

## Internal migrants: the recognition of linguistic variation and intercultural challenges<sup>1/</sup>

### *Migrantes internos: o reconhecimento da variação linguística e os desafios interculturais*

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#### **ABSTRACT**

This article presents the recognition of linguistic variation by migrant students in regions with internal migratory flow, especially in the cities of Juazeiro/BA and Petrolina/PE, in the Brazilian semiarid region. We sought to identify the understanding of types and levels of linguistic variation by internal migrants in a school context, to analyze the intercultural relationship between the varieties of Brazilian Portuguese by migrant students and to point out the resistance of linguistic prejudice in these subjects. The research has a qualitative approach, guided by educational sociolinguistics and was developed in two state schools in the Brazilian semiarid region. The analysis data were generated through direct observation, questionnaires and focus groups that were cross-referenced and analyzed by the triangulation method. The results show that, in this context, the perception of diatopic variation at the phonetic-phonological level is relevant; however, the intercultural approach among the varieties of Portuguese is a distant reality, which induces and stimulates linguistic prejudice among them.

**KEYWORDS:** Linguistic variation; Intercultural education; Inward migration.

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## RESUMO

*Este artigo apresenta o reconhecimento da variação linguística por estudantes migrantes em regiões com fluxo migratório interno, especialmente nas cidades de Juazeiro/BA e de Petrolina/PE, no Semiárido Brasileiro. Buscou-se identificar o entendimento dos tipos e níveis de variação linguística pelos migrantes internos em contexto escolar, analisar a relação intercultural entre as variedades do Português Brasileiro pelos estudantes migrantes e apontar a resistência do preconceito linguístico nesses sujeitos. A pesquisa é de abordagem qualitativa, guiada pela Sociolinguística educacional e foi desenvolvida em duas escolas estaduais no Semiárido Brasileiro. Os dados de análise foram gerados por meio de observação direta, de questionários e de grupos focais que foram entrecruzados e analisados pela triangulação de métodos. Os resultados mostram que nesse contexto a percepção da variação diatópica no nível fonético-fonológico é relevante; entretanto, a abordagem intercultural entre as variedades do português é uma realidade distante, o que induz e estimula o preconceito linguístico entre eles.*

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** *Variação linguística; Educação intercultural; Migração interna.*

## 1 Introduction

With the advent of Structuralism, at the beginning of the 20th century, language, as a system, has been based on an abstract and restricted perspective in itself, given the positivist epistemological molds that circulated at the time when Linguistics took its place as a science. In spite of this, the structuralist paths were and are important in the systematization of linguistic description. Since then, speech has gained theories that describe the structure and organize what they said to be unsystematic, without social ordering (cf. SAUSSURE, 2012 [1916]). In the case of Brazilian Portuguese (BP), language varieties began to be perceived and intertwined with extralinguistic factors. In this way, linguistics has strengthened ties with the social approach, with the closest relationships to the contexts in which it is used (BAGNO, 2007; 2015 [1999]; BORTONI-RICARDO, 2009 [2004]; 2011; 2017; CALVET, 2002 [1993]; CAMACHO, 2019; LABOV, 2008 [1972]; PETTER, 2018 [2002]).

Research in the line of variationist sociolinguistics identifies, classifies and quantifies the regularity of these phenomena in intralinguistic terms, an area that has gained prominence in Brazil, according to Freitag (2016). In this work, however, the perceptions of migrant students of Basic Education will be reflected, who already have in their curricula the teaching of this diversity in BP, from the *Parâmetros Nacionais Curriculares* (PCN) (BRASIL, 1999), but, in this text, we present the superficiality given to linguistic variation. Along these lines, a qualitative approach to the phenomenon of variation is outlined and how this recognition, or absence of it, has directly implied the intercultural

relationship between the varieties of BP. In this way, we anchor the discussion in educational sociolinguistics (BORTONI-RICARDO, 2009 [2004]; 2005).

Brazil, as being multicultural, has a diverse public in its schools, given that the displacement of people in the country injects the existence of migrants in many spaces (SILLER, 2016; BORTONI-RICARDO, 2011). The languages that accompany these students carry their cultures; therefore, we have the existence of a language-culture<sup>2</sup> in each person, because one is not without the other (MENDES, 2008). The heterogeneity of the classroom, however, implies a relationship between languages-cultures – in the context presented here, pluridialects –, in addition to understanding the prestigious variety that institutionally affects the others.

The purpose of this work is to identify the perception of types and levels of linguistic variation by internal migrants in a school context. For this reason, 12 students with a migratory profile were selected, and their Portuguese teachers, in a sociolinguistically complex location, in this case, the Brazilian Semi-arid (hereinafter, SAB). More specifically, it is also proposed to analyze the intercultural relationship between diatopic variation in BP and to point out if there is resistance and practice of linguistic prejudice in migrant subjects. Data from these collaborators were generated from direct observation, questionnaires and focus groups, which were cross-referenced and analyzed by triangulating methods (MINAYO, 2005).

The results show that migrant students in the SAB recognize linguistic variation, mainly diatopic, in the extralinguistic dimension, confirming the initial hypothesis that this would be easily identified. There are records of the recognition of diastratic variation, but in isolated and still timid cases. In the intralinguistic dimension, the phonetic-phonological level gained prominence, although the lexical level appeared in some cases. Despite the relationship with variation, intercultural aspects were noticed in the observed actions of only one migrant student and evidence in another one, thus not configuring a recurrence. The consequence of this is the stimulus to linguistic prejudice, mainly directed at other migrants and rural varieties, in this context.

## 2 Linguistic variation and its classifications

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<sup>2</sup> In the original version, Mendes (2008) uses the expression "*língua-cultura*", in Brazilian Portuguese, a term that, for this English version, we chose to use the term "language-cultura".

In the second half of the 20th century, the social character of language began to gain more relevance in studies related to the linguistic system. In this aspect, the notion of a dynamic language was supported by the perception of change and variation in language practices in their various contexts (LABOV, 2008 [1972]). The heterogeneity, as a result of the social realities of use, was, in this way, intertwined and sociolinguistically interconnected to the internal and external factors of the language.

According to Calvet (2002 [1993]) and Camacho (2019), Sociolinguistics had its initial milestone in May 1964, when 25 researchers met at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). The purpose of this meeting promoted by the linguist William Bright (1928-2006) was to debate language and society, motivated by the investigation of the linguistic heterogeneity of large urban centers and the poor school performance of ethnic and social minority groups (CALVET, 2002 [1993]; BORTONI-RICARDO, 2017).

