

“If you have the word in Portuguese why are you going to use it in English?” **Language ideologies of Brazilian Portuguese speakers studying English as a foreign language in Cape Town**

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This work has not been previously submitted in whole for the award of a Master degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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Abstract

This study aims to contribute to the ongoing debate about the spread of English in Brazil. Brazilian Portuguese is the official and by far most spoken language in Brazil. In spite of being a multilingual country, several policies guided the country towards monolingualism. A bill has been recently proposed by the then congressman Aldo Rebelo, in 1999, and approved in 2007 that regards English as a threat to the Brazilian Portuguese language. Nonetheless, the bill has not yet been approved and still sits in the Senate's assembly due to strong opposition of the mainstream media, sociolinguists and marketing companies. English has spread quickly in Brazil, especially from the end of the 20th century to current days.

According to several studies, the influence of English is specially noticed in brand naming, advertisements and people's names. Studies have also shown that English is also perceived as a prestigious language that attaches attributes of modernity, sophistication and connectivity with a globalized world to its speakers' identity. English is also the most studied foreign language in Brazilian schools. However, studies have shown that English teaching in Brazilian schools is perceived as weak and unsatisfactory mostly by students (Bernardo, 2007; Dias and Assis-Peterson, 2006), leading Brazilians to seek for English teaching in private English institutes. Another viable option for Brazilians has been the language programs to study English abroad. This study aims to understand how Brazilian Portuguese speakers who are studying English in Cape Town construct their language ideologies regarding English and Portuguese. The study uses two key concepts to guide the discussion, global Englishes and language ideologies.

Overall, this study confirms findings of other studies, such as the perception of the participants towards Brazilian regular schools and English institutes. Moreover it contributes to the incipient literature concerning the perception of mobile students with regard to language programs to study English abroad. This study used a text to remind participants about the proposed bill by congressman Rebelo to elicit language ideologies around English and Portuguese. Most of the participants in this study positioned themselves as against the bill. Most of them claimed that language change is natural, and such attitude welcomes English borrowings which could be observed in the participants' interviews. Nonetheless, some of them (4) slipped into the same purist ideology that governs the bill, and affirmed that the use of English words in everyday language is abusive and unnecessary. However, all the participants, perceived English loanwords in the scientific and technological field as positive, since English is seen as a global language, the participants believe English can provide them with a voice in the globalized world. It was also observed that English is perceived as a prestigious language to use in Brazilian workplaces. Some of the participants provided narratives in which the use of English words provided attributes of intelligence and capability to its speakers.

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Introduction

This research focuses on the narratives of twelve participants regarding their perceptions, ideas, myths and beliefs concerning English and Portuguese. The participants are Brazilian Portuguese speakers who spent time in Cape Town studying English. The research aims to (a) to understand how the participants position themselves in relation to Portuguese and English, and (b) to examine the language ideologies they express towards the two languages.

This topic is of interest to me as I am a Brazilian Portuguese speaker who has studied English in Brazil since the age of seven. I have also worked as an English teacher since the age of nineteen. The contact I had with English in Brazil has influenced the way I read the world around me. Later on, interacting with English students led me to reflect on the reasons people wish to study English. These reflections led me to this project.

The research aims to analyse, with a focus on specific participants, the discourses and language ideologies articulated by these participants. Their narratives are focused on their learning experiences in Brazil and abroad, especially Cape Town, and their use of English in everyday life.

The first chapter presents a discussion concerning the linguistic demographics and history of Brazil. The aim of this chapter is to explain how Portuguese was established as an official and dominant language in Brazil. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion on how English is challenging the role of Portuguese, especially in the Brazilian job market.

The second chapter provides a more detailed discussion on the influence and use of English in Brazil. The discussion outlines some of the studies that have been conducted in the past, and which contributed to the conceptualization of this research project. Key terms will be introduced and defined in this chapter, such as 'global English' and 'language ideology'.

Chapter three outlines the methodology used in the research. This includes the selection of participants, ethical concerns, the fieldwork and the method of data collection.

Chapter four presents the data that focuses on the participants' acquisition of English. All the participants followed a similar route towards learning English and present similar language ideologies in relation to their perception on where one should study English in order to develop English proficiency.

In chapter five the focus is on discourses that express the idea that Brazilians have a 'need for English'. It discusses responses to a stimulus text that was used in the interviews. The text is about Bill 1676, proposed in 1999 by the then congressman of Sao Paulo, Jose Aldo Rebelo Figueiredo, to protect Portuguese in Brazil and to regulate the spread of English. The bill has not yet been implemented due to protests which were led by the mass media and publicity companies, since the bill stipulated that they would have to pay fines for the use of English. The participants position English as a prestigious language which one should be able to speak and use.

It should be noted that several studies concerning the perceptions, beliefs and views of Brazilian Portuguese speakers regarding English have been conducted in Brazil (Bernardo,

2013; Mompean, 1997; Dias and Assis-Peterson, 2006). Nonetheless, very few studies used mobile Brazilian Portuguese speakers as participants in their research. This study thus makes a contribute to the literature on language ideologies in the context of an expanding English teaching industry.

In sum, this study aims to identify the linguistic ideologies surrounding Portuguese and English as they are produced and/or reproduced by (young) adult Brazilians who came to Cape Town to study English as a Foreign Language. Of central interest is how they position themselves personally and ideologically in relation to both languages, and their experiences with English in their field of study and workplace.

Chapter 1 – Languages in Brazil

1.1. Introduction: the sociolinguistic ecology of Brazil

Brazil is the fifth biggest country in the world with the fifth largest population (close to 200 million inhabitants). It is extremely diverse in terms of culture and ethnicity. Brazil is surrounded by countries that have English, French, Dutch and Spanish as their official languages. It is the only country in the Americas that has Portuguese as an official language.

According to Demográfico (2011) a report by IBGE - the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, which performs the national census every ten years – Portuguese is spoken by more than 99% of the Brazilian population, and Bango (2002) argues that the majority of the Brazilian population believes that there is only one language spoken throughout Brazil: Portuguese. But the question arises: Is this perception based on prejudice, ignorance about the reality or is it part of a political project to build a homogenous monolingual country?

In this chapter Brazil is described as a multilingual country, historically and at the present time, with inhabitants that speak not only Portuguese, but also various indigenous and migrant languages. Nonetheless, the Brazilian government has always tried to maintain the colonial status quo regarding the position of Portuguese in the country. Thus, several policies have been created and implemented to promote and protect the Portuguese language at the expense of other languages.

Portuguese is commonly perceived among Brazilians as an asset; however, processes of globalization might be changing the role Portuguese plays in a globalizing job market. Therefore, what language(s) is/are regarded as important in a globalized world? And how does globalization affect the ongoing political project to build a monolingual country? This chapter discusses present-day multilingualism in Brazil as well as the country's language history, which was also shaped by multilingualism as well as by the growing hegemony of Portuguese.

1.2. Language demographics: a multilingual country

To answer questions raised in the previous paragraph it is necessary to examine some data. According to Muller de Oliveira (2009), more than 200 languages are spoken in Brazil. This includes circa 180 indigenous languages and circa 30 languages spoken by migrants, mainly from Europe and Asia. Thus, Brazil is a multilingual country. It is similar to countries such as Mexico, the Philippines, and India, as well as countries on the African continent, which all have multiple indigenous languages and are considered multilingual countries.

1.2.1 The indigenous languages in Brazil

The Portuguese State, and after independence, the Brazilian State, regarded Portuguese as the only legitimate language. Consequently, they have always promoted policies to protect, reinforce and spread Portuguese in Brazil. Muller de Oliveira (2009) claims that the linguistic policy of the state has always been to reduce the number of languages spoken in Brazil. This occurred mainly through the replacement of these languages by Portuguese, a process which Muller de Oliveira calls 'glottocide'.

The linguistic history of Brazil could be narrated through the various linguistic policies that came into effect throughout the years; and their results, which aimed for linguistic homogenization. (A more detailed discussion of these policies will be presented later in this chapter.) However, in contradiction to this broad historic trend, the latest Constitution (1988) recognizes languages other than Portuguese by establishing policies which encourage and protect the use of these languages in schooling for indigenous communities. Buratto (2007) claims that this shift in language policy helps to promote indigenous identities that acknowledge indigenous social organization, languages, beliefs, traditions and the ownership of the land, which was originally occupied by indigenous peoples. In this regard, the Brazilian constitution is a first step towards acknowledging Brazil's multilingualism by protecting indigenous languages, and therefore local identities.

Nonetheless, according to Muller de Oliveira (2004), in the past 50 years, 67 indigenous languages have disappeared, more than one per year. Only about 15% of the country's indigenous languages are still spoken, and most of them are endangered. According to Massini-Cagliari (2004), these languages are marginalized because of the low economic status of indigenous communities in general. In this regard, education in these languages is often threatened by poor school conditions, lack of learning material and low numbers of qualified teachers (Martins, 2012). Nonetheless, in indigenous communities where contact with non-indigenous culture and language has happened for some time and the Portuguese language prevails, the community schools are seen as a space for bringing back indigenous ethnic identity. This was only possible after the promulgation of the 1988 Constitution (Martins, 2012).

Currently the indigenous population includes more than 800 000 people who live in urban (38,5%) and rural (61,5%) areas. The latter group resides mainly on land that has been set aside for indigenous communities in Brazil. Presently, 57,7% of indigenous people live on

indigenous land. The IBGE's census 2010 has catalogued 274 indigenous languages (Demográfico, 2011), which exceeds the estimate of 180 proposed by Muller de Oliveira (2004). However, regardless of the actual number of languages in Brazil, the shift towards Portuguese as the dominant language even among indigenous peoples has been significant. In 2010, 76,4% of the indigenous population spoke Portuguese, either as their only language or as their second language. According to Assumpção (2013) in comparison to previous census data, the IBGE-2010 counts a significantly higher number of indigenous people than recorded in the previous census in 2000. This cannot be explained by demographic effects, but rather represents a significant increase in the number of people who identify themselves as indigenous. Demográfico (2011) does not provide the census for indigenous language demographics, but indigenous population per ethnicity. Table 1 indicates the largest indigenous populations in Brazil (Demográfico, 2011).

Table 1: The main ethnicities of Brazilian indigenous people

Ethnicity	Tikuna	Guarani Kaiowá	Yanomami	Raposa Serra do Sol
Population (Thousand)	46	43,4	25,7	17

1.2.2 The migrant languages in Brazil

After the abolition of slavery in 1888, a wave of migrants from Asia and Europe started coming to Brazil. Massini-Cagliari (2004) points out that Germans, Italians and Spanish migrated to Brazil from the mid-19th century, roughly the same period that Chinese- and Arabic-speaking communities migrated there. There are also sizeable communities of Japanese and Korean people, whose migration to Brazil dated from the early 20th century. These immigrants tended to mix with the local population and to lose their native languages within three generations, except for the Germans and Italians.

The migration of Europeans was always well-accepted by the Brazilian government. It was believed that Europeans would help to develop the country because culture, education and economy were believed by the dominant classes to be inherited from Europe. Most of the Europeans and Asians who migrated joined the Brazilian schooling system, but some communities of Germans and Italians in the south created their own schools and developed their own communities. For more than 100 years German was the main language spoken in the south of Brazil (Eckert-Hoff et al. 2011).

1.2.2.1 The unification of the country through language

Getúlio Vargas, president of Brazil from 1930 to 1954, implemented a new language policy in 1941 aimed at linguistic unification. The policy made it mandatory to use

Portuguese, especially in schooling, and the use of any other language, in its written or oral form, was deemed to be a criminal offence (this resulted in a new form of crime called *crime idiomático*, or 'language crime'). Muller de Oliveira (2009) argues that this policy led to the nationalization of education, and Portuguese became the sole medium of instruction in schools. This affected, in particular, the above mentioned German and Italian communities which had used their heritage language in the education system. Portuguese had to become the medium of instruction in these schools as well, which caused conflict with the German and Italian community schools in the south of the country (Eckert-Hoff et al. 2011). The intention was to unify the country through language (Eckert-Hoff et al. 2011). Even though the policy succeed in establishing Portuguese as an official language, until today German is maintained as the first language spoken in the south of Brazil (Eckert-Hoff et al. 2011). Muller de Oliveira (2009) states that many migrant languages are no longer used in their written form. However, some of their speakers still use them orally.

A relaxing of this very monolingual language policy has taken place in recent years, particularly at municipal level. Santa Catarina, a state in the south of Brazil, signed a bill in 2009 that decreed Talian, an Italian dialect, to be part of the historical and cultural heritage of the state. Similarly, Rio Grande do Sul, another southern state, gave Hunsrik, a German dialect, the status of a historical and cultural heritage language in 2012. The municipality of Pomerode in Santa Catarina decreed German as a complementary, secondary and co-official language of the municipality in 2010. The same happened in municipalities of Santa Maria de Jetibá, Santa Leopoldina, Pancas, Domingos Martins, Laranja da Terra e Vila Pavão in Espírito Santo, a state in the south-east region of Brazil, where Pomeranian, another German dialect, is more common than Portuguese. In Espírito Santo both Pomeranian and German have been declared historical and cultural heritage languages of the state in 2011 (Beilke, 2013).

The UN's international migration report (2013) puts the number of international migrants worldwide at 232 million. Less than 0,4% of the total number of migrants have chosen Brazil as their final destination. Currently the number of immigrants living in Brazil is just over 704 000 (Demográfico, 2011). This number contrasts with the figures released by the Brazilian Federal Police in 2013, which says that Brazil hosts almost 940 000 immigrants. Yet, even this figure means migrants make up less than 0,3% of the Brazilian population (Mazer, 2014). This is a very low percentage compared to countries such as Australia or the United States, but also compared to countries in Europe. The composition of migrants to Brazil is summarized in Table 2.

Table 2: Number of migrants to Brazil per country (Federal Police, 2013)

Country	Number of immigrants
Portugal	277.727
Japan	91.042
Italy	73.126
Spain	59.985
Bolivia	50.240
Argentina	42.202
People's Republic of China	35.953
Germany	29.224
The United States of America	27.953
Uruguay	26.271

1.3. A short history of language and colonialism

When the Portuguese occupied the territory now known as Brazil on the 22nd of April, 1500, they faced a different world, most notably a world epitomised by the variety of languages spoken by the indigenous population.

The settlers needed to name things they had not encountered before such as the different animals, trees and habitats. At this point, argues Orlandi (2009), in order to administer the colony, the Portuguese settlers needed to control the available resources, linguistic and otherwise. Holm (2009) says that as the Portuguese settlers started to explore the coast of Brazil they came across the indigenous inhabitants, and it is believed that along the coast the Amerindians spoke closely related varieties of Tupi. From the contact between the Amerindians and the Portuguese evolved a common Tupi vocabulary, which was used in a shared syntactic framework. Borrowings from the local languages also affected the colonial lexicon of Portuguese at the time (Orlandi, 2009).

1.3.1. *Língua Geral* and creolized Portuguese: two *lingua francas*

The contact between the Portuguese and the Amerindians eventually created a new language, the *Língua Geral* ('general language'), a mixed language which combines features of Tupi and Portuguese. It was this language that was used for inter-group communication throughout the colony from the end of the 17th century to the beginning of the 20th century (Robl, 1985; Holm, 2009).

During this period, bilingualism in Brazil frequently involved Portuguese and the *Língua Geral*, and this was linked to the expansion and exploration of the countryside Robl (1985). At the same time, there was also a growing tendency towards Portuguese monolingualism (Holm, 2009). An important factor in the spread of Portuguese in Brazil was the slave trade. Holm (2009) explains that African slaves were brought to Brazil in great numbers to work in the sugar-cane plantations. In the 17th century Brazil was the world's

greatest importer of slaves, claiming 38% of all slaves brought from Africa to the so-called New World. Lipski (2006) suggests that most, if not all, slaves arriving in Brazil were African-born speakers of languages from the Kwa and Bantu groups, especially from Angola and Congo, and they were forced to acquire Portuguese as a second language on the plantations.

Holm (2009) notes that besides the main trade of slaves from Africa there was also a great influx of slaves from the island of São Tomé and Príncipe, an uninhabited island that the Portuguese had settled and to which they had brought slaves to work in sugar-cane plantations. In this context a fully creolized Portuguese developed. During the second half of the 16th century, the Portuguese settlers fled to Brazil due to ongoing attacks and rebellions of the slaves on the island. Most of the Portuguese who fled to Brazil brought their slaves with them, and developed a plantation economy along the coast of the north-east of Brazil. These slaves represented 50% of the population in the biggest areas of sugar-cane plantation in the north-east. Holm (2009) claims that in these areas a creolized Portuguese was the main language spoken since the early 1600s, as opposed to the *Língua Geral*.

