

Linguistic policies at the space between-language-cultures: the indigenous subject in official documents / *Políticas linguísticas no espaço entre-líguas-culturas: o sujeito indígena em documentos oficiais*

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ABSTRACT

This article presents the development and results of the research project called "Ser-estar-entre-líguas-culturas: políticas linguísticas e educação de estudantes indígenas em Chapecó/SC" (Being between language-cultures: linguistic policies and education of indigenous students in Chapecó/SC). The objective was to perform the description and analysis of state and national documents, which produce linguistic politics that affect the relationship between indigenous students and their coexisting language. Methodologically, the following documents were selected in order to produce our analysis: the Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil of 1988, the National Education Guidelines and Framework Law (LDB) of 1996 and Proposta Curricular de Santa Catarina (PCSC) (Curricular Proposal of Santa Catarina) of 2014 - the last one being chosen due to the demarcation of this research: the region of Universidade Federal da Fronteira do Sul (UFFS), Chapecó/RS Campus. Our theoretical point of view is based on the French Discursive Analysis, from which we use some concepts as language, subject, discursive memory and muzzling. It is important to emphasize that the methodology of this research has a lenient approach and interpretative basis. Thus, we affiliate to the interpretation concept on a discursive view, in which it constitutes the discursive memory, embracing other speeches previously mentioned and which the subject renews in their speech. The results point to muzzling of the culture-language of the indigenous that resounds in the official documents through the white men's speech. In these terms, we interpret that there is an indigenous labeling as being wild, non-civilized, and needing to go through a civilization process.

KEYWORDS: Linguistic Policies; Language; Indigenous Subject; Official Documents.

RESUMO

Este artigo apresenta o desenvolvimento e os resultados do projeto de pesquisa intitulado "Ser-estar-entre-líguas-culturas: políticas linguísticas e educação de estudantes indígenas em Chapecó/SC". Objetivou realizar a descrição e análise de documentos estaduais e nacionais que produzem políticas linguísticas que afetam a relação dos alunos indígenas com a(s) língua(s) com a(s) qual(is) convive(m). Metodologicamente, foram escolhidos os seguintes documentos para compor nosso gesto interpretativo: A Constituição da República Federativa do Brasil de 1988, a Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional (LDB) de 1996 e a Proposta Curricular de Santa Catarina (PCSC) de 2014 – a escolha desta se deu por conta do recorte estabelecido pela pesquisa: região de abrangência da Universidade Federal da Fronteira Sul (UFFS), Campus Chapecó/SC. Do ponto de vista teórico, situamo-nos na Análise de Discurso de orientação francesa, da qual tomamos alguns conceitos como língua, sujeito, memória discursiva e silenciamento. Cabe ressaltar que a metodologia desta pesquisa possuiu um desenho flexível e de base interpretativista. Em face disso, filiamo-nos à concepção de interpretação sob um olhar discursivo, em que se constitui da memória discursiva, abarcando outros dizeres já-ditos e que o sujeito reatualiza em seu discurso. Os resultados apontam para o silenciamento da língua-cultura do indígena que ressoa nos documentos oficiais por meio da voz do branco. Nesse sentido, interpretamos nesses dizeres que há uma rotulação do indígena como sendo o selvagem, o não-civilizado, que necessita passar por um processo de civilização.

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PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Políticas Linguísticas; Língua; Sujeito Indígena; Documentos oficiais.

1 Introduction

"A language does not live by itself; it needs to analyze the incidence of the political. [...] This way we leave the spontaneous and naturalized perspective and enter the perspective that sees the language as a symbolical object affected by the political and social intrinsically."(ORLANDI, 2009, p. 119)

The heading of this paper suggests it is constitutive of the language to be affected by the political and social, which, in turn, influences the subject's identity, since it is constituted on and of language. Based on this, in the research project "Ser-estar-entre-líguas-culturas: políticas linguísticas e educação de estudantes indígenas em Chapecó/SC¹" (Being between language-cultures: linguistic policies and education of indigenous students in Chapecó/SC), which is a deployment and demarcation of an "umbrella project" called "Política Linguística e Identidade Cultural: representação de uma língua na região de abrangência da UFFS-Chapecó/SC"² (Linguistic Policy and Cultural Identity: a representation of a language in the region of UFFS-Chapecó/SC), we have proposed to analyze state and national documents which produce linguistic policies that affect the linguistic and identity constitution of the indigenous subject inserted in a space between-languages-cultures.

For this purpose, we analyzed pieces of three official documents: a) Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil of 1988, which has a set of norms that rule the country and define its operation; b) the National Education Guidelines and Framework Law (LDB) of 1996, a document which defines and regularizes the organization of the Brazilian education; c) Curricular Proposal of Santa Catarina (PCSC) of 2014, which guides the education on the state of this study. The last two were selected because they address documents which regularize the national and state education, and understand that the school, bearer and legitimator of the national language, causes an overlapping between the mother language-culture of the indigenous (indigenous language) and the

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additional language-culture (Portuguese language), and contributes to a rupture of mother tongue, so that they live in the place considered to be other's.