For Bright (1974 [1964]), p. 17, our translation), sociolinguistics is “[...] to demonstrate the systematic covariation of linguistic and social variations, and perhaps even demonstrate a causal relationship in one direction or another”. At the time, at the UCLA meeting, they discussed, based on this, two basic premises: cultural relativism and inherent and systemic linguistic heterogeneity. In turn, in 1968, Marvin Herzog (1927-2013), Uriel Weinreich (1926-1967) and William Labov (1927-) published a text presenting possible foundations for what they called the theory of variation and change. In this text, the authors present language “as an object constituted of ordered heterogeneity” (WEINREICH; LABOV; HERZOG, 2006 [1968], p. 35).

Variation and change occur in expressions with an interchangeable value, and thus users tend to recognize this exchange and with the same communicative intent. At this juncture, “[...] the deviations from a homogeneous system are not all random from performance, but are to a high degree codified and part of a realistic description of the competence of a member of a speech community” (WEINREICH, LABOV, 2008). ; HERZOG, 2006 [1968], p. 60). In view of this statement, we understand the social and linguistic relationship in the linguistic uses present in each reality.

According to Bagno (2007, p. 39, our translation), “[the] concept of variation is the backbone of Sociolinguistics” and, therefore, it is inseparable from the heterogeneity of language. Tarallo (2002 [1985], p. 8) defines linguistic variation based on the concept of linguistic variants, which “are, therefore, different ways of saying the same thing in the same context, and with the same truth value. A set of

variants is called a 'linguistic variable'"(our translation). Considering the roots of Sociolinguistics, the concept of variation is inseparable from the heterogeneity of language, and we perceive, therefore, the direct relationship with plurality that structures society.

For Bagno (2007), Sociolinguistics introduces the concept of language as a "collective noun", in which the various possibilities for its realization are sheltered. In the intralinguistic dimension, the variation takes place at internal levels of the language, in the words: phonetic-phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic, lexical, discursive; namely, in relation to pronunciation, word structure, sentence organization, the various meanings of the same expression, the various words for the same thing, formal and informal styles in interaction, respectively (BAGNO, 2007; COELHO et al. , 2018; ILARI and BASSO, 2017 [2006]).

Some extralinguistic factors such as, for example, geographic origin, socioeconomic status, level of education, age, sex, labor market and social networks influence the varieties of speakers, justifying their social aspect (BAGNO, 2007; BORTONI). -RICARDO, 2009 [2004]; COELHO et al, 2018; LABOV, 2008 [1972]). Within this sociolinguistic spectrum, the variation receives some classifications, which Bagno (2007) presents:

- Diatopic variation: it is the regional variation, verified in the linguistic comparison of speakers of different geographical origins;
- Diastratic variation: it is the social variation, verified in the comparison of the ways of speaking of the different classes and social groups;
- Diamesic variation: verified in the comparison between the spoken language and the written language;
- Diaphasic variation: which is the individual style of each speaker according to the degree of monitoring;
- Diachronic variation: what is verified in the comparison between historical stages of the language.

In view of these possibilities of the existence of the phenomenon of variation, considerations about language for the reflection of the relationships between the subject and their social networks are reinforced (cf. BORTONI-RICARDO, 2011). Camacho (2019), in turn, reports the new direction of sociolinguistic studies beyond variationist linguistic forms, also including the social relations that these

varieties promote. As the proposal in this work is to place it in a school environment, it is necessary to reflect on the social aspects and on the linguistic development of the student from the intercultural perspective of the language, that is, the language of the speaker in use without imprisoning him or ranking it in a given variety. Therefore, here we do not propose a sociolinguistic analysis in its quantitative form, but a reflection on language teaching, in this case, supported by educational sociolinguistics.

The perception of sociolinguistics present in the pedagogical field is called educational sociolinguistics. Bortoni-Ricardo (2017) characterizes this aspect as the effort to apply the results of sociolinguistic research, both qualitative and quantitative, in educational issues. This need to give notoriety and relevance to the linguistic variants present in the classroom space can be the great resistance, since there is a canonization of the so-called standard variant inside and outside this space. In addition, there is a myth that proposes the use of structured speech such as the written modality – a fact that does not occur (BAGNO, 2015 [1999]). This hegemony of a variety and written culture ends up generating prejudices about other varieties, so the intercultural approach is relevant.

For Sociolinguistics, there are no disconnected, imperfect and free grammatical phrases in speech. Bright states that “one of the major tasks of sociolinguistics is to show that variation or diversity is not free, but that it is correlated with systematic social differences” (BRIGHT apud CALVET, 2002 [1983], p. 21, our translation). Sociolinguistics is structured in the systematization of linguistic variation and difference in a speech community.

The recurrent grammaticality of a language is what characterizes it as regular. The prestigious variety, due to so many prescriptive and colonizing endowments, ends up gaining a high social level (BAGNO, 2007; 2015 [1999]; PATRIOTA, 2009). The non-prestigious varieties, because they are not approached in a critical, descriptive and intercultural way in the traditional school space, it is believed, end up occupying a marginal and “chaotic” place (TARALLO, 2002 [1985]). This reinforces how necessary it is to present sociolinguistic research results to students, their dimensions, types and levels, which are collectively constructed.

Bagno (2015 [1999]), since the 1990s, has been reporting that sociolinguistic prejudice is “invisible” to society, as there are few combats, except for some language scientists. Prejudice is the result of a reflection of the social problem and the absence of sociolinguistic activism, which goes

beyond the reductionist view of the language itself (FREITAG, 2016). This position of facing inequity in education, especially in this social aspect and of acquiring this variety with a higher level of literacy a few decades ago, when, as Soares (1999 [1986]) presents, access to language teaching started from the same place and without looking at the social differences that underlie the Brazilian people. Bagno (2015 [1999]) exposes discussions about the hegemonic myths of language, the standardization of written language, the irregularity and subalternization of the spoken language in its varieties. This condition reveals the distance of linguistic studies in this theoretical line and the lack of reflection in teaching.

Silva (2019) raises the use of “*português de arremedo*” as a channel of linguistic prejudice, a fact that is “invisible” and colonizer of discourse in social environments. “*Português de arremedo*”, which, for this author, is the one in which certain variants are reproduced with a comic and pejorative objective, builds inequalities in the relationship, accentuating both linguistic prejudice and oppressive linguistic ideology. Semiotic dimensions used in communication end up gaining prominence. Therefore, BP varieties suffer stigma when they are taken as marginal by the socially prestigious one. It is worth adding to this reflection that, when considering a speaker as the holder of his/her culture and the language being the culture itself (MENDES, 2008), when practicing such an act, one is discrediting the language-culture of the other, by hierarchically classifying a variety over the other, considering the social prestige in a community.

