THE LANGUAGE DEBATE IN CAPE VERDE

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In many countries around the world, controversy surrounds state policy on language. The West African archipelago of Cape Verde is no exception. Ever since the country’s independence from Portugal in 1975, a movement of bilingual Cape Verdeans has spearheaded planning efforts for the national language (Cape Verdean Creole) in an attempt to build the case for making that language the country’s co-official language. Nevertheless, these individuals face resistance from other Cape Verdeans who view the project as an attempt to marginalize the current official language (Portuguese) and/or certain regional dialects of Cape Verdean Creole.

This study looks at texts taken from the discourse of language policy in Cape Verde in order to identify the language ideologies, i.e. “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure or use” (Silverstein, 1979, p.497), that Cape Verdeans use to support or to resist certain language policy and planning options. In particular, the study examines how Cape Verdeans use beliefs about the connection between language and development and beliefs about the link between language and nation to rationalize their support of or opposition to the officialization, standardization, and graphization of Cape Verdean Creole. The study covers a period of recent upsurge in the language debate that commenced when the Cape Verdean linguist Dr. Manuel Veiga was sworn in as Cape Verde’s Minister of Culture in January of 2005. It suggests that even though language
ideologies alone cannot determine the course of language policy, individuals and groups engaged in a language debate often use them with the intention of garnering support for their own approach to language policy and planning or generating resistance to the approaches of their opponents.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In his structural description of the Cape Verdedan language published over twenty years ago, Cape Verdedan linguist Manuel Veiga opened his book with these words written in Crioulo:\(^1\):

For you, Cape Verde my homeland
For you, Cape Verdeans my people
For you, mommy my mother
For all of you in this gesture of love
A part of myself
A completeness for us all \((\text{Veiga, 1982, p.5})\)

Veiga’s words resonate with pride in his identity as a Cape Verdedan and as a speaker of Crioulo\(^2\). This same pride can be found in Cape Verdedan communities across the planet. Perhaps it is no surprise that it is also present in state discourse on language policy. Still, it remains unclear exactly what role nationalism plays in the language debate in Cape Verde.

An equally salient theme in the country’s language debate is the connection between language policy and development. Take, for example, a rather lengthy quote from Veiga’s most recent book, The Construction of Bilingualism:

At the dawn of a new millennium, the vision pursued for our development is that of Cape Verde transformed for the participation of all of its children; a Cape Verde where progress is not conceived solely in economic terms, but in a perspective of quality of life, justice, equity and respect for human rights, whether linguistic or civic; a Cape Verde with a favorable context for integrated development, for the preservation of identity, for the exercise of citizenship and for intercultural dialogue. (Veiga, 2004, p.92)

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\(^1\) All translations are mine unless noted otherwise.

\(^2\) Throughout this paper, I refer to the Cape Verdedan language as Crioulo, Cape Verdedan Creole, or, CVC.
Veiga clearly adheres to a notion of development that transcends mere economic growth and assigns a key role to the Cape Verdean language. As we shall see, concerns of development come to play an important role in the language debate as well.

Minister Veiga is at the forefront of a movement that aims to establish Cape Verdean Creole (CVC) as the co-official language of this West African archipelago. When Cape Verde achieved independence from Portugal in 1975, it retained Portuguese as the official language while honoring Crioulo as the national language. Those that advocate the latter’s officialization argue that maintaining CVC in a subordinate position to Portuguese has led to adverse psychological, educational, and economic outcomes for the country. They hope that the upgrading of Crioulo’s status will resolve what they see as the negative repercussions of the current situation. Veiga assures Cape Verdeans that such a move, which would be accomplished through a constitutional revision or a legal decree, would not threaten the position of Portuguese in Cape Verdean society (Veiga, 2004). On the contrary, Portuguese would maintain its current role while gradually giving way to the language spoken by over 95% of the population. Those who oppose Veiga’s plans, however, suspect that these changes will lead to different outcomes.

Manuel Veiga’s efforts to make Crioulo the co-official language of the country have generated much controversy in Cape Verdean society. Those that resist the idea of officializing Crioulo do so for a variety of reasons. At the top of this list is the fear that Crioulo will displace Portuguese as a language of power in Cape Verdean society. Some of the voices resisting Veiga’s proposals claim to support the officialization of Crioulo, but adamantly oppose the selection of the standard variant(s) and/or the alphabet that
Veiga’s allies hope to make official. Therefore, Cape Verdeans’ stances on language policy cannot be easily divided into two camps, nor can the opposition to Veiga’s plan for officialization be reduced to a single, unified countermovement. Nevertheless, beliefs about language can be found at the root of Cape Verdeans’ stances on language policy: beliefs about the relative importance of the Portuguese and Crioulo languages to Cape Verdean society, about the links between these languages and development, and about the relationship between these languages and Cape Verde’s national community. This study explores some of these beliefs about language and how they are used by elites in Cape Verde’s language debate.

As mentioned above, Cape Verdeans occupy a variety of positions with regard to language policy. Their interpretations of Veiga’s proposed language policy reforms cannot be conveniently divided into two camps. This study requires a theoretical approach that accounts for diversity, and recent scholarship from linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics on the subject of language ideologies offers such an approach. I understand language ideologies to be “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (Silverstein, 1979, p.497). In particular, I will focus on how Cape Verdeans merge ideologies of language with ideologies of nationalism (Anderson, 1991) and development (Sen, 1999) in the language debate and how they use these ideologies in support of their own approach to language policy and planning and/or in opposition to the approaches of their opponents.
This study seeks an answer to the following question: What are the beliefs about language that Cape Verdean elites use to rationalize their approach to language policy and planning in Cape Verde and how do they use these beliefs in the language debate? An ideal study would uncover the most salient language ideologies across Cape Verdean society. Unfortunately, this particular qualitative study did not have the time or the resources to undertake such an endeavor. Instead, it looks at some of the language ideologies used by a sample of Cape Verdean elites, i.e. those educators, linguists, writers, and government officials that have produced the material for this study. Most of the qualitative data for this study comes from media sources in which Cape Verdeans have made language policy and planning the subject of debate, e.g. newspaper and journal articles, and television programs. The rest of the data comes from interviews that I conducted with Cape Verdean educators, writers, and a government official in August of 2005 and a speech given by Manuel Veiga in April of 2005. The methodological issues concerning these sources are discussed in detail in chapter three.

The discourse surrounding three controversial aspects of the proposed policy reforms is particularly saturated with ideology. I characterize these controversial issues with the following questions:

1. Should Crioulo be used in Cape Verdean schools as a medium of instruction and/or as a resource for the instruction of Portuguese?
2. What language(s) and dialect(s) should serve as the standard(s) in Cape Verde?
3. What writing convention should be adopted for the Cape Verdean language?

These three questions have been visited and revisited in the most recent phase of Cape Verde’s language debate, which began when Manuel Veiga assumed the position of
Minister of Culture in January of 2005. The discourse surrounding these questions constitutes a space through which competing ideologies of language emerge and compete for influence (Blommaert, 1999). As such, they constitute ideal themes around which the relevant ideologies of the language in Cape Verde’s language debate will be discussed in this thesis.

I begin this thesis with an historical introduction to the language debate in Cape Verde. The second chapter reviews the literature on language policy and planning, language ideologies, and nationalism. Chapter three addresses methodological issues. Chapter four examines how ideologies of language and ideologies of development intersect in the debate concerning the possible introduction of Crioulo into schools. Chapter five explores ideologies of language and nationalism that emerge from the debate over the standardization process. Chapter six looks at the ideologies of language that enter into the debate over the selection of a writing convention for the Cape Verdean language. Finally, the concluding chapter contemplates the role of language ideologies in the study of language policy and planning and speculates about the future of language policy in Cape Verde.

*Background: Cape Verde*

The Republic of Cape Verde is an archipelago of ten islands and several islets located off the West African coast in the Atlantic Ocean. The islands themselves were formed through volcanism and one active volcano is still found today on the island of Fogo. The archipelago is mountainous with the exception of the eastern islands of Sal, Boa Vista, and, to some extent, Maio. Lack of rainfall leaves the islands extremely dry
throughout most of the year. Nevertheless, the extremely fertile soil requires only a small amount of rainfall for the ground to burst forth with vegetation.

The nine inhabited islands of the archipelago can be divided up into two groups: the Barlavento and the Sotavento. The southernmost islands of Santiago, Fogo, Brava, and Maio fall into the Sotavento category. The Barlavento islands on the other hand lie to the north: São Vicente, Santo Antão, São Nicolau, Sal, and Boa Vista. The majority of the archipelago’s population resides on the island of Santiago where the capital city of Praia is found. Praia is the cultural and economic hub of the South, whereas the port-city of Mindelo, located on the island of São Vicente, is that of the North.

The Barlavento/Sotavento distinction serves to demarcate not only different geographical regions of Cape Verde, but also distinct subdialects of CVC. Crioulo originated on the island of Santiago where the institution of slavery persisted for the longest. For this reason, the Sotavento subdialect is said to remain more true to its African origins. The Barlavento dialect, on the other hand, is said to be more “aristocratized” (aristocratizado) (Lopes da Silva, 1957). However, most linguists still maintain that a single, united Crioulo language underlies these dialects and subdialects (Lopes da Silva, 1957; Veiga, 2004; Duarte, 1998).

The Emergence of a Plantation Society

In 1460, the explorers António de Noli of Genoa and Diogo Gomes of Portugal came across five uninhabited islands located approximately 500 kilometers off the coast of Mauritania while sailing under the auspices of the Portuguese Crown (Carreira, 2000). King Don Alfonso V claimed these islands and seven others discovered shortly thereafter
for Portugal. As a reward, the king gave Noli control over half of the island of Santiago, then partitioned the rest of the territory to Portuguese and Genoan nobility. These settlers, especially Noli, came to the islands with hopes of producing great wealth. They began by populating the islands of Santiago and Fogo, first with untitled Portuguese and Genoans, then with slaves acquired from the coast of Guinea. Within a couple of decades they had laid the foundations for a plantation society in the archipelago (Carreira, 2000).

The islands of Fogo and Santiago, which were perceived to be the fittest for agricultural production, became the cornerstone of Cape Verde’s economy for several centuries (Carreira, 2000). Slave labor was harnessed for the production of exports including sugar, livestock, orchil (a plant that produces a purple dye), and textiles (Bigman, 1993). Settlers utilized the drier and flatter islands of Sal, Maio, and Boa Vista for livestock production and salt harvesting (from large salt flats). The archipelago also became notorious for the seasoning\(^3\) of slaves, some of whom were exported to the Azores, the Canary Islands, and Europe (Carreira, 2000). After the discovery of the Americas, Cape Verde’s strategic location made it an ideal point for ships to refuel, pick up supplies, have ships repaired, and purchase slaves and livestock to transport to the New World. Despite the importance of the slave trade, textiles and dye exports remained the main source of revenue for the islands until the 19\(^{th}\) century (Bigman, 1993).

\textit{Pidgin and Creole Origins}

There is a general consensus among scholars that creole languages normally develop from pidgins (Sebba, 1997). Pidgins are auxiliary languages that emerge from

\(^3\)Seasoning is a term given to the often brutal process of breaking slaves rebellious spirit and socializing them into subservience.
situations of contact between two or more groups that speak different languages. Pidgins have no native speakers, they use a simple and uninflected grammar, and they usually derive the majority of their lexicon from a single language (Sebba, 1997). In time, a pidgin becomes a creole if it is acquired by children as their first language (Sebba, 1997). This may happen, for instance, when children grow up in an environment where the parents, who speak different mother tongues, use the pidgin in the household. Because creoles are natural languages acquired in normal acquisition situations as a first language\(^4\), they tend to be more consistent than pidgins in phonology, in the use of morphological markers, and in syntactic development (Sebba, 1997; Veiga, 1995). In other words, creoles tend to be more systematic than pidgins (Veiga, 1995).

Scholars have been fascinated by the degree to which creole languages resemble one another. CVC in particular has features that are extremely close to other creoles, e.g., the creole of Guinea-Bissau (West Africa), Papiamentu in Curaçao (Caribbean), Krio of Sierra Leone (West Africa), and Macanese in Macau (Southeast Asia) (Duarte, 1998; Veiga, 1995). These commonalities have led several theorists to suggest a common origin for all creole languages. The theory of monogenesis postulates that all pidgin and creole languages had their origin in a single pidgin spread during the 15\(^{th}\) century (Sebba, 1997). Many proponents of this theory claim that a Portuguese pidgin was developed in Europe and then taught to African slaves. They have also suggested that Portuguese sailors could operate in the language with little or no training due to its relatively simple

\(^4\) Noam Chomsky introduced the now widely-accepted theory that all developmentally-normal human children are born with an innate linguistic “faculty,” or genetic ability that gives them access to universal grammar (UG), i.e. a “set of inborn categories, operations, and principles common to all human languages” (O’Grady et al., 2005, p.391). Creolization, then, requires the conformation of the former pidgin language to the rules of UG.
structure (Duarte, 1998). Furthermore, monogenesis holds that the original pidgin underwent a process of relexification\(^5\) as it was adopted by other European powers in their own overseas colonies. Many scholars have cast doubts that all creole languages of European influence share a common origin (Duarte, 1999; Veiga, 1995). Sebba (1997), for instance, claims that relexification remains a relevant linguistic concept, but that it should be viewed “in the context of a pidgin developing over time, under particular historical circumstances” (p.75).

Derek Bickerton diverged from the theory of monogenesis with his bioprogram hypothesis, which holds that an innate linguistic faculty present in all human beings accounts for the similarities between pidgins and creoles languages across the planet. But his theory has been criticized because it fails to explain how linguistic diversity emerges in situations of language contact (Sebba, 1997). Others prefer theories of polygenesis which allow for multiple origins of pidgins and creoles: Eurogenesis, Afrogenesis, and sociogenesis (Veiga, 1995). Proponents of Eurogenesis claim that pidgins and creoles are the outcome of the simplification of languages, “whose complexity, according to some defenders of this theory, surpassed the analytical capacity of the Blacks” (p.20). Afrogenesis draws the opposite conclusion, i.e., that the creole languages, which display many syntactical features similar to those of African languages, have their origins on the African continent.

Veiga (1995) finds the above theories problematic due to their “unilateral vision” that is “rooted in a preconceived racial ideology” (p.22). Instead, he recommends

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\(^5\) Relexification refers to the process by which the lexicon originally derived from one language (e.g., Portuguese) is replaced by that of another (e.g., English) while other features of the language such as grammar and syntax remain predominantly unchanged (Sebba, 1997).
sociogenesis as the best available theory for comprehending the origins of CVC. The theory of sociogenesis locates the origins of pidgins and creoles in the outcomes of dialectical processes that emerge in specific multilingual contexts. A pidgin or creole, then, is the outcome “of confrontations and of concessions on the part of the diverse [linguistic] systems” (Veiga, 1995, p.23) that give rise to it at a particular place and time. Duarte (1998) describes this process as one that has “advanced [over the years] in a dialectical progression of creolization/decreolization” (p.54). This dialectical process especially thrived in Cape Verde, where the harsh climate encouraged “the linguistic tolerance of both parties (dominator/dominated) [as] a requirement for survival itself” (p.22).

Genesis of Cape Verdean Creole

We can imagine the conditions that gave rise to CVC: a plantation society emerges where a handful of Europeans, mostly Portuguese, exercise control over a great number of African slaves coming primarily from the Mandinka, Jalofo, and Fula ethnic groups of West Africa. None of the slaves had any formal schooling in Portuguese and many of them spoke first languages that were not mutually intelligible with one another. Even those that did speak the same language were often “separated, dispersed, in such a way that they could not communicate in their own languages” (Duarte, 1998, p.96). As a result, the slaves did as anyone might when forced to learn another language quickly: “They utilized the Portuguese lexemes with the syntax of their own languages” (p.37), an unconscious decision that sparked and maintained the dialectical process described above.
The pidgin that gave rise to Crioulo met not only the needs of slaves, but also their European counterparts (Veiga, 1995; 2004). The relatively few white Europeans in Cape Verde, the vast number of slaves, and the harsh, dry climate of Cape Verde favored integration between Europeans, Africans, and mulattos rather than the segregation that characterized many other plantation societies (Duarte, 1998). “[L]ittle by little (and without realizing it) the slaves, in overwhelming numbers, began to Africanize the dominator whose numbers were much lower”, says Veiga (2004, p.32). Consequently, this cultural and linguistic integration was so thorough that in 1784 one anonymous writer observed that even among whites, “rare [are] those that know how to speak the Portuguese language with perfection, and they only go on following the style of the land” (cited in Veiga, 1995, p.24). The pidgin that gave rise to Crioulo, then, satisfied the “pressing need [of both slaves and Europeans] for communication, as much from a socio-economic point of view as from a cultural one” (Veiga, 1995, p.22).

But why did a pidgin give rise to a creole language in Cape Verde and not apparently in some other plantation societies? Duarte (1998) believes it has to do with the high degree of miscegenation in Cape Verdean society. She provides two factors that contributed to this intermixing: (1) the demographic makeup of the archipelago throughout its history; and (2) the socioeconomic relations that existed there. To begin with, the number of Europeans on the islands was always considerably lower than the number of Africans. Carreira (2000) reports that by 1582 there were 13,700 slaves in the archipelago, about 100 whites, and “a free population difficult to define in virtue of the multiplicity of designations used in old documents” (p.284). He goes on to say that
“throughout the course of the centuries the number of whites (free immigrants) was never very large” (p. 285), adding that there was an actual exodus of whites during the 17th and 18th centuries that reduced their number on the island of Santiago to as few as 20.

Even more decisive was the fact that “white women, due to the difficulty of adaptation, were not abundant in the region” (Veiga, 2004, p.32). As a result, European men were more prone to pursue sexual encounters with African women. The number of mulatto children increased. Indeed, the Cape Verdean pidgin itself can be seen as the outcome of “the immediate necessity of establishing a code of communication, not only between the slave and the master, but also between the white man and the black woman, in the intimacy of a shared bed, surely not out of love, but as a result of their predicament” (Veiga, 1995, p.23). The concern of the Portuguese Crown became so great regarding miscegenation in Cape Verde that a royal decree of 1620 declared that “to Cape Verde there will be exiled the [white] women that are accustomed to being exiled to Brazil, in order to extinguish, while still possible, the race of mulattos” (cited in Duarte, 1998, p.89). Nevertheless, white males that “began to be sent to the archipelago in the 16th century to complete [punitive] sentences” (Anonymous, cited in Carreira, 2000, p.284) constituted the majority of these exiles, a practice that contributed to a steady rise in the number of mulattos.

The second factor that contributed to a greater degree of intermixing in Cape Verde involves the socioeconomic conditions of the islands. Europeans’ and Africans’ lives were tightly interconnected on these insulated islands of scarce agrarian resources (Duarte, 1998). In contrast, Europeans in many other plantation societies (e.g. Cuba and
Brazil) were able to maintain a social distance from the slaves while they sat at “the apex of the economic pyramid” (Duarte, 1998, p.91). This was not the case in Cape Verde, where society was less segregated and whites at times were nearly as poor as the rest of society (Carreira, 2000). Furthermore, many mulattos “already had [...], through inheritance, much economic power” (Duarte, 1998, p.91). These circumstances may have broken down barriers standing in the way of intermixing, allowing the mulatto population to steadily increase until they finally “came to dominate the physical and intellectual space of the archipelago” (Almerindo Lessa, cited in Carreira, 2000, p.313).

Expansion of Cape Verdean Creole

Carreira (2000) believes that a creole language emerged in Cape Verde within fifty years of the archipelago’s discovery, only to be transferred to the West African coast soon after. He follows Baltasar Lopes’ hypothesis that colonial residents of the Sotavento islands transferred this creole to the coast of Guinea where, “with time, [it] became diversified, acquiring its own characteristics under the influence of the native languages” (cited in Duarte, 1998, p.42, translation mine). Carreira (2000) explains the transfer of CVC as a consequence of the operations of lançados on the coast of Guinea. The lançados were residents of the islands who broke the laws of commerce that the Portuguese Crown began to impose in 1472. These legal restrictions were intended to eliminate the advantage that the island’s residents enjoyed in commercial operations along the coast as well as to guarantee that the crown received its proper share of such transactions (Carreira, 2000). Despite the restrictions, lançados continued to trade in slaves and other merchandise along the coast. Although the original lançados were white
Europeans, mulattos and free blacks increasingly began to overtake these operations. According to Carreira (2000), the number of lançados increased steadily after 1472, bringing the Crioulo language to the coast of Guinea.

Duarte (1997) concedes that it may be true that a ‘proto-creole’ emerged in Cape Verde in this time frame and was brought to the coast. However, she believes that Portuguese pidgins were already being spoken on the coast of Guinea (albeit at different stages of development in different places along the coast) before the first Crioulo speakers arrived. According to Duarte (1998):

> It is very likely that the creoles like that of Cacheu and/or that of Geba, formed along the Rivers [of Guinea] and that are considered the oldest [creole languages] of Guinea, had resulted, not from the pidgin element utilized punctually and sporadically for commercial exchange, but from the fusion of these [languages] with the Cape Verdean Creole taken to the islands by the lançados. (p.42)

CVC, then, did not give rise to the creole dialects spoken along the coast of Guinea, but it probably played an important hand in shaping those dialects in later stages of development. Likewise, Duarte (1998) believes that the resemblance of many other creole languages with that of Cape Verde is the outcome of similar forms of language contact. In fact, the mutual intelligibility of CVC with the creole of Guinea Bissau made these ideal mediums of communication for the participants in the twentieth-century armed liberation movement fought by Africans from Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau.

