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THEMATIC SECTION
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Preface

In this book, we can find studies that analyse the current role of English as a Lingua Franca from different perspectives. Thus, Olesya Lazaretnaya focuses on the presence of English in Russia, and we also find two studies particularly looking at the use of English in very specific discourse environments, such as the use of English in legal and medical Portuguese (Eduarda Melo Cabrita & Isabel Ferro Mealha) and a description of the characteristics of a corpus of business correspondence in English by Portuguese companies (Maria Goreti Monteiro). Some of the papers take a more theoretical stance and look at the language policies of internationally leading economics journals (Ann C. Henshall), or provide a functional model of context for English a a global lingua franca (Antonio Gonçalves), and the pedagogical implications of adopting an English as an International Language framework (Lili Cavalheiro). There is also space for claiming the need to offer meaningful learning based on young learners' expectations (Isabel Santos Graça), and an analysis of higher education students' performance in English placement tests is provided as the basis for raising some question regarding the teaching of English as a Lingua Franca (Ricardo Pereira). Finally, the book includes a meta-analysis of previous research on varieties of ELT and the issue of NESTs/NNESTs in three different Portuguese-speaking countries: Portugal, Brazil and Cape Verde (Luisa Azuaga & Lili Cavalheiro).

All in all, these papers touch on some of the issues that are open to the debate in the study of English as a Lingua Franca and in the field of English Language Teaching. Many questions arise from here and many potential areas of further enquiry open up for future development. My own contribution has been written with the intention to emphasize the

above mentioned link between English as a Lingua Franca / English as an International Language and the contribution of NNS English teachers to the profession.

Enric Llurda

Introduction

Luísa Azuaga
Department of English Studies, Faculty of Letters, University of Lisbon /
ULICES - University of Lisbon Centre for English Studies

Introduction

Contextualizing

The English language finds itself in an unique situation nowadays: there are more people using it as their second or international language than its native speakers; consequently, the number of interactions in which English is used as a means of communication is mainly among non native speakers.

Driving it away from native speakers' dominance, this undeniable fact makes English a possession of every individual user or community, regardless of their national or geographical identity; native speakers may feel the language belongs to them, but it will be "those who speak English alongside other languages" who will determine its world future (Graddol 1997: 10).

However, the awareness of this new global order and new functions English fulfils in today's society has only recently gained some interest in the theoretical frame for English studies. In fact, the research in English as an International Language (EIL) can be rooted to two scholarly conferences held in the second half of the 20th century, one at the East-West Center in Hawaii (1-15 April), and the other at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (30 June-2 July), both in 1978, and both raising issues connected with the rapidly increasing numbers of non-mother tongue users of English in the world.

Their results, summarized in two publications: *English for Cross-cultural Communication*, edited by Larry E. Smith in 1981, and *The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures*, edited by Braj B. Kachru in 1982, provided the incentive for a more realistic approach and novel perspectives to English, with a fresh framework in the development of the language, and marked the beginning of several debates about the emerging concept of World Englishes (WE).

There followed a period characterized by

1. the discussion of issues such as

a) the spread of English;

b) the use of English in former British colonies;

c) the processes of nativization and acculturation;

d) the emergence of English varieties;

e) bilingual creativity;

f) the problems of standardization and codification, and new implications for English Language Teaching (ELT) worldwide,

and

2. the analyses of concepts such as ownership, appropriateness, compre-hensibility, intelligibility, and interpretability, pragmatic factors that determine the uses of English as an international and intra-national language.

WE, the central concern of such organizations as the International Association for World Englishes (IAWE) and Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), is still one of the major themes in academic research, and of well known journals as *World Englishes*, *English World-Wide*, and *English Today*, but further investigation in a range of sub-disciplines, including Applied Linguistics, Descriptive Linguistics, Critical Linguistics, Discourse Analysis, and Pedagogy contributed for the recognition of a new approach to English related to the globalization process.

This novel and incipient research gave rise to additional questions, and inspired further explorations into the complex phenomenon of EIL, which McArthur (2003: 2) defines as "a language common to, or shared by, many cultures and communities at any or all social and educational levels, and used as an international tool".

The first international English as a lingua franca conference was held at the University of Helsinki, in 2008, followed by one every year, up to now, in Southampton, Vienna, Hong Kong and Istanbul, respectively, attended by hundreds of participants from all over the world.

Papers presented in these and other international conferences spanned theoretical analyses, empirical studies, pedagogical questions and ideological issues around EIL and English as a lingua franca (ELF), and explored their

local and regional use in different institutional and educational settings in a variety of countries.

Recently, large databases have been completed, which allow an innovative, in depth scale analysis of ELF, along the lines of English as a native language (ENL) varieties, such as COBUILD, BNC or ICE: the ELFA corpus of academic ELF, 2008, in Helsinki, (www.eng.helsinki.fi/elfa), and the VOICE corpus, 2009, in Vienna (www.univie.ac.at/voice). As Mauranen and Ranta (2009: 2) comments, "the size of the corpora equals that of the first, pioneering ENL corpora from the 1960s (Brown and LOB, both one million words of written English), and they are in fact twice as large as the much-studied London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English"; there mere existence "ushers in a new era in ELF research".

Undoubtedly, studies in this area are not only expanding our understanding of EIL in use: its linguistic features, its practices and its processes, but also contributing for changes in attitudes towards it, and for its awareness of a language on its own, independent of ENL exonormative norms.

In the Faculty of Letters of the University of Lisbon, these issues started being more structurally studied in 2004, in English IV, an undergraduate course, whose main objective was looking at the recent developments of English, trying to present the latest phases in its history, focusing on standardization and its world expansion, related to the spread of the English Empire and globalization.

In fact, it was an attempt to make students aware of the current global status of English, contradicting the traditional discourse about this language, concentrated predominantly on native speaker prescriptive norms, and the acquisition of standard varieties.

From 2005 up to now, there have been several seminars which, in the first years, were integrated in MA and PhD programmes of Linguistics, Sociolinguistics and Applied Linguistics, in the Department of Anglo-American Studies, or, as it is now, offered as optional seminars, mainly for students in the MA courses of Anglo American Studies, but also attended by other graduates.

These were seminars on English in the 21st century, its geographical global spread and typology, and on the resulting changes occurred in this language and in its use. Special attention was given to notions concerning variation, linguistic and extra-linguistic dimensions of English; to English

around the world and its major varieties, focusing on their social, political and linguistic characteristics; to concepts of teaching English in the new international context, and to the importance of a possible universal English standard. The areas and topics were somewhat different each year, according to the graduates' interests, but, generally, including ELF in academic, professional and business contexts, and reflections on it in relation to classroom practices, materials, textbooks and teacher training and development.

In April 2012, the University of Lisbon Centre for English Studies sponsored a conference, where academics and researchers from other faculties and schools of higher education were brought together, to reflect on English language teaching today. Professor Enric Llurda, of the University of Lleida, Spain, was invited to participate and presented an open lecture entitled "The Intercultural Component in English Language Teaching Expertise"; he also conducted a postgraduate workshop on English as an International Language and English Language Teaching, attended by most of the contributors to this book.

About this book

The growing interest in English as an international language shown by a number of graduates and postgraduates which has given rise to a certain amount of PhD and MA dissertations, under my supervision, and the enthusiasm and energetic debating about ongoing work I had the opportunity to witness in the 2012 Lisbon conference "Reflections on English Language Teaching Today", were the main impetus to edit this book.

My aim is to present a significant sample of most of the work done in English as an international language at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Lisbon, collecting results mainly obtained both from several Ma and PhD theses, under my supervision, and from papers in my former seminars. Thus, this book comprises those contributions by students, researchers and professionals interested in the general field of English language who wrote nine papers, some reflecting on fundamental issues in EIL (approaches, conceptualization, attitudes, universality and comprehensibility), and others on teaching and learning issues, particularly on their adjustment to aspects related to ELF studies.

In some papers here included, the focus is clearly on empirical studies of the language itself as, for example, Eduarda Melo Cabrita and Isabel Ferro Mealha's paper "EIL in Legal and Medical Portuguese: Contracts and Medical Research Articles" which studies English relevance within the context of legal and medical translation in Portugal, as well as manifestations of interference in legal and medical texts translated into Portuguese, while Ann Henshall's "English as an International Language and Language Policies in Economics Journals" synthesises the language policies of the economics journals referenced on the Institute for Scientific Information's (ISI) Journal of citation Reports (JCR), and re-examines models of world Englishes in the light of these policies, raising issues related to intelligibility and standard, identity, prescriptivism and hegemony.

Maria Goreti Monteiro focuses on European English varieties and studies a corpus of business correspondence, which exchanged in English as a foreign language, among technicians from seven different European countries; her paper " European English varieties: A contribution to the study of the characteristics of nativisation processes" accounts for individual features in terms of grammar, word order and vocabulary, contributing to establishing characteristics of different European varieties of English.

In the same line of descriptive attempts, Olesya Lazaretnaya in "English as a Lingua Franca in Russia: from a Macro to a Micro Perspective" underlines a retrospective account discussing how the English language has been developing historically in the Russian national contexts, recognizing an urgent need of reappraisal and reorientation of traditional dichotomies in theoretical research and approaches to English teaching and teacher education.

In some other papers surface more distinctively implications on teaching and learning English in the new world order. So, in the first paper, the exposure and use of English as a lingua franca in Portuguese speaking countries (Brazil, Cape Verde and Portugal) are mapped out and some conclusions are drawn concerning the desired profile of English teachers — native vs. non-native —, and the varieties of English that ought to be taught in their educational systems. In addition, it explores the learners' interests, motives and purposes in relation to the English language and potential communicative interactions with native and non-native speakers, with a view to better understanding ELF in English language education,

and considers how much all these factors affect or should affect the institutional pedagogical practices in a Portuguese environment.

Also, the paper, "Taking on EIL in School Curriculum", by Lili Cavalheiro, reconsiders fundamental assumptions in ELT, and rethinks traditional pedagogical practices, giving particular emphasis to teaching materials used in classrooms. It discusses the importance of developing materials for effective language learning and some of the main principles of creating materials that can help prepare students to interact successfully in English international contexts.

Isabel Graça, in "But in movies they sometimes speak different", adjusting the teaching of English to young learners' expectations", argues on balancing young Portuguese learners' expectations against teaching and apprenticeship environments and teacher's choices of models, in the context of extracurricular activities. The author further reflects upon implications in pedagogy, which may lead to adjustments for the teaching of English to the current global reality.

Finally, Ricardo da Silva Pereira in "English Language Proficiency in Higher Education" examines the most common grammatical constructions and lexical choices employed by students in placement tests, in an attempt to provide relevant linguistic features which can be said to characterise their English. The paper draws on this data to understand if these learners' "errors" would cause communication breakdowns or if they would be unproblematic, enabling them to communicate successfully with native and non-native speakers of English at an international level.

Recognizing the complexity of the phenomenon under scrutiny, António M. A. Gonçalves in "Of Nodes and Ties — Towards a Functional Model of Context for English as a Global Lingua Franca", while trying to explore a functional model, examines key concepts such as 'variety', 'speech community', 'social network' and 'weak ties', and their role in individual language development and language change, suggesting that Systemic-Functional Linguistics might be well suited to provide a theoretical framework capable of dealing with the relation between context(s) and lingua franca interactions on the global digital network.

Last, but not least, a word of thanks to Professor Enric Llurda who kindly accepted to participate in this project, with a preface and a paper entitled "Some remarks on research on non-native teachers of English",

which describes a precise and clear overview of some of the main findings obtained in the field, focusing on the most relevant aspects and emphasizing the connection between non-native teachers and English as a Lingua Franca.

The study of EIF is well on its way to become an established domain of English studies. Papers in this volume indicate that interest in English as a lingua franca is growing in the Portuguese speaking landscape; I hope this collection of papers on the real situation of English may provide a good contribution for the learning and teaching of this language in Portugal, by reconsidering its importance in the new globalization era.

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ENGLISH AS AN INTERNATIONAL LINGUA FRANCA

Some remarks on research on non-native teachers of English

Enric Llurda
Universitat de Lleida

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Some remarks on research on non-native teachers of English

Some years ago, I argued for the strong bond between the idea of English as an International Language / English as a Lingua Franca and non-native (NNS) English language teachers (Llurda 2004). My main point was to claim that NNS teachers need to embrace English as an International Language as a way to gain legitimacy in the profession, and by the same token English as an International Language needs to gain the support of NNS teachers as the first step towards being progressively recognized as a legitimate form of English. However, NNS teachers are far from being unanimously willing to embrace such an idea (Llurda 2009), and in fact, the study of the ideology and attitudes of NNS teachers of English reveals that there are several factors affecting their positions and views. Therefore, I will here refer to some of the findings I've made in previous studies regarding the characteristics of NNS English teachers.

I will particularly refer to a study I conducted a few years ago among Catalan non-native teachers of English (Llurda 2003, 2008). In it, teachers acknowledged their weaknesses in L2 proficiency but did not think that these difficulties affected their teaching. According to them, a NNS teacher does not need to be fully proficient in the language in order to teach it successfully. Most teachers declared they wanted their students to learn *English as an international language*. Paradoxically, respondents rated significantly higher the need for a teacher to know the British culture than to know the Catalan/Spanish culture, that of the EU, or the culture of Commonwealth countries. In other words, Catalan teachers thought that learning English implied learning about the culture of the UK, but not so much learning about the culture of other English-speaking countries, or other countries in the immediate international context, or even their own culture. This finding stands in contradiction to the enthusiastic embrace

of English as an international language, and shows that teachers still have a long way to go in their recognition of the international status of English and its implications.

Two of the results obtained in that study were apparently incompatible: Two thirds of teachers thought that being a NNS gave them a specific pedagogical advantage over NSs in the classroom, but another two thirds would choose a NS teacher for themselves. The remaining one third said they would like a NS teacher who did not know Catalan or Spanish, and only 3% indicated a preference for a NNS teacher. Respondents were not given the option of a Catalan NNS teacher of English, in order to avoid self-identification with that supposed teacher, rather, they were given the options of choosing a NS or a (non-Catalan) NNS, who either knew or did not know the Catalan and Spanish languages. The rationale for this question was that if NNSs were intrinsically better due to their increased awareness, empathy, and knowledge of learning strategies, respondents would prefer a NNS regardless of what their language background was. This did not happen, thus raising the question of whether the arguments used to proclaim the virtues of NNSs are based on the implicit assumption that NNSs speak the same L1 as their students, and the arguments used to show the weaknesses of NSs are based on the implicit assumption that all NSs are monolingual speakers who have no knowledge of the first language of their students. This would certainly be an oversimplification of a much more complex reality.

One important implication that may be derived from the above finding is that, frequently, what are considered distinctive features between NSs and NNSs are nothing but distinctive features between teachers who know the L1 of their students and teachers who don't. If the Catalan teachers in the above mentioned study (Llurda 2003) had to choose a foreign-born teacher, they would choose the native speaker. This may seem rather an obvious response, and the result is relatively irrelevant in the Catalan context, as there are practically no NNSs with different L1 backgrounds, but it becomes important when seen through the light of ESL contexts (*i.e.*, US, Canada, UK) in which increasing numbers of NNSs with different L1s are obtaining TESOL qualifications and finding teaching jobs. Based on the above results, students will definitely prefer a NS to a NNS of a different L1. Thus, NNS teachers in ESL settings have to be aware

of the difficulty of being accepted as suitable teachers by students of different language backgrounds: they will have to assert their credibility as proficient speakers of the language of instruction (Kamhi-Stein, 2000), in spite of the voices stating that they are rightful and legitimate users of English as an International Language (Llurda 2004).

Another quite relevant finding (Llurda 2008) was the fact that teachers who stayed in English-speaking countries for a period of over three months rated their language skills higher than those who did not, and also expressed a higher appreciation for complex training activities (*e.g.*, sharing experiences with colleagues) as opposed to simpler ones (*e.g.,* attending language improvement courses), and showed significantly different attitudes with regard to critical issues in second language teaching, such as the use of the students' L1 in the English classroom, or the realisation that English is a true world language. Contrary to Medgyes' (1994) claim, teachers who had stayed longer in English-speaking countries showed a greater appreciation for NNS teachers than teachers who had not spent a long time abroad. In other words, teachers with longer experience in English-speaking countries appeared to have improved their language skills as well as their self-confidence, which enabled them to be more critical and open to changes in their teaching principles, that is, less dependent on the traditional values giving monolingual NSs the consideration of ideal teachers.

Additionally, the participants in my study (Llurda 2003) gave very little credit to their training years at the university. This result makes it worth pausing to think carefully about the curriculum future teachers have to follow. In contrast to the low appreciation of university courses, teaching practice was regarded as the most influential training experience. Nevertheless, learning to teach solely "by teaching" has a downside, which is the likelihood of their learning "on the spot" and the hunt for quick, ready-made solutions, with few opportunities for contrasting intuitions with theory-based and empirical findings. An expected outcome of this attitude may be a lack of involvement in professional activities, such as attending and presenting papers at conferences, which have been reported as highly recommended for the beneficial effects they have in establishing the professional status of language teachers (Kamhi-Stein, 1999; Hones, 2000; Carrier, 2003). Additionally, as Tsui (2003) shows, experience in

teaching does not always lead to teaching expertise, which renders rather invalid the teachers' claim that they mainly learn through experience with no further element of reflection or critical involvement.

One finding that is worth mentioning here is the lack of input and interaction opportunities experienced by teachers. Given the fundamental role of input and interaction in second language development, the low exposure of Catalan teachers to TV and films in English, combined with the large number of teachers who have very limited written or oral interactions in English outside the class, presents a picture of language development that is far from optimal. The positive effect of long stays in English-speaking countries on language proficiency points to one of the possible solutions to this, namely, an increase in the financial support given by educational authorities to teachers who spend some time abroad to improve their English language skills. An increase in the number and availability of TV shows and films shown exclusively in English would be a slightly more complex, but interesting, option that would probably have beneficial effects for the whole community of English language learners. Also, the adoption of proposals pointing towards the need to incorporate foreign languages into wider areas of everyday school life (Serra and Ramírez, 2001), as well as the growing popularity of Task-Based Language Teaching (Estaire and Zanón, 1994; Ribé and Vidal, 1994; Siguan, 1995), may set the ground for richer interactions inside and outside the classroom.

Finally, as shown in Llurda & Huguet (2003) some effects of *level of teaching* were found on teachers' responses. Thus, the following differences between primary and secondary teachers were observed:

— Language proficiency: Secondary teachers' self-ratings were superior in general proficiency, and three academically-oriented skills, namely grammatical accuracy, knowledge of grammar rules, and reading comprehension.
— Communicative orientation: primary teachers showed a preference for communicative methods, combined with a higher appreciation for the positive effects of attending teaching training sessions.
— Prevalence of monolingual teacher NS conventions: primary teachers appeared more favourable towards accepting NSs as ideal teachers, with some primary teachers expressing their preference for mono-lingual NSs.

It may be concluded from all the above that well-trained NNS teachers are proficient users of English who, nonetheless, are aware of their language deficits. However, there are some NNS teachers and student teachers who experience language difficulties that may make it difficult for them to perform their teaching tasks in a completely successful manner. The variability in language proficiency among teachers is one of the worst handicaps experienced by NNS teachers, as it makes all of them potentially suspicious of not having reached a sufficient level of proficiency. This can create a lack of appreciation for their capacities, and a corresponding loss of status among colleagues, administrators, and students. Only with hard work and constant commitment to the development of their language skills can NNS teachers eliminate the stigma of being poor speakers of the language.

NNSs appear to prefer NSs as teachers, and to take Britain as the model for culture teaching. Catalan teachers' responses are ambivalent with regard to the need to teach a variety of English that is beyond any particular community of NSs (*e.g.* the British). Becoming aware that NSs are not intrinsically better teachers, and ensuring they are proficient speakers of English as an international language, should contribute to the general acceptance of NNSs as rightful teachers without further questioning of their skills and capacities. That would certainly have a positive effect on their self-confidence.

An important handicap experienced by NNS teachers is lack of self-confidence. Initially, I had not planned to investigate this concept. The literature on NNS teachers had not emphasized it and this did not seem to be a topic of much importance during the initial stages of my research. However, as the study progressed, self-confidence appeared to become an important variable. It seems likely that lack of self-confidence may eventually affect some NNS teachers' performance. A series of interviews with TESOL practicum supervisors confirmed that they considered important to help NNS student teachers increase their level of self-confidence as a key to their professional success in language teaching.

Research on NNS teachers has just started to gain momentum and there is still a long way to go. Much more research is needed. Teachers' opinions have been explored in a variety of studies (Medgyes, 1994; Reves and Medgyes, 1994; Samimy and Brutt-Griffler, 1999; McKay, 2003).

Students' views have also been dealt with (Lasagabaster and Sierra, 2002, 2005; Moussu, 2002; Benke and Medgyes 2005, Pacek 2005). However, there is still a need for classroom observation studies in which the actual performance of NNS teachers in different contexts is reported. Only Árva and Medgyes (2000) and Cots and Diaz (2005) have taken a limited step on this direction. Many more studies are needed in the future. The observation of classes will be the ultimate test for many of the claims that are currently made. In any case, regardless of the methodology, future research should avoid falling in an oversimplification of the issues. As claimed in Moussu and Llurda (2008), one of the points that need to be emphasized is that NNSs do not constitute a homogeneous group, as there are several factors that affect the ultimate teaching capabilities of a given teacher. In my research, six factors appeared as particularly relevant: NNS teachers' L1 background, culture and teaching tradition, language proficiency, training, individual qualities, and past experiences.

These factors combine in a way that ultimately determines the teaching characteristics of an individual. Future research should take these factors into account and contemplate any generalizations regarding NNSs or NSs in the light of these factors.

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Abstract

In the last twenty years, we have seen a great deal of research on English as a Lingua Franca and non-native teachers of English. In this chapter, I intend to provide a global overview of some of the main findings obtained in previous studies, with the goal of centering the attention on those aspects with the highest relevance and emphasizing the connection between non-native teachers and English as a Lingua Franca.

Resumen

En los últimos veinte años, hemos visto una abundancia de estudios en el ámbito del ingles como lingua franca y el profesorado no native de ingles. En este capítulo, me propongo ofrecer una vision global de algunos de los aspectos principals obtenidos en estudios previos, con el objetivo de centrar la atanción en aquellos aspectos de mayor relevancia y enfatizando la conexión entre el profesorado no nativo y el inglés como lingua franca.

Keywords

Non-native teachers; English as a Lingua Franca; English as an International Language.

Three Continents, one Language: Studying English in a Portuguese Landscape (Brazil, Cape Verde and Portugal)

Luísa Azuaga and Lili Cavalheiro
ULICES – University of Lisbon Centre for English Studies /
Faculty of Letters, University of Lisbon

Three Continents, one Language: Studying English in a Portuguese Landscape (Brazil, Cape Verde and Portugal)

If we are to have a natural universal language, that language should be English, and it will serve both as a cultural and as a natural language

(Pessoa 1997: 114)

1. Introduction

Contact with diverse languages and cultures provides an excellent opportunity to foster the development of intercultural communicative competence. Through the ages, certain languages have taken on the role of a lingua franca in specific communities. In Europe, for instance, In the Middle Ages, Latin assumed the role of a contact language among the reigns, while later in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, French was the chosen language. The Portuguese and Spanish maritime expansion from the fifteenth century onwards also contributed to the rise of the Portuguese and Spanish languages as lingua francas not only in South America and Africa, but in other parts of the world too. The spread of the British Empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries propagated the influence of the English language across the globe. Much more recently, the effects of globalization, especially during the second half of the twentieth century, contributed to the reinforcement and implementation of English as the world's most common lingua franca.

Unlike any other language, past or present, the English language has spread to all continents and become a truly global language. This relatively recent development has contributed to the wide exposure to English and to the growing influence of the language in societies worldwide. In many present day situations, it is currently being used with lingua franca

communicative purposes, which has undoubtedly raised issues in what concerns diverse pedagogical approaches for both teachers and learners.

In this presentation, we explore the role of English in three different countries — Brazil, Cape Verde and Portugal — located on three different continents, but having one common official language, Portuguese. Given the importance of English and Portuguese at both national and international levels, we first begin by briefly discussing the role of the Portuguese language in the world, specifically in these three countries. Afterwards, we center our attention on the role of English in these communities, particularly regarding English language education. In the remaining part of our talk, we reflect on three sociolinguistic case studies carried out in each of the above mentioned countries, focusing on students' perspectives on English language teaching (ELT).

2. Portuguese around the world

Portuguese is currently considered the eighth most spoken language around the world with approximately two hundred and forty million speakers spread throughout the seven continents. These numbers continue to bear witness to the Portuguese maritime expansion that began in the fifteenth century and went from the Far East, to the Western shores of South America and along the coast of Africa. As a result, Portuguese became the language of contact in many far off communities; a common lingua franca spoken in local trade and commerce, later on contributing to Portuguese influenced pidgins and creoles. Today, Portuguese assumes the role of mother tongue in Portugal and Brazil, and it continues to have official status in countries such as Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, and Guinea-Bissau in Africa, and Malacca, Macau and Timor in the East.

After this brief overview of the influence of the language around the world, let us now reflect on the role Portuguese plays in each of the countries taken into consideration in this talk, Portugal, Brazil and Cape Verde.

2.1 Portuguese in Portugal

Portuguese is the country's official language and the mother tongue of over ninety percent of the population in Portugal; it is also the second language

of many immigrant communities, some coming from former Portuguese colonies in Africa, others, belonging to more recent immigration waves, from Eastern Europe and Asia, namely China.

2.2 Portuguese in Brazil

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Brazil was discovered by the Portuguese voyager Pedro Álvares Cabral, and since then, throughout the centuries, Portuguese has been the mother tongue for many millions of inhabitants of this South American country, roughly one hundred and seventy-five million nowadays. As it is normally expected, time and contact with other communities have contributed to the evolution of a separate variety when compared to European Portuguese, namely regarding accent, specific vocabulary and syntax structure.

2.3 Portuguese in Cape Verde

Located off the western coast of Africa, Cape Verde is a nation composed of ten islands of which nine are inhabited. However, when they were discovered and colonized by Portuguese in the fifteenth century it was not inhabited. The settlers arrived at Santiago Island in 1462, and founded there Ribeira Grande (now Cidade Velha)—the first permanent European settlement city in the tropics and soon slaves were brought from the West African coast to perform the hard labor.

The resident Africans spoke different languages among themselves, so communication with the colonizers was very difficult or even impossible, without a common language for interaction. As a result, they shaped the Portuguese language according to their needs, and this adaptation and simplification resulted in a sort of pidgin, which after lengthy contact with other European and African languages developed into a Creole, so that the colonizer and the colonized could mutually and intelligibility communicate.

Since Cape Verde became independent in 1975, Portuguese has remained the official language in the archipelago. It is first introduced in the primary educational system at the age of 5 or 6, and is the medium of instruction from here onwards. It is also the language of media, of parliament and of diplomacy; meanwhile Creole has become the language

of communication for Cape Verdeans in all regions, as well as the language of literature, alongside Portuguese.

3. English in a Portuguese Landscape

English has had a crucial role as a foreign language in traditionally denoted expanding circle countries or, as better referred to today, as the language for international communication, and the Portuguese landscape is no exception, having shown ties with the English language from early on.

In this section, we first refer to the implementation of the English language in the three selected countries and secondly, reflect on pedagogical implications that have risen through time.

3.1 English in Portugal

Fernando Pessoa (1888-1935), one of the most emblematic poets of the Portuguese language, once wrote on the advantages of a universal language, and claimed that English and Portuguese could co-exist, each one used for distinctive purposes in different domains:

> "If we use English as a general and scientific language, we will use Portuguese as a literary and private language. We will have a domestic life and a public life. For what we want to learn, we will read in English; for what we want to feel, Portuguese. For what we want to teach, we will speak English; for what we want to say, we will say it in Portuguese."
>
> (Pessoa 1997: 151)

English has been present in the Portuguese society for a long time now. The country has one of the oldest alliances with the United Kingdom and already in the eighteenth century, English was taught at some faculties and military schools. However, it is only in the nineteenth century with the creation of secondary schools that ELT begins to play an important role in the educational system. Later, with the Reform of 1947, special relevance is given to English due to its role in international relations, namely because of its growing importance worldwide, the strong political and commercial relations between Portugal and England, and the neighboring colonies of both countries.

Several reforms have taken place since then, of which three are worth mentioning: the 1995 Syllabus for Basic and Secondary Education, the 2001 Basic Education Curriculum and the 2002 Secondary Education Syllabus. The first reform emphasizes the two major English-speaking cultures, The United Kingdom and The Unites States, and their standard varieties, the second one stresses the intercultural function of the language, making reference to the cultures which use it as the target language, and lastly, the most recent syllabus introduces the concept of English as the world's lingua franca and the importance of referring to its native cultures in the ELT context.

The recent awareness towards the growing role of English as an international language is obvious in the shift from the monopoly of the UK and US paradigms, to other English native cultures. However, emphasis continues to be given to communities of English expression (i.e. other inner circle countries or outer circle countries, as well), rather than to all communities using the language, namely those belonging to the expanding circle. In addition, when reference is actually made to other communities, it continues to stress cultural factors rather than adopt a linguistic approach.

3.2 English in Brazil

Brazil's first contact with the English language was most likely around 1530 when an Englishman, William Hawkins, a slave trader, disembarked on the Brazilian coast, and established relations with the Portuguese and the natives. The presence of the English from here onwards was visible due to trade and the influence of English companies established in Brazil. Consequently, the need to use English for professional purposes and for the development of the country contributed to the implementation of ELT at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Today, foreign language learning, especially English, is associated with the notions of globalization and "global citizenship", so that students may one day be a part of a multilingual and multicultural world. Unfortunately, learners attending only the public school system are unable to achieve high levels of English proficiency due to many deficiencies in the system. For that reason, many private language schools have proliferated around the country, offering courses to those who aim at achieving native

proficiency in order to progress both academically and professionally.

Therefore, we can conclude that English knowledge is intimately linked with the notions of social status and success as Friedrich notes:

> The desire for learning English to get a better job or promotion indicates that English works as a means of social ascension. It also implies that in Brazil there is a social attitude towards English that draws people to learn the language. This social attitude equates knowing English with being more materially successful.
>
> (Friedrich 2000: 222)

3.3 English in Cape Verde

Positioned on the great trade routes between Africa, Europe and the New World, Cape Verde prospered from the transatlantic slave trade, but when it declined in the nineteenth century, the archipelago suffered a great blow in its economy. It was around this time that Cape Verdeans started emigrating to the United States where they were recruited to work on New England whaling ships. With the advent of the ocean liner, the island's position astride Atlantic shipping lanes made it an ideal location for resupplying ships with fuel (imported coal), water and livestock. So, during the nineteenth century, the island of São Vicente and its excellent harbor became an important commercial center mainly because the British used Cape Verde as a storage depot for coal, which was bound for the Americas.

Despite this early contact with the English language, up until about a decade ago, French was the most influential foreign language in the archipelago and the first foreign language to be introduced in the education system due to geo-political reasons. English was the second foreign language in the curriculum, chosen as an optional language when children entered secondary education. However, from 1995 onwards due to the educational reform, English has become one the most prominent foreign languages, either in education or in society. In general, most of the students tend to choose English as their first foreign language for many different reasons, such as the influence of American music and films, and to communicate with their relatives in the Diaspora.

4. Case study

Our analysis has taken into consideration three separate sociolinguistic studies developed in the three countries so as to compare and contrast each ELT framework regarding general pedagogical contexts, sex and age of the informant learners, varieties of English used in ELT and the attitudes towards the relative evaluation of native vs. non-native English teachers educational performance

The studies here observed are part of three MA theses supervised by Professor Luísa Azuaga presented to the Faculty of Letters of the University of Lisbon:

— Cavalheiro, Lili. 2008. *English as a European Lingua Franca: A Sociolinguistic Profile of Students and Teachers at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Lisbon.*

— Berto, Patrícia. 2009. *English as a Lingua Franca: A Study of Brazilian English Teachers' Attitudes and Opinions Towards It.*

— Nunes, Olívio. 2010. *English as a World Language: Its Role as a Lingua Franca. A Sociolinguistic Profile of Students of Secondary Schools in Santiago Island, in the Archipelago of Cape Verde.*

Let us now consider each of the studies' findings.

4.1 Situating our study

As above mentioned, we take into consideration three studies, one carried out in Portugal, another in Brazil and another in Cape Verde.

The Portuguese case study (Cavalheiro 2008) is aimed at both a group of undergraduate students attending different levels of English classes at the Faculty of Letters of the University Lisbon (FLUL) and a group of English language teachers working at the same institution. Of the universe enquired, 70% are female students. As for the average age of students, it is of 24 years of age, however, numbers range from as young as 18 to as old as 60.

In the case of the Brazilian study (Berto 2009), it focuses on teacher training courses in four Brazilian universities in the region of Porto Alegre. Of those enquired, all have some experience in ELT; 80% are female students and their average age is 27, ranging from 20 to 37 years of age.

As for the study carried out in Cape Verde (Nunes 2010), it is centered on secondary schools located on the Island of Santiago, especially focusing on schools in the center, periphery and rural areas of the island. Contrary to the two previous studies, the subjects of this one are equally balanced according to sex. 50% of them are female, and 50% are male. Regarding age, the average is 17.5, ranging from 16, the youngest, to 19, the oldest. It is worth noting that students from rural areas are older when compared to those in the center and periphery areas.

4.2 Varieties of English in ELT

When reflecting on ELT, one issue that requires some consideration is the variety of English that should be taught in the classroom. It is interesting to compare the results obtained concerning these attitudes with those about English language use outside the classroom, the variety the informants believe they actually speak.

In the study conducted in Portugal (Cavalheiro 2008), opinions diverge somewhat when regarding the variety the subjects believe they speak and the varieties that should be taught. However, in both cases the stress is always laid down in the two main native varieties — American English (AmE) and British English (BrE). When enquired on the variety they believe they speak, half of the students think they are influenced by the American variety, while the other half believes they follow the British variety. However, when asked about the varieties that should be taught, the balance tips towards BrE with 71% believing it should be the norm taught in class, contrasting with only 29% who favor AmE. Worth noting is the fact that none of the students refer to other varieties, showing a deep ingrained influence of both native varieties in the Portuguese society, especially regarding BrE.

In the case of Brazil (Berto 2009), attitudes demonstrate that teacher trainees are more open-minded when it comes to what variety should be taught, as can be seen in the following table (see table 1):

Only AmE	4%
Both AmE and BrE	13%
In addition to standard varieties, there should also be contact with ESL	13%
No other variety is needed besides ELF	29%
All varieties (AmE, BrE, ESL, ELF)	17%
Must have contact with at least 2 varieties (AmE + ELF, AmE + BrE + ELF)	24%
TOTAL	100%

Table 1. Varieties to be taught.

These results may reflect students' experiences in ELT outside their degree in private schools where they teach older students and adults for professional reasons, and where language proficiency aims are different when compared to those in the academic sphere. In the former cases, students' objectives are largely centered on communication in a multi-lingual and multicultural environment so as to prosper in their careers.

In Cape Verde (Nunes 2010), students' opinions vary according to the different regions they belong to — center, periphery and rural areas. In the center, the number of students who believe they speak BrE is relatively high, 70% in total; however, as we distance ourselves from the city center, to the periphery and rural areas, students' perception of their accents changes in favor of AmE with numbers as high as 50% and 80% respectively in each of the areas.

When comparing these results to those obtained concerning the variety that should be taught to Cape Verdean students, the numbers seem quite similar, contrary to what was verified in Portugal. In the central area, 70% of the subjects believe BrE should be the variety taught, while in the periphery there is a 50/50 divide between BrE and AmE. Quite prominent is the number of students in rural areas who believe AmE is the variety that should be taught in schools, 90% to only 10% in favor of BrE.

These contrasting percentages may have to do with the fact that Cape Verdeans have long emigrated to the United States to escape poverty in the more rural and remote areas of the island; therefore, students' contact with English in these areas is mostly with family members who are abroad, and many of them also intend to follow the same path.

4.3 The Issue of Native or Non-native English Teachers

In ELT, much has been discussed on the role of native and non-native teachers in expanding circle environments, debating on whether one or the other are the best models for language learning. In each of the case studies we analyze, this issue is also taken into consideration so as to receive some feedback from students, teacher trainees and ELT teachers.

In Cavalheiro's study (2008), a group of ELT teachers (consisting of an equal number of native speakers and non-native speakers) are questioned, on a 4-point scale varying from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree', about native speaking teachers and non-native speaking teachers' role in correct English language usage. In the first case, findings reveal native speakers have great influence in the correct usage of the language (66.7% 'mostly agree'). However, all non-native teachers 'mostly agree' with the fundamental role of native speakers in correct English usage, but do not 'strongly' agree. These opinions may be associated with the fact that non-native teachers are traditionally not connoted with the same ideal status as their native colleagues. Nonetheless, they may be more prepared to explain and teach a language that they have learned as well, therefore, sharing the same doubts and anguishes as the learners. In the case of non-native English speaking teachers, respondents generally also agree with the fundamental role of non-native teachers in ELT (33.3% 'strongly agree' and 50% 'mostly agree'). The only exception is one non-native speaker who 'mostly disagreed' with the statement. This may have to do with the fact that non-natives are English teachers as well and at times they may doubt themselves because they do not consider they are the most suitable when compared to natives. Gnutzmann (1999: 160) refers to this feeling as the "inferiority complex" on the part of the non-native speaker. Achieving a native speaker command of the language was traditionally the main objective for language teachers, however, nowadays native speaker competence is considered as an unrealistic and even counterproductive goal for non-native speakers. Recent findings reveal non-native teachers have a larger advantage when compared to their native colleagues in terms of common knowledge of their culture and the difficulties shared in learning English (i.e. false friends, syntax and vocabulary).

In Berto's questionnaire (2009), 50% of the subjects were of the opinion that native speakers of English are the ones who have the right to dictate the rules of the language (comparing with 42% who disagree and 8% who do not know), while 63% claimed that non-native speakers must follow such rules (in comparison with 33% who do not agree and 4% who do not know). Most of the participants who share these beliefs were majoring in English and Portuguese, which may explain why they do not feel confident with their own use and/or knowledge of the language and, thus, do not see themselves as being able to "dictate" any rules.

When the subjects are questioned on whether native English teachers are in a better position to teach non-native students, the vast majority disagreed (92%) compared to only 8% who agreed. However, when asked if non-native teachers are in a better position than native teachers to judge which English should be taught to non-native students, opinions seem a bit ambiguous with 54% of the subjects agreeing, 33% who disagree and 13% who do not know.

Although these teacher trainees in Brazil seem more open minded when considering ELF in ELT, the idea of nativeness still seems to persist when concerning what varieties should be taught.

Lastly, in Cape Verde, subjects in general also believe that a non-native English speaking teacher can better suit their needs and realities (90% in the center, 70% in the periphery and 40% in the rural area). These numbers indicate that importance is given to qualified instructors, whether they are native to the language or not, especially in the center of the island; in the periphery and rural area, only 10% and 30%, respectively, believe an untrained native speaker is the most appropriate teacher for the archipelago — this may have to do with the fact that many from these areas have immigrated to native speaking countries and the learners wish to achieve similar competence as their family members. In addition, in the rural area, 30% of the students think that teachers who can help them achieve native-like competence in English are the most suitable for their context, therefore, these informants favor traditional teaching practices which focus on the acquisition of British lexicogrammatical features and phonology (RP pronunciation).

5. Final Remarks

In short, from the case studies here analyzed we can conclude that English plays a fundamental role in all three Portuguese speaking countries' societies and that some reflection has already taken place concerning the particular context of ELT. It seems major native varieties, American and British English Standard still have significant influence over the communities, especially in the academic sphere. In the professional field, an ELF approach has a more favorable feedback, as communication is the ultimate aim, contrary to native speaker likeness many times implemented by teachers in the classroom. Nonetheless, the significant role of the non-native English speaker teacher seems to be present in all countries, as they are probably more familiar with the learners' own experiences and with the ELT context of the country, contrary to most native speakers. All in all, these studies hope to pave the way to a better understanding of local practices and how they are integrated in the global context, in particular in these three countries which also share another lingua franca in common — Portuguese.

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Abstract

Unlike other languages, English has spread to all continents and become a truly global language, a process observable in countries, like Brazil, Cape Verde, and Portugal, located in three different continents, and sharing a common official language: Portuguese.

This relatively recent development has contributed to the wide exposure to English and the growing influence of the language in their societies, being used with lingua franca communicative purposes, which raises pedagogical issues.

Our aim is to map the exposure and use of English as a Lingua Franca in these Portuguese speaking countries through a comparative study of the results from three case studies (Berto 2009, Cavalheiro 2008 and Nunes 2010).

By taking into consideration the findings from questionnaires answered by students and teachers of English, it compares and contrasts the respondents' opinions on the profile of English teachers — native vs. non-native —, the varieties of English to be taught, and the language teaching resources available. In addition, it explores the learners' interests, motives and purposes in relation to English and the potential communicative interactions between all speakers, so as to better understand ELF in English language education, and how these factors affect or should affect pedagogical practices in a Portuguese environment.

Keywords

English as a lingua franca; Portuguese language; English language teaching; Non-native speakers

Resumo

Ao contrário de outras línguas que existem, o inglês está presente em todos os continentes, tendo-se tornado numa verdadeira língua global, como por exemplo no Brasil, Cabo Verde e Portugal, localizados em continentes diferentes e com o português como língua oficial.

A expansão do inglês tem contribuído para um crescente contacto com a

língua, exercendo uma grande influência sobre as sociedades que usam com fins comunicativos. Esta realidade inevitavelmente levanta várias questões, especialmente no ensino.

Este artigo pretende delinear a realidade do inglês como língua franca nestes países de expressão portuguesa, desenvolvendo um estudo comparativo de três estudos de caso destinados a alunos e professores de inglês (Berto 2009, Cavalheiro 2008 and Nunes 2010). Reflectindo sobre as respostas dos questionários, este estudo compara e contrasta as opiniões relativamente ao perfil dos professores de inglês — falantes nativos vs. falantes não-nativos —, às variedades linguísticas a serem ensinadas e aos recursos disponíveis para o ensino. É ainda explorado os interesses, motivos e objectivos dos alunos ao aprenderem inglês, e as potenciais interacções comunicativas entre falantes nativos e não-nativos, de modo a entender a função do inglês como língua franca no ensino, e como estes factores afectam as práticas pedagógicas no panorama português.

Palavras-chave

Inglês língua franca; Língua portuguesa; Ensino do inglês; Falantes não-nativos

EIL in Legal and Medical Portuguese: Contracts and Medical Research Articles

Eduarda Melo Cabrita and Isabel Ferro Mealha
Department of English Studies, Faculty of Letters, University of Lisbon

EIL in Legal and Medical Portuguese:
Contracts and Medical Research Articles*

1. Introduction

The all-pervading role that English as an International Language (EIL) has increasingly been playing worldwide will unavoidably have an impact on national languages. Given the assumed prestige of English as a source language (SL), interference from English may occur not only in everyday European Portuguese[1] but also in specialised discourse. This paper presents a general overview of the current state of the art regarding EIL and discusses how it influences Portuguese. This influence will be addressed by analysing loanwords, calques, false friends, abbreviations and acronyms used by the legal and medical communities of practice, namely in translated and non-translated contracts and medical research articles (RAs).

2. The role of English in international communication: an overview

In the last decades, the English language has gradually gained ground as the favoured means of international communication worldwide. In fact, native and non-native speakers of English (NS and NNS) across the three

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[1] In this paper, the term 'Portuguese' will be used to refer to the European Portuguese variety.

concentric Kachruvian circles (Kachru 356)[2] use English in diverse contexts and for different purposes. English may indeed serve various functions: the instrumental, the interpersonal, the institutional (or administrative), and the innovative (Berns 195). The educational domain is the ideal field for the instrumental function with English gradually becoming a medium of instruction, especially at tertiary level;[3] social contacts both at and after work, while travelling or participating in meetings or student/school exchange programmes serve the interpersonal function of English. The institutional function, although usually less frequent at a national level, is nevertheless perceptible in many situations where English is used as a default language, for example, at international meetings with both NS and NNS of English. The way the English language is used in the media, in advertising, in music, and on the Internet — be it on blogs, chat rooms, or instant messaging — fulfils yet another function, the innovative one.

These functions, defined by Berns with reference to the spread of English in the European Union (EU), can easily be adopted to describe the way English is used throughout the world. This widespread use has led a number of researchers[4] to argue that English currently holds a hegemonic position in several domains of everyday life with implications for national languages. Some of these scholars view English as a *Tyrannosaurus rex*, (Swales 376), a *lingua frankensteinia* (Phillipson, "Lingua Franca" 251)[5], or describe its role as epistemicide (Bennett 154), the underlying metaphor common to these perspectives being that of "a powerful carnivore gobbling

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[2] The Kachruvian model (Kachru 356) describes the spread of English worldwide across the Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circles; according to it, English is spoken as a mother tongue in the norm-providing Inner Circle, as a second or one of the official languages in the norm-developing Outer Circle, and taught as a foreign language in the norm-dependent Expanding Circle.

[3] See MacKenzie (2003), Mauranen *et al.* (2010), and Phillipson (2008) for the use of English at tertiary level.

[4] See, among others, Bennett (2007), Phillipson (2008), Swales (1997), and Tardy (2004).

[5] Phillipson ("Disciplines" 10).questions the neutrality of the use of English as a *lingua franca.*

up the other denizens of the academic linguistic grounds" (Swales 374), thereby ultimately threatening other languages.

This is, however, a controversial stance as other researchers[6] hold a contrary view, claiming that the overwhelming presence of English worldwide need not be a threat to other languages mainly because NNS will use English as a language for communication, a vehicular language to make themselves understood in international situations, rather than as a language for identification, i.e. a language "rooted in their speakers' shared history, cultural traditions, practices, conventions, and values" (House, "English as a Lingua Franca" 562), a role which would be left to their mother tongue.

Another reason for the prevalence of English over other languages as a means of international communication may be associated with the idea that a multiplicity of languages may actually subvert diversity, in line with de Swaan's (571) often cited claim that "the more languages, the more *English* will take hold". Indeed, reality has shown that when faced with many different languages, even NNS of English will choose it over their mother tongues and over any other foreign language to communicate at an international level.

The controversy over the so-called hegemonic role of English falls, however, beyond the scope of this paper. Yet, it is a fact that the prevailing influence of English is felt globally in such various fields of human activity as the cinema, advertising, the media as well as in specialised domains (e.g. law and medicine). This phenomenon has given rise to a plethora of labels to describe English as an instrument for intercultural communication: ELF (English as a Lingua Franca), EFL (English as a Foreign Language), EIL (English as an International Language), WE (World Englishes), among others.[7] In this paper, EIL will be used to the detriment of the other above-

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6 See, among others, de Swaan (2004), House (2003, 2010), Mufwene (2003), and Widdowson (1997, 1998).

7 ELF is associated with VOICE, the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English, and ELFA, the English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings, two major projects led by Seidlhofer (2009) and Mauranen (2010) respectively, which focus on the description of ELF, mainly from the spoken discourse viewpoint, also researched by Jenkins (2009). EFL (e.g. Brumfit 1984, Richards and Rodgers 2001, and Widdowson

mentioned labels because it refers to the English that is used internationally nowadays not only in more informal encounters but also in formal contexts such as the ones associated with education, educated speech and publishing. The influence of EIL on written Portuguese will be discussed placing special emphasis on the pervasiveness of standard English[8] in contracts and medical RAs, two genres from the specialised domains of law and medicine. With that in mind, exposure to EIL in Portugal will be first addressed as a backdrop to the impact of English in those two types of texts.

3. Exposure to EIL in Portugal

When Portugal joined the European Union in 1986, it adopted and implemented the EU language policy that promotes multilingualism and language diversity and that encourages EU citizens to speak at least (any) two foreign languages.[9] With time, however, the use of one particular foreign language, i.e. English, became more predominant amongst Member States; this happened especially after Sweden's, Finland's, and Austria's adhesion in the 1990s because citizens from those countries "felt more secure writing and talking in English than in French" (McCluskey 40) and this therefore influenced the choice of the default language used in most EU affairs. Indeed, this enlargement brought about a radical change in terms of the favoured default language for communication between NS and NNS alike. If a high percentage of documents and publications were initially mainly drafted and released in one of the official languages other than English,[10]

1997, 1998) and WE (e.g. Kachru *et al* 2006 and Kingsley Bolton 2005) do not constitute the main interest of this paper because EFL, on the one hand, looks at the influence of English worldwide from the language learning viewpoint; WE, on the other hand, describes and discusses the different varieties of English used worldwide.

[8] In this paper, *standard English* will be used, in line with Trudgill (118), as 'the variety of English normally used in writing, especially printing; (…) the variety taught to non-native learners.'

[9] See *ec.europa.eu/education/languages/eu-language-policy/index_en* n.d. Web 10 October 2010.

[10] In 1970, there were no EU documents drafted in English (against 60% in French, and 40% in German) whereas in 2006 the figures evidence a totally different reality, with

i.e. German and French, this state of affairs has gradually changed over time as English became the language most commonly used in official and unofficial EU meetings (Berns 195-196). Furthermore, it has become the chosen language for communication with close to 90% students learning it as their first foreign language (de Swaan 573).