In this study, we put forth the hypothesis that the encounter between the indigenous with the culture-language of other arises an approximation and, at the same time, causes ruptures with the mother tongue. By being inserted in the place historically considered to belong to the other, the indigenous also takes over this language-culture of the other, which until then was different and strange, and needs, therefore, to enter the other's discourse to build his own speech and identity.

From a theoretical point of view, we are based on a discursive view with theories that approach the subject in her linguistic, historical and social constitution. The study falls on the perspective of the Discourse Analysis (DA), in which the language is affected by the political, historical and ideological. In this perspective, we start with the concept of discourse as effects of meaning between the interlocutors, bearing in mind the non-transparency of the language. Therefore, there are no homogenous speeches, nor single meanings; a speech will always be anchored with others. In this context, we intend to understand in what way the indigenous language is represented by linguistic policies produced by the State.

Thus, in order to cover the theoretical assumptions of the preparation of this study, we address initially the concepts of language, subject, discursive memory and muzzling from the discursive perspective. Next, we elicit the interpretative gesture in which we mobilize discursive pieces of the three documents that are part of the corpus of this research. Finally, we come up with a possibility of (in)conclusion of the analysis and the development of the project.

2 Theoretical Framework

By taking representations of language that emerge in documents that establish linguistic policies as object of study and analysis, it is important to introduce some theoretical concepts that support our interpretation gesture, specifically language, subject, memory and muzzling.

In DA, language is defined as "[...] a symbolic object affected intrinsically by the political and social" (ORLANDI, 2009, p. 119), therefore, as non-classifiable, it goes beyond a strictly grammatical study. In this sense, it is important to note that the language "will distinguish itself from the linguist language, among other reasons, by containing in it [...] the not whole, embodied in the notion of real language, which makes it a singular way to produce misunderstanding" (FERREIRA, 2003, p. 196). The analyst intends to understand the language by making sense, being susceptible to laws and misconceptions that makes it heterogeneous. Having this in mind, DA understands that the language is intrinsically connected to exteriority and it is constituent of the subject.

According to Pêcheux (2012, p. 53), the misconception is considered as a structural linguistic fact, in other words, "every utterance is intrinsically susceptible to become another, different from itself, if it shifts discursively from its meaning to derive to another". Thus, the language is not transparent; on the contrary, it is marked by incompleteness, which is whence the ideology materializes.

Due to this, it can suffer interdiction and muzzling and it can interfere in the identity constitution of the subject. We assert that in relation to the indigenous subject, there is the fact that this subject has suffered some muzzling with the arrival of the European colonizer, in that the non-indigenous imposed their language on the indigenous in order to dominate them, and by that, "the indigenous language is presented as incapable of historicity and evolution" (ORLANDI, 2008, p. 91). Much knowledge corresponding to the indigenous was made by obliteration, by the interdiction that may have implied a decrease on its language, by having to learn to speak and be in another language. Therefore, we understand that the indigenous language has been and still is muzzled, whereas the language and words of the non-indigenous are used by the indigenous to talk about himself (ORLANDI, 2008).

When considering Portuguese language as the official language of Brazil, in which it articulates the idea of homeland and nationality, it becomes an important criteria for the construction of a national and cultural identity; thus, to be considered Brazilian, the subject needs to speak Portuguese language. Historically, with this stance, the non-indigenous, regarding cultural contact, establishes a position of dominant in

relation to the dominated - the indigenous. In other words, depending on the way this cultural contact occurs between both of them, the indigenous can stop speaking his language to become part of his people, no longer be an indigenous and take over this official language in order to be accepted and (re)exist (ORLANDI, 2008).

The notion of subject, in turn, can be understood under four aspects: the first, a historical approach, because his constitution is determined beyond the environment he is surrounded by; the second, the social, because he suffers and produces interferences in the collective space he lives; the third is decentered considering it is not categorizable, nor empirical; the last is cleaved - once he carries knowledge with it, some conscious, some not - and affected, not having control of it, by the reality of the language and the reality of history (GUERRA; ALMEIDA, 2016).

In light of this, the subject is always subject of ideology³, challenged by and in language. Thereby, the subject is a "linguistic-historical material position produced amid the contradictions and tensions of a social-ideological game. Thus in a given analysis, it seeks to understand the resulting production of senses mode of the subject's constitutive discursive positions" (MARIANI, 2003, p. 61). It can assume more than one subject-position in a single utterance, since there are several discourses that constitute it.

From this characteristic, we understand the subject affected by the unconscious and by the ideology, materially connected by the language. Therefore, besides the notion of the subject "[...] we have interest in the subject-positions, once the subject is conceived discursively as a position between others. There is not, consequently, a form of subjectivity, but a place in which the subject occupies to be a subject of what he says" (FERREIRA, 2003, p. 192).

