

Language and identity in East Timor

The discourses of nation building

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Language choice in the newly independent Republic of East Timor can be usefully examined in the wider context of language policy in multilingual states. The present article reports on ethnographic research investigating official and popular discourses of language and identity in East Timor and the role of past and present language policies and practices in shaping national and social identity. It focuses on the discursive reconstruction of identity through five official instruments of language policy development. Hostile discourses in the Australian and Indonesian press towards the choice of Portuguese (the former colonial language) and Tetum (the endogenous lingua franca) as official languages provided the context for the investigation. A persistent theme in these discourses is that English and/or Indonesian would be preferable choices. The article puts these discourses into perspective by presenting findings from two data sets: (i) the 2004 National Census and (ii) analysis of the discourses of 78 participants in semi-structured interviews and student focus groups. The census shows clear signs of the revival of Portuguese and the reinvigoration of Tetum. It also shows how diverse linguistic identities have become in East Timor. The research findings show that there is less hostility to official language policy than claimed in the Australian and Indonesian press. However, the findings also emphasise the urgent need to reconstruct an inclusive, plurilingual national identity that can encompass diversity.

Keywords: language policy, language and identity, East Timor, language choice, multilingualism, nation building

Language policy debates are always about more than language, as Ricento (2006:8) reminds us. The case of East Timor highlights the tension in multilingual developing states between the need to meet geopolitical imperatives and the need to deal with urgent social and economic problems. New political orders emerging from the colonial past have not only to redefine societies that acknowledge the rich variety of ethnolinguistic groups within their borders but they have also to deal with

the legacies and interests of powerful global and regional forces. East Timor became independent in 2002 after over 400 years of Portuguese colonialism followed by twenty-four years of occupation by Indonesia. The discourses of both forms of colonialism have had lasting effects on East Timorese perceptions of their own national and social identity. Although language policies and practices on the part of the Portuguese and Indonesians were different in many ways, they were similar in one important respect — their use of language as part of a strategy of social and cultural assimilation. The post-independence era has added new layers to social identity. As a result of this history, the relationship between language and identity in East Timor is complex and hotly contested. Among the many challenges facing this recently independent state is the problem of reconstructing an identity that fully reflects the multilingual character of the nation.

The construction of national and social identity in East Timor can only be fully understood in the light of its political history. The country has had a long history of colonialism, conflict, human rights abuse, civil unrest and dramatic political change. As Chick (2002) and others (see Davies & Harré 1990, Weedon 1987) suggest, in such situations of flux and crisis it is easier to observe the role of discourse in shaping and changing identities. The examination of language policy discourses can reveal much about the interplay between language and nation building. This paper reports on aspects of an ethnographic study of language planning in East Timor that investigated the discursive construction of identity. Following Chick (p.463), the notion of discourse is used as “ways of using language and other means of expression to construct social identities and social relations of power.” This view of discourse accepts that the term embodies assumptions about social identities and relations (Fairclough 1989). The notion of competing discourses is also employed in order to understand the different assumptions embedded in the discourse of institutions, individuals and groups (Thompson 1990). This notion provided a lens through which to examine official and popular assumptions about identity and the extent to which they were shared and contested. The research addressed the following questions:

- In what ways have past and present language policy and practice shaped identity in East Timor?
- How congruent are popular discourses of language and identity with official discourses?

These research questions were prompted by the treatment of language issues in East Timor by the English-speaking media. The Australian and Indonesian press have been particularly hostile towards East Timorese language policy, claiming that it is divisive and deeply unpopular. These claims provided a context for the investigation. In drawing out the discourses from the data, the researcher evaluated

the extent to which these claims were reflected in public responses to official language choice.

The present article first describes the language situation in East Timor, focusing on its long history of multilingualism. Next, since language policies need to be understood in the context in which they are introduced, the article returns to the past to discuss language contact and its consequences in an effort to shed light on the role of Portuguese and Indonesian social policies and practices in shaping identity. The recent influence of English is also discussed. The article focuses on the discursive reconstruction of identity through five official instruments of language policy development. This is followed by an analysis of the 2004 National Census, which shows significant changes in patterns of language use since the previous census conducted under Indonesian administration in 1990. Finally, an analysis of the discourses concerning language and identity in semi-structured interviews and student focus groups is presented. The findings show that there is less hostility to language policy than is claimed in the Australian and Indonesian press. However, the findings also serve to emphasise the urgency of reconstructing an inclusive, plurilingual national identity.

The language situation

East Timor has a long history of multilingualism. The National Census of 2004 lists 32 endogenous language varieties in use. The Linguistic Survey of East Timor (Hull 1998:4) classifies certain varieties as dialects of other groups and lists 16 languages. These languages descend from the Austronesian and Papuan language families — indicating a long history of contact and migration in the region. There is also a long history of contact with Malay-speaking people and there was a sizable ethnic Chinese community before the Indonesian invasion of 1975. The co-official language, Tetum (in its English spelling), is the most widely spoken endogenous language. It has several varieties. Tetum-Praça (also known as Tetum-Dili) is spoken in and around the capital and has the highest number of speakers. This variety was selected for standardisation. It has acquired an official orthography and a written grammar. Tetum-Terik (also known as Classical Tetum) is the more traditional high variety, which has been less influenced by modern Indonesian. A third variety, Tetum-Belu, is spoken on both sides of the border with West Timor. Also present are the modern exogenous languages Portuguese, Indonesian and English — the languages of three polities with strong interests in East Timorese policy directions.

The process of decolonisation in all Portuguese colonies including East Timor began in 1974 after the revolution that overthrew the Salazar dictatorship in

Portugal. At that time there was support across all East Timorese political groupings, even those in support of integration with Indonesia, for the retention of Portuguese as an official language. A coalition between the two leading groupings ended abruptly in a brief civil war. After gaining the military upper hand, *Fretilin*¹ hastily declared independence in 1975 in hope of greater international support for a sovereign state, and reinstated Portuguese as the official language. Ten days after this declaration of independence, Indonesian armed forces invaded East Timor. In the twenty-four-year occupation that followed, the linguistic ecology changed dramatically. The violence and humanitarian crisis following the referendum of 1999² led to the eventual deployment of international peacekeeping forces. Their arrival heralded the entry of English into the language ecology.

Conditions of war and intense repression during the Indonesian pacification of East Timor led to an exodus of refugees and political exiles to places as far flung as Portugal, Mozambique, Angola, Cape Verde, Australia, the USA, the United Kingdom and Ireland. Many East Timorese have also spent time living and studying in Indonesia. Since independence East Timorese have gone all over the world to take up study opportunities. Beneath these modern, transnational identities are strong traditional ethnolinguistic identities maintained through attachments to extended family and ancestral homelands. The consequence of this mix is that identities are now more diverse and contested than they have been at any previous time. These differences led to controversy over the choice of Portuguese as an official language. The violence prior to the 2007 presidential and parliamentary elections acquired strong ethnic overtones and divided easterners from westerners despite a long tradition of intermarriage. This crisis highlighted more than ever the need to construct a national identity that can encompass diversity.

