CULTURAL BILINGUALISM AND LANGUAGES IN CONTACT IN TEXT PRODUCTION: EXPLAINING THE CASE OF PERMANENT INTERFERENCES IN WRITTEN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

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Abstract

A critical review of the nature of Education as a universal right in peripheral societies, based on the analysis of the social and cultural circumstances that permeate the learning experience of the written Portuguese language in Brazilian schools. The concept of cultural bilingualism is defended as necessary in facing the demand for subjectivation of the universal right to Education, supported by facts of written production among school subjects. It also justifies the overcoming of the classic concepts of bilingualism, listed exclusively from grammatical-functional aspects or issues of use that are restricted to linguistic facts. Situations of tension stand out in the contact between oral and written Portuguese of Brazil - symbolically considered the Brazilian national language - whose origin goes back to historical-cultural aspects that acted in the process of the implantation of the Portuguese Language in Brazilian territory. Derived from such aspects, there are situations of languages in contact that can only be properly explained by the concept of cultural bilingualism.

Keywords: *cultural bilingualism, linguistic rights, mother tongue teaching, public education policies, teacher training*

Introduction

In the preface to his last published book, Darcy Ribeiro (1996) told us that he had postponed it for decades because there was still a lack of a theory of culture, capable of accounting for our reality, in which erudite knowledge is so often spurious and the popular not-knowledge contrastively reaches critical altitudes, mobilizing consciences for profound movements of social reordering (p. 16). This is the motivation of the study presented in this text, albeit focused on the compulsory education teachers, more specifically from the moment they become teachers in front of those who present themselves as students. It is there, at that very moment, that theories, teaching objectives and Brazilian realities face each other, *contrastingly*, as independent and isolated instances of the same act. The teacher training within the scope of Brazilian education, that is to say, of the Brazilian school, since it is there that education takes shape for the teacher, requires a discourse that integrates these three instances in the same order of relevance: the theory that gives it foundation; the general principles of Education, understood as an individual right; and the formative circumstances that emanate from the different social subjects who seek to become students.

Inclusive education is understood as that which, in the interest of the person and, therefore, of the individual right, aims to ensure universal access to quality school and teaching. As for this, the myth of *quality teaching*, a multitude of things can be understood, but here we will understand it as a training that provides integration to citizenship practices, not to this or that, but to the universe of public life in a society. The deeper object of the content of this text

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is the *written language* in the context of a teaching program linked to inclusive education and, therefore, to the training committed to teaching quality.

Returning to Darcy, it must be asked what theories teachers use to base the didactics of written language in basic education. Theories that are not limited to some strict nature of the alphabetic writing system and its grammatical uses, but also consider its interaction with the principles of education and, in particular, with the social and intellectual phenomenon that occurs when writing comes into contact with real people who become students. It is no longer about linguistic theories or theories of education, but rather theories that, in the fusion of academic areas, constitute theories of the teacher of inclusive education. Therefore, this report presents a theoretic review concerned with, both, the description of what is understood by *cultural bilingualism* and the defense of its relevance as a theoretical contribution to the basic education teacher training, as well as concerned with the design of a theory interested in the fusion of academic areas such as linguistics and education. For such, the report is segmented into following sections: for opening, an introductory contextualization of some educational concepts associated to the problem of written language learning on contemporary schools, namely *inclusive education*, universal right to literacy and principles of rights subjectivation; for next, based on data and results of a previous longitudinal research carried out with regular high school students, comes a section dedicated to appoint the phenomenon observed in written productions which demonstrate the costs of social diversity in the subjectivation of the right to the development of full mastery of the written language; third section is dedicated to the analysis of distinct definitions of bilingualism compared to the phenomenon observed in written productions and to the defense of the concept of cultural bilingualism; as a conclusion, a final section brings an analysis of the recurrent phenomenon of cultural bilingualism in written texts produced by Brazilian students as decurrent of historic facts associated to the implantation of Portuguese as the idiom of Brazil.

Perennial interference of oral language in the use of written Portuguese characterizes a case of cultural bilingualism, strongly associated with the recognition of universal rights to identity, culture and language, and, in parallel to a process of subjectivation. Differences in the generation process of both Brazilian Portuguese and written Portuguese and differences in their cultural character, combined with processes of subjectivation and social resistance, explain the interference of speech on writing production by basic education students.