**Formal Education and the Policy of Assimilation**

CVC was the dominant language in Cape Verde up through the first half of the 19th century. Although Portuguese existed alongside the Cape Verdean language, Crioulo was the language of communication that, as Lopes de Lima observed, “even the whites took pleasure in imitating” (Lopes, 1957, p.13). Duarte (1998) elaborates:
Crioulo...did not function as a dominated language, because it was practically the only language spoken, as much by blacks and mestizos as by whites, with the exception of the Portuguese at the service of the Crown or of the Catholic Church (governors, bishops, high technocrats, businessmen). (p.159)

Crioulo, the communicative link between master and slave, was the language of choice under the institution of slavery. The decline of slavery in the 19th century, then, constituted a moment of vulnerability for Crioulo (Duarte, 1998). At the same time, Portuguese policy toward its colonies shifted, leading to an emphasis on the cultural, religious, and linguistic assimilation of colonized people (Ferreira, 1974).

The Portuguese empire underwent a series of significant changes during the 19th century that affected its relationship with its colonies. The independence of Brazil in 1822 and the British empire’s assault on the slave trade\(^6\) effectively displaced Portugal as the central power in international trade and permitted its replacement by Holland first and then by England (Ferreira, 1974). This was a devastating loss for Portugal, a country that was overly dependent on trade. Ferreira explains:

> Merchants [in the Portuguese empire] were allowed to trade only on behalf of the Crown which laid down conditions regarding times and prices which deprived them of economic initiative. They became a commercial aristocracy, adopted feudal ways, and depended exclusively on trade instead of making investments and helping to establish industries – the stage through which other colonial powers passed on their way to industrial capitalism. (p.32)

The restraints of these mercantile practices combined with the starkness of the aforementioned events led to a crisis in Portugal that forced the empire to rethink its relationship with its colonies, for Portugal was itself an “underdeveloped economy which needed colonial profits to maintain her position” (p.33).

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\(^6\) Clandestine slave trading continued for some time (Carreira, 2000).
Another equally decisive event that shaped colonial policy at the time was the victory of the liberals over the monarchists in 1834. The rise of liberalism allowed new values to shape colonial policy (at least for a period) and compelled the state to wrestle control of colonial education away from the missions (Ferreira, 1974). Portugal began introducing formal education into the colonies and, at the same time, tightening administrative control (Ferreira, 1974). The decree of 1845 marked the establishment of several primary schools in Cape Verde for the first time in its history (Ferreira, 1974). The establishment of the Seminary-high school of São Nicolau in 1866 pre-empted a decree in 1869 that returned some control over education to the Catholic missions (Duarte, 1998). Nevertheless, the Liberals successfully maintained the availability of primary and secondary education for a minority of the Cape Verdean population until the 1926 rise of a military dictatorship in Portugal that came to be known as the *Estado Novo* (Ferreira, 1974).

As Portugal was undergoing these changes, Portuguese officials visiting the islands began to launch attacks against the Cape Verdean language. Lopes de Lima has the reputation of being the most brutal assailant:

Ridiculous Crioulo! Corrupt, imperfect, and perverse language! Ridiculous gyration, monstrously composed of old Portuguese and the languages of Guinea, which that country values so highly and even the whites take pleasure in imitating! Miscellaneous mixture of old Portuguese, Spanish and French, lacking any grammatical rules! (cited in Veiga, 1995, p.24)

Others responded in a similar vein (Veiga, 2004). Duarte (1998) views attacks such as these as characteristic of broader colonial attitudes toward the languages of colonized people. These attitudes held that “the languages of the colonized people are the means of communication of uneducated people and, for this reason, are not capable of transmitting
the culture of the ‘civilized’ people that ruled the colonies, much less scientific concepts” (p.155). Duarte decries these beliefs as symptoms of “a racist ideology” which maintains that “the languages of the colonizer and the colonized cannot be put on equal footing” (p.162).

However, a reread of Lopes de Lima’s words reveals that much of his vehemence cannot simply be attributed to a view that Crioulo is an “uncivilized” language. Clearly Crioulo’s resemblance to Portuguese underlies much of this hostility. In fact, many Europeans (and Cape Verdeans themselves) still adhere to the belief that CVC is merely a dialect of Portuguese. This is evident in characterizations of Crioulo as “bastardized Portuguese” (Lyall, 1938), as “lazy Portuguese” (personal observation), or as an inferior dialect of the European language (Meintel, 1984). These representations deny Crioulo any status as an independent linguistic system equal to Portuguese but governed by different rules. CVC is portrayed as an inferior variant, the converse of “Portuguez limpo” [pure Portuguese] (Meintel, 1984).

The proliferation of attacks and negative attitudes toward Crioulo marked the rise of the Portuguese policy of assimilation. Thiong’o (1994) describes such a policy as part of the “culture bomb,” a device that aims to “annihilate a people’s belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves” (p.3). The assimilation policy was to convert indigenous Africans (indígenas) into subjects fully assimilated into Portuguese culture (assimilados). According to the Portuguese colonial administration, “anyone in the colonies could absorb Portuguese civilization and be regarded as equal to the
Portuguese” (Ferreira, 1974, p.114). Of course, equality could only be accomplished “through the medium of the Catholic religion, the Portuguese language and technology” (p.114).

Despite accusations that assimilation was a racist policy, the Portuguese maintained that it was, in fact, non-racist. They framed their plans to “promote the Portuguesation of the native population” (Second Plan, cited in Ferreira, 1974, p.114, translation his) as an equal opportunity for Africans to rise to the status of ‘civilized’ alongside their Portuguese compatriots. Ferreira (1974), for instance, observed that until its downfall, the colonial regime’s “official thesis was that the African population was willingly assimilating Portuguese civilization” (p.55). Nonetheless, the reluctance of Africans to give up their religion, culture, and language to attain this so-called equality exposed the irony and injustice of the assimilation policy.

As a cure for the “vice” of Crioulo, Lopes de Lima recommended the introduction of schools with European instructors to teach Cape Verdeans “pure” Portuguese (Lopes da Silva, 1957). Initially, instruction in the Portuguese language served in part to “forestall attempts by other colonial powers to annex the colonies” (Ferreira, 1974, p.63). But after the Berlin Conference (1884-85), the colonial education system became the principal strategy for the assimilation of colonized people. Its purpose was to mold the identity of the pupil so that “[t]he geography of Portugal situates him in space and Portuguese history situates him in time” (Ferreira, 1974, p.119).
In addition, the Portuguese language became a source of cohesion for Portugal’s colonial project. Take the following passage from a book by the Institute for Overseas Studies:

When the twelve million Portuguese who live in Africa [i.e., colonized Africans] and the other millions throughout the world speak, write and exchange ideas in Portuguese, think and feel in Portuguese, pray in Portuguese, the community will automatically consolidate itself, and spontaneous solidarity will appear – like the flash-over from a spark. (cited in Ferreira, 1974, p.120, translation his)

CVC and other African languages were construed as threats to “the unitary idea of the [Portuguese] Empire” (Veiga, 1995, p.25). Not surprisingly, then, the education introduced into the islands became “a pedagogy that despised Crioulo [and] that prohibited the habits and customs of the land” (Veiga, 2004, p.19).

*Education under the* Estado Novo

The colonial system of education, from its inception, was never meant to give Africans the kind of education offered in Portugal. As Cardinal Cerejeira stated in 1960:

We need schools in Africa, but schools in which we show the native the way to dignity of man and the glory of the Nation that protects him....We want to teach the natives to write, to read and to count, but not make them doctors. (cited in Ferreira, 1974, p.113, translation his)

Africans were given only limited access to education from the beginning. The formation of the *Estado Novo* in 1926 led to further setbacks in colonial education. The goal of education became not merely to assimilate, but also “to produce good agricultural workers and craftsmen who would usefully serve the colonial economy” (Ferreira, 1974, p.67). It became a means of enhancing the economic productivity of the colonies. The Missionary Statute of 1941 once again gave the Catholic Church the sole responsibility for education in the colonies. Unfortunately, this statute had devastating effects on the
quality of education, leading Professor Silva Rego of the Institute for Overseas Studies to comment: “In the end, the Church succeeded in teaching the Catechism, and hardly anything more” (cited in Ferreira, 1974, p.73, translation his).

Several factors compelled the Portuguese regime to change its approach to education in the 1960s and ‘70s. These include political and economic changes in post-World War II Europe, the emergence of industrial capitalism within Portugal, and the rise of liberation movements in its colonies (Ferreira, 1974). The weakness of the system of education under the Missionary Statute, says Ferreira, lent itself to harsh internal and external criticism. As a result, the regime opted to increase accessibility to education (Ferreira, 1974). The number of primary educational institutions was increased. At the secondary level, the regime emphasized the formation of technical schools with particular attention given to agricultural education (Ferreira, 1974). Africanized textbooks were also introduced to the colonies. In Cape Verde, primary school enrollment increased from 9,383 in 1960 to 40,685 in 1970, and secondary school enrollment nearly doubled during that same period (Meintel, 1984).

The Portuguese regime’s assimilation policy also intensified during this period. According to Ferreira (1974), “The basic aim of the new policy was unchanged from the old, i.e. inculcating Portuguese values, and developing in pupils a conscious identification with Portugal in order to strengthen national unity” (p.80). The use of African languages in schools had been expressly banned since 1921 with the exception of religious instruction and during the early stages of learning Portuguese. According to Ferreira (1972), “[t]he government felt that, since the purpose of education was African
integration into Portuguese society and culture, the use of African languages was senseless and divisive” (p.62). And Overseas Minister Cunha called on Portugal to be “obstinate, intransigent, and insatiable in the intensification of the use of the Portuguese language” (cited in Ferreira, 1974, p.85, translation his). This intensification should come as no surprise since the “[e]conomic and political control of a people can never be complete without cultural control” (Thiong’o, 1994, p.93).

Even the Africanization of textbooks was rather superficial. As Meintel (1984) points out:

"History” still meant Portuguese history, and issues were invariably approached from a Portuguese and colonialist point of view. The message was everywhere Nos somos todos Portuguêses [We are all Portuguese]. (p.140)

According to Meintel, the Africanization of the textbooks backfired in Cape Verde for two reasons. First, these textbooks tended to portray Mozambique and Angola as bigger and more important colonies than Cape Verde. Second, they made Cape Verdeans (who tended to think of themselves as somewhat European) feel “that for Portugal, Cape Verdeans were as African as Angolans or Mozambicans” (p.140).

Resistance to Assimilation

It was not until 1975, one year after a left-wing coup in Portugal toppled the Estado Novo and led to the freeing of Portugal’s other African colonies, that Cape Verde received its independence. In the final years of Portuguese colonialism, armed liberation movements emerged in Portugal’s African territories. Some Cape Verdeans traveled to the coast of Guinea Bissau to join the movement started by Amilcar Cabral, an assimilado who was born in that country of Cape Verden parents. As we saw above, the introduction of education into the colonies aimed to assimilate colonial subjects into
Portuguese culture. In Cape Verde, this meant (in part) the elimination of the Crioulo language. Ironically, the introduction of a Portuguese-based education in the islands provided Cape Verdeans with two important skills they could use in defense of their national language: reading and writing. Combined with a bit of imagination, these skills gave educated Cape Verdeans the resources to experiment with writing in Crioulo and to challenge the perception of Crioulo as an uncivilized (i.e. unwritten) language. In particular, the songwriter from Brava, Eugénio Tavares, and the poet from Fogo, Pedro Cardoso published works in Crioulo that remain classics of Cape Verdean literature and that inspired others to follow suit. Although different writers wrote in different dialects of Crioulo and utilized different alphabets, they did effectively demonstrate the viability of CVC as a literary language.

The alphabet that these writers chose also highlighted the distinction between Portuguese and Crioulo. Writers chose new symbols to represent sounds that had no equivalent in the Portuguese alphabet. For instance, the grapheme <dj> was used to represent the phoneme /dʒ/, e.g. *djobe*: to look for (Macedo, 1979). Some Cape Verdean writers went even further. The poet Kauberdiandu Dambara, for instance, adopted a phonological approach to the spelling of Crioulo that utilized the grapheme <k> instead of characters that are etymologically related to the Portuguese like <qu> or <c>. He justified these orthographic substitutions under the rationale that the new spelling was more “African” (Macedo 1979). Although Macedo rightly points out that a truly African orthography would not utilize Roman (European) characters, we must

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7 The phoneme /dʒ/ is equivalent to the sound represented by “j” in the English word “joke.”
8 The etymological approach applied to the orthography of creole languages utilizes graphemic representations that are similar to those of a word’s root in the source language, e.g. Portuguese.
understand that the significance of Dambara’s method of spelling lies in its emphasis on the distinctness on Cape Verlean language and culture from that of the Portuguese.

The publication of Cape Verlean linguist Baltasar Lopes da Silva’s study of the Cape Verlean language in 1957 marked the first major attempt to demonstrate the autonomy and coherence of CVC as a linguistic system. The study inspired a generation of Cape Verlean linguists studying in France, Brazil, and the United States. His work clearly demonstrated that, contrary to the claims of Lopes da Lima and other critics of the language, CVC is, in fact, governed by rules and that it is a distinct linguistic system from Portuguese:

[I]n the creoles of Cape Verde that which exists of Portuguese is fundamentally almost only the lexicon: the phonology, the morphology, the semantics and the syntax underwent substantial detours and transformations, certainly in part due to...African languages and in part due to disinterest, normal in uneducated people, in pursuing for themselves the perfect acquisition of the new language. (Lopes da Silva, 1957, p.13)

Although Baltasar Lopes maintained the convention of referring to Crioulo as a ‘dialect’ of Portuguese, he vehemently refuted accusations that Crioulo was “ridiculous and monstrous”, “composed of ancient Portuguese”, or “without any rules” (p.15).

Diglossia

Although Cape Verlean writers, linguists, and educators have done much to raise the status of Crioulo, Portuguese remains the language of prestige in modern day Cape Verde. It is used in education, in government meetings, in publications, and in otherwise official settings. In contrast, CVC is the language of the household, of the streets, and of informal situations. Ferguson (1972) classifies a situation such as this where “two distinct (related or unrelated) languages are used side by side throughout a speech
community, each with a clearly defined role” (p.326) as ‘diglossia’. Yet diglossia did not always exist in Cape Verdean society. According to Duarte (1998), Crioulo “did not function as a dominated language [for several centuries], because it was practically the only language spoken, as much by Blacks and mestizos as by Whites” (p.159).

Nevertheless, the institutionalization of a colonial system of education during the 19th century led to a shift in the sociolinguistic landscape of the country, giving rise to the proliferation of Portuguese in certain domains and the relegation of CVC to others (Duarte, 1998).

But Portuguese did not only become the exclusive language of the classroom under colonialism. Meintel (1984) claims that Portuguese was “a legal prerequisite for most white collar employment” (p.141). She also notes that:

[T]he law required Portuguese for all public occasions and government affairs; even radio programs in Crioulo, once permitted, were not verboten. A district administrator conducting a petty judicial proceeding was expected to employ a translator when a witness could not speak Portuguese, even though the administrator’s own mother tongue was Crioulo. In fact, during the last decade or so before independence, Crioulo was expressly prohibited in all government buildings – a regulation constantly flouted by necessity. (p.141).

Although the banning of CVC from the classroom was the official policy, it did not always go unchallenged. For instance, Meintel (1984) tells us that after the Portuguese school superintendent announced in 1972 that the language “was not a suitable vehicle for abstract concepts” (p.149), some high school students and their teacher in Mindelo made an effort to meet outside of the classroom and discuss philosophy and mathematics in Crioulo.

Hostility toward the Portuguese language became even more evident when Cape Verde achieved its independence in 1975. Duarte (1998) tells us that:
At this juncture, the students of the secondary schools refused to speak Portuguese or to receive classes in Portuguese. In so far as they did not know (or want to recognize) the pedagogical implications of such an attitude, they demanded that Crioulo be immediately raised to the status of official language and [they] considered fascists the teachers that demanded the utilization of Portuguese in the classroom. (p.95).

In time, the protests faded as the new Cape Veredian government maintained Portuguese as the official language while merely honoring Crioulo as the “national” language. Nevertheless, Crioulo did make incursions into some of the domains that Portuguese had previously monopolized, such as literature and the media. Still, Portuguese is utilized to a far greater extent in both of these domains (Veiga, 2004). In addition, Portuguese is still “systematically utilized in public offices and in the educational establishments” though it is only “rarely used in non-official relations” (Duarte, 1998, p.209).

**Striving for a Bilingual Society**

Those that support Crioulo’s officialization hope to unravel diglossia in Cape Veredian society but insist that they do not wish to do away with the Portuguese language. On the contrary, Duarte (1998) and Veiga (2004) have argued strongly for the need for Cape Verde to become a bilingual society. According to Veiga (2004), “a society is only truly bilingual when, aside from the mother tongue, another language thrives in any context or circumstance with the same or almost the same competence and effectiveness as the first language” (p.9). These linguists see Portuguese as an integral part of the Cape Veredian heritage alongside Crioulo. Manuel Veiga (2004), for instance, put it in these words:

>[T]he Portuguese language is, for us, a patrimony: first of all, because it is a cultural fact; because there are more than 500 years that it was utilized in Cape Verde; because we constantly recreated it and enriched it with our reality that molded it and was molded by it. And secondly, because, in the words of Paul
Teyssier, contrary to that which occurred with Spanish, English, French and Dutch, it is more spoken in the South than in the North; because still, in the case of Cape Verde, of Guinea-Bissau, and of Sao Tome, together with other African languages, it is not only at the root of the formation of the creoles existing in these three spaces, but also continues to be a source of their lexical enrichment. (p.75). Clearly, Veiga sees Portuguese as an important component of Cape Verde’s national community and, therefore, calls for the language to play a prominent role in the country’s future.
Chapter 2: Language Policy, Language Planning, Language Ideologies

Bamgbose (1991) tells us that “[a] language question arises whenever there are language problems requiring a solution” (p.1). If we accept that each country in the world embodies distinct political, social, and economic arrangements and that the existence of these arrangements would not be possible without linguistic interaction, then we can safely say that language questions are as numerous as are countries themselves. A language problem, according to Einar Haugen (1983), is marked by “the presence of conflicting norms [of language use], whose relative status needs to be assigned” (p.270). In other words, states and institutions must select a standard to be used for the multitude of administrative and institutional operations that fall under their jurisdiction. States have used a variety of formulas in response to their own language problems. The predominantly multilingual countries of Sub-Saharan Africa serve as cases in point. Most of these countries have opted to maintain the colonial language for official purposes (e.g. government administration and education). Tanzania, however, has adopted a single African language, KiSwahili, as its official language. South Africa, on the other hand, has recognized eleven official languages, most of them indigenous, in an effort to accommodate its many ethnic groups.

But a deeper look into the inner workings of these states indicates that legal recognition of a language as an official language does not necessarily lead to specific institutional practices that favor that language. One need only look to the educational system of these very same African countries. Although indigenous languages share official status in South Africa, they have not fared so well compared to English in that...
country. The South African constitution guarantees its citizens the right to receive education in the language of their choice, but a shortage of materials in African languages has reduced parents’ and students’ incentives for choosing them (Taylor, 2002). As Makalela (2005) observed, the “necessary conditions for practicability of teaching in an indigenous African language beyond Grade 4 have not [yet] been put in place” (p. 148). As a result, English remains the most highly “chosen” language of instruction in that country (Taylor, 2002). In Tanzania, primary education is conducted in the official language (KiSwahili), but English remains the sole language of instruction at the secondary and tertiary levels (Brock-Utne, 2005). Brock-Utne (2005) notes the irony of this in a country “where 99 per cent of the population can communicate in KiSwahili and have it as a first or second language” (p. 76). On the other hand, Mozambique, which retained Portuguese as the sole official language of government administration and education after its independence in 1975, for more than a decade has introduced and expanded a bilingual education curriculum that begins with the L1 as the medium of instruction and gradually transitions to Portuguese (Matsinhe, 2005).

The cases above indicate that the assignment of status does not automatically lead to the promotion of those languages vis-à-vis others. It should be seen as merely one component of a country’s efforts to address its own particular language question. I label these efforts, whether they emerge from civil society or from the government, as “language policy and planning” (Fettes, 1997). This literature review begins with an outline of Cape Verde’s language policy and planning efforts. Then I give an

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9 L1 refers to the first language of an individual or group. L2 refers to that individual or group’s second language.
introduction to language ideologies and discuss their relevance to language policy and planning. I conclude this chapter with a brief overview of the scholarship on the language policy-nationalism connection.

**Language Policy and Planning**

Einar Haugen (1959, 1966) first introduced the term 'language planning' half a century ago to describe Norway's efforts to develop a standard language. In the decades that followed, European colonialism came to an end and suddenly a multitude of newly independent countries faced the challenge of building efficient communication networks and fostering national unity (Fettes, 1997). The development of national languages was viewed as central to these projects, so sociolinguists suddenly found themselves with a variety of field-work options. As a result, language planning (LP) came to occupy its own branch of sociolinguistic study in the 1950s and 60s (Ricento, 2006).

Haugen (1959) originally defined language planning as “the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community” (p.8). In other words, language planning was geared toward the resolution of a language problem. While Cooper (1989) agrees that LP often address language problems, he emphasizes the importance of “covert” goals in shaping LP activities. Cooper elaborates:

Language planning is typically carried out for the attainment of nonlinguistic ends such as consumer protection, scientific exchange, national integration, political control, economic development, the creation of new elites or the maintenance of old ones, the pacification or cooption of minority groups, and mass mobilization of national or political movements. (Cooper, 1989, p.34)

Nonlinguistic ends, in Cooper’s understanding, are the most significant factor in determining the form that language planning takes. As a result, he refuses to
conceptualize language planning as the mere resolution of language problems. Instead, he comes to define it as “deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes” (Cooper, 1989, p.45, *italics mine*).

Cooper’s reconceptualization of ‘language planning’ helped to reshape the field’s theoretical foundations. Several years later, Fettes (1997) proposed an additional revision. According to Fettes, theories such as Cooper’s subsume language policy-making as yet another activity of LP. But Fettes points out that “a great deal of language policy-making goes on in a haphazard or uncoordinated way, far removed from the language planning ideal” (p.14). He recommends that language planning be understood as linked to the evaluation of language policy and that language policy be seen as a means of empirically testing the ideas of LP. Fettes goes on to propose that the field of LP be broadened to include the study of language policy and proposes a new name: “language policy and planning” (LPP).

