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LANGUAGE VITALITY AND TRANSCULTURALIZATION OF EUROPEAN IMMIGRANT MINORITIES: POMERANIAN IN BRAZIL
VITALIDADE LINGUÍSTICA E TRANSCULTURALIDADE DE MINORIAS DE IMIGRANTES: POMERANOS NO BRASIL

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Abstract

This work presents part of the studies carried out on linguistic and cultural ethnicity of immigration languages in Brazil in the framework of a bilateral cooperation project between the Federal Fluminense University (UFF) and the Europa Universität-Viadrina (EUV). The discussion presented here is delimited to the context of Pomeranian immigration in the state of Espírito Santo, precisely in Santa Maria de Jetibá municipality. It aims to show the importance of linguistic and cultural vitality of the immigration variety to the pluri- and multilingual education proposals. This study sees Pomeranian as an autochthonous Brazilian language and it discusses linguistic policy actions that have been implemented to demonstrate the vitality of the immigration variety and the use of bi- plurilingualism with some other varieties in different fields and usage practices. From the results of an ethnographic research, we propose a Portuguese-Pomeranian bilingual literacy in the first grades, subsequently extended to other Germanic language(s) from the concept of intercomprehension.

Keywords: Languages of immigration; neo-autochthony; multilingual teaching.

Resumo

Este trabalho apresenta parte dos estudos que foram desenvolvidos sobre etnicidade linguística e cultural de línguas de imigração no Brasil no âmbito de um projeto de cooperação bilateral entre a Universidade Federal Fluminense (UFF) e a Europa Universität-Viadrina (EUV). Delimitamos aqui a discussão ao contexto da imigração pomerana no Espírito Santo, mas exatamente ao município de Santa Maria de Jetibá, para mostrar a importância da vitalidade linguística e cultural da variedade de imigração para propostas de educação pluri- e multilíngue. O estudo considera o Pomerano como uma língua neo-autóctone brasileira e discute ações de política linguística já implementadas para demonstrar a vitalidade da variedade de imigração e o seu uso bi-plurilíngue com outras variedades em diferentes âmbitos e práticas de uso. A partir dos resultados de uma pesquisa de base etnográfica, propomos uma alfabetização bilíngue português-pomerano nas primeiras séries, posteriormente estendida por outra(s) língua germânica(s) a partir do conceito de intercompreensão.

Palavras-chave: Línguas de imigração; Neo-autoctonia; Ensino plurilíngue.

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Introduction

Brazil is a plurilingual and a pluricultural country, both social and individually[2], and, therefore, of rich ethnic and linguistic diversity, manifested in different situations of/in contact of languages, described as follows: i) a great number of varieties of Indigenous languages; ii) African languages introduced through the slavery context; iii) Afro-Indigenous languages[3], identified in remnant *quilombo* communities; iv) European languages of colonization; v) Immigrant and refugee languages (German, Italian, Japanese, Arabic, among others); vi) linguistic varieties originating in the contact of Brazilian Portuguese with languages used in its geographical borders: from the contact with Spanish through the large Brazilian border shared with Hispanic South American countries; from the contact with French and French-based Creoles in the francophone border (Oiapoque and Saint George); from the contact with English and English-based Creoles in the Guyana border (Roraima and Letem); and from the contact with varieties originating in the multilingualism of Suriname[4], which stablishes different situations of contact with Dutch and Dutch-based Creoles; vii) the Brazilian Sign Language (LIBRAS) and other sign languages used in communities of deaf people; viii) specific ethnic speeches such as the Gypsy's; ix) varieties of formal foreign languages acquisition.

In this paper, the focus of the discussion lies on the subject of heritage languages and cultures in immigration contexts in Brazil and we delimit the discussion to the analysis of the processes of transculturality, belonging, autochthony and territoriality expressed in the ethnolinguistic and cultural development of a Germanic variety taken to Brazil in the immigration context of the 19h century. We selected a contact situation for discussion: a rural situation: the Pomeranian immigration to the State of Espírito Santo, focusing on the town of Santa Maria de Jetibá. The Germanic variety selected for analysis is the Pomeranian (*Pommersch*, *Pommerschplatt*, *Pommeranisch* or *pomerano* in Brazil), a West Germanic variety from the Low German/Saxon (East) subfamily, originating in the old Pomerania, historic region formerly situated between current Germany and Poland.

Germanic immigration in Santa Maria de Jetibá: A rural immigration

The socio-historical context in the period of the Germanic immigration to Brazil was marked by the desire for change, favouring the discourse related to immigration policies.