Motivation: Inclusive Education Policies

A fundamental issue and principle that guides this text is schooling as a full and inalienable universal right. However, at the heart of this issue, the scope of the universal term, which properly expresses the fundamental meaning of the right to education, has yet to be defined. By *universal*, we understand what belongs to the unlimited, that, therefore, it does not discriminate against this or that, nor does it restrict this or that in any degree. By *universal right*, it´s understood what is due and proper to Humanity, or, in a stricter sense, to the citizen as recognized by the State. In the Brazilian territory, education is governed by an entrenched clause of the 1988 Federal Constitution, defined therein as a fundamental right, with the objectives of the full development of the human personality and the preparation for the exercise of citizenship and qualification for work. The constitutional principle, as such, is not guaranteed, however, except through its effective subjectivation, as defined in the concept of *subjective right* (Duarte, 2004; Scaff & Pinto, 2016).

The subjective right is the concept with which the effective appropriation of the principle of law, or abstract right, is defined. It is the competence of the public authorities and of all organized civil society to ensure that each individual is subject to fundamental rights, including Education. Herein lies one of the great themes recurrently discussed in Sociology, regarding the

tensions that extend between universal right – the abstract principle – and subjective right. It is worth, then, asking what education the constitutional right refers to and what "education" the subjective right refers to in the face of a society marked by sociocultural plurality. Although not expressed in the body of the 1988 Federal Constitution, the universal right to education refers to a concept of education that prevails in the hegemonic culture in the spheres of an illustrated reason, as denominated by Miranda (2006).

> Eighteenth-century thinkers defended principles of freedom and equality that had great repercussions throughout contemporary history. However, they found themselves facing a thorny problem: judging the multiple forms of social organization without compromising those supposedly universal principles. To combat injustices, the Enlightenment tried to define human nature and proclaim universal rights. However, the illustrated definitions failed to explain certain behaviors, customs, desires, and beliefs (…). Studying social experiences across the planet, philosophers found various forms of religiosity, political systems that denied their ideals of citizenship, manifestations of sexuality and aggressiveness that were shocking to the Republic of Letters. (p. 342)

To a large extent, the universal right to education provided for by law is closely associated with the right to school education, especially implicit in the strong instrumental character foreseen in its vocation as an institute of training for work. The literature that problematizes the scope of education object of universal law is plentiful, such as in Rodrigues (2001):

> We may suspect that mastering knowledge and skills does not guarantee humanitarian development in students, because it does not promote, by itself, the ethical formation of human beings. This ethical formation is a necessity of the human formation process, which cannot be reduced to a simple task of producing, organizing, and distributing knowledge and skills. Human formation will only be complete if accompanied by the development of principles of conduct that can be recognized as universally valid. (p. 252)

As a training institution, school education has, in fact, a fundamental role in the process of subjectivation of the right to education. However, from the beginning, in the school of the Modern Era, the difference between a universal civilizing process and, in the terms of Rodrigues (2001), the development of principles of conduct that can be recognized as universally valid has been misunderstood. In the case of peoples and nations on the periphery, such as in the countries of Latin America, the problem of the subjectivation of the right to education becomes more intense due to the model of subjectivity that was built from the violence of the colonization process.

> Freud had already pointed out flaws and imperfections in the ideals of civilization, allowing the inference of two problems. The first, for the domination of nature: Western culture, supported by the instruments of violence and the thesis of Christian-Western morality, had to brutalize, pillage, and assault non-Western peoples, tearing them from their roots. For example, we have the atrocious invasion of black Africans, indigenous people, Latin Americans and Asians. A type of violence that I call here "civilizational violence". That is, a way of violating the others non-Western with civilizing and moralizing arguments, such as "saving the black soul from sins". (…). The same also occurred, through insufficient and prejudiced descriptions, which link primitivity to the African and mystery to the Orientals. That is, the *not-us* need to be subjugated and violated so that they can be civilized and, therefore, get out of "natural" unhappiness. (Danfá, 2020, p. 4)

Within the scope of the effort to colonize the people of the periphery, the school is instituted among them as an instrument of a civilizing project. Not exactly in the strict sense of the term, that is, as a process of developing cultures, but as a tool for creating subjects

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subordinated to a certain standard of civility and civilism. Consequently, this school is not expected to contribute to the subjectivation of rights, since, *a priori*, subjectivity is denied to these people.