As far back as the early LP literature, scholars have made the distinction between corpus planning and status planning. In this dichotomy, corpus planning is seen as deliberate attempts to influence a language’s structure through “activities such as coining new terms, reforming spelling, and adopting a new script” (Cooper, 1989, p.31). Status planning refers to attempts to increase the functions of a language by sanctioning its use in government offices, as a medium of instruction in schools, and in other official domains (Cooper, 1989). To this distinction, Cooper (1989) added a third category of language planning – acquisition planning – which he views as deliberate efforts to
expand the number of users of a language. Together these three types of planning account for the activities of LPP.

*Corpus Planning in Cape Verde*

In Cape Verde the state has taken a supporting role in LPP with regard to CVC, but private citizens have provided the impetus for the language’s development. Linguists in particular have played a key role. Many scholars in France, the United States, and Brazil have conducted linguistic studies of CVC. Most of these individuals are themselves first or second-generation Cape Verdeans who have a vested interest in the promotion of their own language. Still, most of these studies fail to directly contribute to the development of the language through corpus planning. Corpus planning aims to promote the advancement of a language along three lines of development: graphization, standardization, and modernization (Ferguson, 1968). Below I will discuss the efforts that linguists have made to contribute to Crioulo’s development in the first two areas.

*Graphization.*

Graphization refers to the reduction of a language to writing (Ferguson, 1968). Although many creole societies like Cape Verde adopt characters from the Roman alphabet, questions of orthography, i.e. “the graphization of the phonological system” (Samarin, 1980), have a tendency to become hotly disputed. The parties involved in the dispute over the graphization of Crioulo in Cape Verde can be divided up by their allegiance to either an etymological approach or a phonemic approach to spelling. In order to understand the difference between these two positions, it is important to acknowledge that the selection of an orthographic system is normally guided by
psycholinguistic principles. The ideal writing system would be one that is “easy to learn, easy to read, easy to write, easy to carry over to another language (transfer of skills), and easy to reproduce by modern printing techniques” (Cooper, 1989, p.126). Unfortunately, different writing conventions tend to satisfy some of these criteria more than others. For example, those that follow a phonemic approach favor a writing system “written in a coherent, systematic, logical way” (Sebba, 1997, p.251). They are opposed by those in the etymological camp, who believe that the orthographic conventions of the lexifier, e.g. Portuguese, French, and English, should be followed more closely in order to allow individuals to transfer reading and writing skills to the learning of these high-status languages.

Although many Cape Verdan authors have published works in Crioulo, the orthographies that they have chosen vary significantly (Veiga, 1995). Cassidy points out that these types of personal spellings have the downside of portraying “the creole language as erratic, unsystematic, and ignorant” (cited in Sebba, 1997, p.248). As a result, a number of linguists have been working on the development of a unified alphabet for CVC. These efforts bore their first fruits during a colloquium held by the Direcção Geral da Cultura (Administration of Culture) in Mindelo in 1979 (Duarte, 1998). The alphabet produced by the colloquium was subsequently used by some Cape Verdan writers (Daniel Spinola, Badiu Branco, Tome Varela, and Manuel Veiga) (Duarte, 1998). However, a study of the Cape Verdan Creole dialect of São Nicolau by Eduardo Cardoso in 1989 introduced five phonemes that lacked corresponding graphemes in the Mindelo
Colloquium’s alphabet (Duarte, 1998). An international forum in Praia during that same year yielded further recommendations for revising the alphabet (Duarte, 1998).

In 1994, a committee of linguists (and one writer, Tomé Varela) that was established by the Cape Verdean government and funded by UNESCO presented a new alphabet, ALUPEC (Unified Alphabet for the Writing of Cape Verdean Creole). Four years later legislation meant to test the viability of ALUPEC was approved by the Cape Verdean Council of Ministers (Konbersu Sabi, N.D.). A five-year trial period for the alphabet began. Unfortunately, the evaluation committee for the trial period that was supposed to be formed by the government fell to the wayside, so no assessment was ever conducted (Konbersu Sabi, N.D.). Nevertheless, Veiga and his allies declared it a success. Now that the period has ended, many advocates of the alphabet hope to see Crioulo given official status and, at the same time, ALUPEC consecrated as the standard alphabet for the writing of that language.

ALUPEC is, however, a phonemic writing system and has run up against opposition from proponents of the etymological approach. By far the most controversial phoneme is /k/ which is represented in ALUPEC using the grapheme <k> (Macedo, 1979). Macedo (1979) gives the example of the Crioulo pronunciation [kre] which translates to the pronunciation [kerer] spelled querer (i.e. to want/desire/love) in Portuguese. Cape Verdean writers have written this word in a variety of fashions, e.g. cre, kre, and q’re. The last, of course, is defended on the grounds that it remains more

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10 Alfabeto Unificado para a escrita do Caboverdiano
11 In linguistics, brackets are used before and after the transcription of actual phonetic sounds or sound sequences (e.g. [kæt] for the English word “cat”) and slashes are used to represent individual phonemes (e.g. /e/ for the vowel in the English words “stable,” “plain,” and “lay”).
true to the etymological origins of the word. Although linguists have made efforts in recent years to explain the practical benefits of a phonemic approach, the subject continues to generate controversy in Cape Verde’s language debate.

Standardization.

Standardization occurs when a language becomes uniform (Samarin, 1980). This implies the isolation, evaluation, and prescription of one of the several language varieties as the standard (Rubin, 1977). The process is never a simple one for any language community, but it runs into additional challenges when dealing with creole languages. Varieties of a creole, or lects, can be conceptualized along a creole continuum, in which a basilect, i.e. the most distant variant from the lexifier, lies at one end and an acrolect, i.e. the nearest to the standard form of the lexifier, at the other, with several variants lying in between (Sebba, 1997). According to Sebba, the less the distance between the basilect and the acrolect, the harder it is to build a case that the creole is a separate language rather than a dialect of the standard lexifier. The situation is further complicated when the basilect is not the most widely spoken variant, or when it is widely spoken, but not by those that hold political power (Sebba, 1997). In these situations, standardization is very difficult to achieve.

The nine most-commonly recognized varieties of Crioulo (corresponding to each of the nine islands) can be generally separated into two groups: those of the Barlavento and those of the Sotavento (Veiga, 1995). Cape Verde enjoys the good fortune of having a basilect (the Sotavento dialect of the island of Santiago) that is very distinct from the

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12 Portuguese is considered the lexifier of CVC because over 90% of the Crioulo lexicon is derived from Portuguese (Duarte, 1998).
acrolect (Portuguese) and which happens to be spoken by the majority of the country’s population. Veiga (1995) estimates that approximately half of all Capeverdeans speak the basilect, including many politicians, business owners, and other elites. Consequently, many people view the dialect of Santiago as the obvious choice for a standard (Duarte, 1998; Veiga, 1995).

On the other hand, a significant contingent of Cape Verdeans from the Barlavento islands resists what it sees as the imposition of the Crioulo of Santiago. Among the Barlavento islands, that which has the largest population and which is recognized as the cultural hub of the Barlavento is São Vicente. This island boasts a population about one-third the size of Santiago and, although it is home to a younger variant than the Santiago basilect\(^\text{13}\), harbors a powerful economic, political, and cultural constituency (Veiga, 2004). Recognizing the Sotavento-Barlavento divide, Veiga (1995) has proposed the selection of two varieties of CVC as standards: the dialects of São Vicente and Santiago.

After a standard has been selected, it needs to be codified. That is, the rules of the language need to be made explicit. “[W]ritten dictionaries, grammars, spellers, and style manuals” (Veiga, 1995, p.145) typically accompany this stage of planning. In Cape Verde, Manuel Veiga (1982, 1995) has led these efforts with the production of two books on the grammar of CVC that focus on the dialects of Santiago and São Vicente. Veiga is also currently undertaking a compilation of the first dictionary in Crioulo. In addition to these works, the tertiary educational institute ISE (Superior Institute of Education) has begun to offer linguistic training for Crioulo to Cape Verdeans and will probably plan a

\(^{13}\) São Vicente went uninhabited until 1795, whereas Santiago was inhabited as early as 1462 (Veiga, 1995).
major role in the development of instructional materials (Veiga, 2004). Furthermore, if Crioulo becomes the co-official language of the country, many people that support the officialization of CVC hope that the government will offer further incentives to enhance the research and development of the language.

Status Planning in Cape Verde

Status planning entails the assignment of functions to a language or many languages in a society. One of the principal concerns of status planners is the selection of a dialect as the official standard. Some scholars have even limited their definition of an “official language” to those languages that a government declares to be official (Stewart, 1968). But Cooper (1990) takes a different approach, adding what he perceives to be two additional qualities that can make a language official. Official languages, says Cooper, can be classified as one or more of the following: statutory, working, and/or symbolic official languages. Statutory official languages are those recognized by the state as the official language. Working official languages are those languages that serve as the medium of communication for government administration, education, and other “official” day-to-day interactions. Finally, symbolic official languages are those that represent a specific language community. As for the last, Cooper (1989) stresses that they are never the outcome of language planning: “Symbols are created not by legislation but by history” (p.103).

If we follow this framework, then both Portuguese and CVC have functioned as “official” languages in Cape Verdean society since independence. Portuguese, the language declared to be the “official” language of the country in the constitution and used
as the medium of communication in public administration and education, is both a statutory and a working official language. Crioulo, on the other hand, a language that has not been given official status but is often used orally (unofficially) as a working language for many government employees and is spoken as the first language of the overwhelming majority of Cape Verdeans, may be considered a symbolic language and also a working language in some respects.

Although statutory languages do not always function as working languages in all respects, the promotion of a language as the statutory official language may be an important step for promoting new functions. This is because “status planning is an effort to regulate the demand for given verbal resources” (Cooper, 1989, p.120) by elevating speakers’ evaluations of certain language functions. Although some degree of corpus planning is necessary in order to strengthen the case for status-planning decisions, status planning itself remains decisive in that it directs corpus planning toward the development of an official language for specific functions (Cooper, 1989).

Language Policy and Ideology

Language policy and planning is often directed toward the resolution of language problems. Nevertheless, a wide array of nonlinguistic ends influences the direction that the practice of LPP takes (Cooper, 1989). The political and economic interests of particular social classes and their corresponding ideologies constitute some of the most decisive of these covert interests. Not surprisingly, some of these groups command more influence than others. Cooper (1989) elaborates:

[T]he most powerful individuals and groups within a community are those which exert the most influence over the distribution of scarce resources or values. Elites
attempt to maintain and extend their influence over this process; the mass, to the extent that it is mobilized, seeks a more equitable process; and counterelites, speaking in the name of the mass or in the name of a new ideology, seek to displace the elite and to seize control of the process themselves. (p.119).

Sebba (1997) also considers ideological underpinnings of these various parties a significant factor, “not only in determining the relative status of languages, but often in maintaining the existing power relations so that things cannot change” (p.235). The decisions of LPP, then, are heavily imbued with ideological “issues of belief, power and political will” (Sebba, 1997, p.235). An examination of ideologies in a particular language planning context, then, can bring us to a deeper understanding of how particular groups contest, negotiate, or maintain certain policy decisions. Below I will provide an introduction to the notion of ideology with a focus on language ideologies in particular. I then discuss how ideologies of language might connect with other ideologies, e.g. nationalism.

Definitions of ideology abound. Rather than selecting a particular one, I will focus on some themes that most commonly emerge in these scholarly definitions. Woolard (1998) provides a four-part framework for this. Woolard observes that, first of all, ideology is commonly portrayed as possessing an ideational component. That is, ideology is represented as a mental phenomenon associated with “consciousness, subjective representations, beliefs, [and] ideas” (p.5). Second, any particular ideology is inevitably linked to the social position of its adherents. This holds true whether the ideology emerges as a direct response to a social position or is derived from reflection on that position. A third aspect of ideology that many scholars share is the notion that ideology is directly linked to “inhabitable positions of power – social, political,
economic” (p.7). In other words, social groups use ideologies to support their efforts to acquire and maintain power. Fourthly, most of the scholars that focus on the ideology-power connection believe that ideology (in the spirit of Napoleon and the Marxist tradition) is “distortion, illusion, error, mystification, or rationalization” (p.7).

Although these four ideas are common in contemporary notions of ideology, Woolard (1998) believes that a major schism exists between the first two and the last two characteristics. Some scholars of ideology emphasize the role of ideology in maintaining unequal power relations and condemn ideology as distortion. These academics have a tendency to view ideology in a critical light. In contrast are those scholars who “apply the term broadly to all cultural conceptual schemata and are noncommittal on the truth value of ideology” (p.8). These individuals tend to describe ideology in more neutral terms as worldview, culture, belief, etc. Such a view “does not so much neglect power as situate it as one aspect (surely an important and inevitable one) of the social positioning of cultural forms” (p.8). Ideology may be linked with the struggle of certain individuals and groups to acquire and maintain power (Gramsci, 1971), but they should not be rejected *per se* since there exists no position that is totally free of ideological influence. In fact, elites may use ideologies to strengthen efforts to bring about a more just arrangement between social groups and individuals.

*Language ideologies*

The concept of language ideologies has emerged as an important analytical resource in linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics over the last three decades. Earlier models of language (e.g. those of Noam Chomsky and Franz Boas) tended to
reduce linguistic meaning to reference/denotation, i.e. the correspondence between the linguistic sign and particular object(s) or groups of objects (Kroskrity, 2004). Interest in how the “indexical”\(^{14}\) and ideological components of language influence linguistic meaning grew in the 1970s as the interest grew in how contextual factors influence linguistic meaning. The notion of language ideologies was introduced by Silverstein as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure or use” (Silverstein, 1979, p.497).

Silverstein’s approach hinges on the concept of “linguistic awareness,” a condition through which speakers of a language “rationalize and otherwise influence a language’s structure” (Kroskrity, 2004, p.497). According to Silverstein (1979), the natives’ linguistic awareness of a language’s structure allows them to adapt language to their own “ideology of linguistic form and function” (p.234). As Woolard (1998) notes, this goes beyond mere “secondary rationalizations” of existing language structures and presents a notion of “ideology, understood as rationalization, [that] not only explains but actually transforms linguistic structure, ‘rationalizing’ it, often by making it more regular” (p.12, italics mine). Fairclough (1995) has also recognized this circular duality of ideologies, which are located “both in structures which constitute the outcome of past events and the conditions for current events, and in events themselves as they reproduce and transform their conditioning structures” (p.72, italics mine). Language ideologies, then, do not merely reproduce linguistic structures. They also play an important part in

\(^{14}\) “Indexicality” refers to the manner in which the “connection between the linguistic signs and the contextual factors of their use” influence the meaning of language (Kroskrity, 2004, p.500).
the process of linguistic change as speakers’ perceptions of “appropriate” linguistic structure and use shift over time.

Since Silverstein’s publication, numerous definitions of language ideologies have emerged. Alan Rumsey, for example, presents them as “shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world” (cited in Kroskrity, 2004, p.496). Although this definition successfully captures the informal nature of these ideologies, Kroskrity (1998) has criticized it on the grounds that it provides an “overly homogenous view of language ideologies within a cultural group” (p.496) that glosses over the differences of linguistic variation. In other words, linguistic variation within any particular social group suggests that ideologies are multiple and layered within those groups themselves. While Kroskrity himself refuses to provide his own definition of language ideologies, he does manage to isolate five overlapping dimensions of language ideologies: (1) individual and group interests, (2) the multiplicity of ideologies, (3) speakers’ awareness, (4) the mediating functions of ideologies, and (5) language ideologies and the construction of identity (Kroskrity, 2004).

The first dimension that Kroskrity elaborates is the notion that language ideologies serve the interests of specific social or cultural groups. The experiences of these groups and their politico-economic interests influence their group members’ perceptions of what constitutes appropriate and inappropriate language in different contexts (Kroskrity, 2004). Take the Western feminist movement for example. In little over a quarter century, feminists have successfully weaned many English speakers off the use of the “generic he” version of words (e.g. fireman, postman, policeman) and toward
gender-neutral terms (e.g. fire fighter, postal worker, police officer). The recognition of
the “generic he” as “inappropriate” language and the subsequent identification and
prescription of an “appropriate” alternative is clearly motivated by the feminist
movement’s self-proclaimed ideological interest in bringing about gender equality
(Kroskrity, 2004).

Standardization itself can also be viewed in light of vested interests, even when
the rationale behind investing in certain standards and endorsing their use is dressed up in
‘objective’ or scientific language. Kroskrity (2004) explains:

Nationalist programs of language standardization...may appeal to a modern metric
of communicative efficiency, but such language development efforts are
pervasively underlain by political-economic considerations since the imposition
of a state-supported hegemonic standard will always benefit some social groups
over others. (p.501)

In fact, Bamgbose (2000) argues convincingly that language is used in many African
countries as a means of excluding certain less-powerful social classes. In other words,
the elite use their mastery of the standard language (e.g. English, Portuguese, French) as a
means of protecting their privileged “access to education, public services, jobs, political
positions and [their overall] functioning in the society” (p.2).

A second aspect of language ideologies that Kroskrity discusses is their
multiplicity. The variety of “meaningful social divisions (class, gender, clan, elites,
generations, and so on) within sociocultural groups” and the unique experiences of each
of these groups’ members assure that ideological beliefs are “never uniformly distributed
throughout polities of any scale” (Kroskrity, 1998, p.503). This explains the variation in
ideologies that Kroskrity (1998) observed in Arizona Tewa speech communities, where
language mixing (between Tewa and English or Hopi) is avoided more by men than by
women, and by old men more than the young. The focus on multiplicity in language ideologies opens up more possibilities for understanding challenges to ideologies within these groups themselves.

A third dimension of language ideologies is the varying degrees of linguistic awareness displayed by members of society. Kroskrity (1998) informs us that “successfully ‘naturalized’ and ‘contending’ language ideologies are routinely associated with different levels of members’ awareness” (p.114). He found that in Arizona Tewa communities, for instance, ceremonial practitioners demonstrated signs of “a greater awareness of the intertextuality of kiva and mundane speech than is accessible to those less experienced” (p.107). However, Kroskrity also “argues that a focus on overt ideological contestation should not lead us to lose sight of ideology as...naturalized dominant ideologies that rarely rise to discursive consciousness” (Woolard, 1998, p.9). Here Kroskrity’s “naturalized” language ideologies are akin to Gramsci’s (1971) notion of hegemony, i.e. the “‘spontaneous’ consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group” (p.12). According to Fairclough (1995), hegemony can be thought of as “leadership as well as domination across the economic, political, cultural and ideological domains of society” that is sustained through “constructing alliances, and integrating rather than simply dominating subordinate classes, through concessions or through ideological means, to win their consent” (p.76).

In such a theoretical framework, the cumulative outcomes of ideological challenges contribute to a naturalized ‘knowledge,’ a view of ‘common sense’ that, in
turn, becomes “a constant target for restructuring, in ongoing struggles” (Fairclough, 1995, p.76). In societies that have a standard language, for example, ideologies of a standard often attain a hegemonic status in which “variation is experienced as a pyramidal or conical space of divergence: standard-register usage is at the top-and-center, and each coherent cluster of variance is experienced as a mere ‘dialect’” (Silverstein, 1998, p.122). That is, the standard variant qualifies as a high-status ‘language’ while other variants are classified as ‘dialects’ and are ranked in relation to the standard. Although many individuals may accept such an ideology, Kroskrity (1998) maintains that these ideologies do not typically acquire a hegemonic status (which he refers to as “practical consciousness” or “tacit knowledge”) among all members of a culture/society equally. Some individuals do demonstrate awareness of these ideologies and sometimes choose to challenge them.

A fourth aspect of language ideologies discussed by Kroskrity is their manner of mediating between social structures and forms of speech. He informs us that “[l]anguage users’ ideologies bridge their sociocultural experience and their linguistic and discursive resources by constituting those linguistic and discursive forms as indexically tied to features of their sociocultural experience” (Kroskrity, 2000, p.21). In other words, the sociocultural experience of individuals may bestow new meanings to language, but it is only able to achieve this through the medium of ideology.

The final dimension of language ideologies is their use “in the creation and representation of various social and cultural identities (e.g. nationalism, ethnicity)” (Kroskrity, 2004, p.509). Although language comprises only one possible attribute of
nationalism and ethnicity, it is very often a critical one and will be discussed below (Anderson, 1990; Gellner, 1981). The state plays an important role in the formation of identities when it “offers (and often imposes by coercion) particular ascriptive ethnolinguistic identities for its citizens” (Blommaert, 2006, p.244). One of the most influential features of the state’s ideology in the identity of its citizens is that of the “monolingual speaker of (one of) the national language(s)” (p.244), or, in the case of Cape Verde, of the bilingual Cape Veredian who speaks both the country’s official language, Portuguese, and its national language, Cape Veredian Creole. A shared medium of communication, as Kroskrity (1998) points out, has often been used by social groups to separate “us” from “them.” Bamgbose (1998), for instance, argues that African elites often use (directly or indirectly) proficiency in the standard language to discriminate against other individuals or groups through “avoidance, non-recognition, suppression, proscription, etc.” (Bamgbose, 2000, p.4).

Nationalism and Standard Languages

Language ideologies do not operate in independence of other ideologies. In fact, they are often tightly interwoven with “socio-political, or cultural ideologies” and “can and do become instruments of power as part of larger ideological complexes” (Blommaert, 2005). Two types of ideologies that are often interlaced with ideologies of language are those of nationalism and development. I discuss here the connection between language standardization (through LPP) and nationalism. In this section, I argue that ideologies concerning the appropriate language variety and orthographic symbols for
the representation of the national language often underlie the controversy behind standardization.

The connection between language and nationalism has been heavily discussed in the literature. Here I utilize Anderson’s (1991) definition of a nation as “an imagined community,” a characterization that he finds fitting because “members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (p.6). Language, along with ethnicity, geographical location, and other features believed to pertain to imagined communities become potential solidarities around which nations can be imagined as distinct, united, and unique (Anderson, 1991). In a similar fashion, nationalism occurs when these solidarities (language, ethnicity, geographical location, etc.) become the basis for political organization.