The legacies of colonialism and the sociolinguistic impact of the aid industry

The current language situation in East Timor is the legacy of two periods in which Portuguese and Indonesian were the instruments of colonialism and occupation. The recent arrival of English has added to the complexity of the situation. The Colonial Act of 1930 dominated Portugal's relations with its colonies in the early twentieth century. Whilst the act affirmed the discourses of the civilising mission that had underpinned nineteenth colonial ideology, it marked a turn to a highly centralised colonial policy (Smith 1974:666). The act explicitly stated:

It is of the organic essence of the Portuguese Nation to perform the function of acquiring and colonising overseas dominions and civilising the native peoples

which are contained in them, exercising also the moral influence that is hers by virtue of her patronage of the East.³ (Mendes 1940:225).

The reality was that twentieth-century Portuguese colonial policy was not so much motivated by paternalism as by the desire to reserve the colonies for Portugal's exclusive exploitation. The colonies played a vital role in the Portuguese economy, providing a protected market and foreign exchange earnings that alleviated the chronic deficit in Portugal's balance of trade (Ferreira 1974:33). The Colonial Act left many legacies, but the principal legacy of restrictions on economic competition led to long-term underdevelopment in the colonies. By the 1950s and 1960s general anti-colonialist feeling placed Portugal under increasing pressure to relinquish its colonies. An amendment to the Portuguese Constitution in 1951 when Portugal was anticipating admission to the United Nations erased the word 'colonies' and replaced it with the term 'overseas provinces.' Hence, when Portugal was admitted to the UN in 1955 its government was able to claim that it did not possess non-self-governing territories but overseas provinces of the motherland, which were constitutionally part of Portugal itself (Davidson 1974:13). Until the overthrow of the Salazar/Caetano regime in 1974 official representations of the Portuguese nation included the euphemism of overseas territories (Bastos 2005:24). As far as the colonies were concerned, very little changed, and the consequences to this day have been devastating for Portugal's colonial peoples.

As part of centralist colonial policy, the exclusive use of Portuguese as the medium of instruction was prescribed throughout the colonies (Smith 1974:666). Portuguese was used as the language of the colonial elite and its *assimilados* (assimilated natives).⁴ The *assimilados* were co-opted into the colonial enterprise and socialised through education and employment in the colonial administration. *Assimilados* were entitled to the same privileges as Portuguese citizens residing within the limits of continental Portugal. Alongside the *assimilados*, East Timorese citizens came into contact with Portuguese through the Church, schooling or military service. Although the first Portuguese missionaries had used Tetum, the language used by the Catholic Church was Portuguese. By 1975, around a quarter of the East Timorese population was Catholic (Aditjondro 1994:40). Portuguese remained the language of religious ceremonies until the Indonesians banned it from public use. Many East Timorese hymns are still sung in Portuguese. Portuguese has influenced the daily discourse and lexicon of Tetum-Praça to a point where it has played an important role in preserving East Timorese cultural integrity (Albaran 2003). It also played a vital role in the Indonesian occupation as the language of clandestine resistance. For all these reasons, the language accumulated great symbolic value for the East Timorese who lived through this period. At present the Portuguese government is reinvesting heavily in the revival of Portuguese. The

2007–2010 Co-operation Program between Portugal and East Timor allocated 46 million Euros to fund development targets including the education sector and the reintroduction of the Portuguese language (Macauhuh 2007).

Varieties of Malay have been spoken in East Timor for many generations. The large number of Malay words in Tetum, from occupational to domestic spheres of activity, along with aspects of grammar, attests to the long association between the East Timorese and the Malays. After the invasion of the country by the Indonesians in 1975, the variety known as bahasa Indonesia was imposed as the medium of instruction and the official language of the annexed 27th Indonesian province. Central to the Indonesian nation-building process were the development, standardisation and prescription of Indonesian as the language of education, government, service encounters above the market level and the media (Goebel 2002:480). Indonesian is also the language of communication among the 400 or so ethnic groups of Indonesia who do not share the same language (Dardjowidjo 1998, Errington 1998, Lowenburg 1992, Moeliono 1986). Indonesian, as Errington (1998:272) notes, is a vehicle of Indonesian state discourse. *Pembangunan Nasional* (National Development) “treats ethnic diversity less as a problem to be solved than a condition to be abandoned as Indonesians advance into a modern, national future.” The Indonesian occupation of Portuguese Timor was marked by the aggressive spread of the Indonesian language. Portuguese and Chinese were targeted for elimination. In 1981 the use of Portuguese was prohibited in schools, public administration, the media and the Mass. It was openly vilified as a colonial language (Hajek 2000:406). People heard using Portuguese risked arrest, torture and accusation of being *kepala dua* (two-headed), in other words resistance sympathisers or spies.

In a series of ironies that illustrate the unpredictable results of language engineering, the repression of Portuguese precipitated the evolution of Tetum into a symbol of national identity. The Indonesian law of *Pancasila* stipulated that everyone should subscribe to a religion. This was probably the most influential factor in the conversion of large numbers of people to Catholicism. By 1987, the percentage of professed Roman Catholics had risen to 81% (Aditjondro 1994:34). The East Timorese clergy turned to the use of Tetum, rather than Indonesian, in the Mass, making extensive use of Tetum-Terik. The cultivation of Tetum as a religious language raised its status in the eyes of the people and contributed to its acquisition of deep symbolic value during a time of brutal repression. Tetum-Praça was also popularised by Fretilin, who used it as the language of the *maubere* or common people. In the long years of resistance to the occupation, Tetum played an essential role in sustaining a sense of collective identity. Its use became a form of everyday resistance, a weapon of the weak in the sense that Scott (1985) describes it.

Both the Portuguese and the Indonesians promoted their languages through schooling. Children were taught both languages by classic immersion methods

and both systems excluded Tetum and the endogenous languages from the classroom. The Indonesians attempted to introduce universal literacy, but poor teaching quality, a prescriptive, centralised curriculum geared towards the interests of the occupiers, high rates of school dropout, low attendance and lack of opportunity contributed to very high levels of illiteracy. At present, some 54% of the population is illiterate (Census Atlas, 2006:72). Although Indonesian is no longer taught in primary schools, it is still used in secondary and university education, though it is no longer taught as a subject. Indonesian is also the language of many small businesses, mostly operated by Indonesians. Several newspapers publish in Indonesian alongside Portuguese, Tetum and English. NGOs also frequently cite proficiency in Indonesian as a requirement for employment. As the census shows, a large enough number of East Timorese are familiar with Indonesian for some journalists to argue that it is the rightful lingua franca of East Timor (see Khalik 2007, Steele & MacDonald 2007).