The *Língua Geral* started losing prestige in the 18th century. This was due firstly to the influx of Portuguese speakers, Black and White, who came to the countryside in search of gold. Secondly, the spread of the *Língua Geral* brought problems for the Portuguese Court, since this hybrid language was associated with the Jesuits, who had catechised the Amerindians using *Língua Geral* (Orlandi, 2009). The catechization of the Amerindians and the spread of *Língua Geral* gave linguistic and political power to the Jesuits who could highly influence the majority of the population (the Amerindians) To counter this influence, the Portuguese Court prohibited any official written document in *Língua Geral* and expelled the Jesuits, forcing them to live in monasteries in the countryside.

The Marquis de Pombal, at that time the equivalent of Prime-Minister of Portugal, published in 1757 the first policy that guided the Brazilian population towards monolingualism. This policy established Portuguese as the only language in Brazil, and made the use and teaching of any other language illegal (Massini-Cagliari, 2004). This, in effect, brought a colonisation through language: the *Língua Geral* was pushed away to the countryside and dominated only in the small villages of Jesuits and Franciscans of the interior (Orlandi, 2009).

The *Língua Geral* had two main varieties; the *Meridional Língua Geral*, which disappeared in the early 20th century, and the *Septentrional Língua Geral*, spoken in the North of Brazil. The latter variety developed into a language called Nheengatu, and is still spoken today. In 2002, the IPHAN (Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional – National Artistic and Historic Heritage Institute) declared languages such as Nheengatu, Tukano and Baniwa as part of the heritage of Brazil. Thus, although Portuguese developed into a colonial *lingua franca* and became the national language, it did not fully replace the earlier indigenous *lingua franca*, *Língua Geral*.

1.3.2 The rise of Portuguese

The year 1808 was another important year for the establishment of Portuguese in Brazil. This was the year when the Portuguese court fled Europe, fearing the Napoleonic War, and established the court in Rio de Janeiro. The Brazilian capital consequently became the capital of the Portuguese Empire. This event supported the Europeanization of Brazil. As a consequence of an increasing number of Europeans living in Brazil, a significant change in habits and way of life took place in, especially, urban areas, affecting also the ways in which people used language.

According to Robl (1985) and Holm (2009), the arrival of the regent Prince Dom João led to the development of the first modern towns which rapidly became areas of linguistic prestige. These developments further emphasized the differences in language use between urban and rural populations. Even after the independence of Brazil in 1822, European Portuguese remained the language of education and upward mobility (Holm, 2009).

Holm (2009) argues that the great frequency with which Portuguese men fathered children with slaves probably led to higher manumission rates in Brazil than in other American countries. Moreover, in Brazil, the mixing of the races was common and worked against a rigid caste system that helped to maintain creolized language varieties elsewhere. Consequently, Brazilian Portuguese is not strongly restructured and remains fairly close to European Portuguese.

1.4. Brazilian Portuguese versus European Portuguese

Holm (2009) broadly distinguishes two varieties of Portuguese, putting aside the rural usage of the language and urban sociolects: (a) Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese (henceforth BVP), and (b) Brazilian Standard Portuguese (henceforth BSP). The former is predominantly spoken by lower class Brazilians with little education while the latter is the language of the educated middle and upper class, and is used especially in formal circumstances. Holm (2009) compares educated Brazilians with educated Afro-Americans, as both can easily shift from the vernacular to the standard. Educated Brazilians use BSP in writing and speaking for formal situations, and BVP to indicate intimacy or solidarity. Thus, in the latter contexts even highly educated speakers would make use of a variety which has incorporated some creole features due to its history.

Nardi (2002) states that technically BSP is a dialect of European Portuguese. However, the word dialect suggests inferior status of a language, and Brazilian Portuguese, which is used by 80% of Portuguese speakers in the world, is better described as an extraterritorial variety of Portuguese. Bagno (2002) does not agree with such a statement, since the two languages evolved historically, politically and culturally differently. Bagno (2002) thus argues that European Portuguese and the BSP are in fact different languages, and a speaker who masters both should be considered as bilingual.

Muller de Oliveira (2004) says that to debate the linguistic division between Brazilian and European Portuguese is a red herring. However, he argues that it is important for the Brazilian State to 'occupy' the idea of 'Portuguese' in the international political arena and to establish a political leadership among the countries that speak Portuguese. According to Muller de Oliveira (2004), the Brazilian state should position itself not only as the 'owner' of Brazilian Portuguese, but as the global centre of the Portuguese language. He says that currently Brazil could not produce linguistic norms which would be applicable outside of its territory. Thus, linguistic policies in Brazil are mainly domestic, and tend to focus on the maintenance of Portuguese in Brazil only.

1.4.1 Brazilian Portuguese: what is it?

It is certainly not clear in the Brazilian constitution, in the society and not even among linguists what exactly to call the language spoken in Brazil. According to Orlandi (2005), the need to name the language that is spoken by a certain group is rooted in the individuals' subjectivity. The spoken language relates to the autonomy and identity of the subjects. Therefore, Orlandi (2005) questions if the language spoken in Brazil should be named Portuguese or Brazilian. The Brazilian language – including both BVP and BSP – incorporated colloquialisms developed under the influence of non-Portuguese speakers, such as Amerindians and those of mixed parentage. On the other hand, there are the traditional grammarians who say that there should only be one, unified language, and that this language should be Portuguese. They argue that such colloquialisms should be separated from the real language, which is European Portuguese.

Orlandi (2005) argues that the debate regarding how to name the language spoken in Brazil has its roots in colonial history, but acquired new strength and meaning during the 19th century. This debate has always oscillated between honouring the autonomy of Brazil as an independent nation and paying homage to the legacy left by Portugal.

Brazil has changed its constitution eight times since 1824, and from 1946 onwards Portuguese, in the form of BSP, has been reaffirmed as the official language of Brazil. However, according to Orlandi (2005), Brazil has not yet decided whether the country speaks 'Portuguese' or 'Brazilian'. When it comes to education, however, the schooling system advocates the legitimacy of European Portuguese. For many Brazilian students Portuguese grammar can at times feel like a foreign language, and those who use it in ways that differ markedly from the European norm – i.e. those who use BVP – are considered 'bad' speakers by teachers and are generally marginalized in society (Bagno, 2002).

1.4.1.1 Variations in Brazilian Portuguese

In discussing linguistic prejudices in Brazil Bagno (2002), says that the widespread belief that the Portuguese spoken in Brazil is highly homogeneous probably comes from the belief that there is mutual intelligibility among all varieties of Portuguese spoken by Brazilians. The idea that Brazilian Portuguese is fairly homogenous is supported by Massini-

Cagliari (2004), who notes that there has not been enough time, historically speaking, for the development of very distinct dialects in Brazil. Another factor that needs to be considered when discussing the perceived homogeneity of Brazilian Portuguese is the influence of TV Globo, the biggest and most important national communication network in Brazil. The network reaches the whole nation and promotes a prestigious variety of Portuguese for everyone in Brazil.

However, it would be highly unlikely that a large country like Brazil would not have different varieties, especially considering the social and economic differences between the regions and among its population. This is supported by Bagno (2002) who argues that many of the Brazilian dialects are quite distinct and often even mutually unintelligible. Bagno (2002) argues that the idea of Brazil as a linguistically homogenous country is tied to myths about the Portuguese language that were reinforced throughout the country's history. The variations of Brazilian Portuguese reflect among other things social class, gender, age, region, and the historical processes of colonization, which resulted in the Portuguese language spoken in Brazil moving away from the original European Portuguese (also Orlandi, 2009). In the popular TV-Globo *novelas* (soap operas), for example, the population in Brazil is mainly represented by wealthy individuals who live by the beach in Rio de Janeiro, or in an exclusive neighbourhood in São Paulo. Whenever a character comes from a different region or social class, the language spoken is caricatured and stereotyped in order to emphasize regional or social differences. Massini-Cagliari (2004) argues that it is unthinkable to give these roles to native speakers of those varieties because it would mean an "official" recognition of them. The social stereotypes in relation to language are carefully built and constantly reinforced by the media.

Massini-Cagliari (2004) argues that a native Brazilian Portuguese speaker knows how to distinguish different varieties of the language which, according to him, are mainly different in their pronunciation. However, there are also differences in the lexicon and some differences in the grammatical structure (Bagno, 2002). Some of these varieties are: Paulista, (from São Paulo), Carioca (from Rio de Janeiro), Gaucha (from Rio Grande do Sul), Caipira (spoken predominantly in the countryside of São Paulo), and varieties from the north and north-east.

1.4.2 Portuguese as an asset

The impact of technological advancements and the rise of new forms of communication has led to changes in the Brazilian job market. Whereas in the past professionals used to be evaluated based mainly on their specific technical knowledge and proficiency in BSP, nowadays characteristics such as team work, leadership, pro-activeness, creativity and multilingual communication skills are also taken into account.

Bispo (2013) argues that the standard use of BSP is highly valued in the job market since linguistic competence is as important as technical competence in certain jobs. In Brazil, BSP is the medium of instruction in education. Moreover, applicants to Brazilian universities

need to take the ENEM, a national high school exam taken over two days which includes a composition that needs to be written in BSP. There are 180 questions in the exam, of which only five questions test the candidate's skills in foreign languages, and these are either Spanish or English.

In the job market BSP is important for the *Concursos Públicos*, whereby one applies for a job offered by the government or by a public sector entity. *Concursos públicos* requires that applicants undergo a test — or, in some cases, several tests — about subjects specific to the work area, as well as one's knowledge of the Portuguese language. For more senior positions, these tests have a high level of difficulty, being comparable to ENEM. Bispo (2013) argues that it is common for Brazilians who are interested in studying for *Concursos* or ENEM to look for specific courses in order to improve their linguistic competence in BSP. Thus, in this context, Portuguese is an expensive and valuable commodity. However, in the twenty-first century it is no longer enough to speak Portuguese well. Bohn (2012) argues that nowadays being bilingual or multilingual is necessary for professional success in an interconnected globalized world. The ability to communicate in a foreign language, especially English, has become a basic requirement when applying for well paid professional positions in the public or private Brazilian job market. (Bohn, 2012).

1.5. The rise of English

Muller de Oliveira (2009) points to the formation of economic blocks such as Nafta, EU, BRICS and Mercosul as factors that have increased the migratory movements of people from one country to another, and this, in turn, has generated the need for foreign language acquisition.

English is perceived as the most widely spoken language in the globalized world, and it has produced an effect on all the languages with which it has been in contact. Portuguese is no exception. In Brazil opinions among scholars differ regarding the implications of this trend. Some purists claim that the English influence is a threat, and argue that an English word should only be used in Portuguese if there is no equivalent term in Portuguese. Moreover, the borrowed word should receive Portuguese-like features (eg. the words 'diet' – *dieta* and 'stress' – *estresse*). However, such purist views do not seem to affect Brazilians who make frequent use of English words in all sorts of situations, socially and professionally (Hornick, 2006).

The purist approach was embodied in congressman Aldo Rebelo's bill which prohibits the use of foreign words in Brazil, with a penalty for those who use such words 'abusively'. The congressman believed that Portuguese needed to be protected from foreign languages, especially English. Rebelo claimed that the new bill aims to protect those who do not know English, while promoting Portuguese in public spaces. It also requires foreigners, who had been living in Brazil for more than one year, to learn Portuguese. The bill was first proposed in 1999 and approved in 2007. However, due to strong opposition from the media and linguists in Brazil, the bill is currently on hold as it still needs to be approved by the

Senate's assembly. Aldo Rebelo argued that the bill intends to improve Portuguese teaching in Brazil, and to strengthen the relationship between Brazil and other Portuguese speaking nations (Massini-Cagliari, 2004).

Massini-Cagliari (2004) notes that while the bill recognizes regional varieties and acknowledges the fact that languages change over time, it is nevertheless rooted in purist views since "it is based on a homogeneous and aesthetic conception of language" (p. 14). Similarly, Silva (2004) states that the discourse of the congressman is embedded in a nationalistic, purist and authoritarian idea of language. He argues that globalization must not be seen as a threat to Portuguese, as the language will naturally assimilate some words and not others. According to Gois (2009) there are several English words that are used in Brazilian Portuguese because of the influence of American culture on society. Some of these words have no equivalent in European Portuguese; for instance, the use of the word 'mouse', as in 'computer mouse'. European Portuguese uses the direct translation *rato*. Gois explains this by noting that the cultural influence of the United States in countries such as Portugal is less than its influence in Brazil.

Regarding the use of English words in Brazilian Portuguese, Gois (2009) claims that those who use these words do so in order to reflect a particular cultural identity, that is, an identity which is rooted in American culture. Cavallari (2011) presents a study in which she investigates the role of Portuguese among bilingual Brazilians who have lived abroad for at least two years in an English speaking country and are fluent in English as well as Portuguese. Her findings suggest that these participants are 'between languages', and their hybrid and multiple identities relate to their identification with the language of the other, in this case English. The English speaking countries that were mentioned in her research were the United States and the United Kingdom. Words from the English lexicon were frequently used by the participants in Cavallari's study. For example, although the words 'accountability', 'commitment' and 'appointment' have translation equivalents in Portuguese, they were frequently used by participants. Their use by these speakers shows how they position themselves in relation to what English represents to them; they seem to claim that, in certain contexts, the Portuguese words are not as meaningful to them as the English words.

1.6. Conclusion

Brazil has always been a multilingual country. However, the multilingualism in Brazil started being challenged upon the arrival of Portuguese settlers. The foundation of the project to create a Portuguese monolingual country was laid in 1757 with the Marquis de Pombal's language policy document. It intended to eliminate the *Língua Geral*, a language spoken by Whites, Amerindians and Blacks, mostly in the countryside. Nonetheless, indigenous languages and Nheengatu, which evolved from the *Língua Geral*, remained in Brazil and survived processes of Portuguese colonization. In contrast to a richer pre-colonial multilingual environment, there has been a growing indigenous population that increasingly identifies ethnically with itself. This phenomenon might relate to the fact that since the

proclamation of the Constitution in 1988, indigenous populations were granted the right to use their native languages in schools. Historically, the persecution of languages other than Portuguese was vital in establishing Portuguese as the most spoken language during the 19th and early 20th century. Due to a great influx of Italian and German migrants who concentrated in the south and developed their own communities, German and Italian obtained considerable currency in these areas. In response, the Brazilian government created another policy, which prohibited the use of these languages in education while also promoting Portuguese.

Portuguese is today the main language spoken in Brazil, and linguists, politicians and ordinary citizens engage in ongoing discussions as to whether the name of the language spoken in Brazil ought to be Brazilian or Portuguese. Such discussions are grounded in the differences between European Portuguese and Brazilian Portuguese. Linguists argue that Brazilian Portuguese is not a homogenous entity, and that there are several varieties of Brazilian Portuguese, most importantly BVP, which contain creole features, and BSP, which is fairly close to European Portuguese.

It seems that, as opposed to BVP, BSP is regarded as an asset. It is used as a medium of instruction in schools, is essential for access to universities (through ENEM) and for government and public sector jobs (through *concurros*). Despite this, globalization and a strong media culture have meant that English has become more prominent in Brazil, and the contact between English and Portuguese has created some tensions among those who believe that the emergence of English in Brazil presents a threat to Portuguese. Aldo Rebelo, congressman of Sao Paulo, proposed a bill that was approved in 2007, but is currently on hold, which intends to regulate the use of English in the country.

This thesis attempts to understand the tension between English and Portuguese as perceived by mobile Brazilian Portuguese speakers, and how they position themselves in this discussion with regard to their language ideologies, and in relation to the two languages.

Chapter 2 – The use of English in Brazil and the theoretical framework

2. Introduction

English occupies an important role in the world as the language of scientific knowledge, the internet and the *lingua franca* of many international institutions (Jordão, 2004). This chapter seeks to understand how English is positioned in Brazil. To do so, this chapter presents some of the attitudes Brazilians hold towards English, and it outlines the theoretical framework that will be used subsequently in this study. The chapter also discusses Brazilian perceptions of the education system, where English is a commodity that is likely to be acquired by few (Almeida, 2001). Nonetheless, many Brazilians encounter and use English in their everyday lives – the language is used to gain status and is perceived as the language that will bring professional success and participation in an international globalized community (Findley, 2011). Such ideas are perpetuated by the media and are likely to be reproduced in the society (Hornick, 2006).