Gellner (1983) believes that nationalism arises from the social conditions of the modern world and requires, among other things, “[u]niversal literacy and a high level of numerical, technical and general sophistication” as well as a highly mobile workforce that can communicate with other people “with whom they frequently have no previous association, and with whom communication must consequently be explicit, rather than relying on context” (p.35). As a result, modern society requires a means of communicating in “written, impersonal, context-free, to-whom-it-may-concern type messages” (p.35), i.e. a standardized form of (written) communication.

Anderson (1991) also emphasizes the importance of standard (print) languages in the emergence of 19th and 20th century nationalist movements. He credits the emergence
of these standards to a combination of factors, but most importantly to the rise of print capitalism. According to Anderson, print capitalism allowed much greater quantities of texts to be published in vernaculars that could reach the widest audience of potential consumers. In 16th century Europe, the Reformation and the increasing use of vernaculars as administrative languages aided print capitalism in quickening the demise of Latin (Anderson, 1991). Eventually, print-capitalism even contributed to the rise of (national) standard languages by allowing vernacular dialects to be “assembled, within definite limits, into print-languages far fewer in number” (Anderson, 1991, p.43).

During the 19th century, nationalist movements in Europe led to “a golden age of vernacularizing lexicographers, grammarians, philologists, and litterateurs” (Anderson, 1991, p.71) as well as an increase in literacy rates. These elites undertook a project of language planning to “legitimize, upgrade, and restructure [the local vernaculars] in order to turn [nationalism] into a proper vehicle for the expression of national sentiment that is capable of being politicized” (Safran, 1999, p.82). As a result, a conviction emerged “that languages (in Europe at least) were, so to speak, the personal property of quite specific groups – their daily speakers and readers – and moreover that these groups, imagined as communities, were entitled to their autonomous place in a fraternity of equals” (Anderson, 1991, p.84). Anderson (1991) warns us of the fallacy of considering language the basis for all nationalist movements while emphasizing its “capacity for generating imagined communities, building in effect particular solidarities” (p.134). For Anderson, these solidarities can even be built around a language that is not the first language of a particular speech community so long as proficiency in the official language
is “sufficiently diffused” (Anderson, 1991, p.134), e.g. Bahasa Indonesia in Indonesia and Swahili in Tanzania.

*Standardization and Linguistic Diversity*

Standardization, says Silverstein, is “the imagination and explicit, institutionalized maintenance of a ‘standard’ register” (Silverstein, 1998b, p.121). Although Silverstein views standardization as one of the preconditions for the emergence of nationalism, he also stresses that standardization itself does not entail the elimination of linguistic diversity in a society. Rather it represents the selection of a standard that serves as “the very emblem of the existence of that [national] community” (Silverstein, 1998b, p.122) with other languages and dialects ranked accordingly. This linguistic hierarchization, in turn, assigns spoken and written varieties different values depending on the social context of their use.

Of course, the hierarchization of language is fundamentally ideological. It is imagined, as Anderson might say, and often attains a hegemonic status. Standardization serves as an ideology-laden “model of linguistic usage with authorizing force” (p.133) informed by a vision of appropriate linguistic practices in the society. It often lingers behind state policies on language which endorse the speaking and writing of a standard in important venues, e.g. education, government administration, legal situations, and so on. That is, the officialization of a language overlaps with the process of standardization to the extent that it determines how society imagines and how social institutions maintain a particular standard.
We need not conclude from this that all members of national communities informed by a standard imagines the place of language in the community in the same way. As Silverstein (1998b) observes, “[l]inguistic practice (and symbolic practice more generally) under standardization is an essentially contested order of sociocultural reality” (p.124). So standardization is unlikely to do away with all subversive language practices, e.g. those that reference ethnic, geographical, and other forms of sociolinguistic variation. In addition, competing ideologies of the standard often arise to challenge previously existing ones that may have acquired some degree of hegemony. For example, the rise of standard Cape Verdean Creole in relation to standard Portuguese aims to restructure the linguistic hierarchy of standardization in the Cape Verdean archipelago. But rather than seeking a linguistic hierarchy that is informed by a single standard, many Cape Verdeans imagine this hierarchy to be organized around multiple standards. For instance, Duarte’s (1998) and Veiga’s (2004) goal of a bilingual society for Cape Verde aims to establish both Portuguese and CVC as standards. In addition, Veiga hopes to pursue a standardization of CVC that, rather than orienting itself around a single dialect of CVC, takes the island dialects of both Santiago and São Vicente as its foundation.

Nationalism and Graphization

Given the importance of print languages to the emergence of nationalism (Anderson, 1991), it should be no surprise that much effort in language planning is dedicated to the graphization of a language in written form. One of the key elements of graphization is the selection of an alphabet, a process in which competing language ideologies often emerge. This is because “one of the most important manifestations of
how communities are imagined is their shared signs, that is, literacy – its practices and its
texts and this requires a standard orthography” (Schieffelin & Doucet, 1998, p.287). In
some societies (e.g. Haiti and Cape Verde) the selection of an orthography is
controversial because the symbols rejected or chosen are linked to ideologies that reflect
certain imaginings of the national community.

The political, cultural, and socio-economic similarities between Haiti and Cape
Verde make the former an ideal case for understanding the orthographic issues in the
Cape Verdean language debate. Schieffelin and Doucet (1998) explain that, in Haiti,
three etymological approaches for the graphical representation of Haitian kreyòl have
emerged: (1) a pro-phonemic approach, (2) a pro-etymological approach, and (3) an
intermediary group that supports “a phonemic orthography but with some concessions to
French spelling” (p.295). Schieffelin and Doucet claim that the pro-etymological
approach, which is based on the kreyòl dialect spoken by the educated elite, is linked to
ideologies that maintain the inherent superiority of the French language. Supporters of a
pro-phonemic approach, on the other hand, argue “that the teaching of kreyòl must be
independent from the teaching of French” (p.305). But resistance to the pro-phonemic
approach has emerged both among the educated elite who see it as undermining the
French language and among the masses who see it as “limiting their access to French and,
consequently, their social and economic mobility” (p.306).

In the end, Schieffelin and Doucet (1998) trace the source of the controversy to
the selection of a standard:

The main reason for the reaction [to graphization in Haiti] is that the elaboration
of an orthography implies the choice and standardization of one dialect over the
others. And when a variety, through its officialization, is given the status of a standard, the users of the other varieties sometimes react with a surprising virulence because they feel that their language variety and its speakers are denied representation. (p.306)

The key issue, then, is one of “legitimacy and authenticity” and can be summed up in one underlying question: “Who is the real Haitian?” (p.306) On a similar note, the controversy surrounding the selection of (a) standard(s) and the selection of orthographic symbols for Cape Verdean Creole also, in part, reflects a dispute over legitimacy and authenticity. We will see how Cape Verdeans’ beliefs about the connection between language and nation often generates an unwillingness on the part of Cape Verdeans to imagine particular languages/dialects or orthographic symbols as emblems of Cape Verde’s national language community.
Chapter 3: Methodology

Quantitative studies use standardized measures to generate large quantities of data that researchers can statistically analyze to produce generalizable conclusions (Patton, 2002). This thesis, on the other hand, pursues a richer, more detailed, and more nuanced understanding of only a small pool of individuals. It takes a qualitative approach in an effort to unveil knowledge that may be comparable and transferable to other situations, but that is not generalizable (Patton, 2002). This thesis aims to understand the ideologies that a group of Cape Verdean elites engaged in the language debate use to make sense of language policy and planning (LPP) activities in their countries and the ways that they deploy these ideologies to support or resist various approaches to LPP.

An introduction to the focus of study, i.e. language ideologies in the Cape Verdean language debate, was provided in the previous chapter. It was noted that definitions of ideologies themselves generate much controversy in the literature. Nevertheless, Silverstein’s definition of language ideologies as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (Silverstein, 1979, p.497) will suffice for this study. In addition, language ideologies can be seen as multiple, layered and stratified (Blommaert, 2005) and individuals across society display different levels of awareness of them (Kroskrity, 1998). Some might wonder where one looks for these ideologies and how one goes about identifying them. This chapter explores the methodological considerations concerning the study of language ideologies in the Cape Verdean language debate.
Locating Ideologies

First of all, it is important to determine where ideologies reside. Fairclough (1995) tells us that ideologies are located in texts, which can be thought of as “a complex of linguistic forms larger than the single sentence” (Blommaert, 2005, p.2). Although ideologies are positioned in texts, Fairclough (1995) warns us against attempting to “read off” ideologies from them since “meanings are produced through interpretations of texts and texts are open to diverse interpretations, and because ideological processes appertain to discourses as whole social events – they are processes between people – not to the texts which are produced, distributed and interpreted as moments in such events” (p.71). He notes that “[i]deology works, as Althusser reminds us, by disguising its ideological nature” and becoming “naturalized, automatized – ‘common sense’ in Gramsci’s terms” (Fairclough, 1995, p.82).

Blommaert (1999), on the other hand, maintains that these ideologies often breach the surface during times of debate “in which language is central as a topic, a motif, a target, and in which language ideologies are being articulated, formed, amended, enforced” (p.1). The textual artifacts of a language debate, then, i.e. newspaper articles, speeches, public debates, and conversations, become the spaces in which ideologies are shaped and refined (Blommaert, 1999). We can think of a debate as a ‘social event’ (in the sense used by Fairclough) in which the beliefs that debate participants use as rationalizations attain a high degree of transparency. For instance, participants in a language debate often use beliefs concerning the links between language and development or language and nationalism as justifications for the adoption of a particular
approach to language policy and planning. These debate participants regularly state beliefs and draw conclusions from them in public forums (e.g. newspaper editorials, political speeches, television programs, etc.) in an attempt to spread and reinforce these ideologies among the population by exercising hegemony, i.e. “intellectual and moral leadership” over other social groups (Gramsci, 1971, p.57). A study of ideologies is useful because it exposes the ways that debate participants use ideologies for political ends and helps us “to reach a more refined understanding of the processes of power, by identifying the actors, the practices and the contextual factors involved in specific historical processes” (p.11). That is, they help us to understand how individuals and groups “concord their interests and aspirations with the interests and aspirations of other groups” (Gramsci, 1971, p.105) in order to achieve hegemony.

Still, it is important to acknowledge that all of the salient ideologies in a language debate are rarely made transparent in any particular text. The ideologies that debate participants express to a great extent depend on their whims and their personal interests in specific aspects of LPP. Writers may be more interested in speaking of issues of orthography, while educators may prefer to discuss the pedagogical implications of LPP. In addition, some debate participants may fail to mention or sufficiently clarify some ideologies throughout the course of an interview, article, or televised debate. Therefore, this study cannot be taken as a comprehensive or conclusive discussion of all relevant ideologies in the Cape Verdean language debate. Still, it provides a good indication of how some Cape Verdean elites use particular language ideologies in that debate.
Description of Data and Collection Procedures

I selected texts in which the beliefs and rationalizations of the latest resurgence of the Cape Verdean language debate could be found for this study: newspaper articles, television programs, political speeches, personal conversations, and websites. Specifically, the data consists of eight interviews, a 60-minute televised discussion of language policy, fourteen newspaper articles collected from print-newspapers and online sources, and one political speech by Manuel Veiga. Each of these data sources is described in detail below.

The televised discussion of language policy, supplied by Televisão de Cabo Verde (TCV), features an exchange between the journalist Matilde Dias (moderator), the Cape Verdean poet Kaka Barbosa, and the linguist Francisco Mascarenhas. All three of these individuals support the idea of making Crioulo the co-official language of Cape Verde, but offer nuanced interpretations of the standardization, the graphization, and the officialization Crioulo. The program also features extracts from interviews with five high school students from Santiago Island, three educators, and two linguists.

Seven print newspaper articles were collected from the Biblioteca Nacional (National Library) and the Archivo Nacional (National Archives) in Praia in the August of 2005. I selected all articles that portrayed beliefs and rationalizations of a particular language policy approach from the available Cape Verdean weekly newspapers (A Semana, Horizonte, and Expresso das Ilhas) published between January of 2005, when Dr. Manuel Veiga assumed the position of Minister of Culture, and August of 2005. I chose this period because it marks the recent resurgence of the language debate and
because of the scarcity of articles on language policy and planning before this time.

Seven other articles made available to the public on the *A Semana, Expresso das Ilhas,* and *Paralelo 14* websites between January of 2005 and April of 2006 were selected based on the same criteria. The vast majority of these electronic articles are also available in print format. Twelve of the articles used in this study were written in Portuguese, one was written in Crioulo, and one in English.

Personal communications consist of eight confidential interviews and one political speech. The subjects of the eight interviews can be identified by the labels found in Table 1 (below). I selected the interviewees on the basis of their profession, their interest in the language question, and their diverse perspectives. They consist of three Cape Verdean educators\(^\text{15}\), one high-level official in the Ministry of Education, and four Cape Verdean writers. All interviews were semi-structured, confidential, and conducted in Cape Verde in August of 2005. Five questions served as the interview guide, but new questions were developed after each interview. These questions were:

1. What is the significance of making Crioulo an official language?
2. What do you anticipate the social and cultural impacts of making Crioulo the official language to be?
3. What will be the pedagogical implications of making Crioulo an official language?
4. How will officialization affect community development/national development?
5. What are the political impacts of making Crioulo an official language?

\(^{15}\) The educators included a principal of a secondary school, the principal of a primary school in a rural region of Santiago, and a curriculum designer on the island of Santiago.
I received verbal informed consent before conducting interviews and before recording them. All interviews were carried out in Crioulo and lasted anywhere between twenty minutes and seventy minutes in length [see Table 1]. I observed and acquired a written copy of the political speech which Veiga presented at an international conference entitled “Connecting the Global Caboverdiano Community” on April 23 of 2005. Since the source of this data is not recoverable, I cite it as a personal communication.

Table 1: Personal Communications

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Interview date (2005)</th>
<th>Digital recording</th>
<th>Duration (minutes)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manuel Veiga</td>
<td>Minister of Culture</td>
<td>April 23</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educator A</td>
<td>High School Principal</td>
<td>August 19</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educator B</td>
<td>Grade School Principal</td>
<td>August 23</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educator C</td>
<td>Curriculum Developer</td>
<td>September 1</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Official A</td>
<td>Government Official</td>
<td>September 5</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writer A</td>
<td>Journalist</td>
<td>September 3</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writer B</td>
<td>Writer</td>
<td>September 5</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writer C</td>
<td>Writer</td>
<td>September 6</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writer D</td>
<td>Writer</td>
<td>September 7</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Data Analysis Procedures**

All data were analyzed in written form. All audio and audio-visual data were transcribed. I sifted through the data in search of beliefs about language, especially those used as rationalizations for different approaches to language policy or language planning, contained in brief segments of discourse. These segments were sometimes several
sentences in length and at times smaller than a complete sentence. Each segment was assigned a letter sequence representing the source text and, if necessary, a number and letter sequence so that the segment could be easily located within lengthy texts. I identified themes that emerged most commonly throughout these segments and grouped the segments according to these themes. These themes, in turn, commonly emerge in disputes among participants in the Cape Verdean language debate concerning the following questions:

1. Should Crioulo be used in Cape Verdean schools as a medium of instruction and/or as a resource for the instruction of Portuguese?
2. What language(s) and dialect(s) should serve as the standard(s) in Cape Verde?
3. What writing convention should be adopted for the Cape Verdean language?

I organize my discussion of Cape Verdean language ideologies around these three questions which correspond respectively to chapters four, five, and six of this thesis.

*Validity*

Validity in quantitative studies depends a great deal on the research instruments, that they are capable of measuring what they are supposed to measure and that the researcher uses them appropriately (Patton, 2002). In qualitative studies like this one, the researchers themselves are the research instruments. Therefore, validity relies more “on the skill, competence, and rigor of the person doing the fieldwork” (Patton, 2002, p.14) and on the steps taken by that person to minimize bias. This requires transparency and the development of procedures that yield reliable results (Kvale, 1996). In this section, I will discuss some of the procedures used in this study and the reliability of its findings.
I originally intended to collect data in the form of ten to twelve semi-structured interviews with Cape Verdeans whose careers are likely to be most heavily impacted by Crioulo’s officialization (e.g. politicians and educators). In addition, I hoped to conduct a survey of approximately one-hundred educators to assess the level of support for officialization among this group and to collect a number of journal articles on the issue. The plan was to visit potential interviewees and educators directly at their place of employment, but the timing of the trip made this difficult because educators were on summer break and many politicians and government officials that I had hoped to speak with were conducting official business abroad.

Nevertheless, I was able to locate two educators that I had befriended when I was a Peace Corps volunteer in Cape Verde between 2001 and 2003. They served as contacts with the other educators, the government official, and one of the writers that participated in this study. Another Cape Verdean friend introduced me to her uncle, a Cape Verdean journalist, who agreed to be interviewed and put me in contact with two other writers that were also interviewed. All interviews were conducted in my second language, Cape Verdean Creole. At times, this led to difficulties in comprehension, especially when interviewing the two individuals that spoke the Fogo dialect. But the recording of interviews allowed me to examine their responses more thoroughly. Nevertheless, the interviews with three Cape Verdean writers were not recorded either because informed consent was not received or background noise interfered with the quality of the recording. Therefore, I did not acquire as rich and detailed information from these subjects as I did from the other interviewees.
In addition to interviews, I decided to accumulate as many print sources on the subject of Crioulo’s officialization as I could. Several factors led to the relatively small number of print sources used in this study. Virtually no newspaper articles were printed on this topic prior to Manuel Veiga’s coming to office in January of 2005. In addition, the country has few newspapers (only three major ones) and all of them are printed weekly rather than daily. In order to maximize the quantity and quality of the data, I took a cross-section of different data types, including interviews, a televised debate, and a political speech. The interviews and the televised debate in particular have served as rich sources of data.

It was very difficult to identify individuals who were against the officialization of Crioulo. Most of the individuals interviewed as well as all of the individuals in the televised debate support the idea of making Crioulo the official language, even though they often express disagreement on issues of language planning. In addition, all of the research was carried out on the islands of the Sotavento islands of Santiago and Maio, so most of the people interviewed came from the South where the support of officialization runs high. Therefore, the researcher was left with a less than complete picture of some of the ideologies behind the opposition to Crioulo’s officialization, like those surrounding the issue of regional variation. Further research would have to be done to achieve a better understanding of the ideologies adopted and used by the opposition.

Originally, I did not carry out the interviews with the intention of exposing language ideologies. However, a review of the data revealed that beliefs about language were often used to give weight to certain language policy approaches. I discuss these
ideologies in three chapters of this thesis. Chapter four of this thesis discusses ideologies of language and development in the context of the debate over the role of Crioulo in schools. Chapter five explores how ideologies of language and nation enter into debates over the choice of (a) standard(s) in Cape Verde. Chapter six explores the ideologies that come up in the debate over the graphization of CVC. The ideologies discussed herein are those that the researcher believes to be the most decisive and widespread among this group based on the data and his own personal experiences in Cape Verde, but further research would be required to assess the scope and force of these ideologies among other Cape Verdeans. Nonetheless, the researcher believes that this study will serve as a useful guide for understanding the language ideologies that shape Cape Verdeans elites’ understandings of the language debate in their country.
Chapter 4: Language Policy and Development in Cape Verde

This chapter takes a look at the intersection of ideologies of language and ideologies of development in the Cape Verdean language debate. It examines the beliefs that the Cape Verdeans involved in this study hold concerning the importance of CVC or Portuguese to the development process through these languages’ use as the language of instruction (LOI) in schools. In addition, it looks at how Cape Verdeans sometimes use these beliefs to rationalize their support of or opposition to different approaches to language policy and planning (LPP) in Cape Verde. I begin with an examination of the relationship that these debate participants believe exists between the LOI and the quality of learning in non-language disciplines. One position, taken by those that support the officialization of CVC, is that Crioulo’s use as an LOI, at least during the first few years of primary education, will enhance learning in non-language disciplines, thereby contributing to development. Their opponents, however, maintain that a variety of obstructions prevent CVC from being an effective LOI in schools, e.g. lack of didactic materials, absence of a standard orthography, etc.

A second and more heated issue in the debate over the use of Crioulo in schools concerns beliefs about how the introduction of CVC into schools as a LOI and/or as a separate discipline will impact the quality of Portuguese language instruction. Although all of the individuals covered by this study agree that the Portuguese language is critical to the country’s socio-economic development, they tend to disagree about how the instruction of Portuguese should be carried out. Those who oppose Crioulo’s officialization tend to advocate a method of instruction known as the direct method,
whereby they consider the speaking of Crioulo in schools as a source of interference with the successful learning of the Portuguese language. The supporters of Crioulo’s officialization, in contrast, believe that a new method of teaching Portuguese is needed, one that is rooted in the Cape Verden language. They insist on the use of CVC because, for them, “the [child’s] first language constitutes the best reference for the learning of a second language” (Veiga, 2004, p.12).

Language and Development

In the period following the Second World War, Western countries suddenly became preoccupied with eliminating the poverty of the so-called Third-World countries. Their efforts to offer “a solution to the problems that majority destitution poses in the face of minority opulence” (Rist, 2000, p.1) came to be known as development. Among the different approaches to development, the socio-economic approach and the capabilities approach to development have emerged as particularly influential. The socio-economic approach interprets its goal of eliminating poverty in economic terms and takes as its ends a rise in income, e.g. gross national income (GNI), household income, etc. On the other hand, the capabilities approach to development, i.e. human development sees development as the expansion of the human freedoms: political freedoms, economic freedoms, cultural freedoms, and so on (Sen, 1999). These freedoms are not only considered the means of bringing about development, but the very goals of the development process itself.

Although theorists and practitioners of these approaches to development rarely reference language directly, language policy does fit into each. Bamgbose (1991) argues
that if we define development in socio-economic terms, language factors into the equation as a result of its importance to literacy and mass communication. He assures us that the correlation between literacy rates and economic development is well documented, even though he cautions us not to assume a direct and overly simplistic causal connection between education and economic growth. In addition, language as a means of communication is critical to economic growth because it “can ensure a flow of information on various aspects of a country’s socio-economic life” (p.42). The role of communication in a society, for example, “helps citizens to find alternative ways to make a living, raises the family’s economic status, creates demand for goods and thus stimulates production, and widens the base of those engaged in sponsoring enterprises” (p.43).

