

THE TEACHING-LEARNING OF OTHER LANGUAGES POST BNCC: FOCUS ON THE POLITICAL DISSENT OF IN VIVO AND IN VITRO MANAGEMENT FOR THE POMERANIAN LANGUAGE

O ENSINO-APRENDIZAGEM DE OUTRAS LÍNGUAS NA ESCOLA PÓS-BNCC: ENFOQUE NOS DISSENSOS POLÍTICOS DE GESTÃO IN VIVO E IN VITRO PARA O POMERANO

LA ENSEÑANZA-APRENDIZAJE DE OTRAS IDIOMAS EN LA ESCUELA POST BNCC: ENFOQUE EN LAS DISENSIONES POLÍTICAS DE LA GESTIÓN IN VIVO E IN VITRO PARA LA LENGUA POMERANA

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ABSTRACT: This paper aims to discuss linguistic education (immigration languages), with a focus on teaching Pomeranian language, and problematizing the question of the democratization of multilingual teaching in Brazilian public schools. We intend to identify future problems that may arise from Law No. 13,415 of 2017, which reformulated high school, and therefore eliminates the right to choose other languages at school from immigrant communities, previously guaranteed by the National Law of Guidelines and Bases of Education (LDB) 9394/1996. This is a descriptive work with a qualitative approach. As a theoretical basis we rely on the political studies of Calvet (2002, 2004, 2007) and others. As a result, we indicate the models of educational linguistic policies that resist monolingual guidelines and promote school multilingualism, taking as an example the measures to promote Pomeranian language managed by the communities themselves (in vivo management) and by local governments (in vitro).

KEYWORDS: Language policy. Allochthonous languages. Basic education. Pomeranian language. LEM.

RESUMO: *Este estudo traz à baila uma discussão que cinge à educação linguística em línguas adicionais alóctones, com enfoque no ensino de pomerano, problematizando a questão da democratização do ensino plurilíngue nas escolas públicas brasileiras. Objetivamos identificar possíveis óbices a partir da Lei nº 13.415 de 2017, que reformulou o ensino médio, e como consequência expurga das comunidades imigrantes (alóctones) o direito de escolha de outras línguas na escola, antes assegurado pela Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação (LDB) 9394/1996. O estudo, constitui-se num trabalho de cunho descritivo e de abordagem qualitativa. Como base teórica apoiamos-nos nos estudos de Políticas Linguísticas de Calvet (2002, 2004, 2007) e outros. Como resultados, apontamos os modelos de políticas linguísticas educacionais que resistem às diretrizes monolíngues e promovem o plurilinguismo escolar,*

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tomando como exemplo as medidas de promoção do pomerano, gerenciadas pelas próprias comunidades (gestão in vivo) e pelos governos locais (in vitro).

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Política linguística. Línguas alóctones. Educação básica. Pomerano. LEM.

RESUMEN: *Este artículo tiene como objetivo discutir la educación lingüística (lenguas de inmigración), con un enfoque en la enseñanza de pomerano, y problematizar la cuestión de la democratización de la enseñanza multilingüe en las escuelas públicas brasileñas. Pretendemos identificar problemas futuros que puedan surgir de la Ley N ° 13.415 de 2017, que reformuló la educación, y en consecuencia elimina el derecho de las comunidades inmigrantes a elegir otros idiomas en la escuela, previamente garantizado por la Ley de Lineamientos y Bases Educación Nacional 9394/1996. esto es un estudio descriptivo con enfoque cualitativo. Como base teórica nos apoyamos en los estudios glotopolíticos de Calvet (2002,2004, 2007) y otros. Como resultado, indicamos los modelos de glotopolíticos que resisten las pautas monolingües y promueven el multilingüismo escolar, tomando como ejemplo las medidas de promoción del pomerano gestionadas por las propias comunidades (gestión in vivo) y por los gobiernos locales (in vitro).*

PALABRAS CLAVE: Política lingüística. Lenguas alóctonas. Educación básica. Lengua pomerana. LEM.