The demand for English in Brazil has also created a situation where Brazilians seek alternative ways of learning the language. The Brazilian government as well as Brazilian citizens are looking for alternatives to gain access to the *lingua franca* of the global community. The former has recently launched a programme to send Brazilians to do their studies, wholly or partly, abroad. Seeking English proficiency, Brazilians who can afford it have also registered for English courses offered by private English institutes or language programs abroad.

Key concepts which inform the discussion of how Brazilians experience and perceive Portuguese and English will also be presented in this chapter. To understand the mobility of people and the use and influence of English in the world, the concept of ‘global Englishes’, as outlined by Pennycook (2010a), will be discussed. This concept enables us to understand the effects of globalization on language. Another important concept is that of language ideology. It will clarify the distinct ways in which Brazilians position themselves in relation to these two languages.

2.1. English in Brazilian schools

Foreign language teaching in Brazil has always occupied a special place in the national educational system. According to Leffa (1999), throughout the history of foreign language teaching in Brazil, the country has adopted the approaches of other countries, especially France, in terms of languages chosen and teaching methodology.

There have been many different curricula, each expressing different policies regarding foreign language teaching. Currently in the Brazilian educational system, it is compulsory for every school, both public and private, to teach a modern language, including but not limited to English. Curriculares Nacionais - PCN (2000), a report by the Ministry of Education, states that foreign modern language learning enhances the ability to comprehend different cultures, in addition it also promotes information accessibility and international communication, skills

that are necessary for the development of a student able to engage in the current global society. Even though such understanding of modern languages does not exclude the indigenous languages, they are not mentioned in the *Curriculares Nacionais - PCN* report (2000). The discussion of modern language teaching seems to be focused on English teaching, the report mentions the importance of Italian and German to some communities in the south.

Schools have to start teaching a modern language from grade five onwards, with two classes of 50 minutes each per week. Each school community, formed by students, parents, teachers and board members of the school, has to choose a modern language to be taught as a compulsory subject, while also offering other modern languages as extra curriculum activities for the students. According to a report by the *Curriculares Nacionais - PCN* (2000), English is currently the predominant language offered by schools. Moreover, several private schools start teaching English much earlier. However, in 2010, the government approved bill number 11.161/2005. This bill makes it mandatory for schools to offer Spanish as a second choice. Even though it is compulsory for the schools to add Spanish to their curriculum, Spanish is still an optional choice for most students.

Almeida (2001) states that the teaching of foreign languages in Brazil differs between regions and depends on the type of school: whether it is public school (government school), a private school, or a language institute, the latter being a language school where one studies a foreign language. At a language institute, classes are usually geared towards, but not limited to, the development of students' communicative competence in a foreign language. Language learning in these institutes typically supplements formal education or existing knowledge of a foreign language.

The education system faces a market in which most of the teachers lack a linguistic communicative competence to use English communicatively and confidently, encouraging a traditional grammar approach to the teaching of language in classrooms (Almeida, 2001; Barcelos, 2006; Cox and Assis Peterson, 2012). This assertion is aligned with a report by the Ministry of Education (2000) which states that factors such as the decrease of hours dedicated to modern language teaching, and the number of teachers with low linguistic and pedagogical competence, have contributed to a scenario where modern language teaching is regarded as monotonous and repetitive. This reality prevails in both public and private schools, leaving the language institutes as the place where students are most likely to develop competence in speaking English.

In a study about the beliefs and experiences of future English teachers at university regarding their learning experiences in Brazilian schools, Barcelos (2006) found that the participants believed that schools were not the place where one could learn English well. The teachers who had attended public and private schools claimed that their experiences in learning English were not positive, and they did not learn much of the language. In some cases, the poor learning environment led the participants to take charge of their own learning. She also observed that participants' narratives about their English learning experience

suggested that they perceived the private English language institutes as places where one acquires competence in English; student experiences there were generally productive and positive.

Friedrich (2000) performed a quantitative study in São Paulo using Kachru's (2000) World Englishes framework. She interviewed 190 young adults from a well-established English institute to investigate their perceptions of and attitudes towards the target language. Friedrich argues that there is a desire for learning English to get a better job or a promotion, hence English is seen as the means of social mobility. There is an ideology among participants that supports the idea that knowing English in Brazil equates to material success.

Canagarajah and Ben Said (2010) argue that the World Englishes framework is useful for describing and analysing the position of English in the world. They argue that the English language is not uniform, since it has undergone transformation within various countries that have adopted English as an official or second language, but which use a variety of acceptable forms to communicate in the language, leading to the discussion of "Englishes" instead of a homogenous English norm. The World Englishes paradigm is useful for understanding processes of globalization since it challenges the monolithic view of English, and the idea that the world is in a process of homogenization. Rather the World Englishes paradigm focuses on plurality, the new and emerging forms of performance and the creative manifestations of bilingual speakers (Pennycook, 2007).

Paiva (2003) claims that English teaching is acknowledged as important in the official reports of the Brazilian Ministry of Education; however, educational policies have never implemented quality English teaching in schools. Paiva presents a document by the Ministry of Education, the Foreign Language PCN (*Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais – National Curricula Parameters*; 1998). The document states that only a small percentage of the population has the opportunity to use English as an instrument for oral communication. This lack of commitment to English teaching in Brazil has opened the market for private language institutes. According to the Brazilian Franchising Association (*Associação Brasileira de Franchising – ABF*) there were 5,120 English language institutes in Brazil in 2011, and their cumulative turnover was over R\$ 3,1billion (more than 12 billion South African Rands). Mercado Mineiro (2014), a website that conducts price research for consumers in Minas Gerais, a south-eastern state in Brazil, presented an overview of the price range of English courses in various language institutes in Minas Gerais. This is summarized in Table 3. The data show considerable variation in the costs, from fairly cheap schools to very expensive schools. R\$ represents *Real*, the current Brazilian currency and R represents the South African Rand.

Table 3: Costs for basic English course for beginners

Schools	Basic English course for beginners	
	Monthly fee	School Material
Lowest monthly fee	R\$ 89,00 – R 384,59	R\$ 80,00 – R 345,70
Highest monthly fee	R\$ 1.453,00 – R 6 278,80	R\$ 377,00 – R 1 629,12
Variation	1.532,58%	371,25%
Average monthly fee	R\$ 289,83 – R 1252, 43	R\$ 191,79 – R 828,78

2.2.The use of English in Brazil

Hornick (2006) claims that the presence of English is evident in everyday situations in Brazil, where the media propagate the idea of English as prestigious, and as something that indicates high social status. Hornick analyses a cover report from a major Brazilian magazine, *Veja*, which discussed the reasons why Brazilians need to learn English. She uses the linguistic imperialism framework proposed by Philipson (1994).

According to Philipson (1994), “linguistic imperialism is a theoretical construct, devised to account for linguistic hierarchisation, to address issues of why some languages come to be used more and others less, what structures and ideologies facilitate such processes, and the role of language professionals” (p.11). Hornick (2006) explains that the discourse in the magazine article positions English as the language of socio-economic development, therefore learning English is portrayed as a task that can no longer be postponed. Her analysis is based on the idea that Brazil belongs to the so-called peripheral countries, where according to Phillipson (1992) English, was originally imposed and has through deliberate contrivance, successfully replaced or displaced some of the indigenous languages. However, Brazil was not colonized by England and use of English is largely limited to education and business. The process of economic dominance of English began after the First World War, when Brazil, because of a crisis in its coffee industry, accepted loans from the United States. After the Second World War the US emerged as the superior political, military and economic power, and Brazil remained economically dependent. According to Hornick (2006), the dominance of the United States manifests itself linguistically in the status given to English, and the perception of the language as an expensive – and important – commodity. This is also reflected in the incorporation of English words into Portuguese, a phenomenon that identifies the speaker with a more politically and economically powerful society (see also discussion in the previous chapter). Hornick (2006) further observes that even with little understanding of English, Brazilians seem to like the sound of the language and its socio-symbolic meaning. Consequently, they frequently name companies or institutions using English words. Examples include *Chilli Beans*, a company that specializes in sunglasses, watches and their accessories, *Brooksfield*, which specializes in men’s wear, and *Cacau Show*, a chocolate shop. Hornick also points out that when products are marketed on the windows of shopping malls, words from English are often used. Figure 1

and Figure 2 illustrate this: they show the use of English words in shop windows. The photographs were taken in a shopping mall in João Pessoa. João Pessoa is the state capital of Paraíba, a north eastern state. The first one references an American tradition: Black Friday is the Friday following Thanksgiving in the United States. Most major retailers open very early and offer promotional sales. Since the early 2000s, it has been regarded as the beginning of the Christmas shopping season in the United States. Even though in the US the Black Friday is only the Friday that follows Thanksgiving, in Brazil Black Friday lasts for a week. The second photograph uses the word ‘off’, instead of the Portuguese equivalent *desconto*.



Figure 1: Clothing store in a shopping mall in João Pessoa. (November, 2014)



Figure 2: Jewellery store in a shopping mall in João Pessoa. (November, 2014)

Thornus (1992) argues that Brazilian popular culture is strongly influenced by English-language music, films and television. She investigated the assimilation of American culture in names that were chosen for children in the early 1990s. Instead of traditional Portuguese names, such as João, Antônio, Maria or Lourdes, people named their children by drawing on “names copied directly from American media stars, spelling variants which range along a pseudo-Portuguese/pseudo-English continuum, and even standard Portuguese names

with Englishized [sic] orthography.” (p.175). Thonus (1992) categorized the names collected as data in five categories. These categories are:

1. English names – 47% (David, John, William)
2. English names with Portuguese spellings – 15% (Jeferson, Weligton, Cristofer)
3. Names which use English suffixes, but are not actually used or common in English-speaking countries – 34% (Everton, Denisley, Dayman).
Portuguese names with pseudo-English spellings – 2% (Alexsandro, Christiano, Raffael)
4. English names with pseudo-English spellings – 2% (Erick, Davyson, Marlonn)

According to Thonus (1992) this is part of a larger process of Anglicization, due to the persistent language contact and the acceptance that, especially, American English has gained as a result of the perceived superiority of the United States in fields of science, technology, military affairs, commerce, and politics. She also claims that Brazilian popular culture is strongly influenced by English music, TV-shows and films.

Friedrich (2002) has done research investigating the use of English in advertising and brand naming in Brazil. However, unlike Thonus and others, she claims that the use of English in these fields is still very limited. Nevertheless, she discusses interesting findings that she divides into two categories. The first is a playful choice of English words, such as a pet shop called *Hot Dog*. The second group consists of words that look like English, and sometimes are English words, however, they do not really fit the concept of the business (when read as ‘English’). For example, a cleaning business company named *Master Limp*, which draws on the verb *limpar* in Portuguese that means ‘to clean’.

Anglicizing business names in Brazil is a marketing tool used by companies to attract Brazilians and not necessarily the international community (Thonus, 1991). Friedrich (2002), however, argues that Brazilians do not perceive words borrowed from English in advertising as extraordinary; they have become part of the local culture. She concludes that it is better for creativity to use more than one language for advertising and marketing. And, even though English is prevalent, Brazilians also use other languages in advertising: indigenous words to convey that the product is natural, French to convey notions of elegance, Italian for artistic connotations and so forth.

2.3 English at workplaces and the construction of an international identity for the world market

According to Pilatti and Santos (2011), an integrated globalized world requires fluency in languages with the status of *lingua franca*, such as English in the contemporary world. They argue that to become competitive in the world market professionals need to develop competence in English. Aligned with claims made by Bohn (2012), this research affirms that the level of competence in English influences the salary of executives in Brazil.

Professionals who speak English fluently were found to earn on average 44,5% more than executives who speak it haltingly and with errors.

Santos and Santos (2011) note that language programmes offering English classes combined with cultural experiences in countries where English is used as a first language have become an option for those who want to improve their professional qualifications. Belta, the Brazilian Educational and Travel Association, provides information on institutions and companies that operate courses, internships and exchange programmes abroad, reports that about 220 000 Brazilians, 1,15% of the population, have gone abroad to study in 2011.

Pohlmann and Valarini (2013) suggest that international students seek through exchanges, internships, and courses abroad to enhance their chances in the job market. According to the Open Doors report on international educational exchange (2011), countries that receive the most international students are the USA and the UK, followed by France, China and Australia. The countries that send the greatest number of students overseas to study are China, India, South Korea and the USA. Based on this data, Brazil makes only a minor contribution in the international flow of students. Nonetheless, in 2012, the Brazilian government launched a program called *Ciência Sem Fronteiras* ('Science Without Borders') to stimulate the internationalization of higher education, either sending Brazilians to study abroad or receiving international students at Brazilian universities. The countries where most of Brazilian participants are studying are: the USA, Portugal, France, Spain, Canada, Germany and the UK, respectively. Many of the countries chosen by Brazilians are not English-speaking countries. Speakers of Romance languages also share a large global space of considerable mutual intelligibility. Thus English is not the only language perceived as important in processes of internationalization. Currently, there are about 22 000 Brazilians who have taken the opportunity to study at a university abroad, and the programme aims to give 101 000 scholarships by 2015 (Brasil. ME, 2014).

Pohlman and Valarini (2013) point to the emergence of a global economic elite formed by top managers and highly skilled professionals. This group distinguishes itself by, among other aspects, a high degree of international mobility, educationally as well as professionally. In a sample of 61 international Brazilian executives (presidents, vice-presidents, CEOs and executive directors of the 100 top industries in Brazil), Pahlman and Valarini (2013) found that about 50% of these executives did part of their studies abroad, especially as part of post-graduate programmes. Pennycook (2010a) points out that one of the features of globalization is human mobility. Similarly, Gee et al. (1996) suggest that the globalized world includes an international elite that is essentially mobile.

When it comes to mobility for educational purposes, Findlay et. al. (2011) argue that besides the preparation for the world market, international education is also a social privilege. Education is one of the apparatuses for the reproduction of social differences (Bourdieu, 1977). The advantages gained by an international learning experience run throughout the education system, making individuals seek international schools and elite private institutions. Bourdieu (1977) argues that such educational experiences produce symbolic capital that can

be drawn on later in life. Findlay et al. (2011) claim that the associated advantages of studying abroad go beyond the academic credentials obtained. Having studied abroad means that individuals are associated with a mobile community, signalling a cosmopolitan identity.

2.4 Global Englishes

In this study I draw on the concept of global Englishes, which offers a critical understanding of globalization and the influence of English in the world, as well as a critical understanding of language (Pennycook, 2007, 2010a).

Pennycook (2007) sees globalization in terms of two axes. One is the global, which brings the dominance of certain cultural and linguistic practices to the fore; the other is the local, which maintains and develops the local practices, usually in interplay and entanglement with the global. Globalization is thus not the Americanization of the world, and cannot be seen through the lens of dominant US-based economic and political power only. (This is in contrast to the linguistic imperialism paradigm which was outlined briefly above).

Globalization is not only about economic processes, but political, technological and cultural processes as well. Globalization may be better understood as a compression of time and space, an intensification of social, economic, cultural and political relations, a series of global linkages that render events in one location of potential and immediate importance in other, quite distant locations. (Pennycook, 2007 p. 24)

In addition to cultural homogenization through a standardization of economic activities, and besides a flow of cultural goods that move from the centre to the periphery and vice-versa, globalization typically leads to an increase in local diversity, due to the contact of different cultures and an exchange of information and commodities (Pennycook, 2007).

According to Pennycook (2007), English is a crucial part of contemporary globalization and should not be treated as a mere reflection of economic relations. Myths and beliefs around the English language must be challenged in order to understand new forms of power, control and destruction engendered by globalization. These new forms of domination encourage new processes of resistance, change and appropriation. The potential meanings that are assigned to English draw on discourses of development, democracy, capitalism and modernization (Pennycook, 2014). Cox and Assis-Peterson (2012) argue that in these discourses English is represented as a means of communication that allows global exchange of information. Pennycook (2014) argues that the role of English in the world is seen as natural, neutral and beneficial. Natural, because it is the inevitable result of global power relations. Since English is able to lose its original roots and distance itself from the context of its original cultures, English also becomes neutral. And finally, it is beneficial because English is believed to bring cooperation and equity. However, Pennycook claims that people are not passive consumers of hegemonic cultures, and Cox and Assis-Peterson (2012) add to that by arguing that English is currently the language of neo-liberalism, and it is from within this language that a counter-discourse must be formulated.

2.5 Language ideology

We understand and interpret reality through language, which is always ideological. In other words, language is always a product of a local context and it reflects relations that are culturally established. Neutrality is impossible to achieve as our views always reflect particular perspectives. These perspectives are with us regardless of our desire to have them or not (Jordão, 2006). The sub-field of sociolinguistics which is concerned with the views people hold with regard to language is known as language ideologies, and can be defined as follows.