The spread of English also finds expression in Portugal where, in general terms, exposure to EIL takes place across areas as different as the educational system, literature, cinema, television, and the press.

In the primary and secondary school system, English became the first foreign language taught at school in the mid-1970s, replacing French. Four decades later, English is the first and dominant foreign language and a statutory subject of the national school curriculum.[11] It is currently taught at primary, secondary and tertiary levels. The early teaching of English was implemented from 2005 onwards, starting with 6-year-olds; English is taught throughout the school curriculum until the end of the secondary school, although it is an optional subject from the 10th grade onwards. At tertiary level, the Bologna Process has further promoted the spread of English, namely through the Erasmus and Leonardo da Vinci exchange programmes. Available data on the use of English as an academic language for research and teaching at this level in Portugal (Barros n.pg.) point to a mainly passive contact (i.e. reading) with English but show that English is still rejected by many respondents when it comes to publication (67%) and teaching (83%); these data have also indicated that 50% of the teaching-staff respondents accept the idea that English does not constitute a threat to the Portuguese language as a language of culture. Other data (Azuaga and Cavalheiro 26-30) for the same level regarding students and teaching staff alike evidence a passive contact (i.e. listening and reading) but a positive attitude towards English, on the students' side, and both a passive and active contact (i.e. listening, reading, writing and speaking), on the

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72% of all EU documents drafted in English (against 14% in French, 3% in German, and 11% in other EU official languages) (Phillipson, "Lingua Franca" 259-260).

[11] See Cabrita (forthcoming) and the *Ministério da Educação*, the Portuguese Department for Education at *sitio.dgidc.min-edu.pt/linguas_estrangeiras/Paginas/LEstrang_curriculo.aspx.* n.p Web 20 April 2011.

teaching staff's side.[12] These data reveal a mainly positive attitude to the use of English at tertiary level in Portugal.

As regards translated published literature and the media (cinema, television and the press), available data for Portugal also point clearly to the strong presence of English in the country. Where book translation is concerned, between 1950 and 1955 English increasingly became the first SL of published translated books in Portugal slowly replacing French from this decade onwards (Rosa, "A Long and Winding" 219). Cinema does not differ much in this regard: the *Anuário Estatístico/2009 Facts & Figures*, a bilingual publication of the Institute for Cinema and Audio-visuals (ICA), shows that English is the SL for all the top 10 films viewed (and translated) in Portugal between 2004 and 2009.[13] Similarly, figures for television reveal that 71.05% of all programmes screened in November 2007 were translations, the main SL (70%) of which was English (Rosa, "To Translate" n.pg.). The above data clearly indicate a widespread use of and exposure to English, especially because subtitling, not dubbing, is by far the most commonly adopted type of translation (Rosa, "To Translate" n.pg.), allowing viewers to experience a first-hand contact with this foreign language.

The fact that English is the main SL for translated literature, cinema, and television in Portugal may account for an overall exposure to English. The pervasiveness of English is further illustrated by the fact that the *Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa Contemporânea* (2001), the Lisbon Academy of Sciences Portuguese Dictionary (hereinafter the Academy Dictionary), features a large number of entries of lexical imports[14]. The Academy Dictionary has seventy thousand entries in a total of two hundred and forty thousand words and English accounts for 70% of all the foreign words listed (Casteleiro xv). In the preface, the editor claims that this dictionary is "a comprehensive, innovative (…) *standardising* dictionary

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[12] Similar findings were reached by Leslie (2009) who investigated and compared opportunities for contact amongst four groups of university students in Portugal.

[13] Cited by Cabrita (forthcoming); the ICA site can be accessed at *ica-ip.pt/* n.d Web 21 April 2011.

[14] See for instance Correia and Lemos (21).

of the Portuguese language" and that "although it is essentially a descriptive work in its nature, (…) [it includes] the 'Portuguesisation' of foreign words or replaces them with vernacular forms" (Casteleiro xiii, italics added), thereby attesting to the presence of English in the Portuguese language while confirming *official* acceptance of those words.

In the Academy Dictionary, English loanwords appear under different forms, that is, with their original (English) spelling, with changes to adapt to Portuguese spelling and with dual spelling. Loanwords listed in their original spelling will be recognised and used by most Portuguese speakers even though their pronunciation might in some cases be influenced by a Portuguese accent; they are, among others, 'airbag', 'cheesecake', 'cocktail', 'cool', 'cowboy', 'drink', 'email', 'eyeliner', 'feeling', 'flirt', 'hardcore', 'hardware', 'in', 'jeans', 'jet lag', 'ketchup', 'laser', 'leggings', 'light', 'manager', 'online', 'roaming', 'slow', 'software', 'sweatshirt', 'T-shirt'.

The Academy Dictionary also lists loanwords which have undergone changes in spelling (Casanova 197)[15] to comply with Portuguese spelling rules, e.g.

British English	Portuguese
Gang	*gangue*
football	*futebol*
handball	*andebol*

Finally, several entries are listed with dual spelling, the English and the Portuguese, both forms being accepted and used interchangeably, as in the examples below discussed by Casanova (198).

British English	Portuguese
jerrycan	*jerrycan /jerrican /jerricã*
hamburger	*hamburger /hambúrguer*
rugby	*rugby /râguebi*

At the time of its publication in 2001, the Academy Dictionary shocked many Portuguese speakers because it listed so many English or Anglicised loanwords. Those speakers had probably long forgotten that many

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[15] For a detailed study of English loanwords and acronyms in the Academy Dictionary, see Casanova (2010).

common words such as *bife*, *bibe*, *boicote*, *queque*, *lider* and *relaxar*, which are now accepted as Portuguese words without a second thought, were originally imported from English ('beef', 'bib', 'boycott', 'cake', 'leader' and 'relax') (Casanova 196). Only time will lead to full acceptance of the new loanwords which now still seem so foreign to many Portuguese speakers.

As illustrated by the Academy Dictionary, the impact of English is felt in most domains where, one may assume for no other reason than English is a prestigious language, it has become common practice to favour the English or Anglicised word to the detriment of the Portuguese word. As a case in point, Portuguese speakers usually say 'make-up' for *maqui-lhagem*, 'check-up' for *exame geral*, 'check-in' for *registo de embarque* (for flights) or *registo de entrada* (for hotels) or 'hall' for *átrio* or *vestíbulo*, although all of these Portuguese terms are also listed in the Academy Dictionary.

Another example of how English permeates the Portuguese language is to be found in the press. Analysis of the leading daily newspaper in the economic field *Diário Económico* revealed repeated occurrence of terms in English (Cabrita n.pg). The 14th April 2011 issue includes 257 words in English[16] in feature articles, news items and ads; this word count does not include any names of people and/or companies, otherwise the number of occurrences would be far higher. Interestingly enough, even though words such as 'payoff', 'payback' and 'bailout' are closely associated with the expected field of economics, the majority (68.3%) of occurrences are common everyday words, e.g. 'design', 'resort' and 'performance', which points to a generalised use of English words in various contexts other than economics. Another relevant characteristic is the abundance of Portuguese companies with English-sounding names (e.g. Oon Recycling Solutions, Taguspark, Troia Eco Resort & Residences) and business projects (e.g. Inovcity and Young Lions Portugal), choices which clearly attest to the prestige of the English language in the country while "contributing to what could be called 'linguistic angloglobalisation'" (Prcic 35).

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[16] It is worth noting that there is no other foreign language occurrence in this issue of *Diário Económico*.

4. The impact of EIL in contracts and medical RAs in Portugal

As shown by the Academy Dictionary, English loanwords have made their way into the Portuguese language and are used by its speakers across various contexts. The Academy Dictionary further attests that the presence of English has spread to more specialised domains where calques, false friends, hybrid expressions and English acronyms have become a recurrent feature.

As regards both translated and non-translated contracts and medical RAs,[17] English loanwords are commonly used even though not all of them may be listed in the Academy Dictionary.

It might be expected that the pervasiveness of English would not be felt in contracts as clearly as it is, since Portugal is a civil law country and most English-speaking countries are common law countries.[18] Reality, however, proves to be quite different as a first look at two examples from the legal field evidences. *Advocatus*, an online monthly newspaper, and *Diário Jurídico*, a blog on legal matters, both have hyperlinks to sites of *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, the OECD, the International Chamber of Commerce, in the former, and to international blogs such as *The EU Law Blog*, *The Legal Ethics Forum*, or *The Harvard School Forum*, in the latter, with no translation into Portuguese. *Advocatus* and *Diário Jurídico* also post articles and/or chapters of books in English but again no translations into Portuguese are made available. Similarly, six major Portuguese law firms conducting international business have bilingual web sites (in Portuguese and English). Between 55.8% and 63.3% of all materials (articles and books) posted online are in English and once again no translations are provided on the Portuguese home page (Cabrita n. pg.).

In medical RAs things appear to be similar as there is a repeated occurrence of words in English both in translated and non-translated texts. Indeed, English has become the predominant language of medicine[19] and,

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[17] Hereinafter reference to examples of English in contracts and medical RAs will be understood to mean that they occur both in translated and non-translated documents.

[18] See Alcaraz and Hughes (2002), Cao (2009), and Šar evi (1992, 2000).

[19] See Maher (1986), Navarro (2001), and Pilegaard (1997) about arguments for English as the international language of medicine.

as it is generally acknowledged that medical doctors and researchers represent one of the most globalised communities of practice in the academia (Giannoni 97), they are therefore more likely to adopt the writing conventions and specialised terminology of their discipline rather than those of their national languages and cultures (Dahl 1822). Not surprisingly, Portugal is no exception to this state of affairs. Medical students, doctors and researchers are significantly exposed to English since most reference books adopted in Portuguese medical schools are in English and health professionals learn about medical advancements mostly through medical journals published in this language. Portuguese medical journals publish abstracts in English and have adopted the requirements for manuscripts submitted to biomedical journals drawn up by the International Committee of Medical Journal Editors (ICMJE). It is also worth noting that Portuguese medical RAs are a calque on the English model: the IMRAD (Introduction-Methods-Results-and-Discussion) structure typical of RAs is calqued from English and used consistently in Portuguese medical journals (Mealha n. pg.). Given these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that medical Portuguese appears to be influenced by English.

As stated above, the Academy Dictionary also attests to the presence of English in these two specialised domains (i.e. law and medicine). The pervasiveness of English goes, however, beyond dictionary entries as there are several English terms which are *not* listed in the Academy Dictionary and yet they are widely accepted and used by these two communities of practice. The examples presented below for lexical imports listed and not listed in the Academy Dictionary are a case in point.[20]

Instances of legal loanwords listed in the Academy Dictionary are 'factoring', 'franchise', 'franchising', 'holding' and 'leasing', which have acquired a specific meaning in the Portuguese legal context. Although there are Portuguese terms to refer to these very same concepts, the legal community of practice acknowledges and uses the English terms more often than it does the Portuguese ones. To give just one example, legal professionals and laymen alike will refer to 'holdings' or 'holding companies'

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[20] For a detailed analysis of examples given here, see Cabrita (forthcoming) and Mealha (forthcoming).

using the all-English or hybrid term *sociedade holding* [gloss: company holding] to the detriment of the Portuguese *sociedade de gestão de participações sociais* [gloss: company of management of participations social], a choice which is supported by the EU database IATE entries. A good example of a commonly used English term which is *not* listed in the Academy Dictionary is 'joint venture'. Again, legal professionals and translators may be aware that a Portuguese decree law, *Decreto-Lei* no. 231/81 of 28th July, lays down *contratos de associação em participação* [gloss: contracts of association in participation] as the Portuguese translation for this concept that does not exist under Portuguese law. The English term 'joint venture' is, however, the preferred term used by the legal community of practice and it is also the first translation choice offered by the 23 entries of IATE. It may be worth noting that IATE's second translation choice (*empresa comum* [gloss: company common]) describes a concept which is not defined in the above-mentioned *Decreto-Lei.*

In medical RAs, English loanwords are also often encountered. The terms 'bypass', 'check-up', 'follow-up', and 'pacemaker', among others, are listed in the Academy Dictionary with their original spelling and are common both in everyday speech and in medical Portuguese. Their Portuguese counterparts, *pontagem (coronária)*, *exame global de saúde*, *seguimento*, and *marca-passo*, respectively, are seldom used because health professionals and laymen alike favour the English terms. Other English medical terms, such as e.g. 'endpoint', 'gold standard', 'rash', and 'stent', are *not* listed in the dictionary but are acknowledged and used by the medical community of practice. Even though Portuguese equivalents for these words also exist (*parâmetro de avaliação*, *padrão-ouro*, *erupção cutânea/exantema*, *endoprótese*, respectively), the fact is that the English terms appear to be the preferred ones.

Pervasiveness of English in Portuguese contracts and medical RAs is also seen in the number of calques, false friends, hybrid expressions and abbreviations and acronyms occurring in such texts. Two well-known examples of calques and false friends in Portuguese contracts are: a) **consideração* (for 'consideration')[21] instead of *contraprestação contratual*, the

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[21] The asterisk is used here to mark an incorrect form.

correct term; and b) **franchisado* (for 'franchisee') instead of *franquiado*, the word listed in the Academy Dictionary. *Consideração* ('consideration') is a calque which is also a false friend because it is meaningless when used to describe one of the essential ingredients of a contract. In turn, the term 'franchisee' also raises some questions: *franquiado.* the Portuguese term listed in the Academy Dictionary for 'franchisee' is not the one preferred by legal professionals; they use the term *franchisado*, an obvious calque of 'franchisee', which is *not* listed in the Academy Dictionary. Medical Portuguese also frequently resorts to calques and false friends, some of which are commonly accepted and widely used (e.g. *achados* and *evidências* for 'findings' and 'evidence') while others are regarded as incorrect. For instance, *severo* and *severidade* are two words that do exist in Portuguese, the general meaning of which is 'strict' for *severo* and 'excessive sternness' for *severidade*. In the medical context, however, *severo* (instead of *intenso* or *grave*) and *severidade* (instead of *gravidade*) are calques used incorrectly to translate 'severe' (e.g. 'severe pain') and 'severity' (e.g. 'the severity of obstructive coronary disease'). The two words do not match the meanings conveyed by the English terms ('intense' for a particular kind of pain and the 'seriousness' of a given medical condition).

Hybrid expressions are another common feature of both translated and non-translated contracts and medical RAs. 'Factoring agreement', 'joint venture agreement' and 'leasing agreement' coexist with '*contrato de* factoring', '*contrato de* joint venture' and '*contrato de* leasing' to the detriment of the all-Portuguese expression and are used by legal professionals and scholars alike in their everyday professional life and in the literature on the subject of contracts. '*Medidas de* outcome' ('outcome measures'), '*amostras* blinded' ('blinded samples') and 'stents *farmacológicos*' ('drug-eluting stents') are just three examples of hybrid expressions often used in non-translated texts and in specialised medical speech.

Finally, the use of abbreviations and acronyms is a recurrent feature of both legal and medical Portuguese. Abbreviations often occur in contracts but they usually come from an area other than law as is the case of CEO (for Chief Executive Officer), ICC (for International Chamber of Commerce) and LSE (for London Stock Exchange). These examples portray a different situation; in the case of CEO and LSE there are no equivalent Portuguese abbreviations but the English ones are favoured over

the Portuguese expressions in full *administrador executivo* [gloss: board member executive] or *administrador delegado* [gloss: board member deputy] and *Bolsa de Londres* [gloss: the Stock Exchange of London]. In the third example, ICC is used instead of the existing Portuguese abbreviation (*CCI*). In all three cases, there is a clear preference for the use of the English abbreviations. Similarly, in medical Portuguese abbreviations and acronyms often retain their original English form even though the expression in full is given in Portuguese as in, for example, 'RCT (for randomised clinical trial)' and 'PET (for positron emission tomography)' where the English forms are used side by side with the full expressions in Portuguese *ensaio clínico controlado e aleatorizado (RCT)* [gloss: trial clinical controlled and randomized] and *tomografia por emissão de positrões (PET)* [gloss: tomography by emission of positrons], respectively. Other abbreviations and acronyms as for instance DNA (for deoxyribonucleic acid) or NSAID (for non-steroidal anti-inflammatory drug) have Portuguese counterparts: *ADN* (for *ácido desoxirribonucleico* [gloss: acid deoxyribonucleic]) and *AINE* (for *anti-inflamatório não-esteróide* [gloss: anti-inflammatory, non-steroid)*, which are also commonly used by professionals and researchers alike.

5. Conclusion

This paper considers examples that attest to the widespread use of EIL in everyday language and in the specialised fields of law and medicine to the detriment of existing Portuguese words and expressions. A brief analysis of the examples of calques, false friends, hybrid expressions, abbreviations and acronyms listed and *not* listed in the Academy Dictionary has shown that there is some interference from English in Portuguese. The next step of this ongoing project will be to further undertake systematic empirical research on the influence of EIL in the drafting of contracts and medical RAs and to determine to what extent tolerance to interference from English is common practice in Portugal.

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Abstract

It is often argued that English holds a hegemonic position in several domains of 21st century everyday life with serious implications for national languages. This paper will give a brief overview of the all-pervading role of English in international communication and examine its relevance within such diverse areas as the educational system, cinema, television, literature and the press in Portugal with reference to lexical imports listed in the *Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa Contemporânea*, the Portuguese Academy of Sciences Dictionary, published in 2001. The paper will further discuss manifestations of interference in translated and non-translated legal and medical texts.

Keywords

EIL; Contracts; Medical research articles; Interference

Resumo

O presente artigo começa por descrever a alegada posição hegemónica que a língua inglesa reveste no século XXI, abordando de forma necessariamente sucinta a controvérsia gerada pela expansão do inglês no mundo. Faz-se uma breve descrição da presença do inglês na realidade portuguesa em setores tão variados como o sistema educativo, o cinema, a televisão, a literatura e a imprensa escrita. A partir da análise de entradas registadas no *Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa Contemporânea*, da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, publicado em 2001, procede-se à exemplificação de empréstimos, decalques, expressões híbridas e siglas e acrónimos no léxico geral e especializado do português europeu, com o intuito de registar a tolerância existente à interferência do inglês.

Palavras-chave

Inglês como Língua Internacional; Contratos; Artigos médicos; Interferência

Taking on EIL in School Curriculum

Lili Cavalheiro
ULICES - University of Lisbon Centre for English Studies / Faculty of Letters,
University of Lisbon

Taking on EIL in School Curriculum

1. Introduction

Calculating the exact number of the English speakers around the world is particularly difficult due to the absence of concrete statistical information and the ambiguity in defining who are "English users". Crystal (2003), for example, estimates that there are approximately 1.1 billion and 1.8 billion users of English around the world, of which only 320 million to 380 million are native speakers of the language.

However, the number of users alone of a language does not give us a sense of how globally spread it is, the different roles it undertakes also need to be contemplated. Crystal (2003) mentions that "a language achieves a genuinely global status" (3) when its unique role is also recognized beyond those countries where it is largely used as the inhabitants' mother tongue. Kachru's Concentric circle model (1985), for instance, describes the functions of English in different parts of the world. By dividing countries into three circles — Inner circle, Outer circle and Expanding circle[1] — we are able to have a general understanding of the types of spread, patterns of acquisition and the function English assumes in each country.

In addition to its roles in separate countries, English has also achieved a significant status in international contexts where it is used as the language

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[1] The Inner circle refers to countries in which English is used as the dominant language of the society (e.g. United States, United Kingdom and Australia), the Outer circle includes countries that are former colonies of the Inner circle countries (e.g. India, Singapore and Nigeria) and the Expanding circle refers to countries where English is taught as a foreign language (e.g. Portugal, Brazil and China).

of communication among individuals from diverse linguistic, cultural and national backgrounds. The development of faster and cheaper means of communication and the growth of the Internet and online communication has contributed to creating more and diverse opportunities for using English in multicultural and multilingual settings.

As a result, when analyzing the current sociolinguistic landscape of English, we are able to recognize that its unique diversity complicates the way ELT can be approached. Traditionally, it is constructed as a static and monolithic entity, however, due to its position as a diverse language at both a linguistic and cultural level, localized forms of English have emerged so as to adapt to new sociolinguistic and sociocultural environments. Because of this, according to McKay (2002), "the teaching and learning of an international language must be based on an entirely different set of assumptions than the teaching and learning of any other second or foreign language" (1).

Matsuda (2012) further argues that the broad range of linguistic forms, functions and profiles of English users today in ELT has brought forth several questions that need to be addressed, some of which include:

Which English variety should be considered as the instructional model for the class?

Who should be presented as the "model" English speaker?

Whose culture should be represented as an English-speaking culture?

Therefore, in order to prepare effective users of English for our growing international community, many issues need to be reconsidered regarding classroom practices, and learners' and teachers' attitudes (e.g. Sharifan 2009).

In this article, I will begin by focusing specifically on the dilemma of which instructional variety should be chosen for the classroom and the subsequent implications it brings on creating the appropriate language learning materials.

2. Selecting an instructional variety: the debate

In English language courses instructors are usually required to decide on a particular variety of English that will guide the various parts of a curriculum, namely in oral and written production. However, these decisions are usually

hastily made without much reflection, taking into consideration former concepts already previously implemented or the status quo. Typically, the two most chosen varieties include Standard British or American English, as they are regarded the "established" varieties with recognized importance and legitimacy in most transnational settings.

Although there is nothing inappropriate in selecting one of these two varieties, ideally, the decision made by teachers should bear in mind society's current use of English as the main language employed in international contexts, both at a European level (in Portugal's case) and at a wider global level. Limiting students' contact to a restricted set of varieties does not reflect the reality of most communicative exchanges in which interlocutors from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds interact. Actually, the variety/ies that is/are used in each circumstance depend/s on those taking part in the communicative interaction, therefore, these situations are characterized as being highly unpredictable, because each person brings the variety they are familiar with.

Unless there is a single stable community in which an international variety of English may arise, most communicative situations are fluctuating and unstable, so there is no one variety that can be used successfully in every communicative situation. In order to overcome the several linguistic barriers that may arise, it is important that participants learn to make use of several accommodation skills and communicative strategies, such as: drawing on extralinguistic cues, gauging interlocutors' linguistic repertoires, supportive listening, signaling non-comprehension in a face-saving way, asking for repetition, paraphrasing, and clarification of requests that allow participants to check, monitor and clarify understanding (Jenkins 2000).

In agreement with what Jenkins (2000) proposes, Canagarajah (2007) also believes speakers' need to negotiate the forms they will adopt, so as to mutually appropriate their language according to the context:

> The form of this English [that is used as an international language] is negotiated by each set of speakers for their purposes. The speakers are able to monitor each other's language proficiency to determine mutually the appropriate grammar, phonology, lexical range and pragmatic conventions that would ensure intelligibility. Therefore, it is difficult to describe

> this language a priori. It cannot be characterized outside the specific interaction and speakers in a communicative situation. (925-926)

Bearing in mind the diversity of English users and contact situations today, there is no one correct variety that has to be used or an incorrect variety that cannot be used. What teachers may choose to do is adopt several approaches that contribute to raising students' awareness of the existing English varieties. For example, in addition to developing learners' communicative strategies, which is necessary in all languages, it is important they also understand that whatever the dominant variety chosen by the teacher, it is only one of many others they may encounter once outside the classroom. Therefore, by exposing students to different varieties, they will be able to understand the linguistic diversity that exists within the English language and become familiar with other cultures.

Another approach may involve providing students with the opportunity to interact with other English users from various linguistic and cultural backgrounds. This may include having a diverse international teaching staff or guest visitors (both national or from abroad) when it is possible to do so, or it may also include interaction in various Internet communities and social network services (e.g. blogs, Facebook, Moodle, YouTube) where learners actively participate in along with students from other countries.

A third approach that may likewise be taken, and which is probably the most accessible for teachers, includes the teaching materials made available (e.g. textbooks, CDs, videos and ELT websites). However, very little exists on material development for teaching English as an inter-national language, despite most people agreeing it has become a widely distributed language and linguistically diverse. Therefore, learning how to select or adapt existing materials, and how design original materials is essential for developing one's own class syllabus.

3. Teaching materials for EIL

ELT processes and teaching materials in specific have obviously changed over the years. In the 1940s and 1950s materials focused mainly on grammatical aspects, while in the 1960s they shifted to a more social

perspective of language. From a sociolinguistic point of view, in the 1970s Hymes (1972) put forth several issues to be contemplated when observing language use — possibility, feasibility, appropriateness and performance — which brought important implications for ELT. According to his understanding, not only should standards of correctness be observed in language use, but so should issues of language appropriateness. Because of this, textbooks began to be organized by social situation and/or language function, giving particular emphasis on the surface to language use and language appropriateness, while grammatical issues were disguised in the dialogs written to exemplify and practice particular grammatical structures (McKay 2012). This same practice still continues to be implemented in today's ELT course books.

Culture has been yet another issue of concern in ELT course materials. The literature, customs and holidays from English-speaking countries (mainly from the United Kingdom and United States, with some references made to Australia) are usually the main topics discussed in English classrooms and the reason for this longtime emphasis on the British or American culture is greatly attributable to both countries dominating ELT book publishing.

Despite these issues, through the years teaching materials have played an essential role in ELT and the current plethora of existing resources reflects the extent to which institutions and teachers look at published work to shape their teaching methods and goals. Rubdy (2003), for instance, mentions only some of the advantages of using published materials:

— Course books provide a sense of security and self-confidence in teachers;

— They give structure and certainty which results in a sense of safety in in-classroom interaction;

— Course materials present themselves as a "direction map" for both teachers and learners;

— Course books may also function as agents of change by encouraging teachers to modify traditional teaching methods.

Taking on a textbook oriented approach today, however, does not seem to meet the expectations of most communicative interactions. Because the number of English speakers has been increasing, especially owing to

macroacquisition[2] (Brutt-Griffler 2002), several implications have risen in the development of materials that may take on an international perspective of the language. So, how can teachers adapt their materials and the curriculum in order to take on a more EIL perspective?

In relation to grammatical norms and lexical use, because English is now more varied than before, distinct features have appeared, many of which have been described in contemporary literature. However, less has been written on the effects of these variations on language teaching. So as to prepare learners for intercultural communicative interactions, it is important they understand the diversity of standards in English nowadays and one way this may be done is by resorting to a reality students are familiar with. Portuguese, for instance, like English, is also an international language with several varieties (e.g. European Portuguese, Brazilian Portuguese and Angolan Portuguese); so teachers may take advantage of something students are acquainted with so as to explain how language is structured. This exercise is particularly useful, however, it is often neglected since textbook oriented classes generally focus on only one standard variety.

In terms of culture, most textbooks produced in English-speaking countries also center their content on cultures from other Inner circle countries. And regarding context, interaction is on the most part between native speakers, with very few examples of communication between L2 speakers. This is true for materials produced in English-speaking countries, but it is also visible in many textbooks produced in countries typically deemed as part of the Expanding circle. So as to counteract this, teachers may complement the topics in textbooks with their own written texts and dialogs that portray L2-L2 interactions (McKay 2012). By doing so, students are given a better understanding of what intercultural commu-nication is really like. McKay (2012) also mentions that teachers and students can take on a "classroom-based social research" approach (Peirce 1995). In this approach, students take part in a collaborative project in which they gather examples of L2 interaction in their local community, be it person-to-person contact or English used on the web, and teachers may

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[2] Macroacquisition refers to the acquirement of English as an additional language by individuals in their own country. What we are witnessing is bilingualism at a global scale, in which English is used for international and/or intranational communication.

also contribute with audiotape examples. The main aim of this exercise is essentially for students to come into contact with other L2 speakers from an array of social and cultural backgrounds.

From the examples given, we are therefore able to understand how an EIL approach gives particular importance to linking classroom language learning with language use outside school. In other words, the learning process only begins in the classroom, and it mostly continues once outside it.

In order to fulfill this objective, the use of authentic material plays a key part in the process of language learning. "Authentic" in this case does not refer to materials produced for non-pedagogic purposes in another community of users (e.g. restaurant menus), but to "texts that particular groups engage with and create discourse around for the purpose of furthering their language learning" (McKay, "Teaching Materials" 80). Before making a decision on the teaching materials, teachers should take into consideration whether the materials are suitable for the learners and if they motivate them, if they contribute to increasing language proficiency, and if they are also appropriate for the classroom and social context in question (McKay 2012).

It is only by reflecting on these issues that we can take a step ahead in adopting an EIL perspective in classrooms and in order to do that, much still needs to be done, especially regarding the importance of language awareness in teachers.

4. Concluding remarks

To conclude, teachers play an essential part in raising language awareness among students and if the main goal is to develop effective intercultural communicative agents, much more needs to be done besides a textbook approach in classrooms. Additional materials and activities may and should be developed according to the aims of the class. Therefore, when devising the curriculum of a class, McKay (2012) believes teachers should consider the following questions:

— What to I want my students to learn from this activity and why?
— Are most learners in my class ready to learn this aspect of the language?

— What topics are of interest to my learners?

— How can I create the conditions for learners to engage with a text and/or other learners to promote their language proficiency? (80)

By considering these issues when planning a course, teachers are encouraging a language learning process that will hopefully contribute to develop competent users of English who are aware of the diversity of the language and who will respect the local features of the language and culture when interacting in multicultural communicative interactions.

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Abstract

The linguistic, cultural and functional diversity related with the English language in today's world has led to the reconsideration of fundamental assumptions in English Language Teaching (ELT), and rethinking traditional pedagogical practices.

Teachers and policy makers are faced with challenging issues concerning which instructional variety should be chosen to guide the various aspects of a curriculum. Up to now, this decision was generally made without much thought, based on former concepts or the status quo (particular emphasis being given to Standard British or Standard American English). But, when considering today's society use of English as an international language (EIL), several factors should be further contemplated — these include: students' needs and goals, teachers' expertise and available resources.

This article gives particular emphasis to teaching materials used in classrooms. The importance of developing materials for effective language learning will be discussed, as well as some of the main principles for creating materials that can help prepare students to interact successfully in English international contexts.

Keywords

English as an International Language; English Language Teaching; Variety; Teaching Materials.

Resumo

A actual diversidade linguística, cultural e funcional do inglês tem contribuído para a crescente necessidade de reconsiderar algumas noções do ensino do inglês e, ao mesmo tempo, de repensar práticas pedagógicas.

Uma das questões importantes que os professores enfrentam é saber qual a variedade que deve escolhida para o programa educativo estabelecido. Até há pouco tempo esta decisão era tomada tendo em conta práticas já previamente estabelecidas ou o *status quo*, dando particular ênfase ao inglês britânico ou o inglês americano padrão.

Uma outra questão que merece particular atenção são os materiais utilizados. A importância de desenvolver materiais que contribuam para uma aprendizagem efectiva da língua é aqui discutida, para além de alguns aspectos a serem considerados para criar materiais que ajudam a preparar alunos a interagir em contextos onde o inglês é usado como língua internacional. No entanto, e considerando o uso que a sociedade faz hoje do inglês como língua internacional, são vários os factores que devem ainda ser contemplados, como por exemplo: as necessidades e objectivos dos alunos, a competência dos professores e os recursos disponíveis.

Este artigo pretende, por isso, dar especial atenção aos materiais de ensino usados em sala de aula. A importância de desenvolver materiais que promovem o ensino efectivo da língua é aqui tratado, tal como os princípios fundamentais para criar materiais que ajudam a preparar os alunos para interagirem com sucesso em contextos onde o inglês é utilizado como língua internacional.

Palavras-chave

Inglês como língua internacional; Ensino da língua inglesa; Variedade; Materiais de ensino.

Of Nodes and Ties — Towards a Functional Model of Context for English as a Global Lingua Franca

António M. A. Gonçalves
(Academia da Força Aérea)

Of Nodes and Ties — Towards a Functional Model of Context for English as a Global Lingua Franca

1. Ripples in the TEA cup

The spread of English around the world cannot be equated with the export of a finished product. Arguably, even as a metaphor, it is no longer an export at all. If it ever was so, a big part of its production has now been outsourced. Wherever its use has proved useful, or expedient, for political, economic and/or educational purposes, English has taken root and evolved new varieties. Brutt-Griffler (138) called this process "change through spread", and in that respect it is not unlike other globalisation processes, which take on local characteristics while remaining recognizably close to their matrix. One can think of cultural exports, musical genres such as jazz, for instance, itself a mongrel of previous crossbreedings, taking hold in Europe during the inter-war period, and elsewhere at some later stage, and gaining local tones. Or, one can instead take a leaf off Friedman's book and think of pizza as an apt metaphor for the levelling of the playing field brought about by a globalisation with a strong role for local agency.

> The most popular food in the world is not the Big Mac. It's pizza. And what is pizza? It is just a flat piece of dough on which every culture puts its own distinctive foods and flavours. So Japan has sushi pizza and Bangkok has Thai pizza and Lebanon has mezze pizza. The flatworld platform is just like that pizza dough. It allows different cultures to season and flavour it as they like — and you are going to see that more now than ever. (Friedman 506-507)

From this perspective, globalisation is not, strictly speaking, an imperialistic one-way route from rich to poor, big to small, or centre to periphery, at least not anymore. The "empire writes back" indeed (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin), and not merely in the shape of post-colonial literature.

Whether or not they were former British colonies, or American protec-torates, many regions around the world are also making the most of the opportunity to trade whatever is produced locally on the worldwide marketplace, and, more often than not, they are doing so through English, which they "season and flavour" as they like.

If we were to visually represent the spread of English with this idea of cultural/economic exchange in mind, we would have to go beyond the local 'seasoning and flavour' of the New Englishes, naturally, but there would be no need to go any further than Kachru's three-circle model ("Standards" 12; "Teaching" 356), provided we add a dynamic element to it. All we have to do is think of the circles as the ripple effect caused by an object dropped on a liquid surface in a rather large container, where the widening circles eventually reach the outer limits and have only one way to go, which is back to the centre. Kachru's expanding circle (countries where English has mostly an international function and is learned as a foreign language) is only expanding in demographic terms, of course, since the geographic limits of our container have been reached, but both there and in the outer circle (countries where English serves internal, admnistrative and educational purposes, and is learned as a second language) English users have become more 'mobile', either through migration, exile, tourism and student exchange programmes, among others, or through greatly improved communication technologies, which put them a click-of-the-mouse away from connections across the globe. English, as an essential part of the tool-box of semiotic resources most of us carry around, has thus become more 'fluent' (I use the word advisedly) and come full circle.

The ripple effect analogy can only be taken so far, as it only allows us to visualize spread in very general terms, and it definitely breaks down when it comes to representing change, because the only visible change in the ripple effect would be a weakening process, a dissipation of energy (the rippling wave as it moves away from the centre becomes increasingly shallow), whereas English has indeed gone from strength to strength, and the only thing likely to grow weaker over time is the hold of the inner circle varieties over their norm-providing role. Widdowson's often quoted pronouncement (43), according to which English is only international to the extent that it does not belong to native speakers, and for that reason the way it develops in the world is no longer their business, may only be true

up to a point, or not to have come to full fruition yet. The truth of the matter, though, is that the sheer demographic weight of non-native users of English, and their exponentially more frequent encounters, has brought about a sociolinguistic reality where it is hard to see how the minority group can remain sole arbiter of any goings on.

Among the six fallacies associated with the uses and users of English in the world, Kachru had already identified the idea

> (…) That the native speakers of English as teachers, academic administrators, and material developers provide a serious input in the global teaching of English, in policy formation, and in determining the channels for the spread of the language. In reality, the native speakers have an insignificant role in the global spread and teaching of English. ("Teaching" 358)

And yet, demography notwithstanding, there is no shortage of anecdotal evidence on the ground that could be adduced to temper such proclamations, namely the instances of non-native speaker teachers, anywhere in the world, who are not even given a chance to apply for English language teaching positions simply by reason of their non-nativeness. The 'irrelevance' of the native speaker in the English teaching industry is very far from a closed matter (Widdowson 43), and at the root of the problem there may be a combination of popular misconceptions, standard language ideology (Milroy and Milroy), and influential theoretical constructs (see, for instance, Mahboob for a discussion of the role of the "Chomskian paradigm" in the central role ascribed to the native speaker in Applied Linguistics and TESOL).

If memory serves, there was a character in one of Malcolm Bradbury's forays into television writing, either *The Gravy Train* (1990) or *The Gravy Train Goes East* (1991), who facetiously referred to TEA as the great British export, or something to the same effect. The fictional acronym stood for Teaching English Abroad, but there is no question that the very factual ELT (English Language Teaching) is big business, not least for book publishers. According to Clark and Phillips, ELT publishing is "predominantly an export-orientated field" which "engages very large investments and a worldwide marketing strength" (39), while the four publishing houses with the highest turnout by the year 2000 were all British. So, even if international English "is getting into the hands of foreigners" (unidentified

speaker quoted in Gnutzmann) in terms of the growing number of non-native users, and especially in the expanding circle, it would seem that "the way English develops in the world" (Widdowson 43) is very much a native speaker business, at least in the strictly literal sense of the word.

What this preliminary sketch suggests is that while the demographic weight is clearly on the non-native speakers' side, there has been no clear shift in the balance of power to put everybody on a level pegging. The reasons for this are neither simple nor straightforward, but one of them must surely have something to do with how little is known about the English spoken by this group so vaguely described by the non-native label and whose importance is downplayed by invoking demographics alone while keeping in mind a static, deficit perspective on non-native speakers, perceived as mere dabblers, permanently stuck in some 'inter-language' stage of development, for ever targeting an ideal native-speaker's 'competence' while putting to work their 'performance varieties'. The terms of this Chomskian invocation should make clear the implied double standard. It is no wonder there is still something about this lingua franca which puts one in mind of a linguistic franchise. The deficit perspective, however, can hardly be overturned in the absence of a clear idea concerning what English is really like outside native-speaking countries and in international contexts.

2. Minding the gap

The negative correlation between the number of non-native users of English and studies of English language in use, which were almost exclusively centred on native varieties, was first clearly pointed out by Seidlhofer in "Closing a Conceptual Gap". Ever more frequent corpus studies, made possible by technological advances, were exploring in greater depth areas of language in use which, until then, had hardly been amenable to thorough scrutiny, namely spoken interactions. The first grammar of English based on an electronic corpus to account for the particulars of spoken language had been published only a couple of years prior to Seidlhofer's article (Biber *et al.*), but dealt exclusively, as a matter of course, with native speaker English. Intent on closing the perceived gap, Seidlhofer argued it was high time the majority of users had their uses undergo the same treatment

afforded to inner circle varieties, namely through corpus studies, thus pointing the way forward in a new field of linguistic research.

The case for researching non-native uses of English in international settings could hardly be countered in purely scientific terms. It was merely a case of finding out what this new linguistic reality was like. International interactions mediated by the English language had become more and more frequent over the years (see, for instance, Crystal, *English as a Global Language* and *The Language Revolution*; or Graddol, *The Future of English?*, and *English Next*). Towards the end of the twentieth century they had become so frequent and ubiquitous that it would only be a matter of time before someone started suggesting we take a closer look at what was actually going on when non-native speakers met and engaged in any activity together through English. Not only because it might be different from instances of communication between native speakers, which would appear only too obvious, and even from interactions where native and non-native speakers came together, but because we might be witnessing the emergence of something altogether new, as a consequence of the exponential increase in the number of speakers outside the countries where it was the first language for the majority of the population, as well as their more frequent encounters. Graddol has no doubts that, as the world's lingua franca, English has acquired a new global form, and is already a "new language which is rapidly ousting the language of Shakespeare" (*English Next* 11).

However, if "this is not English as we have known it, and have taught it in the past" (Graddol, *English Next* 11), it remains to be seen what exactly the novelty consists of. It was as a result of this line of inquiry that a new field of study emerged out of the World Englishes paradigm. Some have agreed to call it English as a Lingua Franca (or ELF, for short) discarding earlier, tentative designations, such as English as an International Language (EIL), or even International English (IE) (see, for instance, Jenkins 1-30 for a discussion of the concept and its alternatives). I adopt the designation myself in this paper, because it has now gained enough currency to be recognizable, and because no alternative has been as thoroughly conceptualized.

In saying ELF emerged out of the World Englishes paradigm I am neither implying it adopted wholesale the assumptions of the three-circle

model, nor suggesting it has outgrown all the model's constraints. All I am saying is that ELF seems to be the logical historical extension of the World Englishes project, and we could perhaps transpose into linguistic research the ripple effect analogy used above for the spread of English in the world. After the recognition of local, indigenized, or nativized varieties of English, the New Englishes, as they are sometimes called, the time had apparently come to look at the remaining, so far neglected, group of English language users, those who were neither speakers of English as a native language (ENL), nor speakers of English as a second-language (ESL). That would appear to mean speakers of English as a foreign language (EFL), but the fact is ELF cuts across the previously established boundaries between ENL, ESL and EFL. At this point, it would seem we had gone beyond the stage where it was enough to model the spread of English by ascribing countries/speakers to one of three circles (inner, outer, expanding), defined by the functions English supposedly performed in people's everyday lives and the degree of independence it showed relative to "the traditional homes of English", in Kachru's words ("Standards" 11-30).

3. Contingent and emergent: form in ELF communication

The gap Seidlhofer identified would be hard to close in such a short period of time, but research has been gathering pace. We now have at our disposal two major ELF corpora, VOICE (Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English) and ELFA (English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings), the latter of which has now been supplemented with two significant extensions, SELF (Studying in English as a Lingua Franca), and WrELFA (Written academic ELF). In addition, there are a number of smaller scale corpus studies. Apart from the obvious exception of WrELFA, all the corpora studies are concerned exclusively with spoken English, with the justification that it is in spoken language that innovations are more likely to occur first and their emergence can be more easily observed in the negotiation of meanings which takes place in real time interaction.

Some of this research has focused on lexicogrammar, trying to ascertain whether there are any significant features emerging as likely ELF universals, while other studies have used conversation analysis and the pragmatics framework to observe the deployment of strategies which might

set ELF interactions apart. Some of the early findings were reported, for instance, in Seidlhofer ("Research Perspectives"), which included a list of likely features of ELF lexicogrammar. Among these, the frequent absence of the third person —*s* of the simple present tense has become almost a case study, and a debated issue. Mollin's empirical study, for instance, casts doubts over the systematic nature of the ommission, but see Seidlhofer ("Orientations in ELF Research") for a rebuttal. We won't go into any details here concerning these early findings. Their importance is beyond dispute, as any reliable record of actual use is an invaluable piece of information, but they are outside the scope of this paper.

For our current purposes it is perhaps more relevant to focus on observations concerning the pragmatics of ELF, which very clearly suggest the questionable relevance of looking for form first, largely ignoring function, and the doubtful validity of resorting to theoretical constructs which were designed to account for a different reality (Seidlhofer, "Orientations", and Dewey). By searching for ELF universals and an elusive variety status, some early studies may have been hostage to concepts that denote something stable and closed. Concepts such as 'variety', which may have served well enough in the past, clearly fail to capture a reality which is in a state of flux. There is a relative degree of stability in local varieties because they are the language of a 'speech community', a concept which implies a closeness and cohesiveness which are entirely absent from ELF uses in a global context.

There clearly is something inherently variable about ELF form which is unlikely to give rise to a variety. Firth, for instance, observes how meaning is successfully negotiated in business interactions where the focus is on the "'task-as-target'," rather than '(standard) linguistic-form-as-target'" ("The *Lingua Franca* Factor" 155). This might even involve code-switching, if that is felt to be the best way to get the job done, but most frequently it involves supportive behavior: "(…) the interactants conjointly focus away from the surface form of language production and focus instead on accomplishing transcendent interpersonal meaning" (Firth 160). As a consequence of this 'other-orientation', the same speakers can be repeatedly observed to variously use standard and non-standard forms. The author wonders whether this is best characterized as 'unstable' L2 competence, as SLA (Second Language Acquisition) would have it, or as something else,

perhaps "(…) a kind of dynamic, 'relativized' competence, a contingent resourcefulness and co-participant-centered accommodation, alignment and adaptation (Firth 160)". I think it is worth quoting a longer passage from Firth's article, because it very clearly seems to invoke Complex Systems theory, without actually naming it (although it is well represented in his list of references), a theoretical perspective which can certainly provide some insight into the adaptive and dynamic nature of human communication. Emphasis in the following excerpt is mine and highlights the key elements that define interactions in English as a lingua franca.

> At the heart of ELF encounters, then, is what appears to be an **inherent diversity —** of language proficiency, linguistic form, and of sociocultural and pragmatic knowledge. Thus **the "form" of English as a lingua franca** (…) **is ineluctably emergent**, and appears to be **negotiated** by each set of speakers for their purposes *in situ*. And this "*in situ*," moreover, is itself **potentially changeable on a turn-by-turn basis**. The implications of this are manifold and important. First, ELF interactants appear to develop **competencies** that entail **monitoring each other's language proficiency to determine the appropriate grammar, phonology, pace of delivery, lexical range, and pragmatic conventions that ensure locally adequate intelligibility and that also attend to setting-specific tasks** (…) (Firth 162)

Up to a point, any human interaction is of course complex, dynamic, unique, and involves a meaning-making process which is negotiated there and then. Larsen-Freeman and Cameron adopted the term 'soft assembly' to suggest the sensitive nature of this joint construction of meaning in face-to-face interaction viewed as a complex dynamic system (169). One of the properties of complex adaptive, or dynamic, systems is their dependence on initial conditions. What each speaker brings to the opening of an exchange sets in motion a logo-genetic process whose outcome is unpredictable, and yet is determined by that very opening. It is the linguistic equivalent of the 'butterfly effect', if you will. In many ELF interactions, which are instances of intercultural communication, there is very little that can be taken for granted, and this coupling of semiotic systems we call conversation has

often to be lifted from the ground up and micro-managed every inch of the way up to a successful completion. By contrast, a conversation between speakers with a lot of shared assumptions about the ways they can construe ideational meanings, and position themselves towards each other and towards their topics, is a relatively smooth process. In ELF interactions, the initial conditions are inherently diverse, so it is harder to establish common ground and to predict which form will emerge as the most suitable to accomplish the task in hand.

But how is ELF different from other lingua francas, past and present, in this respect? The answer to this question may somehow be implied it what was said above concerning the number of non-native speakers and their more frequent unmediated encounters, but that is only a part of the complex picture. In the next section, I will trace the origins of the explanation I propose back to Kachru's circles and identify the missing elements for an updated model of English in the world.

4. The three circles and the fourth dimension

In Kachru's model, inner circle Englishes were said to be multi-functional. They were used for all purposes, at home and at work, and they were also said to be norm-providing. They were, of course, the native language of the majority of the population. Outer circle Englishes, in turn, were said to be norm-developing, in recognition of their emerging variety status. They were the official, or one of the official languages of the country, as well as a second language for most of its users, and served administrative, educational and professional purposes. Finally, in the expanding circle, people were said to be EFL speakers, speakers of English as a foreign language. They learned English at school, used it mostly for international communication and, as such, their usage was norm-dependent. The norms they were dependent upon, of course, were the norms 'provided' by the two major inner circle varieties, British and American English.

We have always known these neatly drawn boundaries were reductionist by design, as the model did not intend to account for the considerable variation within individual countries, and not only those whose inclusion in any given circle might be called into question by reason of their complex sociolinguistic composition. Neither could it possibly have

been designed to account for a reality which was impossible to foresee from the standpoint of two or three decades ago. There are clearly aspects of the problem the model was not meant to deal with, or could not perhaps have dealt with satisfactorily without blurring its clear outline, namely the diachronic dimension, or simply, for the purposes of this paper, the dynamic nature of the phenomenon under scrutiny. From the vantage point of the second decade of the twenty-first century it is easier to see this is the model's most serious shortcoming, as I will try to demonstrate.

There are four interrelated factors at play which I think are relevant for a comprehensive description of English in the current sociolinguistic landscape, one of which is not even encompassed by Kachru's circular construct. I will tentatively call these four factors, or dimensions, **geographical spread**, **register variation**, **demographic imbalance**, and **global digital network**. Kachru's model contemplates spread and demographics, but, in my view, underrepresents register variation outside the inner circle, although it is only fair to say that this dimension could hardly be as prominent when the model was proposed as it is today. The four factors have, one way or another, either jointly or discreetly, been considered before, so what I would like to do is to elaborate on these dimensions, with particular emphasis on the fourth, and to reflect on the way they interact. I propose we look at them as parts of a complex dynamic system, once again resorting to Larsen-Freeman and Cameron, which combine to shape the social-semiotic context we inhabit.

In this four-dimensional phenomenon, the **geographical spread** is historically the first, and is also, of course, the necessary pre-condition of the other three. It is also the one that appears to be foremost in people's minds when one speaks of English as a global language, and there's no doubt this very visible ubiquity is meaningful enough in itself. The second factor, though, **register variation**, adds another layer of meaning to the phrase global English, and comes into play when one makes the distinguo that English is not only geographically widespread, or, to put it another way, that it is present in many different 'contexts of culture', but that it is also the language of choice for carrying out many different types of activity, therefore being also present in different 'contexts of situation'. So, while Kachru's model had little room for register variation within the outer and expanding circles, things have changed considerably due to the dramatic

growth and interplay of the remaining factors, the growing demographic imbalance associated with the degree of connectedness made possible by the global digital network.

