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SECOND LANGUAGE IDENTITY AND STUDY ABROAD:

BRAZILIAN EXPERIENCES IN THE SCIENCE WITHOUT BORDERS PROGRAM

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics in the graduate division of the Federal University of Bahia.

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The thesis *Second Language Identity and Study Abroad: Brazilian Experiences in the Science Without Borders Program* is approved:

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Salvador, July 7, 2017

I would like to dedicate this piece of labor and love to my friends and family for filling my life with joy, and to my fellow linguists who are trying to make a change in language education in the world today.

We need to engage with multiple ways of speaking, being and learning, with multilayered modes of identity at global, regional, national and local levels. Unless we get in touch with this as educators, the flow will pass us by

PENNYCOOK

Stuff your eyes with wonder, live as if you'd drop dead in ten seconds. See the world. It's more fantastic than any dream made or paid for in factories

BRADBURY

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ABSTRACT

Higher education internationalization policies in Brazil have contributed significantly to boost international student mobility in the last decades. Aside from being considered a unique opportunity to acquire language proficiency, international mobility, along with its potential variables in L2 learning, has become the study focus of a new research field: Study Abroad (FREED, 1995; DUFOND, CHURCHILL, 2006). This area, which followed the trail cleared by SLA studies, started to catch the attention of applied linguists from the mid 1990s onwards. L2 identity, a key construct in this study, shows even more complex dimensions in intercultural contact in Study Abroad contexts. This study aimed to investigate how past participants of the Science Without Borders (SWB), the first Brazilian international mobility program launched by the Ministry of Education (MEC), refashioned their L2 identities. The impact of such experiences during the program in the deconstruction of language ideals held by the students was also studied, considering that linguistic exchanges took place between native and non-native speakers of English in a complex network of interactions. The research data were collected through a questionnaire and an interview, which were carried out with six past participants of the program and were eventually analyzed in the light of qualitative research. This study also approached the binarisms proposed by two SLA theoretical frameworks which have the native speaker as the only reference for the learner. The tenets of the CAT - Communication Accommodation Theory (GILES et al., 1987) and the AM - Acculturation Model (SCHUMANN, 1978), which suggest that L2 speaker linguistic competence is linked to how they adapt their way of speaking to that of the target language and culture, were approached and revisited. The results of this research indicated that, although the figure of the native speaker is still the main representation of English language and culture influencing Brazilians' mentality, it was not the only one. Moreover, this study demonstrated that the SA experiences helped participants rethink their language learning beliefs and myths by relativizing English native speech patterns as absolute models. The interactions with speakers from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds afforded by the SWB were crucial to the reconstruction of their L2 identities through English.

Keywords: English language. L2 identity. Science Without Borders. Speech Accommodation Theory. Acculturation Model.

RESUMO

As políticas de internacionalização do ensino superior no Brasil têm colaborado significativamente para a intensificação da mobilidade estudantil internacional nas últimas décadas. Além de ser considerada uma oportunidade ímpar para se adquirir proficiência linguística, a mobilidade internacional, incluindo as possíveis variáveis no aprendizado de L2 nesse contexto, se tornou foco de estudo de um novo campo de pesquisa: *Study Abroad* (FREED, 1995; DUFOND, CHURCHILL, 2006). Essa área, que seguiu as trilhas deixadas pelos estudos sobre Aquisição de L2, passou a chamar a atenção de linguistas aplicados a partir de meados dos anos 1990. A identidade linguística em L2, construto chave deste estudo, apresenta dimensões ainda mais complexas no contato intercultural especialmente em contextos de mobilidade internacional. O presente estudo teve como principal objetivo investigar de que forma ex-participantes do Ciência Sem Fronteiras (CSF), primeiro programa brasileiro de mobilidade estudantil internacional promovido pelo Ministério da Educação (MEC), tiveram suas identidades linguísticas em inglês reconstruídas. O impacto das experiências durante o programa na desconstrução de ideais em relação ao inglês por parte dos então estudantes também foi estudado, uma vez que a troca linguística ocorreu entre nativos e não-nativos de língua inglesa em uma rede complexa de interações. Os dados da pesquisa foram obtidos por meio de aplicação de questionários e realização de entrevistas com seis egressos do referido programa, analisados sob a ótica da pesquisa qualitativa. O trabalho problematizou ainda os binarismos propostos por dois modelos teóricos sobre aquisição de L2 que têm o falante nativo como única referência para o aprendiz. Os pressupostos da Teoria de Acomodação da Comunicação (GILES et al., 1987) e do Modelo de Aculturação (SCHUMANN, 1978), que advogam que a competência linguística do falante de L2 está diretamente ligada à forma como ele se aproxima da língua alvo e cultura meta, foram examinados e revistos. Os resultados da pesquisa apontaram para o fato de que, apesar de a figura do falante nativo como modelo a ser seguido ainda ser a principal representação de língua e cultura inglesas no imaginário brasileiro, ela não foi a única. Além disso, o trabalho demonstrou que as experiências em contextos de mobilidade internacional possibilitaram aos participantes rever crenças e mitos em relação ao aprendizado de línguas a partir da relativização dos padrões nativos de inglês como modelos absolutos. As interações com falantes de diversas origens etnolinguísticas proporcionadas pelo CSF foram decisivas para a (re)construção de suas identidades linguísticas em inglês.