Introduction

In this study we discuss linguistic education in allochthonous additional languages (LA), focusing on the teaching of Pomeranian. We seek to insert the debate in contemporary discussions around bases and norms for the curricular components of Basic Education (EB), problematizing the elaboration of educational public policies for the Component of Modern Foreign Languages (LEM), specifically for the democratization of multilingual education in Brazilian public schools, at a time when federal measures are not favorable to multilingualism and the development of plurilingual competence at school, through languages other than English, and sometimes Spanish, such as aliens, today deprived of curricular proposals to meet other political and economic purposes related to the teaching of the English language.

One of the unofficial allochthonous languages (RODRIGUES, 2010), which lose legitimacy in EB's guide documents, is the Pomeranian. Today, the teaching of this language is concentrated in the regions of Espírito Santo, Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina and was ensured as one of the disciplines that could make up the LEM component, in charge of choosing the allochthonous communities, according to the Law of Guidelines and Bases (LDB) no. 9,394/1996. However, with Law No. 13,415 of 2017, which reformed high school, communities lose the right to choose from other LA.

With the validity of the National Common Curriculum Base (BNCC), the offer of other foreign languages, specifically those of minorities from the nuclei of immigrants such as German, Italian, Japanese, Polish and Ukrainian, present since old times in the Brazilian school, is obliterated, and it is required that English language teaching, now mandatory, should replace the LEM in the EB in an action that promotes monolingualism in school spaces (DUBOC, 2019).

Finally, we aim to describe the educational public linguistic policies of basic education networks that resist federal guidelines, and also promote multilingualism at school, taking as an example the measures to promote the Pomeranian managed by the *communities themselves (in vivo management)* and by governments (*in vitro*). In addition, we intend to answer the following research questions: a) which regions offer Pomeranian as mandatory or optional discipline in public EB networks?; b) what are the programs to promote this language in Brazil, managed by the State (*in vitro management*)?; and c) what are the practices of the communities (*in vivo management*) for the permanence and maintenance of Pomeranian in public schools capable of resisting federal guidelines that use measures to promote English as the only foreign language component that should be studied in school?

Theoretical-methodological contribution

The study consists of a descriptive work with a qualitative approach, which uses bibliographic sources, starting from the sequence of stages of a methodology of Systematic Literature Review² (RSL), towards the critical discussion of the results following the order of preparation and maintenance of LMR, which involves seven stages: (i) formulating the problem, (ii) locate and select the studies, (iii) evaluate the quality of the studies, (iv) collect data, (v) analyze and present the results, (vi) interpret the results and (vii) improve and update the reviews (ROTHER, 2007).

Our theoretical contribution is based on studies on *Linguistic Policies and in vivo and in vitro management* (CALVET, 1998, 2002, 2004, 2007) related to the teaching of Pomeranian (FOERSTE; DETTMANN, 2019), as an allochthonous language (OLIVEIRA, 2003) in EB schools. We obtained access to digital texts in *Portable Document Format (PDF)*, some of

² Rother (2007) points out that the methodology for conducting a systematic review can be found in Cochrane handbook publications produced by the Cochrane Collaboration; and in CDR Report produced by the NHS Centre for Reviews and Dissemination.

which are part of the author's collection and catalog, collected during graduate studies, moreover, to printed bibliographic sources.

Specifically with regard to the digital texts referenced in this academic work, and which underpinned our theoretical assumptions, these were obtained through a search in national and international electronic databases, including SciELO, ACADEMIA, Google Scholar, Japanese Association for Research on Activity Theory (JARAT), ResearchGate, CiNii Articles, CiNii Books and CiNii. We also use printed and digital books from March to December 2022.

The following descriptors and their *translations into* English were used were used: linguistic policy; *in vivo and in vitro management*; allochthonous languages; basic education; language education in foreign languages; BNCC of languages; and, teaching Pomeranian.

We obtained 58 results, of which 50 were discarded. The remaining 8 constitute the material that served as a theoretical basis. This material studied was pre-selected from the reading of the abstracts and after, all papers were read in full. In the pre-selection, studies were discarded in which the teaching of Pomeranian was not directly related to BS, which did not contextualize this teaching in a fruitful and accurate way.

Linguistic policy and *in vivo and in vitro management of multilingualism in multilingual spaces*

To discuss federal and local political actions on the minority and minority languages of Brazil, is to resume recent concepts within sociolinguistics. First, Oliveira (2008) states that minority languages are classified into 180 indigenous languages (indigenous) and 30 allochthonous (immigrants), where the Pomeranian is included. Over the years, these languages have been marginalized not only in EB's guide documents, but also undergo a continuous process of minorization, by the linguistic policy itself in vogue in Brazil for decades (OLIVEIRA, 2003).