The third factor listed above, the **demographic imbalance** between users of English as a mother tongue and users of English as a second, foreign, or additional language was already dealt with in part one. What is relevant to keep in mind here is that non-native speakers have outnumbered native speakers for some time now, and that the gap has been growing wider and at an increasing rate. Two major consequences of this imbalance, which greatly contribute to the situation I am here trying to characterize, are the absence of native speakers in many English-mediated interactions (a major argument used in justification for ELF research) and the fact that many teachers of English are now non-native speakers themselves. This second consequence may in time come to play a more prominent role in overcoming the native speaker bias still ingrained in ELT.

The fourth dimension, the **global digital network**, has sometimes been perceived as little more than a modern instrument of globalisation itself. Globalisation as we now know it, in this view, would be a mere extension of something which was already there to begin with, and had recently only changed in scale, or speed. This is globalisation in its looser sense, the longer view of globalisation, so to speak. As Chew puts it (46), "globalisation is in reality a part of a long historical process; only the manner and speed at which it is taking place is unprecedented". I contend that what is new about the nature of the global network, its digital dimension, has given the whole phenomenon a different, exponentially larger scale, namely by virtue of its very low cost, instant and permanent availabilty, as well as its quick expansion. It may finally have endowed English with the critical mass that is likely to guarantee its survival as a lingua franca, independently of the role played by native-speaking countries. So, what I am arguing here is that the sheer number of speakers would not have sufficed, as Wright would seem to be suggesting in the following passage.

> At the beginning of the twenty-first century some indicators seem to be suggesting that English may once again survive the framework that made it a lingua franca for a particular time and place. There are signs that the number of speakers has

> achieved a kind of critical mass which suggests English might persist in its lingua franca role even in a scenario where the United States was no longer the prime motor of globalisation. (Wright 155)

The number of users might not have been enough in itself, nor indeed the fact that those users are to be found just about anywhere on earth. It is not even possible to be sure English would not be superseded in many of the functions it is now called upon to perform, at least in some areas of activity, if it were not for this new 'wildfire factor' which is the World Wide Web as we now know it, in its post dot-com bubble openness, with all its virtually unlimited user-generated content. The Web is giving all potential English users the chance to be actual users much more often, and this is far from a negligible element, both in the language development plane (ontogenesis), allowing individual users to become more proficient at a faster rate by taking part in meaningful exchanges, and in terms of language change, or evolution (philogenesis), by allowing an exponentially greater number of instantiations of the language system to be negotiated by users from multiple linguacultural backgrounds.

The much easier and much more frequent interactions between English language users, no matter where they find themselves in the world, coupled with the availability of the English language as the wider gateway to an endless wealth of information, may indeed play a decisive role in the changes the English language will undergo in the near future. What we now have is 'English on demand' and 'just in time', unmediated by school teachers, news editors, or native speaking proofreaders. Granted, it may also be, often enough, at least in the eyes of the prescriptivists, English 'behaving badly'. But teething problems and growing pains, in the shape of blatant deviations from any given standard of (linguistic) behaviour, have always beset any coming of age. After all, the new Englishes, which emerged in Kachru's outer circle countries, were not instantly recognized as legitimate varieties. At this stage, it would be hard to tell whether an international standard is about to emerge, although it is not inconceivable that, at least among those who engage in cross-cultural transactions, by dint of frequently deployed accommodation strategies and a greater awareness of diversity, some degree of convergence might already be taking place.

The coming of age of this Web-enhanced global English might also usher in changes other than the strictly linguistic, some of which can already be observed. This is not the moment, nor the place, to go into the matter at any great length, but it is interesting to reflect how the former language of hegemonic powers, both political and economic, would seem to be in the process of becoming an empowering set of resources for participatory and cooperative endeavours that would be unthinkable a mere decade ago, irrespective of the first language backgrounds of those engaging in them. A greater participation of non-native-speakers is not likely to occur without setbacks, as a number of vested interests may well hinder its progress, either indirectly, by restricting access to information online, purportedly in defence of intellectual property, or as blatant censorship, further disadvantaging in the process the already underprivileged in developing countries; or directly, by means of gatekeeping practices which remain in place and limit membership of some discourse communities, not least by means of culturally biased genre conventions which ELF expansion should in time make more flexible.

5. Connectedness, availability and the strength of weak ties

One of the basic tenets of the reconceptualization of English which is at the heart of ELF research is the need to overcome the deficit perspective implied in the teaching of English as a Foreign Language (EFL). One of the reasons 'foreign' is not a perfect fit for English today is that its learning does not rely as much on teaching as it did in the past. Popular culture and the new digital media have created the kind of social environment where learning, and English language learning is no exception, not infrequently takes place through meaningful practices in "passionate affinity spaces" (Gee and Hayes 69). In that respect, English learning is being levelled out somewhat across the world by a foregrounding of the interpersonal dimension of language development, whose primordial role was already attested for the learning of the mother tongue (Painter 137-157).

ELF is a more comprehensive concept, at least as a designation of English-mediated interactions, although not so much, perhaps, of English language users, as native speakers not engaged in international communication would have to be excluded. However, this is an evolving reality,

and definitions of ELF must remain as open as the social and cultural systems of which it partakes. But just like ELF itself, there are other concepts whose scope and usefulness pose significant problems when it comes to modelling a complex state of affairs, where scale-shifting (from local to global) and code-switching (between two or more languages), to name but two obvious variables, are very frequently at play in modern meaning-making practices. It is precisely this kind of problem Lemke is describing in the following excerpt:

> It is notoriously difficult to bridge between microsocial and macrosocial approaches (…). Above all, it is difficult to make a truly <u>dynamic</u> account of social and cultural systems, since most of our traditional concepts (<u>individuals, institutions, cultures, societies, languages, discourses</u>) are formulated in essentially <u>static</u> terms.

As already pointed out, what we are dealing with requires a reassessment of a number of received concepts. Neither 'variety', nor 'speech community', at least as previously defined, will take us very far if we want to account for the ELF phenomenon, as neither users, nor instances of use are confined within the restrictive geographical boundaries that such constructs imply. 'Discourse community', at least in some cases, namely the academic subcultures, may still maintain some of its validity, as high-stakes practices can exert a stronger pressure to comply with received styles and conventions. But even here times might already be achanging, at least if the English used in academic enviromnents as a lingua franca begins to demonstrably contaminate written genres. 'Social network', on the other hand, can easily be expanded and upgraded to encompass the more widely scattered groups we now have to contend with, while retaining its explanatory power. This wider social network I have been calling **global** and **digital** relies on powerful structuring tools to carry out its semiotic practices, and because many of them are carried out through English, the same tools have become powerful language learning platforms. On the one hand, there is the **connectedness** provided by the internet, which is the system's hardware. On the other, there is the **availabiltiy** of all sorts of easily searchable content which the World Wide Web, the software of the system, puts at our disposal.

Taking up some of the ideas from part four, concerning the role of the Web, let us briefly focus on the interplay of these factors, **connectedness** and **availability**, and the way they can facilitate language development and change, in the process blurring the distinction between so-called foreign and second language situations, and drawing both closer, if not quite close enough for them to become indistinguishable, to first language development.

The number of nodes in the global social network, its **connectedness**, makes for the existence of many more 'weak ties' (Granovetter), or 'bridging' social capital (Putnam). Weak ties are based on less personal, more indirect, social relations than the ones which charaterize the nuclear social network. Relaxing the pressure to conform closely to group behaviour, 'weak ties' are a more likely source of new information than 'strong ties', and, by extension, are also a factor of language change (Milroy 549-572). Global interconnectivity allows the creation of an exponentially greater number of connections/ties, and it also makes long-distance connections as likely, if not more likely, to occur than connections with physically adjacent nodes (in this system, virtual distance is the same, no matter where one is). The fluidity of the whole system bears no comparison with any other social structure. **Availability** makes for what I called above 'English on demand' and 'just in time'. It is, of course, a consequence of connectedness, and of the wealth of content constantly being generated, but the bi-directional nature of the new media increases the likelihood of active contact between diverse 'varieties', requiring the development of better accommodation strategies and a more cooperative behaviour, while providing ample room for learning language through language use. Frequency of use is perhaps the surest guarantee of individual language development and, on the larger scale, can bring about the inception of new stages in the evolution of language, which may involve a state of indeterminacy, as well as an expansion of the meaning potential of the system as it is called upon to effectively hold the network together across the globe.

Further developments in ELF research and English language teaching might benefit from increasingly incorporating the global into the local, considering at one time the macro-level of the connected world and the micro-level of local face-to-face interaction. The context of each instantiation of the semiotic system is likely to contain ever more frequent

elements of the wider context, as mobile devices allow users to carry the largest possible multimedia libraries in their pockets and resort to them at the drop of a hat. Newspapers, magazines, and books can be read online or instantly downloaded to a number of mobile devices, such as ebook readers and smartphones. Podcasts, videos and music can either be streamed live or downloaded for later use. For instant communication with either a single person or, easily, a group of thousands of linked people across the globe, one can now resort to varied messaging software made available by just about every social networking website, computer system or e-mail service provider.

The question is, of course, how can we model such complexity?

6. Strange attractors: putting functions in context

I introduced above Malinowki's original coinages of two levels of context ('context of culture' and 'context of situation'), which have been expanded and refined within the Systemic Functional Linguistics framework (henceforth SFL), as a way of foregrounding something which has perhaps been missing from discussions of English as a lingua franca, a more fine-grained model of context, a model of context which can encompass both the global scale of the phenomenon, as well as its variation on multiple levels, its dynamic/adaptive nature, enacted in every single instantiation of a semiotic system which might well be undergoing a 'phase transition'. I am here thinking either of a 'tipping point' (Gladwell), or a system approaching a 'strange attractor' (Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 4), the dynamic state of equilibrium on the edge of chaos, but I would not like to press any analogy beyond the range of my limited acquaintance with science matters. What it is important to stress is the need for a model of context which can be detailed enough and sufficiently flexible to accommodate a very fluid and complex semiotic system.

As I have tried to demonstrate above, the most far-reaching change in the sociolinguistic environment where English has become the most often shared means of construing experience and enacting relationships is the level of connectedness made possible by the World Wide Web in the past decade. Whereas the geographical spread, the variety of registers and even the demographic imbalance were already in place, it was only with the

Web's user-generated platforms (dubbed Web 2.0) that all the potential users of English became 'active nodes' in a network of ever increasing complexity, thus elevanting exponentially their ability to act upon almost anything, anywhere. Through English and the digital networks, people are not only drawn closer, they are closer to everybody, all the time. The potential for change, on several levels, is immense. Cutting across boundaries, as anything trully global naturally would, but at a much higher rate, English can bridge differences and reveal commonalities which distinct languages usually hide by confining practices to local social groups (Enfield and Levinson 1). Taking root in myriad places and serving countless purposes, its meaning potential expands as it expands its users potential to mean. And it is here that the demographic imbalance really comes into its own, given added weight by the much greater number of ELF interactions enabled by the digital media.

In face of the scale and dynamic nature of the phenomenon, what is perhaps required of us, as part of the groundwork for future research, is a sort of theoretical upgrade, a fleshing out of the repeated call for a 'functional turn' in ELF studies (see, for example, Seidlhofer, "Orientations" and Dewey). The description of 'disembodied' formal features, or "feature-spotting", as Seidlhofer dubbed it ("Orientations" 49), is unlikely by itself to provide any major insights into the true nature of the English language on a global scale. Scale is an operative word here, foisting upon us once again the sneaky suspicion that we might soon have to contend with something which, by virtue of its very dimension, is perhaps altogether new, but whose emergent properties are yet to unfold. As the digitally-enhanced network becomes increasingly complex, the sum of its many parts is ever more unlikely to add up to a commensurate whole. The English language, as the most frequently deployed semiotic system in the network, is one of the major parts adding up to that still unfathomable whole. So, in order to understand ELF innovation and begin to describe it, we need to model the wider, global, networked, and changeable context.

The way language change is construed in the Systemic-Functional Linguistics framework seems particularly appropriate for this sort of endeavour. As Martin puts it, "language change in this model is read in terms of an expanding meaning potential, a key feature of semiotic systems as they adapt to new discursive and non-discursive (physical and biological)

environments" (9). A functional approach to ELF will seek to understand how context variables determine linguistic choices, or how linguistic choices realize context. By definition, within the SFL framework language and context cannot be dealt with separately. As a social-semiotic system (Halliday 108-126), English is also, like any other human language, a dynamic adaptive system and, as such, it changes by constantly adapting to the changing environment, while of course changing the very environment of which it is a part. This dialectical interdependence is well accounted for by the layered SFL model which establishes a direct link between aspects of the context of situation (field, tenor and mode) and their linguistic realization (the ideational/experiential, interpersonal and textual metafunctions), which might be well suited for a functional description of ELF interactions. On a higher plane, the SFL construct accounts for the relation between context of culture and discourse genres. As Martin and White put it, "(…) as a level of context, genre represents the system of staged goal-oriented social processes through which social subjects in a given culture live their lives (32-33)." Genres are no more than culturally constrained discourse configurations, so they cannot fail to be under pressure from the current pull of a more widely participated and participative culture.

For those unfamiliar with the concepts just introduced, and at the risk of oversimplification, it is perhaps useful to try to explain how language realizes context according to SFL theory. If we are to describe how the context of situation, the immediate context of any interaction, determines the linguistic choices whose combination constitutes its register, we need to identify three pairs of dependent variables. The **field** is the variable of context which has to do with what is going on, what the situation is about, and is realized in discourse through the **ideational**, or **experiential**, metafunction, the choice of participants and processes in the system of transitivity (or subjects, predicates and objects, in traditional syntax terms) relevant to the accomplishment of the task in hand. **Tenor** relates to what kind of role each participant can play, determined, among other things, by social status, and is realized through the **interpersonal** metafunction, which comprises linguistic choices that position the interactants relative to each other and towards the object of their interaction, such as mood and modality, as well as evaluative language in general. **Mode** has to do with the

kind of channel available for the interaction to take place, somewhere along the spoken/written continuum, and is realized through the **textual** metafunction, which is the discourse organizer, taking care of thematic and information structures, as well as cohesion and coherence (Halliday and Hasan 22).

A description of ELF interactions which resorted to the SFL tool-box might go a little further than the identification of discreet formal features in accounting for the expanding meaning potential at the disposal of networked global English communities. A thorough analysis of emerging or evolving genres, namely web-based genres, would perhaps provide us with a more accurate map of the wider context of culture we have to contend with in ELF research. If genres, as a level of context, do indeed represent the way people live their lives, in a more densely networked life they will increasingly be called upon to bridge the disjunction between global communication goals and local constraints, which are all the stronger because, for the most part, they rely on handed down, taken for granted, mostly unquestioned because largely unconscious, modes of behaviour.

> Because genre is bound up both with global communicative purpose (…) and a local understanding of social relations, genre is the mediator between the global and the local. It is all the more pervasive as it is the invisible fabric of our speech. It should not be surprising, then, that at the end of our analysis we find genre to be the major source of misunderstanding in global communicative practice. Because we tend to take our genres for natural and universal (…), we don't realize the local flavour they bring to the global medium. (Kramsch e Thorne 99)

The challenge for ELF researchers working within an SFL informed framework, then, would be to trace the "invisible fabric" at work in lingua-cultural shifts by analysing choices made within the system of mood, as interpersonal meaning-making resources are the most likely to 'betray' local understandings of social relations; in the transitivity system, as clause participants and processes are likely to reveal value-laden local construals of reality, and finally, at text level, in the way the thematic and information structures, as well as cohesive devices, are variously deployed, as these are

just as prone to contamination from the immediate environment as any of the other shifts. What one would expect, especially if longitudinal studies can be carried out, is that, in time, the higher frequency of instantiations of the semiotic system on an international plane would generate new commonalities, either by way of expanded, more inclusive repertoires, or through neutralization mechanisms which exclude the more marked choices from lingua franca interactions as a way of ensuring comprehension.

To conclude in the cautious tone doubtful matters advise, perhaps both processes are inevitably at work all the time, as ELF users constantly adapt to the situations in which they find themselves and what these require for successful communication to occur, and the system is thus subjected to a tidal ebb and flow which is invisibly shaping our linguistic shores. However, there is no guarantee our intuitions will be borne out in the long run, especially if some of the interplaying variables of the complex social and semiotic systems involved undergo unpredictable changes. Let us not forget that a difference in quantity, and we are dealing both with very large quantities and unknown quantities, can turn out to be a difference in quality. ELF may appear to be more of the same, only bigger, a lingua franca for our global times, so to speak, but might yet become something new, something whose emergent properties only longer observation will bring to light.

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Abstract

This paper is a preliminary exploration in search of a dynamic model of context which can encompass the heightened functional variability in meaning-making practices in English as a global lingua franca. Kachru's three-circle construct is revisited and assessed as a way of introducing the four dimensions relevant to account for the central role of English in the current sociolinguistic landscape: geographical spread, register variation, demographic imbalance between native and non-native speakers, and the global digital network. The scale and complexity of the phenomenon demand a richer, more fine-grained theoretical approach, as well as an evaluation, revision or upgrade of key concepts such as 'variety', 'speech community', 'social network' and 'weak ties', and their role in individual language development and language change. It is suggested Systemic-Functional Linguistics might be well suited to provide the theoretical framework capable of dealing with the relation between context(s) and lingua franca interactions on the global digital network.

Keywords

Kachru's three-circle model; English as a Lingua Franca (ELF); Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL); Global digital network; Weak ties.

Resumo

Este artigo é um trabalho exploratório em busca de um modelo dinâmico de contexto que possa abranger a maior variação funcional das práticas significantes nas interações em inglês como língua franca. O modelo de três círculos de Kachru é revisitado e avaliado, como forma de introduzir as quatro dimensões relevantes para explicar o papel central do inglês no atual quadro sociolinguístico: a sua distribuição geográfica, a variedade de registos, o desequilíbrio demográfico entre falantes nativos e não nativos, e a rede digital global. A escala e a complexidade do fenómeno exigem uma abordagem teoricamente mais rica e detalhada, bem como uma avaliação, revisão ou atualização do papel de conceitos chave como "varie-

dade", "comunidade linguística", "rede social" ou "laços fracos" e do seu provável papel, quer no desenvolvimento linguístico individual, quer na mudança linguística em geral. Sugere-se que a Linguística Sistémico-Funcional pode revelar-se um enquadramento teórico capaz de lidar com a relação entre contexto e interações em língua franca na na rede digital/global.

Palavras-chave

Modelo de três círculos de Kachru; Inglês como Língua Franca; Linguística Sistémico-Funcional (LSF); Rede digital global; Laços fracos.

'But in movies they speak different' — Meeting Young Learners' Expectations

Isabel Santos Graça
ULICES - University of Lisbon Centre for English Studies /
Ministério da Educação e Ciência - Agrupamento de Escolas D. Dinis

'But in movies they speak different' — Meeting Young Learners' Expectations

Introduction

Along the 20th century many technological devices were developed. Around the world many people believe globalization provided an opportunity to share the resources equitably to everyone and turned communication into a much easier reality; social networks, and internet increased and changed the relationship between knowledge and apprenticeship, between school and practical connections outside, and their due validation.

In our current days, globalization relies upon an unprecedented market expansion and the use of a communication network, covering most of the globe. People from different countries or continents became leading characters to others, no matter where they stand and a reference in the development of one's intellectual and social thought. English became the key language in the science and technology fields, as well as in the leisure time activities such as sports, music and cinema.

It's the result of a long path in the expansion of English from the British Empire and the Industrial Revolution up to the global revolution of the late 20th century and beginning of our 21st century, in which users of English perform a core role, "In other words: the fact that English is now an influential world language is not really due to its superiority as a language, but it is the result of the activities of its speakers over the centuries" (Melchers& Shaw 9).

Following this process, English is the language most people use in their connections and eases the social-cultural identity experienced as a way of being part of a community. Graddol highlights that fact and the age of learners, "More people than ever want to learn English. (…) English learners are increasing in number and decreasing in age" (Graddol 10).

Such a context depicts the assertion that mastering the English language ensures opportunities leading to a better future in a global world.

New roles of English and the concept of ELF

For the very first time, in current times, the number of non-native speakers of English overcame the number of native speakers; referring to Kachru (1985) and his terminology from his model on the expansion of English, this language became a connection tool used, not only by speakers from countries of the inner circle, but also from the outer circle and expanding circle.

Indeed, English changed its role from the native language of a certain number of speakers in a certain geographic area to another distinct one, which included contributions of native and non-native speakers. Higgins states her opinion on the possession of the language in a clear way, "Learners who view themselves as legitimate speakers of English can own English" (617).

Every day and everywhere one bumps into the notion that people, who manage to use English efficiently, get into the markets and achieve success. It became fashionable, and shaped the way people live, thus young learners perform the action that not the entire generation before did achieve: learning and using English.

Thus, there is a need for an efficient lingua franca to be understood in different contexts by distinct speakers. Accordingly, Guerra stresses the role of the users in the process of the spread of English, "Any development in the debate about the role of English in the 21st century as a language of international communication cannot be promoted without an active participation of users of English as a foreign language" (2).

In similar vein, a characterization of the new speaker is purposed, "The new speakers are not just passively absorbing the language; they are *shaping* it" (Nihalani 15). The language became the speakers' opportunity to build a tool that can lead to an effective global communication.

Global mobility is a current fact, throughout all continents and Europe in particular, people travel: language users travel in and out for social, professional, economic or leisure reasons and look forward to be successful in the most of their communicative acts, although their diverse performance.

Across Europe, the expansion of English is also connected to a specific role performed by several European Institutions: English is used in

most of the summits, conferences or working groups, although other official working languages might be considered as available tools.

Framing up the political context, along the past 50 years the Council of Europe (COE) has supported and developed European cooperation programs and reference tools in the scope of the Language policy. The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (2001) constitutes a core document, since it provides a common basis across Europe for the language syllabuses as well as curriculum guidelines. It also defines levels of proficiency and describes what learners have to learn, which skills to develop on a life-long basis and in order to communicate and understand others' utterances.

Under the same paramount perspective, the European Union (EU) has drawn a special attention to language policies encouraging the early learning of two different languages out of the Early Language Learning Policy Handbook (2011). Facing the challenge from the Lisbon strategy for growth and employment (2000), several political documents have been released. Recommendation 2006/962/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council defines the eight key competences for lifelong learning, followed by the description of the related essential knowledge, skills and attitudes, on what concerns foreign languages,

> (…) **communication in foreign languages**, which involves, in addition to the main skill dimensions of communication in the mother tongue, mediation and intercultural under-standing. The level of proficiency depends on several factors and the capacity for listening, speaking, reading and writing; (…). (Recommendation 2006/962/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 December 2006)

Later, in 2009, these previous documents were followed by the Strategic Framework for European Cooperation in Education and Training (ET 2010) and have reinforced the account that the communication skill in foreign languages contributes to the fulfillment of the strategy goal of turning the EU into the most competitive learning society. In all the documentation the core indicators, allowing an overall assessment of basic skills for young learners, define language skills as key ones. But considering the increasing number of learners and users of English throughout Europe the awareness of the importance of ELF, as a communicative strategy, arises.

The research on ELF issues arose in the decade 90 of the 20th century, but this 21st reflects an increased interest about this theme. Several approaches of English as a lingua franca by authors, as Seidlhofer (2001), Jenkins (2006) and others are to be considered. Starting with Seidlhofer's view, she states, "(…) I (…) attempt a characterization of English as a Lingua Franca. It should be noted that this is indeed a characterization rather than a strict definition — language varieties do not readily lend themselves to definition as such" (40).

Jenkins (2006) outlines key characteristics of ELF, "It is by now a well-rehearsed fact that English has become an international language used most frequently as a lingua franca among its (so called) non-native speakers from different L1 background" (32). This same author also stresses the fact that the main influence in ELF interaction does not arise from whatever the mother language might be, but instead the focus is placed in the communication acts skilled by the speakers. Modiano states the importance of a pro-active attitude,

> As English takes on responsibilities of a *lingua franca*, non-native speakers are taking a more active role in the development of the language, not only in respect to the manner in which they develop educational models for the teaching of local varieties, but also in their understanding of how the language is used in cross-cultural communication. (23)

Since there are no native ELF speakers, there are not any native patterns to be followed; every speaker shapes the language in contact with non hegemonic groups, arising the polymorphous characteristics of it, and in this way the language became a property of all. These facts stress the goal of converging into a successful communication and to achieve it any creative and pragmatic strategy is worth. In fact, if speakers use ELF and communicate even when they do not follow the core rules of English, as the use of the 's in the third person singular of present tense verbs, or adapt or appropriate English for a special use, such facts point out the dynamics, and the way the language is shaping to particular circumstances. Different people from any cultural background use ELF and that makes that there can be found distinct levels of proficiency or constraints in the choice and shape of the discourse, "The speech community of ELF is by definition diverse and heterogeneous". (Prodromous, "Defining" 57). Indeed, this

conception builds up its richness and challenging nature and emphasizes the importance of the negotiation of meanings between speaker and listener, binding both together.

Some projects have been developed under the umbrella of ELF and out of them one can bring forth, the English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (ELFA), developed at Helsinqui University, Finland, and the Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) at Vienna University, Austria. ELFA points out to a compilation of a one-million word corpus of spoken academic ELF; VOICE seeks to capture lexico grammatical and discourse use of ELF in a computer readable corpus. Seidlhofer (2006) justifies such a research, valuing some of ELF speakers' competences, "The analysis of ELF corpora will afford us a better understanding of what ELF speakers do to better understanding each other" (44).

Nonetheless, there is still other research to be fulfilled. In a world of rapid changes, language follows that mainstream and so, ELF became a socially accepted trend and a resource in the English speaking world.

Meeting young learners' expectations

At a time when English is increasingly spoken by Europeans, it is required to meet young learners' expectations, accordingly with teaching and apprenticeship environments. Portuguese learners get into connection with English, by means of movies, games, TV, songs, social networks, not only during their leisure time outside school, but also inside, regarding the vocabulary used in ICT activities, sports or educational projects, at a fast and increased way and at younger ages. Even those young learners might notice that there are certain «differences» of accent and grammar rules, while watching a video or a YouTube film, when considering some of the English language used and heard in classroom and outside it. Young children state their opinion in a clearly true way and, therefore — "But in movies they sometimes speak different"— becomes a repeated statement English teachers of extracurricular activities listen to, since such an apprenticeship focus on speech rather than reading or writing activities, according to Portuguese Programmatic Orientations, published by the Ministry for Education and Science. In fact, these legislative tools refer that the early learning of the English language aims at the global develop-

ment of the child beyond just the knowledge of another language. During the initial phase of schooling in the first basic education cycle, focused activities on listening and speaking are valued. Still, according to those Programmatic Orientations, methodologies like 'Total Physical Response' and 'Task-Based Learning' should be considered and developed. Total Physical Response is based in studies of the brain and states that, before mastering a language, there exists a prior time period of internalization, in which the learners listen to the inputs, without production, but with physical response to stimulus. Task-Based Learning states the importance of performing tasks, related to the common day basis of the learners, emphasizing the use of vocabulary and structures to communicate. Accordingly, Nihalani (2010) reflects upon the core role of language teaching, "Communication is emerging as the supreme value of language teaching for first language users as well as second language learners" (35). Therefore, learning arises as an outcome out of the integration of all the perceived and processed sequences of information, in consequence of brain structural connections.

Portuguese young learners are also learning to master their own mother language, so it might be understandable if they lean on Portuguese pronunciation rules; globally, one can state that the learning of English takes place in multilingual contexts. Nevertheless, these young learners look forward to fully understand the lyrics of their favourite songs and TV serials, or internet sites, or the rules of any online game, and so expect parents to follow and measure their youngsters' steps through an effective communication in English. Under this process, and following the Programmatic Orientations in the scope of encouraging the early learning of two different languages, teachers have to deal with the issue of language deviation, eliciting correctness or effectiveness of communication acts. Jenkins (2006) also approached this issue in her research,

> The problem with assigning the status of error to any and every item affected by L1 transfer is that it attaches a 'contamination' metaphor to current language contact while ignoring the vast amount of previous language contact which influenced the development of English from the days of Old English onwards and resulted in much of the present-day Modern English(es) now spoken by the Inner Circle's educated NNs. (34)

It becomes important for teachers, not only to go beyond the rule, to develop tolerant attitudes towards differences, but also to create confident apprenticeship environments while enabling the learning of this language of modernity. Teachers perform an even more important role in establishing bonds with young learners, as Prodromou reflects, "The mediating role of the teacher will be crucial in motivating learners to become active participants in the co-construction of ELF in the classroom (*English as a Lingua Franca* 253). Such a challenging task this is, and sometimes a frustrating one, while teachers should be able to master in adjusting expectations according to the settings, nurturing learner's uses of the language. Later on they have to learn English in a compulsory basis in the Portuguese curriculum of education, so the more they easily start this path, the better for them. To balance this relation teacher-student in a sustainable way, the role performed by a native teacher or a non-native one might be considered, in order to answer to every learner's expectations. Thus, the question can be posed in terms of whether a native teacher will emerge them into English or if a non-native teacher will lead them with the emotional factor of the possibility of switching into their mother tongue, when it is needed by any involved part. Several researchers provide arguments on this issue; Jenkins states her opinion in a favourable way towards non-native teachers, "(…) the accents of bilingual NNS teachers of English who share their learners'L1 are the most appropriate — not to mention most motivating — as classroom models". (Jenkins 34). Taking into account other researches, implications of performances of native teachers in a non-native educational environment should be considered,

> Native speakers of English (…) are less likely to be proficient users of EIL [English as an International Language] and are unlikely to be as sensitive to the needs and wants of the learners. They are also more likely to teach features of standard Englishes which are not relevant for learners of EIL (…). (Tomlinson 140)

However, facing the world we live in, a native teacher can easily have access to due information about the cultural context of the students and stating that any teaching act is performed in a bi-directional way, everyone who is involved, develops competences and influences each other's achievements.

As it has been stated before, teaching young learners implies a

multidimensional approach, using imaging, exposure to songs and rhymes and advertisements and focus in oral work. Young learners are active and they are able to develop understandings of the phenomena around them; therefore education needs to take into account stimulating activities, combining the distinctive mind and individual conceptualization of their world. Such different approaches empower young learners and raise their awareness of the variety of Englishes, which they will find in or outside the classroom. During the learning procedure, memory is activated and learning turns out to become possible to storage thanks to it. Indeed, the maintenance of a stimulating environment, as well as a combination of motivation and self-esteem are fundamental to successful learning, and might reduce difficulties and any lack of confidence while using English language in communication acts, no matter in what social or cultural context those take place. According to OECD research (28), language is a human cognitive function and the brain is considered, biologically primed to acquire it; any communication act relates, at least, one speaker to one listener, and each one can take changeable roles. The importance of emotional components has to be reevaluated in the apprenticeship context, based upon recent outcomes of neuroscientists revealing that emotions arise from cerebral connections and stressing their importance for the adaptation and regulation of human behavior.

> Emotions are complex reactions generally described in terms of three components: a particular mental state, a physiological change and an impulsion to act. (…) If a positively perceived emotion is associated with learning, it will facilitate success, whereas a negatively perceived emotion will result in failure. (OECD 25)

Since core activities with young learners relay on spoken language, formative evaluation is considered as a highly effective tool in improving their ability to learn and pronounce words. Jenkins (2006) delineates the relationship between production and understanding,

> (…) there still has to be sufficient common ground for lingua franca communication to achieve success, and as far as pronounciation is concerned, this means that speakers need to be confident that their accents will not prevent them from

> understanding the propositional content of one another's
> utterances (…). (36)

Besides using language to fulfill understanding and perform actions, learners are also able to use the language to state different communicative intentions. The area of linguistics that studies these aspects is the Pragmatics. Austin (1962) developed a theory stating as speech acts a considerable number of instances in linguistic behavior or act performed in a certain context, thus naming his theory as Speech Act Theory. There are contextual conditions for the successful performance of speech acts, such as preparatory, sincerity or essential conditions to be fulfilled by the person performing the act, or the due act carried out. Indicators are also defined in order to provide an evaluation on the communication state. Grice (1975) first worked out ideas considering that communication is a rational and cooperative activity, naming that research as Collaborative Principle. There are different sub-principles referred as the maxims of the cooperative principle. The speaker must use a clear language message and provide due information. Summing up, communicative principles influence communication acts, "Crucially, interlocutors assume their conversational partners are cooperative and follow the maxims" (Plag, Braun, Lappe, Schramm 199).

These are factors every teacher should be aware of, and be taken into account while evaluating learners formatively.

Even though the role of the education agencies, such as the British Council in developing learning materials and pedagogical strategies has to be stressed, they support the forces of standardization of English, instead of ELF variation. In fact, often, British Council promotes accredited teacher training or workshops, in cooperation with Portuguese authorities as a way of updating and debating the pedagogical practice and encouraging the exchange of good practices. However any reference to current research on ELF is not a usual content, and on the mean time Standard English issues are most welcome. The same trend states for available students' books, which keep the knowledge of the grammatical system of English as it is codified in the traditional grammar books. This means an additional challenge for the teacher in order to, in classroom, use context example tools that connect to the reality learners are faced up with the world movies, internet sites and media present.

Aiming at overcoming such a gap and developing the communicative skill in every learner it seems understandable to adjust the teaching of English introducing aspects related to ELF studies.

Conclusion

Considering global changes the language has faced, English language teaching may also be reconsidered in order to bump into the needs of our present day reality. It is acknowledged that any communicational act implies effort and is built on making allowances and the use of ELF does not mean it eases this process but that, instead of providing rules, alternative possibilities might be considered. To sum up, an open minded acceptance of whatever variety of English is desirable, meaning that it enables true confident and effective communication. Numerous researches on the functioning of our brain trigger that early exposure to different languages leads to success in the language learning, both mother and non mother language, and so the maintenance of the current trend of extracurricular activities with young learners of English should be sustained and still improved. It seems crucial the use of a holistic approach in the classroom activities, recognizing the close interchange of emotional and cognitive performances.

Nevertheless, it appears compulsory to develop activities according to linguistic European and national policies. And thus, teachers of extra-curricular activities face a demanding challenge, regarding young learners' expectations and willingness in mastering a language they look forward to use in the future, in their personal and professional paths, and provide answers according to what the Portuguese Ministry for Education and Science expects from their performance. Currently, special attention should be paid to new experiences of Bilingual Schools carried out in seven Portuguese pilot state schools, which have began in September 2011. This new project is being developed in cooperation with the Ministry for Education and Science and the British Council Portugal. Outcome results and suitable evaluation might become a further ground for research studies.

Considering this context of experiments, expectations of learners of English in general and young learners in particular, attending extra-curricular activities of English language, as well as their families are quite

highlighted and deserve to get fulfilled. Higgins (2003) argues on the relationship between the learners and their object of apprenticeship, "In other words, speakers' investment in English yields legitimacy for them because it allows them to participate more fully in their societies, equipped with all the necessary resources" (621).

Challenges and future directions point out a path through, in which learners with teacher's help are involved at building their apprentice environment, experiencing an active citizenship, so that the result of such a process might be a meaningful, sustainable learning, since early ages to a lifelong commitment.

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Abstract

This chapter argues on balancing young learners' expectations with teaching and apprenticeship environments and teacher's choices for models in the context of extracurricular activities. It reflects upon implications in pedagogy, which may lead to adjustments of the teaching of English to the current global reality.

At a time where English is increasingly spoken by Europeans and following approaches of English as a lingua franca (ELF) by authors as Barbara Seidlhofer (2001), Jennifer Jenkins (2006) and others, reflections on new roles played by English and ELF concept are considered.

Portuguese learners connect with English inside and outside school. Young learners notice certain «differences» of accent and grammar rules, considering English language used in and outside classrooms. Aiming at overcoming that gap and developing the communicative skill in learners, it seems understandable to adjust the teaching of English introducing aspects related to ELF studies.

Nevertheless, developing activities according to linguistic policies is required. Thus, teachers face a serious challenge in not letting down expectations of young learners in mastering a language they look forward to use in the future, in their personal and professional paths.

Keywords

Communication; Globalization; ELF; Language policies; Young learners

Resumo

Este capítulo equaciona expectativas de jovens alunos face a realidades de aprendizagem e escolhas de professores, em contexto de atividades de enriquecimento curricular. Reflete sobre implicações pedagógicas que podem vir a concretizar-se em ajustamentos no ensino de inglês, tendo em conta a atual realidade global.

Numa altura em que o inglês é cada vez mais utilizado por europeus e seguindo as investigações sobre English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) realizadas por autores como Barbara Seidlhofer (2001), Jennifer Jenkins (2006) e outros, são apresen-

tadas reflexões sobre os novos papéis desempenhados pelo inglês e conceito de ELF.

Os alunos portugueses contactam com a língua inglesa, dentro e fora da escola, apercebendo-se de "diferenças" de pronúncia e regras gramaticais nesses contextos. Para ultrapassar essa constatação e desenvolver capacidades comunicativas, afigura--se como vantajosa a inclusão de conteúdos decorrentes da pesquisa sobre ELF.

Contudo, as políticas linguísticas condicionam o desenvolvimento das atividades. Consequentemente, os professores enfrentam sérios desafios de forma a não desiludir os alunos e as suas expectativas em aprender, com eficácia, uma língua que irão utilizar no futuro, na vida pessoal e profissional.

Palvras-chave

Comunicação; Globalização; ELF; Políticas linguísticas; Jovens alunos

English as an International Language and Language Policies in Economics Journals

Ann C. Henshall

ISEG (School of Economics and Management, Technical University of Lisbon, Portugal) / ULICES - University of Lisbon Centre for English Studies

English as an International Language and Language Policies in Economics Journals

1. Introduction

It is often stated that English is the language of international research. For example, Graddol ("The Future of English?" 8) lists the "working language of international organizations and conferences" and "scientific publication" as the first two major international domains of English, ahead of international banking, economic affairs and trade, and advertising for global brands. Ten years later he writes: "Academics, like many other professionals, desire to gain international experience early in their careers. English as the global academic language facilitates the international mobility of young researchers" (Graddol, "English Next?" 74). While Graddol has been criticised for not grounding his position in social theory (Phillipson 188), there is, nonetheless, evidence to justify the claim that English is an important vehicle for the dissemination of knowledge among scientific communities. A growing body of literature attests to the dominance of English in academic publishing. See, for example, Swales (*Genre Analysis* 96-109) for a synthesis of the literature on the share of research articles published in English; Schroeder-Gudehus (93-117) for an account of how, following the First World War, the newly founded International Research Council ostracised German as an international language for science, and replaced it with English and French; Russack (107-111) and Baldauf (141-146) for accounts of the consolidation of English in the scholarly publishing industry since the Second World War; Brock-Utne (226-231) for the rise of English in Norwegian academia and the concomitant decline in the use of Norwegian; and Smeyers and Levering (71-77) for a similar discussion of the decline in Dutch-medium publications as well as an overview of the expectations for scholars to publish in different countries. See also Hamel (53-61) for a historical analysis of the dominance of English

in international scientific periodical literature. In the field of economics, Diamond (3) notes that of the 27 core journals in the field, only one major journal is not in English. He infers that the US has become the centre of economic research since the Second World War, with 15 of the core journals being inaugurated there since the late 1960s.

Graddol's view of "English as the global academic language" rests on two assumptions. The first is that the researchers are participating in a globalised, international discourse community. While studies on the characteristics of a discourse community (e.g. Swales, *Genre Analysis* 21-32) and of the social mechanisms by which a community constructs knowledge (see, for example, Berkenkotter and Huckin 45-77; Braine *passim*; and Hyland 1-131, 167-172) have drawn attention to the gatekeeping practices of participants in the publishing process, little attention has been given to the actual language policies of journals. The second assumption underlying Graddol's view is that English is performing the role of a lingua franca, enabling researchers from different language backgrounds to communicate with each other, thus it can be argued that the English found in academic journals should be accounted for in theoretical models of World Englishes. Indeed, Jenkins (*World Englishes* 17) notes that Kachru's (12-15) model of concentric circles does not account for the English used for science and technology. The aim of this article is to analyse journal language policies and re-examine two theoretical models of World Englishes in light of the results.[1]

The choice of topic is motivated by the internationalisation process of the institution where I work. As has been the case in other universities in Europe (see Brock-Utne 239-231; Gazzola, 4; Curry and Lillis 680), the internationalisation process has prompted changes to the system, and new criteria for faculty performance evaluation have made it advantageous for scholars to publish in English in certain international refereed journals. The journals are listed on an internal list or included in the Institute for Scientific Information's (ISI) Journal of Citation Reports (JCR). There is tremendous international competition to get published in the right journals in the field of economics (Klamer and Hendrik 291), so manuscript

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[1] See Jenkins, *World Englishes* 14-21 for a discussion of other models.

submission guidelines are an important source of information for prospective authors who seek to disseminate their work to an international group of peers. Because the JCR is often used as a reference internationally, I shall restrict the analysis to the journals in the economics category of the JCR Social Science Edition, 2009. I shall begin by summarising the results of an analysis of the language specifications in the submission guidelines of these journals with regard to international scope as seen through the readership, language variety, region, and publisher. I shall then discuss the relation between the results of this analysis and some theoretical positions on English as an international language, and finish with some conclusions and suggestions for future research.

2. Publication norms in economics journals

The Journal of Citation Reports Social Science Edition, 2009, lists 247 journal titles under the field of Economics. One of the journals on the list was discontinued in 2010, so it was excluded, leaving 246 journals for analysis.

English clearly holds sway over the greatest share of journals (91.9%), followed by multilingual journals (5.7%). Of the 14 journals classified as multilingual, 11 specify that articles may be written in English or other specified languages, and three give no information about what languages can be used. Of the latter, it can be inferred that two accept articles in English because they present webpages and instructions for authors in English, but one, a Czech journal, presents its journal website in Czech only. While it claims to accept author contributions from other countries, all the journal articles online seem to be written in Czech. The remaining journals are monolingual, with Spanish (5 journals) making up 2% of the sample, and French (1 journal) less than 1%.

When the sample was analysed for journal country of origin on the basis of the country given in the ISI index, the results show that the USA (35.4%) holds a dominant position, followed by the UK (22.8%) and the Netherlands (16.3%). These three countries, which make up almost three quarters of the sample, publish in English only. Australia, who also publishes in English only, accounts for a further 4.1% of journals, followed by Germany (3.7%), and Spain (2.0%). Of the remaining 22 countries,

Switzerland and Argentina account for 1.6% and 1.2%, respectively, and the rest — Austria, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Croatia, the Czech Republic, France, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Mexico, People's Republic of China, Romania, Singapore, Slovakia, South Africa, South Korea and Sweden — each make up less than 1% of the sample. (See appendix 1 for the full distribution by country and language.)

The notion of country of origin is somewhat problematic, yet, at the same time, symptomatic of both the internationalisation of the research community, and the importance of the role of the publisher. In some cases, the country of origin is tied more closely to the country of the publisher than the country where, in fact, the journal originated. Two examples can illustrate this. The English-medium journal, *Kyklos*, which originated in Switzerland and is published by Wiley-Blackwell, is listed as a UK journal while the English-medium *Portuguese Economic Journal*, whose origins lie in Portugal and whose chief editor is Portuguese, is published by Springer and listed as a German journal. The journal attempts to distance itself from any geographical boundaries or limitations stemming from its title in its opening blurb:

> *Portuguese Economic Journal* aims to publish high quality theoretical, empirical, applied or policy-oriented research papers on any field in economics. We will inforce [sic] a rigorous, fair and prompt refereeing process. The geographical reference in the name of the journal only means that the journal is an initiative of Portuguese scholars. There will be no bias in favor of particular themes and issues.

Because the notion of internationalisation is relevant to the aims of this paper, the sample was analysed on the basis of the criteria listed in appendix 2 to determine whether the journals projected themselves as belonging to an international research community. Over half the journals (54.6%) could be considered to be specifically addressing such a community. Of the journals that do not explicitly claim to address an international readership, 44% were based in the US and a further 19% were from Anglophone countries (UK, Australia, Canada). These results are open to two interpretations: the first is that an international readership is assumed, therefore does not have to be stated explicitly. The second is that more than a quarter of the journals indexed on the ISI that are not, in fact, international in scope.

Rather, they might focus on domestic or Anglophone concerns. A more detailed analysis would be necessary to explore this result, but is beyond the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, the issue of readership is important because if a journal claims to be addressing an international readership, it could affect the kind of language, English, that its authors are expected to use. For this reason, I analysed the author guidelines for submissions to determine whether each journal had a preference for a particular variety of English, and if so, what it was.

The sample for this analysis was 239 journals, made up of English-only journals and multi-lingual journals. The Czech journal whose information was available in Czech only was excluded. The criteria for classifying language are detailed in appendix 3. Just over a third of the journals (34.7%) gave no information on language. A small proportion (5.9%) specified the use of British English norms (BrE), while a larger share (11.7%) specified American English norms (AmE). In the former case, authors were often requested to use *Fowler's Modern English Usage* for questions of usage and the Oxford English dictionary for spelling, and in the latter, authors were referred to the *Chicago Manual of Style* and Webster's dictionary. Many more journals (21.3%) accepted submissions in AmE or BrE; however, in this case, there would be a specification that there should be no mixing of AmE and BrE norms. Some journals (16.3%) merely specified English but gave no further details. The remaining journals specified language in either normative terms (6.3%) or reader-oriented terms (3.3%). Normative specifications included requests for "Standard English", "grammatically correct English", or specifications such as "Works by non-native speakers must have been checked by a native speaker",[2] "We appreciate any efforts that you make to ensure that the language is *corrected* before submission" [emphasis added]. Such specifications imply external standards for language control. Two journals stipulated that "any consistent spelling style is accepted", which in theory might mean any one of the 18 varieties on Microsoft's software.

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[2] Although the terms 'native speaker' and 'non-native speaker' have been contested, I shall continue to use the terms when describing the language policies as these are usually the terms used in the journal guidelines.

On the other hand, reader-oriented specifications drew attention to aspects of clarity or intelligibility, or highlighted the characteristics of the readership. For example, specifications such as "Authors should make their writing attractive, and as clear and easy to follow as possible", "While important ideas should be expressible in plain English, there should be no dumbing down of ideas", "The article should be intelligible and, if possible, interesting, for someone without much economics experience", or "Where quotations in languages other than English are required, authors are asked to provide a translation into English in the text or a note" were considered to be reader-oriented. In one case, the US *Journal of Policy Analysis & Management*, the journal seems to recognise linguistic diversity, but this is quickly qualified by referring to the constraints of the readership.

> The editors hope to preserve each author's distinctive style of presentation in the final edited version of any piece. Bear in mind, however, that JPAM 's fundamental purpose is to promote more effective communication among those interested in policy analysis and public management. Our readers include many academics, but also some executives in the public service as well as interested lay people.

It should be noted that both the normative specifications and reader-oriented specifications are under-represented due to the classification criteria. Many journals that were classified as AmE/BrE also called upon writers to use "good English" and some that were classified normative included requests for "intelligibility".

To determine the extent to which specifications for particular varieties of English might be regional, the relative share of language specifications in the journals by region was calculated (see table 1).

REGION	AmE		BrE		AmE/BrE		English		Normative		Reader oriented		No info.		Regional share in total journals	
	Nº	%	Nº	%	Nº	%	Nº	%	Nº	%	Nº	%	Nº	%	Nº	%
North America	23	25.8	1	1.1	15	16.9	9	10.1	5	5.6	4	4.5	32	36.0	89	37.2
UK & Ireland	1	1.8	10	17.9	5	8.9	10	17.9	5	8.9	3	5.4	22	39.3	56	23.4
Continental Europe	2	2.7	0	0	31	42.5	14	19.2	4	5.5	0	0	22	30.1	73	30.5
Asia	2	33.3	0	0	0	0	3	50	0	0	0	0	1	16.7	6	2.5
Australia & N.Z.	0	0	3	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	6	60	10	4.2
Latin America	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	66.7	0	0	0	0	1	33.3	3	1.3
South Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	50	1	50	0	0	0	0	2	0.8
All regions	28	11.7	14	5.9	51	21.3	39	16.3	16	6.3	8	3.3	84	35.1	239	100

Table 1. English-medium journals: language variety by region (in units and as a % of regional total, 239 journals).

The results show that there seems to be a preference for BrE over AmE in the UK and Ireland, and the same preference is more marked in Australia and New Zealand. Such a language preference is not surprising in the latter region in view of the fact that the countries making up the region are ex-British colonies. Although North America shows a parallel preference for its local variety AmE over BrE, the region appears more tolerant of variety than does the UK and Ireland region in that the relative share of journals accepting either variety, AmE or BrE, in North America is almost double that of journals in the UK and Ireland. Continental Europe, on the other hand, is clearly flexible; well over half the journals either accept both AmE and BrE or do not specify any particular variety. The low relative share of journals from Asia, Latin America and South Africa in the sample precludes any meaningful analysis although it could be noted that, in the latter two regions, no journal specifies a particular language variety.

Normative specifications are restricted to journals from North America, the UK and Ireland, Continental Europe, and South Africa, where, with the exception of South Africa, they make up less than 10% of

each region's total share. By contrast, reader-oriented specifications appear only in the Anglophone regions of North America, the UK and Ireland, and Australia, where they also account for 10% or less.