For educational sociolinguistics, the speech of a person should not be compared to the speech of another in order to rank them (BORTONI-RICARDO, 2009 [2004]; 2005), and it is assumed, therefore, that this problem raised by Silva (2019) is also a way of stigmatizing varieties. Writing, which also presents variation, should also not be a comparative model of linguistic structuring to stimulate the notion of “error”. Speech and writing are not interrelated, but they require different planning depending on the diametric condition. It must be understood that these linguistic actions have their condition of production and their specific purpose. Interaction and discourse relationships will elucidate the specific varieties and styles for each situation (MARCUSCHI, 2008; ILARI and BASSO, 2017 [2006]; BAGNO, 2007; MENDES, 2008).

According to Bortoni-Ricardo (2017), it is estimated that approximately 200 languages are spoken in Brazil. This statement underpins the vision of a country in terms of multilingualism. In view

of this, it is incoherent to attest linguistically to Brazilian monolingualism, neither in terms of idioms nor in matters of variation.

The teaching of the “standardized” and institutionalized variety is carried out at school (PATRIOTA, 2009). This is an issue that reflects more the social aspect – because society understands that a certain variant is prestigious and represents legitimately valued social groups – than the linguistic one, since no one speaks the “standard” all the time (BAGNO, 2015 [1999]). On this, aspects of the instituted language policy emerge.

According to Calvet (2002 [1993]; 2007) and Bortoni-Ricardo (2017), this area of study involves linguistic social relations and movements in the state and legislative spheres. Critically, the current Brazilian language policy adopts a tenuous view between the recognition of varieties and the legal weakening of others. (CALVET, 2007; BORTONI-RICARDO, 2017). The reflection of this attempt at homogenization is mainly absorbed in education, as it places teaching under a single linguistic culture, even treated, as explained by Silva (2000 [1989]), as a determined model and mirrored in written culture, as a better variety of language.

The majority of written culture in relation to oral cultures makes the school distant from truly functional Portuguese language education. The segregation of orality exists within the process of schooling itself, as current education is still “placed fully in the 'legitimist' perspective, in which popular, local, vernacular use is perceived as a deviation from the norm, from good use. , in good taste, as a fault that needs to be corrected” (GRIGNON, 1998 [1995], p. 180, our translation).

Language education, from the perspective of variation and involved in the proposal of linguistic interculturality, promotes cultural integration, a reflection of uses without a hierarchy of varieties, but philosophical, scientific, descriptive and cultural. For example, Santos (2008) proposes school literacy based on (dis)context and (re)context, that is, considering the social practices of students. In this approach, elements of writing will evidently appear, but not superimposed on the events of orality, in turn, sociolinguistic and culturally rich, establishing a link with other areas of language.

The word *umbuzeiro*, as illustrated by Santos (2008), for example, can be understood, in the most abstract notion, as a concrete masculine noun. However, when looking at the interculturality present in this linguistic sign, an approach to linguistic education is perceived, favoring aspects of geography and culture, with semantic relationships to social, local and cultural realities with the



Brazilian semiarid region, for example. Santos (2008), despite not exploring intercultural education, allows us to see from the perspective of intercultural school literacy, the linguistic variation in the word “*umbuzeiro*”, which, here we point out, supported by Historical Linguistics, Creoulitics, Lexicography or Dialectology, can help in understanding the variation and change of language, even if starting from a single term.

It is worth exemplifying such discussions with the use of the variants “*imbuzeiro*”, “*jique*”, “*ambu*” and “*taperebá*” (FERREIRA, 2017; NASCIMENTO, 2018), instead of “*umbuzeiro*”. The original etymology of this lexeme comes from the Tupi-Guarani “*y-mb-u*” (CARVALHO, 2010). The recognition of this primary source of BP can explain at least two variants in its context of linguistic evolution. In this way, several alternatives for the manifestation of the language in the reality of use can be elucidated. Approaches like this help in understanding the linguistic ecology of the Brazilian Northeast, for example, or in regions that suffer from their social or linguistic stereotype, making students aware that the variation is legitimate.

Brazil is endowed with linguistic heterogeneity, as explained in this section. These different ways of saying the same thing are, therefore, the practice of the phenomenon of variation that carries characteristics of the language in internal and external aspects, proof of the sociolinguistic dynamism. Some varieties and their variants carry social stigma values in relation to prestigious variants. Intercultural education provides people from other realities with a new view of languages and their varieties, and can contribute to the reduction of linguistic prejudice, in addition to stimulating interaction and learning of these new languages and cultures.

### 3 Intercultural education and teaching Portuguese

It is noted that this work discusses sustained language in intercultural education and linguistic variation. School practices, under a canonization of a variety, impact the relationship between subjects and their linguistic heterogeneity. Migrant students, with their cultural and linguistic identities, build a complex sociolinguistic environment that particularizes Brazilian Portuguese (BP). Intercultural education, therefore, would be a condition to reflect on the reality.

Fleuri (2002; 2005) clarifies that intercultural education is an integration between cultures.

For him,

[...] as multiculturalism and anti-racism, its elaboration maintained a close relationship with the presence of immigrants who, in increasing numbers, have been seeking to insert themselves in the labor market and in the social life of several countries, including those – such as Italy – which, not having a past of colonial power, had not until recently been aware of immigration from the third world. By the very nature of its origin, intercultural education assumed the purpose of promoting integration between cultures, overcoming old and new racisms, welcoming foreigners and, particularly, the children of immigrants at school (FLEURI, 2005, p. 98, our translation).

More specifically, entering the classroom, this author understands it as a proposal for alterity. In a sociocultural context, this education allows people to relate, interact and, as a consequence, reinforce their identities. In the intercultural relationship, “stereotypes and prejudices – legitimizing the relationship of rejection and exclusion – are questioned, and even overcome, insofar as different subjects recognize each other based on their contexts, their histories and their options” (FLEURI, 2002), p. 141-142, our translation). This perspective is not standardized, being subjective and constructed in each situation and reconstructs the culture of the subjects dialectically.

The proposal of an intercultural education for the teaching of Portuguese in the Brazilian context is one that carries the histories of socially and historically situated subjects. Mendes (2008) and Rosa (2015) point this out by explaining language teaching in the recognition of cultural and contextual characteristics that involve the student in their linguistic identity and in those who have passed through it. With this argument, it is understood that, in the classroom, the variety of each individual in relation to the standardized variety needs to be known and systematized so that these stories are situated and legitimized as linguistic wealth, that is, to treat it sociolinguistically with an intercultural approach. The SAB, like Italy, also welcomes migrants, reinforcing linguistic heterogeneity, in the plurilingual context and varieties of BP.