Palavras-chave: Língua inglesa. Identidade em L2. Ciência sem Fronteiras. Teoria de Acomodação. Modelo de aculturação.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AM	Acculturation Model
AH	At Home
AFS	American Field Service
CAT	Communication Accommodation Theory
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
EIL	English as an International Language
ELF	English a Lingua Franca
ELT	English Language Teaching
ENL	English as a Native Language
ESL	English as a Second Language
EWB	English Without Borders
FLT	Foreign Language Teaching
ICC	Intercultural Communicative Competence
ICT	Information Communication Technology
LWB	Language Without Borders
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
MEC	Ministry of Education and Culture
SA	Study Abroad
SAT	Speech Accommodation Theory
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
SWB	Science Without Borders

CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

There has never been a time when identity and language issues have been so heatedly debated as today. The current social mobility, allied with globalizing waves and ICTs, was intensified in the post-war period from the half of the twentieth century on and brought about new possibilities for intercultural contact among people. This context urged linguists and language educators to revisit traditional language learning methods by taking into consideration the diverse ways people affiliate to different languages and cultures.

I have been interested in student mobility ever since I started college. I used to be an AFS volunteer and after attending a few meetings organized by the NGO local committee in my hometown, I felt drawn to write about international students' experiences in Brazil. So I decided to write my undergraduate thesis on how exchange programs can become a tool in helping foreign students demystify stereotypes about Brazilian people and culture broadcast by the media in their home countries. I interviewed AFS high school students hosted in Bahia who were halfway through their exchange program so I could learn more about their impressions of Brazil.

Nowadays, people have become more and more interested in traveling abroad in order to broaden their horizons through cultural, professional and academic experiences. Many have benefited from higher education internationalization policies through SA programs which have also contributed to the learning of a second language. According to Franco (2002), interuniversity international cooperation started in Brazil by means of the partnership established between the Brazilian and the American government through the Fulbright program in the late 1950. The SWB program, which is the context of this study, is an enterprise undertaken by the joint efforts of the MEC and the Ministries of Science, Technology and Innovation. It is regarded as the first nation-wide international student mobility program promoted in the country. The SWB is the SA scheme that has sent the largest number of students from Brazil abroad and is certainly the one which has most contributed to Brazilian students' mobility. This program is particularly aimed at building bridges between Brazilian and international students and researchers.

L2 Proficiency is one of the prerequisites to apply for the program and the English language is the one often chosen for its spread and international status. The SWB program has partnership with universities in over 30 countries, a fact which opens up different possibilities for students to choose countries other than the ones where English is largely spoken as L1.

Leffa (2001) reminds us that anyone can learn English without being interested in one specific country and argues that "it is possible to study English when you are interested in computers, mobile phones or even in Finland"[1] (LEFFA, 2001, p. 345).

SA contexts are oftentimes regarded as the perfect environment for second language acquisition because of the immediate opportunities they offer students to practice an L2, which apparently makes linguistic development easier. This popular held belief is based on the general assumption that one can only achieve L2 proficiency if they live in a country where that language is largely spoken. This assumption is backed by traditional cognitive-based SLA theories which defend that immersion programs expose learners to input through naturalistic interactions and force them to use the language (SANZ, 2014). Research evidence shows, however, that individual learning styles and motivation might result in different levels of language proficiency even across participants within the same SA program.

Although SA research continues to bring invaluable contributions to the field of SLA, it has been largely focused on linguistic gains by high school and college students through the contact with host countries native speakers. However, there is more to the SA language learning picture than meets the eye because there are other issues such as program overall design and structural variables that can impact language learning. The fact that participants are going to interact with native and non-native speakers of English, who have also enjoyed university internationalization policies just like them, needs to be taken a closer look. Therefore, alternative frameworks to understanding SLA, such as the identity approach (NORTON, 2013), for instance, is very useful to examine the impacts of SA experiences on L2 identities.