Public inclusion policies implemented in Brazil in the field of Education have been bumping into the memory of this subject without the right to subjectivity, which was crystallized in the school culture. The Brazilian school shows a lack of appreciation for the subject of cultural diversity, which is inherent to the surrounding society. Certainly, for this reason, it has become natural in Brazil that certain social subjects are doomed to learning failure or dropping out (Bett, 2020; Patto, 1993). It happens, however, that despite public policies – from the Brazilian National Education Guidelines and Framework Law – Law no. 9.394, of December 20, 1996 – to other normative instruments of education in all federal spheres – or other instruments such as the controversial Common Core State Standards, even if they are aimed at guaranteeing the universal right to education and, where appropriate, the guarantee of its subjectivation, it is in the school itself and in the teaching-learning processes that the subjective right is denied. On the one hand, the subjectivation of the right to education is denied, since, as already discussed here, subjectivity itself is denied; on the other hand, the subjectivation of the right to education is also denied when, under the justification of an inherent failure of the students themselves, whose subjectivity is not recognized, is not possible for them to know and master the instruments of social experience that ensure them autonomy and legitimacy in the public space.

Rodrigues (2001) pointed out that the universal right to education projects a subject in formation for the exercise of citizenship. In other words, it is a formation program committed to developing autonomy to interact with all kinds of cultural experiences, from the most familiar to the most formal. Such a program, which takes place in parallel with the psychosocial development of the school subject, is what can be understood as a curricular project of subjectivation of the right to education. Within a curriculum project of this nature, the condition that the right to citizenship and sociocultural singularity be recognized in the school subject is imposed.

Even though there is a curricular program committed to the subjectivation of the right to education, the problem that remains is the fact that the teaching-learning processes are based on didactic concepts and protocols that are not based on Education, but on the academic doctrines of the respective teaching areas. And so, once again, the subjectivation of the right to education collides with the closest of the formation agents: the teachers and their training.

The development of Brazilian education, considering the interest in making it the subjective right of each citizen, is intrinsically related to the development of academic and doctrinal concepts and principles in the various areas of knowledge that make up the teaching faculty. By scope, the training of literacy agent teachers is considered here, particularly literacy teachers and mother tongue teachers, whose enactment in basic education is mainly focused on teaching and developing the use of written language, understood as an instrument of culture and social insertion. Therefore, it is understood here that the full command of the written language represents the subjectivation of the universal right to an education for the exercise of citizenship. In this it is presumed that not fully mastering the written language restricts the exercise of citizenship within the scope of cultural practices – also called *discourse genre* –, required by force of adequacy.

The Phenomenon: Writing in Basic Education

The stereotyped treatment of the relationship between speech and writing in school culture has greatly impaired the development of inclusion policies, as it tends to mask facts of a sociocultural nature that decisively interfere with the subject's conditions of permanence as a student, considering factors such as dropping out, retention and permanence under low levels of learning. In the case of literacy, for example, in the light of school culture, subjects

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whose written production does not progress from the pre-syllabic period have been commonly evaluated as having invasive disorders of different kinds. This type of evaluation stems from the expectation that any individual is naturally capable of converting pre-syllabic writing into syllabic writing, in an evolutionary way, based on the fact that this keeps full equivalence with the structure of the spoken language already mastered by the student (Ferrero & Teberosky, 1988). Written Portuguese is, however, a cultural production based on a certain reading of the Portuguese language (see below), not necessarily shared by subjects from other cultures. Despite the characteristic mnemonic processes of the writing production, the available literature spares no comments on the cultural immanence of writing practices. The production of writing is, in itself, a cultural act, and literacy is, *a priori*, a cultural process that, in some cases, means the entry of the individuals into a system of alien values to those that are part of their identity.

In the field of a truly inclusive education, the figure of the subjects who interrupt the literacy process in the pre-syllabic period can be taken as a symbol of a terrible misunderstanding of the pedagogical conception, that is, the reduction of the students and their potential to the expectations of the values underlying the school culture – cultural processes analyzed in Pavel (1990), where the author clarifies the academic-scientific culture: Hursel's phenomenological monism, on the one hand, intended to establish the set of knowledge about the experience of the cognoscente subject (p. 35). This and other cases of severe cost in the development of writing – as in the case of deaf subjects, for example – can be listed as resulting from cultures in contact, in a situation in which the school, even not disregarding the diversity of cultures as a social fact, it is not realized that different cultures result in equally unique cultural products, such as the writings and other cultural records presented by the students.

Next, follow the results of a longitudinal study[1] in which the development of regular high school students in practices of producing written texts was analyzed. The survey observed variations in the subjectivation process of the right to master the written language related to different school subjects grouped according to their social condition. The relationship between culture, languages and text production was the focus of research, in which written productions of a total of 58 students from the 10th and 13th grades of basic education at a Brazilian federal school were analyzed. Students were distributed between two groups: students with no indication of school failure and students with an indication of school failure in the discipline of Portuguese language. These are subjects from different segments and cultural niches in the city of Rio de Janeiro, although, for the most part, they came from different regions of the northern part of the city of Rio de Janeiro.