Several studies point to the year 1859 as the beginning of the arrival of the first immigrants from Pomerania to the State of Espírito Santo (RÖLKE, 1996; MARTINUZZO, 2009), in the colony of Santa Leopoldina, territory now belonging to Santa Maria de Jetibá MJ, where the study was developed.

The Pomeranian immigration, as in so many other immigrations occurring in that period, was influenced by a socio-historical and political context marked by the process of slavery abolition, which began in the second half of the 19th century and led the country's elite to worry about the loss of labour force.

Savedra and Mazzelli (2017) present a detailed historic account of the arrival of the Pomeranians to Espírito Santo, and report the view of many historians who state that, on the part of the political and social elite of the time, the coming of the European settlers was related to the occupation of rural areas in Brazil, a solution to the forthcoming loss of slave labour, in addition to reinforcing the racist discourse of that time about the *whitening* of the race, which was mainly composed by black ethnicity.

Located 80 km from the state's capital, Vitória, the town of SMJ is a mountainous region of Espírito Santo. According to IBGE[5] data, the population of the municipality in 2019[6] counted 40.431 inhabitants. As reported by the site of the Municipality of SMJ, the region is strongly marked by the presence of agriculture, a cultural influence of the Pomeranian people, who is predominantly agricultural.

The historical origin of the settlement of this region and the survival of immigrant cultural traits make it possible, to this day, the observation, in Santa Maria de Jetibá, of the Pomeranian language being commonly used in the community's daily life, and observed in the linguistic landscape.

Studies have been conducted over the past 10 years to observe and analyse the situation of the Pomeranian language in Espírito Santo (HÖHMANN, 2011; SAVEDRA, HÖHMANN, 2013; BREMENKAMP, 2014, FOERSTE, 2016;) and, more recently, the master's dissertation of Mazzelli (2018) has analysed and discussed the glottopolitical actions that have occurred and/or interfered in Santa Maria de Jetibá municipality through a historical account from the beginning of the immigration process (1859) onward.

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5 *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística* (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics).
6 https://cidades.ibge.gov.br/brasil/es/santa-maria-de-jetiba/pesquisa/33/29171?tipo=ranking&ano=2019

As a result of her dissertation, Mazzelli points out actions taken by several agents, such as the community of Pomeranian origin, the Lutheran Church and the Brazilian State, and demonstrates how they have happened due to different social, political and linguistic motivations. Those actions have positively and/or negatively influenced the use of Pomeranian and resulted in the current linguistic context found in the studied *locus*.

In 2013, Savedra and Höhmann had already indicated the proposed actions for the revitalization and co-officialization of Pomeranian in Espírito Santos' municipalities and also presented the Pomeranian School Education Program (PROEPO - *Projeto de Educação Pomerana*), also indicating the importance of the encyclopaedic Pomeranian-Portuguese Dictionary (*Pomerisch-Portugijsisch Wöirbauk*) by Tressmann, published in 2006 for the teaching of the written language, which was of oral tradition until then. Since then, in an attempt to normalize Pomeranian writing, the dictionary has been supporting the formulation of teaching materials used by PROEPO. Nonetheless, it is worth mentioning that both the dictionary and the PROPEPO are under constant review and updating.

By identifying the glottopolitical actions that have permeated the development of the Pomeranian language in Santa Maria de Jetibá, since the beginning of immigration, Mazzelli points to *corpus* and *status* planning actions. In relation to *corpus* planning, the author particularly highlights the actions for written language consolidation, such as: i) the first publication in Pomeranian, in the newspaper *O Semeador* ("The Sower") in 1983; ii) Marineuza Waiandt's work in the confection of teaching materials, already analysed by Koeler (2016); iii) and Ismael Tressmann's dictionary, already cited above. Koeler highlights the great importance Marineuza had for the community of Alto Santa Maria in guaranteeing an education directed to a bilingual and peasant reality, also highlighting that Marineuza founded a Pomeranian memorial, the *Waiandts Huss* (Waiandt's Haus), a preserved Pomeranian dwelling that houses a huge collection of items related to the history and culture of the Pomeranians.

As for *status* planning, the author refers to political actions for language maintenance and promotion, such as: i) PROEPO, the Pomeranian School Education Program; ii) the use of Pomeranian in city signs; iii) the coofficialization of the language in the municipality in 2009[7]; iv) the language promotion in the community media, such as the Pomeranian Radio FM, founded by the Community Radio Association of SMJ in 1998; the *Pommerisch R@dio TV*, a multi-programming online radio with music and narration done primarily in Pomeranian[8]; and the online newspaper *Folha Pomerana* ("Pomeranian Paper")[9]; v) and the mobile application *Aprenda Pomerano* ("Learn Pomeranian") and others: basic course in 50 Lessons https://ead.