Against the background of the European context of independence of small nations in the 1950s and 1960s, states had to deal with the issue of managing the coexistence of several languages in the same geographical space (SPOLSKY, 2019). Thus, in terms of science, the term Linguistic Policy refers to all decision-making involving linguistic issues, which must be understood as instruments inserted in the *war of languages* (CALVET, 1998), therefore, as instruments of power relations as can be observed in Calvet's studies (2002, 2007).

Once a certain decision is made, it is based on its implementation, which goes through three *levels of planning: that of status*, in which one defines among the languages spoken within

a community, or country, the role and social function of each one; *that of corpus*, which refers to the process of standardization and elaboration of grammatical body, lexicons and dictionaries of the chosen languages; and, finally, the acquisition planning, which involves the process of dissemination of what was defined, through mass media and, mainly, by the school system, which encompasses the public policies necessary for the school, students and teachers; curriculum policies; and the maintenance of material programs and textbooks, so that the objectives of a given measure of linguistic policy and linguistic planning are achieved, a binomial associated with state policies (CALVET, 2007; HORNBERGER, 2006; PENNYCOOK, 2006; RICENTO, 2006; SPOLSKY, 2019).

However, it is important to point out that the State, although it has power over policies by itself, cannot meet the idiosyncrasies of all the groups that make up the spaces, since state linguistic policies are generally associated with monoglossic ideology and national identity hegemony, which sometimes use *glotted actions*, not meeting the needs of all groups. There are then occurrences of two forms of management being one resulting *from social practices (in vivo management)* and the other from the intervention on these practices (*in vitro management*).

According to Calvet (2002, 2007), *in vivo* management refers to the ways people solve problems with communication in everyday life, regardless of the existence of a specific law or decree. They come from the social process and are products of social practices. We can cite, as an example, the actions of immigrant communities that since the 1980s struggle to keep their languages as LA in their schools, as can be seen through the studies of Silva (2017), which details the precursor movement of German, Japanese and Italian allochthonous communities for the inclusion of these languages in the Centers for Language Studies (CEL) of the state network of São Paulo.

On the other hand, *in vitro* management refers to actions derived from research and is consolidated as actions of power and control. This type of management develops mainly through linguists, who analyze linguistic situations, describe them, build hypotheses about the future of situations and propose ways to regulate the linguistic problems of the linguistic community in question. Politicians then study the results and proposals submitted; from this study, they choose the proposals that seem most appropriate to them and apply them.

Sometimes the state implements decisions without the participation of linguists. Regarding the participation of language scholars, *in vitro management is fundamentally configured as planning, or linguistic planning*, of state responsibility (CALVET 1998, 2002, 2004, 2007), and that according to Khubchandani (1998) is the articulator of linguistic policies in what he defines of *multilingual ethos*.

The State and the communities: history of the Pomeranian's managements and promotion programs

Pomeranians are a people originally from Pomerania, in the Baltic Sea region, between present-day Germany and Poland. With the German's defeat in World War II, most of Pomerania was annexed by Poland, and most Germans living in the region were expelled and taken refuge in other parts of Germany.

The original language of this people is the Pomeranian, the largest intangible cultural heritage of the Pomeranians (FOERSTE; DETTMANN, 2019), however, since the 19th century, German has also been used in Pomerania. In the 19th century, as well as other immigrants who left their country in search of better living conditions, they migrated to Brazil and the United States. The departure from Pomerania to Brazil took place in the 19th century (DETTMANN, 2019).

Foerste and Foerste (2017) affirm that the migratory processes were part of the accelerated process of social transformations that occurred in Brazil in the second half of the 19th century and in the early twentieth century.

In Brazil, Pomeranian people settled mainly in three states, the ones mentioned above, Rio Grande do Sul, Espírito Santo and Santa Catarina, where they built communities based mainly on family agriculture and polyculture. Here, they were sent to lands of difficult access, and because they are generally isolated from other settlement nuclei, geographical isolation ended up being a factor of ethnic strengthening of these groups.