Breaking these reader-oriented journals down by journal audience can shed light on the analysis. Only two of the journals, both from UK, were classified as having an international audience. One stipulated the need to translate any non-English text while the other — *World Bank Research Observer* — described the readership as broad and non-specialist. The other six journals were not classified as international, thus might be considered to be writing for a domestic audience. They all specified a wide range of readers, e.g. from students to government officials and the business community.

While any attempt to explain these results is speculation, two explanations can be hypothesised for journals with an international readership. The specification for translating citations from other languages into English might confirm that English is being used as a lingua franca within a community of multi-lingual scholars. However, an alternative interpretation is also possible. Because these journals are based in inner circle, norm providing countries (Kachru 12), the readers in these countries might not be able to understand other languages, and so require all information to be in English.[3] The second group, which may be writing for a domestic market, might assume that its authors are also domestic. As native speakers, then, they would be expected to be able to write in a wide range of styles. As already stated, these explanations are speculative.

One final result is worth commenting on. The relative share of journals that provide no information on language is higher in inner circle Anglophone regions (North America, UK and Ireland, and Australia and New Zealand) than in Continental Europe, Latin America and Asia, which can be considered to represent countries from the expanding circle or the outer circle. In the Anglophone countries this share ranges from 36.0% to 60%, whereas in the second group it ranges between 0% and 33.3%. This result suggests that Anglophone countries may take the question of

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[3] The concern that lack of foreign language skills will prevent UK born and educated researchers from engaging in international projects that require a language other than English has, in fact, been raised by the British Academy (Levitt, *et al*. 47; British Academy 5-6).

language for granted; in other words, the journals assume that authors will naturally use an acceptable English, while non-Anglophone countries may be more aware of varieties of English. Nevertheless, any interpretation must be treated with caution in view of the small number of Asian, Australian and New Zealand, and Latin American journals in the sample.

In order to shed light on the relation between the publisher and language policy, the sample of journals was broken down by journal publisher. Table 2 depicts the distribution of journals by publisher and language specifications.

PUBLISHER	AmE		BrE		AmE/BrE		English		Normative		Reader oriented		No info.		Regional share in total journals	
	Nº	%	Nº	%	Nº	%	Nº	%	Nº	%	Nº	%	Nº	%	Nº	%
Wiley-Blackwell	9	15.8	5	8.8	0	0	8	14.0	5	8.8	2	3.5	28	49.1	57	28.8
Elsevier	0	0	0	0	46	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	46	19.2
Springer	0	0	0	0	2	7.1	0	0	2	7.1	0	0	24	85.7	28	11.7
Routledge Taylor & Francis	1	5.3	8	42.1	1	5.3	3	15.8	2	10.5	1	5.3	3	15.8	19	7.9
OUP	4	28.6	0	0	1	7.1	3	21.4	0	0	1	7.1	5	35.7	14	5.9
Uni Chicago	3	60.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	40.0	0	0	0	0	5	2.1
CUP	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	50.0	1	25.0	0	0	1	25.0	4	1.7
ME Sharpe	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	25.0	0	0	0	0	3	75.0	4	1.7
Berkley Electronic Press	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	100	4	1.7
Sage Publications	1	33.3	1	33.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	33.3	3	1.3
Other US (20)	8	30.8	0	0	1	3.8	2	7.7	2	7.7	3	11.5	10	38.5	26	10.9
Other UK (2)	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1.3
Other (25)	2	7.4	0	0	0	0	18	66.7	1	3.7	1	3.7	5	18.5	27	26.4
All publishers	28	11.7	14	5.9	51	21.3	39	16.3	16	6.3	8	3.3	84	35.1	239	100

Table 2. English-medium journals: language variety by publisher in units and as a % of publisher total (239 journals)

The most striking feature is the relative share of publications held by 3 major publishers, who, together, hold sway over more than half of the total number of journals. Wiley-Blackwell (28.8%), Elsevier (19.2%) and Springer (11.7%) clearly dominate scholarly publishing in economics. The next three publishers — Routledge, Taylor & Francis (7.9%), Oxford University Press (5.9%) and University of Chicago (2.1%) together publish well under one fifth of the total number of journals. The remaining journals are produced by 51 publishers, 23 of whom are American and who publish a further 15.6% of the sample. The 25 non-US and non-UK publishers produce a little over a quarter of the sample.

The large relative shares held by Wiley-Blackwell, Elsevier and Springer confer them with a degree of power over language policy. However, only Elsevier, a Dutch publisher, sets norms with regard to language and applies a common language policy to all its journals. Authors are advised that they may use AmE or BrE, but must not mix the two varieties. Further, they are called upon to write in "good English". The publisher makes a language/copy editing service available to its authors at pre- and post-submission stages of the process for a fee.

Wiley-Blackwell, originally an US company, has expanded through mergers, acquisitions and alliances into a corporation with subsidiaries on every continent, the Blackwell component being the acquisition of a prestigious UK-based publisher. Although Wiley-Blackwell appears to leave choice of English variety to the individual journal, it is interesting to note that not one Wiley-Blackwell journal accepts both AmE and BrE in the same journal. This suggests that a Wiley-Blackwell journal identifies itself with a particular English variety, although, given that almost half Wiley-Blackwell journals provide no information on language, this is speculative. The corporation publishes almost one third of the journals that specify AmE. Another third specifying AmE is published by other US-based publishers.

The third dominant publisher, Springer, which is German, also leaves language policy to the individual journal with the result that most of them (85.7%) provide no information on language, suggesting that they operate on unstated assumptions.

Despite lack of a common language policy, Wiley-Blackwell and Oxford University Press journals, like Elsevier, systematically advise authors

of the need for professional language editing. The authors are then directed to the publishers' webpages that provide such an editing service. Once again, authors must pay to have their manuscript revised. In particular, arguing that it will help the editor and referees to assess the worth of the manuscript, 'non-native speakers' are singled out as needing this service with varying degrees of force. The following advice illustrates various ways this is done.

> If you are not a native English speaker, we strongly recommend that you have your manuscript professionally edited before submission. (Wiley-Blackwell)

> Non-native English speakers are strongly encouraged to have their articles copy-edited prior to submission. (Wiley-Blackwell)
> Authors for whom English is a second language may choose to have their manuscript professionally edited before submission to improve the English. (Wiley-Blackwell)
> Particularly if English is not your first language, before submitting your manuscript you may wish to have it edited for language. (OUP)

In general, Springer gives very little information about language on individual journal websites. However, the publisher offers general information for authors on a separate webpage, which informs authors that Springer usually copy edits accepted manuscripts. They also state that non-native speakers may want to have their manuscripts revised by a native speaker, and Springer provides such a service.

Routledge also informs its authors that it copy edits manuscripts; however, instead of offering a pre-submission service to authors, it directs authors via links to a number of companies that offer professional language services such as translation or English-language revision by native speakers. Routledge stresses that these companies are unaffiliated with the publisher and makes no guarantee of the quality of the service. Sage has a similar policy. Cambridge University Press neither gives advice nor advertises a language editing service to authors. It states that it will correct typographical mistakes but "reserves the right to charge authors for excessive correction of non-typographical errors".

None of the other publishers advertised language editing services in the instructions for authors with the exception of the multi-lingual Czech journal published by Slovak Academic Press, which undertakes to have all accepted submissions copy edited by a language editor, who they specify as being a "native English speaker".

Further insights into the role language proficiency plays may be gained by looking at the information provided to referees. Here, there appears to be no common policy for publishers, and it is up to individual journals to decide on the importance of language proficiency. A few journals state that poor language proficiency can result in an article being rejected either by a reviewer or by an editor, i.e. a desk rejection where the article is not reviewed at all. One Wiley-Blackwell journal, having advised authors on the need to have papers revised, uses language proficiency as a criterion for assessment in the referee guidelines:

> The paper should be well written. In particular, the logical structure of the paper should be clear, and the paper should be relatively free from errors of grammar and usage. A skilful author can usually make an intrinsically difficult argument reasonably easy to follow, while poor writing can make even minor or trivial points hard to understand.

Routledge, on the other hand, is more supportive with regard to perceived language problems.

> Referees do not need to make corrections to the English in an article: Routledge, Taylor & Francis will undertake editing for clarity where necessary. It is, however, helpful if you correct the English where the technical meaning is unclear.

Such criteria suggest that there is a certain amount of tolerance with regard to language proficiency despite the normative guidelines for authors of many of the journals.

This section sought to throw light on the language norms stipulated by economics journals, most of which claim to be writing for an inter-national readership. It has been found that a majority of economics journals are published by three major groups: Wiley-Blackwell, Elsevier and Springer. This concentration has enabled Elsevier to implement a common language policy in which AmE and BrE are treated on an equal footing.

In the other publishers, individual journals are responsible for language policy. When language policy is considered from the point of region, it appears that North America, the UK and Ireland, and Australia and New Zealand tend to operate on unstated assumptions about the variety of English they expect. In other words, it has not been shown that North American journals will systematically specify the use of AmE, or that UK and Irish journals BrE, although there is evidence that when they do specify a variety, it is the variety of the region. Nor has it been shown that journals from ex-British colonies will ask for their native varieties. Rather they lean towards BrE, in line with Kachru's (13) claim. In a similar vein, there is no evidence to suggest that Continental Europe prefers AmE to BrE or vice versa. Instead, journals from this region tend to accept either variety, providing that the variety is consistent. Nonetheless, overall, the native speaker norms of AmE or BrE remain the reference in submission guidelines and reflect a normative view towards language despite some leeway afforded to non-native speakers in a few journals.

A second finding is that the consolidation of publishers has enabled them to create spin-off services from the journal publishing core. Four of the major publishers are able to generate revenue from such a service.

Requiring authors to submit manuscripts written in AmE or BrE reinforces the hegemony of native-speaker varieties of English and this has implications for scholars who use English as an additional language (EAL). It raises questions about who has access to publishing in international journals in a community that purports to be international. Moreover, it raises questions about the roles English plays in international communication, in other words issues relating to English as an international language. I shall discuss these points in the following section.

3. English as an international language and economics journals' English language norms

The plethora of names and uses of terms to describe different varieties and functions of English has been synthesised in Bolton (367-391), Erling (40-43), McArthur (2-3, 7-9), and Seargeant (100-108). For the purposes of this paper I shall use a definition based on function:

> 'International English' can be read as shorthand for 'English as an international language' (EIL). The longer term is, however, though more unwieldy, more precise because it highlights the international use of English rather than suggesting, wrongly, that there is one clearly distinguishable, unitary variety called 'International English'. (Seidlhofer 7)

On the basis of this definition, it can be argued that the English used in the international economics journals discussed here is EIL. There are, however, certain contextual features that might distinguish it from the EIL as described by Seidlhofer. These relate to differences between contexts for speaking and writing, and the entailing notions of intelligibility and standard, as well as to issues of identity, prescriptivism and hegemony. I shall discuss these issues in turn.

3.1 Speaking, writing, intelligibility and standard

Seidlhofer (11) argues that, if EIL is used solely for the function of intercultural communication, it will not replace other languages, for they serve different functions. This use of EIL is additive, and not subtractive.[4] Like Jenkins ("Global intelligibility" 36-37), she seeks to determine a set of characteristics of English that are essential for effective communication, but which does not rely solely on reproducing either AmE or BrE norms of correctness. The characteristics make up a core for EIL. Modiano, ("International English in the global village" 25-27; "Standard English(es)" 11-12), similarly, rejects AmE and BrE varieties as models for EIL, claiming that EIL speakers might mix AmE and BrE varieties without impeding effective communication. He presents two models of international English ("International English" 25; "Standard English(es)" 10), but I shall only refer to the second. In this model different varieties are represented in a Venn diagram, with two concentric circles in the centre. The inner circle represents a set of core features of English for intercultural communication,

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[4] The decline in the use of Dutch and Norwegian for academic purposes, as reported by Smeyers and Levering (74-77) and Brock-Utne (226-232) respectively, are examples of subtractive English. These authors raise concerns about consequent language impoverishment in each country's native language.

EIL. The outer circle represents an area of transition between different varieties of English and EIL. Modiano, Jenkins and Seidlhofer argue that the responsibility for EIL lies with its speakers, who are in the main, non-native English speakers, and the yardstick by which EIL should be judged is intelligibility. In general, discussion on intelligibility focuses on spoken language (e.g. Nihalani 26-41; Sewell 257-268). Modiano ("International English in the global village" 25) claims that it is "proficient non-native speakers of EIL" who are best equipped to define standards. Recently though, even the criterion of 'intelligibility' has been questioned. Rajagopalan (467-469) argues that it is not a neutral concept but evaluative, and rather than undermining the authority of the native speaker, it lets him/her creep back in, "only this time through the back door and that too most stealthily" (Rajagopalan 469).

Seidlhofer and Jenkins base their descriptions of core characteristics of EIL on the VOICE corpus. Although the VOICE corpus has been criticised for being Euro-centric and setting the grammatical bar too low (Prodromou, 56), Seidlhofer (19) argues that it is in spoken interaction that variation from a standard norm is more apparent, because the context of speaking involves co-construction and negotiation among interlocutors to produce discourse, making it is possible to explore the features that lead to mutual intelligibility. By contrast, written English is influenced by the stabilising nature of writing itself.

The tendency for writing to be associated with standardised norms is well accepted in the literature. (See, for example, Gupta 97; Seidlhofer 19; Trudgill 127, and Widdowson 380). McArthur (445) notes a strong correlation between print standard and standard English. He states that EIL has been used to refer to "standard usage that draws on, and may blend with, such sources [as different varieties of English], but has a transnational identity of its own, especially in print worldwide and in the usage of such organizations as the United Nations". Svartvik and Leech (156) propose a pyramid of standardisation, at the bottom of which are the most localised and nativised varieties such as dialects, and at the top a prestigious, educated variety, "something close to *an international standard of written English*" (emphasis in the original). Intuitively, McArthur and Svartvik and Leech's descriptions seem closer to the use of English in the scholarly journals of an international research community, and, in fact, the latter go on to say:

of communication, English can, of course, serve another function, that of defining identity (Svartvik and Leech 226; Widdowson 381).

In plurilingual situations, House (560) and Svartvik and Leech (226) claim that while speakers will choose a variety of English such as EIL for cross-cultural communication, to express their identity they will choose a local language variety.[5] Identity, however, is not only conveyed through local varieties. Widdowson (381) notes the role that standard (written) English plays in expressing a community's identity, conventions and values. He claims that the security of the community and its institutions is maintained by protecting the communal features of the language, i.e. grammar and spelling, rather than the communicative features. Communities defined by shared professional concerns, such as a community of researchers and scholars in an academic field, are "granted rights of ownership and allowed to fashion the language to meet their needs" (Widdowson 383).

Numerous studies of international discourse communities have highlighted how knowledge is socially constructed by the community members (e.g. Berkenkotter and Huckin 45-77; Flowerdew "Discourse community" 137-144; Hyland 1-19), with some members holding higher status and others more peripheral positions (Brumfit 23). Successful participation implies acceptance of and adherence to the particular community's ethos and discursive norms, and in scholarly journals these are maintained by means of the publication process, which is mediated by the editor, the reviewers in peer reviewed journals, and the author(s) (Berkenkotter and Huckin 61-64; Flowerdew, "Discourse community" 140-144). Thus, novice members need to be socialised into the discourse conventions of the community's genres in order to gain membership (Hyland 5 Swales, *Genre Analysis* 27, van Bergeijk, *et al*. 5-6).

Klamer and Hendrik, both economists, neatly summarise the process of gaining legitimacy in a research community:

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[5] The fusion of local norms into the discourses of the writers in Sri Lanka (Canagarajah, *Resisting Linguistic Imperialism* 162-168; "Addressing issues of power and difference" 120-128) and the development of local conventions in Malaysia (Swales, *English as Tyrannosaurs rex* 370-379) are examples of this. The former also illustrate Bhatt's (95) point that English can be used creatively in a way that is both local and global.

> In short, when you as a scientist seek recognition for your ideas, you do better by joining a conversation within a cluster [of scientists who specialise in a subfield]. That means you will have to respect its rhetoric, cite its often cited texts, attend its conferences and so on. (305)

Thus, scholars trying to publish in an international economics journal are not aiming merely for "intelligibility across national and cultural frontiers" (Svartvik and Leech 226); they are aiming to participate in an international research community through what is considered a crucial community genre for the dissemination of knowledge: the research article (Hyland 41; Swales, "ESP - The heart of the matter" 217). As such, their use of English for scholarly publishing is as much about affirming their identity as a community member as communicating with an international, multilingual community through a common language. If this is the case, scholars who submit manuscripts to international economic journals are not writing in EIL as conceived by Seidlhofer (8).

The discourse of socialisation such as that used by Swales (*Genre Analysis*) has been critiqued as being normative for it positions learners as 'novices' and community members as 'experts', thus encouraging learners to comply with the discourse conventions in order to become members (Preece 28-31). It can be seen as being imbued with a "politics of conformity" (Bhatt 93), and its normative reach can be seen as similar to prescriptivism, as described by Kachru:

> [Prescriptivism implies that] with the spread of English we also expect the learners to acquire norms of behaviour appropriate to the users of the inner circle. The expected behaviour pattern characterizes what one might call an 'educated Englishman' (or American)". (21)

When the actors in the publishing process — editors, reviewers, publishers — impose AmE or BrE norms on scholars' manuscripts, they are privileging the identity function over the communicative, preciously guarding the communal features of usage, grammar and spelling in the very way described by Widdowson, thus denying EAL scholars "the rights of ownership" (381). In light of this, the parenthetical qualification to Svartvik and Leech's (156) international standard printed English used in science, which

was cited earlier, "(leaving aside the spelling and the style conventions laid down by particular journal)" takes on a new, more sinister, air.

Pennycook (42) argues that language and literacy are always political. A similar position is taken by Phillipson and Stubbs, who argue that "[l]anguage policy issues are invariably entangled with non-linguistic matters", and that the bargaining powers of the participants are asymmetrical, the dominant often resorting to "covert hegemonic processes" (433). In light of the results of the analysis of language policy in the economics journals, Phillipson's position — "When analysing English worldwide the bottom line is whose interests English serves" (189) — seems relevant here. Whose interests are being served by the dominance of English in scholarly economics journals and whose interests are being served by the preference for AmE or BrE norms?

3.3 Hegemony

In the field of economics Frey and Eichenberger contend that the "American market for academic economists is the most developed with respect to standard setting and that due to its efficiency, it is spreading quickly around the world" (21). Empirical studies in the fields of economics and marketing on the factors that affect the acceptance or rejection of a manuscript have identified issues of epistemology and the creation of new knowledge as key factors, (see, for example, Barbin 375), and these findings have been substantiated by reflections from US editors in the field (e.g. McAfee 3; Stewart 425-426).

Other studies posit proficiency in English as a factor to explain the greater share of published articles by US scholars and the under representation of scholars from Europe and some Asian countries in the fields of marketing (Barbin 379; Svensson and Helgerson 394) and information systems (Lyytinen *et al*. 319-321). By contrast, a survey of US economists' beliefs by Davis (275-276) found that almost three quarters of the respondents believed that the degree of mathematical exposition in a paper affected the likelihood of being published and over half believed that business or school affiliation, old-boy network influences and being a reviewer on a journal increase the chances of being published. For the 900 economists in Davis' study, language appears not to be an issue; it is taken

for granted, as it is by over a third of the economics journals published in North America. Overall, these findings suggest that the US may indeed be setting the agenda for publishing in economics and related fields.

To return to the Phillipson-derived questions, the dominance of English in scholarly publishing in economics as shown by the results of this study seems to be serving the hegemonic interests of the American market for economists. More journals in the sample are from North America than from any other region, making it possible for American economists both to determine what gets studied, as well as how, thus ensuring they have access to it. With regard to the second question, however, the journals' insistence on AmE or BrE norms is as much in the economic interests of the publishers, as it is in the interests of the Anglophone economists. Recommending that EAL scholars should have their manuscripts revised by professional copy or language editors enables the major publishers to provide a complementary non-core business to generate revenue.

The focus on language proficiency as a factor in the publication process strikes a chord with literature dealing specifically with contributions from scholars in non-English speaking countries in other fields, in which several studies point both to the burden of having to learn and write in a foreign language (Curry and Lillis 681; Ferguson, *et al*. 43-44; Flowerdew, "Discourse community" 145; "Scholarly writers" 78) as well as to limitations or impositions on the selection or focus of a research topic (Curry and Lillis 681-682; Flowerdew "Discourse community" 144). It has been pointed out, however, that EAL scholars writing in English do not necessarily feel themselves to be at a disadvantage (Ferguson, *et al*. 48-49), and nor do they have to conform to Anglophone discourse conventions. Some research has shown how EAL scholars resist Anglophone discursive norms (Canagarajah, *Resisting Linguistic Imperialism* 157-168; "Addressing issues of power" 124-128), but this resistance has taken place at the local, not international level. Furthermore, editors may be extra supportive of the authors of manuscripts from non-English speaking countries by providing extra opportunities for revision (Flowerdew, "Attitudes of journal editors" 129).

Indeed some referee guidelines implied a tolerant attitude towards EAL submissions. The sensitive nature of the issue — discrimination on the basis of language proficiency — is highlighted in a lively debate between

Flowerdew ("Scholarly writers" *passim*; "Goffman's stigma" *passim*) and Casanave (*passim*)[6], with Flowerdew calling on journals to use intelligibility as a criterion for language proficiency rather than conformity with Anglophone conventions.

Flowerdew's argument for intelligibility implies an attitude to scholarly writing that is much more aligned with EIL. It replaces a hierarchical, centripetal model with a pluricentric one. Seidlhofer also questions the legitimacy of imposing Anglophone norms on journal submissions when she writes:

> As these written modes [journal articles] become increasingly appropriated by non-native users, one might speculate that, in time, self regulation might involve a detachment from a dependence on native user norms so that these written modes also take on the kind of distinctive features that are evident in spoken EIL. (19)

But she seems to ignore the powerful role played by publishers in the process. Swales, on the other hand, endorses Anna Maurenen's view that scholars do not have to try to comply with the Anglophone norms as this would render irrelevant and invalid any gatekeeper's argument that "these foreigners just don't know how to frame issues and arguments in ways that we feel comfortable with" ("English as Tyrannosaurus rex" 380). However, he ultimately implies that it is up to the scholars themselves to decide whether they wish to resist or comply with Anglophone discourse community conventions. Gupta recognises the importance of standard English in writing:

> In practice, skill in Standard English, or lack of it, is the linguistic form of inequality that really matters. And we

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[6] Flowerdew ("Scholarly writers" *passim*) argues that EAL scholars are at a disadvantage when it comes to getting published. He provides anecdotal evidence in order to highlight their predicament and likens their situation to Goffman's ideas on stigma. Casanave (*passim*) rejects Flowerdew's characterisation, finding it not only offensive, but inappropriate on the grounds that EAL writers suffer from the same disadvantages as novice English-speaking scholars. Flowerdew ("Goffman's stigma" *passim*) rebuts Casanave's critique, drawing attention to the added factor of the burden of having to write in an additional language.

> cannot predict that skill from birth, nationality, ethnicity or native-speakerdom. Users of written English are judged by their skill in Standard English. (99)

It would seem that, for the moment, the discourse conventions of research articles in the international economics research community are entwined with standard English and what is actually meant by Graddol's ("The Future of English?" 8) "English as the global academic language" is standard English, or rather standard American English or standard British English.

4. Conclusions, limitations and future research

This article sought to re-examine two models of World Englishes in light of the language policies of the Economics journals indexed on the ISI JCR. It was found that journals from Anglophone regions tend to operate on unstated assumptions about language or hold a normative view of language, taking AmE and BrE as norm providing references. A second result is that publishers play a major role in maintaining the hegemony of standard AmE and BrE in their journals by recommending that EAL scholars have their manuscripts revised before submission. This practice enables some of them to generate revenue through a spin-off service. It has also been found that none of the models of World Englishes discussed fully accounts for the hegemonic use of AmE or BrE for international communication such as that found in the economics journals, although Svartvik and Leech come close.

There are, of course, limitations to the study. The sampling criteria suffer from two main limitations. First, the ISI list is biased towards English language journals (Swales, *Genre Analysis* 97). Second, the journals indexed in the JCR Social Science Edition do not represent all the possible international research communities for economics. Many other journals, both in English and in other languages, circulate and are read internationally, but they are not indexed by ISI. Analysis of other databases' journals' language policies could provide a more well-rounded view of the languages used by the global research community in economics. Another limitation is that the criteria for classifying a journal's language policy did not enable more than one attribute to be assigned to the policy, even when

the policy may have specified a particular language variety, a particular standard and a reader-oriented request for intelligibility. Future research could resolve this problem by applying cluster analysis.

Finally, it would seem that a more complex set of features needs to be incorporated in a model of World Englishes. Such a model would need to account for context-dependent variation in the functions of communication and identity.

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Appendix 1

Economics journals by country and language (units)

	English	French	Spanish	Multi-language	(Languages accepted)	Total journals by country
Argentina	2		1			3
Australia	10					10
Austria	1			1	no information given, webpage in English	2
Belgium				1	Fr Eng	1
Canada	1			1	Fr E	2
Chile			1	1	Eng Fr Pt Span	2
Croatia	1			1	Eng Croation Fr Ger It	2
Czech Rep	1			1	no information given, webpage in Czech only	2
France		1		1	Fr Eng	2
Germany	8			1	Ger Eng	9
Hungary	1					1
Italy	1			1	Eng It	2
Japan	1			1	no information given, webpage in English	2
Lativa	1					1
Lithuania	2					2
Mexico			1			1
Netherlands	40					40
People's Republic China	2					2
Romania	1					1
Singapore	1					1
Slovakia				1	Slovak, Czech Eng	1
South Africa	1			1		2
South Korea	1					1
Spain	1		2	2	Span Eng (1journal prefers E)	5
Sweden	2					2
Switzerland	4					4
UK	56					56
USA	87					87
Total journals by language	226	1	5	14		246

Appendix 2

Criteria for classification as having an international readership.
1. The journal specified an international readership in the aims and scope; and/or
2. The journal contained 'international' in its title; and/or
3. The journal's editorial board included people affiliated in more than 1 country, including a non-Anglophone country.

Appendix 3

Criteria for classification of language
To be classified as a particular variety, i.e. AmE, BrE or AmE/BrE the following criteria were used.
1. Guidelines included a specific request for language variety. E.g. "Please use British spelling (e.g. colour, organise) and punctuation" or "Please write your text in good English (American or British usage is accepted, but not a mixture of these)"; and/or
2. Guidelines included a direct reference to a style guide representing a particular variety. E.g. "In questions of detail, the *Journal of Regional Science* attempts to follow the guidelines established by the Chicago Manual of Style (14th edition)."

To be classified 'normative' the following criteria were used:
1. No specific variety of English was mentioned; and
2. Guidelines included references to "grammatically correct" language, "good English", "consistent spelling", or "standard English". E.g. "Manuscripts should be written in clear, concise, and grammatically correct English." "In Standard English to aid the review process." "Any consistent spelling style is acceptable"; and/or
3. Guidelines included specification that the language be "edited" or "corrected" by a professional or native speaker of English. E.g. "All papers should be professionally edited before submission." "We appreciate any efforts that you make to ensure that the language is corrected before submission. This will greatly improve the legibility of your paper if English is not your first language."

To be classified 'reader-oriented' the following criteria were used:
1. No specific variety of English was mentioned; and

2. No normative specifications were mentioned; and

3. Guidelines included specifications for "clarity", "intelligibility" or requests for "plain" language rather than "jargon". E.g. "The common language of this journal, as a rule, must be English. I reject the work of writers who cannot express their ideas clearly." "The article should be intelligible and, if possible, interesting, for someone without much economics experience." "Contributors should write plainly, avoid unnecessary jargon, and employ economy in the use of footnotes"; and/or

4. Guidelines included references to the readership, particularly in terms of range. E.g. "Papers must be written in a highly literate style, with the main arguments accessible to non-specialists." "A prime concern is that the journal should reach the widest possible audience." "In preparing papers for the Journal, authors should bear in mind the diverse membership of the NTA, which includes academic, private sector, and government economists, accountants and attorneys, as well as business and government tax practitioners—and write in a style accessible to all these individuals"; and/or

5. Guidelines included requests to translate all quotations in a foreign language to English. E.g. "Where quotations in languages other than English are required, authors are asked to provide a translation into English in the text or a note."

All other references to English that specified neither a variety of English nor quality of language were classified 'English'. E.g. "Only articles written in English will be considered."

Abstract

English is often claimed to be the international language of science and research. Indeed Svartvik and Leech (156) include such a variety — international standard English or world standard English — in their model of Englishes. In their conception they disregard the spelling and style conventions imposed by journals. Given growing pressure for academics from around the world to publish in certain English-medium journals, the journal submission guidelines offer important information for authors. Yet, while there is increasing awareness of the burden imposed on EAL scholars in having to write scientific articles in English, little attention has been paid to the language policies of the international journals.

The aim of this article is to synthesise the language policies of the economics journals referenced on the Institute for Scientific Information's (ISI) Journal of Citation Reports (JCR) and re-examine two models of World Englishes in light of these policies. The overview shows that many journals operate on unstated assumptions of English and normative views prevail. The ensuing discussion raises issues related to intelligibility and standard, identity, prescriptivism and hegemony.

Keywords

English as an international language; Language policy; Economics journals; Scientific publication

Resumo

A língua inglesa é muitas vezes considerada a língua internacional da ciência e da investigação. Svartvik e Leech (156), por exemplo, incorporam no seu modelo de variedades de inglês exactamente uma intitulada"inglês padrão internacional" ou "inglês padrão mundial". Neste modelo são postas de lado as normas ortográficas e de estilo estipuladas pelas revistas científicas. Uma vez que é cada vez mais importante que os académicos publiquem artigos científicos em língua inglesa em certas revistas, as normas dessas revistas constituem uma fonte indispensável de informação. No entanto, as políticas de língua dessas revistas não foram objecto

de estudo, embora seja cada vez mais reconhecido que publicar em inglês requer um maior esforço dos autores que falam inglês como uma língua adicional (EAL).

Este artigo pretende sintetizar as políticas de língua das revistas de economia que são indexadas no Journal of Citation Reports (JCR) do Institute for Scientific Information (ISI), e, tendo em conta essas políticas, reexaminar dois modelos de 'World Englishes'. Os resultados demonstram que muitas revistas se baseiam em pressupostos de Inglês não declarados e que prevalecem visões normativas. Na discussão, levantam-se questões relativas a inteligibilidade, padrão, identidade, regulamentação, prescritividade, e hegemonia.

Palavras chave

Inglês como língua internacional; Políticas de língua; Revistas de economia; Publicação científica.

English as a Lingua Franca in Russia: from a Macro to a Micro Perspective

Olesya Lazaretnaya
ULICES - University of Lisbon Centre for English Studies

English as a Lingua Franca in Russia: from a Macro to a Micro Perspective

1. Introduction

The spread of English in Russia is closely associated with the acknowledgement of English as a global lingua franca. Being the country "with a unique geopolitical role between West and East" (Ustinova, "Multiple Identities" 69), today's Russia claims English as a medium of communication with the rest of the English-speaking world. The present survey gives insights into English-Russian relations from the period of the Cold War to the New Russia, and consequently tries to define the current status of Russia among other English-speaking countries, the understanding of which would be impossible without a retrospective account discussing how the English language has been developing historically in national contexts. It further attempts to reveal micro attitudes of the three generations of Russian speakers towards the use and presence of English.

Preceding the major survey, it must be noted additionally that the spread of English in Russia is similar to other post-communist countries. Nonetheless, unlike many countries of the former Soviet bloc, up to the present time Russia has still put up greater resistance towards the penetration and influence of English. The major reason why Russians are not that ready to implicitly welcome the spread of English in Russian society is that feeling themselves as a part of big cultural legacy they still strongly depend on cultural values, transmitted through and by means of the Russian language and literature (Ustinova, "Multiple Identities" 69).

2. English in Local Contexts: from the Cold War to the New Russia

The role the English language plays in Russia has changed substantially over the last 70 years. As it will be observed further, the spread of English has been largely influenced by changing historical contexts, the political strategy of the country, and the desire for commercial, cultural and technological contact. Thus, there can be distinguished three major stages of English-Russian relations which influenced the status of English, the domains of its use, and attitudes towards its dispersal in the national settings. These stages, to a greater extent, coincide with the significant periods of the contemporary Russian history:

> I. The Cold War: 1947-1991
> II. Post-perestroika: 1992-1999
> III. The New Russia: from 2000 onwards

The period of the Cold War which lasted through the most part of the second half of the last century experienced a remarkable setback in relations between the Soviet Union and English-speaking countries, giving way to hostile and negative attitudes on either side of the Iron Curtain. As it is noted, "the Iron Curtain had been working two way — not letting stuff and information in and not letting anyone out" (*English Russia*, n.pg.).

During the years spent behind the Iron Curtain the use of English in Russia was basically limited to educational domains, not coming outside the school or university classroom. "English teaching in the Soviet Union suffer[ed] from the same malaise as society in general — lack of contact with English-speaking countries" (Nash 12). The fact that "foreign language learning was entirely a homegrown affair: made in the USSR" (McCaughey 456) was primarily, if not exclusively, due to the political isolation of the country.

For decades English in the Soviet Union was taught as a dead language like Latin or Ancient Greek because "the world of its users did not exist [and] the goals and techniques of dead language studies were applied to living ones" (Ter-Minasova 447). As such, the traditional Soviet methodology of teaching English had very limited scope of objectives. It required competence mostly in terms of reading, writing, grammar, vocabulary, and translation skills, making the whole process of language acquisition generally uninspiring, overwhelmingly tedious and boring.

Besides, most of the learners had little motivation to go beyond grammar rules as they understood that outside classroom or university settings they might never come in contact with native English speakers.

The tension between the Soviet Union and the West was interrupted by a phase of temporary revival of Russian-English relations during the period of the "thaw" (1953-1964). Trying to overcome the isolation from the rest of the world, on May 27, 1961 the Council of Ministers of the USSR adopted the decree "On the Improvement of Teaching Foreign Languages". The purpose was to create 700 specialized language schools and elaborate new teaching material. However, despite these intentions all English textbooks studied at school and university levels were published under careful control of the Ministry of Education and continued to persistently impose the doctrines of the Soviet ideology throughout the teaching process. They still sought to establish the correct perspective on the foreign way of life and protect the Soviet learner from the influence and temptations of consumer society.

Historically, however, the starting point for the enhancement of the English-Russian relations is considered the year 1985 — the time when the new glasnost and perestroika reforms, including political, social and economic restructuring, finally opened the Soviet Union to the rest of the world. In consequence of these reforms, the end of the 1980s was marked by the hectic influx of foreign words, ideas, and ways of life, penetrating all the domains of every-day life. The new words and concepts were to name realities which did not exist in the USSR.

Nonetheless, the period which followed the perestroika turned out to be a contradictory time for Russian history, marked by economic downturn, enormous political and social problems that affected Russia and the former republics of the USSR. The changes in Russian society had a dramatic impact on the educational system, at that time greatly suffering from the absence of control from the state and rapidly declining educational standards.

Within just a short period of time a growing perception that English proficiency would provide access to better job opportunities and contacts with English-speaking countries through information and technology sharing created a considerable market of English teaching, including teaching material, language courses, and private tutoring. The consequences

for English-language teaching were enormous, as the period of the Cold War during which the Soviet learners were confronted with limited teaching resources, was followed by the time when the increase of language materials coming from different parts of the English-speaking world was nothing but "frustrating" (McCaughey 457).

The post-perestroika period, however, was a considerable break-through in the Russian-English relations, mainly due to the growth of international contacts and opportunities for free travel. Strains to overcome the years of linguistic isolation caused what is defined as "an English language boom in Russia" (Proshina and Ettkin 443). A great number of English words started to sporadically penetrate into the Russian language. The domains of the use of English rapidly expanded into media, advertising and professional spheres. English became to be seen not only as a tool of accessing any culture in the abstraction known as the "global village" (Modiano 28), but also as the way to manifest one's own culture and identity through the language. In other words, "the English language serve[d] as a means for spreading Russian culture throughout the world" (Proshina and Ettkin 443). Recognizing the advantages of speaking the English language, more students started to choose English as their first foreign language.

Since Russia has bounced back from the crisis following the dissolu-tion of the Soviet Union, the demand for English is still increasing and is not likely to subside. Being recognised as the major tool of international communication, in the second decade of the 21st century English is spoken virtually in every part of the first biggest country in the world, stretching over two continents and nine time zones. The use of English has expanded into a range of domains including media, educational, personal, and profes-sional spheres. Nowadays, its proficiency is often a must in professional settings. In media, especially on TV, in music and advertising, English is a popular language, frequently mixing with Russian. The excessive influx of foreign words Russia faced in the 90's has finally subsided and stabilised, being no longer seen as a threat to national identity.

Learning English in Russia is encouraged from the earliest possible age and is pursued at all academic levels, from kindergartens to universities. Although in theory it is possible for students not to include English at all in their school curriculum, in practice almost all choose English as their

first foreign language and in rare cases as a second foreign language. It is increasingly common for Russian schools to introduce English for pupils of seven or eight years old, starting from grade 2.[1]

Despite the inroads the English language has made into Russian society, the State Statistics Service estimates that only 1% of Russian population are fluent English speakers (Eremeeva, n.pg.). To compare with, '38% of EU citizens state that they have sufficient skills in English to have a conversation' (European Commission, n.pg.). Although there are still no real estimates as to the total number of English learners in Russia, their proportion must be considerably higher and is not going to decrease in foreseeable future.

3. The Place of Russia among English-Speaking Countries

As illustrated in the previous section, until just recently it has been hardly possible to indentify the place of Russia among English-speaking countries. Prior to 1985, the use of English in the USSR had been primarily limited to educational domains. Thereafter, almost up to the beginning of the 21st century the search for identification was largely hindered by political, social and economic problems Russia had to face after the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

In contemporary research Russia is most frequently referred to the Expanding Circle (Grushko and Petrosyan, n.pg.; Lovtsevich 461; Proshina, "Intermediary Translation" 517; Rivlina 478, etc.),[2] hence joining the most numerous group of countries where English is learnt as a foreign language (EFL), including Japan, Korea, Germany, Brazil, and the former USSR

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[1] Until recently a foreign language in Russian schools was introduced from grade 5 of the secondary school. Nowadays it is increasingly common for Russian schools to introduce English starting from grade 2. In schools where there are no necessary conditions English is offered in grade 5. In this case, pupils may be offered an extra hour of instruction to catch up with their peers.

[2] In the model suggested by Kachru the spread of English is discussed in terms of "three concentric circles", the Inner Circle, referred to ENL countries, the Outer Circle, including ESL communities, and the Expanding Circle of EFL countries (Kachru 356).

republics, among many others. These are countries where English is neither an official nor a working language of the state or the government. Its functional range is restricted to such contexts like business, education, and tourism.

> English in Russia falls under the category of the Expanding Circle countries (Kachru, 1992), where English does not have official status, neither is it developed to the stage of an institutionalized variety, nor is it used as a means of communication internal to the community. English in Russia is learned as a foreign language, has restricted users, and is employed in international commerce, tourism, study abroad, and science. (Ustinova, "English in Russia" 239)

Being learnt as a foreign language, in educational domains the English language is still orientated towards British English (in the European part) and American English (primarily in the Asian part of Russia) varieties (Proshina, *The ABC* 115), recognised as the only legitimate and authentic "material" taken for granted by both teachers and learners. Therefore, today the main goal of ELT still remains closely tied up to the language codified in grammars, dictionaries and textbooks. Having a native-like command of English as the only desirable endpoint, it is primarily aimed at communication with native speakers, who, in their turn, are automatically regarded as the only possessors of knowledge about the language which is considered their own. The firm belief in native-speakers' "ownership" still persists among the majority of English learners, teachers, educators, linguists and language professionals, as such, affecting methods of instruction, teaching strategies, models and practices implied for English teaching in Russia.

Recently, however, the awareness has been raised that "English's greatest use is as a contact language" (Grushko and Petrosyan, n.pg.), and the fact that the achievement of native-like competence should not be set as the only desirable target as the majority of learners use English in communication with other non-native speakers. The estimates show that about 80 per cent of verbal exchanges worldwide in which English is used as a second or foreign language do not involve native speakers of English (Beneke in Seidlhofer, *A Concept of International English* 7), the evidence that invariably shifts the focus to the majority of English speakers who do

not speak English as their mother tongue[3] and challenges the relevance of native speakers' norms and models.

The recent developments concerning the use of English by the majority of English users are addressed to as *English as an International language* (EIL) or its shorthand 'International English', and as *English as a Lingua Franca* (ELF), both terms referred to "English as a means of international communication across national and linguistic boundaries" (Jenkins 160). Although, in its turn, EIL allows for different interpretations, in narrower contexts the term is used interchangeably with *English as a lingua franca* described as

> an additionally acquired language system that serves as a means of communication between speakers of different first languages, or a language by means of which the members of different speech communities can communicate with each other but which is not the native language of either — a language which has no native speakers. (Seidlhofer, "Closing a Conceptual Gap" 146)

Indeed, being in its purest form a tool of communication for speakers for none of whom English is the mother tongue, the concept of EFL still does not exclude native speakers from participation in international exchange, but rather emphasises the fact that native speakers have to follow the agenda set by the majority of non-native users of English and not vice versa.

Thus, if regarded from ELF perspective, the range of domains of English in Russia allows for a broader perception of the type of English and its functions in Russian society. To start with, the distinction is first to be made between the contexts, where "English functions both as a tool that links speakers of various languages in different domains of use and as a language of creativity and identity expression" (Erling 218). The domains that involve English as a lingua franca in communication between speakers who may or may not have English as an L1 include educational, personal,

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[3] The approximate number of EFL speakers may vary from 375m to as high as one billion as opposed to 320-450m ENL speakers and 375-500m ESL speakers (Crystal 107; Graddol 10).

professional, and, to a smaller extent, bureaucratic domains.[4] Intranationally, English is more widely used as a language of expression "increasingly accommodated to suit localized needs and to express involvement in the international community" (Erling 220), penetrating into media and entertainment, advertising, creative, and identity domains.

Since English performs multiple functions in modern Russian society, there exist different names for the kind of English used in national contexts that has been coined to denote different interferences of the Russian and English languages, either as a second or foreign language, — from more formal *Russianized English* or *Russian English* to such informal coinages as *Rus(s)lish and Ru(n)glish*. Although these names are frequently perceived as humorous and even dismissive, they, nonetheless, can be treated as virtually linguistic terms depending on the level of proficiency, social factors and settings.

When it comes to the discussion of local English varieties, there is still little if any awareness

> that learners may be producing forms characteristics of their own variety of English, which reflect the sociolinguistic reality of their English use, whatever their circle of English, far better than either British or American norms are able to". (Jenkins 168)

Thus, despite the considerable bulk of works concerned with individual varieties of English, many scholars would argue that Russian English can develop into a separate variety. The argument is first that English in Russia is not used for intraethnic communication and does not have a linguistic environment in which to develop as a new variety. Secondly, it derives its norms from British English and American English; hence, its most typical "deviations" are most frequently seen as errors and not as systematic features of a separate variety.

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[4] English in Russia is not an official language of governmental or administrative institutions. The only exception is the Republic of Sakha-Yakutia where English is declared to be a working language along with two national (Russian and Yakut) and five official (Even, Evenk, Yukaghir, Chukchi, and Dolgan) languages (Samsonov in Proshina 114-115).

Eventually, the recent developments in the ELF approach has been so far considered very cautiously and are more often referred to as interesting but controversial (Grushko & Petrosyan, n.pg.).

> The term ELF of Russian culture … emphasizes the role of language as a tool for communication between both native and non-native speakers and among its non-native speakers. The main obstacle to effective communication in this sphere is ideology; the Soviet ideology has influenced human mentality very strongly and it is still revealed today. As practice shows, using English as regional variety (Russian English) has not made it completely "regional". It does acquire some changes to serve better the demands of regional communication but these changes are revealed only within British or American culture. To be a true lingua franca Russian English should be a variety that reveals Russian culture by means of the English language, making the latter change but not necessarily lose completely its own ''ethnic'' background. (Yuzefovich 509)

Whether the ELF approach will finally gain its approval in Russia, it's too early to say, but the fact that English is no more used in highly restricted national and international contexts should not be called into question. It is more and more frequently implied as a tool of intranational communication, expressing Russian cultural and national identity through and by means of the English language. At the same time, it should be emphasized that in Expanding Circle countries both terms English as a foreign language and English as a lingua franca do not exclude, but rather complement each other, "partly because many of those who start out thinking they are learning English as a foreign language end up using it as a lingua franca" (Grushko & Petrosyan, n.pg.).

4. Questionnaire

The further data represent some of the findings of the survey addressed to the three generations of Russian native-speakers, grouped according to their age in 2010. The survey is directed to reveal respondents' motivation to learn English; self-identification with the variety of English used; opinions

about the model variety to be taught at school; and understanding of the notions of nativeness, standard and variation; as well as attitudes towards the presence of English in Russia.

Proceeding from the division by age groups, group I includes the youngest age group of subjects of 18 to 22 years old, group II — subjects of 23-30 years old, and group III — subjects over 31 years old (see table 1). The years these groups of respondents entered the secondary school and started learning English correspond to the beginning of each period referred to in this project: the Cold War – group I, the post-perestroika period – group II, and the New Russia – group III.

Group	Age	Subjects	%
I.	18-22	50	38.5
II.	23-30	40	30.8
III.	≥31	40	30.8

Table 1. Division by Age Groups.

The subjects of this survey are Russian residents coming from Moscow and the Moscow region. For this reason, the present research is not representative of the Russian population on the whole. Although the questionnaire was administered in a geographically restricted area, the data obtained fully satisfied the set variable and the main criterion applied to the participants of this study.

It is very important to note that the respondents represent different professions, including physicians, teachers, accountants, musicians, librarians and shop assistants, and only, to a small extent, language professionals and educators. For this reason, opinions expressed by the subjects are not biased by their professional interest in the sense of language study and research. That is why the questionnaire was adapted to the extent to be understood by a wider range of participants from each focus group. The biggest group consists of students (39.2%).

At the beginning of this study it was assumed that the group I subjects, being the youngest participants of this research, would demonstrate broader perceptions of English variation and the notions of nativeness and standard language, compared with the respondents of the two other focus

groups, whose learning background has been, to a greater extent, influenced by language policies adopted by the country at different stages of its development.

5. Questionnaire Findings: Analysis from a Micro Perspective

Following the findings of this survey, figure I illustrates the respondents' motivation to know English. Be it an indicator of stability of modern Russia or for some other reason, the equally high percentage of each focus group needs to know English to travel or to communicate with people from other countries. Short after Russia opened its borders to its citizens and to the rest of the world, and the turbulent time after the post-perestroika period had been finally overcome, millions of Russians rushed in different directions to explore what had been under a ban just not long before. According to the Russia Federal Agency for Tourism (Russia Federal Agency for Tourism, n.pg.) more than 14.5 millions Russians went abroad as tourists in 2011. This is six times more than the number of foreign tourists (2.3 millions) who visited Russia during the same period.

For the youngest age group one of the strongest motivations to learn English is a chance to increase job opportunities and advance in their career. This option is chosen by 88% of respondents of group I. In Russia, it is not surprising anymore to find advertisements for jobs in which English proficiency is a requirement for a job applicant. Employees of big companies and joint ventures are expected to have a good command of English in order to use it at meetings, for translating business correspondence, in phone conversations, email and business letters with partners, clients and suppliers, and in other professional settings. In 80 out of 100 vacancies for a secretary or a personal assistant position English proficiency is a must (Poletaeva, n.pg.). Besides, knowledge of English may raise the salary of an employee by 20-30%.

Higher percentage of subjects of group I in comparison with the two other focus groups needs to know English to learn more about English/American culture — 54%, and read books in original — 76%. Almost equal percentage of subjects of group I (60%) and group II (62.5%) needs English to read books and understand English TV programs and films.

	job opportunities	work/ study abroad	travel	Internet usage	English / American culture	communication	reading books in original	English TV programs and films
Group I	88%	66%	84%	44%	54%	96%	76%	60%
Group II	55%	37.50%	85%	52.50%	22.50%	70%	40%	62.50%
Group III	40%	30%	95%	50%	27.50%	77.50%	40%	37.50%
Total	63.10%	46.20%	87.70%	48.50%	36.20%	82.30%	53.80%	53.80%
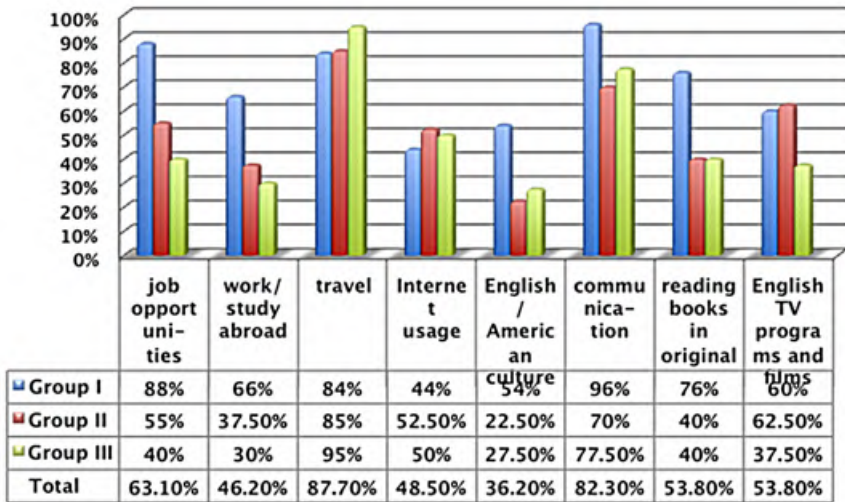
Figure 1. Motivation for Learning English.