The Portuguese teacher is responsible for teaching the language in the school variety in a competent, reflective and critical way, considering the language-culture of each speaker (MENDES, 2008). The concept of language-culture that is used by Mendes (2008) and Rosa (2015) emphasizes that every language has an intrinsic cultural value. The approach to the concept of language is not dissociated from the concept of culture. For the authors, language is culture, so the subject brings all

the historicity and social background in speech, so the treatment of the concept of sociolinguistics becomes inherent to the concept of language-culture.

The interculturality is not just the acceptance of the other, but a dialectical relationship with each other (VIEIRA, 2002). When approaching this concept to the phenomenon of variation, it is understood that this approach is not represented by the cult of elitist variety, the devaluation of variants, the sovereignty of writing over orality, and, as a consequence, neither the pathologization of orality or informality. In writing, especially regarding what is conventionally taught as traditional grammar teaching, as stated by Silva (2000 [1989], p. 12, our translation):

In fact, [...] this grammar [traditional grammar] sought to establish the rules, considered the best ONES, for the written language, based on the use made of it by those that society considered and considered its most 'finished' users, the so-called 'great writers' [...]

This perspective is even present when trying to have the traditional grammar, given the sinuous curve to which it was submitted, ceasing to be a philosophical reflection and becoming a political-social one. In this way, “[if] we transpose, however, to today, what traditional grammar refers to, we can see that it reinforces the 'elite dialect', that it reinforces the patterns of use that are proper to a dominant class, which its teaching (whether well or badly done) silences other uses” (SILVA (2000 [1989], p. 12, our translation).

The relationship between interculturality and variation is, therefore, the full awareness of the subject's use of language in the articulation of situations in orality and literacy events (MENDES, 2008; BORTONI-RICARDO, 2009 [2004]; 2017).

According to Bortoni-Ricardo (2011, p. 107, our translation), “a person adjusts his speech to the way he believes he will be better received by his interlocutors”. This action of exposing their linguistic characteristics and identities is a political action and must be understood and respected (BORTONI-RICARDO, 2017). In the terms of Paraquett (2021, p. 971, our translation), intercultural education is “[...] an education for equality and equity between people, peoples and [...] between languages”. It is believed that Sociolinguistics supports existing linguistic and sociocultural studies, correlating them with the use of the language in its different practice situations, which allow a specific variety, but relativizing the social variety of the other interlocutor.

It is undeniable that plurality is present in the classroom. When dealing with this diversity from the point of view of teaching Portuguese, the disconnection and reconnection elucidated by Santos (2008) is necessary, especially considering the reality of internal migrants in the Brazilian semiarid region. This condition of the school environment causes linguistic and social reactions, especially as a migrant student. Siller (2016) exposes reflections on the phenomenon of migration and the estrangement that students in this condition face in society and within schools. It is the estrangement of cultures, social practices, dialects and affections.

Singer (2002 [1998]) presents the concept of migration approaching it as a phenomenon resulting from capitalism. Industrialization, as the basis of this capital, for the same author, stiffens the economic veins and this attracts new perspectives to education, scientific research, accounting sectors, etc. Bortoni-Ricardo (2011, p. 116, our translation) also uses the concept of migrating from an economic point of view, that is, as “the search for better living conditions”.

In other times, the space of the SAB was ruthlessly stigmatized as an inhospitable and lifeless place. Studies by Carvalho (2010), for example, report how the natural condition provided a fight against drought. Silva (2010) also reports the time when the SAB region was characterized as a “problem region”. These authors exposed in their studies positions that raised the SAB as a power. The first, from the point of view of coexistence in a more geographical aspect; the last one adds a position of potentiality in living with that semi-arid culture, without fighting drought, without prioritizing drought and man.

The studies of Coexistence with the Semi-arid, in the Brazilian context, reinforce the space of semi-arid culture in education. Haesbaert (2008 [1996]) points out that the vision of a habitable and powerful place has stimulated capitalism in the region. The consequence of this exploitation of knowledge for materialistic use was the opening of doors to agribusiness. The capitalist reality conveyed in the SAB, mainly in the municipalities of Juazeiro and Petrolina, because they are on the São Francisco River and stimulate large-scale agriculture, motivated the migratory flow from smaller cities to these locations and, in addition, those who had left could also turn back. This reality reinforces the need for intercultural education pointed out by Fleuri (2005).

Mobility in and between the cities surveyed form the largest urban conglomerate in the semiarid region (IBGE, 2016 [2015]), whether attracting people from urban-urban spaces or rural-urban spaces.

The connection between the municipalities is so intense that in the statistical documents – IBGE, for example – they are treated as an urban agglomeration “Petrolina-Juazeiro (PE-BA)”. These new linguistic identities that enter this environment cause changes in the ecology itself. At other times, these places were typically rural and passing; today, they are cities that do not stop growing urban and welcoming new cultures. Rather, an environment with rural sociolinguistic characteristics; currently sociolinguistically complex.

The work of Bortoni-Ricardo (2011) describes his sociolinguistic study of the reality of migration, especially from the countryside to the city. In the region surveyed in this work, in numbers, according to the last demographic census of 2010, migrants represent 49% and 39% of the population of Petrolina and Juazeiro, respectively (IBGE, 2019 [2010]). Their origin comes from the countryside of the cities themselves and even from other countries.

It would be essential to present the social dynamism added to the region. The presence of cultural and linguistic diversity in schools with so many heterogeneous subjects is clear. From these conditions, an exposition of the theory that brings the migrant student closer to an intercultural education is in order. The interculturality that is being proposed is what should happen between the linguistic varieties that speakers use and the prestigious variety taken as a standard of school use, from the perspective of educational sociolinguistics. To this end, the concepts of Fleuri (2002) and Santiago, Akkari and Marques (2013), in relation to the sociocultural aspect, and of Mendes (2008), in relation to linguistics will be explained.

#### **4 Methodology**

This research is qualitative and was developed in two state schools in Pernambuco, in Petrolina, and in Bahia, in Juazeiro/BA, therefore, located in the SAB. To address the object of study, the recognition of linguistic variation in a multicultural environment, the corpus consisted of migrant informants. Thus, from these subjects who transited in such diverse linguistic territories and who had diversified social and regional experiences, the central objective focused on identifying the perception of types and levels of linguistic variation by internal migrants in a school context. Specifically, analyzing

the intercultural relationship between the varieties of BP and pointing out whether there is resistance from linguistic prejudice in migrant subjects complement the central objective.