With regard to the preservation of the language, this isolation is seen as a factor of survival of the language, practically only in Brazil, the only country in the world where the language is still spoken. In the USA, they did not form these nuclei, unlike Brazil, since the Teuto-Brazilian colonies usually appeared in inhospitable and poorly inhabited regions, and it is important to note that Pomeranian immigrants were almost always registered as Germans by the Brazilian authorities.

In Espírito Santo, from 1846, the Brazilian government decided to create colonies to receive European immigrants. One of them is established in Santa Isabel, in the year 1847, the other is the Colony of Santa Maria, since the year 1867 known as Santa Leopoldina. According to Dettmann and Küster (2015), the region of Santa Maria de Jetibá/ES was populated by Pomeranic immigrants from the colonization process when they settled in the newly created Colony of Santa Leopoldina. Several other immigrants settled in the Colony, but the Pomeranians were in greater quantity, which made their language, the Pomeranian, become common use in their daily lives

Among the German colonies founded in Rio Grande do Sul, the Colony of St. Lawrence, founded in 1858 by Jacob Rheingantz, was the one that received the most Pomeranian immigrants. The Land Law and the issue of discarded lands also benefited the businessman Hermann Blumenau, founder of the Blumenau Colony in Santa Catarina, in the year 1860. As the occupation and settlement of the colony increased, the expansion of colonized areas followed the banks of the Testo River began to occur, and thus forming new settlements that stretched to Testo Alto, Testo Central and Testo Baixo, mostly colonized by Pomeranian immigrants. This region would later form the current municipality of Pomerode, located 33 kilometers away from Blumenau.

With regard to the relationship between the Pomeranian language, as an immigration language, and the Brazilian State, it can be said that this was marked by troubled periods of our history. Many German communities in Brazil have sprung up in inhospitable regions, where the presence of speakers of Portuguese. As a result, many of these communities have managed to preserve their home language for generations. However, this linguistic and cultural isolation was aggressively fought by the nationalist government of Getúlio Vargas, through the campaign of nationalization, between 1938 and 1945 (BOÇOEN; VIEIRA, 2017).

Results and discussions

The political situation of teaching and the *status* of the Pomeranian language in Brazil

Today, in recent years, governments have promoted the study and preservation of the Pomeranian language. According to Foerste and Dettmann (2019), in 2005, under linguistic-anthropological consultancy, provided by the ethnolinguist Ismael Tressmann, municipalities of Espírito Santo with a remarkable presence of Pomeranians (Santa Maria de Jetibá, Domingos Martins, Laranja da Terra, Pancas and Vila Pavão) joined around the creation of the Pomeranian School Education Program (PROEPO), with which it seeks to give official answers to the challenges faced in the schooling of the Pomeranians are long, thus, it has been sought to encourage culturally the Brazilian municipalities that have the Pomeranian as the co-official language, or that have many speakers of this language. Since then, various bilingual materials have been produced. In the development of the program, teaching practices go through management processes, production of teaching materials and in-service training. Meetings with school subjects - managers, technicians, teachers and students - enable collective reflections.

PROEPO was implemented in the schools of the municipal network of the municipalities of Santa Maria de Jetibá, Domingos Martins, Laranja da Terra, Pancas and Vila

Pavão, whose objective is to develop a political and pedagogical project that values and strengthens the Culture and the Pomeranian language in the school environment. Since then, the training of teachers in Pomeranian language and culture, taught by a linguist, has begun to be taught in the schools of the municipalities mentioned, given its importance within the family. As an example, in Santa Maria de Jetibá, Pomeranian language is the mother tongue of the majority of the population, being acquired in the family environment and neighborhoods, because it is used in daily life, in a clear *example of in vivo management of* this language through social practices.

It is important to highlight, however, that although today it is regulated and has the character of an in vitro management policy, PROEPO, it is actually an achievement resulting from an in vivo management, initiated in 2003, and led by fathers, mothers, community members, teachers, researchers, and began to discuss PROEPO with the Municipal Education Secretariats of the five municipalities of Espírito Santo in which there were descendants of Pomeranians – those already mentioned, Laranja da Terra, Domingos Martins, Pancas, Santa Maria de Jetibá and Vila Pavão – aiming at valuing and strengthening culture and the oral language and Pomeranian writing in the public schools of the municipalities mentioned above.