English was not widely known in East Timor before the arrival of international peacekeeping forces, aid agencies and NGOs in the humanitarian crisis of 1999. According to estimates there are 402 NGOs operating in East Timor, 122 of which are international (UNDP 2006:45). The vast majority of international NGOs are English-speaking. This fact generates incentive to learn and use English. As the census data show, the number of English speakers is increasing in the urban areas, particularly among the young. However, claims about the spread of English should not be overstated. The reality is that most East Timorese people survive on subsistence labour with very little exposure to English let alone the other official languages. The majority (78%) of the active workforce is engaged in rural farming, fishing or forestry. In the district of Dili, the UN and other donor agencies employ 14.3% of the active workforce whereas for the nation as a whole only 3.8% are employed in this sector (Census Atlas 2006:51).

Australian and Indonesian language ideologies in the discourses of the press

In Australia there is strong elite consensus that English would be preferable as an official language in East Timor (Anderson 2006). Australian journalists vigorously promote this view, as seen in this particularly belligerent example:

Canberra did not want East Timor to have a large standing army and a separate police force. We lost that argument. Canberra did not want East Timor to choose Portuguese as its national language [sic] or model its constitution on that of Portugal. We lost those arguments too. (Sheridan 2006:12)

Australian press reports and editorials have openly called for Indonesian and English to be official languages (*The Australian* 2001, 2002a, 2002b). The adoption of Portuguese is presented as a bizarre and inexplicable decision taken by a government out of touch with the people (Funnell 2002; Quinn 2006a, 2006b; Schulz and Freitas 2002). This consensus has drawn in certain academics who support the view that Portuguese should be abandoned, East Timor should be officially monolingual (Kingsbury 2006, 2007:3) and English should be adopted as the official language of wider communication (Quinn 2006c). There has also been an offensive against Portuguese in the Indonesian press. In one telling example, Steele and Macdonald (2007:1) assert:

The simple fact is that Indonesian language is the lingua franca of East Timor. The only people in Timor-Leste who can ignore this reality are the many foreigners who come with the preconceived notion that the history of East Timor began in 1999 with the vote for independence.

Such media treatments reflect the language ideologies of two locally dominant languages and cultures. As working languages, English and Indonesian enjoy considerable status and power, operating as de facto official languages (Cooper 1989:100). Calls for English and Indonesian to occupy statutory official status are more reflective of political hostility to Portuguese than any threat to their actual status in East Timor. As findings from both the census and my interview data show, these calls do not represent the views or the everyday linguistic and cultural realities of the East Timorese. However, it is first necessary to examine the official discourse of post-independence language policy itself.

The discursive reconstruction of identity

Five official instruments of language policy development have served to reconstruct an authentically East Timorese identity:

1. The National Constitution of 2001
2. Government Decree No. 1 of 2004: Orthographical Standard of the Tetum Language
3. Civil Service Law No. 8 of 2004
4. The Language Directive of 2004
5. The Education Policy Framework for 2004–2008

The Constitution declares Portuguese and Tetum to be co-official languages. Tetum is designated both an official and a national language and the other endogenous languages are given the status of national languages, to be protected and

valued by the State. Section 159 of the Constitution provides that English and Indonesian shall have the status of working languages. The Constitution aligns the country closely with Portugal and the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries⁵ (CPLP is its Portuguese acronym). Section 8.3 provides that 'privileged ties' shall be retained with countries whose official language is Portuguese. This clause acknowledges the support given by Portuguese-speaking countries in the struggle for independence. Other clauses in the constitution make equally strong statements of identity. The resistance movement is valorised for its central contribution to the independence struggle. The Catholic Church is also valorised for its role in facilitating the emergence of Tetum as the language of national identity.

Government Decree No. 1, 2004 (known as the Language Decree) provides that Official Tetum is the prestige variety of the language to be adopted as the standard. When viewed as discourse, the decree takes on a symbolism that goes beyond the mechanics of grammar and spelling. The Decree acknowledges Tetum as an essential element in the construction of the nation and in the affirmation of East Timorese identity. The four principles in the decree for renovating the lexicon of Official Tetum are highly political statements of identity. They provide that: (i) Tetum-Praça will be the basis of the literary language, (ii) Indonesian loanwords are to be avoided and eventually eliminated, (iii) there is to be a distancing from Indonesian-influenced idiom in favour of Tetum- Terik, which has fewer modern Indonesian loanwords, and (iv) all loanwords must conform to the rules of the orthography. The Language Decree further provides that Official Tetum must be used in three high status domains: the education system, official publications and in social communication. Priority must be given to Official Tetum and Portuguese in public images and signs. English and Indonesian must not be used unless they are accompanied by texts in Tetum and Portuguese with greater visual prominence. Whether this will become a reality in the face of the extensive use of Portuguese and the working languages has yet to be seen.

Two further acts of status planning place statutory obligations on public servants to use the official languages. Civil Service Law No. 8/2004 obliges public servants to use the official languages in public administration. The law applies to the Defence Forces and the Police, the Office of the President of the Republic, the National Parliament, and the Courts. The Language Directive requires every court actor to use the official languages in correspondence, requests, official documents and letters. Documents not submitted in the official languages must be returned and given eight days for resubmission in the official languages.

Medium-of-instruction policy plays a central role in nation building and social reconstruction. It is perhaps the most important means at the state's disposal for maintaining and revitalising languages and cultures. It is also an important tool of inter-generational transmission (Fishman & Fishman 2000). As Tollefson and

Tsui (2004:17) point out, “choices made in medium of instruction are not purely about educational efficacy but also about social, political, and economic participation, social equality, and human rights.” The Education Policy Framework for 2004–2008 sets out goals and priorities for education. Objectives include hastening the reintroduction of Portuguese as the medium of instruction and the revival of Tetum in schools. Curriculum policy mandates the use of Portuguese as the medium of instruction from Grades 1 to 6. Portuguese as a subject was introduced in the junior secondary grades in 2005. Indonesian was withdrawn from the curriculum in schools and the national university. This curriculum framework represents a transitional approach to the teaching and learning of the official languages. It typifies the vulnerability of lower status languages inherent in transitional models. It clearly shows that Tetum is not regarded as the equal of Portuguese in the classroom:

Overall, since Tetum is at a preliminary stage of development, the implementation of Portuguese will have precedence and Tetum may be used as a pedagogic aid in the teaching of disciplines related to the environment, social sciences, history and geography. (MECYS 2004:11)

Self-effacing attitudes towards Tetum lead to a policy approach that treats it as an inferior medium for educational purposes. Such language attitudes run the risk of reducing the official status of Tetum to symbolic status only, increasing the gap between policy and practice. Further, the exclusion of the other national languages from use for official functions in high status domains leaves them vulnerable to marginalisation.