The qualitative bias comes to supply the character of observation with ethnographic experience and the concern to portray the perspective of the participants through the interpretative path (LÜDKE; ANDRÉ, 1986; MARCONI; LAKATOS, 2002 [1995]). From the dialectical approach, we confront school knowledge about linguistic variation and the migratory reality of the student to the perspective of intercultural education. According to Demo (1999 [1980], p. 88, our translation),

we consider dialectics the most convenient methodology for social reality, to the point of taking it as a specific methodological posture for this reality in the sense that it does not apply to natural reality, because it is devoid of the subjective historical phenomenon.

As the dialectical method is comprehensive and not substantially of a single vision, therefore, one declines to the Marxist dialectic through studies on social formations, consisting in the understanding of reality as contradictory and changeable (PIRES, 1997).

For Arnoni, Almeida and Oliveira (2007), the categories of historical and dialectical materialism are: movement, totality, contradiction, overcoming and mediation. Movement is the category highlighted in this text, which Heraclitus metaphorically reflected, that is, that man does not bathe twice in the same river. Thus, he understands that “what is, through movement, is overcome by one of the possibilities of becoming” (ARNONI; ALMEIDA; OLIVEIRA, 2007, p. 89-90, our translation). Therefore, the object of study is treated with due linguistic dynamics and interculturality, in this reconstruction of the individual and his relationships.

#### 4.1 Methodological procedures and research locus

Based on Marconi and Lakatos (2002 [1995]) and Minayo (2005), data collection for description and recording was carried out with direct observation for three months - in addition to previous meetings with teachers and managers - with registration in a diary of field with the support of an audio recorder in Portuguese language classes. Minayo (2005) and Bortoni-Ricardo (2008) point out that this

observation technique confirms or refutes what is said and what is done, including the relationships between pairs and opposites.

In addition to the aforementioned techniques, two questionnaires – one closed and one open – were used to collect data for the study. Finally, focus groups were held for a collective perception of the researched communities about the themes and their sociolinguistic experiences, structuring the scientific line of reality description. The use of this method also aimed to eliminate any interference or misunderstanding during the analysis of the questionnaires, in addition to enhancing the investigation, making it more precise and profound, mainly related to sociolinguistic actions, of variation.

The research was carried out in two state public schools in the SAB, one in the Pernambuco education network and another one in the Bahia education network. The first, with a semi-integral regime, developed activities in the morning, from 7:30 am to 12:50 pm, and in two days extended the hours to the afternoon shift, from 1 pm to 4:40 pm. The second, the class had the afternoon regime, from 1 pm to 5:20 pm. The schools are located in adjacent municipalities and with similar characteristics: far from their capitals; approximate times of emancipation; receive the waters of the same river; they communicate in the coming and going of the river crossing boats; have irrigation projects; develop agribusiness; speak the same language. The two schools chosen, therefore, have multiple ethnicities, young people from different socioeconomic conditions and places, with urban and rural influences, and bear the migrant reality addressed.

#### 4.2 Selection and description of subjects

Understanding that the collaborators should be migrants from the cities of the urban perimeter of Juazeiro and/or Petrolina, the non-probabilistic sampling process of the intentional type was applied (MARCONI; LAKATOS, 2002 [1995]). The choice of all cooperators took place after the period of direct observation, using the justifications of well-being, in order to avoid possible aloof conditions. This selection was relevant to the objectives of the work, as the interest was in the perception of a specific group.

Twelve collaborating students formed the research group, five from the Pernambuco school and seven from the Bahian school, in addition to their Portuguese-speaking teachers – also migrants.

All those selected were in the 2nd year of high school and it was believed that, with the school flow and based on national education policies, these students should already have theoretical knowledge of the notions about aspects of language in terms of linguistic variation.

Next, the characteristics of the migrant subjects selected for this work will be appreciated. Although the proposal is not a corpus analysis of variationist sociolinguistics, the information contained here is important in the analysis process, as it brings characteristics of the participants' migration. In view of this, language is registered as a living and social organism that manifests itself differently in each community and in each individual, a language-culture.

**Table 1** – Student Identification

<i>Identification</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Age</i> <i>(years old)</i>	<i>Skin color</i>	<i>City of bith</i>	<i>Cities you lived</i>
EA	Woman	17	Black	Juazeiro-BA	Sobradinho-BA
EB	Man <sup>3</sup>	17	Brown	Araripina-PE	Ipupi-PE
EC	Man	20	Brown	Petrolina-PE	Juazeiro-BA
ED	Man	22	Black	Juazeiro-BA	Salvador-BA, Recife-PE e em MG <sup>4</sup> .
EE	Woman	17	Brown	Sento Sé-BA	Juazeiro-BA, Sento Sé-BA
EF	Man	20	Black	Juazeiro-BA	Goiânia-GO
EG	Woman	16	Black	Juazeiro-BA	Juazeiro-BA, Camarigibe-PE
E1	Woman	16	White	Petrolina-PE	Petrolina-PE
E2	Woman	18	Brown	Juazeiro-BA	Juazeiro-BA
E3	Man	15	Yellow	Landshut - Baviera, Alemanha <sup>5</sup>	Salvador-BA, Santos-SP e exterior <sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> This collaborator, in the closed questionnaire, answered that he identifies himself as "other" in relation to his gender identity and identified himself as BISEXUAL "bixessual" (sic), so we realized that the participant confused his sexual orientation with his gender identity. Therefore, we used the classification of "man", because during the open questionnaire and in the focus group he used male determinants.

<sup>4</sup> The cooperador only remembers the state, Minas Gerais (MG), as he spent little time there.

<sup>5</sup> This cooperador has nationality (Brazilian and German). To remember the city of birth, he had to check the writing by consulting his documents and on the internet.

<sup>6</sup> The collaborator did not want to mention all the cities he lived in, as he thought there were many and some of them do not even remember the name.



E4	Man	17	Black	Petrolândia-PE	Chapecó-SC, Salvador-BA, Petrolândia-PE, Recife-PE, Petrolina-PE
E5	Man	16	Brown	Juazeiro-BA	Juazeiro-BA, Pilar-BA, Petrolina-PE

**Data source and tabulation:** prepared by the author of this article.

The data in Tab. 1 were informed in the closed questionnaire by the cooperators. The names of the participants were replaced by codes to maintain confidentiality, according to the ethical commitment credited in this research by the Terms of Free and Informed Consent. The same ethical criteria were applied to the collaborating teachers, described in Tab. 2, whose data were collected by specific open questionnaires.