To elicit the variety of English the respondents indentify themselves with, they were asked to name the type of English they speak (see figure 2). It is not surprising that the highest percentage of those who identify themselves with British English — 66%, is observed by group I, composed, for the most part, by students — recent school graduates. Although since their school days the learners of English become aware of other English varieties, with the emphasis on the varieties of the Inner Circle, British English remains so far the target variety in the school curriculum. Hence, British English is perceived as more correct and proper, even in comparison with the other standard variety American English which until recently has been regarded as less prestigious and even vulgar (Ustinova, "Multiple Identities" 73). Like this, irrespective of the real outcome produced in the process of communication, the belief that it is British English which is spoken because it is British English which is learnt and taught is not that easily shaken.

It is interesting that a considerable number of respondents (27.7%), prefer not to specify the type of English spoken opting for a seemingly neutral answer — English, that is most likely a mixture of English American features influenced by the Russian language. 12.3% of those who identify the type of English they speak with Russian English attribute to it pejorative meaning and do not gauge their language skills as very proficient. To specify,

none of group I opted for this answer. 11.5% of the total reply they speak International English. This answer is chosen by 8% of group I, 12.5% of group II, and 15% of group III. The respondents who opt for International English have greater experience in international communication, including travelling, the use of English at work and in daily activities. Only 6.2% of the total choose American English, and 0.8% or one respondent respectively Runglish or Ruslish.

	Russian English	British English	American English	English	Runglish/Ruslish	International English
Group I	0%	66%	0%	26%	0%	8%
Group II	17,50%	25%	12,50%	30%	2,50%	12,50%
Group III	22,50%	27,50%	7,50%	27,50%	0%	15%
Total	12,30%	41,50%	6,20%	27,70%	0,80%	11,50%
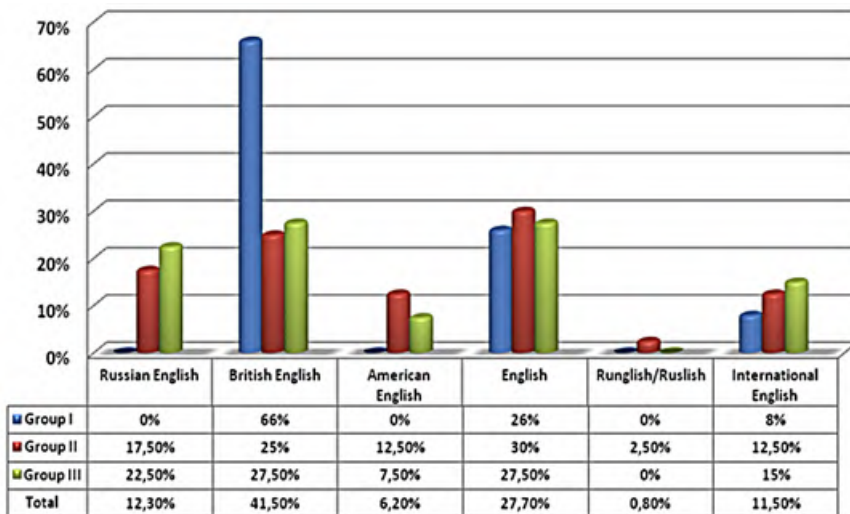
Figure 2. Self-Identification with the Type of English.

In line with previous findings, the subjects were further asked to name the model variety to be taught in school (see figure 3). It is not surprising that the majority of those who define British English as the model variety are the subjects of group I. Only 8% of this focus group say the model variety to be taught in school should be American English. The results obtained once again prove that the group I participants are still greatly influenced by traditional views imposed on them throughout their language instruction with the pedagogical focus largely on Standard British English norms in spelling, pronunciation, grammar, and lexis.

Although initially the results were supposed to be quite the opposite, the majority of respondents of group I and group II opt for International variety to be taught at school, revealing greater awareness of the fact that

interactions in English do not presuppose exclusively communication with native speakers.

	Group I	Group II	Group III	Total
■ American English	8%	0%	0%	3,10%
■ British English	54%	35%	45%	45,40%
■ An international variety	38%	52,50%	50%	46,20%
■ No opinion	0%	12,50%	5%	5,40%
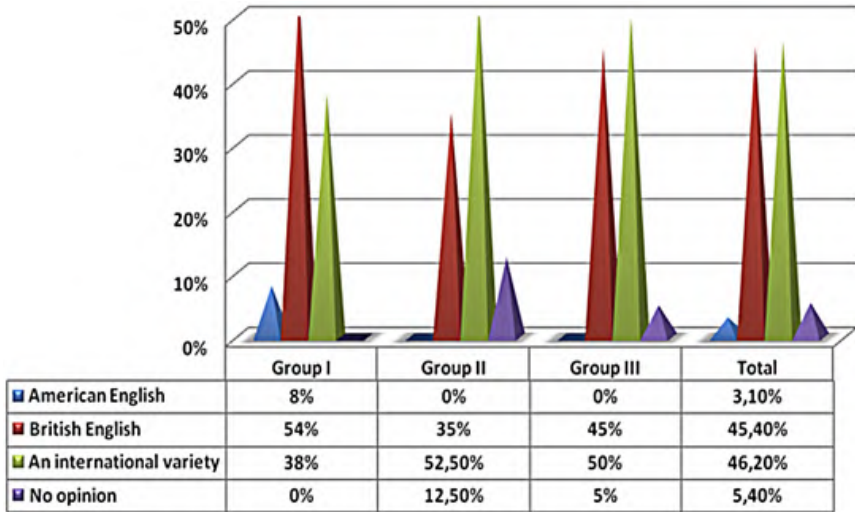
Figure 3. Opinion about the Model Variety to Be Taught at School.

Table 2 analyses subjects' opinions about the notions of nativeness, standard, and English varieties. Thus, for the majority of respondents Standard English remains British English rather than American English. Thus, British English is defined as standard by higher percentage of group I — 78%. 52.5% of group III consider it is native speakers' right to decide how English should be used compared with 34% of group I. The majority of subjects of each focus group agree that there are different kinds of English in the world.

	Group		
	I	II	III
Standard English means British English.	78.0%	65.0%	67.5%
Standard English means American English.	4.0%	5.0%	5.0%
It is native speakers' right to decide how English should be used.	34.0%	42.5%	52.5%
There are different kinds of English in the world.	82.0%	75.0%	77.5%

Table 2. Opinions about Standard English, Nativeness and English varieties.

The predominately positive attitudes towards the presence of English in Russian society are registered in table 3, where the respondents had to express their opinion about the presence of English in Russia. The findings show that the English language is not seen as a threat to the Russian language and culture. On the contrary, the majority of respondents find the presence of English in every day life useful because it improves their language skills, and broadens cultural horizons.

The presence of the English language is…	Group		
	I	II	III
		Disagree	
a threat to my native language.	80.0%	65.0%	82.5%
a threat to my culture.	74.0%	65.0%	85.0%
		Agree	
useful because it improves one's English.	100.0%	65.0%	92.5%
useful because it expands one's cultural horizons.	86.0%	65.0%	97.5%

Table 3. Attitudes towards the Presence of English.

The answers demonstrate that the youngest generation is more open to the influence of the English language. The overwhelming majority of group I believes that the presence of English in everyday life only helps to improve their language proficiency.

6. Conclusions

In the second decade of the 21st century English in Russia manifests itself in a range of domains, including the use of English as a lingua franca for communication between speakers of different L1 backgrounds, and as a means of expression of national and cultural identity. In personal and especially in professional domains English proficiency is believed to provide with better social and economic perspectives. Depending on the level of proficiency and the situation involved, the English language is associated with many Englishes, including standard varieties of English, British English and American English, local English varieties such as Russian

English, Runglish and/or Ruslish, and an International variety of English.

As it follows from the findings of this survey, the assumption set at the beginning of this study has not been proved to be correct. Surprisingly, broader perceptions in the sense of English varieties and the notions of nativeness and standard language were demonstrated not by the youngest participants, but by the subjects of the two other age groups. Having varied international background and greater experience in international communication, the respondents of group II and group III recognise the importance of using the English language in intercultural settings rather than being a bearer of a language that reflects one speaking community and culture. Even on the level of language instruction the subjects of these groups show their readiness to accept other teaching models besides British English.

From what has been surveyed, it is evident that language instruction has a significant effect on subjects' attitudes and perceptions of the English language, its acquisition and teaching standards. Indeed, the results obtained are first of all accounted for the traditional practices still involved in language instruction at school. The impact of school education is especially observed by the youngest group of participants — recent school graduates, who still remain under influence of stereotypical perceptions. As it is noticed, the majority of subjects from group I still gauge their English proficiency by how close they are to the native speakers' model which is usually British English, introduced as the only correct and proper variety of English all throughout formal education with emphasis on British English vocabulary, grammar, spelling, and style, etc. Hence, despite the growing awareness of the existence of multiple Englishes, the most prestigious variety in Russia remains British English — the target variety the majority of respondents strives to achieve and claims to speak irrespective of the real outcome, produced in the process of communication.

Regarding the analysis of attitudes on a micro-scale, the results make it clear that, for the most part, Russians positively embrace the presence of English irrespective of age groups they are referred to. The positive reactions are primarily associated with social advantages the use of English may eventually bring. The use of English is thus considered as offering an alternate way of expressing national identity and building links to international community. Moreover, English is contemplated more as a

source of enrichment, a temporary phenomenon and a modern trend, rather than a menace to the national language. A lot of people quite consciously use English in their speech to demonstrate their international background and acceptability.

In conclusion, the survey suggests the need for significant pedagogical readjustments in English teaching in Russia. It involves the study of English in various contexts and broader perceptions of the domains of English use, teaching awareness and acceptance of other but standard English varieties, the reappraisal of native vs. non-native dichotomy, the shift from the monolingual to the pluricentric approach to the language, and the emphasis on communicative abilities. It is also quite obvious that English instruction obtained on the level of school education should be given a special emphasis as it plays a crucial role in the formation of the solid basis of language understanding and proficiency.

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Abstract

In the second decade of the 21st century English in Russia manifests itself in a range of domains such as education, workplace, media, entertainment, advertising, creative and identity domains. Such unprecedented spread is more frequently attributed to the status ensured to the speakers of English in social, cultural, and economic spheres. Depending on the level of proficiency and the situation involved, the English language is associated with many Englishes, including such local varieties as Russian English, Runglish and/or Ruslish. Currently in use both as a foreign language and more widely as a lingua franca, English builds links to international community and serves as a language of expression of national and cultural identity.

Keywords

English as a Foreign language; English as a Lingua franca; Native; Standard

Résumé

Dans la deuxième décennie du 21ème siècle, la langue anglaise, en Russie, se manifeste dans toute une gamme de domaines. D'abord dans l'éducation, dans les lieux de travail, les médias, le divertissement, la publicité, ainsi que dans les domaines de la création et de l'identité. L'expansion sans précédent de l'anglais, est plus souvent attribuée au statu des interlocuteurs dans les sphères sociales, culturelles et économiques. Selon le niveau des compétences et de la situation en cause, la langue anglaise est associée à de nombreuses variétés locales, comme l'anglais russe, Runglish et/ou Ruslish. Actuellement la langue anglaise est utilisée comme une première langue étrangère, elle se pratique plus largement comme une lingua franca puisqu'elle établit des liens avec la communauté internationale, elle sert aussi comme une langue d'expression d'identité culturelle et sociale.

Mots-clés

L'anglais comme une langue étrangère; L'anglais comme lingua franca; Natif; Standard

European English Varieties:
a Contribution to the Study of the Characteristics of Nativisation Processes

Maria Goreti Monteiro,
School of Technology and Management, Polytechnic Institute of Leiria / ULICES - University of Lisbon Centre for English Studies

European English Varieties: a Contribution to the Study of the Characteristics of Nativisation Processes

Introduction

It seems to be the general consensus that it is advantageous to adapt one language for communicating within a wide international community. As stated by Pamela Rogerson-Revell, this has been a constant fact, especially in the world of business:

> Historically, the development of any language as a lingua franca or pidgin to facilitate communication between speakers of different languages has often been initiated by international commerce or trade. In fact the word 'pidgin' is said to be derived from the Chinese pronunciation of the English word business and Pidgin English was the name given to a Chinese–English–Portuguese pidgin used for commerce in Canton during the 18th and 19th centuries. (104)

In fact, this author adapts the term *English for International Business* (EIB) (104) to refer to the "use of English as a common language in business" in contexts where native English speakers and speakers of other languages need to communicate to conduct businesses.

There is, moreover, no shortage of terms to try to describe how the English language is being used across the world: *English as a Lingua Franca* (ELF), *English as an International Language* (EIL), *Global English*, *International English*, and even *Business English as a Lingua Franca* (BELF), by L. Louhiala-Salmien *et. al.* (403). Terminology aside, the reality of global business seems to be involving the English language more than ever, making it the "international language" in the sense offered by Seidlhofer:

> "International English" can be read as shorthand for "English as an international language" (EIL). The longer the term, however, though more unwieldy, more precise because it

> highlights the international use of English rather than suggesting, wrongly, that there is one clearly distinguishable, unitary variety called "International English". (8)

In Europe, however, there is a growing sense that, because of the role of the European Community, where diversity and unity are in constant search for equilibrium, particularly in the case of language use, non-native English has acquired distinct characteristics. Back in 1980, Carstensen (832) had already raised the issue by suggesting an investigation into the English spoken by European politicians in the European Community when Berns (6) wrote abut the "discoursal nativization" of English, especially in written texts, as one of three characteristics of English usage in Europe. This phenomenon is seen when "texts use English lexis and syntax, but maintain conventions of the native language and culture (e.g., rhetorical pattern, argument structure, or coherence markers) for the composition of the text" (Berns 6). Branded "Euro-English" or "European English", it refers to the English language used by non-British Europeans, which seems to have distinct features from those found in inner circle varieties (Kachru 12).[1]

Apparently straightforward, this point of view is not unproblematic since it is rooted on the principle that every language mirrors the speakers' culture, be it native or foreign. Although aware that a foreign language is a "borrowed language", i.e., not the speaker's mother tongue, the approach followed in this article agrees with that of L. Louhiala-Salmien *et. al.* (404), Meierkord (110) as well as Christopher N. Candlin and Maurizio Gotti (6), which states that language is inseparable from a given socio-cultural configuration even when it is used for business communication:

> [...] in business communication, an area in which English represents a means of contact and interaction among people from different cultures allowing concrete common goals to be negotiated and achieved, the recurrent use of this language —

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[1] Kachru's *inner circle* contains English as the native language of the UK, USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, considered the norm provider. He contrasts it with the *outer circle*, which can be linked to the English language spoken in the countries of the second Diaspora and the *expanding circle*, which includes the countries using English as an international language.

while guaranteeing an international and global dimension —
is necessarily culturally marked and consequently requires
some kind of adaptation on the part of interactants. (6)

Business in European English

As stated, there is a growing use for English in the international business
world, especially when there is a mixture of speakers of different countries
involved. An example can be observed in the mould making business in
Portugal. This is a market where 95% of all moulds for the plastics industry
built in this country are sold to countries all over the world, which requires
the use of the English language in over 85% of the situations. The written
correspondence between mould makers and mould buyers can offer an
opportunity to verify the presence of the linguistic characteristics marked
by differences of cultural background. As such, a corpus of 210 business
emails, totalling over 19 700 words, received from six different countries
European companies, as well as 226 messages with circa 26 500 words,
from twelve Portuguese companies was chosen to initiate the study of some
features which can indicate if there are specific characteristics in the English
language from each European country.

Before tackling this issue, a number of considerations had to be taken
into account. For example, it is important to establish what constitutes a
grammatical characteristic of a variety of Euro-English, which is marked by
some type of deviation from the norm, and distinguish it from the ignorance
of grammar rules and their wrongful applications. The question still remains
of how much a norm can be bent before it can be qualified an error as
opposed to a trait. In the case of this study, two basic rules were followed:
it was considered to be a mistake when the deviation from the norm was
used occasionally by a random writer; it was taken as an example of a
variety if the feature was repeated often by the writers of the same country.

One other factor encountered and dealt with was the variety of
English followed by the authors of the emails. Although British English
spelling was mostly used, a substantial number of emails displayed
American spelling. Since this fact only shows the influence of both varieties
on the individual writer, it was not given special importance for the purpose
of this study.

A third point worthy of attention is the fact that the corpus is made up of emails, a means of communication usually placed between the oral and the written. It is chosen for its rapid form of contacting the other, such as a telephone conversation, but it is, on the other hand, a written mode. As a consequence, the use of text revision, or the degree of formality of language are choices belonging to the writers alone, according to specific contexts and sets of circumstances unknown to anyone else, making it difficult for an outsider to establish what constitutes appropriate or inappropriate use of language.

The emails in this study are characterised by a great mixture of styles. There are some telegraphic messaging, which apply no unnecessary wording, such as: "*we need to test and see if it is ok; if ok, then finished.*", "*Do it like with the Lago — looks nicer*", "*If until now no answer, go on with it*" or "*If no answer no logo*". On the other hand, there are some messages which are the complete opposite, for example: "*I have checked the file and noticed the problem with the undercut. I do not think it is a problem to change it but I must check with the customer anyway*", with no abbreviations or shortened sentences.

The background of the email authors is also important. They are mould technicians who have one common interest — moulds for plastics — but who will have had different English learning experiences. The fact still remains that their knowledge of the language is close enough to the norm to have allowed them to successfully communicate with each other in written English.

Three specific characteristics were investigated: the first is connected with word order and the use of adverbs, the consistent cross over of grammar peculiarities and the third tries to find some unique vocabulary loan words from any country, as suggested by Carstensen (831).

The Netherlands

Tom McArthur (146) pointed out that many Dutch companies already use English, especially the multinational companies, while it is a compulsory language for all children in school. In the very near future, most Dutch people will be bilingual, at least. The ten Dutch technicians who wrote these 83 messages, containing 5 637 words, have shown to be an example

of this fact, as they seem to be well acquainted with the English language. Their sentence structure usually follows the British English norm, although some misspellings and other inaccuracies were found, which can mostly be considered typos and the result of sending the email without spell check or proofreading. The only mistake made more often is some inconsistent use of prepositions, such as the following examples taken from these emails: "*We are also waiting on quality tests*"; "*If you look to the stacking*" and "*according your planning*". These mistakes, however, are not used in a specific manner and are not used by a large enough number of technicians. On the contrary, most writers make correct use of prepositions.

While looking for possible features that could be attributed to Dutch English, a specific pattern of word order seemed to be emerging every time the word "*already*" was used, as seen in the following example: "*they are good enough to start already the global construction*", where the word is usually placed after the infinitive. Although only three such occurrences were counted, they were made by three different writers. To confirm this possibility more English texts written by Dutch authors must be analysed.

Another inconsistency was noticed, also connected with that word. Although the writers normally use the present perfect whenever necessary, as in the examples, "*you have quoted these*", "*We have checked*", "*I have written the order*" and "*we have sent it today by DHL*", in the instances where "*already*" is used, this does not happen: "*we already lost two weeks*" and "*we already informed you*". Although it could be argued that there is American influence, it is nevertheless the only instant where this influence is observed and it is used by two different writers.

As far as vocabulary is concerned, there was not any specific example that came to light. Because the subject of these emails is mould making, many words used are technical, but the use of terminology is consistent with that of other technicians in other countries. On the other hand, the non-specialised vocabulary showed that eight of the ten technicians have dropped the capital letter when writing the days of the week and the months of the year. Again, these are only a few instances, which need to be further studied in order to be confirmed.

Sweden

The four Swedish technicians have also dropped the capital letter when writing the days of the week. This was a consistency in the fifty emails, totalling over 4 100 words, which make up the Swedish corpus. They also follow the British variety of English, for the most part with few mistakes, one of which being the repeated lack of the third person "s" of the simple present on the part of one technician and the incorrect addition of an "s" to the word "*information*" on the part of another. Occasionally, they have also made the wrong choice of prepositions, such as, for example, on the sentence "*Nothing has been changed at the mould*" and "*I have looked on the mould and I see […]*".

When the word order of sentences that include adverbs was analysed, there were some sentences that stood out: "*we have today sent a mail […]*", "*we sent you yesterday information […]*" and "*we have today sent you the cavities*". Upon further analysis, it was noticed that all such examples were written by the same technician, making it a personal habit and not a possible language trait.

In the case of the Swedish messages, it seems that the characteristics of the English language in use are directly linked to the specific style of the writer. No repeated borrowing or pattern was noticed.

Belgium

The same way as the Dutch technicians have made a differentiated use of the perfectives, so have the six Belgian technicians who wrote the seventeen messages, containing over 5 500 words. Although they made flawless use of the present perfect in all other occasions, whenever the words "just", "yet" or "already" were used, they resorted to the use of the simple past, as in the example "*we received just the 30 […]*" or "*we got already small flash*". American English could, again, be an influence here, but the shift itself could be an emerging pattern in some Euro-English varieties.

It is interesting to notice that three of the technicians, who are associated with one company, follow the British English norm, while the three belonging to the other company follow the American variety. This fact has no influence on the case described above, however, since it was used by technicians in both companies.

The placing of the adverb in the word order is also similar to that seen in the Dutch messages, a characteristic that was repeated with other adverbs as well: "*I will verify before next trial the venting*", "*We will confirm eventually wall thickness*", "*we will confirm eventually adaptations*" and "*we have still flash*". Although it is very soon to come to any type of conclusion, this occurrence could be verified further in other types of texts.

The English language at work in these texts follows both the British and the American norms very closely, including the use of vocabulary and terminology and very few inaccuracies were found, the exception being a only some imprecise choice of prepositions.

Norway

The thirty-seven Norwegian messages of close to 4 000 words were written by four technicians who followed the British variety closely, although McArthur (149) states that it the American influence that has made a difference in the area. Their use of English is nearly flawless, with the occasional wrong preposition being the exception, and often with the inaccurate use of "*at*": "*I want it at latest 12.4*" or "*send me also an updated time schedule at this tool*".

No specific characteristics of grammar, vocabulary or word order were noticed, except for the individual style of one technician who occasionally translated a typical Norwegian greeting, "*Dear you!*".

Hungary

The Hungarian messages, totalling twenty three, were signed by three technicians of one company. They made up over 2 100 words and their writing suffered the influence of the British English variety. Occasionally, these technicians also had some problems in using the most appropriate preposition, but other than a few missing letters, their English is not very different from that written by native technicians. These messages have very similar styles, giving the impression that they were proofread by the same person before being sent.

No specific characteristic was observed in these emails in vocabulary, word order and grammar.

Portugal

Because all the foreign emails were answered by Portuguese technicians, they add up to 226 messages, containing close to 27 000 words. According to the information obtained in the Portuguese mould making companies, it is imperative that mould technicians have a good knowledge of the English language, since, as was stated above, nearly all moulds are sold outside the country and are custom made by order of foreign customers. The better the sellers communicate, the better they sell moulds. However, not all technicians have the same level of English: the first generation of workers in this field mostly learned French, not English, in school, and had to study this language as it needed. The next generations had an easier task, as English was already part of the school curriculum and, as a rule, learned the norm of the British variety. This does not mean that the American variety has no influence. On the contrary, because the first international mould buyers were from the US, this variety is regularly used in many Portuguese companies.

Having established that the two varieties are used indiscriminately in this business, the question of a possible variety of Portuguese English needs to be raised. Based on the emails alone, there is no perceptible pattern; there are many individual uses of the English language, where sentence structure, grammar and vocabulary vary from direct translations based on the Portuguese language to near native use of the English language.

Actually, in Portugal, the belief that the closer to native the better the English, still remains and, as such, whenever technicians do not have a good command of this language, they resort to a translator, a practice noticed in some cases. The tendency, then, is for the Portuguese mould technicians to try to speak English as similarly to a native as possible.

Conclusions

After analysing 436 messages, several conclusions can be reached. On one hand, there are countries where the level of English in use is a version which closely resembles a native variety and where any type of local European pattern seems to be completely absent. On the other hand, although the inner circle norm is followed in general, signs of a particular application of

certain adverbs in sentence structure are appearing in the messages of the technicians from two neighbouring countries, The Netherlands and Belgium. To prove this, other texts from various sources must continue to be studied.

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Abstract

Margie Berns (6-7) states that as a result of the fact that European English is used by a rising number of non-native speakers, their English is becoming more and more distinct from the native speakers' variety. Because this is the language mostly used in European Union institutions and is, simultaneously, the language traditionally used for doing business, Continental Europeans are continuously bending British English so as to convey the full significance of their own language. Consequently, Europeans are communicating in a growing number of European English varieties.

As such, the purpose of this paper is to study a corpus of business correspondence, which took place in English as a foreign language among technicians from seven different European countries, in order to find individual features in terms of grammar, word order and vocabulary and thus contribute to establish the characteristics of different European varieties of English.

Keywords

EFL; ESL; European English; Nativisation process; Varieties of English

Resumo

Maggie Burns (6-7) afirma que, como resultado do crescente uso do inglês europeu por falantes não nativos, esta língua está a divergir cada vez mais da variedade britânica. Por ser a língua estrangeira mais falada em instituições da União Europeia e em situação de negócios, os europeus continentais sentem necessidade de acomodar a variedade britânica para transmitir o sentido integral da sua própria língua. Como consequência, os europeus estão a comunicar em cada vez mais variedades de inglês europeu.

Deste modo, tendo como base um corpus de correspondência comercial em inglês língua estrangeira, mantida entre técnicos de sete países europeus diferentes, este trabalho tem, como objetivo, encontrar aspetos individuais em termos de gramática, vocabulário e ordem sintática, contribuindo para o estudo das características das diferentes variedades de inglês europeu.

Palavras-chave

ILE; ISL; Inglês europeu; Processo de nativização; Variedades de Inglês

English Language Proficiency in Higher Education

Ricardo Pereira
Escola Superior de Tecnologia e Gestão — Instituto Politécnico de Leiria

English Language Proficiency in Higher Education

1. Introduction

For all those concerned about English language teaching (ELT) —
academics, teachers or really anyone with an interest in language issues —
one fact has emerged and is undisputedly accepted: the way we view the
English language is changing. What is more, this change has ignited a
multitude of research and critical discussions around the world which
reflect upon new attitudes to English and approaches to its study, pushing
for a reconceptualization of English (Seidlhofer 2004), thus revolutionizing
the previously unruffled realm of ELT.

One of the concerns that have generated a fair amount of interest
has to do with the notion that there may be commonly used features of
English which are ungrammatical in Standard L1 English but generally
unproblematic in English as a *lingua franca* communication (Seidlhofer
2002). If this is true, it may force us to reconsider language teaching and
language policies, seeing that learners who intend to use English mainly in
international settings would benefit significantly from acquiring more
general language awareness and communication strategies rather than, as
Widdowson (2003) argues, attempting to master the native-speaker model,
which in most cases cannot be achieved in the classroom alone.

In light of the above, it is imperative to identify features of English
which tend to be crucial for international intelligibility as opposed to those
that are communicatively redundant or even counter-productive in *lingua
franca* settings (Seidlhofer 2005). Therefore, the purpose of this article
is to provide points of reference aiming at establishing a broad empirical
basis for the description of ELF. This shall be done by examining the
most common grammatical constructions and lexical choices employed
by Portuguese students on English placement tests, in an attempt to

identify relevant linguistic features which can be said to characterise their English. These results will, in turn, provide necessary guidance for further pedagogical decisions concerning the teaching of English as a *lingua franca*.

2. The Status of English

The last sixty years have witnessed a vast spread of ELT, which has led to a unique position of English in the world: currently, and for the first time in history, native speakers of English have been outnumbered by non-native users of the language (Seidlhofer 2003). Nevertheless, and despite the global spread of English, Crystal (1997) relevantly pointed out in the late 20th century, that English was only used by a third of the world's population so it was too soon in time to say if it was an indisputable global *lingua franca*. This cautiousness was understandable as much as it was, I daresay, a formality. If we had to draw a parallel between the global spread of English and that of the Internet, for instance, we would note that while the majority of people in the United Kingdom have access to the Internet, there are still 10 million people who do not.[1] On a global scale (according to the United Nations specialized agency for information and communication technologies), only one third of the world is on-line.[2] However, to mindfully claim that there is some way to go before the Information Age shapes modern society would come as an understatement, to say the least.

As such, and fifteen years later, academics are no longer withdrawn, and boldly claim that English currently functions as a global *lingua franca* (Hülmbauer *et al* 2008), in the sense that it is chosen as the means of communication among people from different first language backgrounds, across linguacultural boundaries (Seidlhofer 2001). Several terms can be used to describe the new role English has taken up (e.g. English as a *lingua franca*, English as an international language, English as a world language, English as a global language), however, in this study, these terms will be used interchangeably as synonyms to refer to the same concept, although they may regard the global status of English from slightly different perspectives.

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[1] http://www.21stcenturychallenges.org

[2] http://www.itu.int

The realization of the global role of English has since proved to be a controversial subject — yet another sign of the interest this phenomenon has generated. The recognition of English as the world's *lingua franca* has led to several studies which, for instance, suggest that non-native speakers will shape the future of English (Graddol 1997; Brumfit 2001). These speakers are strongly motivated to learn the language and more than that, they are tailoring it to their needs (Crystal 1997), which, in turn, challenges the three-circle model of World Englishes defined by Kachru (1985). This model, an important initial stepping stone for the division of Englishes, was conceived to better understand the use of English in different countries, and met with critical acclaim when it was first introduced. Nonetheless, it was soon defied by the vigilant ELF community, which called for a revision of this concentric circles model, notably because it viewed English speakers in the expanding circle as 'norm-dependent', relying on the standards set by native speakers in the inner circle.

Modiano (1999) proposed an alternative model which endows the non-native speaker with the privileges that were once exclusive to English native speakers. Now this markedly innovative view of the role of non-native speakers brought about a major shift in terms of responsibility for defining the language. All of a sudden we find ourselves in a situation where the former norm-dependent community, as described by Kachru (1985), no longer relies exclusively on the standards set by native speakers, and is now regarded as norm-developing and even norm-providing (Seidlhofer 2002).

In consequence, and for the first time in history of ELT, the view has been put forward that 'non-native' speakers need to be regarded as language users in their own right. Traditionally second-language acquisition tends to construct non-native speakers as defective communicators (Seidlhofer 2004) but the current trend in language teaching and learning shows otherwise, as recognition has been gaining ground of the need to reconsider the status of 'non-native speakers' of English (Seidlhofer 2002).

If only one out of every four users of English in the world is a native speaker of the language (Crystal 1997) and if English is the language in which most *lingua franca* communication worldwide is now taking place, then it is understandable why researchers have felt the need for the systematic study of the nature of ELF. In order for the concept of ELF to

gain acceptance alongside English as native language (ENL) it is then crucial to determine the salient features of ELF alongside ENL. In light of this concern, there is a growing interest in what ELF actually looks and sounds like, and how people are actually using it and making it work. More importantly, the academic community is eager to understand what implications this brings about for the teaching and learning of the language (Seidlhofer 2004).

However, despite this realization, it was initially observed that the scarcity of descriptive ELF data which would enable researchers to determine in what respects ELF differs from ENL resulted in what Seidlhofer (2002) defined as a conceptual gap. The need for the conceptualization of ELF is important not only because it will bridge this gap but because there is, to an extent, a degree of uncertainty concerning "what to teach, how to define English and how to set pedagogical goals" (Erling 50).

As a result, it is now possible to observe that a considerable amount of empirical research on the linguistic description of ELF at a number of levels has been carried out over the past several years. This work involves projects in diverse fields of linguistics, such as lexicogrammar (Seidlhofer 2004), phonology (Jenkins 2000), pragmatics (Meierkord 1996) as well as the compilation and analysis of EFL corpora, namely the ELFA (English as a *lingua franca* in academic settings) corpus (Mauranen 2003) and the VOICE (Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English) corpus (Seidlhofer 2004).

Despite this advance in research, inside the teaching of English as a foreign language (TEFL) classroom practices remain unaffected as language teaching curricula and materials that reflect the changing role of English are practically non-existent (Seidlhofer 2003). The problem is that the focus on English Language teaching has always been largely based on a student's ability to speak and write English as a native speaker does. Yet as the same author points out a general shift in curricular guidelines has taken place from 'correctness' to 'appropriateness' and 'intelligibility', in other words, from Standard L1 English to English as an International Language (EIL).

Therefore, and in response to the need for a description of salient features of ELF, the purpose of this study is to assist in the conceptualization of speakers of *lingua franca* English by analysing how English is perceived by a higher education institution in Portugal. Furthermore, it

will focus on collecting and analysing information of students' language proficiency on admission to this school in an attempt to determine lexicogrammatical patterns of usage.

3. English in Portugal

Evidence shows that English has been taught in Portugal as early as the 18th century, although it was only after 1840 that it gained a significant role in the Portuguese educational system (Guerra 2005). Secondary schools included the teaching of English in their curricula, alongside French and German but it wasn't until the middle of the 19th century that this subject achieved a somewhat privileged status in schools due to, as Guerra (12) points out, the growing importance of English in the world, the close historical and political relations between England and Portugal as well as the neighbouring colonies of both countries. Therefore, these particular factors subsequently reinforced the teaching of English in schools, much to the detriment of German.

As a result, Portugal has not remained impervious to the global role of English. In fact, quite the opposite is true. As Barros notes, English "is the language that Portuguese people mostly use in international settings, the idiom dominating youth culture, science and technology, and a skill generally required in the tertiary sector" (35). She goes on to add that English has been taught as early as the fifth grade over the last three decades and is now compulsory in primary schools. This means that, in theory, a student in Portugal may begin attending English classes at the age of six (as a first grade student) for a period of eleven or ultimately twelve years (upon completing the eleventh or twelfth grade, respectively), which is more than a Finnish student (ten years) would (Ranta 2004). The only other subjects that students will study for this period of time are Portuguese and in some cases Mathematics. The importance conveyed to English in schools in Portugal is thus undeniable but the large influx of American mass culture also means that the Portuguese youth is greatly influenced by (American) English (Barros 2009). Unlike the case of neighbouring Spain, a great many films on exhibition in cinemas, and TV shows running in Portugal are produced in English-speaking countries and are broadcast with their original soundtrack and Portuguese subtitles. In addition, if we should take

into consideration the fact that English, from a lexical point of view, is closer to a Romance language (as is Portuguese) than to a Germanic one (Crystal 1997), one might think that proficiency in English is a national trait. This, however, is far from the truth (Barros 2009).

English as a foreign language — which is still typically learned in Portuguese schools "takes the native speaker as a target and encompasses components of English native-speaker culture" (Hulmbauer, Bohringer & Seidlhofe 28). As in most countries, British English has been the preferred model when teaching English language classes in Portugal. According to research conducted by Barros (2009), 80% of English teachers still privileged British English in the classroom.

However, with the changing role of English, it is obvious that teaching the English language should be done so as to prepare EFL students for situations they are likely to face in their lives after school — i.e. those of communicating in English with other non-native speakers (Ranta 2004). It would be interesting to note if this change in pedagogical practices has been set forth by teachers in Portugal but research on this topic is by no means abundant. Guerra (2005) and Cavalheiro (2008) have carried out valuable work on ELF in the Portuguese context, yet given the lack of research, to my knowledge, on this topic the particular aim of this paper is to present a pilot study that will enable further research on ELF practices in Portugal.

4. The ESTG-IPL

The School of Technology and Management (ESTG) in Leiria, Portugal, is one of the five schools of higher learning that form the Polytechnic Institute of Leiria (IPL). Established in 1989, the ESTG-IPL is the largest institution of its kind in Leiria and one of the largest in Portugal. It currently provides sixteen undergraduate degree courses, fourteen Master's degree courses and a number of post-graduate courses, all in which engineering takes on a dominant role, as a clear response to the urgent needs of the region's labour market, although there other undergraduate degree courses as varied as Biomechanics, Marketing or Legal Practice. In fact, apart from engineering and technology, the main areas of knowledge

include business and legal studies, which somehow describes the eclectic nature of the school.

The ESTG-IPL also plays an important part in the global spread of English teaching as this language is taught in each of the sixteen undergraduate courses offered by the school as a result of the changes brought about by the Bologna Process. As of September 2006 all undergraduate courses that did not already include English in their curriculum were adjusted so as to provide its students with the opportunity of studying English in this stage of learning. Thus, the ESTG-IPL officially recognized the global status of English by including it in the curricula of all undergraduate courses, where it is currently a first year subject or curricular unit (CU) as it is so called.

Before the changes put into practice by the Bologna Process, undergraduate students were taught English for Specific Purposes, which meant that each course had its own English CU (e.g. Technical English or Business English). However, after the aforementioned adjustments, it was decided that a common General English CU would be offered to students so as to make academic degree standards and quality assurance standards more comparable. Hence, over the span of fifteen weeks, students currently attend a two-hour class, once a week, either in the first or second semester of their first year as ESTG-IPL students.

Accordingly, each undergraduate course at the ESTG-IPL currently shares the same syllabus[3] which begins by conveying the following information to students:

> In the era of globalization, the English language has become the main vector of global communication. The importance of this language relies not only on its role as a *lingua franca*, including among many native speakers of other languages, but also on forces led by groups with particular influence such as the academic, scientific, political or economic circles which have contributed to reinforce the use of language as a working tool. Accordingly, every professional must now have a good level of English, regardless of his/her area of work or specialty.

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[3] Cf. "Subject Program", available on-line at http://www.estg.ipleiria.pt.

> Thus, a high level of competence in the four skills of English (listening; reading; speaking; writing) represents a vital aspect of any professional profile based on competitiveness, competence, dynamism and the capacity to open towards the outside world. This context of growing global mobility justifies in itself the Curricular Unit of English in the Curriculum as a means to prepare the students for both the present reality and the demands of the labour market.

It is plain to see that ELF has become recognized by the ESTG-IPL as an important tool in a number of other domains of activity apart from the academic sphere, such as the worlds of business, science and politics. Note that on several occasions there is a mention to specific terms — "globalization", "global communication", "the outside world" and "global mobility" — which reinforce the role of English as "a lingua franca", another term intentionally used in the description of the CU.

At this point it is perhaps interesting to emphasize that teachers of English in this specific school are evidently aware of the fact that English is a global *lingua franca*. It would, therefore, be important to understand if this awareness necessarily reflects in their teaching practices. Understandably, this specific concern cannot be carried out at this time as it would go far beyond the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, there is one practice carried out by English teachers in ESTG-IPL that deserves a detailed analysis: a compulsory placement test that all first-year students are required to take, on admission, so as to submit evidence of their language proficiency. According to the syllabus handed it out to students, the purpose of this test "is to divide students according to their level of language, particularly as far as lexicon and grammar are concerned. Consequently, more homogeneous groups are formed in order to allow a more gradual learning process adapted to their previous knowledge". As a result, students are placed into classes that conform to the levels set out by the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (2001): A1, A2, B1, B2 and C1 (there is no C2 class for lack of students who are able to demonstrate this level of proficiency). The goal for these undergraduates is to ideally attend B1 classes (or above) and successfully pass the required tests, as the A1 or A2 levels do not grant a passing grade. Students placed in the latter are encouraged to improve their language skills which should then enable them

to attend B1 classes more competently and successfully in forthcoming semesters.

The need for this test arose precisely because students would conclude their secondary education and reveal very distinct English skills, in terms of reading, writing, speaking and listening. As I pointed out above, a typical student will enroll at the ESTG-IPL after six or seven years of English. Although there are no explicit references to the Common European Framework of References for Languages (CEFRL) levels in secondary school programmes (Moreira *et al*.), it is evident that the objectives and competencies which secondary students (11th and 12th year) are supposed to acquire are clearly within the B2-C1 levels.

5. Data Collection

The placement test was not devised by the teaching staff at the ESTG-IPL. Instead, it was adapted from a quick placement test designed by privately held international publishing company which is specialized in English language teaching. Before it was used as an official method of placing students, a slight adjustment to the conversion table was made so as to place students into groups corresponding to the six levels of the CEFRL. English teachers at the ESTG-IPL's Department of Language Sciences then carried out several trials in order to confirm the test's reliability. A significant number of students ranging from different courses as varied as Translation to Computer Engineering (and demonstrating distinct levels of English language skills) were asked to take the placement test as a trial. Teachers examined test results in contrast to students' overall performance in class and concluded that the potential degree of error was minimal. For instance, Translation students, who were at an advantage, achieved overall higher results in the trial (B2 and C1), which was understandable and expected considering their previous knowledge of English as opposed to students in Engineering courses, who achieved overall lower results. Nevertheless, and in order to prevent misjudgements, test results, which were initially restrictive, i.e. students were required to attend classes corresponding to the level obtained in their placement test, shortly began to be used as merely an indicator, thus enabling students to attend English classes in the level of their choice, despite their level of proficiency.

The placement exercises test grammatical structures and vocabulary. There are a total of 60 multiple-choice test items (36 structure and 24 vocabulary, according to the publishing company which designed it) that are worth one point each and students are given no more than 30 minutes to complete it. These items are progressively more difficult and placement according to a student's scores (see table 1) is based on the assumption that he or she attempts to answer all the questions. Naturally, students with no previous knowledge of English at all would not normally be required to take the test.

Total Score	Level
0–20	A1 Elementary
21–35	A2 Pre-intermediate
36–45	B1 Intermediate
46–50	B2 Upper-intermediate
51–55	C1 Advanced
56-60	C2 Proficiency

Table 1: Placement test conversion table

At this stage it is important to point out that this particular placement test has its strengths as well as its limitations. Although it enables teachers to instantaneously group large numbers of students according to their proficiency in English, the former are well aware that this exercise is by no means a precise, in-depth assessment of students' English language skills. This would require teachers to individually test a student's listening, reading, writing and speaking skills, which is unquestionably a cumbersome and time-consuming alternative, seeing that several hundreds of students must be placed in their appropriate level during the first week of the school semester.

The English placement test which students at the ESTG-IPL are submitted to is carried out on Moodle (Modular Object-Oriented Dynamic Learning Environment), a free source e-learning software platform designed to facilitate the communications between teachers and students. It enables the instant and automatic grading of tests, as well as the detailed analysis of students' performance (duration of the test and answers provided, among others). This means that all students are immediately informed of

their level as soon as their answers have been submitted successfully.

During a period of over six school years (from September 2006 to present day) test results were automatically saved on the platform and have now been retrieved in order to enable this empirical exploration although, for the purpose of this study, only the first three years (2006-2009) of collected data will be taken into account.

6. Results and Discussion

What is possible to observe from the data is that a total of 3318 tests were conducted during this period. A total of 783 students (23.5%) were placed in level A1 whereas 1633 students (49.2%) were placed in level A2; the number of B1 students decreases to 621 (18.7%) and the decline continues with 186 B2 students (5.6%), 80 C1 students (2.4%) and finally 15 students (0.4%) in level C2 (see figure 1). As I mentioned earlier, due to the small number of C2 students, there is no specific class for this level so they are encouraged to attend C1 classes. By the same token, this study will consider C1 and C2 students as a single group.
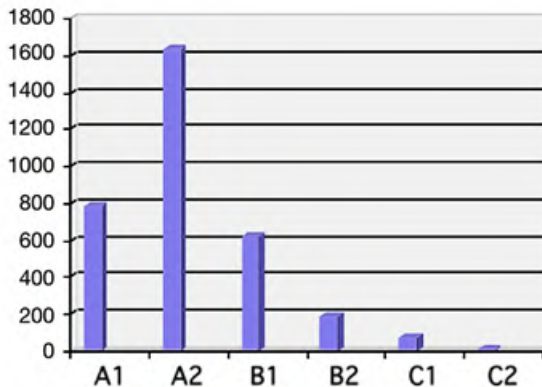

Figure 1: Placement test results

The first fact that stands out and dominates a preliminary analysis is the impressively high number of students (72.7%) that are placed at an elementary level (A1 and A2). This was in actual fact unexpected given that the great majority had undergone several years of English language

learning, as I explained above. In addition, this result is far from the B2 level which secondary school programmes set as a goal for their students and below the B1 level the ESTG-IPL requires in order to pass the curricular unit. Thus, several questions inevitably come to mind: can students not have learned enough? Is English language teaching in schools somehow deficient or do these results mean it is exceptionally difficult to learn English as a native by studying the language solely in the classroom environment?

The answer to these questions may reside in the fact that at the ESTG-IPL Kachru's native speaker model (87) has traditionally gone unquestioned and that the placement test focuses on 'correctness' rather than 'appropriateness' or 'intelligibility' as the following examples demonstrate:

> 1. Where _____?
>   a) does he work
>   b) e works
>   c) he does work
>   d) works he
> 2. I always go to the movies _____ Fridays.
>   a) on
>   b) n
>   c) at
>   d) by

In the first example the only acceptable answer for placement purposes would typically be *a) does he work*. Similarly, the only grammatically correct answer for the second exercise would be *a) on*. Nevertheless, in the case of the first exercise, a significant 39% of students selected the grammatical incorrect alternatives *b) he works* (23%); c) *he does work* (9%); and *d) works he* (8%). As for the second exercise, 41% of students selected the invalid alternatives *b) in* (12%); *c) at* (24%); and *d) by* (5%).

There are many other examples from the test that could be presented and discussed in terms of grammatical correctness but what I would prefer to focus on at this stage is that these students will only be attending, under the most favourable circumstances, 30 hours of English classes. Although students at the ESTG-IPL understand the advantages of learning English, it has been observed that many need to make a considerable effort to master

a small part of it and in fact end up resenting that effort (Crystal 1997) and the language itself. It is therefore fair to assume that one semester of ELT will hardly solve what seven years (from grade five to grade eleven) were unable to. However, if we should accept that constructions or lexical items which are ungrammatical in Standard L1 English may be generally unproblematic in ELF communication, this would mean a significant improvement in the assessment of students' level of proficiency. If a speaker should state that he goes to the movies *in* Fridays, would this be the cause for 'ripples', misunderstandings or communication breakdown in a given international setting (Seidlhofer 2002)? In the same way, would the question *Where he does work?* generally be unproblematic in ELF communication? What is argued is that there are, in fact, ungrammatical choices employed by long-term English language learners that do not prevent smooth communication.

There are, however, situations in which the opposite is true, that is to say lexical items inappropriately employed by users that can easily lead to communication breakdowns. Consider the following example observed in the test:

Can you give me a _____ with my bag?
    a) hand
    b) head
    c) leg
    d) back

The case for misunderstandings or ambiguity is considerably greater in this example and students consequently (or unintentionally) responded with a somewhat more consistent *a) hand* (69%). The alternatives prone to miscommunication obtained less advantage: *b) head* (8%), *c) leg* (7%) and *d) back* (14%).

What can be inferred from this brief yet illustrative analysis is that the most relied-upon and successfully employed grammatical constructions and lexical choices are those that are crucial to intelligibility, which might support the notion of common or systematic features of ELF. Hülmbauer *et al* (2008) list several of these features (the disregard of use the third-person singular present tense -s marking or the interchangeable use of who and which, among others), a clear assumption of the divide between what

is communicating "correctly" opposed to "appropriately". In the case of the students at the ESTG, it is obvious that they must be prepared to communicate successfully but as the placement test results have shown, it will doubtfully be with native-like proficiency. However, if certain linguistic and sociocultural norms of L1 English can be ignored, adding to Seidlhofer's (2002) index of communicative redundancy, and if less elaborate linguistic structures or vocabulary can be favoured in ELT, then this means teachers and students can free up valuable teaching/learning time in an attempt to, as the syllabus at the ESTG states, "reinforce the use of language as a working tool."

7. Concluding Remarks

The suggestion that ungrammatical Standard L1 constructions or lexical items can be generally unproblematic in ELF communication may or not be valid but the point I have sought to make here is that despite many years of ELT, students enrolling in the ESTG still do not master the English language. If we address the fact that many non-native English teachers also suffer from feelings of incompetence or insecurity for not knowing the language as thoroughly as a native speaker would (Ranta 2004), then the need for new ELT policies grows stronger.

To conclude, and in order to reach a better understanding of the nature of ELF, a number of questions have yet to be answered. Seidlhofer (2002) speculates whether the degree of approximation to a variety of L1 English is always proportional to communicative success. She goes on to ask if hypotheses can be set up and tested, concerning simplifications of L1 English, which could constitute systematic features of ELF. The answers to these questions will naturally provide valuable insight on this issue and lead to the acknowledgment that ELF cannot and should not be considered an oversimplified version of the English language.

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Abstract

This article concentrates on the use of English as a *lingua franca* (ELF) and its implications in the English as a Foreign Language (EFL) classroom, focusing on the need to communicate appropriately and effectively rather than exhibit native-like proficiency. After a brief overview of the current status of English in the world, this paper outlines the position of English in Portugal, examining the role it plays in an institution of higher learning. On that basis it goes on to provide an empirical analysis of common grammatical constructions and lexical choices employed by Portuguese students on English placement tests. It draws on this data to understand if these learners' "errors" would cause communication breakdowns or if they would be unproblematic, enabling them to communicate successfully with native and non-native speakers of English at an international level. The article concludes by raising a number of questions that remain to be investigated in future research.