Hybridised identities: The National Census of 2004

It is always a challenge to enumerate language users in polities such as East Timor because of a lack of reliable statistical information. The 2004 Census of Population and Housing provided much-needed demographic information. The percentages given here were computed by the author from the 2004 Census and should be regarded as estimates only. Seen in relation to each other they present a picture of the complexity of the language situation. The figures indicate that changes in patterns of language use have occurred since the census conducted by the Indonesians in 1990. In the 2004 census 59%⁶ (n = 741,530) overall claimed capability⁷ in Indonesian. This figure has shown a slight increase since the 1990 Indonesian census⁸ when the overall total was 54.6%. An important difference is that in 1990 there was a large population of Indonesian-speaking transmigrants in the country. The younger cohorts in the 1990 census, who had been schooled in the Indonesian

language, contained high proportions able to speak Indonesian — 85% of males and 77% of females aged 15–19 — but this dropped off sharply to 35% for males and 17% for females at age 40–44 and even lower at older ages (Jones 2003:48). Today it is still the younger generation that is more proficient in Indonesian. In the 2004 census 82% of 18–25 year olds, 78% of 26–35 year olds and 37% of 36–65 year olds claimed capability in the Indonesian language.

Hajek (2000:409) estimated the number of Portuguese speakers in 2000 at anywhere between 5% and 20%. In the 2004 census the overall percentage of those claiming capability in Portuguese came to just over 36% of the population accounted for by the census. This figure compares favourably with the 40% of Mozambicans who speak and understand their official language (also Portuguese) some 20 years after independence (Lopes 1998:447). When this figure is broken down by age group, there is further evidence of language shift in the 51% of 18–25 year olds who claimed capability in Portuguese, after only five years of independence. Thirty-seven per cent of 26–35 year olds and 26% of 36–65 year olds also claimed capability in Portuguese. In an indication of the spread of English, approximately 21% of the overall census population claimed capability in the language. Broken down by age, around 42% of 18–25 year olds, 30% of 26–35 year olds and only 12% of 36–65 year olds claimed English capability.

In contrast, the percentage claiming capability in Tetum was 86% of the overall population accounted for by the 2004 census. The figures show that the use of Tetum is highest in the 18–25 year age group, at 94%. Only some 5% of this age group made sole use of their local languages. This makes another interesting comparison with the 16% of 36–65 year olds and the 11% of the census population overall that claimed no capability in either the official or working languages. The census shows that younger people are more multilingual than their elders and use Tetum and the exogenous languages rather than their local languages. The number of Indonesian speakers is high, particularly among the young, but the number of Tetum speakers is far higher. The census shows clear signs of the revival of Portuguese and the reinvigoration of Tetum. It also shows that more people have been exposed to English, particularly among the young. However, I suggest that what the language data in the census really show is that linguistic identities in present-day East Timor are diverse, multiple, overlapping and hybrid.

Popular perceptions of language policy and linguistic identity

Against this context I undertook a qualitative analysis of popular discourses concerning language and language policy in order to better understand the nature of language and identity politics in East Timor. Between June and August 2004,

I conducted a series of semi-structured interviews and focus groups with 78 East Timorese participants between the ages of 18 and 67. Most interviews took place in the capital city of Dili and a small number took place in the districts and on the offshore island of Ataúro. Interviews were in Tetum, Portuguese and English and translated into English where necessary by the author (transference and syntax errors were not corrected). Participants were given the option to use Indonesian but none took it. The interviews served two purposes: the first, to gather data concerning the participants' language attitudes, loyalties and associations and the second, to elicit the identity narratives from the data in order to assess their congruence with official policy.

Nine participants were designated key informants because they held positions of leadership in political parties, government or parliament and they had decision-making powers. In many cases, they were policy-makers and shapers of opinion themselves. The 26 individual participants can be described as non-elite social actors in a range of professional or semi-professional occupations such as teaching, administration, tourism, journalism and the clergy. The individuals were educated and informed working people over the age of 20, of an appropriate age to be able to talk about the impacts of past and present language reform on their lives and work. Their language dispositions and choices have significant influence on language policy success or failure.

Eight focus groups were also conducted with university students between the ages of 18 and 35. There were two reasons for treating students separately. Firstly, there is a common view in East Timor that people in this age group and social milieu share the same views about language issues as a result of their language learning experiences in Indonesian times. One purpose of the focus groups was to assess the veracity of this claim. Secondly, tertiary students are the potential shapers of opinion and the decision-makers of the future. As such, their language dispositions are critical to the success of language reform. The student focus groups constituted an educated and informed social network of young adults, able to speak from experience about the impact of language policy on their lives and studies.

The research site was also expanded to include participants in Australia. This decision is justified by the fact that in today's globalising world, communities have become more fluid and less tied to particular localities. This is particularly true of East Timor with its highly dispersed diaspora. The perspectives of expatriate East Timorese provided further insights and acted as a form of triangulation for the focus group data. Focus groups were organised with students on Australian government-funded scholarships in Brisbane, Australia (referred to as the AusAid focus groups), and in Dili (referred to as the Dili focus groups). The Brisbane-based students' views were compared with those of their Dili counterparts to see whether

Table 1. Participant Groups in the Interview Sample (N = 78)

Key informants — as aware elites and deci- sion makers (N=9)	Dili focus groups 1–5 — as future holders of power and agency (N=30)	AusAid focus groups 6–8 — as future holders of power and agency (N=13)	Individual partici- pants — as micro- level actors in the community (N=26)
9 males	23 males 7 females	5 males 8 females	18 males 8 females

there was a significant difference between the views of diasporic and home-based students.

To select participants I used a form of non-probability sampling known as snowball sampling. Although this form of sampling was well suited to the research setting, an obvious limitation was the small number of women in the sample. The number of student participants also meant that the number of English speakers was relatively high. The composition of the sample is shown in Table 1.