“Language ideology tells us why our language is important to us and how it should be used. Without an attendant ideology, a language would be an abstraction locked away unused in dictionaries and grammars. It is in the service of a particular language ideology that we acquire a language, that we speak a language and that we pass it on to the next generation. And behind the attrition of a language, we will often find a newer ideology that leads speakers not to pass on that language and not to use it”. (Armstrong, 2012 p.146)

In this study I will use the definition of linguistic ideologies by Silverstein (1979, p. 193) who says that “linguistic ideologies are sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use”. Kroskrity (2010a, p.192) adds that, “language ideologies are beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language structure and use which index the political and economic interests of individual speakers, ethnic and other groups, and nation states”. Jørgensen (2012) complements these definitions by noting that ideologies might either be oriented towards the structure of the language or focus on how the language is shaped and used. Ideologies typically serve particular political and economic interests. These definitions about language ideologies place emphasis on how the speakers articulate their ideas and beliefs about language and discourse and how they position their ideologies in relation to social phenomena.

Citing Bauman and Briggs (2003), Jørgensen (2012) argues that certain uses of language receive more support than others regarding the position of their speakers. The language use of the elite and others in positions of power is more likely to become hegemonic and dominant. These discourses about language are beliefs that represent, protect and guarantee certain interests and are eventually accepted as 'truth'. Kroskrity (2010a) points out that what is 'true', 'morally good', or 'aesthetically pleasing' about language is grounded in social experiences and tied to the political and economic interests of the speaker.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Bagno (2002) argues that, from an ideological perspective, Brazil lives the ideology of a monolingual unified country where Portuguese is supposedly the language spoken throughout its territory. Nonetheless there are many people who do not have adequate access to BSP which is the language used by teachers, writers, journalists and in official institutions. Many of those who have limited access to BSP speak either an indigenous language, or a variety of BVP which – according to Bagno (2002) –

leads to social marginalization.

According to Kroskrity (2010a), nationalist programs of language standardization frequently draw on discourses of communicative efficiency. However, such standardization efforts also carry political and economic implications since a hegemonic standard language always benefits a certain social group. This is also the case in Brazil as discussed in the previous chapter.

According to Fairclough (1992) people might not be aware of their ideologies since the ideological construction is a process that is linked to conventions, which are naturalized in social practices. When an ideology becomes 'common sense', then it has achieved the naturalization it needs to be most effective. "The less visible an ideology is, the more effective its working becomes" (Kiss, 2011, p. 230).

2.6 Conclusion

The Brazilian public educational system does not seem to be fulfilling the demand with regard to English teaching and learning. Overall, Brazilians feel that the English instruction they receive in public and private schools does not meet their needs. This has resulted in the emergence of private language institutes. However, in this space English is sold as a fairly expensive commodity and most likely to be purchased by the middle class and the elite.

Rajagoplan (2010) argues that the influence of English in Brazil can be seen in different aspects of Brazilian culture and life. For instance in people's names, and in branding and marketing. This influence has also affected the job market, where professionals increasingly need English in order to meet the demands of a globalized world.

For this study I will use the concept of global Englishes (Pennycook, 2007) to understand the role of English in the globalized world. The aim is to challenge language ideologies around English and Portuguese. The concept of language ideology is mostly drawn from Kroskrity (2010a) and Jørgensen (2012) in an attempt to understand beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about English and Portuguese.

This study aims to understand the various ways which Brazilian-Portuguese-native speakers claim, disrupt and construct cultural and language ideologies around Portuguese and English, and how they construct their own linguistic space according to their understanding of languages and practices. In this sense, English is not simply an international language, involved in processes of imperialism and homogenization of the world, but it is also understood as a language that people appropriate to use in their social spaces (that is, to live, to love, to learn, to work, to resist and so on).

Chapter 3 Methodological framework

Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology that was used to collect and analyse the data for this study. As outlined in the introduction, it was the intention of this research to investigate language ideologies of native speakers of Brazilian-Portuguese who came to Cape Town to study English.

This study consisted of two phases of interviews: firstly individual interviews, and secondly, focus group interviews with the participants. A semi-structured in-depth qualitative interview schedule was used. In addition, a controversial text about the role of English in Brazil was used to initiate discussion with the participants in the individual interviews. The text is about the proposed bill of the congressman Aldo Rebelo discussed in Chapter 1. In the process of the research some ethical concerns emerged and these will also be discussed in this chapter. A brief introduction as to who the participants are, their age, origin and profession is also provided.

3.1 The selection of participants

The method used for gathering data for this study was in-depth qualitative interviews. This was done to better understand the participants' perspectives and experiences on a given set of issues (DiCicco and Crabtree, 2006). Altogether sixteen interviews were conducted. The selection of the interviewees was based on the following criteria: the interviewee had to be a Brazilian-Portuguese first language speaker who is interested in learning English, and who was in to Cape Town to do so. For practical purposes the participants were adults who consented to be interviewed and had the legal power to give such consent. The age of participants ranges from 18 to 39 years.

The participants were drawn from a well-known English language school that operates around the world and has a branch in Cape Town, more details about the school will be given later in this chapter. The school granted me access to its venue and facilities to meet their students during the months of March and April of 2014, when the research was undertaken.

The school administration and I agreed that it would not be necessary to interrupt the classes in order to establish contact with the students. Therefore, to meet the participants I went to the school during their 20-minute break. The conversations were casual and most of the Brazilian students I talked to seemed interested in participating.

As most of the Brazilian students in the school had just arrived in Cape Town I tried to give them hints and suggestions about the city, in terms of security, activities to do and the places to visit. I believe these conversations established a friendly relationship between the participants and myself. I introduced myself as a masters' student from the University of Cape Town and explained to them that I was doing a research project that investigates the experiences Brazilians have with languages, especially English and Portuguese.

Most of the participants had English classes in the morning and afternoon and they preferred to have the interviews right after their classes. Throughout my research I organized the interviews to suit their studies and touring schedules, since they were also tourists in South Africa.

The atmosphere in the school among the students was quite festive, especially because most of them were in Cape Town on their own and were eager to make new friends. There were students from several countries, such as Serbia, Congo and Chad, at the school, but the numbers of Brazilian, Angolan and Arab students were significantly higher than any other nationality.

All interviews were conducted in Brazilian-Portuguese. The participants were more comfortable with this and it also ensured that there were no language limitations. This is a reflection of the participants' proficiency and mine. The option was given to them to have the interviews in English, but none of them chose to do so.

3.2 Ethical concerns

In order to protect the identity of my participants, pseudonyms are used throughout the thesis. A consent form, from the Department of Education of the University of Cape Town, was signed by all the participants right before the interview. In this form the participants granted me the right to record the interview and use the recorded material as data for this study. The form also guaranteed the confidentiality of the process, that is, their names would not be used to refer to any information given during the interviews, and the recordings would not be used for any purpose other than this study.

There was no payment involved in the data collection, and all the participants were willing to sign the consent form in order to participate. All of the participants were aware that they had no obligation to answer any question they did not want to, and that they could withdraw their participation in the research at any time. A similar consent form was used for the school. In a meeting with the director I explained the nature of my study and we discussed how I could use the school to recruit students for the study. In the consent form used for the school confidentiality was also assured, and the name of the school is thus not used in this thesis.

3.3 An introduction to the participants

Among the twelve participants there are two distinct groups. Group 1 includes university students and recent graduates that are looking for either internships or work. In this group there are six participants whose ages range from 18 to 23 years. Group 2 includes adults who seek either better qualifications or wish to change their field of work. In this group there are also six participants whose ages range from 27 to 39 years. All the participants have in common the fact that they are Brazilian-Portuguese native speakers seeking some English proficiency in Cape Town.

All the participants in this study can be said to come from middle class families. It is

common in Brazil that the middle class use private services, such as private education. In relation to English, it is rare that older members of the Brazilian middle class speak English. In this research most of the participants are the first members of their families who are able to speak English or are acquiring English competence.

Ferreira and Veloso (2003) state that in Brazil and other countries in South America educational mobility has been increasing for the younger generation, both men and women. The degree of mobility for young Brazilians varies based on geographical region, class and race. In particular, mobility is higher for Whites than it is for Blacks, and, less prevalent in the North-East. The mobility of young Brazilians is particularly high in the South-East including São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, which is responsible for more than 15% of the gross national product of the country (Demográfico, 2010). In this research 10 out of 12 participants would, in official statistics, be classified White. The other would be classified as *Pardos*. *Pardo* is a category of skin colour used by IBGE to produce the national census. *Pardo* goes from any shade from White to Black. None of the participants in this study was Black.

Ten of the participants are from the south-east region, from the states of Minas Gerais, São Paulo and Espírito Santo. The remaining two participants live in different regions in Brazil: one was born in São Paulo, but lives in Paraná (in the South) , and the other one is from the Amazonas (in the north). The fields of work and study are as follows: engineering (six participants), tourism (one), human resources (two), architecture (one), formerly in banking, now working in the aviation industry (one), former lawyer, but currently teaching English (one). The level of English proficiency, assessed on the basis of the level at which they are studying at the school in Cape Town, varies from beginner to advanced. This information is summarized in Table 4.

Table 4: The participants

Name	Skin colour	Age	Where lives in Brazil	Field of study or work	Level of English proficiency	Time spent studying in Cape Town
Alisson	Pardo	22	Espírito Santo	Oil Engineer	Beginner	1 month
Francisco	White	24	Minas Gerais	Chemical Engineer	Intermediate	1 month
Lucas	White	26	São Paulo	Production Engineer	Beginner	1 month
Julia	White	27	Rio de Janeiro	Human Resources	Intermediate	1 month
Tulio	White	33	Curitiba	Civil Engineer	Intermediate	1 month
Viviane	Parda	25	Rio de Janeiro	Oil Engineer	Intermediate	1 month
Bruna	White	18	Amazonas	Architecture	Advanced	1 month
Fabiola	White	38	Minas Gerais	Human Resources	Beginner	1 month
Kelly	White	38	Minas Gerais	Banking / Aviation	Beginner	3 months
Carol	White	39	Minas Gerais	Civil Engineer	Advanced	1 month
Fernanda	White	39	Minas Gerais	Lawyer / English teacher	Advanced	1 month
Camila	White	32	São Paulo	Tourism agent	Advanced	1 month

3.3.1 Introducing the participants

The pseudonyms were created to preserve the tone of the original name. The participants with Anglicized names received Anglicized pseudonyms; participants with Portuguese names received Portuguese names. Even though the name Alisson in English is usually a female name, in Brazil it is only used as a male name. That is why I opted to use the name Alisson for one of my male participants.

Alisson (22) comes from Vitória, Espírito Santo. He recently graduated in Petroleum Engineering and is currently looking for a job. Alisson studied in public schools in Brazil, where he had contact with English since 5th grade. Alisson claims that he did not learn anything in the English lessons at school. He explains that the classes were fairly basic, mostly translating songs from English to Portuguese. Alisson says that because of his field of studies he had to learn English, but due to financial reasons he delayed his studies and only

started two years ago. He decided to study at an English institute in Brazil taking an 18-month course. Following this Alisson decided to come to Cape Town to further improve his English proficiency. Alisson claims that he developed a lot in the two years of English study since he went from knowing almost nothing to being able to engage in professional conversations. Alisson's family supports and finances his English studies, including his study in Cape Town.

Francisco (24) is currently studying Chemical Engineering in Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, where he was born and raised. He always attended public schools and started his English studies in the 5th grade. However, he says that he only truly started studying English when he came to university and enrolled in a private English institute. He explains that he does not like English and if he did not have to study it he would not do so. He justifies his English studies by saying it will be important for his career, once he believes it is a requirement to enter the job market. He says that nowadays an engineer in Brazil has to speak English. For Francisco coming to Cape Town to study English represents a big investment, since he comes from a family with more limited financial resources. He believes the immersion in the language in Cape Town will help him to improve his English skills.

Lucas (26) comes from São Paulo, where he currently lives. He is a graduate in Production Engineering. Lucas mostly attended private schools and started learning English already in the first grade. However, he did not enjoy his English classes and just remembers endless lessons about the verb 'to be', which will be discussed in Chapter 4. He also studied in a public school for one year, and according to him there was no difference in the standard of teaching between public and private school. Lucas studied English in Brazil for two years with a private teacher. He also attended conversational classes at English institutes, but for him that was not productive. He said that with private tutoring he had more opportunities to speak English and the teacher could focus on his deficiencies. Lucas financed his study in Cape Town on his own.

Tulio (33) was born in São Paulo, but he has lived in Curitiba since 1994. Tulio works in the administrative department in a private university and is on his second undergraduate major. He is studying civil engineering now. Tulio studied at a private school in Brazil and had his first contact with English teaching in 5th grade. He then studied English at an English institute. Tulio explains that what led him to study English was his curiosity about languages; he has studied French, Spanish, English and Brazilian Sign Language (Libras). However, he says that the only language he speaks fluently is Portuguese. Recently Tulio has focused on studying English, and that is due to professional aspirations. Tulio has to read many papers that are in English for his degree in civil engineering, and that was the same for his previous major, Design. He claims that studying English abroad is advantageous as it helps one to gain an international qualification. He aspires to go abroad for post-graduate studies, either to

Australia or the United States. This is the main reason why he is working on improving his English.

Viviane (25) lives in Macaé, in the countryside of Rio de Janeiro. She studied production engineering. She is currently unemployed and believes that this is due to her lack of proficiency in English. She always studied in public schools. Although nobody speaks English in her family, her family believes that English is important. Therefore, Viviane attended private English institutes since she was eleven years-old. However, she says that she has never made much effort to learn English. Viviane later decided to study English with a private tutor and for her that was when she actually improved. She met this private tutor in a multinational company where she was working as an intern. When the internship ended, so did the lessons, and that was when she came to Cape Town to study English. After her studies in Cape Town, which are financed by her aunt, she intends to look for a private tutor in Brazil to continue her studies.

Julia (27) was born and raised in Rio de Janeiro. She graduated in accountancy and did an MBA in human resources management. Currently she works in a multinational mining company based in Brazil in the Human Resources Department. Nobody in her family speaks English. She has been studying English since it is a requirement for promotion in her company. She claims that she needs English to keep growing professionally. Julia does not usually use much English in Brazil; however, she likes music and movies that are in English. In Brazil, Julia studied English at an English institute for one hour twice a week and she reckons it was not enough. Therefore, she has used her vacations to travel to English-speaking countries, and to combine holidays and studies in an attempt to improve her English proficiency. She studied in New Zealand before she came to South Africa. Julia paid for her studies in Cape Town herself.

Bruna (18) was born and raised in Manaus, Amazonas, where she studies architecture. This is Bruna's third time studying English abroad. She first went to New Zealand, then England and finally South Africa. In Brazil, she always studied at private schools and she has had English lessons since she was six years old. Bruna claims that English teaching at school was very elementary, and only the basics of the language were taught. Since her mother has always perceived English as an important subject, Bruna was already studying at an English institute by the time she was eight years old.

Fabiola (38) lives in Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais. She is a psychologist and works as a commercial manager in a human resources consulting agency. Her first contact with English teaching was in the private school where she studied. She is not sure at which age that happened, but Fabiola says that she did not learn much from those classes due to the teachers' lack of knowledge and didactic skill. Studying English at an English institute during her

childhood was not productive as, at the time, she was not interested in learning English. Fabiola says that she decided to commit to learning English a year ago and since then she has taken several English courses in Brazil. The one she has found the most productive was a course focused on English for business. She finds the English lessons in Cape Town enriching due to the interaction with different people from different countries, and she has been impressed with the organization of the school. Fabiola explains that she always knew English would be necessary in her work, and nowadays she sees English as indispensable.

Kelly (38) comes from Governador Valadares, Minas Gerais, where she was born and has lived her whole life. She has worked at a financial institution in the past, and recently finished a course to become a flight attendant. She says that she was tired of her previous work and needed a change. This was also the reason why she came to Cape Town to study English for three months. She believes that English might expand her job opportunities. She also considers extending her English studies in Cape Town, since she is currently at the basic level and does not feel confident about her English yet. She has never used English on a daily basis before, and in Brazil the little contact she had with English was at school, first in a private school where she studied and later on when her parents decided to send her to a private English institute to learn English. Kelly claims that she did not learn much in any of the schools. At school, because of the number of students, the teacher did not have time to work carefully with individual students. At the English institute she was not interested in studying English. Kelly says that she does not want to go back to Governador Valadares, because it is a town with few possibilities.