In addition, the capabilities approach to human development sees literacy, the ability to communicate, and the fruits of education as freedoms that are the cornerstone of the development process. Sen (1999) explains the importance of literacy and communication to his approach:

[I]lliteracy can be a major barrier to participation in economic activities that require production according to specific or demand strict quality control (as globalized trade increasingly does). Similarly, political participation may be hindered by the inability to read newspapers or to communicate in writing with others involved in political activities. (p.39)

If we reflect on Sen’s example of globalized trade, then it is easy to see the importance of second language literacy, since competency in international languages such as English is often a necessary skill for effective participation in global commerce. In contrast, local languages (e.g. Cape Verdean Creole), though often strong markers of national identity, have a tendency to be closed off from the rest of the world. The successful learning of an
international language, then, is often considered an important resource for development in countries like Cape Verde, which relies on international commerce to strengthen its tourism industry, attract foreign investment, and sustain ties with its emigrant communities. On a similar note, the knowledge acquired through the study of non-language disciplines (e.g. math, science, etc.) also contributes to an individual’s ability to maximize their economic and political freedoms. Scientific, mathematic, and other knowledge and skills often prove useful for qualifying individuals for certain types of employment or enabling them for self-employment. The LOI, then, is believed to be an important part of the development process to the extent that people assign it relevance in the acquisition of knowledge and skills that can be used to maximize economic opportunities.

Portuguese and Development in Cape Verde

Here, I will briefly explore the reasons that the research subjects give for linking Portuguese to their country’s development. The reason cited by most research subjects consists of the idea that Portuguese serves as an international language. Cape Verdeans realize that they cannot afford the risk of economic and cultural isolation from the rest of the world. Veiga (2004) has written that Portuguese constitutes an open space “where dialogue, tolerance and interrelations occur” (p.65) between people of different cultures and societies. He, along with other Cape Verdeans, sees the language as an external link in an increasingly globalized world. In the words of one educator:

Portuguese is an affirmed language. It is a language that is spoken, not only in Cape Verde, but in other countries. It has this advantage. That is, it is a language spoken by close to 200 million people throughout the entire world. (Educator A, personal communication, August 19, 2005)
Today seven countries spread across three different continents claim Portuguese as an official language. Five of these countries are located in Africa.

Another theme that arises in explanations given by many subjects for the importance that they assign the Portuguese language is the idea that it is a language with a great number of written works and a rich cultural heritage. Many Cape Verdeans have recognized the shortage of publications written in Crioulo. Portuguese, on the other hand, has a great number of written works: textbooks, manuals, novels, classics, and so on. Even many of the staunchest supporters of officialization attest to “the limitations of the Cape Verdean language as much in education as in universal culture” (Silva, 2005, March 18) due to the shortage of materials. These factors have led many Cape Verdeans to the conclusion that “[i]t is obligatory that we learn Portuguese” (personal communication, August 19, 2005).

In addition to the quantity of written works published in Portuguese, a few individuals desire to maintain the language for more personal reasons. Macedo admits that, for him, Portuguese is “a very beautiful language, rich in literature” (Fortes, 2005, December 13). Likewise, Mascarenhas offered the following words of admiration for the language:

Clearly, Portuguese is also our language. I speak Portuguese. Long ago I learned Portuguese. I immensely like Portuguese. [I] have texts in Portuguese memorized due to the fact that it is an extraordinary beauty, whether in prose or in poetry. (Konbersu Sabi, N.D.)

Portuguese is admired in Cape Verde for its beauty not only by readers, but also by Cape Verdean writers. It is the language of choice for the vast majority of Cape Verdean
novelists, journalists, and scholars. In fact, it is the only language that many Cape Verdean journalists and novelists have ever used in writing.

One final justification for maintaining the Portuguese language in its current role, given by a couple of research subjects, is the historical and cultural ties that Cape Verde shares with those other countries where Portuguese is the official language. Donaldo Macedo made this very point during an interview in the Cape Verdean journal, *A Semana*:

There are those who defend that only Portuguese should be the official language because it’s an international language. Yes, but if that were the real reason, I’d say we should put Portuguese aside and adopt English, because it’s the most international language there is. Portuguese should continue to be the official language for historical and cultural reasons. (Fortes, 2005, December 13)

These historical and cultural ties remain strong today. Apparently thirty years of independence is not enough time to rupture interconnections that have been reinforced over five centuries:

[W]e were a Portuguese colony for 500 years and, as a result of nature, we cannot run away from influences of inertia. 500 years is a long time. (*Konbersu Sabi*, N.D.).

The culture and history that Cape Verde shares with other Lusophone countries possibly constitute the strongest justification for holding onto the Portuguese language. It also partially explains why some Cape Verdeans are disturbed by the idea that the officialization of Crioulo might lead to the marginalization of Portuguese.

*Portuguese-Crioulo Bilingualism for Development*

Almost all debate participants covered by this study acknowledges the importance of Portuguese for the development of Cape Verde. Even those who support the officialization of Crioulo emphasize the need to maintain Portuguese in its current role.
One high school director illustrated this position when asked how he believed the role of
the Portuguese language in Cape Verdean society would change if Crioulo was made the
co-official language:

I do not believe that the role of Portuguese should change. It must not change. I
think Portuguese should maintain its role, the same one it has today. It is just that
it will have to give space to one more language, which is the Crioulo language.
(personal communication, August 19, 2005)

In fact, Crioulo’s officialization, rather than threatening the Portuguese language, is seen
by these individuals as ultimately affirming that language. Consider the comments of this
government official:

[The introduction of Crioulo as a medium of instruction] does not signify, does
not have anything to do with the devaluation of Portuguese. On the contrary, it
has to do with the reinforcement of the destiny of the Portuguese language.
(Official A, personal communication, September 5, 2005)

The remarks of these Crioulo language advocates reveal the anticipation of a future in
which Portuguese and Crioulo exist side-by-side, mutually reinforcing one another in
Cape Verdean society.

The manner in which Crioulo advocates envision the role of Portuguese and
Crioulo in Cape Verde’s development is more clearly elaborated by Veiga (2004) and
Duarte (1998). Both of these linguists believe that sidelining Portuguese in the process of
promoting CVC would lead to negative repercussions. For Duarte, to think otherwise
“would be to underestimate the dynamics of the process of development in Cape Verde,
to forget the imperative need to break our isolation from the external world and to ignore
the important political objectives that the country follows with its integration into the
group of Seven\textsuperscript{16} (p.21). She believes that fruitful development requires the unraveling of diglossia through a language policy aimed at achieving bilingualism. Here, bilingualism refers to a situation where “aside from the mother tongue, another language thrives in any context or circumstance with the same or almost the same competence and effectiveness as the first language” (Veiga, 2004, p.9). Duarte maintains that only a language policy that aims at bilingualism can lead to both the mastery of Portuguese and the valorization of Crioulo in Cape Verdean society.

Veiga (2004) holds a similar opinion regarding the importance of Portuguese-Crioulo bilingualism (and even multilingualism) to the country’s development. Consider the following rather lengthy passage in which Veiga unveils his vision of development:

Now, at the dawn of a new millennium, the vision that is desired for our development is one of a Cape Verde geared toward the participation of all its children; a Cape Verde where progress is not conceived in economic terms alone, but from a perspective of quality of life, of justice, of equity and of respect for the rights of the human person, be they linguistic or civil; ...a Cape Verde capable of producing science and techniques as much in Crioulo as in Portuguese; a Cape Verde where there is a favorable environment for integrated development, to the preservation of identity, to the exercise of citizenship and to intercultural dialogue. (Veiga, 2004, p.92)

For Veiga, bilingualism holds an integral place in this development process:

All of this vision must have as its foundation Crioulo-Portuguese bilingualism, but without exclusion, now that, today, English and French, whether we like it or not, are important instruments for the family of nations. The wager of Cape Verde must be in Crioulo as a national and co-official language, in Portuguese as a co-official and regional language, and in English and French as international languages, for intercultural relations at the planetary level. (Veiga, 2004, p.92).

Portuguese-Crioulo bilingualism, then, becomes “a vital imperative for development” in Cape Verde (Veiga, 2004, p.9).

\textsuperscript{16} The group of Seven refers to the seven countries that have Portuguese as an official language: Portugal, Brazil, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Angola, Sao Tome & Principe, and Guinea-Bissau.
Crioulo as a Medium of Instruction

Those Cape Verdeans who support the officialization of CVC in this study view it as an important component of the economic and human development of the country. However, they often come to different understandings of the connection between language policy and development. One Cape Verlean writer, for instance, believes that the officialization of Crioulo will have affects that are largely psychological:

[A]t this moment, what is lacking for the officialization of Crioulo, I believe, is a political program. Politicians need to accept that to officialize Crioulo is a great contribution to the development of our country, because so long as we discuss the issue our people will lack confidence in themselves. (Writer B, personal communication, September 5, 2005)

Manuel Veiga, on the other hand, has a more wide-reaching view of a pro-Crioulo language policy’s role in Cape Verde’s development. As one journalist commented:

For the governor [Manuel Veiga], the mother tongue is one of the best instruments that a people has for communicating, dialoguing, developing its art and preserving its culture, as well as to develop and reinforce its citizenship. (Estatuto do Ensino do Crioulo, 2005, February 22)

For Veiga, Crioulo’s officialization represents a step forward for the human development of Cape Verde. His integrated approach to development calls for advancements “in every area: in culture, in education, in economy” (M. Veiga, personal communication, April 23, 2005).

Although Veiga lists education as only one area of development, it constitutes a key area for him and many other Cape Verdeans. The controversy that surrounds the possible introduction of CVC into schools attests to its importance. Education is often seen as the bedrock of the entire development process for a couple of reasons. First, the supporters of Crioulo’s officialization seem to believe that development will be bolstered
through an overall improvement in the quality of education. One individual summarized this view:

Crioulo will stimulate the development, be it in the spiritual camp, intellectually and so on. It will serve as a basis for socioeconomic development. You see? Because the people are capable of understanding better and perceiving better in their own language than they would understand in another language. (Educator C, personal communication, September 1, 2005)

The use of Crioulo as a medium of instruction, then, is seen as a means of enhancing learning in most disciplines because of the ease with which children (and adults) comprehend and articulate that language.

**Perspectives on the Current Portuguese-based Curriculum**

The arguments of those that support the officialization of CVC only begin to carry significant force when viewed in light of the linguistic scenario in the contemporary Cape Verdean classroom. Perhaps this is why almost every proponent of officialization covered in this study called to attention what they see as the shortcomings of the current system of education. A government official explained how these drawbacks affect the Cape Verdean child:

The child, when he goes to school, he has a collection of knowledge. He knows how to speak of his body, of his environment, of his family, right? ...He has knowledge of the whole cultural tradition that is passed from generation to generation. ...But, from one moment to the next, this knowledge, they learn it through what? Through Crioulo. And, when they go to school, every expression of theirs is in Portuguese, he doesn’t know anything. Suddenly he does not know how to speak of his person, of his family, of his environment, of all the culture...he has appropriated. (personal communication, September 5, 2005)

Although most Cape Verdeans would probably agree with this assessment, many may view it as simply an unavoidable difficulty. This official, on the other hand, sees it as a problem to be resolved:
This is, for me, one of the greatest violations that our children experience when they go to school. This: when they cannot speak. (personal communication, September 5, 2005)

For him, the current Portuguese-based curriculum inhibits learning and ultimately leaves the child in “a subaltern position of unfruitfulness” (personal communication, September 5, 2005) that severs the student-teacher dialogue.

Another primary-school administrator made similar observations about the drawbacks of the Portuguese-based curriculum. He called to mind some of the things that he was taught during his training at the Pedagogical Institute in the capital two years earlier:

We had a part of the course that made us see Crioulo...Crioulo is a language that you are born with. ...It is a language spoken in the house. It is a language spoken in school. So it ends up being more difficult to explain to your student in Portuguese than in Crioulo. Crioulo is a language that they already come [to school] with from the home. (Educator B, personal communication, August 23, 2005)

Later, he elaborated on the difficulties that Cape Verdean children encounter when they arrive at school:

They begin with Crioulo. When they transition to the school, they encounter another language that is foreign to them. They need to habituate. They will be held back. They must habituate themselves with that language that they have never encountered. If things are done in Crioulo, things will be much easier. (personal communication, August 23, 2005)

As a result of his training, the administrator decided to take an active approach to resolving the linguistic quagmire in his rural primary school through the promotion of Crioulo in the classroom as a medium of instruction.

As we see here, the difficulties that children encounter when they arrive at school are often interpreted, at least during the earliest phase of formal education, as a result of
the difficulties that students have communicating and understanding effectively in Portuguese. The interpretation of these difficulties as “problems,” is based, in part, on the judgment that students can and should play a more active role in the classroom. The director of one high school explained the problem thus:

A student, when they arrive at school, you will ask them: *Então, como é que fue o teu dia?*17 in Portuguese for example. At times he cannot respond, not because he does not want to respond. At times he feels limited in his use of Portuguese, for example. ...So he remains timid and the dialogue between the teacher and the student loses its spontaneity. If it was in Crioulo it would be spontaneous. ...But since it is in Portuguese the student will have a certain complex. (Educator A, personal communication, August 19, 2005)

For this educator, the preferable classroom situation is one that permits the student-teacher dialogue to be dynamic rather than restrained. Such an approach, in the words of a government official, takes a dynamic view of education as “a social process [made possible] through a teacher and student dialogue” (personal communication, August 5, 2005).

The inability to communicate well in Portuguese, at least during the early years of primary education, is seen by these educators as producing a negative impact on students’ success in various scholastic disciplines. One school administrator observed:

[S]ometimes you will note that you will explain [something] to students in Portuguese, that is, for students still in the initial phase [of primary education], [but] they could understand it much easier if you explain it in Crioulo. (Educator A, personal communication, August 19, 2005)

Not only does spoken Portuguese pose a problem for students, but the written form of the language can also hold students back in other subjects:

Often, you will grab a problem in mathematics, for example, written in Portuguese. Many times they will not resolve it, not because they are not capable

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17 “So, how was your day?”
of resolving it, but the barrier is in the interpretation of the problem that is written in Portuguese, which is a language that he has problems decoding. ...At times, the cause of failure in other disciplines is linked to a weak proficiency in the Portuguese language. (personal communication, August 19, 2005)

This educator noted that difficulty with Portuguese continues to be a problem for some students as far along as the tenth grade, clear evidence for him of “gaps in schooling” (personal communication, August 19, 2005).

*Opposition to Crioulo as a Medium of Instruction*

Although advocates of the Cape Verdean language have pushed hard for its use as a medium of instruction, they face considerable opposition from their opponents. Some of the opposition can be traced back to colonial times. According to Duarte (1998), the Portuguese maintained that the languages spoken by the colonized were uncivilized, a claim that they supported by maintaining that these were not written languages. But during the 19th century, a lineage of Cape Verdean poets and composers began to vindicate the language as they experimented with writings in CVC (Duarte, 1998). Later, the speaking of Crioulo became a means of direct resistance to the colonial regime and Cape Verdean students and teachers directly challenged negative attitudes regarding the adequacy of their mother tongue as an oral language of instruction by opting to use it for academic discussions in study groups outside of the classroom (Meintel, 1984). Perhaps as a result of these efforts the idea that CVC was inherently inferior to Portuguese has been greatly reduced in Cape Verdean society.

Still, research subjects acknowledged some weaknesses of Crioulo as a LOI. This section will explore these perceived weaknesses. I begin with the weaknesses that are acknowledged by both the opponents and many advocates of Crioulo’s officialization: the
absence of a standard alphabet, the insufficient standardization of the language, and the lack of didactic materials. I will then discuss the key issue on which these two groups fail to see eye to eye, i.e. the impact that the introduction of CVC as a medium of instruction would have on the learning of Portuguese.

The Cape Verdeans in this study on each side of the debate point out that the Cape Verdean language is not sufficiently developed to be used in schools, at least not for certain functions. Ferguson (1968), maintains that linguistic development can occur across three domains: graphization, standardization, and modernization. Crioulo lags significantly behind Portuguese in these areas, especially in graphization and standardization. One of the things holding back the systematization of Crioulo is the approval of an alphabet and the selection of a variant that would become the official language. These topics will be discussed in detail in the next two chapters. For now, suffice to say that the supporters of officialization have been taking steps to develop a plan for the standardization of CVC and for the consolidation of a uniform orthography.

Another issue that one high school administrator saw as limiting the usefulness of CVC as an instrument of instruction is the lack of didactic materials written in the language for most school disciplines. He summed up the problem as follows:

[Crioulo] is also a limited language because, once you arrive at a certain level of instruction at the secondary level where you study scientific themes, we run into disciplines [like]...natural sciences, physics, chemistry. There are no manuals...materials of support. There is no material of this type written in Crioulo. (personal communication, August 19, 2005)

He adds that he is not sure if there are even people in Cape Verde capable of producing these works.
Some of the teachers, linguists, and journalists in this study have emphasized the need for the creation of didactic materials that can be used for teaching CVC itself (mainly in its written form). All of them agree that some material already exists. As one linguist from the Institute of Superior Education (ISE) in Praia put it:

[F]or the tenth grade we already have material, we have some literature. There is quite a bit of literature in the Cape Verdean language. We have dictionaries, we have grammars, we have many people in other countries, as well, that work on Cape Verdean Crioulo...there is much work that has been produced. (Konbersu Sabi, N.D.)

Nevertheless, the materials have not been sufficiently prepared for most instructional purposes:

[W]e also need to have a systematization of the material that is already utilized. [We need to] do an analysis of that which exists, of that which can be complimented, [and] of that which can be improved. (Konbersu Sabi, N.D.)

They believe that this process will take time, not only for the creation of these materials, but for the training of instructors in how to teach the material. Another linguist from ISE offered the following comments:

There needs to be a period, there needs to be a period for the preparation of materials, and when we speak of materials, we speak of anthologies, of dictionaries, of grammars, of punctuation guides. We already have some documentation, but is this documentation sufficiently divulged? Does everyone, including teachers, understand this documentation? (Konbersu Sabi, N.D.)

Even Manuel Veiga, while affirming his intentions to have CVC recognized as a language of instruction, has acknowledged the need for a phase of preparation before the language is introduced into the schools (Estatuto do Ensino, 2005, February 22).

Although these shortcomings unveil the limitations of Crioulo as a written medium of instruction, they do not necessarily rule out the language’s usefulness for facilitating classroom discussions and providing clearer explanations to students. The
educators and government official interviewed in this study all call for the introduction of Crioulo into the schools as an oral language. Veiga (2004) has proposed that the instruction of Crioulo begin at the highest levels of instruction (ISE and the Pedagogical Institute) and then, as materials are produced and the number of trained professionals increases, trickle down to the secondary and primary levels (Veiga, 2004). But his plan runs up against opposition by those who maintain that the introduction of spoken Crioulo into schools will hinder students’ abilities to learn Portuguese.

_Crioulo in the Instruction of the Portuguese Language_

Some Cape Verdeans fear that the introduction of CVC as a medium of instruction will have a negative impact on the learning of Portuguese. This fear was blatantly evident in a comment posted on the Cape Verdean journal _Expresso das Ilhas_’ website in response to an article on Crioulo’s officialization:

> If the Portuguese are not content with the Portuguese language (a language spoken by 200 million)...teaching their children English in the first grade for considering it to be more of a tool for new technologies, we have decided to RETREAT and become monolingual instead of bilingual. Frankly, be reasonable and think LARGE! (Silva, 2006, February 21)

Germano Almeida expresses similar reservations out of the fear that the introduction of Crioulo into schools will eventually lead to the replacement of the Portuguese language in Cape Verdean society. The view that Crioulo’s use in the classroom threatens the Portuguese language is partially related to the belief that such a practice interferes with the acquisition of Portuguese. As one educator put it:

> There is a group that thinks that if you give explanations to children in Crioulo, they will end up with difficulty in Portuguese. And it is already a subject that we ourselves, at the level of primary school teacher, those that are highest up think that the greatest amount of difficulty is due to Crioulo. (Educator B, personal communication, August 23, 2005)
He claims that this belief is widely held even at high levels in the Ministry of Education:

During my five years of teaching, I spoke with one of the [higher level officials] among my bosses. He said, “No, the child will end up with difficulty in Portuguese. The child will speak bad Portuguese.” (personal communication, August 23, 2005)

Duarte (1998) rejects what she sees as policymakers’ “excuse that [Crioulo’s] use hinders the correctness of Portuguese” (p.251). Although it is difficult to pin down the origins of the conviction that Crioulo interferes with the acquisition of Portuguese, there is no doubt that some of it can be traced back to the principles of the direct method itself, which holds that classroom instruction should be carried out in the target language alone and that the learning of grammar is inductive (Brown, 2001).

The direct method may be useful in specific learning environments, but elsewhere it has been found to be inadequate for public education “where the constraints of budget, classroom size, time, and teacher background made such a method difficult to use” (Brown, 2001, p.22). Duarte (1998) points out that, in Cape Verde, “the direct method...has not produced the anticipated results” (p.213). She proposes that the direct method be retained for teaching young children in pre-school and kindergarten the rudimentary components of spoken Portuguese, then be replaced at the primary level by an inductive method that teaches grammatical structures through simple dialogues. The instruction of grammar, she believes, should begin in simple structures and then proceed to more complex ones (Duarte, 1998).

It is uncertain whether or not the approach sponsored by Duarte will become the basis for a new Portuguese curriculum. But others have joined her in calling for change,
especially teachers. One Portuguese woman who is an instructor of the Portuguese language in a Cape Verdean school described her view of the situation:

> It is very detrimental that the student does not know Crioulo. ...Due to the fact of not knowing how to read, not knowing how to write in Crioulo, you are going to see interferences with Portuguese. So when the student speaks Portuguese or writes Portuguese, without a doubt they will locate phrases with the grammatical construction of Crioulo or locate Crioulo vocabulary in the Portuguese. Why? Because they do not know how to distinguish one from the other. (*Konbersu Sabi*, N.D.)