A synthesis of findings from the interviews and focus groups

In coding the data, I identified a series of local narratives that confirmed, challenged and contested official policy. All participants, even those in the remote areas, had high levels of language awareness and strong views about language issues in their country. From an early stage in the analysis it was obvious that certain symbolic and historical associations with languages were widely shared. However, whilst the participants expressed deep loyalty to the Tetum language, they also shared a lack of confidence that Tetum was a language fit for schooling or ready for the modern, globalised world. There was also a common lack of concern for the status and future of the national languages. Most participants felt that the vitality of their local languages would continue to be sustained in the rural domains. However, a significant few felt that the national languages were being marginalised. Whilst there were differing attitudes towards Portuguese, for the vast majority of participants it held high symbolic value as the language of resistance and international solidarity. The participants also valued Portuguese because it provided their country with links to the CPLP. Moreover, Portuguese was widely acknowledged as the primary source language for the relexification of Tetum. It was noticeable that while English and Indonesian held high symbolic capital as languages of wider communication, they held no value as languages of identity for the participants.

Narratives in the key informant discourse

The majority of the key informants (who were all male) perceived Portuguese as a symbol of historical and cultural links with Portugal and as a symbol of national identity. They were keenly aware that Portuguese played a political role in linking East Timor to the CPLP, an alliance they considered important for their country's economic and political interests. As one key informant put it:

Tetum is the language that is mine. It belongs to my people all the way to the bottom and I love Tetum. I love Tetum-Terik. I am discovering more and more every day of its intricacies ... but Tetum in itself is not going to help us in terms of establishing our place in the world, where we are ... Portuguese links us to a community of solidarity that we are going to need more and more. We can count on solidarity from people in Australia, not from governments. East Timor exists in a precarious situation. We're a tiny little nation with neighbours who live on one side of us who have not given up wanting us back and we have Australia, who in my view and in the view of many Australians, would like to have East Timor as a successful, independent, sovereign nation on Australia's terms, as a protectorate of Australia, as an extension of its political solution, of its Pacific policy. (Aged 40)

The key informants saw the officialisation of Portuguese as a natural outcome of the colonial experience, its role as the language of the resistance and its part in the struggle for independence. In the following exemplar the participant demonstrates an attachment to Portuguese that is clearly linked to his sense of history:

We opted to remain in the great family of nations that speak the Portuguese language. A country without a history has no identity. It's true ... some people think ... politicians and diplomats from the Commonwealth, think that we opted for Portuguese because we are nostalgic for Portugal. No! This couldn't be! It has much bigger significance connected to our struggle for independence for which so much suffering was endured and so much committed. It's not because with this language we'll be rich — it's not this. It's our history — this is why we chose this language. (Aged 51)

While the key informants expressed deep affinity with Tetum, most of them saw their language as impoverished. As one participant remarked:

Tetum is a language still very poor in vocabulary. Over 450 years of Portuguese administration, Tetum absorbed many words from Portuguese because when we didn't have a word we looked for it in Portuguese. Thus Tetum developed a form like Portuguese structure. In the 25 years under Indonesia, Tetum suffered from the influence of Indonesian. People mixed Indonesian with Tetum. When people needed a word, Indonesian words competed. So Tetum suffered under two periods, I don't know if they were periods of damage or growth. (Aged 50)

To sum up, most key informants were well disposed to Portuguese in which most but not all of them were proficient. Although Tetum was loved and valued as the

language of national identity, the key informants were not confident that it could hold its own as a language of wider communication and looked to Portuguese as the model of “full languageness” (Blommaert 2006:247–248) that would complete Tetum. This is well illustrated in the following extract:

For me, since the Tetum we speak today is the Tetum which we spoke before the Indonesian coup, it is Tetum that has developed a certain form, which gained a certain life with Portuguese. For this reason we say here that Portuguese is the soul of Tetum, which enriches Tetum in order to enable our language to develop into a complete language. (Aged 51)

Even the one key informant (a member of an opposition party with a strong following amongst youth) who thought that the status of Portuguese would change acknowledged the symbolic value of Portuguese. When asked, “If you win, are you going to change the language policy?” he replied:

Yes. We are going to adopt the reality. Tetum is the official language. Leave Portuguese as the second language. We shall not forget our history. We shall find out our own character. Our own national identity and language is the one instrument to express that. (Aged 42)

Narratives in the individual participant discourse

The individual participants also perceived Portuguese as a symbol of their country’s historical relationship with Portugal and as the language of resistance to the Indonesian occupation. They were keenly aware that only Portugal and the Portuguese-speaking countries had supported them in the struggle for independence as seen in the following extracts:

Give me an example of a Portuguese-speaking country that did not defend our independence. Give me one example! Was there one English-speaking country that supported our independence? There was not one! (Male aged 50)

In the time of resistance, Portuguese was used by the resistance to communicate with the outside world and for clandestine activities. (Male aged 55)

Portuguese and Tetum were languages of resistance. Language is used a tool to resist and to be different. (Male aged 35)

Portuguese was used by the resistance in diplomatic relations with our brothers and foreigners who supported the struggle. (Male aged 46)

While some individual participants had more positive attitudes towards Indonesian than others, it was commonly regarded as the language of the invader, as the following extract exemplifies:

The government is now insisting that everything will be taught in Portuguese in order to diminish this language [Indonesian]. It is the language of the invader. People don't like this...Indonesian was used here under their domination. Let's see what the government does to get rid of this language. (Male aged 55)

One participant had a particularly politicised and sophisticated view of national identity, as seen in the following extract in which we see that she is by no means hostile towards Portuguese:

For me because of our history, our leaders, especially the resistance, used Portuguese as a weapon to defend and struggle against the enemy. Secondly, the history in which we lived for almost 24 years to identify a people here. It is not a Portuguese people but a Timorese people who have this characteristic, who have this identity different from the Pacific or Asia because Timor is like this — between the Pacific and Asia. For me, I have an interest in defending this language solely for these two reasons. (Female aged 35)

Other participants were more ambivalent towards Portuguese. One participant in his thirties retorted: “Well, it’s in the Constitution — I recognise that it’s in the Constitution — but I’m not obliged to speak or learn it.” In the following extract another participant in his thirties further exemplifies this ambivalence:

Researcher. *How far is Portuguese integrated in Timorese culture?*

[Laughs] It's very interesting. I'm not taking for granted or whatever from Portugal. I have mixed criticisms but because of such a tough pressure ... intimidation from Indonesia at the time ... people identify themselves ... you know, you think 'Bloody Indonesia'...you know ... so you identify yourself differently with this group and you identify not only based on your culture ... you identify with your former master ... of course we have also the Church ... you can't deny that our parents identify with Portuguese. Our generation doesn't really care but those who grew up in Portuguese time, they feel quite strong even though you question them the logic is not really true ... but they have this sense. (Male aged 34)

All individual participants expressed strong loyalty to Tetum and wanted to see substantive policy outcomes for Tetum, as the following extracts show:

I think language is important for us to express our ideas ... you know ... freedom of expression and all that kind of stuff ... and I think that if the understanding of one language is not complete, it's very difficult for you to express your ideas ... and ... well ... I can freely express my ideas in Tetum ... so there should be one language that we can use and we can develop it so that it makes the expression of ideas more powerful and more clear. (Male aged 30)

We need to develop our Tetum language. We have a large vocabulary and we can take from Portuguese. (Male aged 30)

Tetum is the lingua franca and the language that can unify the country. (Male, aged 42)

In five years' time I want to see Tetum standardised and well developed ... the national anthem is in Portuguese. I think it should be in two languages. (Male aged 35)

I want to see Tetum more developed to become our true official language. (Female aged 30)

Several younger participants also expressed the desire to see the local languages protected and developed as literary languages:

I think that, for me, if we can choose, we can suggest to put a lot of concentration in developing our local languages ... and also our identity and our culture. (Male, aged 30)

In short, the narratives in the individual participant discourse were highly congruent with the key informant narratives with respect to the symbolic power of Portuguese. While the individual participants were more accepting of Indonesian than the key informants, they held deep loyalty to Tetum as the language of national identity together with high aspirations for the enhancement of its prestige and status.

Narratives in the Dili student focus group discourse

Analysis of the interactive focus group data offered insights into the students' perceptions of language policy and revealed some significant counter discourses. From the focused codes a list was drawn up of the most frequent phrases and expressions used to discuss Portuguese and Tetum across the focus groups. When these were subjected to a simple frequency count, it was found that the most recurrent narratives in relation to Portuguese were to do with its difficulty, its role as a language of wider communication, its relationship with the CPLP and its relationship with Tetum. However, whereas the discourses concerning Portuguese ran counter to those of the key informants and the majority of individual participants, the discourses regarding Tetum were highly congruent with both. When references to Tetum were subjected to scrutiny it was found that the Dili student focus group participants' talk about Tetum focused strongly on its perceived deficiencies as a language but also on its role as a powerful expression of East Timorese identity. The following two extracts indicate the range of views expressed by young people in two of the Dili focus groups. It can be seen that the members of this focus group were not unanimously hostile to Portuguese:

Researcher. *What do you see happening to the languages of East Timor in 5 to 10 years time?*

Student 1. *[5 to 20 years into the future] lots of people will speak Portuguese. They'll be able to use it at work. They're also learning it at school.*

S2. *Portuguese and Tetum will be well developed and won't disappear. We'll see a great transformation.*

S3. *The young generation will pass the language [presumably Portuguese] down [but] I am afraid our language and culture will die because as a nation we should choose our own language as an official language.*

S4. *As an independent country we have to show our identity. If we use Portuguese as an official language we'll still be a Portuguese colony.*

S5. *The language isn't important because all languages can enrich our knowledge... Portuguese is OK because it can give us access to other countries so I don't mind if we have Portuguese.*

S6. *Now I agree to use two languages but I hope that East Timor can develop so that we can develop our own language.*

S7. *The future of this country depends on the young generation and our human resources. If we can develop our human resources we can develop our languages. We need linguists to develop our language and our dialects. I want the younger generation to learn a lot, new skills, new experience and a lot of languages so that we can develop our own language not use Portuguese as an official language.*

In contrast, in this focus group, attitudes to Portuguese were more negative. Participants recognised the element of elite closure (Myers-Scotton 1993) in their leaders' language policy decision:

S1. *Tetum is identity. It is the first language to unite society. Portuguese — the government chose it because of links with Portuguese through religion. The members of parliament use it and don't use Indonesian. Portuguese is an official language ... it's not permanent [others all agree] ... we think it will change. We think it is possible that in 10 years' time Portuguese may not be an official language.*

S2. *I hope that one day Tetum will be official. Researchers are trying to develop the written form so we can use it. Using Portuguese is OK because knowing more languages will be better but as Timorese we should show our identity. I think this is important. I hope that one day the government will choose one language.*

S3. *The language that will be used in Timor is one language that can be understood by all Timorese. Otherwise there will continue to be confusion. It doesn't show our nation. Asking us to learn four languages makes us confusion.*

S4. *For me four languages is OK because it benefits our country but we have to give more space to our identity. We have to study Tetum more in order to socialise the Tetum language to be a standard language. Tetum is our identity language.*

S5. The government should develop Tetum and teach it in schools even though it hasn't complete terms. We need to develop it and develop ourselves rather than Portuguese. We can use Portuguese but it's too difficult to study for our generation ... Portuguese is not our native language ... leave it for the older generation.

S1. I want Tetum as an official language because it expresses our identity.

In summary, overtly negative attitudes towards Portuguese accounted for a relatively low percentage in terms of frequency of mention (20%). On the one hand, participants complained about having to learn Portuguese (26%), though they acknowledged that it could help revitalise Tetum (20%). Whilst loyalty to Tetum featured strongly (47%), self-deprecating attitudes towards it were quite common (26%). The view that Portuguese would only be official for a temporary period came through strongly at 37%.

Narratives in the AusAid student focus group discourse

The narratives in the AusAid student focus group interview data matched those of the Dili focus groups in almost all respects, indicating that, at least in the short term, expatriate groups of similar age do not differ greatly in their language attitudes from their compatriots at home. In common with the Dili student focus groups, the AusAid focus group participants asserted that they wanted to see Tetum used as the first official language of East Timor (61% frequency of mention). They were more negative about Portuguese than their counterparts and they were opposed to the notion that Portuguese is integral to East Timorese identity (59%). They were even more strongly of the opinion that Portuguese was only a temporary option as an official language (46%). On the other hand, they acknowledged it as a language of wider communication (38%) and they saw it as part of what they called their common history with Portugal (23%). The following extract captures their ambivalence towards Portuguese:

Researcher. What are the advantages of having two official languages?

S1. It's inclusive ... it helps people understand. Portuguese is used in written texts and communications.

S2. I'm not sure if Portuguese will be accepted in the long term. I am not sure if the young people will accept to use that language forever or not so I think we'll use Tetum [inaudible] so we hope one day Tetum can be ah ...

S3. Portuguese is so difficult.

S2. Because Portuguese is quite difficult and we are not sure about that ...