It was observed that there was a strong relationship between the condition of learning failure and the social origin of school subjects, a tendency that is also reproduced in the perspective of dropping out and exclusion due to failure between the beginning and the end of high school. Likewise, learning difficulties in the Portuguese language area are also concentrated in groups of students with lower purchasing power (18 of the 21 students in both groups in the 10th grade). Among them, there were also students with greater characteristics of cultural and ethnic diversity, whose features, however, were not discriminated against in the research carried out.

From the analysis of written texts produced based on a work proposal presented to the students, it was verified that their performance in the use of alphabetic writing was reflected in the general condition of the student in relation to school failure: all students in a condition of school failure presented significant performance problems in the production of written texts; most students with no indication of school failure had less significant problems in text production. In the evaluation of the texts, were used criteria divided into two fields of production:

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1   Research data derived from project "Cultures in contact in literacy process: costs in WL system learning associate to interferences and impositions f grammatization process on the morpho-syntactic identity of modern Portuguese" (Granted FAPERJ Foundation E-26202926/2017), published Senna (2021).

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(a) the semantic field, having as parameters the control over the cohesive relations between the formal and semantic parts of the text, and the planning and sequencing of information; (b) the structural formal field, considering all aspects of morphosyntactic order in the domain of the sentence and spelling. Table 5 presents the criteria adopted to qualify globally according to the expressiveness of the problems presented.

Table 1

Criteria for Global Evaluation of the Texts

	(a) Semantic field	(b) Formal field
Significant problems	1. Systematic use of words in inappropriate semantic context. 2. Systematic presence of verb-nominal agreement failures. 3. Presence of poorly linked sections in the textual sequence, or poorly delimited paragraphs. 4. Presence of contextual inconsistencies within the scope of the text.	6. Systematic presence of informal registration marks in technical texts. 7. Systematic presence of spelling errors. 8. Systematic presence of failures related to verbal regency and transitivity. 9. Systematic presence of inappropriate use of coordination or subordination resources.
Non-significant problems	5. Episodic presence (maximum two occurrences) of verb-nominal agreement failures.	10. Episodic and well-justified presence in the context of informal records in technical texts. 11. Episodic presence of spelling failures. 12. Episodic presence of failures of regency and verbal transitivity. 13. Episodic presence of inadequate use of coordination resources or subordination.

Between significant and non-significant failures, there are textual production failures of all kinds, among all students, from the most complex occurrences at the semantic level to the simplest ones at the formal level, such as spelling. Data suggests that the difference between subjects in a condition of school failure and subjects without indication of school failure is not necessarily conditioned to the full mastery of alphabetic writing as an instrument of text production but to the frequency of occurrence of failures. The greater the frequency – whether significant failures or not – the greater the possibility of school failure. The lower the frequency, the lower the possibility of school failure.

Problems of a semantic nature tend to disappear between the 10th and 13th grades, among all groups of students, and are restricted to focal issues (such as internal cohesion) among some of them. It was concluded, despite losses due to dropping out or retention, that the school education process positively interferes with overcoming textual production problems concerning the semantic field. The same is not observed, however, in the formal field.

All types of formal flaws evaluated in the students' textual productions were identified, with greater or lesser frequency, in all groups of students. The situation is the same in the case of the use of morphological marks of nominal agreement, which, despite being related to the semantic field due to its relation to grammatical cohesion operations, is strongly associated with morphological lexical mechanisms. This is the issue that directly motivates the study that is intended to be carried out within the scope of this research project.

The data suggest that schooling interferes satisfactorily with the literacy process in high school, which can be sustained by the fact that the significant reduction of production failures in the semantic field at the 13th grade indicates that there has been a development of the production capacity of texts suited to the privileged discourse genre in high school. It is assumed, therefore, that the students in the analyzed corpus have acquired the ability to select modes of thought

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organization suitable for the production of written texts, with very low interference from modes associated with the production of speech or other texts, verbal or non-verbal, not associated with privileged discourse genre in high school. However, the same ability to select modes of textual production does not seem to be fully verified when it comes to the formal layer of written Portuguese.