Keywords

English as a *lingua franca*; English language teaching; Higher education, placement test.

Resumo

Este artigo foca a utilização do Inglês como língua franca e as eventuais consequências que esta poderá ter na leccionação de Inglês como Língua Estrangeira. É dado especial ênfase à necessidade premente de comunicar de forma inteligível e eficaz, sem que para isso seja obrigatório demonstrar competência ao nível de um falante nativo. É abordado, de forma geral, o papel que o Inglês tem, não apenas na sociedade mundial, mas também em Portugal e, em particular, numa instituição de ensino superior. Um estudo empírico das escolhas linguísticas, feitas pelos alunos deste estabelecimento de ensino, aquando da realização de testes de nivelamento, pretende determinar se eventuais "erros" constituiriam barreiras comunicativas ou se, pelo contrário, não impediriam comunicar com sucesso num contexto

internacional com falantes nativos e não nativos. O artigo termina destacando questões que merecem investigação futura.

Palavras-chave

Inglês como *língua franca*; Ensino da língua inglesa; Ensino superior; Teste de nivelamento.

ESSAYS
ESTUDOS

"of mens and them": Caribbean English in V. S. Naipaul's "Love, Love, Love, Alone"

Rita Queiroz de Barros
Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa / Centro de Estudos Anglísticos
da Universidade de Lisboa

"of mens and them": Caribbean English in V. S. Naipaul's "Love, Love, Love, Alone"*

1. Linguistic variation in literary texts

Though literary discourse is typically dominated by standard language in the speech communities that have developed a linguistic norm (Kloss 52; Joseph 77), literature is known to exploit other, non-standard linguistic varieties, which often intertwine the unmarked or expected language of a literary system.[1]

Such interweaving of different dialects has a long tradition in fiction and was theorised, as far as the novel is considered, as soon as the 1930's, by Mikhail Bakhtin. According to this author, modern European novels reflect the internal stratification of modern national languages into various regional and socio-ideological varieties. This phenomenon was designated *raznorecie*, which was translated into English as heteroglossia, a term now common in criticism (Bakhtin 271-2). Besides refuting the fiction of linguistic homogeneity at the level of the community, the notion of heteroglossia denies the idea of a uniform linguistic behaviour at the level of the individual, implying that "the speech of any one person is filled by many different voices or linguistically constructed personae" (Duranti 75).

Despite attested changes in literary history (cf. Blake), the functions of non-standard regional and social dialects in fiction are usually mimetic, comic and/or ideological (Delabastita 306-316). In the first case, linguistic

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* The analysis reported in this article was first presented in the *9th International Conference on the Short Story in English* (Faculty of Letters of the University of Lisbon, 21-25 June 2005).

[1] I am not considering the particular case of literature written in dialect, in which a non-standard variety functions as the unmarked language.

heterogeneity is intended to enhance the credibility of the characters or groups of characters that are portrayed in the fictional text (e.g. the servant Joseph in *Wuthering Heights*); in the second case, it aims at generating humour by means of more or less stereotypical and stigmatized linguistic behaviour on the part of comic and mostly rustic personae (e.g. Fluellen, the Welsh captain in *Henry V*); and in the third case, heterogeneity is most often intended to evince mechanisms of inclusion, exclusion or regional or national assertion by means of linguistic behavior (as can be claimed to happen as well in both previous examples).

In the particular case of Anglophone literature, the use of non-standard regional and social dialects has a long tradition, and it may have been mainly intended, at the beginning, to portray rustic and comic characters (Blake). In his pioneering study on the subject — *Non Standard Language in English Literature*, published in 1981 — Norman Blake concludes that this stylistic resource was introduced in English literature as early as the late fourteenth century, when the necessary conditions for the literary exploitation of linguistic diversity were emerging. By that time linguistic variation was generally recognized in the Anglophone speech community, and the belief that some forms of linguistic behaviour are inherently better than others — described by James and Lesley Milroy as the ideology of standardisation (1, 19) — was being established.[2]

The Canterbury Tales, written in the late thirteen hundreds, is generally acknowledged as the earliest literary experiment with different varieties of English. Thanks to Tolkien's pioneering analysis of the treatment of late medieval Northern English in "The Reeve's Tale" (1934),

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[2] Evidence that varieties of English were differently assessed is indeed to be found as soon as the fourteenth century. The earlier text bearing witness to this new socio-linguistic reality is probably the *Polychronicon*, a compendium of universal history written in Latin in the early thirteen hundreds, in which Ranulph Higden claims that "All the language of the Northumbrians, and especially at York, is so shrill, cutting, and grating and ill-formed, that we southern men can that language barely understand" (translated into Modern English by Algeo - 166). The "Second Shepherd's Pageant", probably composed by the end of the century, provides evidence of the same sort: though set in Yorkshire and written in a Northern variety, it stages the pretence of a character to be a "yomen, (…) of the king" by means of a "southern tooth" (i.e. a southern accent) (cf. Mossé, *Tome I* 364; Mossé, *Tome II* 93).

Chaucer has been shown to attribute Northern linguistic features quite coherently and exclusively to the two Northern and, for some, comic characters, namely two undergraduates attending the University of Cambridge (Strang 160); this exploitation of dialect is accompanied by the use of linguistic features indicating low-class, as malapropisms, oaths and peculiar attribute expletives, of which Chaucer makes use throughout the whole text (Blake 36).[3]

Chaucer's early experiment was followed by others and intensified from the Renaissance onwards; and the literary use of regional and social varieties of English — which were to be enriched by the plethora of new Englishes emerging from the British colonial expansion and from the more recent globalisation — has subsisted in different literary genres and authors to our days. To name just a few and very obvious examples, that is the case of Shakespeare, Dickens or Shaw, in Britain; Mark Twain or Faulkner, in the United States; or the Nigerian Wole Soyinka within Anglophone post-colonial literature(s).

In this last case, as in that of the Anglophone diaspora literature, linguistic heterogeneity has gone beyond the use of mere different varieties of English: the multilingual situations resulting from migrancy into or from Anglophone communities has led to the juxtaposition of different languages as well.[4] Since it is not accounted for by the notion of heteroglossia, this more expanded use of the traditional polyglossic literary device, to which

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[3] The Northern linguistic traits in "The Reeve's Tale" are phonological — e.g. Northern *bathe* vs Southern *bothe* for Modern English *both;* grammatical — in particular the use of the verbal —*s* inflexion in the North and —*th* suffix in the South; and lexical — e.g. the use of the Northern word *fonne* for *fool* (Crystal, *Stories of English* 163-168). The comic significance of these features is denied by Crystal, who, unlike various predecessors (e.g. Strang, Blake), claims that they "are not part of any satire at the expense of the characters" but "simply characterizing the speakers" (*Stories of English* 168). The authorial or scribal status of the Northernisms in Chaucer's text and their respective implications have also been reassessed more recently by Simon Horobin (*J.R.R Tolkien*).

[4] Though reinforced by the expansion of English through the globe, multilingualism has of course a longer tradition in English literature — Shakespeare's *Henry V* is a case in point (cf. Delabastita's article mentioned above and included in the list of works cited below).

the intertwining of Portuguese in diasporic Luso-American literature also bears witness,[5] has brought about the more embracing concept of heterolingualism. This has been defined as "the use of foreign languages or social, regional, and historical language varieties in literary texts" (Meylaerts 6).

Though linguistic variation has earned the attention of writers, of literary critics and, more recently, of translation studies researchers (cf. Meylearts), it is first and foremost the object of study of linguistics (in particular of dialectology, sociolinguistics and discourse analysis). In fact, apart from producing systematic descriptions of the multiple varieties that function in particular language communities, linguistic studies have also conceptualized and explained the different dimensions of heteroglossia and heterolingualism. The notion of linguistic repertoire, originally introduced by Gumperz, seems to be particularly useful in this context, since it denotes the "totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction" (*Linguistic and Social Interaction* 137), both at the level of the community and the individual (Duranti 71), the choice of which depends from the particular situation of the interaction — sex, age, social and educational provenance of producer and addressee, subject matter, etc.. Equally useful for the understanding of linguistic variation in literature may prove the concepts of code-switching (the "juxtaposition (…) of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" — Gumperz, *Discourse Strategies* 59) and code-mixing (the mixture or hybridization of the varieties that are at the disposal of each individual in a language community — McArthur 131). In fact, they describe with more precision many of the instances of heteroglossia or heterolingualism in fictional texts.

It was the conviction that the teachings of linguistics can prove useful in the analysis of language variation in literary texts that has prompted the study of V. S. Naipaul's "Love, Love, Love, Alone" described below.

2. V. S. Naipaul's "Love, Love, Love, Alone" as a case study

As far as the recreation of different varieties of English in literary texts is concerned, the Trinidadian-born and Nobel prize winning V. S. Naipaul

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[5] E.g. *Sixty Acres and a Barn*, by Alfred Lewis, or *Barnacle Love* by Anthony de Sá.

seems not to be exceptional: he is simply a successful example of those West Indian writers who choose Standard English for narrative and non-fiction, and Caribbean English — to which the label "low prestige" is still so often attached (Mühlhausen 43) — for dialogue (Blake 191; Walder 44). Such exploitation of the linguistic and social contrasts between Standard and Caribbean English was inaugurated as soon as 1719 by Daniel Defoe: his Friday, a Carib, spoke Pidgin English in *Robinson Crusoe* (e.g. Why you angry mad with Friday, what me done?).

This very distributional pattern of Standard and local English is to be found in "Love, Love, Love, Alone", the text considered in this paper (henceforward "Love, Alone").[6] Published in 1959, "Love, Alone" is part of *Miguel Street*, a collection of loosely connected short stories focussing on the inhabitants of a Trinidadian neighbourhood which has been described as "a memoir of childhood, recalled in exile" (Erapu ix). "Love, Alone" tells the story of a couple of European new comers, depicting the violent attitude of the man, Toni, and the subsequent return of the woman, known as Mrs. Hereira, to her rich husband. As mentioned before, this text illustrates the linguistic pattern that turned out to be typical of Naipaul's works: we find Standard British English invariably used in the narrative sections, as for instance in the initial lines of the story — "About nine o' clock one morning a hearse and a motor-car stopped outside Miss Hilton's house. A man and a woman got out of the car" (100); and a different kind of English, clearly non-standard and local, is generally used in dialogue, as shown in the following example — "Hat said, 'Is a man and a woman. She pretty pretty, but he ugly like hell, man. Portuguese, they look like.'" (101).

Despite such affinities with Naipaul's other works, the heteroglossic pattern of this short story seems to deserve further attention. In the first place, because the narrator is also a local character participating in dialogue, a scenario that is not accounted for in criticism when Naipaul's use of standard and non-standard language is described; in the second place, because of the semi-autobiographical character of the novel, which

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[6] This text was introduced to me by Isabel Mealha, my colleague at the University of Lisbon, whose generosity I would like to thank.

associates the narrator with Naipaul himself; and finally because "Love, Alone" is a short text (3979 words long), enabling a detailed analysis of its language and thereby allowing for an empirically supported discussion of the strategies used to represent the Caribbean local variety and the motivations that may underlie them.

The analysis of the text is presented in the sections below.[7]

3. Caribbean English in "Love, Alone"

Language names are known to be portmanteau labels for a range of different varieties (Joseph 6). But this is also true, and maybe even particularly so, as far as the variety known as Caribbean English is concerned. In fact, the Anglophone Caribbean corresponds to a multiplicity of islands with rather diverse settlement histories, which have resulted in (i) new contact varieties that are a mixture of English and other transported African and sometimes European languages, (ii) regionally marked uses of English and (iii) different language situations.

In many of these speech communities there is a particular language continuum, with a local creole functioning as the low language or basilect, to use the terminology developed by Le Page and De Camp (1960), and Standard English as the high language or acrolect. Such standard was until late in the twentieth century undoubtedly Standard British and less frequently American English, since claims of a or of various standard local Englishes are very recent and still a motif of debate (Mülhausen 43). Between the creole and the standard there are several varieties mixing them both to varying degrees and known as mesolects, which are used according to situation and speaker's educational level.

Furthermore, the sociolinguistic history of Trinidad, where "Love, Alone" is set, is particularly complex, even for Caribbean standards. According to Singh (96-97), it was "claimed by the Spanish in 1498, settled by the French from 1763, seized by the British in 1797 and officially ceded to them in 1802". Apart from this multiple European presence, to which

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[7] This analysis has informed Xavier's 2010 discussion of the translation of "Love, Alone" into Portuguese.

Portuguese immigrants may be added, and from recent communities of Chinese and Lebanese, Trinidad has received slaves and freed slaves of African descent, who spoke different creoles; a considerable number of East Indians, who came into the island as indentured labour during the 19th century and brought with them their native languages, as Bojhpuri; and finally refugees from different parts of the American continent and other Caribbean Islands.

This very mixed population gave rise to an English-based Creole, with mostly English vocabulary but a particular grammar resulting from the native languages of the subordinate groups, i.e. the African slaves and their descendents, and from the contact situation itself. Both Wells (578) and Holm (462) consider that this Creole is the first language of virtually all Trinidadians born after circa 1940.

The form of Caribbean English that Naipaul is representing in "Love, Alone" must be either this Trinidadian Creole or a mesolectal local variety. This conclusion can be drawn from the following facts:

(i) The local characters in the story are low class. This is clear from their occupations — there is a garbage collector and a milkman — and from the narrator's comments on the new-comer Mrs. Hereira: "This lady didn't fit in with the rest of us in Miguel Street. She was too well-dressed. She was a little too pretty and a little too refined" (102).

(ii) Furthermore, chronological references in the text point to post-Second World War times. Mention is made to a radio ("It look like all they have is that radio" — 102); the title of the text derives from a calypso referring the abdication of Edward VIII, which took place in 1936 ("Is love, love, love, alone / That cause King Edward to leave the throne" — 105); and a recent war is pointed as the possible source of the aggressive behaviour if Mrs. Hereira's companion ("It is the war, you know. He was a sailor and they torpedoed him twice" — 104).

So "Love, Alone"'s local characters, as a rule very young, were most probably members of a speech community that already presented a single Trinidadian English-based Creole and its mesolectal varieties as the local vernacular. This is therefore the variety of Caribbean English represented in the story.

4. Users of the local vernacular in "Love, Alone"

Caribbean English in "Love, Alone" is almost exclusive of dialogue — the narratorial voice only uses it when reporting another character's speech (103). It is not, however, characteristic of all participants in dialogue, as shown below.

There are eight characters intervening in dialogue: (i) five steady inhabitants of Miguel Street — i. e. the narrator (a fatherless young boy), his mother, Hat (a local young man), Boyee (a milkman) and Eddoes (a garbage collector); (ii) Sergeant Charles, a policeman with a very short intervention in the text; and (iii) the two European new-comers, Mrs. Hereira and her companion, Toni.

Miguel Street's steady inhabitants use, with no exception, Caribbean English. Examples are given below:[8]

Narrator	What happening, Hat? (103)
Narrator's mother	What happen now? (111)
Hat	If that dog ever get away it go have big trouble here in this street. (102)
Boyee	I telling you, Hat. (108)
Eddoes	You ain't know what you talking about, Hat. (108)

This variety of Caribbean English also appears in the single utterance of Sergeant Charles, who is most probably a local too: "Boys, the Super send me. That blasted man ring up again" (101). And curiously this same non-standard form of English is used by the European Toni, as shown by the following example: "Toni would look at us and laugh and say, '[…] Now, what this man playing at?'" (113). This fact should not however surprise us — it happens only at the end of the story, when, after having been left by Mrs. Hereira, Toni tries to get the locals' support.

Standard English, on the contrary, appears in Mrs. Hereira's utterances, in accordance with her European descent — e.g. "Help me! Help me! He will kill me if he catches me!" (103).

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[8] The characters' utterances are presented in full in the Appendix to this paper.

The single real surprise in this whole scenario is the use, by the narrator, of different varieties: the narratorial voice writes Standard English, but the character participating in dialogue speaks the local Caribbean vernacular. This process can be described as an instance of code-switching and exposes a complex linguistic repertoire.

5. Recreating Caribbean English in "Love, Alone"

Naipaul recreates Caribbean English in his text by means of traits belonging to the various levels of linguistic analysis.[9]

As to vocabulary, local particularities are very scarce. Only 4 of the 860 words in the local characters' utterances seem to be typically Caribbean, namely:

1) *calypso*, a term denoting a popular West Indian type of song (105);
2) the adjective *pretty pretty* (101); and
3) the adverb *good good*, used twice (110).

The last two examples are the product of reduplication, a word formation process known to be particularly productive in creoles (Crystal, *Cambridge Encyclopedia* 347).

Signs of a local pronunciation are more important. Not in spelling, but by means of a comment made by the narrator on his mother's speech (103):

> At first my mother was being excessively refined with the woman, bringing out all her fancy words and fancy pronunciations, pronouncing comfortable as cum-foughtable, and making war rhyme with bar, and promising that everything was deffynightly going to be all right.

In this single period local stress patterns are alluded to ("cum-foughtable", "deffy¬nightly"), as well as a merger of the vowels in *war* and *bar*. And

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[9] In the discussion of this issue I am ignoring a few non-local marks of orality and sub-standardness. That is the case of expletives as *damn* or *bastard*, contractions as *shouldnta* or *ain't* and the suppression of unstressed vowels as in *fraid* instead of *afraid*.

since this character's speech shares so many characteristics with that of the other locals, this comment may be interpreted as an economical sign of a particular Trinidadian accent.

It is however at the level of grammar that the peculiarities of Caribbean English are mostly marked. Fifteen morphosyntactic particularities distinguishing this variety from Standard English have been identified. They are the following:

1) suppression of the possessive inflexion – e.g. "on the **boy** bed" (mother's utterance, 109);

2) unmarked plural in nouns – e.g. "Normally my mother referred to males as **man**" (narrator's metacomment, 103);

3) use of Standard English countable nouns as uncountable and vice-versa – e.g. "How **much** white **people** you know?" (Eddoe's utterance, 108), "I ain't see those people bring in any **furnitures** at all" (Hat's utterance, 102);

4) a simplified system of personal pronouns and possessive determiners – e.g. "I see **she** when I was delivering milk up Mucurapo way" (Boyee's utterance, 101), "**You** life in trouble and you thinking about scandal" (mother's utterance, 110);

5) suppression of preterit and past participle forms of verbs – e.g. "Boys, the Super **send** me" (Sergeant Charles's utterance, 101), "How a pretty nice woman like that come to get **mix** up with a man like that?" (narrator's utterance, 102);

6) partial regularization of the verb *to be*, which presents *was* as the single preterit form – e.g. "If somebody did marry you off when you **was** fifteen…" (mother's utterance, 112);

7) suppression of third person –*s* inflexion – e.g. "It **look** like all they have is that radio" (Hat's utterance, 102);

8) suppression of the verb *to be* as copula – e.g. "You not king Edward, you hear" (mother's utterance, 105);

9) suppression of the verb *to be* as aspectual auxiliary – e.g. "What happening, Hat?" (narrator's utterance, 103);

10) interrogative structures with no Subject / Verb inversion – e.g. "How **you could** let a man like that disgrace you so?" (mother's utterance, 104);

11) interrogative structures without the auxiliary *do* – e.g. "How you know she ain't married to Toni?" (Hat's utterance, 108);

12) suppression of empty or prop subject *it* – *e.g.* "Is a man and a woman" (Hat's utterance, 101);

13) adjectives used with adverbial function – e.g. "Know him **good good**" (Eddoes's utterance, 110);

14) *do* co-occurring with *be* with no emphatic meaning – e.g. "You see what a dirty thing a white skin **does be** sometimes?" (Hat's utterance, 105);

15) replacement of the existential *there+be* construction with *it+have* – e.g. "**It have** a lot of things I could sell them." (Eddoes's utterance, 102).

This long list of grammatical particularities distinguishing Caribbean from Standard English is certainly worth noticing, as it unveils an important difference to the usual pattern of representation of non-standard varieties in literature. In fact, since they do not seek linguistic realism, writers of literary texts tend to reduce the recreation of socio– and dialects "to a limited number of stereotypes" (Blake 14) – and that is not the case of Naipaul in "Love, Alone". He displays an unusual consistency in the representation of the local vernacular that I will consider in more detail in the following section.

6. Consistency of the portrayal

Despite the sheer number of characteristic traits mentioned above, consistency in the portrayal of Caribbean English in "Love, Alone" can be better assessed by means of a quantitative account of the effective usage of the linguistic features detailed in the previous section within their potential universe – i.e. the local character's utterances. This is possible as far as 13 out of the 15 traits listed above are concerned.[10]

Table 1 below summarizes the relevant information. It presents the number of sentences with potential usage of the traits considered

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[10] "The English language was mine; the tradition was not" (*Jasmine* 19).

(column 1), the number of sentences actually showing it (column 2), the number of patterned exceptions found in the text (column 3) and finally the resulting consistency rate (i.e. effective usage x 100 / potential usage).

Grammatical trait	Potential usage	Effective usage	Patterned excepcions	Consistency rate
suppression of the possessive inflexion	2	2	—	100%
unmarked plural in nouns	5	1	—	20%
simplified system of personal pronouns and possessive determiners	147	4	—	0,2%
suppression of preterit and past participle forms	22	11	8 (to be; aspectual markers)	86%
was as the single preterit form of the verb *to be*	2	2	—-	100%
suppression of third person -s	22	18	3 (to be)	95%
suppression of the verb *to be* as copula	21	11	6 (impersonal constructions)	76%
suppression of the verb *to be* as aspectual auxiliary	16	14	2 (kept to indicate past tense)	100%
interrogative structures with no Subject / Verb inversion	18	18	—	100%
interrogative structures without the auxiliary *do*	14	13	1 (negative form)	93%
suppression of empty or prop subject it	6	6	—	100%
do + be with no emphatic meaning	3	2	—	66%
replacement of existential *there+be* with *it+have*	6	6	—	100%

Table 1 - Consistency rate of Caribbean English grammatical traits in "Love, Alone".

The data just presented confirm that throughout "Love, Alone" most traits considered are either entirely (6 out of 13) or very (5 out of 13) consistent. That is the case of the suppressions of the possessive inflexion, of the verb *to be* as aspectual auxiliary and of empty or prop subject it, to name just a few. This high consistency should be highlighted, since it defies, once again, the received idea that in literary works non-standard language tends to be not only reduced to stereotypes, as mentioned above, but also used most fully when characters are introduced or at moments of stress and "played down" elsewhere (Blake 12-13).

Yet, Table 1 also reveals that the use of a minority of the grammatical items considered (2 out of 13) is not consistent at all: that is the case of the simplified system of personal pronouns, which displays a consistency rate of just 0,2%.

This might, of course, be a simple consequence of the literary nature of the text. It is my conviction, however, that the low(er) consistency rates of (i) the unmarked plural in nouns, (ii) the simplified system of personal pronouns and possessive determiners, (iii) the suppression of the verb to be as copula and (iv) *do+be* with no emphatic function are meant instead to recreate the mesolectal varieties that separate the most extreme forms of the local Creole (the basilect) and Standard English (the acrolect) in the Trinidadian speech community.

This interpretation finds support in the following facts:

1) Miguel Street's steady inhabitants are not the very base of the local society, as shown by a comment of Hat's on Toni ("He behaving like some of those uncultured people from John-John" — 106-107); so they would not be the purest speakers of the Trinidadian Creole.

2) Just like the narrator, local characters are shown to dispose of a complex linguistic repertoire and an acute linguistic self-consciousness. Evidence of their heteroglossia lies in the narrator's metacomment on his mother's language ("At first my mother was being excessively refined with the woman, bringing out all her fancy words and fancy pronunciations […]. But after the woman had come to us about three or four times my mother relapsed into her normal self" —103), and in what may be considered instances of hypercorrection in her discourse. Such movements "of a linguistic form beyond the point set by the variety of language that the speaker has as target" (Crystal, *Dictionary of Linguistics* 221-222) are to

be found in the speech of the narrator's mother during her first encounter with the European neighbour. The first instance of such hypercorrection is mentioned by the narratorial voice — "Normally my mother referred to males as man, but with this woman she began speaking of the ways of mens and them" (103-104); the second one lies in her unique and faulty uses of the verbal —s inflexion at that precise moment and the superlative inflexion of an invariable adverb — "The onliest thing with this boy father was that it was the other way round. Whenever I uses to go to the room where he was he uses to jump out of bed and run away" (104).

It is my contention, therefore, that the portrayal of Caribbean English in "Love, Alone" is, as a whole, in accordance with the descriptions of the Trinidadian speech community available in linguistic literature.

7. Functions of Caribbean English in "Love, Alone"

Equally important in the analysis of linguistic variation in literary texts is the identification of its motivations. In this particular case, the functions of the Trinidadian English-based Creole in "Love, Alone" seem to be primarily mimetic.

This conclusion is not only supported by the absence of any comic associations with the language of the local characters, but also reinforced by the strategy Naipaul uses to recreate the local variety of English in the text, i.e. by his resource to a few lexical items, some indirect signs of a local pronunciation and a consistent use of multiple grammatical traits considered typical of Caribbean creoles in linguistic literature (Crystal, *Cambridge Encyclopedia* 347).

In fact, the multiple strategy summarized above allows for an unde-niable proximity to linguistic reality: as in Naipaul's text, the Trinidadian creole's vocabulary is mostly English; as in the text, the Caribbean variety differs from Standard English especially as far as morphosyntax is concerned; and, as in the text, the characteristics of Trinidadian creole are used with different degrees of consistency along the post-creole continuum, i.e. according to speaker and situation. Thanks to this accuracy, the linguistic behavior of the local characters in "Love, Alone" certainly contributes to their credibility; the precision of the portrait therefore points to a predominantly mimetic function of Caribbean English in "Love, Alone".

Another significant trait in Naipaul's strategy is the restriction of the very common technique of resorting to deviant spelling as a means to recreate non-standard pronunciation. In fact, though an altered orthography is present in both dialogue (*fraid*, *shouldnta*) and the narrator's metacomment (*cum-foughtable*, *deffy¬nightly*), it is very scarce and for the most attached to marks of orality and not to particularities of the local variety. Naipaul thus avoids a common technique of depicting non-standard language that has been proven to bear stigmatizing effects (Todd, 73; Sebba; Bucholtz, 1456) and he thereby refrains from any tangible negative assessment of the local vernacular. This seems to suggest, once again, the primarily mimetic function of the Trinidadian English-based Creole in the text.

Though less evident, we can also claim an ideological function for the local vernacular. In fact, the code-switching pattern of the narrator — who uses Standard English in the narratorial mode and the local Creole when participating in dialogue — suggests, when interpreted against the semi-autobiographical component of *Miguel Street* (Erapu ix), that by means of this text Naipaul integrates Caribbean English in his very own linguistic repertoire.

8. Conclusion

The analysis just presented was prompted by the conviction that the study of language variation in literary discourse would benefit from the teachings of linguistics, even though linguistic realism is not a goal of literature. This confidence seems to have been justified in the particular case of "Love, Alone".

In fact, (i) the close inspection of the corpus under analysis that is typical of empirical approaches to linguistics, (ii) the attention given to technical descriptions of the linguistic situation of the Caribbean, in particular of Trinidad (Le Page and De Camp; Holm; Wells; and also Crystal, *Cambridge Encyclopedia*), and (iii) the consideration of the concepts of linguistic repertoire, code-switching and hypercorrection, have unveiled a precision in the recreation of the Trinidadian English-based Creole in "Love, Alone" which critics consider to be uncommon in literary texts. The theoretical and methodological framework I have resorted to has

therefore allowed for the confident identification of a counterexample to the typical portrayal of non-standard language based on "a limited number of stereotypes" and revealed the extent of the mimetic function of Caribbean English in Naipaul's story.

The analysis presented in this article has furthermore suggested an ideological function in the recreation of the Trinidadian Creole in "Love, Alone". In fact, if we accept an autobiographical component in *Miguel Street*, as some critics do, the use of Standard and Caribbean English by the narrator suggests that the English language Naipaul explicitly claimed as his is probably less monolithic than implied in critical literature so far.[10]

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Appendix
The utterances of "Love, Alone"'s local characters

Character	Utterance number	Text
Narrator	1	How a pretty nice woman like that come to get mix up with a man like that? (102)
	2	What happening, Hat? (103)
Mother	1	The onliest thing with this boy father was that it was the other way round. Whenever I uses to go to the room where he was he uses to jump out of bed and run away bawling — run away screaming. (104)
	2	Now, tell me, Mrs. Hereira, why you don't leave this good-for-nothing man? (104)
	3	Is a damn funny sort of love. (104)
	4	I wouldn't know about heart, but what I know is that he want a good clout on his backside to make him see sense. How you could let a man like that disgrace you so? (104)
	5	They shoulda try again. (104)
	6	Look, I just talking my mind, you hear. You come here asking me advice. (104)
	7	You come here asking me for help, and I just trying to help you. That' s all. (104)
	8	All right, then. Go back to the great man. Is my own fault, you hear. Meddling in white people business. You know what the calypso say: Is love, love, love, alone That cause King Edward to leave the throne. Well, let me tell you. You not King Edward, you hear. Go back to your great love. (104-105)
	9	Mrs Hereira, everybody fraid that dog you have there. That thing too wild to be in a place like this. (105)
	10	You do him something? (108)
	11	Toni look like the sort of man who could kill easy, easy, without feeling that he really murdering. You want to sleep here tonight? You could sleep on the boy bed. He could sleep on the floor. (109)

	12	Well, I really give up. (109)
	13	I think you taking this love business a little too far, you hear. (109)
	14	You better call the police. (110)
	15	Like you fraid police more than you fraid Toni. (110)
	16	Scandal heII! (110)
	17	You life in trouble and you thinking about scandal. Like if this man ain't disgrace you enough already. (110)
	18	Why you don't go back to your husband? (100)
	19	What happen now? (111)
	20	Who you going back to? (111)
	21	Even after what he print in the papers? (111)
	22	Don't be so sure. He know Toni? (111)
	23	You know, Mrs Hereira, I really wish you was like me. If somebody did marry you off when you was fifteen, we wouldnta been hearing all this nonsense, you hear. Making all this damn fuss about your heart and love and all that rubbish. (112)
	24	Look, I didn't want to make you cry like this. I sorry. (112)
	25	Toni is a big man. You mustn't worry about him. (112)
Hat	1	Is a man and a woman. She pretty pretty, but he ugly like hell, man. Portuguese, they look like. (101)
	2	God, he is a first-class drinking-man, you hear. (102)
	3	Boy, you wouldn't understand. If I tell you wouldn't believe me. (102)
	4	If that dog ever get away it go have big trouble here in this street. (102)
	5	You know, it just strike me: I ain't see those people bring in any furnitures at all. It look like all they have is that radio. (102)
	6	Is easy to put two and two and see what happening there. (103)
	7	You too small to know, boy. Wait until you in long pants. (103)
	8	Is a good thing for a man to beat his woman every now and then, but this man does do it like exercise, man. ***
	9	Is a good thing too. I feel that if I look at him long enough I go vomit. You see what a dirty thing a white skin does be sometimes? (105)

	10	I wonder how long this thing go last. (106)
	11	He behaving like some of those uncultured people from John-John. Like he forget that latrines make for some purpose. (106-107)
	12	We have to do something about Toni. (107)
	13	He just too damn drunk. (107)
	14	Is taking advantage. We shouldnta do it. The man ain't have feelings, that's all. (107)
	15	That's a relief, anyway. (107)
	16	Boyee, you know you getting too damn big too damn fast. How the hell a little boy like you know about a thing II that? (107-108)
	17	How you know anyway that Mrs Hereira leave she husband? How you know that she ain't married to Toni? (108)
	18	White people don't do that sort of thing, putting advertisement in the paper and thing like that. (108)
	19	I know it! I know it! I know it a long time now. (109)
	20	Now I ask you, why, why a woman want to leave a man like that for this Toni? (110)
	20	Who will tell me why they ever have people like Toni in this world! (113)
Boyee	1	You know, Hat, I think I see that woman somewhere else. I see she when I was delivering milk up Mucurapo way. (101)
	2	Hat, you know the advertisements people does put when their wife or their husband leave them? (107)
	3	I telling you, Hat. I used to see that woman up Mucurapo way when I was delivering milk. I telling you so, man. (108)
	4	Is the selfsame woman. (110)
Eddoes	1	It have a lot of things I could sell them. (102)
	2	You ain't know what you talking about, Hat. How much white people you know? (108)
	3	Yes, Christiani. Doctor fellow. Know him good good. Used to pick rubbish for him. (110)
	4	Yes, know Christiani good good. Good house, nice car. Full of money, you know. It have a long time now I see him. Know him from the days when I used to work Mucurapo way. (110)

Sergeant	1	Boys, the Super send me. That blasted man ring up again. CharlesTake it a little easier. (101)
Mrs. Hereira	1	Help me! Help me! He will kill me if he catches me. (103)
	2	I can't understand what has come over Toni these days. But it is only in the nights he is like this, you know. He is so kind in the mornings. But about midday something happens and he just goes mad. (103)
	3	It is a stupid thing to say to you or anybody else, but I like Toni. I love him. (104)
	4	He has many good qualities, you know. His heart is in the right place, really. (104)
	5	No, I know Toni. I looked after him when he was sick. It is the war, you know. He was a sailor and they torpedoed him twice. (113)
	6	You mustn't talk like this. (104)
	7	I didn't ask for advice. (104)
	8	I don't want your help or advice. (104)
	9	I hope I never come back here again. (105)
	10	It isn't my dog. It's Toni's, and not even I can touch it. (105)
	11	Toni is thinking about leaving Trinidad. We could start a hotel in Barbados. (106)
	12	As soon as Toni gets well again, we will go for a long cruise. (106)
	13	Toni is really a disciplined man, you know. Great will power, really. We'll be all right when he gets his strength back. (106)
	14	He's going mad! He's going mad, I tell you. He will kill me this time sure. (108)
	15	He grabbed a knife and began chasing me. He was saying, "I will kill you, I will kill you. (108)
	16	It is the first time he threatened to kill me. And he was serious, I tell you. (113)
	17	Toni has forgotten all I did for him. He has forgotten how I took care of him when he was sick. Tell me, you think that's right? I did everything for him. Everything. I gave up everything. Money and family. All for him. Tell me, is it right for him to treat me like this? Oh, God! What did I do to deserve all this? (108-109)

	18	I am all right now, really. I will go back and talk to Toni. I think I did something to offend him. I must go back and find out what it is. (109)
	19	No, no. Not the police. (110)
	20	The scandal – (110)
	21	I don't feel anything about him. And I just can't stand that clean doctor's smell he has. It chokes me. (111)
	22	I have decided to leave Toni. (111)
	23	Nothing. Last night he made the dog jump at me. He didn't look as if he knew what he was doing. He didn't laugh or anything. I think he is going mad, and if I don't get out I think he will kill me. (111)
	24	My husband. (111)
	25	Henry is like a boy, you know, and he thinks he can frighten me. If I go back today, he will be glad to have me back. (111)
	26	Toni was Henry's friend, not mine. Henry brought him home one day. Toni was sick like anything. Henry was like that, you know. I never met a man who liked doing good works so much as Henry. He was all for good works and sanitation. (111-112)
	27	No, it isn't you, it isn't you. (112)
	28	I have left about a week's food with Toni. (112)
Toni	1	Hello there, boys. (105)
	29	You have Angela's radio there. I charging rent for that, you know. Two dollars a month. Give me two dollars now. (113)
	30	You know about Angela's radio, eh, boys? You know about the radio? Now, what this man playing at? (113)

Abstract

Though literature is dominated by standard language, it often makes use of other linguistic varieties. This polyglossic device has been a resource of Anglophone literature since the 14th century, with mimetic, comic and/or ideological functions, and earned the attention of literary critics and, more recently, of translation studies researchers.

However, though linguistic realism is not a goal of literary texts, it seems reasonable to claim that the analysis of the linguistic variation in literature will benefit from the teachings of linguistics. Such conviction is tested in this paper by means of an analysis of V. S. Naipaul's semi-autobiographical "Love, Love, Love, Alone", set in Trinidad, in which Standard English is used by non-local characters and the narratorial voice and Caribbean English is brought into dialogue by Trinidadian characters, including the participant narrator.

The scrutiny of the text and the consideration of both technical descriptions of the linguistic situation of Trinidad and the concepts of linguistic repertoire, code switching and hypercorrection have unveiled a consistency in the recreation of local English that critics consider untypical of literature and shown that the English language Naipaul claimed as his was probably less monolithic than implied so far.

Keywords

Caribbean English; Heteroglossia; Linguistic variation; Non-standard language; V. S. Naipaul

Resumo

Ainda que o texto literário seja dominado pelo padrão linguístico de uma comunidade, a literatura recorre frequentemente a outras variedades da mesma língua. Esta diversidade linguística é usada com funções miméticas, cómicas e/ou ideológicas e tem sido objecto de estudo da crítica literária e, mais recentemente, visto constituir um desafio importante para o tradutor, dos estudos de tradução.

No entanto, e apesar de o realismo linguístico não ser uma prioridade do texto literário, a análise deste fenómeno poderá beneficiar também dos ensinamentos dos estudos linguísticos. Esta convicção é confirmada pela análise de "Love, Love, Love, Alone", texto semi-autobiográfico de V. S. Naipaul em que a norma padrão britânica (nas passagens narrativas e falas das personagens não locais) alterna com o inglês das Caraíbas (usado pelas personagens locais, incluindo o narrador participante).

De facto, a análise do texto e a consideração das descrições da situação linguística das Caraíbas anglófonas e dos conceitos de repertório linguístico, *code-switching* e hipercorrecção permitiram identificar uma consistência na recriação do inglês local que a crítica em geral considera atípica do texto literário e concluir que a língua inglesa que Naipaul reclamou ser sua é, afinal, menos monolítica do que se defendia.

Palavras-chave

Heteroglossia; Inglês caribenho; V. S. Naipaul; Variação linguística; Variedades sub-padrão

Snowy fusion: Andersen's Snow Queen and the Grimms' Snow White blend in A.S.Byatt's Fiammarosa

Alexandra Cheira
ULICES - University of Lisbon Centre for English Studies

Snowy fusion: Andersen's Snow Queen and the Grimms' Snow White blend in A.S.Byatt's Fiammarosa

In A.S.Byatt's short story collection *Elementals: Stories of Fire and Ice*, "Cold" fully justifies the secondary title: a sophisticated seduction game which brings the reader close to the text by means of both a microscopic and a telescopic lens, this story draws on two female universes which the colour white will symbolically (dis)embody — good and evil. I will further emphasise this dichotomy by arguing that Byatt's wonder tale metamorphoses these two antagonistic meanings of white in the particular figuration of Fiammarosa, its female protagonist. An interwoven path of mingled directions which converge in a moment and get their separate ways immediately thereafter is thus foretold by the quest for the symbolic readings of white, a privileged signature of female identity in Byatt's fiction as well as in the tradition of wonder tales: concealed, yet at the same time unravelled by its two extreme positions in the chromatic range as absence or sum of colours, these meanings are arranged into stories which are quite different and cannot be imitated because they recall each other but are always another story.

Thus, in order to better analyse the way Byatt resumes traditional wonder tales' colour white only to subvert and write it anew in her fiction, I will read "Cold" on a par with Hans Christien Andersen's "Snow Queen" and the Brothers Grimm's "Snow White". I will also examine the symbolic articulation between the colour white and the motif of ice and snow, which is apparent in the titles of these traditional tales and hinted at in the title of Byatt's tale, as another double-meaning symbol for female identity in the three tales: a hallmark of female identity in "Cold", "The Snow Queen" and "Snow White", ice and white also encapsulate the opposition life and death which will be solved in none of these wonder tales but "Cold". I will analyse in detail the construction of a complex female identity symbolically

evinced by the game of opposition and complementarity at the heart of the colour white. It links indeed the female characters of these three tales by a thread of colourful points in a circle, which Byatt's tale will complete and close. Finally, by paying special attention to the two Queens, I will then look closely at the way Byatt's Fiammarosa thoroughly explodes the dichotomy which, in the wake of the nineteenth century (male) categorisation of women into fixedly rigid standards of expected behaviour and social roles, pushes women into the corset of polar figurations of asexual angels and demonic temptresses, thus fusing the eponymous wonder tales' evil and good female characters by means of the colour white.

In Andersen's "Snow Queen" and the Grimms' "Snow White", female identity is framed through the symmetrical looking glass of the polar opposites bright and spectral white, life and death, warmth and cold, in which the positive pole is associated with goodness whereas the negative pole is related to evil. Snow, which is part of both titles, enhances these traits in its deeper connection to white: thus, Snow White is described throughout the Grimms' tale as "a child as white as snow" (Tatar 243), "as beautiful as the bright day" (Tatar 244) and "a dear child" (Tatar 252), whereas the Snow Queen is portrayed as "very beautiful and dainty, but she was of ice, dazzling, gleaming ice, all through, and yet she was alive; her eyes shone like two clear stars, but there was no rest nor quiet in them" (Andersen 232). The colour white reaches its two extreme symbolic limits in these two female figures: the white of the East or the sum of all colours, Snow White, is the binary opposite of the white of the West or the absence of colour, Snow Queen. Thus, Snow White positively stands for

> The white of … the dawn, when the vault of Heaven can be seen once more, void of colour but rich with the potential of manifestation from which both microcosm and macrocosm have been recharged like electric batteries as they passed through the womb of darkness, the fountain of all energy. (Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1106)

Conversely, the Snow Queen negatively represents

> the matt white of death, which absorbs the individual and inducts … her into the cold, female lunar world. It is the herald of absence, nocturnal emptiness and the disappearance

of consciousness and of daytime colours. (Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1105-1106)

Moreover, in "Snow White" this colour paints the main character's rite of passage between innocent girl and grown woman who is able to adapt to a new environment: her initial childish

> white [as] the colour of purity, [which] originally was not a positive colour showing that something had been undertaken, but a neutral, passive colour showing that something had yet to be fulfilled" (Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1107)

changes into "the colour of revelation, of grace and of the transfiguration which dazzles, awakening the intellect at the same time as it eludes its grasp" (Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1108) when she steps into the Dwarfs' cottage. Maria Tatar points out in her annotated edition of the Grimms' tales that

> In carrying out domestic chores, Snow White moves into a new developmental stage, demonstrating her ability to engage in labor and to carry out the terms of a contract. No longer a child, she is preparing herself for the state of matrimony. (248, note 13)

However, there is no such *bildungsroman* in "The Snow Queen", who is already a grown woman when the tale begins: hers remains throughout "the colour of shrouds, of apparitions and spectres" (Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1106).

Both tales oppose two female figures who stand for a binary construction of female identity split into the polar figurations of goodness and evil: Gerda and the Snow Queen, Snow White and the Queen. Gerda and Snow White are still children who are shielded by purity and innocence when they have to face an apparently greater power than their own when the tales begin. They can be read as the symbolic figuration of human feeling and warmth enhanced precisely by their childhood, which renders them more fragile against adult forces. On the opposite side of the scale stand the Snow Queen and the Queen, both of them bewitchingly seductive women who hold the power over life and death and embody the coldness of snow. This standard opposition between goodness and evil or warmth and cold is embedded in both tales, in which little Gerda and Snow

White move in a world filled with colour, warmth and fragrant aroma. Moreover, they stamp such an indelible mark on every human and animal creature they interact with due to the goodness of their heart that there is light and warmth around them — even when they are forced into the frontier of death. On the contrary, the Snow Queen and the Queen move in a uniformly white or glassy world which reflects the inner white of death or a perfect snow-crystal's "false eternity — a duration outside time, to be escaped from" (OHS 155).

There is a difference between these Queens though: whereas Andersen's Snow Queen is an intelligent and beautiful woman who does not have the particular destruction of a singled-out rival as her goal and whose power is circumscribed within the domains of reason, the Grimms' Queen evinces the typical cruelty of the villain queens in the German tradition of wonder tales. The Snow Queen exercises a dangerous fascination over those who contemplate her white and cold figure from too near. Her lethal charm is further enhanced by such cold kisses they simply kill human feelings: her skin and her fur coat are made of a thick layer of snow which envelops her in a protective embrace but can be deadly for those who are too near her. Her favourite dwelling place inside her snowy castle is a frozen lake she has named "the Mirror of Intelligence", a lake which "had split into a thousand pieces, and all the pieces were so exactly alike that the whole thing looked like a trick" (Andersen 267). However, the Snow Queen's power literally melts into water in the presence of Gerda's warmth, so much so that the strongest binary opposition in this tale is reason against feeling — or, more literally, cold against warmth. According to A.S.Byatt, "Andersen makes a standard opposition between cold reason and warm-heartedness and comes down whole-heartedly on the side of warm-heartedness, adding to it his own insistent Christian message" (OHS 155). By dropping the references to reason and a Christian message the same could be said of the Grimms's Queen: driven by the un-Christian urges of envy and rage against someone she takes for a rival, she decides to eliminate competition with the help of a magic looking-glass which spurs her on her revenge by telling her Snow White is still alive despite the many tricks the Queen has played on her, and that she is now "the fairest ever seen" (Tatar 248). The Queen's mirror strengthens her power in the sense it increases tenfold her cold-hearted determination to get rid of Snow White once and

for all no matter what it costs her: she holds the power of life and death over Snow White through her many deceitful tricks even without the mirror, which is definitely the focal energy of her cold fury.

A.S.Byatt will rewrite both Andersen's and the Grimms' tales in her own wonder tale 'Cold' by assimilating opposite features in the same character: Fiammarosa the ice princess can be read as both protean incarnation and subversion of Andersen's Snow Queen and symbolic inversion of the Grimms' Snow White. In order to argue this point, I will analyse the symbolic representations of the colour white in 'Cold', but first I will briefly summarise the storyline. This is the tale of an ice princess, Fiammarosa, who discovers she is framed for cold quite by accident, as she was almost killed as a child by too much warmth because she was believed to be too delicate to stand the cold which turns out to be her natural element after all. As a young woman, she is wooed by a glassblower prince from the desert, Sasan, who sends her three presents made of glass he himself has made. Each present is more intricate and more expressive of love than the last and they all delight her by their likeness to ice or frozen water. When they meet, they fall passionately in love with each other and Fiammarosa decides to marry him and go to his country. This proves to be a long and difficult journey for both: she can't stand the increasing daytime heat and he does not fare too well in the night-time cold. One day, already pregnant, she decides to visit him in his workplace, which proves so hot for her she suffers a miscarriage and is ill for a very long time. Finally Sasan takes her on a long journey into the heart of the desert so that she can live in the cold glass castle he has built for her. The discomfort she feels during this journey because of the heat is matched by the cold he endures at night in the glass palace so he can be with her, and they live happily, intelligently and laboriously ever after.

In "Cold", white reaches its two extreme representations of opacity and brightness, death and life. The first limit is clearly illustrated thus:

> As she [Fiammarosa] drank in her mother's milk, she became milky (...) the child's skin became softly pale, like white rose petals… But with the milky flesh came languor. Her pale head dropped on its pale stalk (…) there was no life in her, most of the time. She yawned. She drooped… the white head dropped on to the circle of the milky arms on the table, a picture of

lassitude and boredom… (117-122)

This figuration of a milky white languorous princess falls apart when Fiammarosa enfolds herself in a protective layer of ice which brings her back to life as an ice maiden:

> And her body came alive with the desire to lie out there, on that whiteness, face-to-face with it, fingertips and toes pushing into the soft crystals. (…) The cold snow on the soles of her feet gave her the sense of bliss that most humans associate with warm frills of water at the edge of summer seas, with sifted sand, with sunny stone… Her body was full of an electric charge, a thrill, from an intense cold…The snow did not numb Fiammarosa; it pricked and hummed and brought her, intensely, to life. And one night, as she moved, she found that her whole body was encased in a transparent, crackling skin of ice that broke into spiderweb-fine veined sheets as she danced, and then reformed. The sensation of this double skin was delicious. She had frozen eyelashes and saw the world through an ice-lens; her tossing hair made a brittle and musical sound, for each hair was coated and frozen. (122-128)

Quite unlike the two wonder tales I have discussed before, in A.S.Byatt's "Cold" female identity is built through a binary unfolding which opposes but also paradoxically merges two distinctive ways of being — and saying one is — a woman by unveiling two of the faces female identity can possess. These are apparent in the two values the colour white assumes for Fiammarosa: "the white of the west is the matt white of death, … the herald of absence [and] nocturnal emptiness", (Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1105-1106) which throws a misty veil over Fiammarosa's lethargy and languidness due to excessive warmth and quite recalls Snow White's deadly sleep, is the polar opposite of "the white of the east [as] the white of … the dawn, … the fountain of all energy" (Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1106) which brightens Fiammarosa by turning her into the Snow Queen, as both come alive in icy surroundings. Thus, Fiammarosa is a snow white passive child before she overcomes her own rite of passage, the discovery of her true nature, but she is also a snow queen who is not affected by any outward power and it is her own igneous side which can quite literally melt her. Female identity and power are defined by the colour white, so it is not by

mere chance that the landscape in which Fiammarosa moves is white as well. Fiammarosa's nocturnal forays are therefore fittingly illuminated by a glowing full moon over the white infinity of snow:

> It was full moon. Everything was black and white and silver (…) She stared up, at the great moon with its slaty shadows on its white-gold disc, and the huge fields of scattered, clustered, far-flung glittering wheeling stars in the deep darkness, white on midnight, and she was, for the first time, happy. This is who I am, the cold princess thought to herself, wriggling for sheer pleasure in the snow-dust, this is what I want. And when she was quite cold, and completely alive and crackling with energy, she rose to her feet, and began a strange, leaping dance, pointing sharp fingers at the moon, tossing her long mane of silver hair, sparkling with ice-crystals, circling and bending and finally turning cartwheels under the wheeling sky. (125-127)

Fiammarosa thus celebrates her complete freedom and her elemental power when she throws away the clothes which constrain her in suffocating heat and comes alive in the invigorating polar cold by dancing naked in the snow under the full moon.