The AusAid students drew on an identity that was firmly rooted in the Tetum language and in their local identities, which they valued if anything more highly than the home-based groups. They passionately wanted to see their country on an equal footing with others (53% frequency of mention). The following extract gives a flavour of their feelings about their language and their identity:

Researcher. *Five years down the track what languages will people be using?*

S1. *I'd like East Timor to be East Timor. What I mean is to see East Timor as a country which could develop with all the natural resources that it has to be a country that is equal to any other country in the world to be an independent ... but without losing its identity or its language. You can be a country as developed as America or United Kingdom but you don't have to use their culture and you don't have to use their language.*

S2. *I'd like Tetum to be used.*

S3. *I don't want Timor to be like Australia — no culture, no identity, no religion ... no identity at all ... it's not good ... so Tetum should be the official language, because it [inaudible] the language of East Timor.*

The focus group findings overall show that in contrast to the key informants and older individuals, the student participants did not identify strongly with Portuguese as a language reflecting their culture or identity. Many said that they did not think Portuguese would be an official language forever. However, this did not necessarily mean that they rejected its role in the government's development strategies. Rather, they acknowledged Portuguese less as a language of identity than as the language of wider communication and as a language with which they shared a joint history, as seen in this final extract:

Researcher. *Can you tell me the reasons why Portuguese and Tetum were adopted as co-official languages?*

S1. *Tetum is our language. It is our mother tongue. Portuguese is based on our historical background. We were a colony for 500 years.*

S2. *Perhaps they wanted to maintain a good relationship with Portuguese speaking countries such as Mozambique, Angola ...*

S3. *I think Portuguese was decided based on political reasons...yeah, of course we have the historical background but then they looked more into how I think it will advantage Timor because Tetum...you cannot use Indonesian because if you want to be separate and unique within that area where you have Indonesia and Australia... they are dominating ... you want to stand out then you choose something different but then at the same time their argument is that you can't use Tetum anywhere else so you have to use another language to have more links that open you up to the world...*

Table 2. Popular discourses of language and identity

Language Dispositions	Key Informant Discourses	Individual Participant Discourses	Student Focus group Discourses
Portuguese is ...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – a part of our history. – enshrined in the Constitution. – an expression of national identity. – a symbol of our struggle. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – a means of access to CPLP and Europe. – the language of our leaders and our elders. – the language that distinguishes us in Asia. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – a language of wider communication. – not always going to be official. – the language of the coloniser. – not a part of our identity.
Tetum is ...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – deficient and unready for the modern world. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – in need of modernisation and development. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – an expression of national and social identity.
Indonesian is ...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – the language of the invader. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – the language of the invader. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – just another way to communicate.
English is ...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – a simple working language. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – useful but not part of our identity. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – useful for international communication.
The endogenous languages are ...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – protected by the Constitution. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – safe and vital in their local domains. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – possibly at risk.

Researcher [Addressing the whole group]. *Do you speak Portuguese?*

Ss1 & 4. *I don't* [Two participants speak Portuguese and two do not].

Researcher. *Are you studying it?*

S4. [Laughter] *I'm trying!*

In summary, the discourses across all groups were highly congruent with official language policy. However, certain key discourses ran counter to it. These were the discourses of youth, who tended to see Portuguese rather than Indonesian as the language of the coloniser while their elders tended to see Indonesian as the language of the invader and enemy. Younger people were more pragmatic in their attitudes towards English and Indonesian but not one participant saw these as languages of identity. For the students in particular, this role was reserved for Tetum. Table 2 presents a summary of the discourses across all participant groups. Overall, whilst language dispositions varied and certain individuals had personal or political reasons to reject or dislike Portuguese, there was higher consensus and acceptance of language policy than might have been expected given the kind of comments that have been made in the Australian and Indonesian press.

Conclusions

With regards to language policy, East Timor is obliged to find a path through the wider political ideologies represented by three dominant exogenous languages. As one participant put it, "*East Timor is between three giants. We need to manage the giants.*" Examples from all over the world show how practices favouring colonial and metropolitan languages have led to the loss and marginalisation of traditional languages and delayed literacy development. The role of Tetum in East Timor is comparable to the symbolic roles of Tigrinya in Eritrea (Hailemariam, Kroon and Walters 1998) and Swahili in Tanzania (Cooper 1989). In this respect it is fundamental to the construction of national unity and the spread of literacy. The continued use of Portuguese, Indonesian and English on the grounds that Tetum is not ready for use in the modern world undermines its status, impedes effective corpus planning and obstructs its use in education and in other high status domains such as the legal system. Moreover, such practices fail to recognise the traditional identities of the East Timorese people, who will continue to use their local languages to express local identities in non-official domains. The data suggest that investment in developing orthographies, grammars and reading material in Tetum and the national languages may serve to win the confidence of youth.

In the current situation the goals of East Timorese language policy are effectively in conflict. The data in this study support the argument that through the recognition of the collective rights of all language groups, the East Timorese nation can be reimagined to accommodate greater cultural and linguistic diversity, whilst still acknowledging the historical and cultural forces that have shaped it (May 2001:315). The granting of official status to all East Timorese languages would be a significant step in this direction. However, this would only mark the beginning of a fresh approach to language planning. The language situation in East Timor provides a strong case for language planning as a *niched* activity. That is, it involves careful planning, focusing of expertise and allocation of resources for the use of different languages in different domains, activities and relationships. In the absence of such planning, ad hoc and established power relationships between languages will continue to dominate social discourse and language politics (see Suzman 2001:266). Building respect for multilingualism and acknowledging the multiplicity of identities that exist within the nation-state is but a small first step in the quest for social, educational and economic development. Nevertheless, the data in this study suggest that such a step would establish a more inclusive and equitable basis for nation building than the present constitutional language provisions.

Notes

1. Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor (Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente) — known as Fretilin — was a radical pro-independence party founded in 1974. It was the foremost grouping in the independence struggle (Ryan 2007:15). Fretilin won a substantial majority in the Constituent Assembly elections of 2001, going on to form the first government of East Timor in 2002. In the crisis of 2006–2007 Fretilin suffered a series of damaging internal and external challenges to its authority. The government of the Alliance for Parliamentary Majority (Aliança com Maioria Parlamentar) — or AMP — a coalition of four parties created to form a parliamentary majority, was sworn in on 8 August, 2007. Fretilin suddenly found itself in opposition.
2. The 1999 referendum invited the East Timorese to choose between autonomy within Indonesia or independence. Just over 78% of voters opted for independence. This result unleashed the notorious frenzy of violence on the part of militias acting with the tacit support of the Indonesian armed forces (TNI, Tentara Nasional Indonesia) which led to a catastrophic humanitarian crisis.
3. At the height of its power the Portuguese Afro-Oriental empire stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific, through East Africa and India as far as the Moluccas and Macau.
4. The assimilados were a small group in a rigid racial hierarchy (see Taylor 1991). Together with the people of mixed race (mestiços) they accounted for less than 2% of the population in 1970 (Ranck 1977:63). The distinction between unassimilated natives (indígenas) — who were excluded from citizenship — and assimilated natives was only abolished in 1961 (Davidson 1974:27).
5. A forum of eight countries with Portuguese as an official language.
6. These percentages were derived and computed by the author from Table 2.04 East Timor Census of Population and Housing (2004) National Priority Tables (National Directorate of Statistics 2006:82–83).
7. Capability was defined in the 2004 Census as the ability to speak, read, write, or any combination thereof. It was self-reported and the term was therefore open to respondent interpretation. Capability does not necessarily equate with full language proficiency. The census also enumerated language use in terms of literacy in the official languages. These percentages were far lower. As this article is concerned with providing a broad picture of language shift, regional variations in language use and literacy in the official languages are not specifically addressed.
8. The Indonesian census reported the data according to the number of persons living in households where the head of the household was born in East Timor and spoke Indonesian.