**Table 2** – Identification of Teachers

<i>Identification</i>	<i>Gender Identity</i>	<i>Age (years old)</i>	<i>Skin color</i>	<i>City you lived</i>	<i>Professional experience</i>	
					<i>In education</i>	<i>In the school</i>
P1	Woman	56	Brown	Recife-PE	20 years	2 months
P2	Woman	51	Brown	Curaçá-BA	25 years	12 years

**Data source and tabulation:** prepared by the author of this article.

The teachers had training in the area of Letters. P1 has the title of specialist in the area of integral education, citizenship and social inclusion. P2 has the title of specialization in the area of Portuguese Language. Both are teachers on the permanent staff of state networks and demonstrated a good relationship with the groups surveyed.

### 4.3 Data analysis

The process of analyzing and interpreting the data primarily followed the guidelines of Ludke and André (1986) and Minayo (2005) that guide the delimitation of the study focus, formulation of analytical questions, deepening of the theories of foundation, testing of exposed ideas and support in the observations made during the collection. Further on, the data from the methodological procedures

of all the collaborators were cross-referenced - answers to the questionnaires of students and teachers, records of direct observation and speeches collected in a focus group of students, whose cut was given to the discussions on linguistic variation -, according to Minayo (2005). ) explicit for the execution of the analysis by triangulation of methods.

Triangulation is the combination and cross-referencing, in this case, of employing a variety of data collection techniques that accompany investigative work. This use allows interaction, intersubjective criticism and comparison (MINAYO, 2005). Thus, the information from the students' and teachers' questionnaires, from the direct observation of the Portuguese language classes and from the focus groups of the students were cross-referenced.

## 5 Data analysis<sup>7</sup>

From the question “Do you know what linguistic variation is? What can this be?” From the questionnaire applied, from the records of the focus group and from the evidence of the direct observation of the students investigated, we present, below, the analysis of these constructed data. In the course of this section, we present, in the second paragraph, a brief summary of the analysis, anticipating our impressions to the reader; in the third paragraph, the relationship of the results with the normative documents of Basic Education. In the following paragraphs, we will make use of data analysis by the triangulation of methods, comparing them, according to the collection methods used and mentioned in the previous section.

The results of this research, therefore, show that migrant students in the SAB recognize linguistic variation, mainly diatopic, therefore, an extralinguistic dimension. This hypothesis, at first, was built considering that the migration condition, from the linguistic point of view, would reflect on the recognition of variants of this type of variation by migrant students. In addition to geographically differentiated cultural contact, these cooperators have already had access to this aspect of education, according to documents that guide Brazilian Basic Education, whose information was confirmed in observations, questionnaires and interviews. The data confirmed this initial hypothesis and, moreover,

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<sup>7</sup> In this article, we decided to present a cut of the results of the master's research carried out, as indicated at the beginning of this text. For more details on the research, we suggest reading Lima (2020), given the necessary delimitation in this presentation.

that the variation perceived by the public in question is largely linked to the phonetic-phonological level, although they have lexical and stylistic aspects manifested.

According to the normative documents, the school institution adds to its contents the study from the national linguistic diversity. The National Curriculum Parameters (PCN) guided the teaching of this researched public, and there is evidence in this document that emphasize the approach of variation as something social and cultural, that is, the linguistic variants that mark the genre, the profession, the social stratum, age, region of the speaker, among other aspects (BRASIL, 1999). It was believed that, theoretically, these students having access to this information and with the condition of internal migrant, the practice of this heterogeneity could be noticed and proven, thus establishing intercultural relations between the varieties.

This hypothesis of confluence of language variation contents with personal experiences could be confirmed by these social actors. The reality to which they were exposed served as a basis to illustrate the knowledge acquired about this language phenomenon, according to questionnaires. To prove this result, we selected some of the statements and justifications of these collaborators, which are below. It is worth noting that the answers were originally transcribed from the questionnaire applied, that is, without linguistic alteration of any kind, and their authors are anonymously identified.

E1: *Sim, a variação do modo de falar de cada lugar. Petrolina se chama din-din em Salgueiro se chama vipe em outros lugares sacole.* (Yes, the variation of the way of speaking of each place. Petrolina is called "din-din" in Salgueiro it is called vipe in other places sacole).

E3: *Cara, acho que é a maneira de falar, Sotaque, gírias e etc...* (Man, I think it's the way of speaking, accent, slang and etc...)

E5: *Sim. Eu entendo por variação linguística gírias, sotaques e palavras de uma determinada língua* (Yup. I understand by linguistic variation slang, accents and words of a certain language).

EA: *Variação linguística seria a forma que cada um tem de se expressar? Como o Sotaque de cada estado?* (Is linguistic variation the way that each one has to express himself/herself? How does the accent of each state?)

EB: *Sim, forma de fala, de se comunicar* (Yes, way of speaking, of communicating).

EG: *Não, pessoa que fala diferente.* (No, person who speaks differently)

From these answers, it is clear that linguistic variation, for these migrants, is predominant in the diatopic sphere. In the case of E1, it appears that the expression “way of speaking from each place” is reinforced with lexical characteristics, namely: “din-din”, “vipe” and “sacole”. This is a classic example used to exemplify lexical variation according to region. Notations in this same approach are perceived in E5's answer in “words of a certain language”.

Coelho et al (2018) and Beline (2018 [2002]), for example, bring this type of lexical variation as the most noticeable among speakers. Thus, it is also possible to perceive the traits of other areas that have added to Sociolinguistics, such as Dialectology. However, only these two collaborators, E 1 and E3, show consciously perceiving the variation at this level.

In E3's answer, it is possible to perceive the term “accent” that delineates a linguistic use with specific characteristics of a region, thus being diatopic. This collaborator is of German nationality and lived in cities that have linguistic aspects that are notably recognized in Brazil, for example, the phonetic aspects of Salvador. In this way, the thesis that the migrant student recognizes the phenomenon of variation from a phonetic-phonological point of view is reinforced.

Recognition of the level of variation perceived by E3 is also noted in the following answers, for example: for E5 in “accents”; for the EA in “State Accent”; for the EB in “speech form”; and for EG in “person who speaks differently”. Bortoni-Ricardo (2009 [2004]) also explains that regional differences are more common and easier to perceive, these would be the dialectal differences, which are manifest in some sounds, rhythms, melodies of some words. Thus, the reason why the accent was the most noticed aspect by these migrant students is based, therefore, a spectrum that is still current.