The teaching of English to speakers of other languages dates back to the fifteenth century and, until fairly recently, there has still been a concern that non-native speakers should imitate native standards as closely as possible (JENKINS, 2000). As a result, native English speakers have been constantly losing their language exclusive ownership, considering they were long outnumbered by people who are constantly and creatively lending new nuances to the language. English has indeed become a *lingua franca* worldwide and its linguistics impacts have caught the attention of applied linguists (DALTON; SEIDLHOFER, 1994; JENKINS, 2000; COGO; DEWEY, 2012; SIQUEIRA, 2011) over the past few decades

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[1] "Pode-se estudar inglês estando interessado apenas em computadores, ou em telefonia celular ou mesmo na Finlândia".

who decided to devote time into researching the different dimensions of native and non-native interaction through English.

For quite some time, I had been fascinated by native speakers, like almost every L2 learner, partly because I believed they had all the answers to language matters. Likewise, I always thought I had to sound at least pretty close to a native speaker to master a language. I remember a conversation I once had with a Californian pen pal when I was a freshman back in college in which I asked for help because I did not want to speak with a foreign accent. She told me that there was nothing wrong with the way I sounded and that she was not going to do anything about it. She said she liked the way I spoke and that she actually enjoyed the many different accents in which English is spoken by non-native speakers and admitted she had a soft spot for Scandinavian English accents. I would only understand the depth of that conversation with hindsight.

DuFond (2003) points out that issues such as L2 identity competence (AVENI, 2005) and self-understanding have been given little attention by SLA researches. The emphasis of this study on identity issues in L2 during SA is justified by the fact that only few studies have looked into the after effects of language acquisition in such context. The main reason why I chose to study the SWB program is because this was an international government initiative that offered travel opportunities to Brazilian students like no other mobility program has before. This study is aimed at understanding how SWB past participants (re)construct their L2 identities in English when interacting with native and non-native speakers of English in both ESL and EFL contexts. It will also be investigated how SA can foster a deeper understanding about other people's linguistic and cultural backgrounds as they are exposed to an endless array of cultures, languages and Englishes during the program.

I am probably one of the few linguists who write about international experiences without ever traveling abroad. My biggest fascination with social mobility is probably due to the fact that I am in constant contact with foreigners in Brazil. Besides, I see Brazilians travel back and forth overseas and I keep imaging what it might feel like to live somewhere abroad for a while. I have already had an opportunity to see my country through the eyes of foreigners in a previous study. I thought it was time now to do more than just measure linguistic gains accumulated by students abroad. Instead, I sought to understand how SA programs can help Brazilian students deconstruct language learning beliefs during and after the experience.

This thesis is divided into 7 chapters. This first one is aimed at presenting the research context, the motivations I had for the current study, the topics approached by this thesis more broadly as well and an overview of its general structure.

In chapter 2, I provide the major theoretical background to this study by reviewing a body of literature on the SA phenomenon, from the Grand Tour days of the 1800s to the forms of SA as we know it today. I then approach the developments of the field of SLA from its inception and the ways it is connected to SA research. Further, I outline the AM and the CAT and explain the relevance of these theoretical frameworks for this study.

In chapter 3, I describe the methodology drawn on for this research along with its underlying concepts and emphasize the importance of including qualitative methods in L2 research, which is mostly quantitative in nature. The overall and specific objectives, the tools for data gathering, the SWB past participants' profile and the data analysis procedures are also laid out in detail.

In chapter 4, I critically review the many different names the English language has been given and discuss their pedagogical implications for ELT. I encourage the reader to think of a history of English that includes the many different voices of speakers who are constantly reshaping the language. I conclude this chapter by arguing about the importance of rethinking the role of the native speaker in language education and suggest the concept of ELF as an alternative.

In chapter 5, I address the perspectives of language, culture and identity used in this study, their interrelatedness and how they were developed throughout time. I call attention to the relevance of the discursive turn in applied linguistics and the importance of identity studies for language research.

In chapter 6, I proceed in the analysis of the data generated by the questionnaire and the interview and align the results with the theoretical axes this study was built on. I investigate the learning beliefs the participants had before traveling, how they dealt with the diversity of Englishes they encountered and the general impacts the SWB experience had on their L2 identities.