The discursive memory, in turn, constitutes "the discursive knowledge that makes all utterance possible and that returns as the preconstituted form, the already

³ It is important to highlight that we started from the notion of ideology established by Althusser (1985), that claims that the ideology hecks the concrete individuals into subjects and materializes the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA). Besides, the author emphasizes that the ideological function is "before anything, practical, social and political" (ALTHUSSER, 1985, p. 92), because it is related to class conflicts and the reproduction of the conditions of production and existence of the individuals in institutions and in society; therefore, it establishes social relations. Thus, the subject does not have control of his speech, he, therefore, is subject of the language and ideology, uttering only what he can and must say.

spoken that is in the utterable basis, sustaining every choice of word" (ORLANDI, 2013, p. 31), and this permits utterances that interfere in the way the subject means in a given discursive situation. Hence, the memory is described by crossing speeches, by the relation the speeches have between each other and in permanent misunderstanding and movement.

From the DA notions, we propose an analysis of the indigenous discourse through the discursive memory that affects the way the subject means and takes as his words from a speech produced in the interdiscourse, for this "represents the control of the "knowledge", the memory of discursive formation" (ORLANDI, 2008, p. 46). As a result, we interpret as premise that the laws established in the country have a strong influence in the obliteration of this subject, because "the State establishes with the indigenous a relation that not only the differences obliterate: the indigenous himself seizes to exist as an indigenous. "However, treating the indigenous as peers is also erasing the difference between them, which is the core of their relationship" (ORLANDI, 2008, p.5 68).

We observe that the regent laws of this country, established by non-indigenous, assert the indigenous as being inferior to them. This way, we understand that the more the indigenous is considered an equal, the more intense will be their exclusion (ORLANDI, 2008). In the documental analysis, an assumption of Orlandi (2008, p. 79) resonates, when it points that "the indigenous voice is dominated by the white man; or, in other words, there is a simulation in which the white man talks about himself and to his people as if he was the indigenous. This simulation does not make the indigenous his representative - it is the opposite, it cancels him."

This element brings us to our previous discussion, in which in the communication between the white man and the indigenous, "Portuguese is the language used to communicate. That means that the official linguistic unit of Brazil determines the indigenous language when he speaks in situations that gather several indigenous nations" (ORLANDI, 2008, p. 246). That is to say that, even if the white man is not present and it is not the immediate listener of the indigenous, he is always its final receiver. Therefore, when Portuguese is spoken, it speaks to/against the non-indigenous. It is a speech marked by muzzling.

In DA, when we observe the ways of the imaginary construction that is necessary in the production of senses, we understand that "[...] silence does not speak. Silence is. Silence means. Or better yet: in silence, the meaning is" (ORLANDI, 2007, p. 31). Silence enables meaning by absence. When we understand silence as meaningful, we employ the subdivisions of silence presented by Orlandi (2007): the constitutive silence, because it comprehends that every utterance silences necessarily; and the local silence, as a mediator of censorship that concerns to what cannot be said in given situations: "it talks about the production of silence in an honest way, in other words, it is a detailed political strategy in relation to the politic of the senses: it is the production of the forbidden, the prohibited" (ORLANDI, 2007, pp. 74-75). Consequently, local silence is related to the politics of silence: the muzzling. We assume that this one, in turn, has influenced and remains influencing in the indigenous' language-culture.

We understand that "the language is political and that all power is followed by a silence, in its symbolical work" (ORLANDI, 2008, p. 57). In this regard, when the European colonizer populates the Brazilian lands and enforces his language-culture on the indigenous, he silences his language-culture by keeping in touch with the non-indigenous; the result is that he suffers an obliteration of some senses and some subject-positions are banned, since he cannot adopt his mother tongue.

The way this authority that comes from the colonizer is shown has been manifested through religious power or even through political power. Besides this, we understand that the conducted violence was not only physical or verbal in order to obtain the indigenous submission and establish him as the dominated, but the silence was, in a certain way, more effective in this process. We understand that the muzzling and the interdiction are as violent as a physical violence, since by silencing the culture-language of the subject, it implies a silence that makes him need to re-learn to speak in another language.

In this cultural contact of the non-indigenous with the indigenous, as previously mentioned, the muzzling originates from the State that does not affect only the indigenous, but also his existence as such: "and, when I say State, i mean the white Brazilian State. This State silences the existence of the indigenous as a component part

of the Brazilian culture" (ORLANDI, 2008, p. 66). During the colonization process of this country, the State has played a fundamental role of muzzling of the indigenous people. For this reason, we propose to analyze how the language politics currently act towards this subject. Through this theoretical framework, we intend to analyze official Brazilian documents and realize how language(s) representations emerge in documents that establish linguistic policies related to the indigenous languages.