In early 2005, PROEPO became a reality through the support of public agencies. In 2007, the project was established because they considered it to be a permanent and consistent work.

In June 2009, PROEPO is established by law, and the partnership agreement ensures the commitment of the municipalities to give sustainability and stability to the program. From these achievements, it is proposed a continuous training for bilingual Pomeranian teachers, having as one of the objectives the teaching of the Pomeranian written language using as support material the Pomeranian dictionary prepared in 2006 by Imael Tressmann. Currently, PROEPO serves all schools in the municipal school system of the municipality of Santa Maria de Jetibá, from daycare to elementary school in the final years (DETTMANN; KÜSTER, 2015).

An important step in the process of recognition and elevation of the prestige of the native language was the co-officialization of this language in several municipalities of Espírito Santo and Brazil, making the Pomeranian language official alongside the Portuguese. According to Foerste and Dettmann (2019), from decree 6.040/2007, Pomeranians were recognized as a traditional people. This group has approximately 300,000 descendants in Brazilian territory, most of whom are in Espírito Santo, where estimates show that they add up to 150,000. In Santa Maria de Jetibá, Pomeranian has been a co-official language since 2009.

The co-officialization of the Pomeranian language obliges the municipality, among other tasks, to "encourage the learning and use of the Pomeranian language, in schools and in the media", and *this has officially recognized language status* alongside Portuguese, ensuring its use in society, implementing public policies necessary to comply with the law of co-officialization.

One of the best-known localities in Brazil where Pomeranian-Portuguese is prevailing is Pomerode, Santa Catarina. One of the towns where Low-German was spoken is Dona Otília, located in the municipality of Roque Gonzales, Canguçu, Missões Region, in the northwest of Rio Grande do Sul. In Espírito Santo, in the cities of Afonso Cláudio, Pancas, Itarana, Santa Leopoldina, Santa Maria de Jetibá, where it is the co-official language, Vila Pavão, Domingos Martins and Laranja da Terra the Pomeranian became the current language on the occasion of the arrival of immigrants.

To this day it is the mother tongue of many inhabitants of the region, and in several of the districts of the cities mentioned above is the most spoken language. However, for many years, the literacy of the Pomeranians of the region was done in German, and later in Portuguese, so a small portion of its speakers write it; generally, communicate in writing in German or Portuguese.

Regarding the political *status* of the Pomeranian in Brazil, she is currently a co-officer in the municipalities listed in Chart 1:

Table 1 - Officialization and co-officialization of Pomeranian in Brazil

A. Brazilian municipalities that have pomeranian co-official language (Pommersch)	
1.	Espírito Santo
	Afonso Cláudio Domingos Martins Itarana Laranja da Terra Pancas Santa Maria de Jetibá Vila Pavão
2.	Santa Catarina
	Pomerode
3.	Rondônia
	Espigão do Oeste (em fase de aprovação)
B. Municipalities that have made the teaching of the Pomeranian language official (Pommersch)	
1.	Rio Grande do Sul
	Canguçu São Lourenço do Sul

Source: Prepared by the author based on Foerste and Foerste (2017)

According to Foerste and Dettmann (2019), there is a tendency to co-officialize minority languages in Brazil, which may represent achievements of linguistic rights by ethnic groups that have been made visible. The first languages to be co-officialized were *nhneengatu*, *baniwa* and *tukano*, in São Gabriel da Cachoeira, Amazonas, through law no. 145/2002. Concerning the Pomeranian language, after Pancas, its co-officialization was also in other municipalities of Espírito Santo (Laranja da Terra, Santa Maria de Jetibá, Vila Pavão, Domingos Martins and Itarana), as well as in Canguçu, in Rio Grande do Sul, and Pomerode, Santa Catarina. In August 2011, PEC 11/2009 was also approved, a constitutional amendment that includes in Article 182 of the State Constitution the Pomeranian language, along with the German language, as cultural heritage of Espírito Santo. Santa Maria de Jetibá also has a Pomeranian-language radio station, *Pomerisch Radio*.³

English as a lingua franca in BNCC: a language policy that oppresses allochthonous languages in the school curriculum?