The high incidence of flaws in the formal layer of the analyzed written production is usually listed as a result of the interference of the oral language in the act of production, a phenomenon, therefore, associated with the area of language studies in contact (Weinreich, 1953). Understanding that speech and writing are subject to different types and processes of linguistic variation, the interference of the first on written production would be explained through the interposition of the drifting morphosyntactic system in speech on the stable system of writing. Therefore, cases of occurrences would derive from this, for example, such as verb-nominal agreement (e.g.: "*fazem anos que não se via tantas pessoas*"[2]; "*os policiais foram atacado logo na chegada*"[3]), and the use of subordination marks (eg: "*trouxeram muitas justificativa onde a principal era*"[4]; "*sendo que o livro que a capa caiu foi o principal motivo da*"[5]).

The hypothesis of transfer between linguistic systems is strong and gains even more support in the theory of variation, based on which the timeless structure of the grammatical system that rules modern written languages goes against the nature of natural linguistic systems, eminently open and subject to variation. What is not understood, however, is why students are fully capable of controlling the use of the modes of production and semantic organization of the written text and why they are not, when it comes to formal structures, even when faced with the same conditions of production.

The situation illustrated from the data of this research is analogous and amplified in the case of the use of alphabetic writing by profoundly deaf people, regardless of the learning process they went through in basic education. Despite the degree of proficiency in terms of specific knowledge about school grammar facts, the profound deaf person tends to produce texts, sometimes more, sometimes less, characteristic, presenting properties resistant to the time of formation and use, whose nature is not only explained on the basis of strictly linguistic-grammatical phenomena. As in the case of the students – object of the previously reported research –, the profoundly deaf students challenge linguistic knowledge to the extent that their production in alphabetic written language cannot be described or explained based on the parameters ordinarily used in their assessment. How to explain that students who dominate the grammatical knowledge of the alphabetic written language and who, at the same time, develop parameters for the use of writing in the semantic plan of their organization, are not able to properly use the formal structures of the morphosyntactic system of the standard language, even at the end of the last few grades of basic education?

Explaining the Phenomenon: Cultural Bilingualism

As is characteristic of language sciences, bilingualism is a concept that has been evolving over time, parallel to the evolution of the primary concept of the grammatical system. The development of studies on bilingualism accelerated significantly from the 20th century onwards, from its association with the areas of psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics, from which it broke with the hitherto tradition of a strictly grammatical approach. More recently, closer to the 21st century, contributions from discourse theory and theoretical-descriptive doctrines based on the

2   In English, it would be to say something like: "it have been years since so many people was seen...".
3   In English, it could correspond to: "the policemen were attack upon arrival", although, in Portuguese, the lack of plural in the word "*atacado*" is the issue here.
4   In English: "they brought many justifications where the main one was".
5   In English: "being that the book that the cover fell was the main reason for".

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principle of languages in perspective of use, have repercussions on the concept of grammatical system and, consequently, on the conception of bilingualism. It is not intended here to discuss exhaustively the different meanings of bilingualism. We will be delimited, particularly, on those that help us in the discussion that has already begun regarding the relationship between the teaching of the written language and the subjectivation of the right to education for the exercise of citizenship.

In common sense, there is the classic notion that bilingualism is associated with communities that adopt two official languages. It is customary, in this case, to take bilingualism as a trait of a so-called bilingual country, as in the case of Canada, Spain or Switzerland. It is worth noting that, in a bilingual country, not every citizen is bilingual, because, in this sense, bilingualism has a statutory character, defined as the condition for recognition by the State of the right to use more than one language by citizens. It is the State that becomes bilingual, implying the fact that all official communication and all types of information in public spaces must be expressed in recognized languages. What is implicit in statutory bilingualism on a national basis is the fact that the State grants citizens the right to recognize themselves as linguistic and cultural subjects, *ad referendum* to universal human rights policies.

> The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948:2), includes in its article 2 the only mention of non-discrimination for linguistic reasons when it proclaims "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and value of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women […] without distinction as to race, color, sex, language, religion, political opinion or any other". The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966: 9341), promulgated by the United Nations, only states in its article 27 that "in States where there are ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities, persons belonging to said minorities the right that corresponds to them, in common with the other members of their group, to have their own cultural life, to profess and practice their own religion and to use their own language" (Morera, 2019. p. 83)