3 *The State shall protect the progression of our interpretative gesture*

The overlapping between the language-culture considered as mother tongue from the indigenous and the foreigner - from the non-indigenous - has effects on the linguistic and identity constitution of the indigenous subjects, since when being in touch with the other, this one suffers a muzzling from his language-culture. Therefore, we determine the importance of the linguistic policies, whereby in the formation of the Brazilian State the people who communicate only in the Portuguese language, considered the official language from Brazil, were considered citizens. Regarding this, it was only with the Federative Constitution of 1988 that brought changes, that "in this Brazilian citizenship has been extended to the indigenous, who has begun to benefit from the right to their own language and culture" (MORELLO, 2016, p. 433). The Constitution also governs the indigenous rights regarding land. In the relation between space and language, the indigenous are granted land:

(SD1) On Title III "The Organization of the State"

Art. 20 – The following are property of the Union:

XI – those lands traditionally occupied by the Indians.

On title IV "The Organization of the Powers"

Art. 49 – It is exclusively the competence of the National Congress:

XVI – to authorize, in Indian lands, the exploitation and use of hydric resources and the prospecting and mining of mineral resources;

On title VI "Taxation and Budget"

Art. 176 – Mineral deposits, under exploitation or not, and other mineral resources and the hydraulic energy potentials form, for the purpose of exploitation or use, a property separate from that of the soil and belong to the Union, the concessionaire being guaranteed the ownership of the mined product.

1. The prospecting and mining of mineral resources and the utilization of the potentials mentioned in the head paragraph of this article may only take place with authorization or concession by the Union, in the national interest, by Brazilians or by a company

organized under Brazilian laws and having its head-office and management in Brazil, in the manner set forth by law, which law shall establish specific conditions when such activities are to be conducted in the boundary zone or on Indian lands.

On title VIII - "The Social Order"

CHAPTER VII – "INDIANS"

Art. 231 - Indians shall have their social organization, customs, languages, creeds and traditions recognized, as well as their original rights to the lands they traditionally occupy, it being incumbent upon the Union to demarcate them, protect and ensure respect for all of their property.

1. Lands traditionally occupied by Indians are those on which they live on a permanent basis, those used for their productive activities, those indispensable to the preservation of the environmental resources necessary for their well-being and for their physical and cultural reproduction, according to their uses, customs and traditions.

2. The lands traditionally occupied by Indians are intended for their permanent possession and they shall have the exclusive usufruct of the riches of the soil, the rivers and the lakes existing therein.

3. Hydric resources, including energetic potentials, may only be exploited, and mineral riches in Indian land may only be prospected and mined with the authorization of the National Congress, after hearing the communities involved, and the participation in the results of such mining shall be ensured to them, as set forth by law.

4. The lands referred to in this article are inalienable and indisposable and the rights thereto are not subject to limitation.

5. The removal of Indian groups from their lands is forbidden, except ad referendum of the National Congress, in case of a catastrophe or an epidemic which represents a risk to their population, or in the interest of the sovereignty of the country, after decision by the National Congress, it being guaranteed that, under any circumstances, the return shall be immediate as soon as the risk ceases.

6. Acts with a view to occupation, domain and possession of the lands referred to in this article or to the exploitation of the natural riches of the soil, rivers and lakes existing therein, are null and void, producing no legal effects, except in case of relevant public interest of the Union, as provided by a supplementary law and such nullity and voidness shall not create a right to indemnity or to sue the Union, except in what concerns improvements derived from occupation in good faith, in the manner prescribed by law. (our emphasis).

Through SD1, we realize that the Constitution of 1998 reveals a great effort in order to preordain a system of rules that could effectively protect the rights and interests of the indigenous, mainly regarding territory⁴. In the statement "*the lands traditionally occupied by Indians*"⁵ we understand that, in the intradiscourse, the linguistic marker "occupied" grants the indigenous, for a certain period, the use of these lands.' Therefore, the indigenous does not own this property; it is temporary.

⁴ Noting that around 13% of the Brazilian territory is made of demarcated and homologated indigenous' lands. Information available on em <<http://e-ipol.org/dialogo-com-sistemas-de-justica-indigenas-como-forma-de-resolucao-de-conflitos/>>. Accessed on Jun 24. 2017.

⁵ All discursive sequences will be in italic and between quotation marks when used along the text.

Furthermore, we comprehend in the statement "boundary zone or on Indian lands" the indigenous only have the right to reside the marked space and enjoy it temporarily. Thus, we mark these lands, destined to the indigenous, as a space of non-place, with the goal to allow the temporary property of the place. We question, also, what the "original rights", mention in this document, would be. We link it to the fact that the indigenous used to have the territory they lived, occupied by the colonizers and, now, through laws, the State seeks to delete this muzzling. Consequently, "the original right means to have a birth right, a congenial right, a prior right in relation to any other right" (ALMEIDA, 2014, p. 36).