In the current situation, Jordão (2014) states that in the field of language teaching-learning, there is a new perspective, and this is the use of the term Additional Language in place of the Foreign Language. However, the researcher states that this is a complex situation, especially in the face of the instability of the meanings attributed by the academy to the terms English as Lingua Franca (ILF), International Language (ILI), Foreign Language (ILE), and Additional Language (ILA), concepts presented in her research, of which we appropriate, and discuss below, to understand the *current status of English* in the Brazilian school curriculum after BNCC.

ILF refers to the functions of language in society, i.e., it should be defined as a function of the English language around the world, and not as a linguistic variant, as is sometimes conceived.

In this perspective, according to Jordan (2014), one is aware that English is actually many languages, so the various English languages of the world have their functional dimension in the cultures, traditions and needs of the communities they serve. The term ILE would be focused exclusively on the context of acquisition, to situations of teaching-learning of the language, as well as ILA, in which English users from the perspective of a foreign language would aim to "get as close as possible to the native variant" (p. 18). The author points out a position of inferiority attributed to non-natives in the perspective of ILE, because "non-native

³ Cf.: <https://www.radios.com.br/aovivo/pomerisch-radio/24319>. Access :12/11/2020.

speakers (foreigners) would have as objective of their learning to get closer to the native users" (p. 19) of the target language. ILF would also be a language to be learned by those who use English as their first language. This means conceiving the ILF as a language that develops independently of the centralizing norms of a supposed "origin" based on the idea of a standard language.

Thus, the term constructs users of English as a non-first language as subjects capable of taking possession of the English language, of (re)inventing the language to the point that it has to be (re)learned by its native speakers. According to the author, from the perspective of the ILF, "we English-speaking Brazilians would be freed and allowed to use our own idiosyncrasies, which could actually constitute a variant of the ILF, a language in its own right to exist" (JORDÃO, 2014, p. 20).

Moving to the concept of ILF, as proposed in the BNCC, Duboc (2019) stresses that the concept is controversial and polysemic. The researcher states that the teaching of English in Brazil is historically marked by a discourse of failure already denounced by Brazilian researchers. The concept of ILF fell practically from the English language curricular component of the BNCC, considering that the discussion on the concept of ILF in initial and continuing teacher education is virtually null and void. The English Language component, replacing the current LEM, is thus presented in the BNCC:

The treatment given to the component in the BNCC prioritizes the focus of the social and political function of English and, in this sense, begins to treat it in its status as a lingua franca. The concept is not new and has been recontextualized by field theorists in recent studies that analyze the uses of the English language in the contemporary world. In this proposal, the English language is no longer that of the "foreigner", originating from hegemonic countries, whose speakers serve as a model to be followed, nor is it a variant of the English language. In this perspective, the uses that make it widely known are welcomed and legitimized, with different linguistic and cultural repertoires, which makes it possible, for example, to question the view that the only "correct" English – and to be taught – is that spoken by Americans or British (BRASIL, 2020, p. 241, our translation).

From Calvet's ecolinguistic perspective (2004), English occupies a hyper-central position, and we realize that this is reflected in Brazilian educational policies. In a context full of mishaps, and of minorization, public multilingual teaching progressed, even at a lengthy pace, in public schools before the replacement of the LEM curriculum component – which enabled multilingualism in school environments – by the English language at BNCC. This fact can, again, bring the public school closer to monolingualism, as Duboc (2019) asserts, since this teaching also goes through an old process of devaluation and minorization within school

spaces, which has its effectiveness and relevance, called into question by the students themselves, and sometimes by teachers of other components, as pointed out by the study by Rezende (2020) that presents in his work the situation of English teachers in public school, and their frustrations regarding the minorization of this discipline in relation to the other components, such as Portuguese mathematics; poor visibility in school teaching groups; and repressed and little expressive participation in decisions that guide approval and disapproval of students in school boards.

Unlike the European context that, according to Garcia and Otheguy (2020), defined in the European Union the difference between multilingualism, as an individual characteristic of the individual and multilingualism as a social phenomenon, promoting multilingualism so that its citizens become multilingual, Brazil, equally multilingual, is still strongly linked to monoglossic ideologies, promoting these practices in its curricular guidelines, not taking into account the linguistic rights of individuals.