Recognizing the condition of a plurilingual state is, however, a very complex political decision, in no way restricted to strictly linguistic aspects. In this case, it is a situation of subjectivation of the right, the universal right to cultural and linguistic identity. There are few modern nations that do not present plurilingualism, although very few are those that declare themselves bilingual in recognition of the linguistic rights of different speech communities. In some cases, plurilingualism is derived from migratory flows that generate new national subjects, who inherit linguistic features from their ancestors, the so-called heritage language. Nevertheless, in other cases, plurilingualism stems from the mechanisms through which nations were constituted, bringing together different cultural subjects and speakers of different languages or dialects at their borders. In these cases, the feeling of affiliation to the nation may have developed an appreciation for a language that could be taken as a language of unity, or a national language. Yet, each nation is constituted from unique processes, not all of which are successful in terms of developing a feeling of national unity. It is in this type of situation that internal conflicts end up being reflected in linguistic disputes, sometimes more, sometimes less veiled. Therefore, historical factors and political or cultural disputes can result in bilingual nations, even if under a condition of non-recognition by the public authorities. It is worth saying, then, that this is a non-recognition of the subjective right to identity among national subjects in a condition of cultural and linguistic diversity.

Bilingualism in the Brazilian territory is still treated as a taboo, since the advent of its independence from Portugal, in the 19ᵗʰ century, when it declared itself monolingual. To this day, in addition to Portuguese, only indigenous languages and the Brazilian Sign Language are recognized, without this, however, having changed its designation as a monolingual nation. As pointed out by Preuss and Álvares (2014), bilingualism in the Brazilian territory extends to several other cases, particularly among communities constituted from the migratory flows from

Europe, which occurred between the 19th and 20th centuries. Since then, even though they have been established in the country for more than a century, the languages spoken there are still considered foreign languages in the national territory, even if they have already been absorbed by cultural and linguistic processes typical of the local experience of these communities and their heirs (Fritzen, 2008).

The denial of the right to linguistic identity has profound implications for the subject's socio-affective development, since identity, culture and language form an inseparable triad. When the subjective right to language is denied, the right to culture and identity is denied at the same time, therefore, the subject itself is denied. In research reported by Díaz and Schmidt (2016), it appears that, when producing sentences in non-mother tongues, bilingual subjects tend to express emotions in ways that are semantically different from those they would produce in their mother tongue. Thus, it is not merely a structural difference, but a semantic difference that also affects the way in which the form is organized. "Emotions" are not grammatical facts, but identity facts, however, impregnated in the way the language of a given culture expresses them.

Among subjects whose language is not recognized by the government, there is still an identity gap that calls for a language of belonging. Among Brazilians from unrecognized speech communities, there is a need to provide themselves with a language, like the subject whose sentence gives title to Fritzen's (2008) work: "*Ich spreche anders aber das ist auch Deutsh*" [I speak differently, but this is also German].

Despite particular cases, every situation of bilingualism is subject to the interference of identity and cultural features in the use of the respective languages in contact. In the context of bilingualism, there is no way to dissociate the linguistic phenomenon of languages in contact and the psychological phenomenon of identities and cultures in contact. Every linguistic production is a production of culture; therefore, every state of bilingualism is a state of cultural bilingualism.

The conditions that affect linguistic performance in situations of cultural bilingualism are linked to the subject's identity as a language user and to the social conditions of use. Among the definitions of bilingualism, the one that considers it as the ability to use different languages in accordance with the context of use and production conditions stands out. This pragmatic definition interests us particularly here, as it points us to the fact that bilingualism is a psychological state whose nature is established in the subject's relationship with the expression systems and the conditions of use, therefore, also sociolinguistic. In this socio-psycholinguistic dynamic, the subjectivation of rights to identity, culture and language plays a decisive role. Subjects deprived of subjectivation tend to seek to rescue them through the legitimization of familiar traces to their identity. As an example of this, observe the case analyzed in Fritzen (2008), as already mentioned, in which the speaker seeks to fit his dialect into a legitimate grammatical system ("*Ich spreche anders aber das ist auch Deutsch*"). Analogously, the relationship between bilingualism and identity is also verified in situations of codeshare such as the one analyzed by Mota (2008), referring to Brazilian children and young people, children of immigrants in the United States, who alternate the selection of the use of Portuguese and English language, between the desire to belong to the local public space and the desire to preserve, or not, the memory of a cultural and linguistic connection, most of the time associated exclusively with the parental relationship and certain spaces of "Brazilianness", such as churches and small cultural centers.

> The development of stable bilingualism in a diglossic way, in which the two languages assume complementary social roles, symbolically manifests itself as a reflection of a process of integration between two national identities. The mother tongue comes to represent not only a primordial symbolic value of ethnic ties, but also a pragmatic component in the formation of situational

identities based on self-interest. The act of linguistic choice reinforces identity affiliation; the individual enjoys the advantages of being recognized as a member of a certain group (Mota, 2008, p. 315)

Cultural bilingualism, given its connection with processes of subjectivation of rights and identity construction, serves to clarify facts observed in the results of the research presented here, regarding the learning and use of the written language by speakers of Brazilian Portuguese. This will be explored below.