"Cold" is still another way of saying white, which assumes paradoxical values in different ways when compared to "Snow White": white as snow in its light and smoothness when touched, Snow White will then turn white as snow in her cold and deathly pallor. The same character will thus pass through two distinct states by means of the sleep which keeps her dead while alive: Fiammarosa's sleep is always symbolic and coincides with her inner unawareness of her own nature. Thus, Fiammarosa undergoes the experience of death in life through the lethargy caused by excessive warmth in two key moments in the text: first in her childhood, before she becomes aware of her true nature, which is outwardly evinced in the milky white of her skin that will later acquire the texture and glitter of ice and inwardly uncovered by the white of the initiated, the one who waits; later on, when she suffers the miscarriage due to excessive heat, which is outwardly symbolised in her loss of luminosity and inwardly translated by the empty white of mourning. In Fiammarosa, child and woman fuse into a single person, the child-woman who will only be able to use the power she discovers within herself after she has lost it. Death, or "cold reason", is

simultaneously life, or "warm-heartedness". Reason and feeling, or cold and warmth, lose their negative and positive value only to merge into their opposite. Moreover, in Byatt's wonder tale it is cold, not warmth, which is synonymous with life and envelops Fiammarosa in a protective icy mantle — quite like it does the Snow Queen. However, coming alive in external cold does not mean Fiammarosa does not possess inner warmth, as she acknowledges in a conversation with her tutor when talking of a foremother who was inwardly as well as outwardly cold:

> You choose your words very tactfully, Hugh. You told me I was "framed for cold". That is a statement of natural philosophy, and time. It may be that I have ice in my veins, like the icewoman, or something that boils and steams at normal temperature, and flows busily in deep frost. But you did not tell me I had a cold nature. The icewoman did not look back at her husband and son. Perhaps she was cold in her soul, as well as in her veins? (132)

Unlike this icewoman who, by the way, quite resembles the Snow Queen, Fiammarosa is capable of passionate feeling which she utterly discloses in her fiery love for Sasan. In her own words, it is love which leads her to use her intelligence and willpower to live in the desert as she would die if she could not be with the man on whom her heart was set.

To conclude, 'The Snow Queen' and 'Snow White' portray the construction of two polar female identities which reveal but one of woman's faces: if they can incarnate the millennial combat between goodness and evil, they can also be read as the fragmentation of the female psyche into mutually exclusive components of feeling or reason, goodness or evil, fragility or strength, child or woman. In "Cold", A.S.Byatt will however configure a unique female identity which integrates all these faces which cease to be absolute values, therefore humanizing her female protagonist. Fiammarosa is at the same time Gerda and the Snow Queen, Snow White and Queen, body and spirit, sleeping princess and prince who awakens her through his love since her transformation depends mainly on herself, thus revealing the theory Byatt subverts in "Cold":

Science and reason are bad, kindness is good. It is a frequent, but not a necessary opposition. And I found in it, and in the dangerous isolation of the girl on her slippery shiny height a figure of what was beginning to bother me, the conflict between a female destiny, the kiss, the marriage, the child-bearing, the death, and the frightening loneliness of cleverness, the cold distance of seeing the world through art, of putting a frame round things. (OHS 155-156)

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Abstract

"Cold", the wonder tale which, in *Elementals*, fully justifies the secondary title *Stories of Fire and Ice*, is a sophisticated seduction game which brings the reader close to the text by means of both a microscopic and a telescopic lens, as this story draws on two female universes that the colour white will (dis)unite: goodness and evil.

I further emphasise this dichotomy by arguing that Byatt's tale assimilates opposites in the symbolic meanings of white as a privileged signature of feminine identity. In order to better analyse the way Byatt resumes traditional wonder tales' colour white only to subvert and write it anew in her fiction, I will read "Cold" on a par with Hans Christien Andersen's "Snow Queen" and the Brothers Grimm's "Snow White". I will evince the link between this colour and the motif of ice and snow, which is apparent in the titles of these traditional tales and hinted at in the title of Byatt's tale, as another double-meaning symbol for female identity in the three tales.

I will finally look closely at the way Byatt thoroughly explodes the dichotomy which pushes women into the corset of polar figurations of asexual angels and demonic temptresses in her female protagonist, Fiammarosa, by blending the eponymous wonder tales' evil and good female characters through the colour white.

Keywords

Fiammarosa; Snow White; Snow Queen; White; Fusion.

Resumo

"Cold", o conto maravilhoso que, em *Elementals*, justifica plenamente o subtítulo *Stories of Fire and Ice*, é um sofisticado jogo de sedução que aproxima o leitor do texto de forma simultaneamente telescópica e microscópica, esboçando os dois universos femininos que a cor branca irá (des)unir: o bem e o mal.

Procurarei ainda reforçar esta dicotomia analisando o modo como o conto

byattiano assimila opostos na leitura simbólica do branco como assinatura identitária privilegiada do feminino. Para melhor desmontar o modo como Byatt retoma, subvertendo, a cor branca do *wonder tale* tradicional e o reescreve na sua ficção, procederei a uma leitura em paralelo com os contos "The Snow Queen", de Hans Christian Andersen, e "Snow White", dos irmãos Grimm. Destacarei ainda a ligação entre o branco e os motivos narrativos do gelo e da neve que, sendo aparente nos títulos dos dois contos seleccionados e sugerida no título do conto de A.S.Byatt, constitui outro dos símbolos de duplo sentido para a identidade feminina nos três contos.

Finalmente, analisarei o modo como Byatt faz explodir por completo a dicotomia que espartilha a mulher em figurações extremas de anjo assexuado e tentadora demoníaca na sua protagonista, Fiammarosa, pela fusão do bem e do mal operada pela cor branca.

<div align="center">PALAVRAS-CHAVE</div>

Fiammarosa; Branca de Neve; Rainha do Gelo; Branco; Fusão.

Disciplinas da Tradução Literária na Universidade de Lisboa

João Almeida Flor
Prof. Cat. Emérito da FLUL
Investigador do CEAUL / ULICES

Disciplinas da Tradução Literária na Universidade de Lisboa

0. Introdução

Em sintonia com as celebrações religiosas da festa de S. Jerónimo, marcada a 30 de Setembro nos calendários litúrgicos, propomo-nos apresentar breves reflexões sobre actividades académicas no campo da tradução, prática que naturalmente adopta como patrono aquele Doutor da Igreja. Com efeito, as questões de exegese, de hermenêutica e de reescrita, subjacentes à criação inspirada da Vulgata bíblica latina, na transição para o século V, mantêm ainda hoje uma actualidade essencial. Como sabemos, tal pertinência revela-se sobremaneira nas múltiplas situações que fazem parte integrante do labor de quantos se dedicam à tradução interlinguística de textos literários, enquanto representações referenciais, conotativas e polissémicas do universo objectual do discurso, verbalmente tecidas por complexas redes interactivas de imagens, símiles, metáforas ou símbolos recorrentes.

Em conformidade com tal posição, julgamos ser legítimo e vantajoso visar aqui dois objectivos complementares que contribuam para a formação identitária ou para a reciclagem metodológica dos actuais investigadores. Por um lado, transmitir uma visão pessoal acerca de questões relacionadas com a prática, teoria, crítica e história da tradução literária, na fase da sua implantação disciplinar no quadro da Universidade de Lisboa. Por outro lado, contribuir para que esse olhar retrospectivo motive todos os implicados a pugnar pelo pleno reconhecimento institucional do estatuto independente, embora interdependente, de saberes que lhes cabe continuar e expandir em variadas direcções.

1. Prática de Tradução

Em termos históricos, começamos por notar que, em Portugal e até aos anos 60 do século passado, a actividade de tradutor literário, frequentemente encarada como propedêutica da escrita criativa original, era exercida por homens de letras ou por profissionais de outros sectores que, como tarefeiros, buscavam complementos remuneratórios para equilibrar o seu modesto orçamento. Em ambos os casos, tratava-se de agentes culturais sem habilitações nem qualificações académicas específicas, porque o sistema de ensino português só tardiamente havia de abranger a formação de tradutores profissionais.

A criação de uma zona de comércio livre internacional e os esforços de integração económica europeia, previstos no Tratado de Roma (1957) e na Convenção de Estocolmo (1960), concorreram indirecta mas decisivamente para colmatar essa lacuna. Com efeito, o incremento das relações internacionais em todos os campos, a exportação de bens e serviços, o desenvolvimento do turismo para captação de divisas estrangeiras e, de modo genérico, a progressiva expansão das actividades económicas do sector terciário criaram condições para que o mercado de trabalho português registasse aumento da procura de mão-de-obra qualificada, nomeadamente de quadros técnicos intermédios como tradutores e intérpretes, além de assessores de secretariado e administração.

Poderia o ensino oficial ter suprido tais necessidades impostas pela modernização do país mas, efectivamente, foi a iniciativa privada que desempenhou papel pioneiro num tipo de formação técnico-vocacional só trinta anos mais tarde transposta para o ensino superior universitário e politécnico.

Como seria de esperar, obedecendo a critérios instrumentais e pragmáticos, o plano curricular das escolas profissionalizantes privadas então inauguradas em Lisboa — o Instituto Superior de Línguas e Administração (1962) e o Instituto de Novas Profissões (1964) – concedia lugar quase negligenciável à tradução de textos literários. Alegadamente, estes remetiam ainda para o património simbólico tradicional das humanidades clássicas e modernas, julgadas de reduzida relevância na aquisição daquelas competências técnicas inovadoras e diferenciadas, necessárias à empregabilidade dos recém-diplomados ou à promoção profissional a patamares remuneratórios superiores.

Nestas condições, foi por efeito a médio prazo das profundas alterações sociais, económicas e políticas, registadas a partir de 1974, que as Universidades de Lisboa, Porto e Coimbra conceberam projectos científico-pedagógicos distintos mas convergentes que asseguraram a criação de cursos de especialização em tradução, já em pleno funcionamento nos anos noventa.

Entretanto, na transição para o século XXI, o contexto histórico envolvente do tradutor literário em Portugal, registou alterações favoráveis à promoção da sua imagem pública e do estatuto sócio-económico respectivos.

Por um lado, ao reconhecimento académico da tradução como objecto disciplinar veio juntar-se a sua legitimação institucional, através da atribuição de prémios, e outros incentivos ao apuramento da qualidade dos trabalhos de (re)criação literária, por parte de agremiações públicas e privadas, entre elas a Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, a Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, a União Latina, a Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, a Fundação da Casa Mateus, a Associação Portuguesa de Editores e Livreiros e o P.E.N. Clube Português. Por outro lado, tanto a publicação do Código do Direito de Autor (1985) como a criação da Associação Portuguesa de Tradutores (1988) contribuíram para dar enquadramento jurídico adequado às relações contratuais entre as editoras e os tradutores independentes, estipulando a reciprocidade de deveres e direitos.

Por outro lado ainda, no cômputo geral da actividade editorial entre nós, aumentava significativamente a percentagem de textos traduzidos, pois a abolição das instâncias censórias provocara alterações radicais na oferta do mercado livreiro. Com efeito, durante décadas, a censura proibira, apreendera ou inexoravelmente truncara obras cuja temática alegadamente atentava contra a moral e os bons costumes, ao mesmo tempo que impedira a circulação daquelas que, pelo seu conteúdo político sedicioso e revolucionário, ameaçavam a estabilidade social. Por conseguinte, não causará admiração que, nos anos subsequentes a 1974, o mercado da tradução se encontrasse saturado justamente de tais textos, consumidos com avidez e em larga escala.

Além disso, o crescimento da procura de traduções de (para)literatura articula-se ainda com outros factores conjunturais. A título exemplificativo, podem mencionar-se o preço acessível das edições de bolso, disponíveis nas

grandes superfícies comerciais, o êxito fácil de lançamentos apoiados por intensa promoção publicitária, a divulgação de obras literárias através de adaptações cinematográficas ou televisivas e, de um modo geral, a tendência para homogeneizar hábitos de consumo cultural, em resultado da globalização em curso.

Tomando como pano de fundo este recrudescimento do interesse pela prática da tradução literária, evocaremos agora a formação qualificada dos seus agentes, de acordo com o modelo científico-pedagógico adoptado na Universidade de Lisboa.

A despeito de ajustamentos posteriores, segundo o plano curricular original do Curso de Especialização em Tradução (CET), a funcionar na Faculdade de Letras (FLUL), o ensino-aprendizagem concentrava-se em duas línguas de partida entre três possíveis (Inglês, Francês e Alemão) e, durante dois anos lectivos, era ministrado a nível de pós-graduação aos detentores de uma Licenciatura, de preferência (mas não obrigatoriamente) em Letras. O elenco curricular compreendia as disciplinas de Teoria da Tradução, Análise e Produção Textual, Linguística Aplicada, Tradução Generalista, Linguagens Especiais (Direito e Economia), Informática para a Tradução e História das Culturas Contemporâneas. A escolaridade incluía ainda a frequência de um seminário intitulado Projecto Profissionalizante com o objectivo de ambientar os formandos nos níveis de exigência próprios da actividade de tradutores profissionais. Também neste último patamar, a Tradução Literária ocupou lugar marcante, na medida em que foram preparadas para publicação (introdução, tradução, revisão e anotações) várias antologias de textos narrativos, poéticos e teóricos.

Como se poderá depreender, o funcionamento do CET na Universidade de Lisboa implicava a adopção de soluções de compromisso nem sempre sustentáveis. No caso dos docentes envolvidos, era necessário compatibilizar a sua disponibilidade para integrarem uma equipa de formadores atentos às diferenciações do mercado de trabalho, e a necessidade de cultivarem os seus interesses científicos, através da investigação fundamental e aplicada no campo das línguas, das literaturas e das culturas nacionais. Curiosamente, tal duplicidade de objectivos acabou por se revelar benéfica, na medida em que veio ampliar o escopo do ensino da tradução, transformando-o numa valência complementar ao vasto programa cultural, educativo e cívico da própria Universidade, ampliando

o alcance da convergência, interacção e síntese entre saberes especializados.

Com efeito, na prática da tradução em contexto universitário, interessava, por exemplo, atender à solidariedade entre as transformações ocorridas no campo social, económico, político ou ideológico e as respectivas incidências na evolução dos sistemas de representação simbólica, nomeadamente na linguagem investida de funções estéticas. Importava igualmente explorar as possibilidades da leitura crítica do enunciado literário bem como dos metatextos dele derivados, à luz da reflexão hermenêutica contemporânea. De igual modo, em contexto universitário pós--graduado, justificava-se, por um lado, aplicar modelos propostos pela linguística contrastiva ou pela análise do discurso, tendo em vista desenvolver novas aptidões dos formandos. Por outro lado, e de modo genérico, a prática de tradução de textos literários evocativos de diversos tempos, lugares e personagens permitia aceder directamente aos fenómenos de variação diacrónica, diatópica e diastrática das línguas de trabalho.

Para abreviar este sucinto relato sobre a implantação da prática de tradução literária no quadro curricular da FLUL, resta dizer que, na transição do milénio, os objectivos do CET foram transferidos para um curso de Licenciatura, com plano curricular, orientações científicas e resultados práticos que não desejo aqui qualificar.

2. Estudos de Tradução

Prestemos agora atenção à fortuna dos Estudos (Descritivos) da Literatura Traduzida que, depois de uma fase preliminar ainda na década de oitenta, obtiveram reconhecimento universitário no início dos anos noventa e têm continuado ininterruptamente a preencher a nossa agenda científica.

Nos dias de hoje, poucos terão consciência de que os primórdios dos Estudos de Tradução entre nós foram desencadeados pela figura de Jacinto do Prado Coelho, insigne mestre que, aliando uma formação tradicional de base filológica ao insaciável desejo de actualização científica, cultivava o convívio permanente com os círculos universitários internacionais cujas inovações transpunha e adaptava às necessidades da cultura portuguesa. Entre as actividades do seu magistério multímodo, contava-se a tarefa de dinamizar a Associação Internacional dos Críticos Literários (AICL) cujos

membros repartiam entre si a responsabilidade de apresentar um relatório e balanço anual sobre os rumos da nossa produção literária no domínio da ficção narrativa, da poesia, do teatro e do ensaio. Ao honroso convite que em 1978 me dirigiu, para integrar a literatura traduzida nessas categorias, fiquei devendo os primeiros contactos com a orientação descritivista e (poli) sistémica que, pelo impulso pioneiro de colegas de Lovaina, Tel-Aviv, Londres e Warwick se encontrava já em acelerado desenvolvimento, incorporando contributos provindos da história, da sociologia e da comparatística literárias.

Para cumprir a incumbência, a primeira tarefa consistia em recorrer às escassas e lacunares fontes de informação bibliográfica então disponíveis, a fim de inventariar os textos traduzidos e anualmente publicados. Seguia- -se o tratamento dos dados recolhidos e sua classificação de acordo com critérios cronológicos, genológicos e geográfico-culturais. Procedia-se depois a uma análise estatística para apuramento e quantificação dos resul- tados absolutos e relativos. Finalmente, ensaiavam-se interpretações dos fenómenos sectoriais e globais observados, de modo a determinar o sentido e a intensidade dos fluxos migratórios no sistema de circulação do livro e de bens conexos dentro do espaço euro-atlântico.

Globalmente consideradas, as conclusões extraídas desta pesquisa, empreendida em anos sucessivos, indiciavam a situação gravemente defici- tária de Portugal, em matéria de transferências culturais. O saldo negativo reflectia, por um lado, o acolhimento maciço de produções estrangeiras, em resultado da nossa situação geocultural periférica e, por outro lado, a ausência de uma política sustentada de apoio à difusão e exportação da cultura portuguesa, sob a forma de traduções literárias em línguas veiculares de projecção mundial, mormente o inglês.

Como dissemos antes, esta investigação sincrónica incidia apenas sobre a tradução literária no Portugal contemporâneo mas comportava já tarefas heurísticas e filológicas, exegéticas e hermenêuticas comuns à pesquisa historiográfica em ciências sociais e humanas. Com efeito, tratava- -se de descrever um percurso faseado, a partir da recolha de dados avulsos, depois processados em informação estruturada, conducente ao conheci- mento científico dos fenómenos literários que, por seu turno, legitimava a formulação de hipóteses sobre o impacto social das realidades culturais. Posteriormente, com os necessários ajustamentos, foram aplicados métodos

análogos para observar diacronicamente a produção traduzida em Portugal e entender até que ponto sucessivas migrações textuais terão condicionado o horizonte de expectativa dos leitores e predeterminado a sua receptividade ou resistência perante as inovações da nossa própria vanguarda literária.

Deste intenso labor, disseminado em dissertações académicas de estudantes pós-graduados, foi emergindo uma conclusão provisória e ainda carecida de justificações complementares. Com efeito, ao ordenar e sistematizar as inúmeras traduções publicadas desde meados do século XVIII, com o objectivo de identificar eventuais constantes no gosto do leitor médio português, torna-se possível definir um modelo ou, se quisermos, uma escala de preferências. No seu topo situam-se em larga maioria: a) as obras de ficção narrativa contemporânea, b) centrais ou em vias de centralização no campo literário e c) importadas de espaços culturais anglófonos.

Renunciando aqui a outros comentários, bastará sublinhar que tal prevalência implica e explica certos efeitos colaterais negativos nos circuitos literários entre nós. Entre eles, salientam-se não só a baixíssima percentagem de traduções publicadas de obras líricas e dramáticas, como também a crónica desatenção perante textos clássicos, medievais e modernos inscritos no cânone ocidental e finalmente a posição hoje subalterna das áreas românicas, germânicas, eslavas e escandinavas, ou seja, de espaços geográficos, linguísticos e culturais com menor capacidade de exportação cultural.

Além destas dimensões sociológicas e geoestratégicas, os Estudos de Tradução vieram alargar os horizontes da nossa pesquisa, reforçando o interesse informativo dos paratextos que amiúde permitem esclarecer os envolvimentos sócio-económico-culturais da literatura traduzida, ou definir a imagem e o estatuto sócioprofissional do tradutor literário, ou ainda surpreender a conjugação de interesses e oportunidades que determina a selecção das obras a traduzir. Igualmente relevantes se afiguram as opções relativas ao grafismo, preço de venda e desenho da capa, aspectos susceptíveis de influenciar a produção, a comercialização, a circulação, o consumo e o impacto público do livro como mercadoria cultural.

Por conseguinte, tal como na Universidade de Lisboa foi entendida, a disciplina de Estudos de Tradução comporta largo espectro e dialoga com a sociologia histórica, a investigação bibliográfica e a história do livro e dos hábitos de leitura. As limitações de espaço impedem-nos de desenvolver

ainda um outro aspecto que se revela promissor. Na verdade, pela atenção dispensada à fortuna material do que se traduz entre nós, os Estudos de Tradução vieram outrossim reforçar a imprescindibilidade de uma ciência filológica renovada que aplique a metodologia da crítica textual também ao estudo de eventuais variantes do tradutor-autor (se possível, desde o rascunho à edição de última mão) por forma a elaborar o aparato genético do texto reescrito, procedimento ainda por implantar entre nós.

No que toca a instituições cooperantes, se é certo que a AICL. desempenhou papel pioneiro na fase preparatória dos Estudos de Tradução na Universidade de Lisboa, manda a justiça referir outra agremiação científica, a Associação Portuguesa de Literatura Comparada (APLC) que, em estreita cooperação com o Centro de Estudos Anglísticos e o Centro de Estudos Comparatistas, ambos integrados na FLUL, promoveu a institucionalização da disciplina, através da sua escolarização progressiva a nível da Licenciatura, do Mestrado, do Doutoramento e dos programas pós doutorais.

A esta acção conjunta de membros, investigadores e docentes se ficou devendo uma profunda revisão epistemológica no conteúdo, temática e metodologias da comparatística que, desde o início, integrou os Estudos de Tradução na sua lista de actividades prioritárias.

O novo paradigma suspendia a vigência do modelo comparatista tradicional que privilegiava as relações culturais em esquema binário e prolongava a noção positivista de que a tradução literária devia ser encarada isolatória e valorativamente, em função do seu grau de fidelidade ao texto original. Em seu lugar, adoptaram-se modelos exploratórios da circulação cultural e dos relacionamentos multilaterais no macro-espaço mediterrânico e atlântico, e incentivou-se a perspectivação multidisciplinar da tradução intersemiótica, a partir dos diálogos travados pela literatura com a música, as artes plásticas, a fotografia, o cinema, etc..

No que concerne à tradução literária, alargaram-se os horizontes da sua teorização, prática, crítica e história, ao mesmo tempo que prevaleceu a noção de o texto translato ser um dado conjuntural, contextualizável no tempo e no espaço. Enquanto processo e produto, a tradução entra em contacto relacional com os condicionalismos específicos das culturas produtoras e receptoras que lhe imprimem marcas alteradoras indeléveis. Para não alongar demasiado esta súmula, bastará recordar que foi tão radical

a revolução copernicana nos modernos estudos de tradução que, em lugar de indagar fidelidades, equivalências e homologias entre o texto de partida e o de chegada, o investigador passou a concentrar atenções preferencialmente nas divergências registadas, em busca das circunstâncias intra- ou extratextuais que as explicam. Ao mesmo tempo declinou o interesse por traduções avulsamente recenseadas e formularam-se critérios de agrupamento e seriação das espécies bibliográficas, para avaliar a unidade e diversidade de um corpo textual, enquanto amostra representativa de um universo muito mais vasto.

Importa acrescentar que, na Universidade de Lisboa, estas mutações e actualizações de paradigma científico foram protagonizadas por duas gerações diferenciadas. Pertencem à primeira os docentes cuja formação científica decorrera no âmbito das filologias clássicas e/ou modernas de cunho marcadamente nacional mas que, no intuito de absorver novos ensinamentos, inauguraram um percurso de conversão gradual e profunda, que havia de se repercutir nos jovens investigadores, hoje ainda em formação. Naturalmente, a segunda geração desenvolveu com a anterior uma relação de discipulato intelectual e pôde beneficiar da experiência já acumulada, ao mesmo tempo que, através de contactos interpessoais, do incremento da mobilidade estudantil e da inscrição em associações da especialidade, tem comparecido regularmente em reuniões científicas internacionais para submeter ao escrutínio de especialistas os projectos de investigação em curso.

3. Conclusão

Como remate desta exposição e também para interpelar directamente o leitor, seja-me permitido propor uma agenda de compromissos futuros que valerá a pena cumprir.

Primeiro, desenvolvendo energias aglutinadoras, manter e incrementar o contacto com centros ou investigadores independentes, nacionais e internacionais de modo que aumente o nosso grau de participação em projectos interuniversitários já aprovados ou que o CEAUL venha a propor e gerir.

Segundo, multiplicar de todas as maneiras a visibilidade da área anglística da Universidade de Lisboa em todas as iniciativas relacionadas com a prática e o estudo da tradução literária, e em especial o alargamento

das responsabilidades do CEAUL na organização do ensino graduado e pós-graduado em todos os níveis de especialização.

Em terceiro lugar, contribuir para reconceptualizar a história da literatura portuguesa, europeia e mundial como plataforma de relações interculturais, veiculadas através dos mecanismos de produção, circulação e consumo da tradução literária, portadora de valores poetológicos que confirmam ou infirmam os modelos discursivos já legitimados. Neste sentido, compete à geração mais jovem assegurar à prática de tradução literária e conferir ao seu estudo descritivo um lugar central e insubstituível na Faculdade de Letras do futuro.

Por último, do mesmo modo que os Estudos Literários têm sempre recusado ser subalternizados pelos Estudos Linguísticos e, mais recente-mente, ser absorvidos pelos chamados Estudos Culturais, os Estudos de Tradução podem e devem reivindicar, entre nós, tratamento análogo ao que lhes está reservado em universidades internacionais de referência, ou seja, o exercício de elevado grau de autonomia, sem prejuízo dos diálogos colaborantes com todos os outros ramos da cultura científica e humanística, no cumprimento da vocação multidisciplinar da academia.

Para uma contextualização da poesia feminina na Grã-Bretanha do século XVIII: os motivos da *country-house* e do *wit*

João Manuel de Sousa Nunes
Professor Emérito da FLUL

Para uma contextualização da poesia feminina na Grã-Bretanha do século XVIII: os motivos da *country-house* e do *wit*

Numa época como a actual, em que avultam tendências feministas as mais diversas assim como os estudos de género e identidade, vem a propósito evocar algumas autoras e obras tidas por obscuras fora do seu tempo e até dentro do seu país, ou que são geralmente negligenciadas. Ficando bem à margem dos cânones correntes, o facto é que marcaram, contra as expectativas de um patriarcalismo não raro degradado se bem que ainda dominante, uma significativa posição feminina nas letras britânicas do século XVIII. A sua afirmação poética, preponderantemente *realista*, distingue-se, com efeito e com frequência, mesmo para além desse século, por reagir contra múltiplas condicionantes de uma cultura coetânea complacente em relação à normatividade masculina e por esta predominantemente determinada. O modo realista sugerido deriva, em larga medida, da percepção explicitada, entre outros, por Andrew Varney, de que, naquele período, o mundo literário era o mundo real, da experiência comum, e traduz-se numa expressão atenta a circunstâncias e condicionamentos vitais.[1]

Para o presente ensaio, parti fundamentalmente de uma antologia de Roger Lonsdale, indispensável base de trabalho, cujo aparato crítico oferece abundantes dados relativos a publicações relevantes do século XVIII, informação bio-bibliográfica e pistas de leitura das mais de cem autoras incluídas, todas com textos publicados em vida, e dos mais de trezentos

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[1] Cf. Andrew Varney, *Eighteenth-Century Writers in their World*, Macmillan Press, Londres, 1999, p. VII e cap. V, "Writing by Women: The Female Poets and Mrs. Manley".

poemas seleccionados.[2] A respectiva recolha permite ter, segundo creio, uma amostra significativa dos tópicos aludidos no título deste estudo, e a (desigual) qualidade dos poemas supera, apesar de tudo, a vulgaridade e as modas mercenárias popularizadas por *Grub Street* — contra as quais já Addison (1672-1719), Steele (1672-1729) e outros destacados Augustanos se insurgiam na primeira metade do século. Úteis instrumentos de trabalho foram também, entre as melhores colectâneas correntes, a de Robert Demaria Jr., e a de David Fairer e Christine Gerrard, cujas escolhas se incluem, aliás, na crestomatia de Lonsdale, embora esta tenha um maior valor documental e contextual, assim como uma amplitude mais generosa de poemas e autoras não disponíveis em edições individuais nos últimos dois séculos — lacuna que contribui para o ciclo vicioso da respectiva obscuridade.[3]

Nem todos os constrangimentos sociais e culturais, antologicamente documentados, que impendiam sobre a pública afirmação de autoria feminina, desapareceram no século XVIII, mas alguns foram sendo superados. Um dos processos tradicionais e de compromisso entre o *decorum* social mais comum e essa afirmação consistia em distribuir o texto inédito por um círculo de amigos, como Jane Hughes Brereton (1685-1740) diz fazer, antes de uma eventual publicação.[4] Processo igualmente utilizado, como é sabido, por alguns homens e que tinha a recomendá-lo o facto de assim se poder auscultar vocações e reacções críticas. Outro método ainda tradicional e especialmente adequado a autores recém iniciados nas lides literárias, mas atentos a sinais de reconhecimento e a factores de auto-confiança, era a

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[2] *Eighteenth-Century Women Poets*, Oxford (U. Press), 1989, *ppb* 1990. Os poemas citados mantêm-se em inglês; passagens cit. de escritos ensaísticos são por mim traduzidas entre aspas no corpo do texto, se curtas; e destacadas, se tiverem mais de seis linhas (o mesmo no caso de poemas).

[3] As duas colectâneas referidas, como os títulos indicam, não abrangem só autoras.
Cf., do primeiro, *British Literature, 1640-1789: An Anthology*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1996; e dos segundos, *Eighteenth-Century Poetry: An annotated Anthology*, da mesma editora, 1999. No presente ensaio, a cit. de poemas faz-se com referência ao respectivo número na ed. de Lonsdale.

[4] Cf. *op. cit.*, nº 56, "Epistle to Mrs. Anne Griffiths. Written from London, in 1718", publicado em 1744.

publicação de vários escritores numa colectânea. Mais raras eram as recolhas individuais de escritores.[5]

Se, por um lado, o talento literário de número considerável de mulheres lhes podia trazer fama e contribuía para a valorização do sexo feminino, por outro lado e em vários casos, pelo contrário, atraía desconfiança e rótulos gravosos — como aconteceu a Aphra Behn (1640-1689), Eliza Haywood (1693?-1756) e Delarivier Manley (1663-1724) ficcionistas cujos méritos se misturaram com persistentes fumos de licenciosidade e acusações de falso *wit*. Embora precursoras, também eram, em larga medida, tidas por precedentes pouco propícios ao prestígio feminino, como se pode ver no poema citado (nota. 4), tal como nele se pode encontrar expresso, em contraste, o elogio a Katherine Philips (1631-1664), Elizabeth Singer Rowe (1674-1737) e *lady* Winchilsea (1661-1720):[6]

> …. Dulness alone's my fault,
> Guiltless of impious jest, or obscene thought!
> None e'er can say that I have loosely writ,
> Nor would at that dear rate be thought a *wit*.
> Fair modesty was once our sex's pride,
> But some have thrown that bashful grace aside:
> The Behns, the Manleys, head this motley train,
> Politely lewd and wittily profane;
> Their wit, their fluent style (which all must own)
> Can never for their levity atone.
> But heaven still, its goodness to denote,
> For every poison gives an antidote:
> First our Orinda [Katherine Philips], spotless in her fame,
> As chaste in wit, rescued our sex from shame;
> And now, when Heywood's soft, seducing style
> Might heedless youth and innocence beguile,
> Angelic *wit* and purest thoughts agree
> In tuneful Singer [Elizabeth Rowe], and great Winchilsea.

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[5] Na sua introdução, p. xxi, Lonsdale menciona duas dessas colectâneas individuais de versos de autoria feminina na primeira década do século XVIII, e mais de trinta na última.

[6] *Loc. cit.*, nº 56 (cf. nota 4), l. 13-30. Itálicos meus.

Nas dicotomias assim expostas, o tom *witty*, a pose sincerista e autocrítica, não sem humor, designadamente na reiteração da referência a *dulness*, não apaga o registo retórico subjacente ao valor facial da "confissão"; e a apologia da decência, que aproxima a autora de outros exemplos nomeados ('Orinda', Singer e Winchilsea), rejeita falsas modéstias ao mesmo tempo que serve de contraste à antiguidade do *wit* de exemplos negativos, também convocados. Tão pouco se deixa de sugerir a noção de que, quase sempre, o *wit* mais vulgar se confunde com descaro. Mais adiante procurarei desenvolver o tópico relativo ao *wit*, sempre muito encarecido na época da Restauração e Augustana, e ao qual Addison dedicou no jornal *Spectator* bastante atenção.[7]

　　Em parte por índole própria ou também por reacção contra uma vasta produção que abertamente explorava a instabilidade dos valores humanos, alguns comentadores, críticos e outros escritores enalteciam sobretudo o papel, tradicionalmente importante, da mulher na sua casa e em família. Reacção que, já no final do século XVII, encontrara certa estridência em *Short View of the Profaneness, and Immorality of the English Stage* (1698), de Jeremy Collier (1650-1726), anos depois de, por idênticos motivos de ordem moral, os teatros de Londres terem sido encerrados durante o governo puritano. Ao longo do século XVIII, não seria apenas o teatro a prestar-se à vituperação; e no frequente contraste entre o decantado teor que se pretendia sóbrio e honesto, da vida no campo ou na morada bucólica, e o teor, não menos glosado, da vida na cidade, esta avultava como lugar geométrico de todos os vícios, disfarces e fingimentos. No poema nº 62 da antologia de Lonsdale, 'The Invitation from a country cottage', Martha Fowke Sansom (1690-1736) faz sobressair o primeiro termo do contraste, exemplificável também nos poemas nº 78 ('To the Countess Pomfret: Life at Richkings') de Frances Thynne Seymour (1699-1754), e nº 126 ('To Miss A[nn]a M[ari]a Tra[ver]s. An Epistle from Scotland'), de Charlotte Brereton (nascida cerca de 1720).[8]

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[7] Cf. por ex., John Loftis, ed., *Joseph Addison: Essays in Criticism and Literary Theory*, AHM Publishing Corporation, Northbrook, Illinois, 1975; e *Spectator*, nº 58-63 (sobre *wit* verdadeiro e falso) nessa ed., pp. 53-82.

[8] Escritos e publicados, respectivamente, em 1726; em 1740 e 1805; e em 1742. Cf. também Lonsdale, *op cit*.,nºs 155,183, 184, 202, 262 e 263.

O aludido contraste campo-cidade pode ter-se tornado lugar comum da cultura britânica no período setecentista, mas também é verdade que um aceso debate sobre os respectivos termos e o teor cultural neles implicado se prolongou desde origens clássicas (cf. os cenários pastoris), até à ideologia que animou as correspondentes facções políticas *country* e *court* (sendo *court* amiúde identificada com *city*). O que compelia muitos artistas do mesmo período a tomar partido e se reflectia não só no plano da vida pública, mas também na temática de inúmeros textos, contextos, pinturas e outras obras de projecção estética. Já no século XX, um livro de cariz histórico-cultural, *The Country and the City*, de um reputado *scholar* como Raymond Williams, pode remeter-nos ainda para o referido debate.[9]

Sobre a poesia de encómio à feliz privacidade, em especial do amor conjugal, designadamente em atmosfera citadina (proverbialmente mais focada no público do que no privado), Andrew Varney toma como ilustração mais imediata o poema nº 42 ('The Lover: a Ballad'), de *lady* Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762). Deste poema, diz Varney que "um dos seus atractivos é a simplicidade do ritmo e da rima". Os "resilientes tetrâmetros têm impressa uma tensão que transmite a vitalidade do empenhamento da poeta no seu tópico". E acrescenta:

> Em larga medida, por causa do prestígio de Pope, e de Dryden antes dele, tornou-se inevitável que os versos do século XVIII estejam associados ao dístico heróico. Mas grande quantidade de textos foi antes escrita noutros moldes. Em particular, boa capacidade inventiva se revela nas baladas populares, em poemas narrativos, em epigramas e canções políticas…. e de número considerável de composições ressuma notável energia demótica, assim como delas emana um espírito que vai percorrer poemas de autoria feminina….[10]

Característica visível, na opinião do mesmo *scholar*, por exemplo num texto bastante elaborado como é a 'Petição' de Anne Finch, Condessa de

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[9] O livro de Williams foi publicado em Londres, 1973. Cf., do mesmo autor, *Keywords*, Fontana Press, Londres 1983, primeiro publ. 1976; e, nesta obra, as palavras '*city*' e '*country*', pp. 55-7 e 81-2.

[10] *Op. cit*, p. 123.

Winchilsea. Nos padrões desses versos notar-se-ia "uma brevidade e uma expressão directa" que distancia o seu apelo, a favor de uma vida de rural simplicidade, "de muitos e estirados esforços de um pastoralismo mais literário" e tradicional. Veja-se, da autora, alguns passos da balada em apreço ('The Petition for an Absolute Retreat', de 1713):[11]

> Give me, O indulgent Fate!
> …. A sweet, but absolute retreat,
> …. That the world may ne'er invade,
> Through such windings and such shade,
> My unshaken liberty….
> Clothe me, Fate, though not so gay,
> Clothe me light and fresh as May;
> In the fountains let me view,
> All my habit cheap and new,
> …. Gently waving to express
> Unaffected carelessness….

Tal apelo com vista a uma possível vida retirada no campo, nota ainda Varney, tem o brio de uma afirmação celebratória que contrasta com a refinada cerimónia que disciplinava a vida e os costumes na sociedade setecentista, em especial nas cidades.[12]

Na mesma época, a frequência do uso de tetrâmetros e pentâmetros em sequências de dísticos geralmente rimados, deve-se também ao facto de tais moldes serem julgados particularmente aptos a exprimir a tenaz preferência pelo carácter narrativo, 'objectivo' e 'realista', assim como pela dimensão 'pública' de vivências transpostas na poesia. Por outro lado ainda, os mesmos moldes coadunavam-se com um declarado gosto pelo ritmo regular e pela dicção urbana, de vislumbradas correspondências com aspectos de uma cultura predominantemente societária e valorizadora de empenhamento político. O que terá sido estimulado por ocorrências de

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[11] Cf. l. 1, 3, 5-7, 64-7, e 70-1, do poema, nº 10 da antologia de Lonsdale.

[12] *Op.cit*., p.123. '*Retirement*' seria mesmo uma palavra-chave das letras Augustanas (outra seria '*politeness*'), segundo Reuben A. Brower, em 'An Allusion to Europe: Dryden and Poetic Tradition', em Bernard N. Schilling, ed., *Dryden: A Collection of Critical Essays*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N. Jersey, 1963, p. 52.

largo alcance histórico, como foram a Restauração de 1660, a Revolução Whig ou 'Gloriosa' de 1688, o reforço dos poderes parlamentares (pela mesma data) num regime já não absolutista, mas de soberania partilhada entre rei, nobres e comuns, e pela união com a Escócia (1707). A tais circunstâncias, que revigoraram a auto-estima e a confiança dos britânicos na evolução pacífica do país e na sua prosperidade, acresce o optimismo aportado por sucessivas gerações de cientistas, entre os quais sobressai Newton (1642-1727). A apetência pela clareza (pelas luzes), a aspiração ao auto-controlo, ao equilíbrio e ao discernimento nas ideias e nos sentimentos, o apuro da propriedade e sobriedade verbal e o culto do *wit* são outros tantos factores distintivos dos ideais augustanos, ancorados naquelas circunstâncias e nos anos de relativa tranquilidade interna então vividos. Ideais tanto mais apetecidos quanto mais podiam contribuir para uma consciencialização das possibilidades históricas de um presente que se quer em contraposição à agónica experiência e memória das convulsões que haviam assolado a Grã-Bretanha e o resto da Europa no século XVII. A reiterada apologia poética do campo como refúgio oposto à pública alienação da cidade parece contradizer a vocação urbana, mas de facto não obstou a que, em geral, os intelectuais, escritores e outros artistas da época, de Swift (1667-1745) e Pope (1688-1744) a Defoe (1660-1729) e Johnson (1709-84), para citar só os mais conhecidos, tivessem intervenção cívica e política de relevo quer no âmbito das suas criações imaginativas quer na prática quotidiana. Na realidade, o refúgio consistente com a privacidade no campo não impedia algumas reflexões de admitirem as virtualidades do possível anonimato e de outras vantagens da cidade. Entre elas, uma mais directa e multifacetada participação em tarefas públicas de instante exigência. Na literatura do período repercute-se, pois, não apenas a tradicional oposição cidade-campo, mas também, por vezes, uma problematização matizada das duas situações, nomeadamente integrada no tema mais geral da opção de vida.[13] No plano das realidades plausíveis mas provavelmente só acessíveis a uma minoria, apresenta-se, por exemplo, a escolha atribuída por Fielding (1707-1754) à personagem de Mr. Allworthy, em *Tom Jones* (1749), que vive no campo, no seu 'Paradise Hall' de míticas conotações

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[13] Cf. Varney, *op. cit.*, cap. 8, 'Country and City, the Choice of Life: Dr. Johnson'.

(desde logo no nome), mas que passa habitualmente algum tempo na cidade. O que será, porventura e literalmente, usufruir o melhor dos dois mundos possíveis. Em contrapartida, Johnson faz o protagonista de *Rasselas* (1759) fugir do paradisíaco vale de arcádias sugestões, que sentia como prisão e não como rústico refúgio, optando pela cidade e pelo vário mundo — cujas carências se podem contrapôr ao inicial cenário utópico, mas solicitam a sua solidariedade com o comum dos humanos.

Para o deleite proporcionado pelo campo, segundo diversos poemas setecentistas de autoria feminina (ou masculina), contribui em lugar de destaque a *country cottage*, a *country-house*, ou o *country-seat* (solar). Veja-se, entre outros, o poema 'The Invitation from a Country Cottage' (1726), de Martha Fowke Sansom (1690-1736):

> Close to the fireside confined
> By the cold fogs and piercing winds,
> Blessed with my dog, and peace of mind:
> The cheerful rustics all sit round,
> Whose careful hands improve the ground,
> After the labour of the day,
> Upon the clean-swept hearth, and play.
> …. No ceremony here they use,
> But frankly wrangle when they lose;
> …. Nor is the table lined with green,
> But a plain, honest, cleanly board,
> Such as these humble shades afford;
> No gold upon the table shines,
> But chalk the homely game confines,
> Believe, it pleases me, my friend,
> To see the artless tears descend:
> Their eyes, that ne'er were taught to grieve,
> Their hearts, which natural passions heave,
> Show lovely Nature all undressed,
> And charm my undesigning breast.
> O! Come, my friend, and see *one* place,
> Where all things wear an honest face.[14]

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[14] Cf. Lonsdale, nº 62, l. 1-7, 10-11, 15-19 e 24-30.

A *country cottage* (ou a *country-house*) polariza neste e em muitos outros textos a idealizada visão da vida no campo. Tal como a qualidade estética em habitações de maior dimensão, ou a delicadeza no trato com a criadagem, ela evoca um celebrado *ethos* de nobres virtudes, designadamente no *gentleman* do campo, ou no *countryman* paradigmático. Entre tais virtudes, as mais tradicionais eram a hospitalidade, a independência de espírito e a capacidade para administrar os bens. Daí deriva ainda o conceito, amiúde expresso, da *country-house* como venerável modelo e teste de sociabilidade ou de *gentility* nas relações humanas.[15]

Lembra A. Varney que a cultura literária dominante, na época da Restauração e até inícios do século seguinte, valorizava, em todo o caso e sobretudo, reconhecidas características da vida citadina (o que quer dizer, principalmente, de Londres e respectivas oportunidades para aproveitar manifestações de *wit*, arte, conforto e sofisticação diversa, além de comércio, dinheiro, sociabilidade, promiscuidade e entretenimento). As peças daquela época confirmariam que o teatro é "um fenómeno eminentemente urbano", com algumas das suas personagens mais em evidência exprimindo a respectiva náusea em relação ao campo e sugerindo o aforismo de que "quem está saturado de Londres está saturado da vida". Aforismo atribuído por Boswell (1740-95) a Johnson, cujo poema 'London', da juventude, expressa uma perspectiva favorável ao campo e faz tradicionais alusões aos males da cidade — que não obstaram a que o autor reconhecesse os seus aspectos positivos durante toda uma vida na capital.[16]

Aos 'toscos' campónios e morgados que tipificavam o campo, contrapunha a cidade os seus 'civilizados' (mesmo que nem sempre 'honestos') cidadãos. A partir de 1700, e cada vez mais, porém, a oposição simplificadora de termos e estereótipos vai dando lugar a uma visão integradora de traços complementares. A urbanização de estilo citadino e industrial começa a invadir o campo, e este começa, por sua vez, a ter alguns dos

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[15] Ver, de Virgínia C. Kenny, *The Country-House Ethos in English Literature, 1688-1750: Themes of Personal Retreat and National Expansion*, Harvester, Brighton, 1984.

[16] Cf. 'London', no índice de tópicos em Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, ed. R. W. Chapman; revista por J. D. Fleeman, com nova Introdução por Pat Rogers, Oxford (U. Press), 1980.

antigos ou modernos benefícios da cidade. Veja-se, a propósito, 'Sonnet. To Colebrook Dale' (escrito em 1787 e publicado em 1799), de Anna Seward (1742-1809):[17]

> Thy Genius, Colebrook, faithless to his charge
> Amid thy woods and vales, thy rocks and streams,
> Formed for the train that haunt poetic dreams,
> Naiads and nymphs, — now hears the toiling barge
> And the swart Cyclops' ever changing forge
> Din in thy dells; — permits the dark-red gleams,
> From umbered fired on all thy hills, the beams,
> Solar and pure, to shroud with columns large
> Of black sulphureous smoke, that spread their veils
> Like funeral crape upon the sylvan robe
> Of thy romantic rocks, pollute thy gales,
> And stain thy glossy floods; — while o'er the globe
> To spread thy stores metallic, this rude yell
> Drowns the wild woodland song, and breaks the Poet's spell.

Por vezes, o diálogo ou a correspondência epistolar entre duas personagens num poema permite o afloramento do humor (do *wit* no sentido incorrecto mas vulgar do termo) no encaminhamento para um desfecho eventualmente inconclusivo do confronto entre campo e cidade. Noutros casos, como ocorre no poema 'London's Summer Morning', de Mary Darby Robinson (1758-1800), a capital é descrita de modo não idealizado nem estigmatizado.[18] Para além de todas as variantes temáticas, registos retóricos e tonalidades estilísticas, permanece o facto saliente da recorrência e vitalidade dos tópicos respeitantes à cidade e ao campo, na literatura setecentista, inclusive de autoria feminina.[19]

Abordámos atrás, de passagem e a propósito de uma 'Epistle' de Jane Brereton, a controvérsia relativa a diferentes concepções de *wit*, assunto

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[17] Cf. Lonsdale, *op. cit.*, nº 208; e Varney, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

[18] Escrito c. de 1794 e publ. em 1804; *loc. cit.*, nº 303.