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Resumo

Língua e Identidade em Timor-Leste: Debate sobre a construção nacional

Neste artigo analisa-se a escolha linguística levada a cabo na recentemente independente República de Timor-Leste, no contexto mais vasto da política linguística em estados multilíngues. O trabalho reporta-se aos aspectos da pesquisa etnográfica levada a cabo sobre os debates oficiais e populares sobre a língua e identidade. Nele são discutidos o papel actual e passado das políticas e práticas linguísticas na formação da identidade nacional e social. Concentra-se na reconstrução discursiva da identidade através de cinco instrumentos oficiais do desenvolvimento da política linguística. Debates hostis veiculados pela imprensa Australiana e Indonésia sobre a escolha do Português (a antiga língua colonial) e do Tétum (a língua indígena franca) como línguas oficiais serviram de pano de fundo para a investigação. O tema prevalente nestes debates era a decisão sobre se as escolhas preferíveis não seriam o Inglês ou o Indonésio. De modo a por estes debates em perspectiva, foram apresentados dois conjuntos de dados: os do Recenseamento Nacional de 2004 e os da análise decorrentes dos debates nos quais tomaram parte 78 participantes através de entrevistas semi-estruturadas e grupos alvo de estudantes. O recenseamento mostra, claramente, sinais de reavivamento do Português e de robustecimento do Tétum. Também demonstra a diversidade assumida pelas identidades linguísticas em Timor-Leste. As conclusões demonstram que existe menos hostilidade quanto à política linguística do que a reivindicada pela imprensa Australiana e Indonésia. Contudo, as conclusões também enfatizam a urgência da reconstrução de uma identidade nacional inclusiva e multilíngue que possa ter em conta a diversidade.

Rezumu

Língua ho Identidade iha Timor-Leste: Debate kona-ba konstrusaun nasionál

Iha artigu ida-neê ha'u hakerek kona-ba regulamentu lian nian iha Timor-Leste. Iha ha'u-nia peskiza neê, ha'u investiga lidere sira nia opiniaun no ema-hotu sira nia identidade nia lian. Ha'u hakerek mós kona-ba maneiras neêbé, regulamentu lian nian no prátika horiuluk nian, no tempu dadaun neê forma hela timor-oan sira nia identidade. Iha peskiza neê, ha'u mós diskute kona-ba instrumentu ofisiál lima nian, kona-ba regulamentu lian nian no halonu'usá mak instrumentu ofisiál lima neê, bele harii Timor-oan sira nia identidade. Ha'u mós koa'lia kona-ba bua negativus neêbé Australia no Indonézia sira nia jornál ko'alia kona-ba regulamentu lian nian iha Timor-Leste. Austrália no Indonézia nia jornál sira, dehan katak lian-Inglés mak di'ak liu atu sai lian ofisiál iha Timor-Leste. Iha peskiza neê, ha'u hatudu dadus rua: sensu nasional husi tinan 2004 no mós husi entrevista neêbé ha'u halo ho grupus estudantes nian ho ema 78. Senu hira neê, hatudu katak lian-Portugés no Tetum mak bainbain ema uza liu iha Timor-Leste. Maibé, sensu hirak neê mós hatudu katak Timor-oan sira nia identidade oin-oion liu duké horiuluk. Rezultadus husi ha'u-nia entrevista, hatudu katak timor-oan sira nia atitude kona-ba regulamentu lian nian menus negativu duké Australia no Indonézia sira nia jornál. Maibé iha ha'u-nia rezultadus, mós hatudu katak importante tebes atu harii identidade nasional, neêbé bele loka tan dalan ba Timor-oan sira atu hatudu sai sira-nia identidade oin-oion.

Resumo

Lingvo kaj identeco en Orienta Timoro: La diskursoj de naciokonstruado

Oni povas utile ekzameni lingvoelekton en la nove sendependa Respubliko de Orienta Timoro en la pli vasta kunteksto de lingvopolitiko en multlingvaj ŝtatoj. La nuna artikolo raportas pri etnografaj esploroj pri oficialaj kaj popularaj diskursoj de lingvo kaj identeco en Orienta Timoro kaj la rolo de antaŭaj kaj nunaj lingvaj politikoj kaj praktikoj en formado de nacia kaj socia identeco. Ĝi fokusigas je la diskursa rekonstruo de identeco tra kvin oficialaj instrumentoj por lingvopolitika evoluigo. Malamikaj diskursoj en la aŭstralia kaj indonezia gazetaro rilate la elekton de la portugala (la iama kolonia lingvo) kaj la tetuma (la endogena interlingvo) kiel oficialaj lingvoj liveris kuntekston por la esploroj. Daŭra temo en tiuj diskursoj estas tio, ke la angla kaj/aŭ la indonezia estus preferindaj elektoj. La artikolo metas tiujn diskursojn en perspektivon per prezento de rezultoj de du datenokompletoj: (i) la Nacia Censo de 2004 kaj (ii) analizo de la diskursoj de 78 partoprenantoj en duonstrukturitaj intervjuoj kaj studentaj fokusgrupoj. La censo montras klarajn signojn de reviviĝo de la portugala kaj revigliĝo de la tetuma. Ĝi ankaŭ montras, ke ekzistas malpli da kontraŭado de oficiala lingvopolitiko ol pretendas la aŭstralia kaj indonezia gazetaro. Tamen, la rezultoj ankaŭ substrekas urĝan bezonon konstrui inkluzivan, plurlingvan nacian identecon, kiu povas ĉirkaŭbraki diversecon.

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About the author

Kerry Taylor-Leech is a language teacher, lecturer and researcher in TESOL and applied linguistics. She is currently a research fellow in applied linguistics at Macquarie University. Her doctoral research investigated language policy and planning in East Timor.

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Errata

The author would like to correct the following errata:

Page	Error	Correction
162	54.6%	56.4% for males and 39.4% for females (Jones, 2003:48)
163	11%	13%

Jones, Gavin. 2003. Education and human resource development. Fox & Babo Soares, ed. 2003. Out of the ashes: Deconstruction and reconstruction of East Timor: 41-52.