POLÍTICOS?_____

22. 2. EM SESSÕES DO TRIBUNAL ?____

22. 3. EM DOCUMENTOS OFICIAIS?_____

22. 4. EM AUDIÊNCIAS COM RESPONSÁVEIS?_____

22. 5. EM JORNAIS?_____

22. 6. NA RÁDIO?_____

22. 7. NOS DISCURSOS DE RESPONSÁVEIS ? _____

22. 8. NAS AULAS:

22. 8. 1. NO ENSINO PRIMÁRIO?_____

22. 8. 2. NO ENSINO SECUNDÁRIO?_____

22. 8. 3. NO ENSINO SUPERIOR?_____

23. NUMA CIDADE COMO MAPUTO, QUE LÍNGUAS MOÇAMBICANAS DEVEM SER USADAS:

23. 1. EM DISCURSOS POLÍTICOS?_____

23. 2. EM SESSÕES DO TRIBUNAL ?_____

23. 3. EM DOCUMENTOS OFICIAIS?_____

23. 4. EM AUDIÊNCIAS COM RESPONSÁVEIS?_____

23. 5. EM JORNAIS?_____

23. 6. NA RÁDIO?_____

23. 7. NOS DISCURSOS DE RESPONSÁVEIS ? _____

23. 8. NAS AULAS:

23. 8. 1. NO ENSINO PRIMÁRIO?_____ 23. 8. 2. NO ENSINO SECUNDÁRIO?___

23. 8. 3. NO ENSINO SUPERIOR?_____

APPENDIX G
SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

1. NAME:_____

2. PLACE OF BIRTH:_____3. AGE:_____4. SEX:_____

5. 1. LEVEL OF EDUCATION:_____5. 2. OCCUPATION:_____

6. AREAS WHERE YOU LIVED/ AMOUNT OF TIME:

_____

_____

7. NATIVE LANGUAGE:

_____

8. HOW/WHERE DID YOU LEARN PORTUGUESE ?

8.1. AT HOME ?_____8. 2. WITH FRIENDS ?_____8. 3. AT SCHOOL ?__

8. 4. AT WORK?_____

9. WHICH MOZAMBICAN LANGUAGE(S) DO YOU SPEAK ?_____

_____

10. HOW/WHERE DID YOU LEARN THE MOZAMBICAN LANGUAGE(S) THAT YOU KNOW ?

10. 1. AT HOME ?_____10. 2. WITH FRIENDS?_____

10. 3. AT SCHOOL ?_____10. 4. AT WORK ?__

11. WHICH LANGUAGE(S) DO YOU USE WITH:

11. 1. YOUR PARENTS:_____

11. 2. YOUR BROTHERS/SISTERS:_____

11. 3. YOUR GRANDPARENTS:_____

11. 4. OTHER RELATIVES:_____

11. 5. FRIENDS:_____

11. 6. FRIENDS/COLLEAGUES, IN SCHOOL, OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM:

_____

11. 7. COLLEAGUES, AT WORK :_____

11. 8. BOSSES, AT WORK:_____

12. 1. IN WHICH LANGUAGE(S) DO YOU FEEL MORE AT EASE:

_____

12. 2. WHY?_____

_____

_____

13. AMONG THE LANGUAGES USED IN MOZAMBIQUE, WHICH ONE(S) IS/ARE THOSE THAT :

13. 1. YOU KNOW BADLY OR NOT AT ALL AND YOU WOULD LIKE TO KNOW IT/THEM BETTER ?

_____

_____

13. 2. WHY ?_____

_____

_____

14. HOW DO YOU FEEL WHEN YOU SPEAK PORTUGUESE:

14. 1. PROUD ?_____

14. 2. MORE MOZAMBICAN ?_____

14. 3. LESS MOZAMBICAN ?_____

14. 4. LIKE A PORTUGUESE ?_____

14. 5. ASHAMED ?_____

14. 6. MORE INTELLIGENT?_____

14. 7. LIKE A FOREIGNER IN YOUR OWN COUNTRY ?_____

14. 8. OTHER?_____

_____

15. 1. IS IT GOOD TO KNOW PORTUGUESE ?_____

15. 2. WHY:

15. 2. 1. GIVES A BETTER PERSONAL IMAGE ?_____

15. 2. 2. FACILITATES CONTACTS WITH RELATIVES ?_____

15. 2. 3. FACILITATES CONTACTS COLLEAGUES AT WORK ?_____

15. 2. 4. FACILITATES CONTACTS WITH FRIENDS ?_____

15. 2. 5. GOOD FOR GETTING WORK ?_____

15. 2. 6. FACILITATES KNOWLEDGE OF NATIONAL AND WORLD AFFAIRS ?