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7   Until December 2018, Pomeranian has been coofcialized in six municipalities in the State of Espírito Santo: Santa Maria de Jetibá, Domingos Martins, Pancas, Vila Pavão, Laranja da Terra, Itarana; one in the State of Santa Catarina: Pomerode; and one in the State of Rio Grande do Sul: Canguçu.

8   Cf. The description of the *Pommerisch R@dio TV* was obtained through the mobile application. Available at <https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=br.com.audiobras.pomerisch>. Access on 09/27/2019.

9   Available at <http://folhapomeranaexpress.blogspot.com.br/>. Access on 09/27/2019.

pomer.com.br/course/curso-de-pomerano/ and others interactions in you tube.

Alongside all those actions proving the undeniable presence of the Pomeranian language in the studied municipality, it is also possible to observe the apparent vitality of the language in younger generations. We thus propose to consider this Germanic variety as a neo-autochthonous Brazilian variety, for its coofficialization in Brazil, and neo-autochthonous based on the concepts of autochthony and territoriality, as explained by Savedra and Mazzelli (2017), as briefly discussed below.

The occupation and settlement process, in which immigrants were given very isolated lands in the mountains in Espírito Santo, has favoured the community's isolation, which settled in inaccessible locations. This favoured the maintenance, the strengthening and the survival of identity traits, such as language and other cultural expressions.

Tressmann (2005) states that the Pomeranians are a peasant people who have, since their arrival, recreated their peasant way of life. They have maintained the use of their mother tongue, their communal celebrations/festivals, their rituals and dances, their cultural and marital customs, the magical acts that accompany rites of passage, such as confirmation, marriage and death, the continuity of fantastic narrative of peasant oral tradition.

Hartwig (2011) reinforces Tressmann's point of view by ascertaining that Santa Maria de Jetibá's Pomeranians are not entirely detached from their roots in ancient Pomerania, as they have kept alive, in exile, a strong sense of what the "homeland" is, and have tried to preserve a "Pomeranian cultural identity". Therefore, the municipality is currently considered the most Pomeranian in Brazil, and one of the most populated Pomeranian nucleuses in the world, as stated by the author.

To reinforce the view of language, space and identity, we use, in our study, Tacke's (2015) view of territoriality. For the author, territoriality plays a strong role in local identity, as both the individual and the community are strongly connected by geographical space, and this sociocultural connection is part of the construction of individual and collective identity.

It is important to point the great influence of peasant activities on the so-called *Land*. The concept of peasant family is closely connected to the idea of colony, which characterizes peasantry and ethnicity. In our field research, we have observed that the concept of *Land* represents much more than territory *per se*, but also social identity and the representation of land-related family practices, such as labour division, inheritance, surplus produce commercialization, among others. *Land* is, for the Pomeranians we visit and keep in touch with, part of a value bound to identity and its linguistic and cultural ethnicity.

Another connection between Pomeranian culture and local identity refers to the language. At this point, the main milestone was the co-officialization of the Pomeranian language, which happened on June 26, 2009, with law n° 1.136 in the municipality of Santa Maria de Jetibá. Co-

officialization made the language use in public offices institutional, thus expanding its family domain.

Co-officialization has not only institutionalized the great importance Pomeranian has for the region, the community, the people's identity, but has also deepened the people's identity ties with their language and culture.

According to INDL[10], the Pomeranian is an immigration language, part of the national linguistic repertoire. It has been in Brazilian territory since the arrival of the first Pomeranian immigrants 160 years ago and, as already discussed, maintains a high degree of vitality by being used by a large part of the population of Pomeranian descendants' communities, as evidenced in studies already discussed here. The terminology on autochthony and allochthony actually stimulates much discussion, and their definitions should be analysed based on the length of time a given language and/or ethnic group is present in a territory, as observed by Zenker (2011) and Tacke (2015). In this way, Savedra and Mazzelli (2017) present Zenker's studies on autochthony from an anthropological perspective, where a review on the term is made based on what has been being studied about ethnicity. Zenker (2011) concludes that indigeneity should be understood as a particular constituent of autochthony, and that the term itself should not be narrowly connected to the indigenous category, which was the case until then.