Camila (32) lives in the state capital of São Paulo, where she was born. She studied English at school, where her enthusiasm for the language led her to ask her parents to allow her to study at an English institute. Camila works as a tourism agent and uses English on a daily basis, especially for communicating with other tour operators via e-mail. Camila seems to be very committed to develop her English proficiency and still studies in English institutes in Brazil. She takes courses especially designed to promote conversational skills. She has already gone on exchange programs to study English in Canada, and the program in South Africa is her second.

Carol (39) was born and raised in Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, where she currently lives. She had her first contact with English in the 5th grade. Because of her mother and twin sister Fernanda, also a participant in this study, she went to an English institute to study English. Her English studies had their ups and downs as she prioritized her university degree and work. Currently, she works at a mining company in Brazil as a financial analyst. However, she aspires to a higher position in the company, and she believes she needs to improve her English proficiency in order to attain this. Carol took two different English courses in the same English institute in Brazil, and then she decided that it would be best to continue her

studies abroad.

Fernanda, 39 years-old, was born in Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, where she currently lives. English has been an important aspect of her life since she started studying at school in 5th grade. She enjoyed her classes, which motivated her to ask her mother to study in an English institute. After she was done with the course at the English institute, she went to the United States to do volunteer work that lasted for three months. Upon her return to Brazil she started law school and also started teaching English. She became a lawyer, but never stopped with giving English lessons. She says that she is passionate about teaching, and she has always dedicated her free time to studying further in order to become a better teacher and not a better lawyer. Fernanda also went to New Zealand to improve her English abilities. There, she met her ex-husband, with whom she lived for over two years in the north of England. She returned to Brazil after the divorce and worked for a long time in a well-known English institute as the school manager. She quit her job after her mother passed away and has been running the family business for a couple of months. She decided to come to Cape Town to study English for a two main reasons: (a) to spend a holiday together with her twin sister, Carol, and (b) to reconnect with the language.

3.4 The data collection

I recorded twelve individual interviews and, afterwards separated the participants in groups of three in order to record four focus group interviews. Each interview was between 45 to 60 minutes long. Blommaert and Jie (2010) appropriately describe interviews as ordered conversations. The interviewer must bring questions or topics that will then be discussed.

The participants seemed very comfortable in all of the interviews, which were conducted at the school facilities. The interview schedule contained open-ended questions, with other questions emerging as the dialogue progressed. According to DiCicco and Crabtree (2006), in-depth individual interviews allow the interviewer to delve into the personal and social life of the participant.

Regarding the individual interviews: I started with questions designed to understand the participants' origins and background, and then moved to questions related to the reasons for studying English. To get a better sense of how the participants see the English language, questions regarding accents and choices for places and schools to study were asked. A copy of the interview guide can be found in the appendix.

The questions also intended to get the interviewees interested in a discussion about Portuguese and English by discussing their ideas and beliefs regarding the languages. In order to achieve this I introduced a controversial topic into the discussion. The topic that was used to elicit reactions was an event that mobilized the country twice, first in 1999 and in 2007. As discussed in the first chapter, the congressman Rebelo proposed a bill to regulate the use of foreign languages in Brazil. To remind the participants about this discussion I brought a news

story from a Brazilian news website.

For the second part of the research I separated the participants into groups and used a focus group method to conduct the interview. Kitzinger (1994) defines focus group as “group discussions organized to explore a specific set of issues” (p.103). This methodological approach involves the group in a collective activity, such as debating a particular set of questions. Kitzinger (1995) points out that focus groups constitute a particularly interesting method to explore people's knowledge and experiences, and examine not only what they think, but also how and why they think like that. Focus groups are useful for encouraging people to explore their beliefs and clarify their points of view as they engage in the group discussion.

In this research the focus group sessions enabled me to follow-up from the observations made during the individual interviews. After the individual interviews the participants had thought of how they positioned themselves around the English and Portuguese languages. In the focus groups I did not introduce any new themes. The intention was to encourage participants to engage and explore issues of importance to them, to develop their own way of speaking about them, and, possibly, to articulate their own questions and priorities (Kitzinger, 1995).

All of the participants knew each other from the school. Below follows a table with the composition of the focus groups interviews.

Table 5: Composition of the focus groups interviews

Groups	Participants	Length of the interview
Group 1	Allison, Francisco and Lucas	57 minutes
Group 2	Tulio, Viviane and Julia	44 minutes
Group 3	Bruna, Fabiola and Kelly	47 minutes
Group 4	Carol, Fernanda and Camila	52 minutes

The interviews and focus groups were mainly organized according to the availability of the participants. Due to the fact that the participants were in Cape Town for only a month and had a limited time, interviews and focus groups were organised when the participants were available and it was convenient for them.

3.5 Presentation and analysis of the data

For the presentation and analysis of the data gathered from the individual and focus group interviews, the recordings were fully transcribed in Portuguese. The transcriptions happened shortly after the interviews took place. The samples of the interviews that are presented in the analysis were then translated to English. After gathering all the transcribed interviews and reading them several times in order to familiarize myself with the material I

started coding the data, broadly following the approach used by De Wet and Erasmus (2005). This close reading provided an initial sense of issues arising from the data.

The coding of the data allowed me to assign labels to extracts that contained particular information regarding the participants' ideologies in relation to English and Portuguese and to their experiences of learning English (Huberman and Miles, 1994). ie: In favour of the bill, partially in favour and against, English at regular schools, English institutes and in Cape Town. This process gave me the opportunity to separate extracts into more specific categories, identifying patterns which were, at that point, possible emerging themes. Huberman and Miles (1994) refer to this step as first level coding.

In the second-level coding there were two steps: first, identifying clusters and hierarchies of information and second, a deeper level of analysis during which patterns and relationships in the data were identified. Examples of clusters are; English as a language of technology, English experiences at work and Portuguese must be protected. In this study the extracts used to present the participant's ideologies were taken from the individual interviews. The focus groups interviews helped me with further clarification of the participants' dialogues. The second step helped produce the findings. The findings were compared with other results available in the literature.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter presented the methodology that was used to collect and analyse the data for this study and introduced each participant in the study. The research describes and analyses aspects of language ideology from Brazilian-Portuguese native speakers who came to Cape Town to study English as a Foreign Language.

I have presented how the selection of the participants happened. All the participants had similar goals with regard to learning English: to acquire it for professional aspirations, either because they wanted to get a promotion or because they were looking for work.

Since the participants and I are Brazilian-Portuguese first language speakers, the interviews were conducted in Portuguese. The data collection process respected the participants' priorities and availability. The ethical concerns regarding the nature of this study were also discussed in this chapter, for example the confidentiality of the participants and the school where the research took place.

The interview design is an important aspect of the methodology as I had two interviews with each participant: an individual interview and a focus group interview. In-depth qualitative interviews were used to gather data. The individual interviews helped me to understand the history of each participant and delve into his/her personal experiences and beliefs regarding Portuguese and English. The group interviews, on the other hand, enabled the participants to share their histories and provided me with additional material for analysis.

The individual interviews were designed to be semi-structured. This allowed for unexpected topics to come up throughout the conversation, and these were developed further through questions and discussion. For the individual interviews a text was presented. The text

is ideologically laden, and the participants were asked to comment on it. The use of the text helped to highlight the participants' language ideologies regarding Portuguese and English. The data was analysed qualitatively, using the tools of content analysis.

Chapter 4 – Perceptions of English as a global commodity

4. Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the participants' learning experiences as narrated in the interviews. The participants have taken roughly the same route: formal English lessons as part of the curriculum in Brazilian schools, followed by classes at English institutes. This seems to be the most common route to developing English proficiency in Brazil. All participants decided, on top of that, to travel abroad and take a language course in Cape Town.

The presentation and analysis of data in this chapter begin with an account of how these participants perceive the English language education they received in the Brazilian schooling system in order to understand what led them to the English institutes and then discusses what they expected from their experience in Cape Town as well as how they perceive the quality of English teaching in South Africa. From these discussions, several language ideologies emerged, mainly connected to economic factors relating to English to a global commodity and a desire to develop a positive social identity in a global world. All participants in this research link English quite directly to professional and financial success.

4.1 Perceptions about learning experiences in Brazilian schools

When the participants were asked about their first contact with English, nine out of twelve did not even think about the English lessons they had as children and teenagers at school. The only ones who mentioned school lessons were Alisson, Bruna and Carol. The others said that they took their first English lessons at language institutes.

For the majority of the participants their experiences with English learning in public and private schools was characterized by bad teaching and demotivation. They offer short narratives of these experiences, using adjectives such as 'weak', 'terrible', 'basic', and 'bad'. Their narratives comment on lack of motivation, had experiences with the teachers, repetition and a teaching style which was focused on grammar.

<i>O ensino foi muito fraco. Não te dar base nenhuma, ele te ensina o verbo 'to be', e muito mal. (Viviane)</i>	<i>The teaching was very weak. They give you no basis, they only teach you the verb 'to be', and badly. (Viviane)</i>
<i>A coisa mais avançado que aprendi foi o verbo to be (na escola privada). Eu estudei um ano em escola pública e não tinha diferença. (Lucas)</i>	<i>The most advanced thing I learned was the verb 'to be' (in a private school). I studied one year in a public school and there was no difference. (Lucas)</i>
<i>Na escola particular também, a base de conhecimento é a gramática da língua,</i>	<i>The same for private schools, the knowledge base is the grammar of the language, you</i>

<i>conversação você nunca tem, nem na escola pública e nem na privada. (Tulio)</i>	<i>never have a conversation, either in the public or in the private school. (Tulio)</i>
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Viviane describes her experience with English in the public school as negative. Her experience was one of repetition, focused on the grammatical aspects of language and most remembered is the conjugation of the verb 'to be'. Lucas who attended a private school mentions the same problem, and, again, the irregular verb 'to be' seems to be all that he remembers. By stating the limitations of the English teaching in private and public schools, the participants indicated that what they were being taught did not meet their needs.

In a focus group conversation with Viviane and myself, Tulio expresses a desire to develop communicative competence in English, something that was never part of his lessons in a private school. Tulio made this comment right after Viviane complained about the English teaching in the public school where she studied. Tulio complains about the grammar-focused teaching methodology used in his school where the English teachers seemed to be more concerned about the students' writing skills than their ability to converse in English. Taken together, the narratives suggest that the participants did not believe either the public or the private school offered an environment where English proficiency could be developed.

The findings in this part of the analysis confirm the results recorded by Barcelos (2006), where her research suggests that, in Brazil, real English learning happens outside of schools. Furthermore, Dias and Assis Peterson (2006), in their research among parents and students in public schools, argue that English teaching at these institutions is weak and little learning happens there.

Among the 12 participants, only one reported a positive experience with English teaching at school. The next extract shows Camila's experience. She studied in private schools from kindergarten to the 9th grade, and then finished high school in a public school. She rated the English teaching in the private school positively, an experience that helped her acquire English over the years.

<i>Eu aprendia palavras tipo, cat, dog, essas pequenas palavras desde o pré. Então eu acho que isso é extremamente importante até porque a criança já vai aprendendo desde o início, mesmo com pequenas palavras. (Camila)</i>	<i>I learned words, such as 'cat', 'dog', these small words since kindergarten. I think that this is extremely important because a child starts learning the language from the beginning, even with small words. (Camila)</i>
<i>Tudo que eu aprendi na escola pública, eu já tinha aprendido na oitava série da escola particular. Então você vê um downgrade do ensino a respeito da língua entre escola</i>	<i>Everything that I learned in the public school, I had already learned in the ninth grade of the private school. Then, you see a downgrade in the standard of teaching when</i>

particular e escola pública enorme. (Camila)

it comes to languages from a private to a public school. (Camila)

According to Camila, the exposure to English, from early years, helped her ‘absorb’ the language. Camila attended both public and private schools and, unlike the other participants, had a different experience in the two schools: she experienced the English teaching in the private school as positive. At the public school, however, Camila felt she learned nothing new. She felt stuck, revising content she had previously learned. Camila uses the word ‘downgrade’ to describe the move from English learning in a private school to the learning in a public school, which she infers as inferior.

Camila’s perception of English teaching in private and public schools may differ to a certain extent from the other participants, but both are mostly regarded as places where the potential for English proficiency is very low. It seems that Camila had a unique experience that does not reflect either the general perception of the participants in this research nor findings of other research. Barcelos (2006) suggests that her participants shared opinions about English language learning at school: that it generally was not going to happen. This was also observed among the participants in this study. As pointed out in chapter 2, the Ministry of Education report (2000) acknowledges the importance of English teaching, and yet in spite of that, according to Paiva (2003) educational policies have never been set in place to guarantee the quality of foreign language teaching.

4.2 Perceptions about learning education in English institutes

The low expectation of the foreign language education in schools has resulted in a well-developed market for English language institutes. As noted above, the courses at English institutes in Brazil normally offer two classes of one hour to 90 minutes per week. Students take several years to finish these courses. Depending on the level of proficiency they intend to achieve, they spend from one-and-a-half to eight years on their studies. Some of these courses are preparations for international exams, such as TOEFL and Cambridge. It is time-consuming and financially demanding to study English in Brazil, as discussed in the second chapter.

In Barcelos’ study (2006) the participants described English institutes as a place where English proficiency is more likely to be gained than at school. A similar observation was obtained from the participants in this study. The words used by participants to refer to English institutes were consistently positive: they described them as ‘efficient’, ‘good’, ‘serious’, ‘stimulating’ and resulting in ‘satisfaction’. This contrasts strongly with the words used to describe language learning at schools. Overall, the participants’ learning experiences at private English institutes were characterized by good teaching and materials, and the only complaints addressed to the English institute revolved around price and the hours set aside for English learning.

All participants interviewed for this research had studied at either a private or a public

school and all of them also attended an English institute to improve their English. Fernanda, for example, claims she had always been a good student in all school subjects including English, yet she felt like the English learned at school was not good enough, as she wanted to develop speaking skills. She then, with the support of her mother, went to an English institute to ‘really learn English’.

<i>Mas, pra conhecer inglês a fundo eu fiz um curso de inglês num centro de línguas por 8 anos e terminei o curso. (Fernanda)</i>	<i>But, to deeply know English I went to an English institute for 8 years and I finished the course. (Fernanda)</i>
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Fernanda is a well-qualified English teacher in Brazil. She studied English in Brazil for eight years prior to taking some proficiency exams to improve her qualifications. Not all the participants in this research are on the same level of proficiency as Fernanda.

Alisson’s experience with English exemplifies a need more than a desire for English proficiency. Alisson claims to be terrible with languages, and says he never liked English, nor did he like studying Portuguese. After he graduated in Petroleum Engineering, he found that he needed to improve his English. According to him, in his field, positions are only offered to engineers who can speak English. He complained that his course at the university did not offer English lessons, therefore he sought English instruction elsewhere. He ended up at a language institute in Brazil, one which offered him a 1-year course. The course suited his primary need, which was to be able to engage in conversations at events related to his field of study. Prior to that Alisson spent seven years studying English in a public school, and claims that he did not even know the word ‘sister’ at the end of it. However, after 18 months of studying English at a language institute, he felt that he had developed some communicative competence in English.

<i>Entrei na Wise up por causa do curto período de 18 meses para terminar o curso todo. Eu saí de nada para conseguir conversar com o pessoal em eventos, esses negócios de petróleo no Rio de Janeiro, e chegar aqui no nível no mínimo intermediário. (Alisson)</i>	<i>I enrolled at ‘Wise up’ for a period of 18 months to finish the whole course. I went from nothing to being able to talk with people at events, these petroleum events in Rio de Janeiro, and to arrive here [in Cape Town] in the intermediate level. (Alisson)</i>
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Alisson’s narrative shows that despite the time and money involved in studying in English institutes, this investment is often seen as necessary and good, because it might open doors to a better paid job and/or professional success. The narratives in this study relate to findings by Friedrich (2000) who argues that knowing English in Brazil is a sign of being materially successful, of having a better paid job and a higher chance of obtaining a

promotion.

4.3 Learning English for professional aspiration

As noted above, all the participants in this study have in common the fact that they either studied or are still studying in an English language institute in Brazil. The initial reasons for studying at a language institute included the need to attain a professional qualification, to satisfy a parental decision, or reflected a personal desire to learn English. But despite these initial motives to start their English studies, all the participants ended up focusing on their English skills as a means to improve their professional qualification, either in order to get their first job or to attain a promotion at work.