The statement "*the lands traditionally occupied by Indians are intended for their permanent possession and they shall have the exclusive usufruct of the riches of the soil, the rivers and the lakes existing therein*" once again indicates the temporary ownership of the lands. Moreover, the linguistic marks of the statement "the exclusive usufruct of the riches of the soil, the rivers and the lakes" leads us to interpret that the indigenous would only be authorized to use the lands for extractive work, for their community and their survival. However, despite the territory not being of effective property of the indigenous, on "the lands referred to in this article are inalienable and indisposible and the rights thereto are not subject to limitation", we realize that this same land cannot be transferred or sold to another person, being of exclusive use of the indigenous community.

We interpret that the territorial issue becomes a central point on the indigenous rights, because, for them, it has a value of physical and cultural survival. With that being said, we comprehend that being an indigenous is having a relation with the land where he was born or settled to make a living as a primordial reference, whether it is a village in the forest, a village in the hinterland, a riverside community or a slum in the metropolitan peripheries.⁶ Nevertheless, the indigenous rights shall not be protected if they are not guaranteed the permanent possession and the riches of the lands they inhabit. In addition, we observe that, in this document, there is the recognition of the right of the indigenous to exclusively exploit the natural riches of the soil, rivers and lakes existing therein.

⁶ Available on: <<http://e-ipol.org/povos-indigenas-os-involuntarios-da-patria/>> Accessed on Jun 19. 2017.

So, we realize that these individuals own the right of use of the lands, in other words, they own the right to exploit natural resources of these lands for survival purposes. It is also assured the right for miners and other kinds of exploiters cannot benefit from the riches in lands occupied by the indigenous. These are basic and fundamental rights to allow and ensure, at least, one place so the indigenous can live and relive his culture.

(SD2) SECTION II – CULTURE

Article 215 - The state shall ensure to all the full exercise of the cultural rights and access to the sources of national culture and shall support and foster the appreciation and diffusion of cultural expressions.

1. The State shall protect the expressions of popular, Indian and Afro-Brazilian cultures, as well as those of other groups participating in the national civilization process. (our emphasis).

On SD2, we come back to the idea that it is the right of the indigenous and the duty of the State to preserve the culture of this people, as well as diffusion of cultural expressions. Thence, we noted that an initiative of the State was necessary in order to make laws that regularize the rights to the indigenous' language and culture preservation. However, we understand that this provides the muzzling of the indigenous voice, mainly in the linguistic mark "The state shall ensure", which is another instance speaking of and from the indigenous. Otherwise speaking, it is another - the State - that protects the indigenous, pointing, therefore, to a discursive position of dominant, silencing the indigenous as being the dominated.

From that, we bring up the matter that the Portuguese language, considered the official language of Brazil, is imposed on the indigenous from the moment the Jesuits, by catechizing them, imposed a distinct language that they spoke in order to "civilize them". We assume that the commercial contact between the Portuguese and Brazil has resulted in this imposition of the Portuguese language upon the indigenous. Besides, this civilization process from the colonizer on the indigenous, "divides the speakers in this enunciation space as the civilized and the ignorant. And that puts the education in the field of the civilization designation" (GUIMARÃES, 2004, p. 136).

We highlight that in the statement "sources of national culture", the linguistic mark "sources" can refer to the origin, the beginning of it all. In this way, we consider

that by naming the indigenous culture as source brings back, as previously said, the issue of the originary rights. Right after the discovery of the country, "the indigenous were no longer considered the 'discovered' landlords, but were considered a possibility of assistance in the exploration of this new conquer, and after, a 'cheap workforce'" (GUERRA, 2012, p. 2). This subject, then, had become dominated by the colonized in order to serve the economic, political and social interests of the Portuguese government.

Based on this we understand that this extract from the Constitution of 1998 establishes this division between civilized and non-civilized in the moment it says it is in a national civilization process. Thereby, "we know that identity can be imposed, can come from a power relation, can be a domination effect; where one knows the truth, one can speak in behalf of another, answer for another, tell another [...]" (CORACINI, 2007, p. 49). This is how we realize that the identification traces in the subject, who transits in a place between-languages-cultures and, as being dominated and subordinated by the non-indigenous, is told by another.

For that matter, by declaring that the indigenous manifestations are making the "national civilization process", we highlight the linguistic mark "civilization" that embodies in this interpretation as something primitive, non-urbanized. Consequently, Guimarães (2003, p. 52) emphasizes that the indigenous languages, besides being underestimated, are considered "culture languages in contrast to civilized languages. [...] In the meantime, culture languages are local identities languages, and not of identification with the nation, with the Brazilian people." On the other hand, the Portuguese language appears, in the historical process of languages, as a civilized language - mainly in the actions of Jesuit catechization.