[19] Cf. Lonsdale, 'cidade', nº 18, 74, 152, 224, 303, 304, e 305; e 'campo', nº 16, 17, 64, 96, 139, 152, 155, 160, 183, 184, 208, 216, 231, 237, 254, 275, 278, 279,281, 308,310, e 311.

tratado por Addison em 1711, no *Spectator*, tal como a questão da licencio-sidade do teatro, em 1712, no mesmo jornal (nº 446).[20] Assim como se fez em relação ao tópico da *country-house*, vale a pena resumir aqui alguns elementos atinentes a uma contextualização. Para isso, partimos das obser-vações do escritor, sem dúvida influentes no seu tempo, e começando pelas afirmações de que "nada é tão admirado e tão pouco compreendido como o *wit*" e de que "tal tópico raramente é aprofundado pelos que se lhe referem", desenvolvidas em 7-V-1711. Nas variedades de falso *wit* inclui a característica espúria e antiga de certos poemas gregos de curta extensão, "muito difícil interpretação" e origem indeterminada, de craveira não equiparável à de um Teócrito. Tais poemas admitiam diversas e abstrusas configurações gráficas, aspecto que teria ressurgido em vários poetas recentes, como Herbert e Du Bartas (este na tradução inglesa de 1605), e que Addison ironicamente recomenda a diletantes poetastros dos tempos modernos. Num ensaio do dia seguinte e com o mesmo tema, destaca-se um segundo tipo de falso *wit*, o "rendilhado de bagatelas" por escritores porventura "senhores de um vasto saber, mas de nenhum génio". Da Anti-guidade também procederia um terceiro tipo de suposto *wit*, entretido com miúdos jogos de letras, sílabas e palavras, ou com rimas "macarrónicas"; estas não seriam de confundir com rimas hudibrásticas, aliás pertinentes num poema *mock-heroic* e sublimadas por trechos de substancial senso, no ensaio exemplificado. Idêntico tema é retomado em 9-V-1711, num artigo que incide nas "longas horas empregues na filigrana de artifícios" e nos caprichosos malabarismos verbais, que requerem "muito tempo e fraca capacidade" — como anagramas, acrósticos e listas de rimas. No jornal do dia 10, o tema é reatado, após uma epígrafe extraída das *Sátiras* de Pérsio (5. 19-20): "Não, com efeito, não é meu fito encher a página com preciosas bagatelas, aptas apenas para adensar uma onda de fumo". O motivo dominante é agora o dos trocadilhos; cuja prática, "a mais recomendada em todas as épocas", surgiria mesmo em obras de maior génio, tal como a "chicana", embora ambos os usos possam ser controlados pela razão, pela reflexão e pelo bom senso. A ilustrar este ponto vem uma referência ao livro de Aristóteles sobre retórica, em cujo capítulo onze se discrimina "duas ou

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[20] Cf. notas anteriores, n. 4 e 6, assim como a ed. de Loftis, cit. na nota 7, pp.53-82 e 183-6.

três espécies de trocadilhos (a que chama *paragramas*)" ou jogos de palavras, que o estagirita inclui entre os traços mais formosos da boa escrita, exemplificando-os com passagens "dos maiores autores da língua grega". Cícero e Shakespeare seriam outros exemplos da mesma prática, que teria florescido na Grã-Bretanha, no reinado de Jaime I. Apesar de todas estas recomendações dos trocadilhos, Addison persiste em considerá-los como "uma ferramenta de falso *wit*" sancionada por lisonjeiros tratados de retórica e "respeitosamente enaltecida" com designações "eruditas", "como se fosse um ornamento ou uma figura de estilo". Em 11-V-1711, sai o penúltimo ensaio da série, com uma epígrafe desta vez tirada da *Arte Poética* de Horácio (309): "Da melhor escrita a origem e fonte é o bom senso". Logo depois vem uma calorosa referência à definição de *wit* proposta por Locke (1632-1704) em *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), cap. XI ("Of Discerning, and Other Operations of the Mind"). Definição que distingue *wit* de "discernimento", "talentos que nem sempre coexistem na mesma pessoa":

> Porque *wit* reside sobretudo na reunião de ideias e na sua expressão viva e variada, nas quais se pode encontrar alguma semelhança ou congruência e com as quais se evocam imagens deleitosas e perspectivas agradáveis na fantasia; o discernimento, pelo contrário, situa-se noutra margem, ao separar cuidadosamente ideias em que é possível verificar uma diferença mesmo que mínima — e dessa maneira evitar ser induzido em erro pela sua similitude e afinidade ao ponto de se tomar uma coisa por outra. Isto é um modo de proceder diametralmente oposto à metáfora e à alusão, das quais advém, na maioria dos casos, a diversão e a graça do *wit* que tão claramente ilumina a fantasia e, por via disso, tem tanta aceitação em toda a gente[21].

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[21] Cf. Loftis, *ed. cit.*, p. 71. Addison, tal como Locke, parece identificar "fantasia" com "imaginação". Num estudo diferenciador das duas funções, R. L. Brett (*Fancy and Imagination*, "The Critical Idiom", Methuen, Londres, 1969, reimp., 1978) recupera a distinção de Coleridge (1772-1834). "Fantasia" basear-se-ia num processo *associativo* da memória, e "imaginação" num processo *criativo* do espírito, capaz de relacionar o mais profundo sentimento e pensamento com a natureza do real. Cf. Coleridge, *Biografia Literária*, ed. George Watson, Everyman's Library, Londres, 1965, reimp. 1980, especialm. cap. XIII.

A esta definição junta Addison a sua própria reflexão de que "nem toda a semelhança de ideias é o que se designa por *wit*, a não ser que cause deleite e surpresa no leitor". Se a semelhança é óbvia, não chega a surpreender e, como tal, não cabe no conceito de *wit*. No caso dos poemas épicos ou heróicos, a sua finalidade é acordar no espírito de quem lê grandes ou elevadas concepções, mais do que divertir com ideias novas ou eventos surpreendentes, raramente se encontrando neles algo susceptível de se chamar *wit*. E acrescenta o ensaísta Augustano:

> A descrição do filósofo, a par desta minha reflexão, compreende a maior parte dos tipos de *wit*, como sejam metáforas, comparações, alegorias, enigmas, divisas, parábolas, fábulas, sonhos, visões, textos dramáticos, burlescos e todos os métodos de alusão, havendo ainda muitas outras variantes (por distantes que possam parecer, à primeira vista, daquela definição), as quais, a uma observação atenta, se reconhecem em concordância com ela.[22]

Outra noção expendida por Addison no seu artigo é a de que "o verdadeiro wit consiste na aproximação de ideias e o falso *wit* na semelhança de palavras" — de acordo com as explicações citadas. Haveria segundo ele, no entanto, "uma outra espécie de *wit*", a que chama "misto" e que "resultaria em parte de uma aproximação de ideias em parte de uma semelhança de palavras". Esta espécie de *wit* abundaria, por exemplo, em Cowley (1618-1667) e Waller (1606-1687), seria usada com parcimónia por Dryden (1631-1700), ficaria aquém do génio de Milton (1608-1674) e Spenser (1552-1599), teria profusa aplicação pelos Italianos (inclusive na sua épica), e seria rejeitada com desprezo por Boileau (1636-1711). Entre os gregos antigos, só os que se dedicavam à composição de epigramas o utilizavam. Entre os latinos, não comparece em Virgílio, Lucrécio ou Catulo, surge esparso em Horácio, frequentemente em Ovídio, e Marcial raramente prescinde dele.[23]

Wit "misto" seria, portanto, "um composto de trocadilho e verdadeiro *wit*"; e a sua perfeição seria tanto maior ou tanto menor quanto mais,

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[22] Cf. Loftis, p. 72.

[23] Cf. Loftis, p. 73.

ou menos, a similitude se descobre nas ideias ou nas palavras. Os seus fundamentos assentariam em parte numa falsidade e em parte numa veracidade. A razão reivindicaria metade do seu sentido, a extravagância a outra metade. O epigrama seria o seu espaço por excelência".[24]

Para Dryden (1631-1700), *wit* seria "uma propriedade de palavras e pensamentos adequados ao assunto", o que o ensaísta do *Spectator* considera "uma definição aplicável antes a toda a boa escrita".[25] Referindo um contemporâneo crítico francês, assinala que "é impossível qualquer pensamento ser belo se não for justo e não tiver a sua base na natureza das coisas", assim como "o *wit* tem a respectiva fonte na verdade" e só revelaria valor "se estribado no bom senso". Tanto a prosa como o verso de Boileau atestariam o conceito. "De um modo natural, da bela simplicidade, tão admirada nos Antigos", só se desviariam os que são falhos da força do génio capaz de imprimir lustro no pensamento e majestade numa escrita escorreita. Daí que esses se sintam forçados a procurar ornamentos aberrantes e a acolher todo o tipo de *wit*.[26]

No último ensaio da série (12-V-1711), Addison narra um sonho alegórico que culmina o seu próprio *wit*, presente nos anteriores artigos. Do ano seguinte (1-VIII-1712), é "Licentiousness in the drama and the need for supervision of the theaters", visando os autores "de génio inferior que não conhecem a diferença entre ser divertido e ser desbragado". Um primeiro princípio proposto para uma clarificação é que "uma personagem caracterizada por algum vício seja como tal referida, de modo a não parecer louvável ou amável". Um segundo princípio seria "nunca ridicularizar o que não é compatível com o ridículo; o contrário causaria horror e comise-

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[24] *Idem*, p. 74.

[25] Cf. Dryden, 'The Author's Apology for Heroic Poetry and Poetic License', que precede *The State of Innocence* (1677); cit. por Loftis, p. 75, nota 8. Deve observar-se, todavia, que o sentido mais comum de *wit* como 'agudeza de conceito' é frequentemente usado por Dryden. Veja-se, por ex., 'Sharpness of conceit', em 'Defence of the Epilogue, or An Essay on the Dramatic Poetry of the Last Age', em James Kinsley e George Parfitt, eds., *John Dryden: Selected Criticism*, Oxford *paperback* English Texts, Claredon Press, Oxford, 1970, pp. 127 e 130.

[26] Cf. Loftis, p. 75.

ração e não o riso". Na opinião do ensaísta, predominariam na cena inglesa contemporânea os autores medíocres, que ignorariam tais princípios.

Fica agora mais nítido o ideal augustano de cultivação do verdadeiro *wit* e o sentido não só moral mas também estético das repetidas referências a esse talento na 'Epistle' parcialmente transcrita, de Jane Brereton, e em inúmeros outros textos setecentistas.[27]

A associação de *wit* a exteriorização livresca, sobretudo na formação feminina, suscitaria, não raro, reacção adversa ou equívoca. Em 'Memory, a Poem' (escrito cerca de 1733, publicado em 1748), Laetitia van Lewen Pilkington (1708?-50) parece apostada em desfazer um mal-entendido, aliás recorrente: "O falsely deemed the foe of sacred wit! / Thou, who the nurse and guardian art of it, / Laying it up till season due and fit".[28] Reacção que, numa dimensão mais genérica, é visível em muitos outros poemas; por exemplo em 'An Essay on Woman' (escrito pelo ano 1746 e publicado em 1751), de Mary Leapor (1722-46): 'Woman, a pleasing but short-lived flower, / Too soft for business and too weak for power: / A wife in bondage, or neglected maid; / Despised if ugly; if she's fair, betrayed. / 'Tis Wealth alone inspires every grace, / And calls the raptures to her plenteous face'.[29] A condição de (esposa) relegada para um papel de escrava é aqui manifesta, tal como noutros poemas de autoria feminina, em que a crítica amarga a uma situação corrente coexiste com um *wit* não humorístico. De 'Ladies Defense' (de 1701), de Mary, *lady* Chudleigh (1656-1710), é sugestiva a seguinte passagem, onde o *wit* é agora reclamado como capacidade feminina, contrariamente ao preconceito masculino, então muito arreigado:[30]

> .... 'Tis hard we should be by the men despised,
> Yet kept from knowing what would make us prized;
> Debarred from knowledge, banished from the schools
> And with the utmost industry bred fools;

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[27] Cf. notas anteriores, 4, 6 e 20.

[28] Cf. Lonsdale, nº 94, l. 10-12.

[29] *Idem*, nº 137, l.1-6.

[30] *Idem*, nº 1, l. 1-10.

Laughed out of reason, jested out of sense,
And nothing left but native innocence;
Then told we are incapable of wit,
And only for the meanest drudgeries fit;
Made slaves to serve their luxury and pride,
And with innumerable hardships tried, ….

E, da mesma autora, 'To the Ladies' (de 1703), na transcrição de Lonsdale começa assim: "Wife and servant are the same, / But only differ in the name: /…. When she the Word *obey* has said,/ And man by law supreme has made, / …. Fierce as an eastern prince he grows, / And all his innate rigour shows,…." Ao ventilar este sentimento, *lady* Mary Chudleigh não faz mais do que exprimir, com um *wit* que desmente a incapacidade desse talento nas mulheres, uma situação verdadeira e correntia. *De jure* e de facto, a mulher casada, ou solteira sem meios de fortuna, estava totalmente subordinada ao marido, ao pai, ou a outro parente e frequentemente relegada para funções secundarizadas ou predominantemente domésticas.[31]

Numa época em que o conhecimento dos clássicos era tido por indispensável para a elaboração e compreensão da poesia, a generalidade das mulheres e os homens de condição inferior tendiam a ficar excluídos da prática literária (do *wit*) ou, até, de expectativas positivas quanto à possibilidade de escrever sem erros de ortografia, gramática, metrificação, dicção e estilo. Fora das classes mais elevadas, ou com mais tempo livre, e sobretudo até meados do século, seriam poucas as mulheres com sucesso crítico nas letras. Constantia Crawley Grierson (1705-1732) seria uma das raras excepções.[32] mas também haveria a registar casos de autoras encorajadas por parentes do sexo masculino ou por escritores prestigiados, como Richardson (1689-1761) e Johnson, em cujos círculos literários se incluíam várias escri-

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[31] Ver Vivien Jones, *Women in the Eighteenth Century: Constructions of Femininity*, Routledge, Londres, 1990; Jane Spencer, *The Rise of the Woman Novelist: From Aphra Behn to Jane Austen*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1986; Beth Swan, *Fictions of Law: An Investigation of the law in Eighteenth Century English Fiction*, Peter Lang, Francforte, 1997; e Janet Todd, *The Sign of Angellica: Women, Writing and Fiction, 1660-1800*, Methuen, Londres, 1984. Cf. do poema cit., nº 2, *op. cit.*, l. 1-2, 5-6, e 9-10.

[32] *Op. cit.*, nº 64.

toras. Em todo o caso, a conjunção de veia satírica com *wit* visa uma realidade notória. Em versos de Elizabeth Thomas (1675-1731), por exemplo, a sátira vira-se contra o habitual satirista preconceituoso, através da fala de uma personagem masculina. Veja-se, desta autora, 'The True Effigies of a Certain Squire: Inscribed to Clemena' (de 1722).[33]

> Madam', he cries, 'Lord, how my soul is moved
> To see such silly toys by you approved!
> A closet stuffed with books: pray, what's your crime,
> To superannuate before your time,
> And make yourself look old and ugly in your prime?
> Our modern pedants contradict the schools,
> For learned ladies are but learned fools'.

Ou veja-se outro poema (de 1722) da mesma escritora, 'On Sir J__ S__ saying in a Sarcastic Manner, My Books would make me Mad. An Ode':[34]

> Unhappy sex! How hard's our fate,
> By costum's tyranny confined
> To foolish needlework and chat,
> Or such like exercise as that,
> But still denied th'improvement of our mind!
> 'Woman!' men cry, 'alas, poor fools!
> What are they but domestic tools?
> On purpose made our toils to share,
> And ease the husband's economic care.
> To dress, to sing, to work, to play,
> To watch our looks, our words obey,
> And with their little follies drive dull thoughts away.
> Thus let them humbly in subjection live;
> But learning leave to men, our Great prerrogative'.

A partir de 1730, a difusão de periódicos com páginas literárias ou dedicados à literatura (o primeiro e mais influente dos quais seria *The Gentleman's Magazine*, de Edward Cave) foi um dos factores que contribuíram para

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[33] *Idem*, nº 26, l. 51-7.

[34] *Idem*, nº 28, l. 1-14.

tornar mais acessível às mulheres a publicação dos seus escritos. Inúmeras *Reviews* se seguiriam. Ainda nos anos trinta, intensificar-se-ia a voga da publicação de volumes de versos de autoria feminina, por subscrição, com a dupla finalidade de encorajar o talento literário e contribuir para o desafogo económico das respectivas famílias. Contra a "maré" de obras publicadas mas com escasso valor literário, ou que ficavam muito aquém dos ideais augustanos de *wit*, de apurado gosto e correcção, se insurgiria Pope na *Dunciad* (1728, 1742 e 1743). O que não impedia o crescente interesse pelo género *untutored*, de *wit* espontâneo, que por vezes se afirmava nas condições menos favoráveis, como é o caso de Mary Collier (1690?- c. 1742).[35]

Uma variante das tradicionais sátiras às mulheres eram os versos que se referiam às damas como mais hostis aos esforços literários das suas con-géneres de que os homens.[36] Veja-se o poema 'To a lady, who commanded me to send her an Account in Verse, how I succeeded in my subscription' (de 1734), da autoria de Mary Barber (c. 1690-1757).[37]

> Servilla cries, 'I hate a wit;
> Women should to their fate submit,
> Should in the needle take delight;
> 'Tis out of character to write:
> She may succeed among the men;
> They tell me Swift subscribes for ten,
> And some say Dorset does the same;
> But she shall never have my name.
> Her poetry has cost me dear;
> When Lady Cartret was here,
> The widow Gordon got my guïnea
> For which I own myself a ninny.'

Contra a noção, bastante difundida, de que a dedicação das mulheres à escrita as levava a descurar os deveres domésticos, não faltam as respostas. Veja-se os poemas de Mary Leapor, nº 135, 'An Epistle to Artemisia (escrito

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[35] Cf. *op. cit.*, XXVI-XXVII, e nº 143.

[36] *Idem*, nº 59,88,120, 142, 146.

[37] *Idem*, nº 90, l. 11-22.

por 1746, publicado em 1751) e de Esther Lewis Clark (1716-94), 'Mirror for Detractors. Addressed to a Friend', nº 153 (escrito em 1748, publicado em 1754).[38]

A partir da maior divulgação das escritoras, a seguir aos anos trinta, haveria alguma moderação na reacção "masculina", ou mesmo apologias do "direito das mulheres à literatura", contra "os insultos e a escravidão ancestral" do sexo feminino, ao mesmo tempo que se enaltece a respectiva humildade em oposição a indesejáveis vaidades e petulâncias. A voga de mulheres autoras acompanharia a de mulheres protagonistas da ficção narrativa, desde Richardson e Fielding a Frances Burney (1752-1840), que dão invulgar relevo à expressão de vivências e idiossincrasias femininas. Enfático é, em boa parte por isso, o apreço pelo romancista de *Pamela* e *Clarissa*, tido como um oráculo e um verdadeiro *wit* por muitas leitoras. Veja-se, entre outras, Anna Williams (1706-83), em 'Verses To Mr. Richardson, on *his History of Sir Charles Grandison*' (de 1753), e Hannah More (1745-1833), em 'Sensibility: A Poetical Epistle' (de 1782). Além de manter um círculo de amigas e correspondentes (algumas futuras escritoras), cujas opiniões literárias e *wit* muito prezava, o autor foi um estrénuo defensor do génio feminino contra o cepticismo tradicional de ambos os sexos. Também ele sustentava, contudo, a posição igualmente proverbial de que "as principais responsabilidades das mulheres eram domésticas".[39] Nas suas cartas, porém, faz soar uma nota de maior novidade ao justificar o apoio aos talentos das mulheres com a possibilidade de elas assim serem melhores companheiras dos maridos. Algumas mulheres do círculo de Richardson pertenciam também ao círculo de outro *wit*, Johnson. É o caso das escritoras Anna Williams (1706-83) e Charlotte Lennox (1729?-1804).[40] O apoio de Johnson e Richardson não obstaria, no entanto, a que a segunda tivesse de enfrentar problemas de respeitabilidade social e sobrevivência como tradutora ou autora profissional de ficção narrativa e drama. Nem significava que os dois *wits* não tivessem reservas a um comércio livreiro em expansão e ávido de absorver toda a espécie de produtos "literários", assim

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[38] *Idem*, XXVIII.

[39] *Idem*, XXIX-XXX.

[40] .*Idem*, nº 158-159, e 149-150, respectivamente.

como absorvia escritoras (e escritores) de variável competência ou talento. Reservas que não sentiriam, provavelmente, acerca de uma Elizabeth Carter (1717-1806) e que não tolheriam a forte decisão desta, de embarcar e persistir na carreira das letras. É de notar, a propósito, que a escritora veria a sua 'Ode to Wisdom' (de 1741) impressa em *Clarissa* (1747-48), por Richardson, o qual considerava a poeta um bom exemplo da síntese, por ele defendida, de virtudes domésticas e literárias.[41]

Na década de quarenta, Mary Jones (1707-78) e Mary Leapor figuraram entre os exemplos de autoras de poesia em dísticos de uma informalidade e um imediatismo permeáveis ao *wit* e à referencialidade contextual. Na mesma década, passa a predominar a voga de sensibilidade, com preferência por uma maior variedade estrófica, um tom "elevado" e um mais cuidado estilo frásico. Veja-se, por exemplo, de Hannah More, o poema 'Sensibility: a Poetical Epistle', já mencionado, com o seu tom exclamativo, o seu entusiástico elogio da sensibilidade e a sua invocação de Richardson.[42] O modo informal e o humor (por vezes identificado, como vimos, num sentido lato e não rigoroso, com *wit*) continuariam, entretanto, a ser cultivados sobretudo fora de Londres por autoras que rejeitavam as preocupações da referida voga.

Por meados do século verifica-se uma crescente concordância sobre a necessidade de melhorar as condições de educação das mulheres, para a qual contribuiria também, no seu âmbito especifico, uma já considerável quantidade de folhas de arte e crítica, com regulares recensões e secções de divulgação — e os seus não menos regulares avisos de intransigência perante "iletrados candidatos à fama".

Nas décadas de sessenta e setenta, a autoria feminina alarga-se à elaboração de ensaios e estudos históricos ou críticos, assim contribuindo para consolidar uma tradição de intelectualidade própria. Simultaneamente,

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[41] Cf. Lonsdale, *op. cit.*, XXX, que inclui a referência a Johnson (em relação com o jornal *Adventurer*, nº 115, de II-XII —1753). Ver também XXX-XXXI, sobre as autoras nomeadas, e nº 110-112, de Elizabeth Carter.

[42] Ver, das duas autoras nomeadas no início do parágrafo, nº 105-109 e 129-144, respectivamente; o nº 217 do poema desta última; e XXXI, que pormenoriza informação dada a seguir.

registastse o grande sucesso crítico de Anna Aikin Barbauld (1743-1825), com os seus *Poems* (1773) e de Hannah More, com o "drama pastoral" *Search after Happiness* (do mesmo ano). Entre outros traços inovadores na poesia feminina, verifica-se o uso do verso solto, sem rima, por exemplo na composição 'Corsica' (nº 195), de exaltação da liberdade, da primeira dessas duas autoras; enquanto nas obras da segunda são recriados velhos afrontamentos e ansiedades das escritoras face à sociedade.[43]

A autoria feminina já era então relativamente bem aceite, conquanto se mantivesse a opinião, nalguns críticos e até em escritoras como Hannah More (*Essays*, de 1777, pp. 3-14) e a ficcionista Francis Brooke (1724-89), de que a "afável sensibilidade" das mulheres as predispunha para a lírica, mas não para "as íngremes encostas do Parnasso" (epopeia, tragédia, sátira).[44]

A partir dos anos oitenta, as mulheres passariam a predominar como autoras e leitoras de ficção "popular" e "poesia elegante". A tal respeito se poderia citar o poema *witty* e satírico (nº 301), 'A Receipt for writing a Novel' (1799), da escritora Mary Cumberland Alcock (c. *1742-98)*. Várias outras escritoras então sobressaem, como Anna Seward, saudada por William Hayley, no *Essay on Epic Poetry* (1782), como a nova "*leader* da encantadora linhagem" de autoras britânicas cuja forte veia literária viria "semeando poético ciúme e invejoso temor" entre os "espíritos masculinos".[45]

Se alguns comentadores aconselhavam as potenciais escritoras a cultivar de preferência a poesia lírica, outros lamentavam recentes inovações aparentemente dirigidas ao crescente público (feminino) — como por exemplo, evitar "palavras difíceis", "resumir textos maiores" (talvez em extensão e qualidade), "atenuar ou expurgar" a sátira (se não o falso *wit*), dar primazia a uma "literatura *light*", sentimental e desprovida de "sólidas bases do saber". Tais receitas criaram um gosto e um hábito de leitura que

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[43] Sobre estes tópicos, ver dados mais específicos e desenvolvidos em Lonsdale, XXX-XXXII.

[44] *Idem*, XXXIII-XXXV.

[45] *Idem*, XXXV, particularmente como fonte de informação e das expressões cit.

tornava muitos leitores menos receptivos aos talentos de verdadeiras escrito-
ras. E se a generalidade das autoras aspirava a ver reconhecidas prerrogativas
literárias análogas às dos autores e dos *wits*, também se daria o caso inverso,
pelo menos de um escritor, William Upton (fl. 1789), citado por Lonsdale,
que, ciente da nova e favorável vaga de leitoras, se gabaria de ter publicado
num periódico alguns versos seus e por si assinados com o nome de 'Louise'
— e de ter recebido "ardentes respostas poéticas de admiradores".[46]

Na década de oitenta, o número de autoras tende a aumentar,
especialmente no campo da prosa e da ficção, como já vinha acontecendo
antes. Em finais do século, uma escritora como Elizabeth Greenly Moody
(1737-1814), que em *Poetic Trifles* dá mostras de *wit* e de um talento
espirituoso e despretensioso, reitera o ideal de conciliação da vida literária
com a vida familiar e doméstica.[47] O debate sobre a questão, no entanto,
ganharia novo ímpeto após a Revolução Francesa, com as reivindicações
de plena igualdade dos géneros, apresentadas por Mary Edgeworth (1768-
1849) em *Letters for Literary Ladies* (1795), ou de Hannah More em
Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education (1799) a par das
veementes rejeições, por alguns críticos, das simpatias democráticas e da
"gálica licenciosidade" de várias escritoras. Daquelas autoras não radicais e
de vários desses críticos viriam apelos para uma cooperação dos sexos e não
uma competição.[48]

A publicação, em 1798, de *Lyrical Ballads*, assim como a posterior
publicação do seu Prefácio e a expansão do Romantismo, tenderiam a tornar
aparentemente datados não só tal confronto mas também o apego a certas
noções tradicionais de *wit* e até a própria poesia setecentista no seu todo,
especialmente a de autoria feminina. Para alguns historiadores da literatura,
por muito *witty* que fosse, não se trataria sequer de poesia, mas de *verso*,

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[46] *Idem*, XXXVI.

[47] Cf. nº 260-263.

[48] *Idem*, XXXVIII-XXXIX. Cf. citações e reflexos do referido debate no *Monthly
Review*, *New Series*, XX, 1796, 24-7. Cf., de Anna Barbauld, os versos de 'Rights of
Woman' (escritos cerca de 1775 e publicados em 1825), que começa com as linhas:
'Yes, injured woman! Rise, assert thy right! / Woman! Too long degraded, scorned,
oppressed;'

aliás irremediavelmente inquinado por recorrentes expressões "vistosas" ou "sentimentais", "tricotadas" segundo a moda do momento. O fascínio por uma *poesy* "abrilhantada" pela floreada resposta a expectativas do *gentle reader* seria satirizado por Wordsworth (1770-1850) no poema 'Simon Lee' (1798) e em breve esquecido, como esquecido seria o facto de a poesia "feminina" setecentista escapar, afinal, e geralmente, a tal estereotipo. A revalorização romântica do "visonário, do subjectivo, do génio egofílico", vai em conjunto com a recuperação da perspectiva que dava a poesia como uma criação predominantemente viril. Em 'Washing Day' (nº 202), Anna Barbauld tem o "desplante" de contrariar essa perspectiva, ao pôr o leitor em contacto com a "Musa doméstica", despertada por percepções enraizadas em sentidos humanos e terra-a-terra. Em 'To Mr. [S. T.] C [olerid] ge' alerta para os riscos de ignorar "as coisas terrenas" e enveredar por um romantismo "desenraizado da vida". Este poema (escrito em 1797 e publicado em 1799) constitui uma verdadeira síntese poética da visão cautelar e adversa que as gerações anteriores ao Romantismo por vezes tiveram do novo movimento.[49]

Reivindicando ou não a qualidade de verdadeiros *wits*, algumas autoras do século XVIII foram as primeiras a explicitar a convicção de que as suas composições eram simplesmente "versos" ou "rimas" — e não "sublime poesia". Nas respectivas "Epistles" e demais formas utilizadas, procuraram, muitas vezes de maneira despretensiosa, coloquial, directa e bem humorada, apurar sobretudo a expressão das vivências que as motivavam e solicitavam na sucessão dos trabalhos e dos dias. O que não é razão, seguramente, para ficarem na obscuridade.

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[49] *Idem*, xl-xli. Cf. Anna Barbauld, nº 195-203.

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Resumo

Tomando como base de estudo a antologia de Roger Lonsdale citada na bibliografia, o presente ensaio começa por destacar alguns constrangimentos sociais e culturais reflectidos na poesia feminina, predominantemente realista, na Grã-Bretanha do séc. XVIII. Esse destaque acompanha depois o enfoque nos motivos da *country-house* e do *wit*, centrais na mesma poesia, e visando a respectiva contextualização. O primeiro de tais motivos relaciona-se directamente com a questão da opção de vida, tratada em muitos textos da época, e o segundo constitui referência constante no debate coetâneo sobre autoria feminina. Debate presente, nomeadamente, em influentes artigos de Addison sobre *wit* verdadeiro e falso e sobre a alegada licenciosidade corrente no drama. Em articulação com o mesmo enfoque, procura-se distinguir sucintamente a evolução de alguns aspectos do contexto editorial que puderam atenuar os constrangimentos antes sugeridos. A finalizar, salientam-se traços distintivos que, a partir de trabalhos pioneiros como o de Lonsdale, são susceptíveis de contribuir para fazer a poesia feminina da Grã-Bretanha setecentista sair da obscuridade a que tem estado votada, desde o Romantismo, nos últimos dois séculos.

Palavras-chave/

Constrangimentos sociais e culturais; Agudeza de espírito (verdadeira e falsa); (Casa de) campo; Cidade; Privacidade.

Abstract

This essay, based on Roger Lonsdale's anthology cited in the bibliography, points out some social and cultural constraints reflected by British women poets during the 18th Century. Their predominantly realistic poetry is often centred on the motifs of the *country-house* and *wit*, and the debate on these topics is very much part of the intellectual context of that period. The first motif is seen to be directly related to the question of the choice of life, as present in many texts of the period: and the second one is a recurrent reference in the contemporary debate promoted

by Addison and others on true and false wit, as well as on the currently alleged licentiousness in English drama. At the same time, one tries to recognize succintly some traits of the publishing context, as the 18th century wore on, which helped the women poets to allay some of the above mentioned constraints. The essay ends up with some features of their poetry which may contribute towards its emerging from the obscurity where it has been lying since the rise of Romanticism and which pioneer works such as Lonsdale's allow us to uncover.

REVIEWS
RELEITURAS

Rocha, Clara. *A caneta que escreve e a que prescreve*. **Lisboa: Babel, 2011.**

Se uma palavra pode resumir um volume tão vasto e tão ambicioso como o é esta antologia, *A caneta que escreve e a que prescreve* (2011), publicada pela Babel, com o apoio da Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, variedade será talvez aquela que melhor define o empreendimento levado a cabo com mestria por Clara Rocha. Um atributo que não lhe compromete o interesse consistente nem a necessária coerência, assegurada, neste caso, quer pelo denominador comum temático: a doença, a medicina e a literatura, quer pelo cuidado filológico em geral observado nas opções editoriais seguidas — Clara Rocha e a sua colaboradora, Teresa Jorge Ferreira, são nisso "professoras até à medula".[1] Variados são os géneros literários, as épocas (cobrindo do séc. 13 ao séc. 21), e os autores, conferindo ao conjunto uma ampla respiração e criando-lhe simultaneamente uma moldura capaz de acolher e desdobrar com proveito a complexidade e delicadeza que o tema comporta. Acrescenta-lhe valia o excelente prefácio de Emílio Rui Vilar que cumpre com salutar eficácia a sua função, incitando-nos à leitura.

Organizado cronologicamente, o volume surpreende-nos de imediato com o primeiro documento, da autoria de Pedro Hispano, em que o autor nos oferece deliciosas definições de certos órgãos e de como assegurar a respectiva boa saúde. Alude, por exemplo, aos olhos e ao coração: os primeiros "são as janelas da alma, para se verem através deles, como por uma varanda, as cores e as figuras." (19) Já ao coração faz mal " [o] excesso de estudo e muita meditação, coito frequente e tudo o que fizer mal ao baço." (21)

Mas não só das doenças do corpo aqui se fala, a doença como metáfora ou as metáforas de doença e morte, usadas pelos poetas, também

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[1] João Lobo Antunes, "Uma antologia exemplar", in "Actual – nº 2062", *Expresso*, 05-05-2012, pp.34-36, p.36.

vão encontrando o seu espaço: desde João Roiz de Castelo Branco, com "Partindo-se," até ao poema de José Luís Peixoto, que fecha o volume, passando, naturalmente, por Camões e pela caracteristicamente paradoxal admissão de Pessoa de que "há doenças piores que as doenças." Estas outras doenças, as do espírito, das emoções e dos afectos são objecto de muitos dos textos aqui recolhidos. De entre os que lidam com doenças psíquicas, desta-que, por exemplo, para o impressionante testemunho de Ângelo de Lima, no poema "Pára-me de repente o Pensamento," a que se segue fragmento autobiográfico do mesmo, em prosa surpreendente e de forte impacto. E da doença, metafórica ou não, da alma individual se passa para os males sociais e colectivos, como os que se descrevem, por exemplo, na carta de Manuel Laranjeira a Unamuno, em que a decadência de Portugal do início do séc. 20 é apodada de "tumor" que grassa ante uma generalizada "insensibilidade moral."

Além desta largueza no entendimento do tema, pode dizer-se que todos os géneros literários aqui são acolhidos: da poesia lírica à prosa ensaística, do romance ao conto, da crónica à epístola, do diário ao drama, da memória à sátira, do relato (auto)biográfico e, por vezes, autopatográ-fico, ao compêndio médico. E todo o tipo de autores também: do médico escritor (temos vários e famosos: Miguel Torga, Fernando Namora, António Lobo Antunes, a par de outros, menos conhecidos do grande público) ao romancista e ao poeta, do estudioso da medicina ao cronista e até ao rei poeta que, qual homem comum, se nos confessa. D. Dinis, vergado ao peso dum "humor manencorico," como lhe chama, assim se presta a ser por nós, ao dar-se em testemunho: "por tal que minha speriencia a outros seja exem-pro." É belíssimo já este português arcaico, magistralmente manipulado pela inteligência do jovem monarca, sem jactância, com máxima sensibili-dade, e que a simétrica inteligência da organizadora optou por nos deixar intocado. Como, por outro lado, singela e comovente, ainda que eloquente na sua violência física, é a descrição do parto a ferros, que reencontrámos com emoção no excerto de *Retalhos da vida dum médico* de Namora!

Que bom rever também João Semana, (que, pelo que li, agora já não é reconhecível para os estudantes de Medicina…![2]), a simpática perso-

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[2] Ibidem.

nagem do médico de aldeia, a ressumar generosidade, mas sem cedências ao sentimento fácil, invejavelmente alicerçada na prosa honesta e franca de Júlio Dinis, também ele médico, que já não lia desde menina e que aqui, com gosto, revivi.

A sátira mordaz dos versos de um Bocage, apostado em desacreditar a arte dos médicos, contrasta com a comiseração ressentida de António Nobre perante uma adolescente tuberculosa a quem o mar enganadoramente parece consolar, prometendo-lhe a cura, ou com esse outro caso de empatia contida em que um Cesário Verde, "colérico e exigente," perante afronta estética de pouca monta, se redime aos olhos do leitor, ao deixar--se absorver e tocar pela luta sem tréguas dada à doença física e à exclusão social por parte duma outra tísica, a engomadeira da casa em frente à sua.

As doenças, detalhadamente descritas ou, simplesmente, afloradas, próprias ou alheias, também elas preenchem um arco amplo, desde a simples constipação de Álvaro de Campos que ameaça, contudo, "todo o sistema do universo" e faz "espirrar até à metafísica," até ao tumor maligno que sentencia à "putrefacção repelência" da morte, no passo tocante de Vergílio Ferreira, ou a inclemência desse indefinido mal oncológico que condena inexoravelmente a protagonista do conto sublime de Maria Judite de Carvalho. E que dizer da enigmática "doença de pele" do excerto de Herberto Helder?

Os espaços da doença também aqui se deixam descobrir na sua diferença e, tantas vezes, na sua indiferença. O branco "desolado e sujo" (segundo Sophia Andresen) do hospital, o carácter "subaquático" das enfermarias vislumbradas por Maria Velho da Costa ou por António Lobo Antunes, ou o despojamento voluntário do "quarto pequeno, modestíssimo, desconfortável… e fantástico" onde faleceu Teixeira de Pascoaes, tal como no-lo descreve Eugénio de Andrade, convivem, lado a lado, com hospitais de campanha (na prosa de um Jaime Cortesão) ou com a clausura da cela exígua do convento de S. Félix, em Chelas, onde a mãe da jovem Marquesa de Alorna padecia de febres e aflições.

Em todas estas páginas é a nossa humana vulnerabilidade, quer sejamos doentes, quer sejamos médicos, jovens, velhos ou crianças, que nos confronta e nos interpela a cada passo. Da arte da "caneta que escreve" desprende-se com sensibilidade, destreza linguística, e, sobretudo, aquele "espírito de aceitação e compreensão," que, segundo Torga, é partilha de

médico e escritor, toda uma pletora de imagens e situações atinentes à doença, à morte, ao sofrimento e à dor humanas que buscam na "caneta que prescreve" alívio, ajuda, escuta atenta e, quiçá, se possível, a cura. Mas se cura não houver, haverá ao menos a consolação que estas (e outras) múltiplas histórias sempre nos hão-de proporcionar.

Talvez que um dos aspectos mais ingratos de quem se dedica a coligir uma antologia seja a fácil crítica que sempre se lhe poderá apontar de ter "esquecido" este ou aquele texto que tão bem ali cabia…! Sempre alguma coisa lá há-de faltar, já se vê — ou não se tratasse duma selecção! Porém, a mais das vezes, tal falha não incumbe tanto ao antologiador, mas antes, e na pior das hipóteses, à necessidade do crítico em justificar o seu mister ou, na melhor delas, resulta de diferenças na formação ou na área de especialidade de um e do outro e, portanto, em última análise, dum necessariamente diverso ponto de vista. Com esta ressalva, vou afinal fazer coro com o "indecoroso" clamor dos meus pares sugerindo, em próxima edição deste volume, a integração de dois textos contemporâneos que muito prezo e considero pertinentes na obra em apreço: a crónica de José Luís Peixoto: "Acompanhante: Pai" (incluída em *Abraço*, publicado em 2011) e algum passo do romance de Valter Hugo Mãe, *A Máquina de fazer espanhóis* (2010) que trata o problema de ser-se velho.

Gostaria muito também de ver incluído um excerto do poema XV de "O Guardador de Rebanhos" de Alberto Caeiro, onde se lê:

> As quatro canções que seguem
> Separam-se de tudo o que eu penso,
> Mentem a tudo o que eu sinto,
> São o contrário do que eu sou...
> Escrevi-as estando doente
> E por isso elas são naturais
> E concordam com aquilo que sinto,
> Concordam com aquilo com que não concordo...
> Estando doente devo pensar o contrário
> Do que penso quando estou são.

Não posso terminar sem antes fazer referência a outras virtudes desta obra, quiçá de natureza mais pedestre e do meu particular interesse… Refiro-me ao facto de ela constituir um instrumento utilíssimo naquilo que se espera venha a ser uma área de estudo nova em Portugal, com a primeira unidade

curricular de pós-graduação em Medicina Narrativa, a ter início no primeiro semestre do ano lectivo de 2012-13, na Universidade de Lisboa, no âmbito do projecto interdisciplinar e interinstitucional em Narrativa & Medicina, dinamizado pelo Centro de Estudos Anglísticos, em colaboração com o Centro de Filosofia da mesma universidade e com o Centro de História da Cultura da Universidade Nova de Lisboa. Além disso, torna-se assim também involuntariamente inspiradora dum outro livro que desejamos vir a produzir, ainda dentro do já referido projecto, e que coligirá textos sobre doença e medicina oriundos de países de língua inglesa ou francesa, em tradução portuguesa. Encaramo-lo como complementar em relação à obra aqui em apreço e dela devedor. Bem-haja Clara Rocha!

Isabel Fernandes
CEAUL / ULICES

Nunning, A. & J.Schlaeger, eds. *English Studies Today: Recent Developments and New Directions.* **Trier, 2009.**

This seminal collection of essays aims at overviewing the state of the art and mapping the prospects of English studies in Germany, as they have evolved from the traditional philological paradigm into a proliferation of approaches that reflect some distinctive features of postmodern scholarship. Nevertheless, the broad framework of dominant trends turns what might have been a national case study into a wide-range scrutiny of the status of English in the European context of Modern Humanities. Furthermore, the volume indirectly illuminates the mission and role of universities, now that educational patterns are challenged by a purely utilitarian rationale that subordinates scientific qualification to the demands of the job market.

The first group of essays discusses the close links between philology and historical linguistics, namely in Medieval and Renaissance studies. In fact, the pre-shakespearean heritage is now on the brink of exclusion from the academic canon that overtly favours the contemporary age at the expense of earlier periods where familiarity with diachronic varieties of English is required. However, the time seems ripe for a new philological turn, in alliance with recent computer technologies that can widen the scope of future research. In the long term, this will trigger a reassessment of hermeneutical and exegetic procedures as well as a new awareness of the historical process that shaped the declining Middle Ages against the alterity of the emerging Renaissance. Similarly, in optimistic terms, scholars may fill important niches in the highly competitive field of Shakespearean criticism if only they concentrate on reception studies, which have the double effect of producing internationally relevant contributions and simultaneously increasing the visibility of national target cultures.

In the second part, emphasis shifts to the discussion of theoretical issues and practical problems deriving from the unprecedented expansion of English studies at the turn of the century, probably as a result of the

way in which relational models have been assimilated as an interface between several areas. In fact, recent developments have shaped English into an academic mega-discipline that covers anglophone literatures, cultural studies of past and present issues, audio-visual paraphernalia and digital media, together with discourses deriving from age, class, ethnicity, gender, and environmental concerns. Faced with an all-encompassing concept of English studies, academics currently attempt to square the circle and accommodate disparate sub-disciplines under the same umbrella, while checking centrifugal forces and fragmentation of the field by fostering some sense of unity in diversity. The next decades will witness if the integrity of English studies is compatible with recent extensions or will be preserved after incorporating them into the mainstream of scholarship. In the meantime, both the editors and authors of this volume are to be congratulated on their outstanding contributions to a professional discussion of momentous problems and feasible solutions.

J. Almeida Flor
University of Lisbon

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

NOTAS SOBRE OS COLABORADORES

Luísa Azuaga is an Assistant Professor at the University of Lisbon where she teaches English Linguistics. She is a researcher at the University of Lisbon Center for English Studies. Her research interests include History of English, TEFL, Applied Linguistics and English as a Lingua Franca.

Rita Queiroz de Barros has an MA in Sociolinguistics (1994) and a PhD in English Linguistics (2004) awarded by the University of Lisbon. She is a lecturer in the Faculty of Letters of the same university (1990-), where she teaches various courses within English Linguistics. Her main research interests lie within History of English and Sociolinguistics. She is a member of ULICES (RG 6 – Translation and Reception Studies).

Eduarda Melo Cabrita is a lecturer at the University of Lisbon. She has taught English, Legal English and Scientific and Technical Translation (legal translation). Her main research areas are technical and scientific translation, EFL and ESP. She is currently working on legal discourse in (non-)translated Portuguese for her Ph.D.

Lili Cavalheiro is a lecturer at the University of Lisbon and a researcher at ULICES. She holds a B.A. in English Studies and an M.A. in Applied Linguistics, and she is currently working on her Ph.D. in Applied Linguistics. Her research interests include: English as a Lingua Franca, English Language Teaching and Sociolinguistics.

Alexandra Cheira is a researcher at ULICES. She completed her MA at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Lisbon in 2004 on the fiction of contemporary English writer A.S.Byatt. She is now a PhD candidate

at the same Faculty. Her current areas of research include contemporary women's writing, women's studies and, particularly, gender issues and wonder tales in A.S.Byatt's fiction. Her publications include essays in specialised journals and critical volumes.

António M. A. Gonçalves is an English teacher at the Portuguese Air Force Academy, where he teaches EAP, Aviation English and General English courses. He has a Master's degree in English Linguistics from the University of Lisbon. His current interests include English as a Lingua Franca, Systemic Functional Linguistics, Academic Discourse, Complex Adaptive/Dynamic Systems, and Legitimation Code Theory.

Isabel Fernandes is Professor of English at the Faculty of Letters, University of Lisbon and Scientific Coordinator of ULICES – University of Lisbon Centre for English Studies. With a PhD in English Literature (dealing with the novelistic prose of D. H. Lawrence), she has published on several British authors: D. H. Lawrence, Emily Brontë, Jane Austen, Joseph Conrad, A. S. Byatt, Ted Hughes and Tracy Chevalier, among others. More recently her interests include inter-art studies (namely Literature and Painting) and the relations between Narrative and Medicine, an area in which she coordinates a pioneering project in Portugal.

João Almeida Flor. After academic studies at graduate and postgraduate level in Lisbon, Heildeberg and London, he was awarded MA and PhD degrees at the University of Lisbon, where he followed his teaching career. As a Full Professor of English, he was one of the founders and director of CEAUL/ ULICES, where he is currently engaged in scholarly research and publication in the fields of Anglo-Portuguese Studies, English and Comparative Literature, and Translation Studies. His main research interests cover the late modern and contemporary ages from the French Revolution to the First World War. His scientific affiliations include The Portuguese Academy of History, The Lisbon Geographical Society and The Academic Society of the Catholic University.

Isabel Graça is finishing her M.A. thesis in "English in Curricular Development Activities. ELF and Programmatic Orientations in the 1st level of Basic Education". She has been teaching English as a foreign language in Portuguese public schools. Her current interests are ELF and young learners' expectations about learning English. She holds a diploma in "English and American Studies" at Lisbon University.

Ann Henshall has a B.A. in Asian Studies from Australian National University and a Masters in Didactics from the University of Algarve, Portugal. She is currently a Ph.D. student in Linguistics at the University of Lisbon. Her research interests include academic writing, discourse analysis, and Systemic Functional Linguistics. She has taught English in Portugal and France and teaches at the School of Economics and Management, Technical University of Lisbon.

Olesya Lazaretnaya has Master's Degree in English Linguistics. She is currently working on her Ph.D. thesis on English as a lingua franca in Russia. She is a researcher in the University of Lisbon Centre for English Studies. Her major interests are applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, and English as a lingua franca.

Enric Llurda is a lecturer at Universitat de Lleida (Catalonia, Spain), where he coordinates the undergraduate degree in English Studies. He has published over 50 articles in edited volumes or specialised journals. He is the editor of the book 'Non-native language teachers. Perceptions, challenges and contributions to the profession' (2005) and has co-authored two books in Spanish: 'La conciencia lingüística en la enseñanza de lenguas' (2007) on the promotion of language awareness in language education; and 'Plurilingüismo e interculturalidad en la escuela: Reflexiones y propuestas didácticas' (2010) on the development of multilingual and intercultural competence in secondary education. He has also published fifty articles in edited volumes or specialised journals, among which a comprehensive review of research on NNESTs (together with Lucie Moussu, *Language Teaching*, 2008) and the book chapter "Attitudes towards English as an international language: The pervasiveness of native models among L2 learners and teachers" (2009).

Isabel Ferro Mealha is a lecturer at the University of Lisbon. She has taught English, English for Medical Students, and Scientific and Technical Translation (medical translation). Her main research areas are technical and scientific translation, EFL and ESP. She is currently working on medical discourse in (non)translated Portuguese for her Ph.D.

Maria Goreti Monteiro holds a Ph.D. in Applied Linguistics and a M.A. in English Studies from the University of Lisbon. She is an Associate Professor of English at the School of Management and Technology of the Polytechnic Institute of Leiria and a ULICES Investigator. Her research interests are linguistics, ESF / ELF, Business English, translation and multimodality.

João Manuel de Sousa Nunes, taught Portuguese in the University of Manchester (1967-72), got an M.A. degree in Portuguese Literature (University of Manchester, 1971), and a Ph. D. degree in English Literature (University of Warwick, 1981). He is a retired Professor of English from the Faculty of Arts of Lisbon University (1972-2002), where he taught English Language, Literature and Culture. He was a supervisor of the disciplines of English and English Culture, in his Department, and was also in charge of "Linha de Acção nº 2" of the University of Lisbon Centre for English Studies (ULJCES).
He published articles and essays in books and reviews, covering his area of studies, and the volumes Henry Fielding: *da Sátira ao Romance* (Lisbon, 1987), *Cultura Inglesa: O Contexto Político – Ideológico no século XVIII* (Lisbon, 2077), and Estudos de Literatura e Cultura Inglesas (Lisbon, 2010), as well as various didactic texts concerning his main research area – English Studies of the 17th and 18th centuries. He translated Fielding's Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon (Lisbon, 1992), and Jonathan Wild, the Great (Lisbon, 2003).

Ricardo Pereira is a teacher at the Department of Language Sciences at the Polytechnic Institute of Leiria, Portugal. He completed his degree in English and Portuguese studies as well as his formal teacher training at the University of Coimbra. He holds an M.A. in Anglistic Studies from the University of Lisbon, where he is currently a Ph.D. student in Applied

Linguistics. His main research interests include the international spread of the English language, focusing on pedagogical implications in English language teaching.