Lastly, in the concluding chapter, I synthesize the research findings presented in chapter 6 by answering the research questions which guided this study. In addition, I consider the potential contributions from this work to language education in general as well as to the enlarging of research scope in both applied linguistics and SA.

2 THE STUDY ABROAD PHENOMENON: BRIDGING STUDENT OUTBOUND MOBILITY AND L2 ACQUISITION

> The best educational metaphor is the metaphor of the journey. It is also the best metaphor of internationalization. Setting out. Traveling. Hitting the road. Meeting other worlds. Discovering. Stepping out into the unknown. Here lies the heart of the university [...]. In the journey. In the creation. In the knowledge. In peace. In peace with others and with Earth (NÓVOA, 2015, p. 73, my translation)[2]

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The influence of higher education internationalization policies on SA programs and foreign language learning is an under researched theme in applied linguistics. One of the challenges I experienced while doing this research was to find literature about Brazilian exchange experiences overseas because most SA studies are based on the experiences of Americans and Europeans abroad. To the best of my knowledge, this is the first in-depth qualitative study about the impacts of a large-scale Brazilian academic mobility scheme on L2 acquisition and identity.

This chapter presents some of the reasons why people used to travel abroad in the past and what motivates them now. I then discuss the role of higher education internationalization policies for SA programs, their benefits and drawbacks. The context of this research as well as the SLA frameworks used are also introduced.

2.2 FROM TRAVELING TO STUDYING ABROAD

Traveling has once been regarded as a byword for wealth, prestige and luxury. It has captured people's imagination for centuries, given that travel opportunities were much fewer in the past than they are now. Ordinary people in Europe would not start traveling more often and extensively until the eighteenth century. This was fostered by the economic growth of some countries like England, which have literally paved the way through the development of roads (BUTLER; DE VANNA, 1999) and this increased social mobility. The growing

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[2] "A melhor metáfora educativa é a metáfora da viagem. É também a melhor metáfora da internacionalização. Partir. Viajar. Fazer-se ao caminho. Conhecer outros mundos. Descobrir. Ir ao encontro do desconhecido. É aqui que está o coração da universidade [...] Na viagem. Na criação. No conhecimento. Na paz. Na paz com os outros e na paz com a terra".

international trade has also contributed to continental traveling and eventually traveling across borders.

In the 1800s, traveling for educational purposes remained a privilege of the aristocracy who would send their children to study abroad in order to expand their cultural horizons. The *Grand Tour*, considered an educational rite of passage, started in the seventeenth century England when the upper class started to the send their children to complete their classical education in European capitals. German, French and Russian affluent class would soon follow suit (LEWIN, 2009). This traditional European trip was aimed at improving students' language skills and knowledge through firsthand exposure to works of art of the Renaissance (COLLETTA, 2015).

In an article for the New York Times, Gross (2008) shares his experience of going on a contemporary Grand European Tour himself and describes the old days of the phenomenon in the following words:

> Three hundred years ago, wealthy young Englishmen began taking a post-Oxbridge trek through France and Italy in search of art, culture and the roots of Western civilization. With nearly unlimited funds, aristocratic connections and months (or years) to roam, they commissioned paintings, perfected their language skills and mingled with the upper crust of the Continent. No one knows who came up with it, but their adventures soon had a perfectly appropriate name: the Grand Tour.

Although a thing of the past, the *Grand Tour* continues to influence vacation and SA destinations. From its aristocratic beginnings to contemporary forms of mobility schemes, traveling abroad has even been taken for granted because opportunities abound. Every year, thousands of students from all corners of the globe embark on a trip in order to have an educational experience in a country other than their own. As international travel has become more commonplace and the economies of the world more interdependent, both students and faculties are recognizing the importance of increasing students' ability to function effectively in a global community.

The number of students who benefit from internationalization policies created by governments in order to purse study and work careers overseas has grown exponentially. The changes in SA are not just in terms of student bulk, but they are also philosophical. Students now travel to study abroad not only to enhance their knowledge in an L2, but to "develop personal maturity, first-hand knowledge of other lands and peoples, commitment to civic engagement, and intercultural awareness" (KINGINGER, 2009, p. 5). In other words, travel is now a part of the lives of many college students who see in the overseas sojourn an

opportunity to expand their cultural and linguistic horizons as they prepare themselves to find a job in the marketplace.