_____

15. 2. 7. OTHER REASONS?_____

_____

16. 1. IS IT GOOD TO KNOW AN AFRICAN MOZAMBICAN LANGUAGE ?_____

16. 2. WHY?

16. 2. 1. GIVES A BETTER PERSONAL IMAGE ?_____

16. 2. 2. FACILITATES CONTACTS WITH RELATIVES ?_____

16. 2. 3. FACILITATES CONTACTS COLLEAGUES AT WORK ?_____

16. 2. 4. FACILITATES CONTACTS WITH FRIENDS ?_____

16. 2. 5. GOOD FOR GETTING WORK ?_____

16. 2. 6. FACILITATES KNOWLEDGE OF NATIONAL AND WORLD AFFAIRS?_

_____

16. 2. 7. OTHER REASONS ?_____

_____

17. 1. DO YOU LIKE TO HEAR MOZAMBICAN SPEAKING PORTUGUESE WITH
AN IMITATION OF A EUROPEAN-LIKE ACCENT (with an affected pronunciation,
imitating some expressions or types of phrases, etc.) ?

17. 2. WHY?_____

_____

_____

_____

18. 1.   DO YOU LIKE PEOPLE WHO "SHARPEN" WHEN SPEAKING PORTUGUESE ?_____

18. 2.   WHY ?_____

_____

_____

19.   BY THE WAY PEOPLE SPEAK, WOULD YOU BE ABLE TO GUESS :

19. 1.   THEIR SOCIAL STATUS?_____

19. 2.   THEIR LEVEL OF EDUCATION ?_____

19. 3.   THEIR AREA OF ORIGIN ?_____

20.   DO YOU THINK THAT PORTUGUESE IS A GOOD CHOICE AS A MANDATORY LANGUAGE IN:

20. 1.   POLITICAL SPEECHES?_____

20. 2.   COURT SESSIONS ?_____

20. 3.   OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS?_____

20. 4.   APPOINTMENTS WITH TOP GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS?_____

20. 5.   NEWSPAPERS?_____

20. 6.   THE RADIO?_____

20. 7.   TOP GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS' SPEECHES ? _____

20. 8.   SCHOOL TEACHING:

20. 8. 1.   PRIMARY SCHOOLS?_____

20. 8. 2.   HIGH SCHOOLS?_____

20. 8. 3.   UNIVERSITY?_____

21.   HOW DO YOU FEEL WHEN YOU SPEAK AN AFRICAN MOZAMBICAN LANGUAGE:

21. 1.   PROUD.?_____

21. 2.   MORE MOZAMBICAN ?_____

21. 3.   LESS MOZAMBICAN ?_____

21. 4.   TRIBALIST/REGIONALIST?_____

21. 5.   ASHAMED ?_____

21. 6.   BACKWARD?_____

21. 7. MORE INTELLIGENT?_____

21. 8. A MORE GENUINE MOZAMBICAN?_____

21. 9. OTHER?_____

_____

22. DO YOU THINK THAT AFRICAN MOZAMBICAN LANGUAGES SHOULD BE
USED IN:

22. 1. POLITICAL SPEECHES?_____

22. 2. COURT SESSIONS ?_____

22. 3. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS?_____

22. 4. APPOINTMENTS WITH TOP GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS?_____

22. 5. NEWSPAPERS?_____

22. 6. THE RADIO?_____

22. 7. TOP GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS' SPEECHES ? _____

22. 8. SCHOOL TEACHING:

22. 8. 1. PRIMARY SCHOOLS?_____

22. 8. 2. HIGH SCHOOLS?_____

22. 8. 3. UNIVERSITY?_____

23. IN A CITY LIKE MAPUTO, WHICH MOZAMBICAN LANGUAGES SHOULD
BE USED IN :

23. 1. POLITICAL SPEECHES?_____

23. 2. COURT SESSIONS ?_____

23. 3. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS?_____

23: 4. APPOINTMENTS WITH TOP GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS?_____

23. 5. NEWSPAPERS?_____

23. 6. THE RADIO?_____

23. 7. TOP GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS' SPEECHES ? _____

23. 8. SCHOOL TEACHING:

23. 8. 1. PRIMARY SCHOOLS?_____23. 8. 2. HIGH SCHOOLS?_____

23. 8. 3. UNIVERSITY?_____

[1] The table only includes the languages recognized by either one of the
three sources as spoken in Mozambique.