In addition to a purge of the linguistic rights of the Communities of Pomeranian immigrants, who saw, since 1996, the school as a democratic space for the promotion of languages, we believe that the substitution of LEM by the English language will bring other consequences to the apprentices, who will remain monolingual, due to the social constructions that influenced the elaboration of English as a curricular component in BNCC, ideas that have been disseminated for decades that associate the fact of knowing English with globalization, with the desire for social, economic, cultural ascension, to what Pennycook (2007) calls the myth of English as an international language.

For the researcher, this myth gained strength through endless stories about English, constantly inserting English in discourses on education, development and poverty, producing chronicles of English as the language of opportunity, equality and access. Such myths relentlessly build the illusion of English, presenting the world with the view that there would be an identifiable language called English, however, the author states that this myth needs to be "*demythologized*" pressingly. Moreover, the allochthonous languages, such as Pomeranian, offered in schools, through the success stories of needy students who have achieved academic and professional ascent because they have had access to LEM, may have the *power to demythologize* English as the only social asset of these students, because, using multilingualism, this will have a way to choose respecting their own clothes.

Thus, it is important that there are also greater investments in the language centers of state public schools, which offer other languages such as German, Spanish, Italian, French, Japanese, Polish and Ukrainian, as in São Paulo, Distrito Federal and Paraná, because these

spaces are the only sources of access to multilingualism as cultural capital (BOURDIEU, 1998) by public school students. For this, as well as English, the allochthonous LEM need space and legislative protection through the eb-guide documents, a space that should be recognized for decades, and the recognition of the Pomeranian as a co-official language in some municipalities is an advance, however it is not yet contemplated with educational policies at the federal level, since LDB 9394/96 and BNCC do not recognize any allochthonous language as a discipline, moreover, the State, through the Constitution of Brazil (BRASIL, 1988), does not recognize the allochthonous communities and their languages, unlike the indigenous communities and languages.

Final considerations

As we conclude, first we wonder which regions offer Pomeranian as a mandatory or optional discipline in public EB networks. We observed that the Pomeranian language is recognized in regions of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina and Rondônia, however, Espírito Santo is the place where the language policies that effectively promote the language in public schools in five of its municipalities are concentrated: Laranja da Terra, Domingos Martins, Pancas, Santa Maria de Jetibá and Vila Pavão. Currently, all schools in the municipal school system of the municipality of Santa Maria de Jetibá, from daycare to elementary school in the final years offer the Pomeranian.

Next, we ask ourselves what programs to promote this language in Brazil, managed by the State (*in vitro management*). We identified that the Pomeranian School Education Project - PROEPO became a reality through the support of public agencies, being created in 2005. In 2007, the project was established because they considered it to be a permanent and consistent work. In June 2009, PROEPO is established by law, and the partnership agreement concluded ensures the commitment of the municipalities to give sustainability and stability to the program, however we note that PROEPO is actually the result of the cooperation of parents and society, and not an initiative of the Brazilian State.

The last research question referred to identifying the practices of *communities (in vivo management) for the permanence and maintenance* of Pomeranian in public schools capable of resisting federal guidelines that use measures to promote English as the only competent foreign language that should be studied in school. We observed that the strength of the school communities, linguists and teachers of municipal public schools was the forerunner of the establishment of laws that ensured survival and preservation of the Pomeranian language. We

highlight the use of language in local mass media (radio, *websites*, newspapers, etc.), in addition to the publication of didactic material and *linguistic corpus planning* that culminated in bilingual dictionaries, facilitating the planning of language acquisition through the school system. Moreover, the social practices of the communities directly impact the elaboration of municipal public policies, however still insufficient, to ensure other rights to the allochthonous communities.

Finally, current publications by Pomeranian municipal governments are limited and incomplete, making it difficult for this group to access public policies and social rights. The map "Foci of foreign immigration in Espírito Santo", for example, does not include the municipalities of Domingos Martins, Afonso Cláudio, Laranja da Terra, Itaguaçu, Baixo Guandu, São Gabriel da Palha, Vila Valério, among others, where Pomerania live. From 1970, the Pomerans of this state began to migrate to the cities due to lack of public policies of family agriculture and the strong developmental appeal of international capital, invested in large industrial projects. Language, as a citizen's right, and human, requires state attention, with incentives through public policies, especially when it comes to minority languages. Thus, making the Pomeranian language official would effectively contribute to the strengthening and its maintenance, ensuring its vitality and permanence for future generations, because each language is always a cultural good of collective and community interest.

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