Nowadays, student mobility became a priority in the agenda of many governments and such concern has made transnational education spread in many ways. Coleman (2006 cited in KINGINGER, 2009) argues that one of the challenges of SA is to understand the differing nuances attributed to this notion since it started to mean different things for different people. This author uncovered a plethora of names used to refer to it, among which residence abroad, overseas language immersion, academic migration, *séjour à l'étranger, auslandaufenthalt*, etc. Personally, I have seen year abroad and exchange program being used too. All those names carry different geopolitical nuances which are in accordance with governmental and institutional goals, so it would be hard to say that one single term would suffice to capture all its subtleties. The concept adopted in this study is the one suggested by Kinginger (2009, p. 11) in which study abroad is defined as "a temporary sojourn of pre-defined duration, undertaken for educational purposes".

Kinginger (2013) adds that SA is currently diverse even from what it was like in the 1950s, when an American form of contemporary SA emerged (LEVENSTEIN, 2004). In those earlier years, sojourning overseas meant immersing in a new language and culture detached from one's home country family and social networks. Conversely, SA abroad in times of facebook and the triumph of neoliberalism can be considered a completely different phenomenon.

2.2.1 University internationalization policies and SA programs

The cooperation agreements between universities in the world and SA programs have become a much talked about topic in education today. That notwithstanding, the phenomenon of internationalization is not new and goes back to the Middle Ages and Renaissance when academic mobility across Europe already took place. In South America, SA was a prerogative of privileged families whose children would be sent to complete their education in colonialist countries in the nineteenth and most of the twentieth century. A handful of privileged Brazilians, for instance, would travel to Portugal to pursue their studies at the University of Coimbra while other Latin Americans would study at Salamanca in Spain or even Sorbonne in France (RODRIGUES DIAS, 2015).

What makes internationalization different today is its access to a wider student population due to growth in the number of universities and partnerships. However, Velliaris and Coleman-Gorge (2006) call attention to the fact that the concept of international higher education is surrounded by a myriad of myths. Although SA is one of the most observable dimension of internationalization, it cannot be regarded as a synonym for international higher education. These authors defend that a more thorough internationalization also includes internationalized curricula, cross-border partnerships and strategic leadership. Likewise, program design and learning interventions before, during and after the participants' departure and the choice of the host country are some of the variables that can influence L2 learning abroad.

In Brazil, the first higher education institutions emerged in the beginning of the twentieth century, a hundred years after its independence (OLIVEIRA, 2002). According to data from the INEP, there are over two thousand higher education institutions in Brazil today (MEC/INEP, 2006). After a period of crisis in the 1980s, higher education in our country went through a silent revolution in the 1990s that would pick up a faster pace in the coming years. Significant changes continue to impact those institutions in the last two decades, among which:

> The increase in higher education enrollments, which is a result of the expansion of high school and of the pressure coming from an adult based clientele […] that seek to improve their professional opportunities […] Research, particularly in federal higher education institutions, mostly fostered by funding agencies through the granting of scholarships […] The ever growing number of Brazilian researchers in the international scene: the scholarships granted to do graduate courses, internships and academic exchange. […] CAPES's journal made the access to scientific information by students, professors and researchers easier and more accessible (FRANCO, 2002, p. 301-302, my translation).[3]

Nevertheless, the democratization of SA programs would come at a price simply because where there are numbers, there is money. Nóvoa (2015) stresses that university internationalization has become a very lucrative business. This internationalization caters particularly to "higher class students and reinforces the role of the Anglophone world in the

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[3] "A expansão da matrícula do nível superior, resultante do crescimento do ensino médio, bem como da pressão vinda de uma clientela formada por adultos [...] que busca melhorar suas oportunidades profissionais [...]. A pesquisa, especialmente nas instituições de ensino superior federais, em grande medida estimulada pelos órgãos de fomento mediante a concessão de bolsas de formação e de pesquisa [...]. O aumento da inserção internacional dos pesquisadores brasileiros: as bolsas para realização de cursos de pós-graduação, estágios e intercâmbio acadêmico. [...] O portal de periódicos da CAPES ampliou e democratizou o acesso à informação científica pelos estudantes, docentes e pesquisadores.

elite class formation and knowledge making" (NÓVOA, 2015, p. 69, my translation)[4]. Several countries, including the US and Great Britain, invest great sums of money in the promotion of their universities as SA destinations to which international students have become desirable sources of income. In addition, this is aimed at attracting upper-class international students to pay for tuition, upon which some universities depend largely. Lewin (2009) and Nóvoa (2015) both concur with the fact that SA has become rather commercialized, but they do not see this business as something negative and believe this has even contributed to enhancing the programs. Yet, Lewin (2009) points out that the pressure of the upper administration of SA offices at American universities attempting to boost their programs might compromise academic integrity.