We interpret that, through the SD2 extract, the Portuguese language stands out in relation to the languages considered exotic, the ones that are considered as languages that are late in the civilization process. As a result, we stress that civilization involves the sense of progression, of evolution. That is to say "the exotic is late, it is primitive. It is natural that the civilization wins. And the civilization thus has an outsider, the exotic, the primitive, the late, that is included within the civilization, that mischaracterizes it, through delay" (GUIMARÃES, 2004, p. 142).

Concerning the issues related to education, we bring some utterances that looked relevant for us to analyze, given that, with this, we can discuss the consequences regarding education. We emphasize that in the analyzed documents the concern of the State is visible in establishing public politics in order to include the indigenous in the Brazilian school education. Furthermore, we observed that the differences of the indigenous must be respected and suitable to regular education, in a way that these students can truly learn. We value that these documents recognize the peculiarities of the student, whether in the language or his identity. Based on this, we analyze how the subject education is discussed, at first, in the Constitution of 1988.

**(SD3) CHAPTER III - "EDUCATION, CULTURE AND SPORTS
SECTION I – "EDUCATION"**

Art. 210 - Minimum curricula shall be established for elementary schools in order to ensure a common basic education and respect for national and regional cultural and artistic values..

2. Regular elementary education shall be given in the Portuguese language and Indian communities shall also be ensured the use of their native tongues and their own learning methods. (our emphasis).

On SD3, we outline, primarily, that there is a specific chapter on the Constitution of 1988 that is destined to the education of indigenous students. In the statement "*ensure a common basic education and respect for national and regional cultural and artistic values*" we note that this document cherishes the respect to cultural and artistic diversities around Brazil. Thereafter, by highlighting that the "*regular elementary education shall be given in the Portuguese language*", we surmise that there is the imposition of the Portuguese language - the official language of Brazil - in the process of teaching-learning. This imposition of the State on the teaching of a language, not the other, shows that many languages "have been silenced, repressed and undervalued, if not extinct, by the monolingual State" (MORELLO, 2016, p. 434).

However, when stating that it shall "*also be ensured the use of their native tongues and their own learning methods,*", we realize that the linguistic marker "also" indicates the inclusion of something, pointing to an indigenous subject between-languages, between-places, between the Portuguese language and the indigenous language. Thus, we can consider this subject as contradicting, because it inhabits here

and there and it does not entitle only one language, only one identity. Likewise, we point out that in this statement it resounds the concern in allowing that the indigenous might have voice and speak in his own language.

In order to build our analysis corpus, we also drew on the National Education Guidelines and Framework Law (LDB) (Law nº 9.394, from December 20 of 1996), which aims to regularize and organize the education in all national territory. Because this document addresses education on a national level, we look to extracts in the LDB that are specifically geared to the indigenous subject.

(SD4) Chapter II - Basic Education

Section I - General Provisions

Art. 26 - The elementary and secondary curricula shall have a Common National Base to be complemented in each school educational system by a diversified portion, as required by the features of the local and regional society, culture, economy and clientele.

§ 4º - The teaching of History of Brazil shall take into account the contributions of different ethnies and cultures for the development of the Brazilian people, especially Indigenous, African and European matrices.

Section III - Elementary School

Art. 32

§ 3º - Regular elementary school shall be taught in Portuguese language, ensuring the indigenous communities the use of their mother tongue and own learning processes.

Title VIII - General Provisions

Art. 78 - The Union's Teaching System, along with the collaboration of federal agencies of culture development and assistance to the indigenous, shall develop integrated programs of teaching and researches, to promote a bilingual and intercultural school Education for the indigenous, with the following objectives:

I - provide the indigenous, their communities and people, the recovery of their historical memories; the restatement of their ethnical identities; the appreciation of their languages and sciences;

II - secure the indigenous, their communities and people, access to information, technical and scientific knowledges of the national society and other indigenous and non-indigenous societies.

Art. 79 - The Union shall support technically and financially the teaching systems in providing intercultural education for indigenous communities, developing integrated programs of teaching and research..

§ 1º- The programs shall be planned with the audience of the indigenous communities.

§ 2º- The programs this article refers, included in the National Education Plan, shall have the following objectives:

- empower social cultural practices and the mother tongue of each indigenous community;

- maintain programs of training of specialized personnel, destined to the school education in the indigenous communities;

- develop curricula and specific programs, which include cultural content corresponding to the respective communities;

- *systematically elaborate and publish specific and differentiated teaching material* (our emphasis).

Facing this panorama, what is notable is the interest and concern in protecting the indigenous culture, even more in the school institution. We state this because, in the utterance “*by a diversified portion, as required by the features of the local and regional society, culture, economy and clientele*”, there is the awareness that cultural diversity exists in the country and it must be respected, mainly in the educational context. Consequently, we notice that the LDB dedicates some articles for this audience, aiming at the preservation of the subject-indigenous' tradition and language.