From this perspective, the authors defend that Pomeranian, belongs to the category of immigrant language. Nowadays, the inhabitants of Pomeranian communities call themselves autochthonous, by their over-a-century connection to the territory in concern, as in the case of the *locus* analysed in this study – the town of Santa Maria de Jetibá. When passing through the streets and avenues of the city, we can find the people communicating with each other in Pomeranian.

Zenker traces a connection between individuals who bond with territory and autochthony:

> Conceived of in this way, 'autochthony' can be described as a triad in which its three elements – 'individual', 'territory' and 'group' – are causally linked through the interconnections of place of birth/residence, group membership with land(ed) rights […] and shared culture/descent, while thereby being simultaneously situated in time. (ZENKER, 2011, p.71)

The co-officialization of the Pomeranian language in Santa Maria de Jetibá is an example of the deep rooting of the Pomeranian community in that territory, supported by the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (UNESCO, 1996).

Going back on Tacke (2015), we come across the author's statement that, for a language and a language community to be autochthonous, they must be historically connected to the

10   Decree Law n° 7387 of 9 December, 2010, which implements the Inventário Nacional da Diversidade Linguística [National Inventory of Linguistic Diversity], when the linguistic minorities present in Brazil were institutionally recognized nationwide.

territory and, for this, he classifies the degree of autochthony of language.

We thus present the following chart:

Figure 1: Degrees of linguistic autochthony.
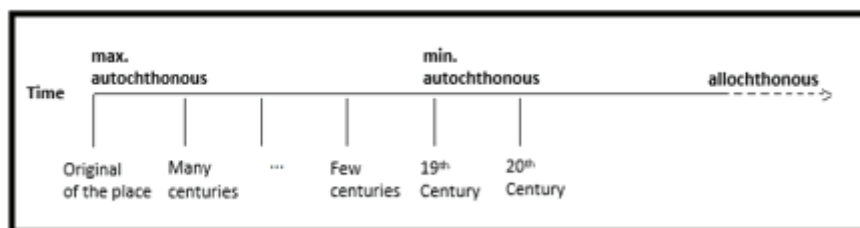
Source: SAVEDRA, MAZZELLI, 2017, adaptation of TACKE, 2015

According to the degrees of autochthony presented by Tacke, we observe that Pomeranian, being present in Brazilian territory since 1859, more precisely in the town of Santa Maria de Jetibá, fits in the classification of "minimum autochthonous", i.e., belonging to that location already.

With a high degree of vitality, Pomeranian, as an immigrant language, has gone through a co-officialization process and is part of the INDL, which makes it institutionally part of the Brazilian linguistic repertoire. Moreover, supported by Tacke's (2015) and Zenker's (2011) studies, Savedra and Mazzelli conclude, in the 2017 study, that Pomeranian is a neo-autochthonous Brazilian language, for being rooted in national territory since the 19th century.

Multilingual education based on language and cultural vitality: an empirically research-based proposal for Pomeranian

To identify and discuss the use of language varieties in different areas of use, we carried out an ethnographic-based investigation using the following instruments: documental analysis, participant observations and field diaries, imagery observations (linguistic landscape). We also applied sociolinguistic surveys to the key-informants from a few social networks and communities of practice identified as representative of the context of immigration in the municipality investigated. During the field research, done in partnership with the German university between 2015-2018, we looked into the use of the immigration variety (Pomeranian case) and the use of other varieties in the following areas: a) nuclear family: grandparents, parents, siblings, children, spouses; b) school: the linguistic use in the following interactions: student-student, student-teacher, student-employee, teacher-employee, teacher-teacher, employee-employee; c) events and celebrations: belonging to the official calendar and organized by the communities of practice found in this study.

The documentary research was carried out in the city archive and the Pomeranian Museum, where we had the opportunity to collect historical data on the use of Immigration German varieties. It was possible to find decrees and laws that prohibited and legitimize the use of the

Pomeranian as well as the great influence of the German in school and religious communities of the first stage of immigration (1859-1900).

During the stay in the field we could observe the constant use of Pomeranian in several areas. In the linguistic landscapes analyzed stresses the use of the bilingual pair Pomeranian-Portuguese in the public administration buildings.

As research results we could conclude that is in Santa Maria de Jetibá where Pomeranian presents people's strongest ties of identity, resisting the linguistic contact with other immigrant languages and also languages with higher social status like Portuguese and German.