Nóvoa (2015) compares internationalization to "a journey, a way that starts within us, in our proximities and widens to other worlds. When we try to do the other way 'round, we serve more the others than ourselves (NÓVOA, 2015, p. 71, my translation)"[5]. He claims that internationalization needs to have multiple centers and start form home, form our roots, from valuing our language, culture and people.

2.2.2 The SWB mobility program

The exchange of technical, scientific, technological and cultural knowledge has become ever more common nowadays. It is often seen as "an instrument of promotion of the development of countries, of approaching and understanding, when facing external tensions and also in the tightening of political-economical bonds (FRANCO, 2002, p. 281, my translation)"[6]. This exchange has been taking place through transnational educational programs which became a striking feature of internationalization.

In the international scenario, there are two leading programs which have promoted the largest number of SA initiatives. The American Fulbright Commission and the European Erasmus Mundus were two of the large-scale student outbound mobility initiatives ever

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[4] "estudantes com mais posses e reforça o mundo anglófono na sua função de formação das elites e de produção do conhecimento".

[5] "a internacionalização é uma viagem, um caminho que começa em nós, nas nossas proximidades, e se vai alargando a outros mundos. Quando se procura fazer o caminho ao contrário, regra geral servimos mais os outros do que a nós próprios".

[6] "um instrumento de promoção do desenvolvimento dos países, de aproximação e de entendimento, no enfrentamento de tensões externas e no estreitamento de laços político-econômicos".

promoted. They were designed with the main aim of fostering cooperation among countries through higher education institutional policies.

The Fulbright Commission was established by the former Senator J. William Fulbright in 1946 as an educational and cultural exchange initiative aimed at enhancing mutual understanding between Americans and people from other countries through SA. It is especially focused on social and human science majors and has partnerships with about 150 countries and has granted over 230.000 scholarships for teachers and students to do research abroad. The Brazilian Fulbright Commission, for example, exists since 1957 and is currently offering 40 scholarships for Brazilian researchers to work and study at American universities in 2017 (FULBRIGHT, 2017)

The Erasmus program is an initiative founded in 1987 restricted to universities in European countries and seeks to bring universities closer together pedagogically and philosophically allowing for the transfer of credits among higher education institutions. This program was named after the humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam, whose work emphasized the importance of European students communicate with one another in the language of the host country. This was regarded by him as a civilized act. (ASSO cited in GALLUCCI, 2011).

Though in Brazil there have been few interinstitutional initiatives sending students abroad, the SWB program is regarded as our first nationwide international academic mobility program. It was launched in December 13th, 2011 by the decree 7642, whose responsibility was shared by the *Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior (CAPES)*[7] and the *Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico (CNPq)*[8]. This program is the result of a partnership between MEC and the Ministries of Science, Technology and Innovation and one of its main goals to use international mobility as a tool to expand and internationalize science.

Another objective of the program was to allow students to have study and work experience abroad so that they develop both an internal and an external perspective of scientific research doing. It seeks to attract international researchers who wished to take up residence in Brazil through the programs *Programa Jovens Talentos* (PJT)[9] and *Professor Visitante do Exterior* (PVS)[10] in order to bridge the gap between students and researchers from Brazil and abroad. This way, it was expected that international scholars became

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[7] National Authority for Higher Education Development.
[8] National Authority for Technical Research and Development.
[9] Youth Talent Program.
[10] International Visiting professor.

interested in partnerships with Brazilian institutions. 101 000 was the number of scholarships expected to be offered to Brazilian undergraduate and graduate students from different fields of study between 2011 and 2014. Scholars like Rodrigues Dias (2015) defend that the SWB program helped the country become more active in the international scenario. However, one of its greatest flaws was that it excluded candidates from humanities and social sciences by only accepting STEM[11] and health science majors.

The mastery of at least an intermediate level of English was not required in the first year of the program for being eligible, but eventually became one of the prerequisites. The level of English known by the average Brazilian is ranked low and would not enable them to attend classes in the target-language at a university abroad. Because of that, the government created the program English Without Borders (EWB)[12]. From this moment on, students had an opportunity to study English so that they could achieve the minimum level of proficiency to apply.

As partnerships between Brazil and international higher institutions increased and started to include non Anglophone universities, the government needed to rethink the program in order to cater to students' new linguistic needs. Language without Borders (LWB)[13] was then created and students could choose to apply for the program in a greater variety of countries. Through this initiative, lessons are offered either in-class or online and candidates can study any of the following languages: English, French, Spanish, Italian, German and Japanese. In addition, this program has exerted an important role in language teacher training and is working at full swing at federal universities. Though the SWB has broadened its target-language scope, this study examines experiences of participants who were proficient in English before joining the program, regardless of where they traveled to. The SWB program was put on hold last year and it still unknown whether it is going to be reopened.