<i>Eu sempre soube que o inglês um dia ia ser muito necessário no mercado de trabalho, quando eu era adolescente, quando eu estava estudando, quando eu estava me formando, e hoje eu tenho certeza que é indispensável. (Fabiola)</i>	<i>I have always known that English would be extremely necessary for the job market, when I was an adolescent, when I was studying, when I was graduating, and today I am sure that it is imperative. (Fabiola)</i>
<i>Desde criança eu ouvi falar que é importante para o futuro, para a carreira e tal. E hoje eu estou aqui especificamente, me obrigando a aprender inglês porque eu acabei de terminar engenharia, eu fiz engenharia de produção, na área que eu quero trabalhar eu preciso do inglês eu tenho que saber inglês. (Viviane)</i>	<i>Since I was a kid I heard that it is important for the future, for the career and so on. And, today I am here, specifically, forcing myself to learn English because I have just finished my degree as a production engineer, and in the area I want to work in I need to know English. (Viviane)</i>
<i>Eu preciso do inglês por causa da minha empresa, olhando profissionalmente eu preciso do inglês para poder continuar crescendo na minha empresa, que é a Vale, que é uma empresa de minério. Então, para poder conseguir oportunidades de viajar pela empresa eu tenho que ter meu inglês fluente. Não adianta só estar estudando, tem que estar com fluência. (Julia)</i>	<i>I need English because of my company, looking at it professionally, I need English to keep growing in the company, that is Vale, a mining company. So, to be able to get opportunities to travel, representing the company, I need to have fluent English. No use in studying it only; I need to be fluent. (Julia)</i>

From these extracts, it can be assumed that participants seek English instruction based on the belief that they are going to need the language in order to succeed professionally. This professional need is linked with the idea of becoming a more resourceful professional and of

working in a particular field that requires English competence. All the participants, except Fernanda, see English as an important factor in their professional development and economic success. Among the participants Fernanda is the most experienced with English. She said in her individual interview that she earned a high salary when she combined her English proficiency with her work as a lawyer. Nonetheless, she claims it was not worth it, and that for her English teaching – although much less well paid – provided more professional satisfaction.

Kroskrity (2010b) points out that language ideologies are beliefs, feelings and conceptions about language use which often index the political and economic interests of the speaker. The sentences in bold in the extracts above show the economic interest of these participants as they speak about their beliefs regarding the benefits of knowing English. This echoes the earlier assertion, discussed in Chapter 2, that English is the language of neo-liberalism in Brazil. In her interview, Fabiola refers to the importance of English in one's studies and upon graduation. There is an important change in the way she perceives English: whereas she thought it was 'necessary' in the past, now she thinks it is 'imperative'.

The ideological discourse that positions English as an economic necessity seems to have accompanied Fabiola for many years, starting when she was an adolescent sent to study in an English institute. Viviane seems to have been exposed to the idea that English proficiency equates to a prosperous career since she was a child. This suggests that these discourses of English for economic success are not new, but have been around for a while. It is interesting to note that she used the word 'forcing' to describe her acquisition of English; learning English has become an obligation to her; something that cannot be avoided.

Kroskrity (2010b) claims that ideologies serve a particular interest. In this case, the ideology which associates English with professional and financial success is profitable for English institutes as they fill the gap created by poor teaching in Brazilian schools. Jørgensen (2012) argues that "ideologies are beliefs that represent political interests and many become generally accepted as 'truths' about language" (p. 525). The ideology that positions English as an instrument for personal economic growth is not the only ideology identified among the participants, however. Later in her interview, Julia acknowledges that she learns English for more than just work; she also enjoys the fact that it allows her to experience entertainment that uses English, and to understand the lyrics of songs. Such use of English is shared by most of the participants, with the exception of Fernando and Allison who claim they do not like English and only study it because they believe it is important for their professional aspirations. Therefore, for most of the participants English offers opportunities for cultural enrichments as well as being a tool for professional success. Being a more resourceful professional seems to attach to the participants' social identity a more positive connection with a global world, this discussion will be further developed in Chapter 5 as I discuss their perception concerning the use of English borrowings in the Brazilian Portuguese lexicon.

4.4 English in Cape Town

Among the twelve participants, nine were trying to improve their English proficiency as quickly as possible, either to get a promotion or to find a job. Different strategies were developed in order to increase English proficiency, such as hiring a tutor, taking different courses to increase the hours dedicated to English, and going abroad to immerse themselves in the language. Most of the participants decided to study English abroad in order to learn more and faster, the idea being that greater exposure to the language and increased hours dedicated to formal instruction would speed up the process. This part of the chapter discusses the participants' perceptions of their learning experience in Cape Town. I start by providing the reader with information regarding the marketing strategies of the school in Cape Town.

4.4.1 The school in Cape Town

Meetings were held with staff at the English school in Cape Town prior to meeting the participants. These meetings were not recorded as their purpose was to gather information about the Brazilian students and marketing strategies the school has established in Brazil to recruit these students. According to the marketing director of the school, their biggest targets are the Arab countries, Angola, and Brazil. In the Arab countries and Angola they have a very specific target market: professionals in the aviation industry and professionals in the oil industry respectively.

In Brazil, on the other hand, the school uses a 'general marketing strategy', which means there is no specific group they target in Brazil. Rather, the school markets the English school itself and Cape Town as a tourism destination for teenagers and adults. They also have an agent that works for them and who is based in Minas Gerais, a state in the south east region in Brazil. This might explain why the majority of the participants come from Minas Gerais. Among other marketing activities, the agent visits schools and English language institutes to promote the programme in Cape Town. In addition, advertising in specialized magazines around the world is also included in the marketing strategy. According to the marketing manager of the school, they focus mainly on the south-east of Brazil, since the Brazilian economy is concentrated there.

The marketing manager also explained that they send someone from the English school in Cape Town once or twice a year to have some meetings with local agents and companies in Brazil to negotiate and make sure they advertise Cape Town and the school. They also offer free packages for these agents and companies to visit Cape Town, either to take an English course or to stay for a while as a tourist. They claim the publicity of the English school in Cape Town improves once the Brazilians responsible for the advertising know the city and have experienced Cape Town themselves. The marketing manager also said that several people are moving away from the 'obvious places' to study English, such as London. Other cities that were not that obvious in the past are becoming solid destinations for international students, such as Cape Town. Due to its position, Cape Town offers two main commodities to students: language lessons and a holiday.

4.4.2 Reasons for choosing Cape Town

Among the participants the decision to study English in Cape Town was influenced by a number of factors, including the weather, travel opportunities, price and the financial accessibility of study in South Africa.

The tourist attractions in South Africa influenced the participants' decisions to study in Cape Town. For Kelly, the possibility to practice mountain biking was a key factor to choose Cape Town as her destination for studying English. Besides that, the possibilities of encounters with wildlife were a unique draw card for South Africa. The local culture was also pointed out as a positive aspect of the city. Most of the participants claimed similarities between Brazil and South Africa, which made them feel 'at home'. Participants saw both are developing countries with high levels of social inequalities, but argued that despite that, 'the locals' are hospitable and warm.

Cape Town was also considered one of the least expensive destinations. There were cases in which the participants had preferred other cities but in the end opted for Cape Town, since it was more affordable. That was the case for the twin sisters, Carol and Fernanda, who wanted to go to Hawaii, but thought it was overly expensive. Alisson, whose parents wanted him to go to England, convinced them to send him to Cape Town based on the costs involved. Francisco paid for a language programme in Canada, but had his visa denied. He had to immediately rearrange his plans, eliminating countries that demanded a visa for Brazilians. Cape Town soon became the most attractive destination. This made the visa exemption another determining factor for participants.

The participants in this study believed that going abroad to study English is a worthwhile choice since it optimizes language learning, and comes with the added advantage of the participant being perceived as having a cosmopolitan identity. Both reasons listed here reflect an ideology which carries with it an economic and utilitarian discourse. Utilitarian because both – language proficiency and having a cosmopolitan identity – serve the purpose of improving one's curriculum vita.

4.5 Language programs abroad: An investment worth taking

Some of the participants complained about the steep prices of English institutes in Brazil. However, it is even more expensive to study English abroad. The costs involved include ticket fare, accommodation, school fees, food and so on. Most of the participants (nine out of twelve) also budgeted to travel around the country and possibly to other nearby countries in Africa, all as part of the experience.

Three out of the twelve participants (Viviane, Alisson and Lucas) came with the sole intention of improving their English. They had the program financed by their families and did not budget for travelling around and having holidays. They saw it as a chance to improve their professional credentials in order to compete in the Brazilian market for better engineering positions.

The extracts below show how some of the participants perceive their expenses in comparison to what they gain from studying English abroad. Alisson and Lucas have recently graduated as engineers and are currently unemployed. Both believe that English will help them find a good position.

<p><i>Eu estou feliz, acho um excelente investimento. Apesar de ter um custo altíssimo, é tipo um carro no Brasil. Para mim está sendo um bom investimento porque depois se eu começar a trabalhar eu consigo ter o retorno disso em 4 ou 5 meses. Então eu não acho que é um investimento tão alto. (Alisson)</i></p>	<p><i>I am happy, I think it is an excellent investment, even though the cost is very high. It is like a car in Brazil. To me it is a good investment because as soon as I start working I will be able to get this money back within 4 or 5 months. So, I do not think the investment is that much. (Alisson)</i></p>
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<p><i>Eu precisava vir nestes três primeiros meses desse ano. Eu acabei a faculdade há três meses, aí com um inglês melhor eu já volto e arrumo um bom emprego. Eu não queria ter janela e não queria arrumar qualquer emprego porque se arrumo para eu vir fica difícil. Então, tinha que terminar a faculdade e vir. (Lucas)</i></p>	<p><i>I needed to come in these first three months of this year. I graduated three months ago and then with an improved English I go back and I can get a good job. I did not want to have a gap and did not want to get any job because if I had done it, it would have been difficult to come, So, I needed to complete university first. (Lucas)</i></p>
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Alisson notes that the price of language study abroad is ‘very high’. He compares it to buying a car in Brazil. This suggests that he views the program more as a commodity, as an ‘investment’, rather than as a cultural experience. Although the course is costly, it is expected that these costs can be quickly recouped.

Kroskirty (2010a) cites Silverstein (1979) who argues that language ideologies can be found in the rationalizations and justifications speakers give regarding their communicative choices. It is possible to conclude then that among these participants there is a strong commercial reason for studying English. The use of the word ‘investment’ to refer to an educational process indicates that English is seen as a tool for a prestigious position in the job market. English as an ‘investment’ is rooted in Alisson’s language ideology.

Lucas has a similar narrative. He is a production engineer, recently graduated, who intended to improve his English skills before getting a job. In comparison to Alisson he seems to have more confidence in finding a job right away. Lucas claims that it was crucial for him to study English abroad in the first three months of the year since he had just graduated. He didn’t want to find just any job upon graduation, but wanted first to improve his English to be optimally prepared for job market. This suggests that Lucas sees English as an important tool

for the completion of his professional qualification. Graduating, improving his English competence, and finding a good job seem to flow in a natural chronology.

The ideology that regards English as a good 'investment' for financial success was shared by all the participants. The idea that English fits perfectly into the equation of being professionally successful seems to have become successfully 'naturalized'. Due to the emergence of English as a global language Crystal claims that "governments who wish to play their part in the world's linguistic future should ponder carefully, as they make political decisions and allocate resources for language planning" (2010, p. 65). Even though the Brazilian ministry of education acknowledges the importance of English teaching (Paiva, 2003), the Brazilian educational system seems to have failed in providing English acquisition to these participants who have used their own resources in order to become proficient in English. Pennycook (2014) notes that the English language teaching (ELT) industry generates billions of dollars every year. In this regard English becomes a valuable global commodity that is perceived by the participants in this research as an important tool for engaging in a globalized world and for gaining professional and social prestige.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the perceptions of the participants regarding their experiences of English teaching education. All the participants followed the same route towards English acquisition, first in the regular Brazilian schooling system, followed by English institutes and then language programs abroad.

Overall, the participants' perception about English teaching practices in Brazilian schools, public and private, is that the education is 'bad', 'weak' and 'basic'. Thus, the participants do not see Brazilian schools as a good and productive learning environment for the acquisition of English. This poor quality has created a gap with regard to English teaching in Brazil, a gap which is filled by English institutes. All participants regard their experience of learning English in English institutes as positive. The adjectives used to describe their experience were 'good', 'efficient' and 'serious'. Acquiring English proficiency is seen as important to becoming a more resourceful professional in an increasingly globalized world. The participants' language attitude towards English seems to favour the belief that English institutes play an important role to help them develop and acquire their professional and social aspirations. Nonetheless, complaints concerning the high hours dedicated to English learning and the costs made the participants try a different strategy to further improve their English skills: language programs abroad.

The participants in this research opted to take a language program abroad to improve their English proficiency. Among the reasons for choosing Cape Town are: the tourist attractions, the visa exemption for Brazilians and the affordability of the studies in South Africa. According to the school in Cape Town Brazilians represent a great market for the ELT business. Their marketing strategy is more focused on the south east region where the

Brazilian economy is concentrated.

The participants in this study perceive the language program as an investment worth making. English is seen as a global commodity that guarantees professional success and prestige. Discourses that position English as the language of opportunity and empowerment seem to have naturalized in the participants' language ideology as they justify their English studies.

Chapter 5: Ideological discourses around the use of English in Brazil

5. Introduction

This chapter presents data on participants' perceptions regarding the relationship between English and Portuguese and aims to contribute to our understanding as to why in certain contexts Brazilians use English words, even though a Brazilian Portuguese equivalent is available. In order to stimulate the discussion a story from a Brazilian news website was used. The story, as discussed above, reported a proposed bill presented in 1999 by the then congressman Aldo Rebelo. The bill aimed to create mechanisms to protect and promote Portuguese in Brazil, and to limit the use of English. The language ideologies that emerged from this discussion help us to understand why the participants sometimes prefer to use English over Portuguese.

The responses to the text used in the individual interviews can be divided into three different groups. Even though all the participants claimed to be against such a bill, the extent to which they were against it differed, ranging, from a participant who seemed almost as conservative as the bill to participants who were completely against it.

A fairly lone voice among the participants is Julia who was in broad agreement with the purist orientation of the bill and believed that Portuguese should be the main language for education, media and communication in Brazil. .

There are four participants (Tulio, Alisson, Fernanda and Camila) who said that they are against the proposed bill; however, they also mentioned some concerns regarding the influence of English on Brazilian Portuguese. Participants in this group criticized, for example, the use of English words in everyday informal conversations and advertising. However, the majority of the participants (Kelly, Francisco, Carol, Bruna, Lucas, Viviane and Fabiola) positioned themselves firmly against the bill. For them, there is no need to protect Brazilian Portuguese and the use of English in everyday life is nothing to worry about.

In this chapter I will discuss four language ideologies that were recurrent in the participants' narratives. The extracts presented are drawn from participants in the second and third group, i.e. those objecting to the bill even though they agreed with aspects of the bill, and those who positioned themselves clearly against the bill.

5.1. Language change as natural

Congressman Aldo Rebelo, as discussed in Chapter 1, was concerned about the extent to which the use of English has grown in past decades in Brazil. The widespread use of English words in Brazilian-Portuguese and the use of English words in advertisements and the news were considered a problem by Rebelo, who proposed a bill to regulate the use of foreign words.

Commenting on the proposed bill Schmitz (2009) says that Rebelo sees foreign words as a threat. This includes expressions that are used every day in Brazil, on radio and television, in newspapers and magazines. Schmitz (2009) says that what seems to concern Rebelo is the abundance of English words in the area of computing. Terms such as *site*, *home page*, *on line*, *software* reflect processes of globalization at the end of the 20th century. However, Schmitz (2009) affirms that the presence of foreign words does not denationalize or corrupt Brazilian Portuguese.

With the exception of Julia (see above), those who participated in this research were generally not in favour of the bill. Consider the following comment by Tulio:

<i>Eu não sou favorável a esse tipo de legislação. Para mim a língua não é estanque, ela vai absorver idiomas estrangeiros como já está acontecendo. O português vai receber muita influência estrangeira e vai continuar recebendo. Provavelmente o Português que a gente fala hoje não é o mesmo português que a gente vai falar daqui a 100 anos. Não adianta deputado nenhum e pessoa nenhuma querer fazer uma modificação ou criar qualquer tipo de processo que tente impedir isso. Ela não vai mudar, é um processo natural O português que a gente fala hoje não é o português de 500 anos atrás. (Tulio)</i>	<i>I am not in favour of this type of legislation. To me a language is not stuck, it will absorb foreign languages as it is already happening. Portuguese will receive much foreign influence and will continue to do so. The Portuguese that we speak today will probably not be the same we will speak in 100 years from now. It doesn't matter if any congressman or person tries to modify and create a process to stop this. It won't stop, it's a natural process. The Portuguese we speak today is not the same that we spoke 500 hundred years ago. (Tulio)</i>
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Language contact refers to the use of more than one language at the same time and in the same space. This might result in language change as the languages influence one another. Thomason and Kaufman (2001) argue that frequently, although not always, one language exerts at least some influence over the other(s). The most typical kind of influence is the borrowing of words. For example, it is estimated that 75% of English vocabulary comes from French and Latin (Crystal, 2010). A large proportion of these loanwords went into English sometime after 1066, when the Normans conquered England and brought with them the French language (Thomason and Kaufman, 2001).