Many other teachers of Portuguese in Cape Verde seem to agree with her according to a survey of a hundred secondary-level Portuguese teachers from all islands of Cape Verde (*Konbersu Sabi*, N.D.). The study is reported to have found that the vast majority of those surveyed support the officialization of Crioulo, the approval of ALUPEC (Unified Alphabet for the Writing of Cape Verdean Creole) as the alphabet, and the training of teachers in didactic materials for the instruction of Cape Verdean Creole. In addition, seventy-six percent of these teachers believe that the learning of Portuguese will improve if children are taught Crioulo in the schools (*Konbersu Sabi*, N.D.). According to the author of the study, Fatima Sanchez, these teachers believe that “the problem of crossing the Cape Verdean language with Portuguese,” which they see as “the greatest cause of academic failure for the Portuguese language discipline” (*Konbersu Sabi*, N.D.), will improve with an approach that utilizes rather than proscribes CVC.

*Conclusion*

This chapter has provided an overview of how some Cape Verdeans’ rationalize the importance of the language of instruction in the development process. It has explored the ideologies that link the language of instruction as a source of academic success in non-language disciplines to the development process. All of the educators and linguists
in this study emphasize the drawbacks of the Portuguese-based curriculum and the difficulties in learning that it creates, especially during the early years of primary education. They maintain that a curriculum that uses Crioulo will enhance the quality of education and, in addition, will provide students with a sense of self-worth and empowerment by giving them a more active role in their education. On the other hand, many of them acknowledge the inadequacies of Crioulo as a language of instruction: the lack of a standard, the absence of an official alphabet, and especially the shortage of didactic materials. Although the last of these inadequacies appears to be particularly problematic, the opponents of officialization in this study seem to be most concerned that the use of Crioulo in the classroom may interfere with the learning of Portuguese. Nevertheless, many of the supporters of Crioulo’s officialization draw attention to the complications produced by the proscription of Crioulo from the classroom. Although most educators and linguists (with the exception of Duarte) remain unclear about the precise form that a new method of Portuguese instruction would take, they all agree that it must adopt the Cape Verdean language as a resource for language learning.
Chapter 5: Language Policy and Nationalism – Standardization

If a nation is an imagined community, then the links between the nation and its components – ethnicity, territory, language, etc. – are also imagined. As for language, Cape Verdeans imagine its connection with the national community in different ways. These imaginings, in turn, correspond to ideologies that language debate participants use in allegiance to particular approaches to the standardization and officialization of Cape Verdean Creole. Here I draw upon Silverstein’s (2000) notion of standardization as “the imagination and explicit, institutionalized maintenance of a ‘standard’ register – a way of employing words and expressions for reference and predication based on institutionalized prescriptions and proscriptions of various sorts” (p.121). This chapter explores how some Cape Verdeans use ideologies of language and nation to support or to oppose the selection of (a) particular standard(s) as the official language(s) of Cape Verde.

The ideologies of language that inform Cape Verdeans’ positions on standardization and officialization can be analyzed at two different levels: (a) at the national level, Cape Verdeans use ideologies associated with Crioulo, Portuguese, and other languages to support their preferences for maintaining or changing the role of Crioulo in Cape Verdean society; and (b) at the regional level, Cape Verdeans use ideologies associated with Crioulo dialects to support or resist hierarchizations of regional variants in reference to (a) particular standard(s). In this chapter, I elaborate the relevant ideologies at both of these levels. I begin by exploring how the debate participants in this study use beliefs concerning the link between language and nation to support a particular hierarchization of the Cape Verdean and Portuguese ‘languages’ in
terms of their function and status in Cape Verdean society. I follow with an examination of how these Cape Verdeans use beliefs concerning the link between dialect and nation to support or resist the selection and/or hierarchization of (a) particular regional variant(s) in the standardization of CVC.

**The National Level – Portuguese and Crioulo in Standardization**

Among those features that unify Cape Verdeans as a nation, the Cape Verdean language is one of the most cohesive. Nevertheless, most bilingual Cape Verdeans in this study give both Crioulo and the Portuguese language prominent roles in imaginings of the national community. They tend to disagree, however, on the importance of each of these languages in relation to one another. Those supporters of Crioulo’s officialization assign the Cape Verdean language a special place in the national community. They portray it as the national language, while relegating Portuguese and other languages to peripheral roles (at least symbolically). The opposition, on the other hand, strives to diminish the importance of CVC in relation to Portuguese. They counter the pro-Crioulo position by emphasizing the importance of maintaining the prestige and function of the latter, which they portray as essential to the future of the country.

**Pro-Crioulo Ideologies**

As the first language acquired by almost every Cape Verdean born in the West African archipelago, Crioulo is often portrayed as the language of Cape Verdeans. In the words of Duarte (1998), it is seen as constituting “the most overt expression of Cape Verdean identity” (p.17). Those supporting the officialization of CVC commonly emphasize the features of that language that uniquely qualify it as the national language.
of Cape Verdeans above and beyond all other languages. These ties of the Cape Verdean language to the national community, in turn, sometimes become rationalizations for a specific language policy approach. Some Cape Verdeans use creative imagery to draw these connections, like this writer:

Crioulo is belched out of us...it is a creativity that is ours, our patrimony. Cape Verdeans speak Crioulo. So it is for me a reason to have pride, a reason that leads me to ALUPEC [and] to attempt to get Crioulo officialized. (Writer B, personal communication, September 5, 2005)

Fragments of language policy discourse like the one above can be divided into two parts. First, the individual draws attention to one or more special characteristic of CVC that qualify it as the national language and exclude potential rivals. Second, the classification of CVC as the ‘national’ language becomes a partial rationalization for a specific approach to language policy. That is, it is used to justify a language policy approach that would elevate CVC to what the individual imagines is its due place as the national language of Cape Verdeans. In this section, I explore how some Cape Verdeans imagine the connection between Crioulo and the Cape Verdean nation, and how some of these imaginings are used to support a pro-Crioulo approach to language policy.

*Crioulo as a medium of communication*

One of the features of Crioulo that was highlighted by some of the Cape Verdeans hoping to see it made the official language is its *de facto* use as the language of oral communication in the Cape Verdean archipelago. CVC is the first language of nearly all Cape Verdeans living in the country and a great number of Cape Verdeans living in the diaspora. It is regularly spoken in homes, in social venues, on radio broadcasts, and in the workplace on the islands. One director of a high school put it thus:
The Crioulo language, truthfully, if we look at it in practice, is the first language of Cape Verdeans. It is the mother tongue. It is the only language in Cape Verde that every Cape Verdi speaks. (Educator A, personal communication, August 19, 2005)

These observations led him to conclude that “the Cape Verdi [social] space has been conquered by Crioulo” (personal communication, August 19, 2005).

In reality, Crioulo is even spoken in many government offices and schools where it is considered “officially incorrect.” As an employee of the Municipal Chamber on the island of Maio during a two-year stint in the Peace Corps, it became clear to me that a staff member would usually only revert to Portuguese when their interlocutor was a non-Cape Verdi. But even under these circumstances the staff member would typically use Crioulo if a foreigner understood the language. The sometimes contradictory gap between policy and practice did not escape the attention of the poet and lyricist Kaka Barbosa during a televised debate when he made the comment, “It seems to me that the Council of Ministers are meeting in Crioulo, they are debating in Crioulo, they are thinking in Crioulo” (Konbersu Sabi, N.D.). Barbosa’s account runs contrary to those of Duarte (1998) and Veiga (2004), who claim that Portuguese is the language usually spoken in such extremely formal contexts. On the other hand, it probably accurately reflects practices during certain periods of the political cycle. According to Ramos (2006, January 17), the Cape Verdi Parliament regularly debates in CVC before elections and “whenever the audience is the public,” only to abandon the practice when all of the votes have been tallied. But even this temporary use of Crioulo demonstrates the language’s infiltration into the highest levels of government administration.
The school is another area where it is “officially incorrect” to speak Crioulo. Here Portuguese, not CVC, is supposed to serve as the medium of instruction. But those rural schools where children have little or no contact with Portuguese outside of the classroom via television or radio (e.g. rural areas) sometimes violate this policy. One principal of a rural primary school on the island of Santiago openly acknowledged his staff’s use of spoken Crioulo in their school:

We are prohibited from speaking Crioulo. We are prohibited like that. [However] as we are in charge of [a rural school]...we speak Crioulo as much as we want. But if a boss is there, a representative [from the Ministry of Education], they won’t speak [Crioulo]. He would get upset. (Educator B, personal communication, August 23, 2005)

In spite of official policy, the principal and his staff conduct a variety of activities in the Cape Verdean language at his school. He described a few:

We teach them ‘buzot’18 so that they can try to habituate [with the Crioulo of the Barlavento]. We have music in Crioulo, have stories in Crioulo, have a historian that speaks to the children so much in Crioulo. We have some employees that have motivated two students to write poesy in the mother tongue. (personal communication, August 23, 2005)

Although it is unclear how representative these activities are of other rural schools in Cape Verde, the principal’s comments demonstrate that spoken Crioulo has made incursions even into some spaces where it is ‘officially’ proscribed. To use a phrase coined by the Brazilian author Jorge Amado during a trip he made to Cape Verde, “Life in Cape Verde runs its course in Crioulo” (Veiga, 1995, p.29).

A couple of the Cape Verdeans included in this study view the proliferate use of spoken Crioulo itself as a reason for christening it as an ‘official’ language of the

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18 *B’zót* is the second person plural pronoun used in Barlavento Crioulo dialects as opposed to its Sotavento equivalent: *Nhos*. 
archipelago. In their minds, Crioulo already serves as a *de facto* official language. The same principal cited above made this sentiment clear:

> Crioulo is a language that you are born with. For this reason it is a language that Cape Verde has already made official. It is a language spoken in the house, a language that is spoken in the school. (personal communication, August 23, 2005)

If pressed, this individual may concede that a child is not actually born with a language, but acquires it. His comments do, however, call attention to the intimate connection that he perceives between his L1 and his identity. This perceived connection is even more apparent in the following conversation between the poet Kaka Barbosa and a journalist:

> Kaka: Me, on a personal level, I do not believe that anyone needs to officialize the mother tongue [for it to be considered the official language], no one. ...Every generation of politicians comes and finds an established language, a language of communication, a language of our existence, a language of our best expression.

> Matilde: But it is necessary to officialize it [through legislation]...?

> Kaka: It is necessary to officialize it. (*Konbersu Sabi*, N.D.)

Although it appears at first that Barbosa dismisses the need for legislation intended to make Crioulo the official language, his subsequent comment clarifies his point, i.e. Crioulo is already a symbolic official language in Cape Verde, not through legislation, but because of its imagined fusion with an imagined collective, the Cape Verdean nation.

*Crioulo as a conduit of thoughts and feelings*

In the comment above, Barbosa rationalizes the juxtaposition of the Crioulo language and Cape Verdean identity on several grounds, including the language’s importance for allowing Cape Verdeans to best communicate their thoughts and emotions. The recognition of the Cape Verdean language as the best conduit of Cape Verdeans’ thoughts and feelings constitutes another rationalization that many of these
debate participants use to support their classification of Crioulo as Cape Verde’s national language. Some maintain that these thoughts and feelings emanate from an interior reality that is expressly Cape Verdi. In the words of Barbosa, Cape Verdeans are anchored in “a reality that is theirs, a reality that I believe is fundamental, an interior reality that is your national reality...that is your source” (Konbersu Sabi, N.D.). This may be similar to what Duarte (1998) calls the collective psyche of Cape Verdeans, which she claims, “can only be interpreted through the Crioulo language” (p.17).

The Cape Verdi language, then, is perceived to communicate the thoughts and emotions of Cape Verdeans in a way that no other language can. As Mascarenhas puts it, “Crioulo is very important for us to be able to express everything that we feel in a natural way, without any artifice or any calligraphy” (Konbersu Sabi, N.D.). A typical way of making this point is to draw attention to the shortcomings of translating emotionally charged Crioulo expressions into Portuguese. In the following passage, the poet Kaka Barbosa communicates this idea by first demonstrating the inadequacy of a Portuguese expression to communicate feeling equal to its Crioulo equivalent. Then he presents some passages in Crioulo and highlights the shortcomings of any attempt to translate them into Portuguese:

\[
\text{Minina, N kre bu txeu [Crioulo]. Minina, eu te amo}^{19} \text{ [Portuguese]...it does not come out nicely. N kre bu txeu di korason! Ah, fidju fémia, abô e diméu! N ta xinti’u dentu’l mi}^{20} \text{ [Crioulo]. How are you going to put this in Portuguese?} \]

( Konbersu Sabi, N.D.)

On a similar note, Macedo gave a personal account of the difficulties that Cape Verdeans face when expressing thoughts and emotions in Portuguese:

\[
19 \text{ “Girl, I love you.”} \\
20 \text{ “I love you from my heart. Oh, child, you are mine! I feel you deep inside of me!”}
\]
I spoke in Portuguese in the three round-table discussions I organized, and at certain moments I felt tired because I rarely speak Portuguese in my academic life. So when I speak Portuguese I simultaneously have to articulate these concepts in a language that’s not mine. ...When we have to express intimate feelings, it’s very hard to manage to be expressive effectively in a language that isn’t our own. (Fortes, 2005, December 13)

Fortes concurred:

Actually, I had a similar experience during the five years I lived in Portugal. When I felt moved, sad or upset and the words would start to spring up in my mind at an astonishing speed, they’d come out of my mouth in Crioulo. To be able to speak Portuguese I’d have to stop and reflect before I started talking. (Fortes, 2005, December 13)

CVC, then, more than any other language, is seen by these Cape Verdeans as the ideal conduit for expressing their thoughts and emotions. The unique access that the language has to the interior reality of Cape Verdeans facilitates an imagining of Crioulo as intimately conjoined to the Cape Verdean nation.

_Crioulo and Cape Verdean culture_

This discussion of Crioulo’s access to the interior reality of Cape Verdeans segues into a third theme that emerges most often in these debate participants’ rationalizations of the language-nation connection: that CVC is an essential component of Cape Verdean culture. Supporters of the language’s officialization see Crioulo “as a vehicle of communication between the members of a Collective” that is “intimately linked to its culture: *it originated from it, it is integrated within it*” (Fragoso, 2005, June 16, italics his). Duarte (1998) refers to the interior reality where culture resides as a type of worldview. She makes the following observation:

[A] language is not only a medium of communication. When it is the mother tongue, it encapsulates an eminently cultural load...it expresses a certain worldview, giving it an interpretation that inserts it into the social practice of each people. (Duarte, 1998, p.22)
Veiga (2004) takes things a step further, professing Crioulo as “not only a vehicle [for the transmission of a worldview] but also a substance of this same worldview” (p.72).

The recognition of Crioulo’s place in Cape Verdean culture lays the foundation for Cape Verdeans’ imaginings of a common national identity. Fragoso (2005, June 16) maintains that Crioulo is, “more than any other factor (read, cultural instrument)...a sure and robust index of the cultural identity of the Cape Verdean People.” Likewise, Veiga (2004) stresses the importance of the Cape Verdean language to the collective existence of Cape Verdeans:

Crioulo celebrates and expresses that which we are and to a great extent that which we are becoming from the identifying space that it translates, signifies, and symbolizes. (p.72)

As we can see, Crioulo often moves beyond a mere vehicle for the transmission of Cape Verdeans’ interior reality and worldview. As it merges with nationalism, it begins to acquire symbolic value and to serve as an emblem of the national community itself:

Crioulo is a spirit, is the spirit of this people, [and] must be developed as the Standard for the representation of this very people because it will serve to reinforce our reason to exist as a people since it is an element of our culture (Educator C, personal communication, September 1, 2005).

The equation of Crioulo with the national culture, then, is used as a justification for a language policy that promotes the standardization of the language.

Advocates of Crioulo’s officialization often exalt Cape Verdean cultural celebrities (e.g. singers, lyricists, poets) to reinforce their stance on language policy as well. Manuel Veiga issued the following challenge in a recent speech:

[W]e would like to ask all those that think that “Crioulo is a vulgar language” that should not be officialized, if they think that the poesy in Crioulo of B. Léza, of Sérgio Frusoni, of Cauberbianu Danbará, of Kaká Barbozá...is also vulgar. We must not forget that it is in Crioulo that Cesária Évora, Ramiro Mendes, Suzana
Lubranu, Beto Dias, Tito Paris, Lura, Mayra, and so many other Cape Verdean artists and musicians enchant the world. (personal communication, April 23, 2005)

Macedo clarifies the significance of these figures to the national culture:

[T]he pride we feel in having [musical] artists such as Lura, Tito Paris, Cesária Évora...exist because they think and feel in Crioulo. There are intimate emotions that are impossible for us to feel in a language that isn’t foreign, but that also isn’t our own. It’s a borrowed language. Crioulo is ours and it’s a part of our soul. I carried out all my academic studies in English, but the emotion I feel when I speak Crioulo, when I hear Crioulo, is something I don’t feel when I use English. (Fortes, 2005, December 13)

For Macedo, the international renown achieved by Cape Verdean artists who sing in Crioulo serves as a powerful symbol of the significance of that language. The rest of the world sees the value of Crioulo, so why don’t Cape Verdeans?

_Crioulo and the liberation struggle_

The Cape Verdean language may have been conceived in the era of slavery, but Cape Verdeans forged it into an instrument of nationalism during the late colonial period.

Fragoso (2005) narrates the emergence of this nationalism:

[I]n this creole cultural identity is based the Cape Verdean National Unit, resting securely, melted together in centuries of communal life, willingly cemented in a concrete and objective form through the marked uprisings and popular revolts designated in the 19th and 20th centuries (of 1822 in Engenho; of 1836 in Praia; of 1847 in Sal; of 1886 in Santo Antão; of 1910 in Riberão Manuel). (Fragoso, 2005, June 16)

In the late colonial period, Crioulo also became a central component, even a weapon, of the liberation movement led by Amilcar Cabral:

Amilcar Cabral, in the armed struggle, to bring people to understand him, he utilized the mother tongue and got an illiterate people to use a gun, to do accounting...to achieve independence in the Crioulo of Guinea. We also took our independence with our language. (Konbersu Sabi, N.D.)
Cape Verde received its independence in 1975. Nevertheless, some of the defenders of Crioulo in this study see their efforts to elevate the status and functions of Crioulo as a continuation of the struggle. One emigrant who had attended a roundtable session in São Vicente illustrated this connection in an editorial that he wrote for the Cape Verdan journal *A Semana*:

> The Minister of Culture, Dr. Manuel Veiga, by proposing to officialize the Cape Verdean language, does nothing less than pay homage to one of the heroes of our liberation. Through officialization our poets and composers, linguists, and association of emigrants, who for years have struggled for political and cultural emancipation, are given homage to begin with Cónego Teixeira, Eugénio Tavares, Pedro Monteiro Cardoso, Baltasar Lopes Luis Romano, [and] Kaoberdiano Dambará (Filisberto Vieira Lopes). (Silva, March 18, 2005)

For Silva, the liberation from colonialism represents an ongoing struggle to be carried out in the spirit of the national heroes. The officialization of Crioulo, then, becomes a critical step in the cultural emancipation of the Cape Verdan nation.

*The Portuguese Language and Cape Verdan Identity*

Even Cape Verdeans that oppose the officialization of Crioulo may not oppose many of the claims made above. Crioulo is the most widespread language of oral communication between Cape Verdeans in the archipelago. Its role in the liberation movement is well known and it is considered an important part of Cape Verdan culture. Meintel (1984) even informs us that as far back as colonial times those “[b]ilinguals who preferred to speak Portuguese most of the time still held that Crioulo was more suitable for telling jokes and stories, making love, or expressing strong emotion” (p.149).

Nonetheless, Cape Verdeans with reservations about making Crioulo the official
language often settle on a different interpretation of language’s importance to national identity, one that maintains Portuguese in a role of prestige.

The most outspoken critic of the brand of officialization espoused by Manuel Veiga is the Cape Verdean novelist Germano Almeida. In an interview conducted in 2005, Almeida, who has published novels in Portuguese that have been widely read internationally, described his own linguistic practices:

I have never tried writing in Crioulo and I will never try. I do not feel less Cape Verdean for speaking 95% of the time in Portuguese and for writing always in Portuguese. I believe that Portuguese is a language as much of the Portuguese as it is ours. (Almeida, 2005, May 6)

For Almeida, Cape Verdean Creole does not have exclusive rights to Cape Verdean cultural identity. He maintains that Cape Verdeans can and should learn to express their national identity through the Portuguese language:

We have to learn to use Portuguese well, and use it in the sense of making it capable of transmitting our identity. (Almeida, 2005, May 6)

Almeida seems to be suggesting that Cape Verdeans should learn Portuguese well, but also ‘creolize’ it in some ways to make it reflect the Cape Verdean interior reality and worldview:

We do not have to write the Portuguese language like the Portuguese do. The Portuguese say that we must not say “mais grande.” But, mais grande often transmits that which people want to say. At other times, it is said that “tal fulano foi morto,” but there are many cases in which so-and-so was not killed, “foi matado.” (Almeida, 2005, May 6)

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21 “So-and-so was killed.”
22 The Portuguese word matado best translates to “murdered” in English.
Although Almeida opposes “the simple declaration of Crioulo as the official language,” he maintains that he supports the basic idea of its officialization so long as it constitutes no threat to the role of the Portuguese language (Almeida, 2005, May 6).

The thrust of Almeida’s argument is that Crioulo does not have a monopoly on Cape Verdean identity and culture. Portuguese is also capable of embodying and transmitting Cape Verdean national identity. One could compare the situation with that of Mozambique, of which Anderson (1991) commented that “[i]f radical Mozambique speaks Portuguese, the significance of this is that Portuguese is the medium through which Mozambique is imagined” (p.134). Anderson stipulates that a “sufficient diffusion of bilingualism” is required to generate nationalism in a second language. Many educated Cape Verdeans have achieved a high proficiency in Portuguese as well as their mother tongue, but the backers of Crioulo’s officialization in this study argue that this bilingualism is not sufficiently diffused throughout Cape Verdean society. They propose a new strategy to achieve this diffusion, one that is rooted in the standardization and officialization of the Cape Verdean language.