The term “slang”, which also has specific sound characteristics, appears in only two moments of all the answers given, which are presented in the answers of E3 and E5. According to Bortoni-Ricardo (2009 [2004]), Bagno (2007) and Patriota (2009), slang tend to occupy the diastratic variation, as they encompass a speaker's social class. In this case, there is no way to build a scientific claim that, at that time, migrant students had a solid sociolinguistic awareness that slang is a phenomenon of variation, but this cannot be ruled out because there are indications of this learning.

In view of these reported cases, it is possible to deduce that the systematized knowledge of diastratia – slang – has not reached the same depth. Patriota (2009) argues that this distancing is culturally instituted because of the school's selection of social status. As much as students demonstrate

a certain knowledge about the content in question, few have shown to recognize it in other ways than diatopic. The discourses presented tend to follow the line of geolinguistics, but superficially, as noted in the previous explanations.

With the responses of collaborators E3 and E5, it is possible to align the reflection that the varieties are also within specific groups, which is recognized by speech community or linguistic community (CALVET, 2002 [1993]; COELHO et al, 2018 ). The first used the variant “Cara” in his writing, a fact that was notably already being noticed in his speech. Therefore, based on variants such as this one, it is possible to sociolinguistically characterize the speaker, either by their condition in a social stratum or group, or by the age factor, the most common conditions for the existence of this variant

In addition to diastratic perception, diamestic variation, still in E3's response, is evident. According to Illari and Basso (2017 [2006]), Bagno (2007) and Coelho et al (2018), this type of variation appears not only in the writing of oral words, but in syntax, expressions and other segments. In this approach, the “guy” from E3 is apparent; the absence of the connective in “slang linguistic variation”, from E5; the interrogative statements, common in orality, of the EA. This action of not planning the writing as if it were an oral report is a characteristic of the variation raised (ILLARI; BASSO, 2017 [2006]).

In the observed classes of the Portuguese Language subject, the aspects of variation were treated more in the diatopic scope, in the dialectal variation. For example, teacher P1 from the school in Pernambuco, born in Recife-PE, recently arrived in Petrolina/PE, in the countryside of the state, in the Sertão, brought with her characteristics that gave them linguistic identity, something that Bortoni-Ricardo (2009 [2004] ); 2011) and Coelho et al (2018) reflect as an ingrained characteristic in each speaker.

During the observation, it was noted that, at various times, the linguistic identity of P1 was questioned and pressured by non-migrant students. In these moments, one can verify what Rosa (2015, p. 85, our translation) gives relevance when she explains that it is in the “(du)link between languages-cultures that one can take the notion of identity, since it is not only affirmed by the difference – I am identical to myself because I am different from the other, external to me – but because I go to

meet this other”. The teacher, like any other speaker, uses specific variants of her language-culture construction for articulation and, in this case, presenting a dialectal variation.

Therefore, using your language-culture and positioning yourself politically as a speaker is an act that not everyone is always willing to do, precisely because of the lack of empathy and interculturality. Following the lessons, P1 had phonetic emissions of the consonant segment /s/, when pronounced with voiceless alveopalatal fricative articulation [ʃ] as in the words “chá” and “acha”, but articulated by P1 in final post-tonic position in the words “pessoas[ʃ]”, “cartas[ʃ]” and “passadas[ʃ]”; or yet, with the raising of the vowel [e] to [i] being followed by the alveopalatal consonant [ʃ] as in the words “Vocês[i]”, “parentes[i]”, “pre-[i]escolar”, pronunciation typical of the Recife dialect, the students retorted, mocked and insisted on imitation. In view of these facts, in addition to highlighting Bagno's myth nº 6 (2015 [1999]), the perspective that Silva (2019) exposes on the Portuguese of the imitation as a stimulus to linguistic prejudice was materialized.

Following are some transcripts. In all fragments, the non-standard features of the lines are preserved.

Fragment 1

- (1) Student: *'parentes[ij]*'. *Esse chiado da professora*. ('parentes[ij]'. That teacher's squeak).
- (2) P1: *Vocês[ij] não falam assim? Falam como? Vamos ver, quem vai ex[ij]plicar?* (Don't “vocês[ij]” talk like that? Speak how? Let's see, who will “ex[ij]plicar”?)
- (3) Student: *Vocês, explicar, sem chiar*. (*risos*) (You guys, explain, without squeaking. (laughs)

The situation portrayed was extracted from an observation during class. The teacher tried to explain the planned content, but was constantly interrupted. The word “vamos”, in turn (2) of this fragment, was articulated in such a way as to distance P1 from its dialect. Bortoni-Ricardo (2011) warns that when there is no convergence between the varieties, this can represent a loss of identity, being harmful to the speaker's self-esteem. Faced with the situation, the teacher acted as the author reported, notably saddened. E2, who still did not know that she would be selected as a research collaborator, acted in a militant manner against the emerging and oppressive linguistic prejudice. It is concluded,

therefore, that there was an attitude in defense of the stigmatized migrant speaker, as well as support for her linguistic identity. At the time, the student said:

Fragment 2

(1) E2: *(levantando-se) Ela é autêntica.* ((rising) She is authentic.)

In the following fragment 3, generated from the collection of the focus group, actions of linguistic recognition by the migrant students of the variety presented by the teacher are perceived, as well as the recognition of the variety of their own colleagues. Personal references that emerged at the time of selection were included in parentheses, for example, in shift (1) E3 is referring to a cooperator whose name was suppressed.

Fragment 3

(1) E3: *O sotaque dele (apontando para E4) é diferente. O dela (apontando para E2) é um pouco. O de E5, também. Cada um parece que já tem o seu, sei lá... O meu, eu num sei da onde é... todo embolado.* (His accent (pointing to E4) is different. Hers (pointing to E2) is a little. The E5's, too. Each one looks like they already have their own, I don't know... Mine, I don't know where it's from... all tangled up.)

(2) Researcher: *E a professora, o que vocês acham?* (And the teacher, what do you think?)

(4) E3: *A professora de Português?* (The Portuguese teacher?)

(4) Researcher: *O sotaque dela...* (Her accent...)

(5) E2: *Ah, é engraçado.* (*risos*) (Oh, it's funny. (laughs))

(6) All: (*risos altos*) (loud laughter)

(7) E3: *Mas ela torna engraçado, o sotaque dela. Assim: as brincadêra dela, tal...* (But she makes it fun, her accent. So: as a joke of hers, such...)