When we understand that the language is constitutive of the subject and he is challenged on and by language, we highlight the passage “*the teaching of History of Brazil shall take into account the contributions of different ethnicities and cultures for the development of the Brazilian people, especially Indigenous, African and European matrices*”, and it leads us to the restriction of a field of knowledge in which is directed the study of the historical journey of the indigenous. Note, however, that the language of this subject is not discussed in the same way. We realize that, as mentioned in the Constitution of 1988, in the LDB there is, with the same words as the first document, the interest in assuring the indigenous the use of their mother tongue in the learning process.

We emphasize the importance of these excerpts regarding the indigenous, who takes over the student position-subject, in the educational system, since these measurements show the possibility of this subject having voice in the society, of existing as an indigenous. We interpret as pertinent this reflection approached in both documents, for the “indigenous, however inserted in the white society, it is still looked as odd within it [...] (GUERRA, 2012, p. 3). In addition, we believe that these actions, if followed, can, effectively, respect and preserve this vast Brazilian sociocultural diversity.

We come back to the marks that point to a subject between-languages-cultures in the statement “providing intercultural education for indigenous communities”. Herein, by offering the indigenous a “bilingual education” we interpret, through this linguistic mark, that the indigenous subject would be offered the teaching of Portuguese language

and, simultaneously, allowed the use of their mother tongue. This place between-languages-cultures can, among many interpretations, emerge from "some kind of cultural embarrassment caused by the language of the other in conflict with the alleged mother tongue, the supposed place of affection and completeness [...] where it generates the feeling of identity security" (CORACINI, 2007, p. 132).

Besides all that has been pointed out in LDB, we still note that the Union comes out as collaborative in supporting intercultural education through programs that interact with the indigenous and non-indigenous community. Thus, in the statement "*empower social cultural practices and the mother tongue of each indigenous community*" it is noteworthy the interest in preserving the indigenous mother tongue, which, in a certain way due to the linguistic mark "empower", looks like an attempt to deny a possible interference or muzzling that comes from the non-indigenous in the language-culture of the indigenous.

Next, we bring to light the issue of a teaching material used in class that can provide these intentions of preserving the language-culture of the indigenous. For this purpose, in the excerpt "elaborate and publish specific and differentiated teaching material", it is interpreted that there is such difference and it needs to be treated as such. When elaborating on the intradiscourse "*systematically publish*", it leads us to an interpretation that there will be a regularity in this publication and that, this way, it shall reach several indigenous communities all over the country. Besides, when it is announced that the pedagogical instrument used in the learning process of the indigenous is "*specific and differentiated*", we expect a material created in the mother tongue of the indigenous and that provides the possibility of intercultural exchange with the non-indigenous, which was emphasized in the documents.

Still regarding education, we bring the Curricular Proposal of Santa Catarina (PCSC), which approaches important matters in relation to the school environment, with the purpose of guiding the teachers' class plans in the State of Santa Catarina. Through this document, we realize that it approaches several groups considered different, including the indigenous. Several paragraphs mention the importance of valuation, recognition and the respect in which the students should be taught regarding these groups. Moreover, to introduce to the students the prejudice and discrimination that

these individuals have suffered and still do to this day is taking steps to eliminate those practices in the future.

Furthermore, the proposal points to the existence of the Education and Ethnic-Racial Relations (ERER) that "concerns curricular politics, determined by Laws n° 10.639/2003 and n° 11.645/2008 (BRASIL, 2003b, 2008b), which makes it mandatory the teaching of subjects of Indigenous, African and European matrices in the schools' curricula" (SANTA CATARINA, 1998, p. 66). This way, the objective is to address these specific groups, as well as envision actions of recognition and valuation of social-historical identity of these groups.

In what concerns the indigenous school education, it is shown that Convention n° 169 from the International Labour Organization guarantees the rights of education, cultural preservation and fundamental rights of subsistence of life, also guaranteed in the Constitution of 1988. Through these actions, "these peoples reassure themselves in their identities, claim the right of being different, of having their own learning processes, along with other space-temporal conceptions, relations of labour [...]" (SANTA CATARINA, 1998, p. 74).

Regarding languages, the Curricular Proposal of Santa Catarina shows similar results to the other documents' extracts. First, the document clarifies the importance of the study of Art, the artistic processes, for those "articulate relations that involve cultural, political, economic, social, ethnic issues that mark and characterize the many different ways human beings make Art" (SANTA CATARINA, 1998, p. 100). Therefore, the subjects that should be emphasized when studying this subject are marked:

(SD5) When selecting the subjects, the teachers need to give voice to the several artistic groups that are part of the Brazilian and international contexts. As an example, the indigenous, quilombola, Afro-Brazilians, Africans art and the art of contemporary life, as well as erudite manifestations, shall compose the scenery of these professionals' choices. (our emphasis)