It should be understood that both Portuguese and Crioulo fit into most of the conceptions of national identity of the bilingual Cape Verdeans in this study. The difference rests in the weights that they assign each of these languages. Manuel Veiga (2004) describes his view of the Portuguese language in these words:

Amilcar Cabral used to say that the best thing that colonialism left us is its language. This, during the more than 500 years of its history in the islands formed and informed a part of our culture. For this, from a cultural point of view, we consider her also a conquest of ours. To reject it is to reject a part of our culture, of our humanism. (p.68)

Nevertheless, he gives Crioulo a special place in the Cape Verdaean community:
All this is to affirm that although we speak Portuguese, we are creoles; that although we may think and live in Portuguese, we feel and exist in Crioulo. We can “be” with Portuguese, but we can only succeed at being and existing in and with Crioulo. (p.72)

Almeida, on the other hand, downplays the significance of the Cape Verdean language in relation to Portuguese:

We have to accept this: our nationalism is not revealed [exclusively] through the use of Crioulo, it can be revealed through which ever language, for example, Portuguese. (Fortes, 2005, February 11)

The crux of the disagreement, then, concerns whether or not Crioulo exclusively and/or uniquely conveys Cape Verdean identity and, if it does, if this is a sufficient condition for upgrading its status to “official” language. Only time will tell which one of these imaginings of language and national identity will prevail.

*The Regional Level – Inter-island Variation and Standardization*

In this section, I explore some ways that Cape Verdeans rationalize their own and others’ responses to the dilemma of selecting (a) variant(s) as the standard(s) for CVC. Two responses to the question of standardization have emerged: (a) the selection of only one variant – most likely the Santiago dialect, a variant spoken by more than half of the country’s entire population, or (b) the selection of two variants as standards – the dialect of Santiago in the Sotavento and the dialect of São Vicente in the North. The success of either one of these models may depend on the extent to which regional speech communities successfully imagine these dialects as representative of their own national identity.
Linguistic Variation in Cape Verde

Cape Verdean linguists emphasize the common origin of the Cape Verdean dialects, but linguistic variation is a fact in the archipelago. Variation, of course, is typical of any language community. Often variation corresponds to social distinctions based on age, gender, social class, ethnicity, and other social factors. In Cape Verde, geography and topography serve as significant sources of variation. The ocean acts as a barrier, limiting linguistic interaction between the speech communities of different islands. Conversely, the proximity of certain islands, e.g. Santiago & Maio, Fogo & Brava, may reduce this variation. Probably the most salient form of variation in the archipelago is that between the Barlavento variants to the North and the Sotavento islands to the South.

The northern islands remained generally uninhabited until the 18th century, when Cape Verdeans from Fogo settled the mountainous island of Santo Antón (Carreira, 2000). The other islands were settled shortly afterwards and then São Vicente, which “experienced considerable population inflows from the neighboring islands” (Carling, 2002, p.1) of São Nicolau, Sal, and Boavista, and rose to prominence among Barlavento islands as an economic and cultural hub. As a result, the Northern islands maintain strong linguistic ties to São Vicente, even though Santo Antón boasts many unique variants (Carling, 2004).

The linguistic distinctness of Santo Antón is, no doubt, intensified by its mountainous terrain and isolated valleys. The same can be said of Santiago whose rural dialects are thought by many to have suffered no alterations from the original Crioulo of
the fugitive slaves that settled the island’s interior during the 18\textsuperscript{th} and 19\textsuperscript{th} centuries (Carreira, 2000). As a result, the degree of variation between the dialects spoken in rural areas of Santiago and the rural areas of Santo Anton is substantial. It often produces the effect that “when someone from Praia [on the island of Santiago] goes to Santo Anton, they feel shocked” (Educator B, personal communication, August 23, 2005). The topography of the large mountainous islands also results in intra-island variation so that individuals from larger towns or urban areas like Praia (in Santiago) or Ribeira Grande (in Santo Anton) may find it difficult to understand some of the pronunciations and expressions of rural zones (Educator C, personal communication, September 1, 2005).

Selection of a Variant

Although Cape Verde contains many forms of linguistic variation, Cape Verdeans are most acutely aware of inter-island variation. They also seem to believe that Crioulo’s officialization requires the selection of one of these nine variants as the standard. The option with the most support among the individuals in this study is undoubtedly the variant of Santiago. Those who support the selection of this dialect rationalize their choice in several ways. The most widely referenced justification is demographic since over half of the country’s citizens reside on the island of Santiago. One individual from the Sotavento island of Fogo remarked:

I believe that the Crioulo [dialect] that should be officialized is the Crioulo [dialect] spoken by the majority of the population of Cape Verde. The majority of the population of Cape Verde is from Praia. (Educator B, personal communication, August 23, 2005)

Another Cape Verdean from the Sotavento echoed this position:

[I]f we look at the criteria for deciding which will be the Crioulo [dialect] to be officialized, if the criteria is the majority, well, the island of Santiago has more
The fact that a majority speaks the variant of Santiago permits rationalizations that draw upon the rhetoric of democracy. One individual echoed this point and added, “It is easier to solve a problem for the minority than to let a problem of the majority go unresolved” (Writer B, personal communication, September 5, 2005). Other reasons were given for the selection of Santiago’s variant. Two interviewees expressed a belief that Santiago’s Crioulo was more pure. They frame the Crioulo of Santiago as closest to the old Crioulo spoken by the slaves. One educator commented:

The pure Crioulo is not the Crioulo of Praia. It is the Crioulo of the interior, outside of Praia. It is the Crioulo spoken where the people that fled their masters would go live. ...That Crioulo from Santiago that I understand has suffered no alteration. We might say it is the Crioulo of slavery. (Educator B, personal communication, August 23, 2005)

The variant of Santiago, then, is portrayed as the birthmother of all the other Crioulo dialects. Another interviewee explained, “All of the other variants we have presuppose the base variant, the variant of Santiago” (Writer B, personal communication, September 5, 2005). Santiago’s dialect is the basilect, the variant that is the most distinct from Portuguese, the most similar to the Crioulo spoken by the slaves, the “original” Crioulo.

Phonology serves as the basis for one final justification for the selection of Santiago’s variant as expressed by one of the interviewees and Dulce Duarte. Duarte (1998) notes that “the deep phonology of the Barlavento is identical or largely similar to the superficial phonology of the Sotavento” (p.193). In other words, the Barlavento often omits sounds from words that are found in their Sotavento pronunciations, but these
sounds are still there (at least implicitly). Likewise, one interviewee contends that some Cape Verdean intellectuals from the Barlavento have even found the Southern variant more suitable for writing:

Even B. Leza, who was a great composer...in his composition – he was from São Vicente – he would use the variant of the Sotavento...because of its musicality. Baltasar Lopes...would defend the notion that the Crioulo of the Sotavento, principally that of Santiago, was better for writing. (Writer B, personal communication, September 5, 2005)

Duarte (1998) concurs on the grounds that Santiago Crioulo’s “phonemic manifestation [i.e. its representation in spelling] is a great measure closer to the phonetic structure of the language” (p.193).

Opposition to the Selection of Santiago’s Variant

The supporters of Santiago’s variant have a tendency to downplay the significance of the challenge faced in the selection of a standard. One individual explained it like this:

Here is where the people behind the officialization of Crioulo, they have two problems, but the problems are not really that big. It is that each island has a different dialect, but it is very minimal. It is a manner of speaking. For example, Santo Anton says ‘kise’, we say ‘kase’. Praia says ‘rolo’, which means to roll, Santo Anton says ‘dibarba’, and Fogo says ‘rola’. It is the accent, some word parallels, it is not very much. (Educator B, personal communication, August 23, 2005)

Others call attention to the normality of linguistic variation among standardized languages in other countries:

[Even in] the United States, the manner of expression varies from state to state. (Official A, personal communication, September 5, 2005)

And also:

And this or that difficulty [in understanding] exists between the Portuguese of Porto and of Lisbon. (Educator C, personal communication, September 1, 2005)
The normality of linguistic variation serves to dispel notions that variation itself could prevent CVC from becoming a print language.

Although the Cape Verdeans in this study opposed to Crioulo’s officialization did not list island-to-island variation as a problem, virtually everyone who supports officialization acknowledged the challenge of winning over those Cape Verdeans who see the standardization of Santiago’s variant as a threat to their linguistic and cultural identity. One individual from a Sotavento island recalled a conversation in which these concerns surfaced with an individual from the Barlavento island of Boa Vista:

He said that he does not speak the Crioulo of Santiago. He said that he has never spoken it and he never will speak it. ... A person from São Vicente, from my point of view, has an even more radical position. You cannot impose the Crioulo of Santiago. They will not submit. And neither will a person from Santiago submit to the Crioulo of São Vicente. (Educator A, personal communication, August 19, 2005)

The opposition to the selection of Santiago’s variant is particularly strong in the islands of São Vicente and Santo Anton, where the prospects of being required to write Crioulo in Santiago’s dialect generates unease (Carling, 2004).

The process of standardization is not a clear one, but some of those that support the officialization of Crioulo underscore the importance of preventing the marginalization of the various dialects. A government official suggested there be “a phase for the question of...linguistic diversity” (personal communication, September 5, 2005). This period of research and development would allow other dialects to play a role in the formation of the standard. As he explained:

I believe that even these didactic materials that will be elaborated – principally grammars, manuals, and etcetera – this material must take into account the diversity of dialectical expressions so that we do not discriminate between individuals, marginalize them. And every student can experiment – a process that
is gradual – [in] the affirmation of [the Crioulo] language, but at the same time valorizing their own language [variety]. (personal communication, September 5, 2005)

If the other dialects are not permitted their own contributions in the standardization process, he argues that “language might not be a source of union” (personal communication, September 5, 2005) as it should be. Still, it remains unclear how the process of standardization might proceed or if these concerns will shape the course of LPP.

In response to the opposition to the selection of Santiago’s variant, Manuel Veiga proposes the adoption of two variants as “official.” More specifically, he aims to “orient the standardization of Crioulo on three fronts” (Veiga, 2004, p.114). First, the Barlavento dialects will be standardized based on the variant of São Vicente. At the same time, Sotavento varieties will be standardized with the variant of Santiago serving as the base. Finally, Barlavento and Sotavento varieties will be standardized with reference to the variant of Santiago (Veiga, 2004, p.114). The dialects of both Santiago and São Vicente would become the standards while allowing for their enrichment from “the pertinent variants that are representative of all the other [language] varieties” (p.142). Already Veiga has indicated his intention to create “two commissions to study the ways to achieve consensus about the way to develop the two variants of Cape Verde” (Silva, 2005, March 18).

Interestingly, Veiga’s proposal that two variants be selected breaks with the one nation-one standard norm that has seemed to dominate most modern conceptions of
nationalism. It may succeed if Cape Verdeans from the Barlavento are willing to accept the variant of São Vicente as a standard written language. On this topic, the school teacher who discussed the intransigence of the individual from Boa Vista was asked if he thought that this individual would submit to São Vicente’s dialect. He responded that “it would be easier, given that their language is closer to that of São Vicente than that of Santiago” (personal communication, August 19, 2005). The success of this approach, then, will most likely depend on the extent to which individual Cape Verdeans are willing to accept one of these two standards as sufficiently representative of their own Cape Verdean identity, i.e. as emblems of the Cape Verdean community.

Conclusion

This chapter presents some of the ideologies of language and nation that emerge in the Cape Verdean language debate and offers examples of the manner in which they are deployed in support of certain approaches to the standardization and the officialization of Crioulo. At the national level, the Cape Verdean elites in this study who support the officialization of CVC all emphasize the significance of the Cape Verdean language to the Cape Verdean national community above and beyond all other languages. They rationalize the fusion of language with nation by arguing that Crioulo is the most ideal conduit of Cape Verdeans’ thoughts and feelings, that it is inextricably linked to Cape Verdean culture, that it is the language of the liberation struggle, and that it already serves as the de facto language of oral communication in the archipelago. The most outspoken critic of Crioulo’s officialization, on the other hand, rejects the idea that

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23 Another country that has chosen two dialects as standards is Norway. See Haugen (1959, 1966).
CVC has a monopoly on Cape Verdean national identity, maintaining that Portuguese and other languages can also serve to transmit this identity.

At the regional level, most of these supporters of officialization favor the selection of the Sotavento dialect of Santiago Island as the standard for CVC. They justify their choice on the grounds that it is the dialect spoken by the majority of the population, but some of them also add that the other Crioulo dialects originate from Santiago’s dialect and that its phonology is the most adequate for writing. Although the Cape Verdeans opposed to officialization in this study do not speak of regional variation as problematic (probably because Almeida and the two interviewees opposed to Crioulo’s officialization come from the Sotavento island of Santiago), the proponents of officialization acknowledge that the selection of the Santiago dialect is opposed by numbers of Cape Verdeans from other islands, especially those of the Barlavento. Purportedly they see it as a threat to their own linguistic and cultural autonomy. We can interpret this resistance, in part, as unwillingness on the part of these individuals to accept the Santiago dialect as an emblem of their national identity. Veiga’s proposal to adopt two variants as standards for CVC, the Santiago dialect of the Sotavento and the São Vicente dialect of the Barlavento, has the potential to garner the support of these individuals to the extent that Cape Verdeans from the Barlavento are willing to accept it as such an emblem. But if this is the path that standardization will take, then language planners ought to take further steps to dispel the notion that the dialect of Santiago will become the sole standard in Cape Verde.
Chapter 6: Language Policy and Nationalism – Graphization

As we saw in the previous chapter, Cape Verdean Creole occupies a central place in Cape Verdeans’ imaginings of the national community. But its officialization implies more than the simple declaration of Crioulo as the official language of the country. It also requires the approval of a unified alphabet for the writing of CVC. Two approaches to the writing of Crioulo are most common: (1) ALUPEC (Unified Alphabet for the Writing of Cape Verdean Creole), a phonemic alphabet and an orthography that is quite distinct from Portuguese, and (2) a variety of etymological spellings that employ symbols and writing conventions typical in written Portuguese. Ideologies of language, of course, often linger behind Cape Verdeans’ orthographic preferences. This chapter explores some of the rationalizations that Cape Veredean elites in this study use to support either an etymological or phonemic approach to the writing of CVC. The discussion of these ideologies will be organized around four of the main points of contention:

(1) Should a writing convention for CVC be diverse or uniform? 
(2) Which type of alphabet will facilitate learning? 
(3) Should CVC be orthographically autonomous of or dependent on Portuguese? 
(4) Is ALUPEC an anti-Portuguese alphabet?

Selection of an Orthography

Crioulo is primarily an oral language, but Cape Verdeans have been writing in the language for quite some time. The first alphabet for CVC can be traced back to the 17th century (Macedo, 1979), but writers and composers have produced most of the language’s written works during the last hundred years. The traditional approach to
writing CVC is mainly phonetic (Macedo, 1979), but consists of the adoption of Portuguese spelling conventions that, for the most part, reflect a word’s etymology, i.e. the spelling of the word’s lexical equivalent in Portuguese (Duarte, 1998). Other characters are sometimes added to account for commonly recurring sounds that have no distinct representation in the Portuguese alphabet, e.g. <tch> is used for the phoneme /ʃʃ/ and the grapheme <dj> for the phoneme /dʒ/.

After independence, most writers from the Sotavento island of Santiago adopted a phonemic alphabet for their publications. A phonemic alphabet is one where each character of the alphabet represents a different phoneme (Duarte, 1998). The Mindelo Colloquium of 1979 constituted the first coordinated effort to elaborate such an alphabet. Several Cape Verdean linguists, educators, journalists, and anthropologists as well as a number of non-Cape Verdean linguists gathered together in the city of Mindelo in São Vicente for the week-long Colloquium to discuss the prospects of an orthography for the Cape Verdean language. They ended their deliberations with a proposal for a phonemic alphabet that came to be known as the Mindelo Alphabet (Duarte, 1998).

After nearly two decades of debate and experimentation, this phonemic alphabet underwent considerable revisions, resulting in the most recent orthography: ALUPEC. In 1998, ALUPEC was approved for a five-year period of experimentation by the legislative branch of Cape Verde. Although the government balked on the formation of an oversight and evaluation committee for the trial period, sponsors of the alphabet declared it a success and now endorse ALUPEC as their choice as the official alphabet.

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24 The phoneme /ʃʃ/ is equivalent to the sound “ch” in the English word “check.”
Many Cape Verdeans consider the approval of an alphabet as an essential prerequisite for Crioulo’s officialization. It is seen as “the first step for the standardization of the language” (Duarte, 1998, p.165). The adoption of ALUPEC as the official alphabet, then, would overcome a great hurdle in the development of CVC as a written language. At this time, no viable alternative in the form of a unified orthography has been presented by those that favor an etymological spelling. Nevertheless, the possibility that ALUPEC may be adopted as the standard alphabet continues to generate controversy in the archipelago. In this section, I explore some of the rationalizations that underlie some Cape Verdeans’ support of and opposition to ALUPEC.

Orthographic Unification or Etymological Diversity?

A recent debate between the Cape Verdian journalist Guy Ramos and the Cape Verdian singer and story-teller Celina Pereira offers a nice introduction to one aspect of the dispute between those that support the phonemic alphabet ALUPEC and those that prefer etymological inscription. Ramos criticized Pereira for her selection of an etymological alphabet over ALUPEC in the writing of a recent book, Do Tambor a Blimundo. For Ramos, ALUPEC is needed “to unfasten the Cape Verdean language from the Portuguese language” (Nogueira, 2005, February 23). Pereira disagreed:

Celina defended the “lexical Portuguese roots” [of her writing] as a part of “the extremely rich Lusophone space” in which she navigates and, citing authors like Eugénio Tavares and Pedro Cardoso among others, she asks the question: “Can they be considered less valuable because they were not done in the ALUPEC form of written Crioulo?” (Nogueira, 2005, February 23)

Ramos’ outrage at Pereira’s very choice of an alphabet other than ALUPEC perfectly reflects the ideology of standardization. Pereira affirms her right as the author “to assume an etymological spelling, without questioning or offending other forms or
formulas” (Nogueira, 2005, February 23). In other words, her approach honors diversity. The standardizing force of ALUPEC, on the other hand, demands conformity to a single orthographic norm.

ALUPEC’s supporters among the Cape Verdeans in this study emphasize the need for the establishment of an official, unified alphabet that governs all writing in the Cape Verdean language. Some of them openly criticized the traditional method of etymological spelling on the grounds that it consists of, “not the orthography of a written language, but [rather] the inscription of an oral language” (Duarte, 1998, p.169). In other words, the writing system is not sufficiently systematic. Spelling often varies within the texts themselves, as one Cape Verdean writer noted:

I, myself, I have read written works, for example, in which kasa is written with two ‘s’-es or kasa with one ‘s,’ or kasa with a ‘z.’ ...They write in their own way. (Writer B, personal communication, September 5, 2005)

Spelling conventions also differ from writer to writer, leading one European linguist to refer to the etymological practices of Cape Verdean writers as “an anarchy of graphical forms” (Valdman, cited in Duarte, 1998, p.192). But the evolution of CVC through standardization, on the other hand, requires a uniform method of graphization. The writer mentioned above put it this way:

It is necessary to say, “No. This is the way to write the language by the rules. Everyone that writes otherwise, writes incorrectly.” (Writer B, personal communication, September 5, 2005)

He and other supporters of ALUPEC, then, present the uniformization of spelling and its officialization as essential prerequisites for the development of the language.
Complicating or Facilitating Learning?

Those research subjects that favored etymological spellings justified their opposition in different ways. Some of these justifications clearly illustrated the prominence with which they regard the Portuguese language. One individual defended his opposition to alphabet on the grounds that the instruction of both ALUPEC and the Portuguese orthography would constitute too great a challenge for students. In his mind, teaching two orthographies would diminish the quality of education so that “when [Cape Verdeans] want to intellectualize, they will lack the proficiency to write in Portuguese” (Writer D, personal communication, September 7, 2005). Almeida (2005) takes a similar position, suggesting that ALUPEC will lack effectiveness “because to read and write in the Crioulo of ALUPEC is likely to carry a grain of difficulty larger than that of the use of Portuguese.” Each of these individuals suggests that the adoption of ALUPEC will have damaging effects on the learning of Portuguese and fears the displacement of that language in terms of prestige and function. For them, ALUPEC will cause Cape Verde to “lose such an important connection as Portuguese” (personal communication, September 7, 2005) and, consequently, stifle the intellectual development of the country.

The linguists in this study have rejected an etymological alphabet for several reasons. First of all, an etymological alphabet may become “very rapidly outdated,” says Macedo (1979), “since it would not be designed to accommodate the phonological changes that will occur as a result of the language evolution” (p.146). Macedo also argues that the adoption of a purely etymological alphabet would take a considerable amount of time and investigation. Although over 90% of the Cape Verdean lexicon
derives from Portuguese, a considerable number of words of African origin continue to be used in CVC (Duarte, 1998). Consequently, a great deal of research to expose the appropriate etymological spellings for these words would need to be carried out by scholars that have knowledge of these languages, but it is unclear whether or not such individuals exist in Cape Verde or elsewhere (Macedo, 1979).

Even given the success of such an investigation, the argument goes, the amount of memorization required for learning the written forms of etymologically spelled words would be substantial (Macedo, 1979). This is because the learner would need to memorize the spelling of the word’s etymological root. The advantage of a phonemic-phonological alphabet, according to ALUPEC’s supporters, is that the spelling of a word can be determined simply by identifying its individual sounds. Veiga (2005, May 2) clarifies the usefulness of such an approach:

> We have already shown how all the sounds s, ss, c, ç can be written with only one letter s: sabedoria, misa, sédu, masa. In ALUPEC, still, every z sound (z,s,x) is represented only by z. Example: razon, frazi, izami. There is no linguistic explanation to justify writing the word frazi with an s or izami with x. Functionality and economy justify the opting of z for ALUPEC. This functionality and economy, furthermore, frees us from committing errors of orthography or, moreover, from remaining always with a dictionary in hand. (Veiga, 2005, May 2)

The phonemic camp, then, uses the simplicity and practicality of ALUPEC as a rationalization for their orthographic choice. ALUPEC, in their minds, actually maximizes the ease of learning.