Note that, in turn (1), E3 is aware of the linguistic identity of the teacher (P1) and any other speaker. The idiosyncratic traits of any person's variety are perceived as something cultural of a subject, so the characteristics of the person as a socially linguistic being stand out. Despite this

collaborator's position, there are traces of estrangement from the teacher's phonetic variants, a situation that is not averse to the migrant condition, as Siller (2016) reports.

The laughter in turns (5) and (6), however, was not provoked because some respondents found P1's accent interesting or very different, but the derogatory and jocular tone led to a situation of linguistic prejudice. However, this sense was broken by the resumption of E3's shift (7).

Interestingly, when looking at the episode reported in Fragment 2 and the jocular situation in Fragment 3, it is clear that the same migrant student has different linguistic actions. In the first, there is a defense; in the second, there is a lack of empathy. Mendes (2008) treats that interculturality is a condition, so it is not something permanent and stable, but under construction. These episodes reflect the need for an enhancement to this awareness.

In the case of P2, at no time was an action similar to that experienced by P1 perceived, neither when observed nor when questioned. A noticeable phenomenon in P2's speech is the depalatalization of /s/ followed by vowels in medial coda, as in the pronunciation of the word "ilustração" pronounced as 'ilu[s]tração', that is, in an alveolar fricative way ([s]apo, [s]imple[s]). This variant may be incorporating what Bortoni-Ricardo (2009 [2004]) calls "invisible", since the interlocutor already lives with that variety, therefore, it becomes imperceptible.

Intercultural education theories predict a respectful relationship between people and their cultures. In terms of the linguistic interculturality of Brazilian Portuguese, aspects of linguistic prejudice are still perceived in social reality, including at school, a space in which the language tends to be studied systematically. In the following fragment, Fragment 4, there are traces of intra and extralinguistic factors that interfere in the acceptance of variation in society.

Fragment 4

(1) EF: *Aprendi muita coisa aqui nessa escola. Aprendi palavra de sotaque difer[ɹ]ente, por[ɹ]que...* (I learned a lot here at this school. I learned a "dife[ɹ]ente" accent "po[ɹ]que"...)

(2) Researcher: *Você fala assim?* (Do you speak like that?)

(3) EA: *"Veio de São Paulo, é?! Olha, se res[ʃ]peita, tá?!"* [reproduzindo um discurso lembrando de uma colega de classe] ("It came from São Paulo, is it?! Look, if you 'res[ʃ]peita', okay?!" [playing a speech reminiscent of a classmate])



(4) EF: *De vez em quando eu solto umas palavra, que eu aprendi com ela (apontando para E).* (Every now and then I drop a word, which I learned from her (pointing to E).

(5) ED: *Nós[ij] puxa muito paulis[s]ta, as vezes, né? O caipir[ɹ]a... Ô t[tj]ia* (“Nós[ij]” pull a lot from “paulis[s]ta”, sometimes, right? The “caipir[ɹ]a” ... Ô “t[tj]ia”)

(6) EB: *Com o professor de Filosofia, eu aprendi a puxar muito o chiiips, chiasss...* (With the Philosophy teacher, I learned to pull a lot of chiiips, chiasss...)

(7) EA: *“Se res[j]peita, tá?! Eu num sô daqui não!”. É Fulana!* (“If you res[j]peita, okay?! I'm not just from here!”. It's “Fulana!”)

Characteristics of an awareness of linguistic diversity can be seen in several moments of this fragment. This knowledge, however, has not ascended to an intercultural relationship, nor has it affected the reduction of linguistic prejudice. Although the collaborators were migrants, that is, they had kept in touch with other varieties of BP, the knowledge of the variation in the diatopic and intralinguistic extralinguistic factor, which is very restrictive to dialects, without the intercultural perspective, has been shown to be ineffective in reducing prejudices and recognizing the language varieties.

Freitag (2016) makes a pertinent reservation about combating prejudice in the language. According to the author, this struggle is not “a romantic and innocent vision that people will stop being prejudiced”, but a sociolinguistic activism that turns studies in the area into social technology. In this view, the concept of intercultural education and linguistic interculturality also converge in this appreciation of varieties.

In both researched environments, aspects of sociolinguistics were perceived superficially, restricted to local sayings and with illustrations of variants. It is reiterated that the study of a local variety in the classroom can be better explored with the description of a variant to prove the heterogeneity of the language. The lectures of the teachers in the classroom could lead to reflections on the varieties of Portuguese spoken in Brazil. From the perspective of Freitag (2016), to propose an introduction to sociolinguistic studies in the defense of pejoratively stereotyped dialects and in the fight against linguistic prejudice, unfortunately, still resistant in BP, and which has nullified dialogues between people with their very rich language-cultures.

## 7 Final considerations

Sociolinguistic studies have shown linguistic heterogeneity and language systematization. Brazil, linguistically multiple, gives space to the different varieties of BP to exist. The awareness of this variation, although it is commonly perceived by the speakers, must gain a new guise at school, that is, systematized, regular. The school space, in turn, so pluricultural, welcomes the cultures of students from all over the country and the world. Treating the languages-cultures of these speakers who are in this space with equity is fundamental.

This research showed that some migrant students, who are in the semiarid region, have a knowledge of linguistic variation in BP, but without an understanding that it can occur at phonetic-phonological, morphological and syntactic levels. This incipient knowledge in the researched community showed that the superficial treatment of linguistic levels has been inefficient in reducing linguistic prejudice. The recognition of dialectal varieties in the phonetic-phonological aspect was the greatest perception in that context. In view of this, the central objective was reached, which was to understand what types and levels of linguistic variation this public was aware of in the school context.

Another perspective of the study was to analyze the intercultural relationship between the BP varieties, but regular moments of this action were not detected. The language-cultures of several speakers were treated pejoratively, including the variety of the teacher herself and other migrant colleagues. We hypothesized that, because these students had other experiences in linguistically different environments, mainly from a dialectal point of view, intercultural actions were motivated and common, but they did not exist regularly, except for three exceptional moments. In this way, the last objective of the work is reached, which was to point out the resistance of linguistic prejudice in migrant subjects.

This study leaves an apparent gap in relation to an analysis of linguistic attitudes between migrants and natives. Given the nature of the work, the application time and the need for focus, this path was not followed. An analysis of teaching practices also became desirable, taking the perspective of internal migration and linguistic interculturality, but the methodological and execution conditions did not allow this reflection.

This text is the result of a qualitative research locally located, but it opens space for discussion with other realities of the Semiarid itself or of other regions, national and international, whose objectives

aim to study the variation in school reality on the strength of linguistic interculturality. The delimited corpus and the defined objectives leave openings and motivating fans for further research in the area of language, language and linguistics in complex environments, which can contribute to academic and social reflection.

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