Applying the Concept: Cultural Bilingualism and Alphabetic Writing in Brazil

Brazilian Portuguese constitutes itself as a grammatical system relatively independent of European Portuguese since the foundation of the first social bases of the colony. We must point out that, indeed, European Portuguese is undoubtedly the structural basis of the Brazilian national language, but the legacy it bequeaths us is that of a language in the process of being created, marked by the dynamics of the complex process of linguistic drift occurred from Antiquity to the end of the Middle Ages. It can be said that, long before taking shape, Portuguese in a way already existed in the character of a people that had been constituted from the confluence of cultures and languages in contact. The history of Portuguese (here, based on Machado, 1945 and Buesco, 1978) follows the history of that stretch of the Iberian Peninsula, which was populated by countless cultures and languages, from the primitive Celts to the Greeks, Arabs and Romans. The people constituted there developed a language rooted in a culture of approximation to the other and integration, either through trade, or through political or cultural domination. The character of this language still to be consolidated at the dawn of Modernity would be the basis of the Portuguese language that would be developed in Brazil.

Nonetheless, it was up to the Brazilians the Iberian character – from an early age fused by miscegenation – to add to the language that was developed other characters originating from the cultures that were miscegenated and wove local society. The colonial culture that imposed itself on the emerging peoples of the Americas was built, however, from other sources, which developed in the course of European Modernity, of which the colonists would only share the discourses of oppression and depreciation.

> (…) the discourses produced about languages in the colonial period are not neutral, but constitutive of a paradigm of modernity, rooted in a Christian and/or enlightenment perspective of reading and understanding the world. Such a paradigm constitutes a colonial matrix of power (coloniality) of exploration and control of lands, peoples and languages, which started to be named and described in detail. (…). Such discoursivization, in turn, made the trajectories and experiences of existing peoples and cultures invisible, making them the target of colonizing and modernizing practices, such as Christianization, folklorization, scientificization and schooling, each one with its own specificity. (Severo, 2016, p. 12)

European colonization in the Americas, while instigating the development of the peoples who now inhabit the continent, denied them subjectivation and identity. Even the mixed language that was developed was forbidden to them. However, as Severo points out (2016),

> The colonial process cannot be seen as a unilateral imposition of ideals, values, behaviors and beliefs. It is a complex process that involves a tense encounter between different cultures and worldviews. Such an encounter produced refined forms of resistance and transgression on the part of local peoples. (18-19)

Of the most impactful forms of resistance, the nationalization of general languages in the Brazilian territory (Lagorio & Freire, 2014) marked the speech of everyday Brazil for several centuries, to which more lines of resistance would be added arising from the languages spoken by enslaved black communities in the country. Based on everyday speech and the diversity of cultural and linguistic factors in the different regions of the country, Brazilians constitute their own identity and a language that, in the diversity of speech, marks its unity. Brazilian Portuguese is the language of national unity, recognized much more as an instrument of resistance than as a system of homogeneous speech. The fusion between the identity and language of this people is explained by the fact that the entry of peoples into the history of Brazil, through colonization or enslavement, causes a fusion between cultures, as pointed out by Cunha and Petter (2015):

> The Africans who were transferred here [Brazil] not only brought their workforce, but also transported their cultures, of which languages are an important expression, although little considered in studies that investigate the contribution or participation of enslaved Africans in the constitution of Brazilian nationality (p. 221).

The national language of Brazil legitimizes itself in the daily life of the whole country, keeping, however, the reservations and feelings of inferiority that the process of European colonization imprinted on the identity of its people. Consequently, ever since its political independence, in the 19th century, the national public authority ordered the compilation of official Brazilian Portuguese – its written language, following the example of what had happened in European nations in the 16th century – on the same basis as the grammatization process, based on the European language. To written Brazilian Portuguese, only the lexical, indigenous and African additions were bequeathed from the national language; no record is made of the morphosyntactic singularities that differentiate Brazilian and European Portuguese. This official language, first of the Kingdom and then of the Brazilian Republic, became part of the hygienist instruments of "*whitening*" the people, aiming to erase from the national memory the traces of that colonized wilderness.

The Brazilian experience of coexistence between the everyday national language and the official language that derived from written Brazilian Portuguese is analogous to that of other former colonial nations. Among them, those whose national language is recognizably different from official Portuguese help us to better understand the sociolinguistic phenomenon in question.