*Linguistic Autonomy or Dependence?*

We return to Guy Ramos and Celina Pereira’s dispute above for a discussion of the next aspect of the ALUPEC controversy. Presuppositions regarding the relationship of Crioulo to Portuguese underlie both Ramos and Pereira’s positions. Ramos clearly
sees no essential connection between the two languages and maintains the need to separate Crioulo from Portuguese, lamenting the fact that Pereira’s Crioulo is “very Portuguese-like” and that “[w]hen Crioulo is spoken on the radio or on the television [in Cape Verde], it is more like a Portuguese with a Crioulo accent than a pure Crioulo” (Nogueira, 2005, February 23). Pereira, on the other hand, sees Crioulo as an actual component of the Lusophone world and considers her works, as well as those written by other Cape Verdean authors, to be contributions to the diverse Portuguese language-based literary landscape. In other words, she suggests an indivisible connection between the two languages. The debate over ALUPEC, then, to a very large extent can be considered a struggle over whether or not CVC can and should be made autonomous from the Portuguese language.

Almeida (2005) argues that Cape Verdean Creole runs no risk of extinction. Linguists that support ALUPEC beg to differ. They argue that an etymological alphabet threatens the structural autonomy of the Cape Verdean language. Duarte (1998) maintains that the Cape Verdean language is currently undergoing a process of decreolization which is making it more Portuguese-like. She contends that CVC has been locked in such a process since the 19th century when slavery ended and diglossia was imposed. Duarte (1998) explains:

[I]n time, the individuals of African origin that began speaking the new [Crioulo] language lost their link with their other tongues, but maintained a relative contact with Portuguese, the language of administration, of the Church and, later, of the school. (p.52)

Duarte argues that the sustained existence of Portuguese as the sole language of prestige led to “the notorious influences” of the Portuguese language which have “progressively
invaded, not only the lexicon constituted in the 15th and 16th centuries, but also the
Crioulo [grammatical] structure” (p.67). The maintenance of Portuguese as the language
of prestige, its reinforcement through the system of education, and its status as the only
written language in Cape Verde is viewed as exacerbating the decreolization process. For
her, the problem can only begin to be resolved with the standardization of CVC as a
written language (Duarte, 1998).

In light of decreolization, Duarte (1998) considers an etymological approach to
writing to be a threat to the maintenance of CVC’s phonetic structure. She gives an
example:

[I]n the variant of Santiago the final e in most Portuguese words appears
represented by an i: sodadi, parenti, noti. If these words were spelled only
etymologically, the tendency would be to write sodade, parente, note, which is an
important step toward the decreolization of a language. (Duarte, 1998, p.190)

Eventually, she maintains, the phonetic pronunciation will begin to approximate that of
the etymological spelling. Ramos also cites the urgency of “this process of emancipating
Crioulo” out of the fear that “we will end up losing the richest element of our culture”
(Nogueira, 2005, February 23). The central concern of an alphabet, says Duarte, should
not be the instruction of Portuguese, which would imply “a historical (or diachronic)
subordination of Crioulo to Portuguese and one that precisely must be avoided” (Duarte,
1998, p.189). On the contrary, an alphabet should seek “the preservation of the phonetic
autonomy of the Cape Verdean language” (p.188) and this rules out, for her, the option of
an etymological alphabet.
**An Anti-Portuguese Alphabet?**

Some opponents of ALUPEC in this study not only cherish the Portuguese language, they also see the alphabet and its supporters as hostile to that language. In the wake of independence, many writers from Santiago, the island with the strongest linguistic and cultural ties to Africa, participated in what Macedo (1979) calls an “anti-Portuguese crusade” in which they “went to extremes and proclaimed the assimilation of Capeverdean culture with the African culture” (p.160). These writers began to utilize spelling conventions that highlighted the difference between CVC and the Portuguese language. In the height of this period, the poet Kaoberdiano Dambara introduced the grapheme <k> into his writings under the rationale that it was more African, thus initiating the debate concerning that grapheme. Macedo (1979) criticizes Dambara’s rationale, not only because the grapheme itself originated in the Roman alphabet, but also because it introduces what Macedo considers a type of neo-colonialism that absorbs Cape Verde into Africa and “defeats the whole purpose of a cultural independence” (p.161).

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<th>Table 2: Graphemes used in Cape Verdean alphabets</th>
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The strangeness of the Mindelo Alphabet (in comparison to the Portuguese one) and the large number of writers from the island of Santiago that rallied behind it probably led some Cape Verdeans to view the phonemic-phonological movement as a continuation of the anti-Portuguese faction. Indeed, the more radically anti-Portuguese elements of the independence movement probably found the phonemic-phonological school a good fit ideologically. The Mindelo Alphabet, for instance, included the <k> as well as several graphemes that are not found in either Portuguese or traditional Cape Verdean Creole texts [see Table 2]. A decade later, revisions were made to situate the new alphabet “between the traditional practice of Crioulo writing and the phonetic-phonological25 alphabet produced at the Colloquium of Mindelo” (Duarte, 1998). Still, ALUPEC, when it was formed, retained the <k> and many other non-Portuguese characters.

Although many of ALUPEC’s supporters emphasize the scientific basis of their orthographic decisions, other Cape Verdeans have their doubts. One individual voiced his concern during a book presentation that Manuel Veiga gave in the Barlavento city of Mindelo:

Someone not against officialization, a Portuguese teacher, came out against ALUPEC and asked why one must write kaza when throughout one’s life a person gets accustomed to the spelling casa. “Crioulo can become a foreign language like this.” A language that we are not familiar with, he later explained.’ (Tolentino, 2005, January 14)

As illustrated by these comments, some opponents of ALUPEC view the alphabet as essentially anti-Portuguese. One writer, for instance, maintained that ALUPEC’s characters were chosen “so that it can be different from Portuguese” (Writer C, personal communication, September 6, 2005). In her mind, ALUPEC represents an unappealing

25 Duarte (1998) often uses the adjective “phonetic-phonological” in place of “phonemic.”
effort “to drag the islands over and anchor them to Africa” (personal communication, September 6, 2005).

Conclusion

The Cape Verdeans in this study clash over ALUPEC on a variety of fronts. The ideologies that inspire opposition to the alphabet, as we saw above, are often rooted in fears that it will be difficult to learn, that it will undermine the learning of Portuguese, and that it is a continuation of anti-Portuguese furor from the Independence era. In short, the phonemic alphabet is seen as a threat to the role of the Portuguese language in Cape Verdean society. On the flip side, the principal concern of ALUPEC’s supporters seems to be the autonomy and preservation of the Crioulo language. Nevertheless, their failure to make concessions to some etymological character choices may not be wholly justified.

Although linguists that support ALUPEC stress the drawbacks of a strictly etymological approach to spelling, it appears that their opponents are not demanding a purely etymological alphabet. Some of them seem to be expressing opposition to the selection of particular graphemes. Macedo (1979) – who now supports ALUPEC – has recommended in the past that the phonemic alphabet include the graphemes <c> and <qu> rather than <k> as the signifiers for the phoneme /k/.26 The rationale behind this choice rests in the acknowledgement that orthographic regularization should take into consideration “both cultural-political factors and linguistic principles” (p.165) since, according to William A. Smalley, “writing systems, after all, are cultural phenomena, used by people with feelings and emotions, with prejudices and fears” (cited in Macedo,

26 Macedo (1979) suggested that the phoneme /k/ be represented with the grapheme <c> be used “in the environment of /a/ /o/ /u/” (p.170) and the grapheme <qu> in that of /i/ and /e/.
[W]e learn to read and write in Portuguese, and suddenly a K shows up. ...This creates a discomfort. But we can write it with a C or with a K. All languages have variants, but even so they have a systematic writing system. (Fortes, 2005, December 13)

In response to this problem, Manuel Veiga has said that he would support the formation of two commissions – one for the investigation of the Barlavento dialect and one for the Sotavento – to provide recommendations for reaching a compromise on this issue. The extent to which the phonemic camp is willing to budge on the <k> may depend on the degree to which the ideologies linked to it have acquired a strong allegiance. If the feelings generated by these ideologies remain strong in the Barlavento, then insisting on its use is likely to meet significant resistance.
Chapter 7: Conclusion

This thesis has explored the ways that a group of Cape Verdean elites use language ideologies to rationalize their own and other Cape Verdeans’ language policy approaches. In particular, it has looked at the ideologies surrounding three points of contention in the Cape Verdean language debate. These points of contention can be characterized by the following questions, which correspond respectively to chapters four, five, and six:

1. Should Crioulo be used in Cape Verdean schools as a medium of instruction and/or as a resource for the instruction of Portuguese?

2. What language(s) and dialect(s) should serve as the standard(s) in Cape Verde?

3. What writing convention should be adopted for the Cape Verdean language?

The ideologies of language expressed by the research subjects in this study and concerning these points of dispute often intersect with ideologies of development and nationalism. For instance, the Cape Verdeans in this study often use beliefs concerning the impact of the use of Portuguese and/or Crioulo in schools on the quality of education and on the development process as rationalizations for supporting or rejecting the officialization of Crioulo. In addition, their support of (a) particular standard(s) appears to hinge on beliefs concerning the connection between language and nation, i.e. on their willingness to imagine (a) particular language(s) (Portuguese or Crioulo) or (a) particular regional dialect(s) as representative of their Cape Verdean identity. An examination of these ideologies among a group of influential elites helps us to unravel the different meanings that the officialization, standardization, and graphization of Crioulo may hold for other Cape Verdeans.
Of course, ideologies constitute one of a broad array of factors that need to be taken into account in order to understand the course of language policy (Ricento, 2006). As Cooper (1989) argues, “Language planning is too complex an activity to be explained by one factor only” (p.119). The interests of different social classes, for instance, also play a major role. Cooper (1989) points out the following:

[T]he most powerful individuals and groups within a community are those which exert the most influence over the distribution of scarce resources or values. Elites attempt to maintain and extend their influence over this process; the mass, to the extent that it is mobilized, seeks a more equitable process; and counterelites, speaking in the name of the mass or in the name of a new ideology, seek to displace the elite and to seize control of the process themselves. (p.119)

In his view, ideologies continue to play a role in the language policy and planning process, but remain less significant than the influences of social class. He concludes that “elites and counterelites are unlikely either to hitch themselves to ideological engines or to exploit the selfless efforts of others if the resulting status planning does not promote the maintenance or pursuit of power” (Cooper, 1989, p.120).

Those Cape Verdeans in favor of Crioulo’s officialization often call attention to the importance of social class to those who wish to maintain Portuguese in a role of prestige. Duarte (1998) notes how the colonial policy of assimilation disparaged the languages of the colonized, causing a painful inferiority complex to emerge within the Cape Verdean elite. She claims that these *assimilados* often repressed and/or disparaged their mother tongue, only to eventually pass these attitudes onto their children. In addition, their children and the children of the contemporary bilingual elite enjoy a clear advantage when attending school for the first time at the age of seven. Duarte (1998) explains:
For the children of the functionaries and the liberal professionals, whose parents normally utilized Portuguese (and, in many cases, prohibited them from speaking in Crioulo), the problem of [the Portuguese-based curriculum] impeding their expressiveness was not significant, or not very significant. These children completed primary instruction with practically the same level of difficulty as a Portuguese child. But what about the children whose parents were illiterate or almost so? (p.244)

The short answer to this question is that these children were left behind. She concludes that the system of education in Cape Verde serves as a vehicle for the reproduction of social class. That is, it “weaken[s] the possibilities for subordinate Capeverdeans to engage in dialectical encounters with the dominant class” (Macedo, 1984, p.111) and this has led Crioulo advocates, who see themselves as carrying out the interest of the masses, to pursue a restructuring of the educational curriculum. These critiques do not necessarily suggest a conspiracy among the members of the dominant class, but they do offer a sincere look at the privileges enjoyed by the dominant social group under the current language regime. Any resistance to change can be interpreted, in a sense, as a protection of these privileges.

Aside from issues of social class, the geographical distribution of power also plays a significant role in the Cape Verden language debate. As previously noted in this thesis, Cape Verdeans often affiliate the selection of specific graphemes for the Crioulo alphabet with particular regional variants. In addition, the standardization of CVC will inevitably lead to the selection of (a) particular dialect(s) as the standard(s). The orientation of the process of standardization around particular island-based dialects will inevitably create “languages-of-power” (Anderson, 1991, p.45), i.e. those dialects that approximate the standard. The greater the difference between any particular (regional) dialect and the standard(s), then, the more difficult it may be for the speakers of that
dialect to master the standard(s). Regrettfully, the speakers of varieties that do not approximate the standard(s) also run the risk of finding themselves subject to stigmatization.

The majority of the sources of the texts examined in this study are bilingual elites from the Sotavento island of Santiago who support the officialization of Crioulo, the standardization of the dialect of Santiago, and the adoption of ALUPEC as the official alphabet. So the ideologies herein cannot be taken as representative of all Cape Verdeans. On the other hand, this study does provide an indication of some of the ideologies that play an important part in the Cape Verdean language debate, even though the strength and scope of these ideologies is difficult to assess. If we accept Cooper’s (1991) assessment that social groups tend to adopt ideologies that correspond with their interests, then it should come as no surprise that members of the dominant social group might want to protect the source of their privilege – the Portuguese language – and that regional groups might want to protect themselves from linguistic and cultural assimilation and discrimination. The bilingual elite that oppose officialization probably most strongly adhere to the belief that the introduction of Crioulo into the schools and the adoption of a phonemic alphabet threaten the Portuguese language. The source of opposition among the regional parties in Cape Verde, on the other hand, probably has more to do with the belief that the outcomes of the standardization and graphization process may marginalize regional dialects and writing conventions. This may explain why Veiga and his allies have made significant efforts to portray their approach to
language policy and planning as a means of strengthening Portuguese and to include the Barlavento dialect of São Vicente in the standardization process.

*Consensus Building*

The interests of social groups and regional speech communities in Cape Verde as well as the decisions of individual politicians all contribute to the shaping of policy, but ideologies remain relevant to this process “not only in determining the relative status of languages, but [due to their role] in maintaining the existing power relations so that things cannot change” (Sebba, 1997, p.235). In the Cape Verdean language debate, beliefs and rationalizations that link language, nation, and development all strengthen the allegiance of particular individuals and groups to specific approaches to language policy and planning. Then again, democratic societies like Cape Verde often offer a great degree of ideological diversity and the possibility for change through debate. Politicians in democracies regularly utilize ideologies to garner support and to undercut their opposition. Furthermore, they may be more likely to be held accountable for those ideologies and the actions that stem from them. Manuel Veiga, for instance, stirs up sentiments of linguistic nationalism to gain support for the officialization of Crioulo. If he succeeds in making officialization a significant issue and sells his ideologies to the public, then the lawmakers that refuse to approve Crioulo as an official language do so at the risk of being voted out of office.

Still, the exposure of language ideologies fails to offer a clear picture of what an appropriate language policy for Cape Verde would look like (Ricento, 2006). Clearly, a strong language policy requires good planning, and many African governments have
grown accustomed to policies determined by “arbitrary decisions and decrees, which apply with immediate effect” instead of a “slow, deliberate process of debate, disputation, and resolution” (Bamgbose, 2000, p.103, italics his). The Cape Verdean government’s approach to language policy, on the other hand, has earned the praise of Bamgbose (2000) for its being “marked by democratization and community participation” and because “an essential aspect of the philosophy of education in the country is the participation of citizens in fundamental policy decisions” (Bamgbose, 2000, p.114).

Nevertheless, commitments that look nice on paper are not always fulfilled in practice. Many critics of Manuel Veiga’s proposed reforms argue that he is acting on his own and without popular support. They accuse Veiga of behaving like “the judge of his own cause” (Tolentino, 2005, January 14) and of rushing toward officialization so that he can go down in history as the one who made Crioulo the official language. Still Veiga’s motivation for pursuing Crioulo’s officialization so vigorously may have more to do with his long commitment to the Cape Verdean language, in whose development and promotion he has invested several years of time and energy, than with personal ambition.

Nonetheless, even some of his allies have expressed concern that the time-frame in which Veiga had hoped to achieve officialization may have been too ambitious. At an international conference that I attended in Washington, D.C. in May of 2005, Duarte expressed her concerns with Veiga’s plans of introducing legislation to make Crioulo the co-official language by October of that year. She called for Veiga to postpone Crioulo’s officialization until more progress in the area of language planning had been made. Duarte’s reservations indicate that, for her, the officialization of Crioulo fits into a larger
process of language planning and that consensus among scholars on the appropriate course for planning has not yet been achieved.

Kaka Barbosa, another supporter of Crioulo’s officialization, has expressed similar concerns about the pace of the status planning process:

I believe that we must not be in a hurry for certain things. We must not be in a hurry. We need to have the capability to measure everything and to put each thing in its place. (Konbersu Sabi, N.D.)

Of course, the timing of Crioulo’s officialization, which will permit Crioulo’s use in schools and in government administration, is probably more of an art than a science. A government official encapsulated this when he commented, “We must not be in too much of a hurry, but [we] must also not wait until all of the conditions are created...to move forward” (personal communication, September 5, 2005). In other words, although a substantial amount of language development is necessary before Crioulo can be introduced into official settings, it must be remembered that the use of Crioulo in these areas itself will make an important contribution to the language’s development.

The appropriate timing of officialization apparently remains unclear as much to the scholar as to the layperson. Apparently, much work remains to be done either to move the language planning process forward or to make it more transparent to citizens and academics. One government official recommended the promotion of debate in the academic community as an ideal strategy for overcoming some of these challenges (personal communication, September 5, 2005). Such an approach would force language planners “to demonstrate empirically – as well as conceptually – the societal benefits, and costs” (Ricento, 2006, p.11, italics his) of their policy recommendations and will lead to the formulation of better policies. Kaka Barbosa, for instance, has maintained “that the
language question is a process that remains unfinished” and that “it is necessary to have on the table the maximum number of elements possible” (Konbersu Sabi, N.D.) for things to move forward. Perhaps, as noted by the aforementioned official, the government itself needs to take the steps to sponsor such debate.

Aside from scholars, Veiga and other language planners have probably not done an adequate job of clarifying the issues of officialization, standardization, and graphization for the public. Engagement with the public is especially important in a democratic society. As Fishman (1983) argues:

[T]he public or target audience...needs to be told why what is being offered to it is desirable, admirable, and exemplary. Critics too need to rationalize their opposition, qualms, or reluctance. (p.112)

Some Cape Verdeans that support CVC’s officialization worry about the dangers of marginalizing a significant portion of the population since the introduction of Crioulo into the schools without achieving consent among significant portions of the population may generate resistance to the learning of Crioulo in schools. Barbosa voiced these concerns after someone recommended to him that the didactic materials that already exist be introduced into the schools:

The problem is not didactic material, for you to put it in the schools and cause concern. If you do that, it is likely to create disturbances. And we cannot teach the mother tongue with disturbances. (Konbersu Sabi, N.D.)

In all fairness, Veiga seems to have recognized to a great extent the importance of engaging the public and has organized roundtable discussions (especially in São Vicente) chaired by linguists and philologists to help clarify the rationale behind their decisions concerning officialization, standardization, and graphization. Still, one official in the administration sees the need for there “to be a dialogue with society in general” and, in
his opinion, “to demystify the question [of officialization], showing that it is not an attack on the Portuguese language, but an affirmation of Crioulo” (personal communication, September 5, 2005). Of course, the mystification of this issue is, to a great extent, the outcome of ideologies through which Cape Verdeans interpret Crioulo’s officialization and the related activities of standardization and graphization. The success of Veiga’s reforms, then, may depend on the degree to which he and his allies are able to counter these ideologies, not with ideologies of their own, but with the presentation of empirical evidence and a scientific rationale that supports their choices in the area of language planning.

More than one year after Crioulo was supposed to be made the official language, no change in the language’s status has occurred. The reasons behind these delays remain unclear. Did politicians reject the idea of making Crioulo the official language? Did Veiga yield to the recommendations of his more cautious allies? It is hard to say. Clearly, the recent attention given to the language question in Cape Verde was sparked by the possibility of a “political moment” (Writer C, personal communication, September 6, 2005) in which Crioulo would be made the co-official language of Cape Verde. On the other hand, the event-nature of status planning can be contrasted with the process-nature of corpus planning, which Cape Verlean scholars have been carrying out behind the scenes over the last 30 years and will continue to carry out into the future. As the efforts of language planners bear more and more fruit, they will undoubtedly weaken the case of those who oppose a change to Crioulo’s status and pave the way for the language’s officialization. The question is, how long will it take? Macedo warns that if Cape
Verdeans do not begin to “discuss the subject [of officialization] honestly and maintain dialogue on what would be best for children” (Fortes, 2005, December 13) then this debate may continue for another 30 years.
References


Appendix: Interview Diagram

*Lines indicate sources of contact.*

Educator A – High School Principal
Personal friend from previous stay in Cape Verde
Interview Date: 08/19/2005
Digital recording

Official A – Former Official – Department of Education
Interview Date: 09/05/2005
Digital recording

Writer B – Writer
Interview Date: 09/05/2005
Digital recording

Educator B – Primary School Principal
Personal friend from previous stay in Cape Verde
Interview Date: 8/23/2005
Digital recording

Educator B – Curriculum development
Interview Date: 09/01/2005
Digital recording

Writer A – Journalist
Uncle of a personal friend.
Interview Date: 09/03/2005
No recording

Writer C – Writer
Interview Date: 09/06/2005
No recording

Writer D – Writer
Interview Date: 09/05/2005
No recording