Pomeranian generational transmission, daily use by the local people made possible the institutionalization of language according to the law n° 1136 in 2009. This law introduces the co-officialization of Pomeranian in the municipality. Previously stigmatized and minorized, Pomeranian had no space in a monolinguistic culture imposed mainly during the years of prohibition of immigrant languages during Getulio Vargas's (former Brazilian presensident) government. Today, no longer silenced by prohibitive language policies, Pomeranian is a co-official language in six municipalities in Espírito Santo (Pancas, Santa Maria de Jetibá, Domingos Martins, Laranja da Terra, Vila Pavão e Itarana) and also in two other municipalities in Brazil (Canguçu in Rio Grande do Sul and Pomerode in Santa Catarina). Through the propagation of internet and other new technologies, Pomeranian speakers have several ways to interact with one another in their first language, either with people from the same region or other parts of Brazil. There are currently radio programs in Pomeranian in the internet. These actions were taken by the German descendants; they have helped to keep the language active, including by technological means. Throughout the research it became clear that the linguistic-identity practices remained as a form of resistance to the linguistic hegemony of the German and Portuguese – languages of prestige, despite all difficulties faced by the Pomeranians and their descendants at different times in History. The pressure these languages exerted on Pomeranian was responsible for the loss of vitality of the language at certain points in History. The following documentary, which is very recent, corroborates the conclusions taken here when addressing the use of Pomeranian in Santa Maria de Jetibá – important municipality for linguistic policies in Brazil. (https://seculodiario.com.br/public/jornal/materia/documentario-aborda-uso-da-lingua-pomerana-em-santa-maria-de jetiba?fbclid=IwAR2nzv95TJBsqytWzSisHiLT6pyetnBpQQx3kAymnWDVaVBQvcHQ0WCEtUg)

To confirm the Pomeranian vitality in Santa Maria de Jetibá and to illustrate its bi-plurilingual use in some areas analyzed, we transcribed some linguistic marks taken from our research in situations in which we could observe high incidence of code-switching marks in its bi- plurilingual functional use of the Pomeranian and Portuguese varieties.

In examples 1 and 2 we observe the use of both varieties in code-switching situations in the conversation between the principal of a field school in Alto Santa Maria and seventh grade students.

(1) Dialogue between children in a full-time school in Alto Santa Maria.[11]

Student A: *Wat giwt dat hüüt taum mirdag?* (What's for lunch today?)

Student B: *Ik wait ni. Häst duu de **cardápio** ni saie?* (I don't know. Didn't you look at the *cardápio* [menu]?)

Student A: *Në, hät kain tijd geewt. Dai **transporte** is tau spår kåme.* (No, there was no time; the *transporte* [transport] arrived late.)

Student C: *Dat bloos kaine fisch giwt.* (Let it not be fish.)

(2) Dialogue between three students and the coordinator of the same school.

Coordinator: *Woweegen site jij ni ine raig?* (Why are you not sitting in a row?)

Student : *Weegen dai **professor de pomerano** hät us soo site låte.* (Because the *professor de pomerano* [Pomeranian teacher] let us sit like this.)

Coordinator: *Åwer dai pomerisch schaul is al uut. Set juuw ine raig*! (But the Pomeranian class is already over, sit in rows!)

Student: *Ah!!! Låt us man **misturado** site.* (Ah!!! Let us sit *misturado* [mixed]!!!)

Other example, which was also taken from the school settings, can be seen in (3) – the student shows his new notebook to his classmate.

(3) *Di tis mij heft novo* (This is my notebook *novo* [new].)

In example 4 we notice code switching in a WhatsApp conversation. The Portuguese word (moranga [squash]) was used because there is no corresponding term in Pomeranian.

(4) *Wij pante **moranga** .* (We plant *moranga* [squash]).

And finally, we can observe a conversation in a movie on the internet, in which a boy weeding the field says:

(5) *Ik puts bet dai **última** raig* (I'm already weeding the **última** [last] root.)

The boy uses the Portuguese word (última [last]) in middle of the sentence, altering the code like the students in examples 1 and 2.

In the examples above, the lexical alternation between PO and POM is clear. As for the use of the POM-GE (German) pair, as it was not the object of the study, only lexical similarities

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11   The transcription of Pomeranian was done according to the orthography of Ismael Tressmann's dictionary (2006). As the dictionary is being updated by the author, Tressmann kindly revised the transcripts using the new orthography he is proposing.

between POM and GE were empirically identified, not only in conversations, but also in the observation of didactic materials used for POM teaching in schools. Some words are identical in POM/GE, allowing for intercomprehension, like: Heft (notebook), Fisch (fish), Elefant (elephant); and other very similar ones, such as Brood (POM)/Brot(GE) (bread), Metser (POM)/Messer(GE) (knife), Disch(POM)/Tisch(GE) (table), among others. A mixture in the order of noun/adjective complements were also identified, in addition to the lexical one. In example (3), the students use the PO order and not the POM and/or GE.