SA used to be an experience mostly enjoyed by North Americans and Europeans, but has gradually become an international phenomenon. Even countries like Brazil, which have a short SA history, started to draw up their own mobility schemes. The impacts of experiences in such programs have become an object of interest for educationalist, program designers, and linguists. The latter have focused on investigating the contributions of SA to L2 acquisition and these studies have led SA to become an area of studies.

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[11] Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics.
[12] Inglês sem Fronteiras (ISF).
[13] Idioma sem Fronteiras (ISF).

2.3 THE BIRTH OF SA RESEARCH

The learning context is one of the main variables of L2 acquisition which, according to Collentine (2009), takes place in three main environments: the foreign language classroom, the intensive domestic immersion and the SA one. The popular assumption that SA is more advantageous for L2 learning compared to AH settings is at the center of the agenda of SA research. This widespread belief is based on the fact that students are exposed to greater amounts of input and have more opportunities of social interactions in the target language.

For Kinginger (2013, p. 7), SA research has always benefited from the trail left by applied linguistics and SLA, and continues to be influenced by L2 acquisition theory "in its models of the learner as anonymous information processor and of the social context as information source". The beginning of SA as a field of enquiry dates back to the 1950s with a substantial body of literature emerging from the 1970s (OGDEN; STREIWIESER, 2016). The publication of *Second Language Acquisition in a Study Abroad Context* by Freed in 1995 is considered a watershed for this area. As a consequence, more studies are currently being carried out through a greater variety of theoretical approaches to L2 learning in SA (KINGINGER, 2013). Research following up to that has helped to catch the attention of applied linguists and language educators who started to take a greater interested in L2 acquisition matters in outbound mobility. As Collentine and Freed (2004) point out, through SA research one can better understand the relation between cognitive, sociolinguistic and sociocultural factors in L2 learning and this can help in the construction of a broader theory of SLA.

The mid 1990s was also a turning point for SA research. The reason for this is that its main concern has gone from merely assessing participants' language performance before, during and after the sojourn towards probing into the intercultural and identity dimensions of their experiences (BLOCK, 2010). This new trend has encouraged researchers to resort to more qualitative studies follows what this author classified as the social turn in SLA research. In line with Block (2010), Coleman (2013, p. 17) adds that SA research "can escape the narrow confines of cognitive SLA and see its subjects not just as language learners, but as rounded people with complex and fluid identities and relationships which frame the way they live the study abroad experience".

Contrary to what has been empirically proved, that SA facilitates L2 acquisition in specific areas like fluency and discursive abilities, students going abroad do not experience

much improvement in their syntax (COLLENTINE, 2009). In a comparative study, DeKeyser (1990; 1991) concluded that SA students during a semester or year abroad program had grammar gains equal or below if compared to AH learners. This is probably due to the fact that the former tend to use intuitive knowledge much more often than they use metalinguistic knowledge. Furthermore, research demonstrates that students who go abroad have different language outcomes on post-tests. As a result, SA scholars have started to give more attention to individual differences and other social and cultural aspects of L2 learning.

As far as methodological procedures, most SA studies are longitudinal if compared to SLA ones, which are more centered on short-term effects of L2 acquisition. Earlier SA research has employed discrete item test scores to assess linguistic development and one of the most common methods used for measuring language knowledge students gained abroad is the target language interview, in particular the ACTFL OPI (HUEBNER, 1998). The non-linear format of this type of interview has once been criticized by Freed (1995) since it has proved rather inefficient to measure language skills of students at an upper level. With a broadening of the research scope, SA scholars resort to a greater variety of qualitative methods like videotapes of table talks, interviews, learner journals (DUFOND; CHURCHILL, 2006).

SA is not without its critics. Block (2007) criticizes, for instance, that SA research has mostly documented Americans learning French, Spanish or German abroad. This author contends that the experience of Latin Americans, Asians and Africans in SA programs is overshadowed in the literature and that more combinations of sending and receiving countries involving different nationalities are required. For this reason, this study aims to highlight Brazilian SA experiences and contribute to enrich the already established body of literature of this area which is essentially American-European based.