Rajagopalan (2010) asserts that English is quickly spreading and as a consequence there will soon be more than two billion people learning English around the globe. According to Crystal (2010), the emergence of a global language can influence the structure of other languages, especially by providing loanwords. The influence of English in Brazil is relatively new, considering that French used to be the main language which influenced the Brazilian Portuguese lexicon up until the beginning of the 20th century (Silva, 2004). The presence of foreign words can be welcomed or opposed. In this case, the bill proposed by Rebelo considers the use of English loanwords in Brazilian Portuguese lexicon as a negative influence. Yet, the majority of the participants in this study (11) believe such contact-induced change is natural and cannot be stopped. Extracts from Tulio's interviews best exemplify the discussions around this ideology.

Indeed, Tulio's assertion is right in the sense that change is virtually inevitable, as according to Thomason and Kaufman (2001) there is no evidence that a language has ever developed in total isolation from other languages. And in a globalized world not only is there an intense flow of commodities and people (Pennycook, 2010b), but also of languages and linguistic forms spoken by individuals involved in the processes of globalization. However, how 'natural' is this change? The discussion of Brazilian history in Chapter 1 has shown that Portuguese established itself in Brazil through a cultural-political-economic process which led to the marginalization of other languages. Nowadays, processes of globalization have encouraged the promotion of English. The influence English has on languages, such as Portuguese, is grounded in political-economic interests.

In sum, Tulio positioned himself against Rebelo's bill because, in his view, a language is used, shaped and changed by its speakers as well as by speakers of different languages that come into contact with it. He said there is no need to protect the language against change, since change is a 'natural' process. Silverstein argues that, "speakers' awareness of language and their rationalizations of its structure and use were often critical factors in shaping the evolution of a language's structure" (cited in Kroskrity 2010b: 2). In this regard, Tulio's belief that language change is natural and the acknowledgement of the influence of English over Brazilian Portuguese supports English borrowings. Nonetheless, other participants are a bit more critical about the use of English borrowings and articulate some concerns regarding the influence of English. Their views will be discussed in the next section.

5.2.Purist ideologies

Central to a monolingual language ideology is the belief that every person must have a close relationship with one particular language. This language is often referred to as the 'mother tongue', that is, the language acquired in childhood. In that regard, Jørgensen (2012) argues that "routinely, linguistic nationalists will claim their language is particularly 'beautiful'" (p.527). The spread of English has been perceived by the congressman Rebelo as a threat to Brazilian Portuguese and this belief is shared, with reservations, by some of the

participants in this research. Alisson and Fernanda, for example, seem to be concerned about the use of English words in regular conversations among Brazilians.

<p><i>Em certo ponto eu até concordo. Porque ultimamente no Brasil muita gente começa a falar feelings. Assim, começa a usar umas palavras muito bestas que você tem na língua portuguesa. Então, eu não vejo isso como um crescimento da língua. Se você tem a palavra em português por que que você vai usar ela em inglês? (Alisson)</i></p>	<p><i>In certain aspects I agree. Because currently in Brazil many people started saying 'feelings'. Like, started using silly words that you have in the Portuguese language. So, I don't see it as a growth in the language. If you have the word in Portuguese why are you going to use it in English? (Alisson)</i></p>
<p><i>Eu acho que existe no Brasil o uso excessivo no sentido de, as lojas colocam 'sales' ao invés de promoção, aquilo ali é pra mostrar que o negócio é chique pra atingir uma determinada classe, mas eu não acho que leis podem punir uma pessoa por usar. Seria interessante fazer uma promoção para que o Português tenha valor, agregar valor as palavras em Português. Para evitar o abuso de estrangeirismo desnecessários. (Fernanda)</i></p>	<p><i>I think that in Brazil there is an excessive use of English words, in stores, they use 'sales' instead of 'promoção', that is to show that the business is chic, to attract a certain class. But I don't think bills can punish people who use these words. It would be interesting to make a promotion to improve the status of Portuguese, give value to Portuguese words. To avoid the abusive use of unnecessary foreign words. (Fernanda)</i></p>

Alisson thinks that the use of English words, such as 'feelings', which translates as *sentimento* in Portuguese, is unnecessary if there is an equivalent word in Portuguese with a corresponding meaning. Alisson's narrative is to a certain extent aligned with the discourse of the congressman, which is embedded in a nationalistic and purist idea of language (Silva, 2004). These ideas are also present in Fernanda's comments. Even though Fernanda is against the bill, she believes Brazilian Portuguese ought to be promoted in Brazil in order to add 'value' to Brazilian Portuguese. Such promotion might change the perception of Brazilians who rather use English over Brazilian Portuguese words.

Jørgensen (2012) says that, "the concepts of separate 'languages' are, in other words, abstract ideological constructions, and it is highly questionable whether they are useful in the description of everyday language use, but they are very real in political and ideological discussions nonetheless". (p. 526) It is clear from participants narratives that English is a language that is present in their lives. Not only do they study it, but they also use it, or hear people use English words mixed with Brazilian Portuguese in everyday conversations. Indeed, all participants claim English is part of their daily routine. Discourses about language

structure and use are often ideologically motivated (Jørgensen, 2012). Alisson and Fernanda's discourse is rooted in the idea that features associated with English must not be 'abusively used' in Brazilian Portuguese. Fernanda cites the example of shops in Brazil which use the word 'sales', which means *promoção* in Brazilian Portuguese. Even though the words 'sales' and *promoção* would have equivalent meanings in their respective languages they signal different social meanings in Brazilian Portuguese. The English word gives the impression that the shop is 'chic'. Nonetheless, Fernanda considers this use of English words 'unnecessary' and, indeed, 'abusive'

Pennycook (2003) argues that among other things globalization increases nationalism as a form of protection. Indeed the discourses of Alisson and Fernanda can be interpreted as reflecting a sense of nationalism and national identity; especially Fernanda's comment that encourages the promotion of Portuguese in an attempt to reduce English influence. Mendonça (2007) argues that the purist language ideologies, which are perpetuated in Brazilian mainstream media, are grounded in nationalist ideas. She describes a nationalist purist ideology as a linguistic attitude that helps to sustain and exalt nationalism, and indicates a preference for what is the nation's own. In her study, Mendonça (2007) analyses how *Folha de São Paulo*, the most prestigious Brazilian newspaper, portrayed the linguist Carlos Alberto Faraco in a debate with the congressman Rebelo. The debate happened in the newspaper from March to June, 2001, regarding the proposed bill of the congressman. Mendonça argues that in this debate Faraco, the linguist, is portrayed as if he does not care about the national culture since he was not concerned with the 'invasion' of English words, which indeed increased in Brazil towards the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century (Mendonça, 2007). The negative attitude towards English borrowings in everyday Brazilian Portuguese, which was articulated by participants, and their characterization of these as 'unnecessary' and 'abusive', aligns with the ideological discourses that draw on nationalist and purist ideas about language. The participants in group two shared this nationalist purist ideology, while participants in group three seemed to be more open towards the use of English in everyday language. However, all the participants expressed acceptance of English borrowings in the fields of technology and science.

5.3 Borrowings as acceptable in science and technology

In spite of negative perceptions of borrowings from English in everyday language in Brazil by some participants, all the participants were accepting of borrowings from English when it occurred in the fields of science and technology. Overall they perceived these borrowings as positive since they indicate a sense of connectivity with the globalized world.

Na área tecnológica e científica é impossível, porque elas são muito rápidas. Eu acho que ao contrário de ela dificultar a comunicação de brasileiros ela inclui,

In the technological and scientific fields it [to use a Portuguese equivalent] is impossible, because they are very fast. I think that instead of creating difficulties in

<i>porque o mundo hoje é global. (Fernanda)</i>	<i>the communication of Brazilians, they [English borrowings] include Brazilians in the globalized world. Because the world is global. (Fernanda)</i>
<i>Eu acho que mesmo que a gente coloque na lei, é difícil isso no dia a dia, porque tem muitas palavras que são mais fáceis de falar em inglês do que em português. Tipo, "Ah, delete isso aqui pra mim por favor." Delete, já veio na máquina. É muito difícil proteger uma língua que não tem tecnologia. Se a gente desenvolver isso daqui nós passaríamos a nossa tecnologia e nossa língua para os outros. (Carol)</i>	<i>I think that even if we put this in a bill, it is difficult to control it daily, because there are many words that are easier to say in English than in Portuguese. Like, "Ah, 'delete' this for me, please." Delete, it already came in the machine. It's very difficult to protect a language that does not produce technology. If we developed this (technology) here we could pass along our technology and our language to others. (Carol)</i>

English is often perceived not only as the language of globalization, but also as the language of technology. Pennycook (2014) argues that the spread of English and the discourses of global power feed each other, with English associated with ideas of development and modernization. Crystal (2010) argues that the recognition of global independence, the value of multilingualism and the desire to have a voice in world affairs are all supporting factors for the emerging role of English as a global language.

Indeed, it seems that the participants in this research see English as an emerging global language and seek to have a voice in the globalized world. In the extract of Fernanda's interview where she says she believes that the use of Portuguese words to refer to technological and scientific terms is ultimately impossible. More importantly, insisting on using Portuguese words would make communication between Brazilians and the rest of the world difficult. According to Ferguson (2007), English is currently a dominant international language in academic publication, particularly in the natural and social sciences. Crystal (2010) notes that people who write their research in a language other than English might have their work ignored by the international community. The participants argued that there are several English words that are used regularly in their fields of study and/or work. Among the words mentioned in the interviews are the following: 'dry wall', 'brainstorm', 'PDCA (plan, do, check and act)', 'pig', 'pipeline', 'check in' and 'off-shore'. The participants say that some of these words have an equivalent translation in Portuguese, nonetheless, the English words are often preferred. This discussion seems to support the idea of learning English in order to develop a positive social identity in the global world, as was discussed in the previous chapter.

In the above extract, Carol draws on an ideology that positions English as the language of development and modernization. Pennycook (2007) points out that globalization increases the exchange of information and commodities. The perception that technical words

are easier in English than in Portuguese is connected to the fact that technology – especially high-tech electronic devices – usually comes via the US and is closely associated with English. Carol illustrates her point with the word ‘delete’ which is *deletar* in Brazilian Portuguese. However, the word – which is modelled on the English term – is relatively new and only appeared around 2004. According to Assirati (1998) some English borrowings have undergone adaptations to Brazilian Portuguese, sometimes morphological (as in the case of *deletar*) and sometimes phonological. In other cases, the borrowing remains with no alteration. Further examples of morphological change are the verbs ‘to reset’ (a computer) and ‘to attach’ (a file). In Brazilian Portuguese they became *resetar* and *atachar*. This is different from borrowings such as ‘site’, ‘browser’ and ‘mouse’, which have remained English in shape. All these words are well known to Brazilian Portuguese monolingual speakers.

Friedrich’s (2002) work on advertising and brand naming in Brazil provides interesting discussions that seem to relate to Carol’s view that regards the use of English words over Portuguese for technology acceptable and positive. Friedrich (2002) argues that “people of less affluent nations tend to perceive products from more affluent nations as superior. The English brand names give products credibility and imply superior standards of production” (p. 21). This is reflected in Carol’s comment. On the one hand, English seems to be the language that helps her engage with the technology around her, and on the other hand, she finds it difficult to protect and value a ‘non-technological language’, i.e. Portuguese. In Carol’s extract English is positioned as the language of technology; therefore its use over Portuguese is taken as inevitable, and indeed welcome. Friedrich (2002) also points out that, “not only Brazilians have come to expect the use of English in advertising, but they have also come to identify English use in that area as part of the shared experience between the Western world and developing countries”. (p.23). Nevertheless, that does not mean other foreign languages are not used in Brazilian advertising, as discussed in chapter 2. It seems that Carol’s use and acceptance of English words to refer to technology is an attempt to share experiences with countries, such as the US, which are seen as being technologically advanced. Carol’s idea that some English words are easier than Portuguese can be interpreted as a myth which justifies the status quo.

5.4 The glamour of English

Some of the participants in this research (Fernanda, Tulio, Fabiola, Camila and Carol) claim that English is used regularly in their workplace. While Fernanda and Camila use it on a daily basis, the others use English only sporadically. Sometimes the use of English is limited to words that have been incorporated into Portuguese as loanwords, or to non-assimilated English words that are used in specific fields of study and/or work. All the participants considered the use of English in the workplace to be positive, except Camila who felt it was negative (see below). Nonetheless, all of them believe the use of English is necessary since it brings connectivity with a globalized world.

The narratives of Camila and Fabiola concerning the use of English at their workplace suggest that there are sociolinguistic ideologies in Brazil which see English as conferring status and prestige on the speaker.

<p><i>Pra mim esses termos não foram legais porque não tinha ninguém pra me explicar. Eles não se importam em explicar. E tem outra parte que chega a zombar, mas um zombar escondido, 'Ah, você viu? Ela não sabe do que eu estou falando, ignorante.' Como se trouxesse mais inteligência pra quem está falando. Se você quer falar esses termos da área de negócios, tudo bem, mas eu acho que elas deveriam se preocupar com as pessoas que nunca ouviram que não entendem e não achar que porque elas nunca ouviram ou não entendem elas são menos inteligentes do que você. Essa é a grande questão pra mim. Eu já fui interpretada assim. (Camila)</i></p>	<p><i>To me these terms (technical English words used in the workplace) weren't cool because there was nobody to explain them to me. They [individuals who use English words] don't care to explain. And there are others who actually mock you, mock you behind your back, 'Oh, did you see it? She does not know what I am talking about, ignorant'. As if it were a sign of intelligence to know these words. If you want to use these terms in the business field, that is alright, but I think they should care about people who have never heard them and don't understand them, and not assume that because they never heard such words they are less intelligent than you. This is my biggest concern. I have already been interpreted like that. (Camila)</i></p>
<p><i>Hoje no Brasil isso é uma vantagem, você falar uma coisa em inglês dá um up, dá um glamour no seu discurso. Então, as vezes o cara nem sabe falar inglês, só que ele joga uma palavra numa frase ali e todo mundo já acha que ele é mais inteligente. Mas, eu acho que quem não entende tem que correr atrás para entender. (Fabiola)</i></p>	<p><i>Nowadays in Brazil this is an advantage, you speak one thing in English and it gives an 'up', gives glamour to your speech. Then, sometimes the guy doesn't even know English, but he uses one word in a sentence and then everybody thinks he is more intelligent. But, I think that whoever doesn't understand has to hurry up and catch up to understand it. (Fabiola)</i></p>
<p><i>Se você jogou uma palavra em inglês você sabe falar inglês, teoricamente você sabe, você já tem a capacidade, você já está na frente. Geralmente quem vai pensar que você é mais inteligente, que está mais preparado é quem não tem o inglês. Se você falar, 'vamos fazer um "brainstorm"', e eu não sei o que é um 'brainstorm', o que é que eu vou pensar? 'Ele é melhor do que eu, ele sabe inglês, ele já fala.' (Fabiola)</i></p>	<p><i>If you use a word in English, it is as if you know English, theoretically speaking, you know it. You already have the capacity, you are ahead. Generally the person who thinks that you are more intelligent, that you are more prepared, is the one who doesn't know English. If you speak like this, 'Let's "brainstorm"', and I don't know what 'brainstorm' is, what am I going to think? 'He is better than me, he knows English, he can already speak it' (Fabiola)</i></p>

Drawing on Kroskrity's (2010b, p. 8) assertion that "language ideologies represent a perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group", Fabiola and Camila's notion of the use of English words as conferring status – or as believed to conferring status – seems to be grounded in their own social experience. Whereas Camila had a bad experience when colleagues perceived her as less intelligent and capable for not knowing English, Fabiola narrated a similar story in her individual interview, only she expresses a view similar to that of Camila's colleagues'. Fabiola said that people are positioned as out-dated because they do not speak English, articulating an opinion which she shares. According to Fabiola, the use of English allows individuals to show themselves as sophisticated and knowledgeable. The words 'up' and 'glamour' were used to describe the way the incorporation of English words can affect the image of an individual in a Brazilian workplace. This is echoed in the literature. In a study which investigated language attitudes in Brazil, Friedrich (2000) found that her participants believe people who know English have better job opportunities and an advantage in their studies. Moreover, her participants related knowledge of English to social status and intelligence.