Consequently, once again, we realize the persistence of the documents in keeping and preserving the indigenous culture, in this case the indigenous arts in the statement "to give voice to the several artistic groups that are part of the Brazilian and international contexts". In several places, the importance of the subject student

development when getting to know new cultures, new histories, "the indigenous arts" is highlighted so that they can respect them. Hereafter, we focus on the language; the proposal begins expressing that there is the mother tongue, the one that the individual learns in his first years and communicates with perfectly well. It also mentions that there are additional languages, referred to as the foreign languages, that are learned to amplify their knowledge, social and technological interaction, sustain geographical boundaries, among others. However, we emphasize that the SD6 re-evaluates the concept of mother tongue:

(SD6) In this discussion, it is also important the recording concerning the concept of mother tongue, that for many Brazilians it is not necessarily Portuguese, as the deaf that use LIBRAS, as well as the languages that characterize many indigenous nations in the country. In these contexts, such languages - LIBRAS and indigenous languages - are not additional languages, but the mother tongue of these social groups, to whom Portuguese is an additional language. (*our emphasis*)

In the statement "*languages that characterize many indigenous nations in the country*", we emphasize the linguistic mark "characterize" suggesting that the indigenous mother tongue characterizes him as such. However, we note that this idea of a homogenous language "total, full, promise of the other, the supplement, conveyed by the school as a truth [...] seems to lead to the so desired fixed identity, stable, a list of characteristics that differentiate, that distinguish one individual from another" (CORACINI, 2007, p. 142). By highlighting that there are languages that characterize several indigenous nations, it leads us to interpret that this language would be fixed and homogeneous and that, in the same way, there would be a stable identity.

In PCSC, by emphasizing that for the indigenous students the "Portuguese language establishes as an additional language", we note that the document states that the Portuguese language would not be a foreign language, but an additional one. Through the intradiscourse mark "additional", we assume that it is a language that will add, as well as match, something else for this subject. In other places, the proposal makes it clear that the several cultural and historical aspects of Brazil characterize the population that inhabits this territory, leading us to understand, once again, that there is a fixed and homogeneous identity.

With this last document reading, we come up with pertinent reflections regarding cultural, historical and linguistic recognition of the subject-indigenous, and through it we can realize that the proposal understands the indigenous to be a subject between-languages-cultures and should be respected as such. However, when we propose a documental analysis, we assume that, through these norms, these documents intend to be objective and impartial, aiming at solving whatever the issues are. That being said, "the stereotypes built from legal values operate in order to dissimulate or hide differences [...]" (BORGES, 2013, p. 250).

(Un)weaving an (im)possible conclusion...⁷

Throughout our paper, we have dealt with the relation between theory and analysis, a process in which we could realize in the intradiscourse certain linguistic marks that lend a particular interpretation, which we argue comes from the interdiscourse, that is, in "speeches that affect the way a subject means in a given discursive situation" (ORLANDI, 2013, p. 29). From this process made of many interpretations, we have analyzed the representations of language that materialize in linguistic policies that are imposed in official Brazilian documents.

We have brought to light in the discursive sequences that we analyzed that there is an interest of the government to establish public policies that can reach, in a positive way, the ethnic, racial and cultural diversities of the country - including the indigenous. However, we have understood that the system of laws is part of the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) that works through ideology (ALTHUSSER, 1985). Through them, we have comprehended that there is a domination (in this case from the white man) not by force, but by the use of ideology to keep the dominant class in power and conditions the dominated (the indigenous) into a state of submission.

Therefore, we have noted that even though the laws seek to allow the indigenous the right to cultural manifestation of the community he lives in and the use of his mother tongue, it is still the voice of the white man that rules over the voice of the

⁷Title inspired on chapter 11 of the book, "A celebração do outro: arquivo, memória e identidade: línguas (materna e estrangeira), plurilingüismo e tradução" (The celebration of the other: archive, memory and identity: languages (mother tongue and foreign), plurilinguism and translation), from Maria José Coracini.

indigenous; it is the white man that speaks for and from the indigenous. In addition, when stating that through this initiative to create, through laws, a intercultural bound, it seeks to build the national civilization process; we have noticed that there still is a labeling of the indigenous as being the non-civilized, primitive and the non-indigenous as civilized.

We have determined, therefore, that it is necessary to put in practice this preservation process of the indigenous culture, as well as give the indigenous a voice in society. That way, there will no longer have a "traditional view of the indigenous as being someone vulnerable" (GUERRA, 2012, p. 2), which is resulting of historical factors to take the indigenous as an existing and acting part in the society. Also, it is important to discuss this issue in the teaching-learning in order to give the indigenous student the opportunity of learning, respecting his particularities and differences. We conclude this analysis journey, pointing out to the indigenous subject that, by being between-languages-cultures "is seen in and by the view of the other, that builds him, goes through his body and becomes flesh and blood, spreads pieces that join and re-join, becoming alike [...] (CORACINI, 2007, p. 120).

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