> Even today, 26 years after achieving independence from Portugal, the Cape Verdean population continues to experience this interaction, sometimes conflicting, between the Creole and Portuguese languages in their daily lives. As I was able to verify several times during my field research in Cape Verde, between 1998 and 1999, the use of these two languages is frequently permeated by questions of authority and resistance, identity and social distance. Despite the constant presence of Creole in the everyday activities of this population, Portuguese continues to occupy a prominent place as the official language of the Republic of Cape Verde. (…). The situation described indicates the constitution of two fields in conflict: the *national language* (Creole) and the *official language* (Portuguese) (Dias, 2002, p. 8)

The relationship between oral Brazilian Portuguese and written Brazilian Portuguese is the same as that between Creole and Portuguese in Cape Verde. They are languages that were instituted and are used based on different circumstances. In Brazil, the written language was built under the influence of the nationalism typical of Romanticism in force in the 19th century, a fact that led it to be treated by the population as a transfixed and forged language in Brazilian lands, free from European influence and domination. However, despite the scientific character, rather than political, that was imposed in its grammatical nature (Orlandi, 2000),

written Portuguese did not escape the idealism and Eurocentrism that permeated all other icons of the Brazilian nation, especially with regard to the morphosyntactic specificities.

And that is how Brazil came to live with two languages in a situation of contact: the oral language, Brazilian Portuguese, and the national language; and the written language, the official language. It is worth mentioning, however, that this linguistic contact continues to this day, marked by strong relations of inequality and social disputes. Among the oral Portuguese of Brazil, some approach and culturally identify themselves with the official written language. Others, however, in the majority, besides not approaching the morphosyntactic point of view, even less identify themselves with the Eurocentric scientific culture underlying the official language.

The cultural diversity that is an inherent trace of Brazilian society and the national language does not appear either in the structure or in the culture that rules written Portuguese. We must therefore conclude that, for a large part of the Brazilian people, the learning and the use of alphabetic writing are spaces of cultural bilingualism. And we must also postulate that the recurrent interference of orality traces on the form of writing produced by basic education students in Brazil which is related to the tradition of a people that institutes itself in a movement of cultural resistance and a call for subjectivation. This is what can be observed in the results of the study on the development of mastery of the written language among high school students presented here.

Conclusions

The appropriation and use of written Portuguese in Brazil presents evidence of a situation of bilingualism in relation to oral Portuguese, whose characteristics cannot be explained solely based on linguistic-grammatical aspects. Observing the written production of students completing basic education, it was verified the presence of perennial interference of traces of Brazilian oral Portuguese on written texts, despite the development of acuity in the selection of modes of production according to demands of academic genres. The perennial interference of the oral language on written production among subjects completing basic education denounces the fragility of education universalization policies - with emphasis on the issue of learning and using written Portuguese -, pointing to the demand for conceptual contributions that may be used in teachers' formation to prepare them adequately as agents of subjectivation of universal law.

The concept of cultural bilingualism brings together different features found in classical notions of the linguistic concept of bilingualism, among which: (i) those that explore the notion of interference in the alternate use of two or more systems of expression, and (ii) those that address the issue of social representations of languages and their speakers in bilingual contexts. In the case of the latter, cases of monolingual or bilingual nations shall be also considered, involving the legitimization or denial of linguistic rights, as well as the subjectivation of the right to self-representation. Despite particular cases, every situation of bilingualism is subject to the interference of identity and cultural features in the use of the respective languages in contact. In the context of bilingualism, there is no way to dissociate the linguistic phenomenon of languages in contact and the psychological phenomenon of identities and cultures in contact. Every linguistic production is a production of culture; consequently, every state of bilingualism is a state of cultural bilingualism.

Considering the concept of cultural bilingualism, the perennial interferences of oral Portuguese on the use of written Portuguese can be explained as arising from cultural factors that affected the process of implantation of Portuguese in Brazil throughout its colonial history and, later, in the early republican years, strongly influenced by hygienist ideologies. A situation of cultural bilingualism has thus developed, in which oral and written Portuguese behave as

languages in contact: the oral language, Brazilian Portuguese and the national language; and the written language, the official language, both interspersed by strong relations of inequality and social disputes.

The case of cultural bilingualism in the process of learning and usage of alphabetic writing in Brazil represents a recurring situation in several other countries that have suffered similar colonization processes. By extension, it is also applicable to the study of the conditions of subjectivation of fundamental rights as Education in linguistic contexts marked by diglossia and disputes over self-representation.

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