Fabiola positions English as an important language in the contemporary world; if one cannot speak it, she says, one needs 'to catch up' and develop some English competence. Her position reproduces discourses found in Brazilian mainstream media (Hornick, 2006) and supports the discussion of Jablonka (2011) who argues that nowadays the use of English borrowings in Brazilian Portuguese denotes sophistication, even when Portuguese equivalents are possible. These findings are also aligned with Cavallari's (2011) discussion of Brazilian Portuguese and English in Brazil, where her participants placed great importance on the use of English words, even when there is a translation equivalent available, so as to attach to their identity attributes they believe go along with English, such as being more educated, westernized and sophisticated.

Camila, however, had a more critical outlook regarding the use of such English words. This is demonstrated when she says '**as if** it would make the one who speaks English more intelligent'. This suggests that she does not necessarily agree that the non-use of English words indicates lesser intelligence. In addition to that, the working environment should be a place where people are encouraged to use English words in order to co-operatively increase understanding rather than reflect the belief that English is a sign of intelligence and prestige. Camila's notion of what is morally good might be grounded in the negative experience she had at her workplace: being positioned as someone less intelligent for not knowing the meaning of certain English words.

By choosing English words over Brazilian Portuguese words, the speakers are ultimately making a language-political decision. Some of the participants are concerned about the spread of English in Brazilian Portuguese and display a purist ideology, with regards to the use of English in everyday interaction. On the other hand, other participants – like Fabiola

– place great importance on the use of English in order to be perceived as sophisticated, capable and intelligent.

5.5. Conclusion

The contact between Portuguese and English in Brazil has led to discussions with the objective of preserving Brazilian Portuguese. The story taken from the Brazilian news website to remind the participants about a debate as to whether the use of English should be regulated or not elicited interesting comments among the participants. Even though all, but one, of them opposed the proposed bill, language ideologies emerged sometimes in the defence of Portuguese, sometimes in the defence of English.

Some participants argue that languages change over the years and the influence of English over Portuguese is natural. Nonetheless, such influence is grounded in intense processes of globalization and a discourse that positions English as the *lingua franca* of the globalized world. It is through these discourses that this ideology develops its roots and is internalized by the participants in this research. Language change as natural links to an ideology that might promote and welcome English loanwords into the Brazilian Portuguese lexicon.

Nonetheless, participants in group two showed concerns regarding the use of English in Brazil. These participants articulated a more purist ideology that regards the use of English words in everyday language as ‘abusive’ and ‘unnecessary’ once there is a Portuguese equivalent. These participants’ narratives seem to be grounded in fairly nationalist and purist ideas about language. Nationalist purist language ideologies were also identified in Brazilian mainstream media by Mendonça (2007).

Regardless of how concerned the participants are with the spread of English in Brazil they show a general acceptance towards borrowings in science and technology. These borrowings were perceived as positive because they provide a sense of connectivity with the globalized world. The participants in this research use English as a tool and symbol to play a more active role in the global world. Carol’s extract, for example, indicates that English is perceived as the language of modernization and development. This ideology seems to be influenced especially by the number of English loanwords that were incorporated into the Brazilian Portuguese lexicon within this area.

The comments made by the participants also showed that English is generally regarded as a prestigious language, and that individuals who use English words can be perceived as more intelligent and prepared for the job market.

Chapter 6: Summary and conclusion

This study focused on describing and analysing some language ideologies regarding English and Brazilian Portuguese. The participants in this study are all middle-class Brazilian Portuguese speakers who are seeking to improve their English competence through a study abroad programme in Cape Town. Most of the participants come from the south-east of Brazil, especially the state of Minas Gerais.

In the first chapter I discussed the current Brazilian linguistic situation pointing out some important historical events that contributed to the establishment of Portuguese, the official and most spoken language in Brazil. Besides that, I presented an introduction to the spread of English in Brazil.

Brazilian history shows that Brazil could have been a much richer multilingual country had a monolingual policy not been pursued. Nonetheless, despite the political, ideological and governmental intervention to establish and promote Portuguese, Brazil is still a multilingual country. This is due to the variety of languages spoken in Brazil, from the indigenous languages to languages brought by migrants, as well as different varieties of Brazilian Portuguese.

Brazilian Portuguese is the most spoken language in Brazil, and throughout its history Portuguese and then Brazilian Portuguese operated as the language of power. Historically, whenever Portuguese dominance was challenged, laws to reinforce its status as official language were created. Brazil's current linguistic situation can thus be understood as a result of a historical project to create a monolingual country (Muller de Oliveira, 2004). In the 20th and 21st century, the inroads made by English have become a cause of concern for purists who believe its influence might challenge the status of Portuguese. Fearing the spread of English in Brazil, congressman Rebelo suggested a bill to promote and reinforce Portuguese in [add year], and to regulate and control the spread of English in the country. The bill has faced strong opposition from the mainstream media, sociolinguistic scholars and parts of the Brazilian society.

The second chapter contributes to an understanding of how English operates in Brazil. The overall quality of English learning in the Brazilian educational system is considered to be weak (Paiva, 2003). Several studies (e.g. Cox and Assis Peterson, 2012; Dias and Assis-Peterson, 2006; Jordão, 2006) have pointed out that there is a lack of satisfaction with the teaching of English in Brazilian schools, mostly due to a teaching style that is focused on grammar and that pays little attention to the communicative aspects of language. Paiva (2003) says that this creates a gap in the Brazilian educational system which is filled by English institutes. English teaching at English institutes is typically seen and experienced as good and positive. Therefore, it seems that successful English learning happens primarily outside regular schools, i.e. in private English institutes. Moreover, according to Santos and Santos (2011), there is an increasing number of Brazilians attending language programs abroad as a viable option to improve their English speaking competence.

English is also present in everyday situations contexts in Brazil, such as in the media,

advertising and professional language use. Hornick (2006) discusses how English is portrayed by Brazilian mainstream media as a prestigious language that can provide social and economic development, once it empowers its speakers in a globalized world. Thus, social symbolic capital is attached to English words that are borrowed and used in Brazilian Portuguese. Consequently it is accepted, and even expected, to give companies English names and to use English in advertising. Such use indexes modernization, sophistication and westernization, attributes that are valued in mainstream Brazilian society (Friedrich, 2002).

Two concepts are central to the theoretical framework used in this study, global Englishes and language ideologies. The concept of global Englishes (Pennycook, 2007) provides a critical understanding of globalization and language. Globalization, as conceptualized by Pennycook, has two axes, the global and the local. While the global axis supports processes of homogenization, there is simultaneously an increase in local diversity through the exchange of information and commodities. Pennycook (2014) argues that English is not simply an index of a global hegemonic culture, but becomes meaningful in local repertoires.

Another important concept is that of language ideologies. Armstrong (2012) argues that language ideologies tells us why a language is important (or unimportant) and why we should (or should not) acquire it. In this study language ideology is seen as a set of beliefs, myths and ideas about language use and structure that indexes the speakers' socio-economic interests (Kroskrity, 2010b). Such a definition of language ideology places emphasis on how the speakers articulate their ideas about language and how they position themselves with regard to certain social phenomena.

Each participant took part in two interviews, an individual interview and a focus group interview. The individual interview was semi-structured. The questions in the individual interviews intended to understand the participants' background and experience with English. The influence of English on their study and work was discussed with the participants, and later on in the context of a written text – that of an article about the bill proposed by Aldo Rebelo attempting to control the spread of English in Brazil. Throughout the interview particular attention was paid to their attitudes towards Brazilian Portuguese and English.

After the individual interviews the participants were invited to a focus group interview in order to further debate with other participants topics that had emerged in their individual interviews. There were four focus groups with three participants each. For the data analyses, I used a qualitative approach, using the tools of content analyses, broadly drawing on De Wet and Erasmus (2005). From the data collected for this research, it is clear that the participants perceive English as a prestigious language in Brazil. Even though Portuguese is the dominant language of the country, the influence of English in various aspects of the participants' lives, professional and personal, is undeniable.

Chapter four discussed English as a global commodity outlining the participants' experiences with English teaching and their perceptions regarding the education received in

Brazilian private and public schools, English institutes and language programs abroad, especially in Cape Town. All the participants in this study were studying English during the research. They all presented a similar route towards English acquisition, which was through Brazilian regular schools, English institutes and language programs abroad. The participants in this study had attended private and public Brazilian schools. According to the findings in this research the quality of English teaching in Brazilian schools does not seem to differ much between public and private schools. The participants' narratives suggest that they regard the Brazilian schools, either public or private, as a place where effective English teaching does not happen. This is a result of their negative experiences, which did not promote a positive learning experience.

These findings are similar to those of Paiva (2003) and Barcelos (2006). In these studies the authors claim that students who want (and can afford) to develop English competence attend private English institutes. The participants believe that language institutes are the ideal place to acquire English competence in Brazil, similar to the findings in Dias and Assis-Peterson (2006). English learning at these institutes is motivated by the need or desire to succeed professionally and to gain social prestige. In their interviews participants reproduced a discourse that is also present in the media: English is projected as a language for business and professional success (Hornick, 2006).

This study contributes to the ongoing discussion regarding the ideologies around English language teaching in Brazil. It also offers data concerning Brazilian-Portuguese speakers' beliefs and perceptions of language courses abroad, a field that has not yet been carefully investigated. The link between English and professional success as well as social prestige is illustrated in the narratives concerning the language program in Cape Town, which is referred to, for example, as an 'investment'. The return on this 'investment' might be a promotion at work or the possibility of getting a well-paid job.

The participants in this research completed their education in Brazil and seek international experiences through language programs abroad. Some of them, like Camila, Carol, Julia and Bruna, have attended several language programs in countries such as Australia, New Zealand, Malta, Canada, England and the United States. The aim of the participants in attending programs like the one in Cape Town goes beyond the improvement of their English competence; they also wish to develop a cosmopolitan identity. Yet this cosmopolitan identity is not an end in itself but is closely linked to an utilitarian ideology; the belief that international experiences will strengthen their curriculum vitae and help them get promotions and better jobs. In this context English becomes a valuable commodity in the globalized world.

In chapter five I discussed the perception of the participants regarding the spread of English in Brazil. In order to elicit language ideologies concerning the influence of English over Portuguese, I presented a news website story to the participants regarding the proposed bill by the congressman Rebelo. All the participants, except Julia, positioned themselves as against the bill. Tulio, for example, argued that language change is a natural process which

cannot be stopped by legislation. Language contact indeed precipitates change. An example of this is the emergence of *Língua Geral*, discussed in the first chapter. Furthermore, all the participants reported that they used English words in their repertoire. Some of these words were used in everyday conversations, others were specific to their field of study and work.

Discourses that position English as the *lingua franca* of the globalized world have taken root and become naturalized among the participants. All the participants placed great importance on acquiring English and developing English competence for achieving professional aspirations. They seemed to be open towards English borrowing, especially with regard to technical terms and words used in the professional context.

It is important to note that language ideologies are normally multiple and embedded in social experiences, and even though the participants refuted the idea of the proposed bill, some of them slipped into a similar purist language ideology at certain moments in the interview. Claims for the promotion and protection of Portuguese were made as a number of participants believed that some English words, when used in everyday conversations, are 'abusive' and 'unnecessary'. Words used to describe technology and scientific terms, however, were throughout seen as positive and even necessary.

Another ideological aspect of the use of English observed in the participants' narratives is their perception of what they experience as prestigious. In Chapter five I presented extracts from Camila's and Fabiola's interviews to illustrate this. The data show that borrowings from English are preferred in certain situations even when there are equivalent Portuguese words. This choice seems to create a social persona that is seen as being modern and globalized. Even though Fabiola and Camila demonstrated differing positions in the discussion, both agreed that the use of English at workplaces in Brazil is perceived as positive and the speakers of English are considered to be more 'capable', 'updated' and 'intelligent'. By assigning to its speakers a certain sophistication, English has become a language that gives status to its speakers in Brazil, and is therefore preferred in certain contexts over Portuguese.

This study aimed to contribute to the way speakers construct an ideology of English in Brazil. I believe that the findings of this study can be useful to researchers, teachers, students and professionals who want to understand how English is being perceived in Brazil. The educational field can benefit from research like this once it accepts that the voices of students matter in the educational system. Their perceptions indicate positive as well as negative learning experiences.

Further investigation is needed to analyse in more detail the language ideologies at play in Brazil. For instance, most of the participants in this study are either studying engineering or are looking for work in this field. Thus, a number of questions arise. How is English being used in this specific field? Is it different from other professions? What are the implications for Brazilian engineers who do not speak English? Does English displace or silence a qualified Brazilian workforce and give 'voice', especially, to an emerging multi-national workforce? Another aspect that needs further investigation is the role of families in

ensuring that young Brazilians have adequate access to English. Most of the participants are the first and sometimes only members of their families that are acquiring English. What motivated these parents to encourage their children to learn English? Was their (parents) professional career limited because of little or no English competence? Most of the participants in this study are from the south east region. Is that a coincidence? Is the need for English for professional qualification concentrated mostly in the south east or is it also intense in other regions, such as the north and the north-east where the economic resources are scarce in comparison to the south east region? What is the need and desire for English in other regions of Brazil?

These are some of the questions that this research does not address. Valez-Rendon (2008) notes that although the expansion of English has reached all corners of the world, the documentation for Latin America remains extremely limited. Researchers who look at the spread of English in countries like Brazil can contribute to the expanding knowledge base of the field.

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Appendix

This is the guideline used for the individual interviews. The text presented in the end of the guideline was presented in Portuguese, the translation of the text was done by me.

1. How do you like to be called?
2. How old are you?
3. Where are you from?
4. Where did you grow up?
5. Where did you study?
6. Did you study English in Brazil? If yes, where? Why did you decide to study English in that school? Did you enjoy studying English there?
7. Do you ever use English in Brazil? What for?
8. Why did you decide to come to Cape Town? How do you think the experience you are having here will help you enhance your English abilities?
9. Have you experience more than one variety of English in Cape Town? If yes, What do you think of all these possible accents you can hear per square meter?
10. Do you ever use Portuguese in Cape Town? If yes, in what situations?
11. Is it your first time abroad? If not, where have you gone? Did you speak English or Portuguese in these countries? Tell me about the experiences you had.

At these moment I would like to show you two texts and I would like to know your opinion about it.

In this Thursday (12), a law proposed by the federal congressman Aldo Rebelo (PCdoB-SP – Communist Party of Brazil from São Paulo), that aims to promote and protect the Portuguese language, was approved by the Commission of Constitution and Justice of the Parliamentarian Chamber.

For Rebelo, the many foreign expressions used in Brazil create difficulties for Brazilians to communicate. According to the proposed project, every time a foreign word is used to communicate something to the public, the one who delivers the message has to make the translation to Portuguese available. Such a rule is valid for the mass means of communication, information and commercial establishments as well as publicity.

Besides that, Rebelo defends the existence of a committee that will be responsible for making Portuguese expressions available to substitute the foreign ones which are normally used, especially in the scientific and technological area.

The Public Power remains responsible to adopt strategies to improve the quality of schooling and promote researches, courses and campaigns for the promotion of the ideal use of Portuguese. The project has already been approved by the Senates and now goes back to the Deputies' assembly.

Original version in Portuguese

Nesta quinta-feira (12), um projeto de lei proposto pelo deputado federal Aldo Rebelo (PCdoB-

SP), que busca promover, defender e proteger a língua portuguesa, foi aprovado pela Comissão de Constituição e Justiça da Câmara dos Deputados.

De acordo com Rebelo, as muitas expressões estrangeiras utilizadas no Brasil dificultam, muitas vezes, a comunicação dos brasileiros. Segundo o projeto proposto, toda a vez em que for usada uma palavra estrangeira para uma comunicação ao público, o emissor da mensagem deve disponibilizar a tradução em português. Tal regra seria válida para os meios de comunicação de massa, informações em estabelecimentos comerciais e também para a publicidade.

Além disso, Rebelo defende que existam comissões para que sejam sugeridas expressões em português para as estrangeiras normalmente usadas, especialmente nas áreas científicas e tecnológicas.

Ao Poder Público caberá a adoção de medidas que melhorem a qualidade do ensino e promovam pesquisas, além de realizar campanhas e cursos para o uso ideal do português. O projeto já havia sido aprovado pelo Senado e agora volta a ser votado em Plenário.