Such results, in addition to the motivation we describe below, led to the delineation of a continuity of the current study that will be briefly presented.

Conclusion: a way ahead

With the implementation of sociolinguistic diagnostics to identify dimensions of bi/plurilingualism and bi/plurilinguality in the context of the language varieties acquisition and in its functional use for communicative environment, we visited families, schools and some public administration departments.

During a visit to the Santa Maria de Jetibá Secretariat of Education, a proposal for a pilot project was agreed, to be developed with the (socio)linguistic assistance of the public universities with the intention to expand the current PROEPO (*Projeto de Educação Pomerana)*. The pilot project promotes the introduction of a bilingual Portuguese (PO)-Pomerano (POM) alphabetization, which is justified by the results obtained with our studies and reinforced by the study from Foerste (2016) that prove the bilingual linguistic situation of most subjects in the community. After the bilingual alphabetization, the project proposes the introduction of German (GE) teaching from the third grade of elementary school and, successively, the introduction of English from the fifth grade. This proposal is grounded on the use of POM as bridge language (*Brückensprache*) for teaching other germanic language such as German and English.

The concept of *Brückensprache* for Germanic language is based on the concept of intercomprehension, a work that started within the scope of Romance languages with the EuroComRom project (MEISSNER, J.; MEISSNER, C.; KLEIN, H. G.; STEGMANN, T., 2004). In this study we are going to work with the EuroComGerm project in the scope of Germanic Languages. (HUFEISEN; MARX, 2007).

The present project proposes a new challenge, since the teaching of Germanic languages in the school context (German and English) from a Germanic immigration language (Pomeranian) has not yet been introduced in Brazil.

To trace the vitality of the use of POM and GE in relation to language vitality, the following factors are to be considered:

• Regarding POM: to identify the existence of orthographies in the language: if it possesses

one orthography or multiple orthography models (and how many). If so, to identify the multiple models;

• To identify if there is didactic material in use in POM and GE;

• To identify which style(s) is(are) used and in what contexts: school, administration, church, others;

• If there is more than one orthography (especially in the POM variety), to identify: Who elaborated it? And when? For what purpose? Is it being used in alphabetization? Who is teaching it? And where? Who currently uses it in the community? Is it relevant to what types of written products?;

• To contrast existing orthographies, since there are currently discussions on how to write the Pomeranian. It is important, because Tressmann dictionary (2006) is being updated by the author and several groups are discussing ways of writing the language.

In the case of the Pomeranian immigration in reference in this work, the struggle for the conservation of identity and cultural values should be preserved. A struggle that does not mean authentic permanence, i.e., without any form of interference, but occurs as a process of identity in change, which goes through the processes of transculturality, as in Welsch's (1999, p. 4) definition: "Transculturality is [...] a consequence of the inner differentiation and complexity of modern cultures [...]: We are cultural hybrids".

Preserving the language and culture of Pomeranian immigrants is taken as a responsibility of government. Pomeranian has obtained the co-officialization status in eight municipalities in Brazil in a process initiated in 2007 in Pancas (Espírito Santo). In addition, a project to revitalize the variety (which was a nongraphic language not long ago) received its first dictionary in Brazil in 2006 (TRESSMANN, 2006). The implementation of Pomeranian in school with the PROEPO *(Projeto de Educação Pomerana)* in 2005 is still in evaluation and reformulation stage. Pomeranian role in Santa Maria de Jetibá can be seen as anchoring at the limits of ethnology in the everyday world, however in other places and especially among the youth it can be seen as just a cultural symbol, or language and culture heritage - language and culture of ancestors. In no case, the 'revitalization' can point to a revival of ethnic autonomy in the 19th century. Instead of a 'revitalization' in the sense of a 'revival' of linguistic or ethnocultural affiliation (German, Italian, etc.) in the transculturalization process context, ethnic heritage related to origin and national affiliation will find its way in the hybrid construction of transnational spaces.

That is purpose of this project. In the central regions of Germanic language varieties, these processes – at least in near future - involve the use of intercomprehensible varieties which will be very important and useful in international level and will contribute to promoting pluri- and multilingualism in the world.

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