Over the last couple of decades, SLA research has made great advances, in number, diversity and quality. Yet for Ferguson (1995), there are still few studies on L2 learning by SA students who do their program in a country where the language is widely spoken by the host community. This author argues that research in this specific context has great implications for program design and policy making. He says that most SA research has been carried out with international students learning English in the USA. Kinginger (2013) adds that, despite the narrow target population and target languages of SA research, there have been some longitudinal studies accompanying the social turn in language studies which deal with the long term effects of transnational education programs on L2 acquisition.

In this regard, SA studies on identity related issues in L2 acquisition are even fewer. Therefore, this paper investigates the impacts SA experiences have on students' learning beliefs and L2 identities by discussing the CAT and the AM which have attempted to understand the link between L2 acquisition, culture and motivation factors. Before I outline these, let us take a look into the beginnings and current developments of SLA theories, along with their major theoretical approaches.

2.4 SLA RESARCH: FROM OLD TO MODERN

Although foreign languages have been learned for centuries, scientific research on the learning of an L2 began in the second half of the twentieth century. The field of SLA is considered relatively new and surfaces at the "time of the 'global village' and the 'world wide web', when communication between people has expanded way beyond their local speech communities" (ELLIS, 2003, p. 3).

SLA is a branch of applied linguistics which tends to concentrate more on learners and learning than on teachers and teaching (VANPATTEN; BENATI, 2015). It is mainly concerned with the way people learn languages in late childhood, teenage years or adulthood after their first one has, or ones have, been acquired. SLA investigates the intricacies that L2 learning [14] in various contexts entails, and is commonly defined as "the study of how learners create a new language system with only limited exposure to a second language" (GASS; SELINKER, 2008). SLA is so complex that there is no single answer to this enquiry that specialists would concur. It is important to take into consideration the learner's cultural and linguistic backgrounds as well as where language learning takes place.

Traditionally, this field bears strong connections with theoretical linguistics and cognitive psychology, but it has incorporated richer socially-driven nuances due to the recent contribution of disciplines such as education, anthropology and sociology. Though initially founded on child first language acquisition (GASS; SELINKER, 2008), a more contemporary SLA should incorporate other modern day issues:

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[14] Notwithstanding the distinction between language learning and language acquisition put forth by Krashen (1981), L2 is not used in this work as opposed to foreign language in SLA. It refers to whichever language(s) the individual learns after learning their first one(s), since the FL or L2 language contexts do not necessarily impact the underlying process of L2 learning. This distinction, according to Vanpatten and Benati (2005), may have sociological relevance, but very little linguistic or psychological significance.

> On the one hand, to advance our understanding of theoretical conundrums about the human language faculty and of L2 acquisition phenomena in need of description and explanation; and, on the other hand, to connect such understandings to the real-world problems that arise for people who, by choice or by circumstance, set out to learn a language other than their mother tongue (ORTEGA, 2013, p. 8).

One of the primary goals since its inception has been to try to find out how L2 learners take in a new linguistic system and how they draw on that system to produce and understand speech (VANPATTEN; BENATI, 2015). Ellis (2003) suggests that we can do it by asking successful language learners what and how they did it or by collecting spoken or written language samples in order to analyze them thoroughly. Even though the first approach has offered useful insights to L2 research, learners may forget or not be fully aware of the learning mechanisms they resorted to in the task. This author contends that the samples provide clearer evidence of what learners actually do when they engage in their L2 learning process. The understanding of the nuances in the learner's accent and how they build up their vocabulary over time is possible through language description. However, the conditions under which learning occurs as well as linguistic input they are exposed to is better understood through language explanation.

The beginnings of current SLA go back to the late 1960s with the publication of Corder's (1967) paper *The significance of learners' errors* and Selinker's (1972) seminal work *Interlanguage*. These authors criticized the contrastive analysis of unnatural linguistic data and contended that researchers should examine real language samples produced by the learner in a real situation of L2 communication. Corder (1967) pointed out that advances in language instruction would just be made if the learner's contribution to the process of language acquisition was understood. For this author, the learner is endowed with an internal mechanism which is responsible for the acquisition of an L2 formal features like when a child is learning their L1. Learner's input, in its turn, would make its way into what Selinker (1972) called *interlanguage*. This concept, based on the mentalist language learning paradigm, is conceived of as an independent language system in its own right of abstract rules underlying L2 speech production and comprehension. It was believed to be the source of the learner's linguistic competence which "validates learners' speech, not as a deficit system, that is, language filled with random errors, but as a system of its own with its own structure" (GASS; SELINKER, 2008). Selinker and Gass (2008) add that a learner's interlanguage is made up of elements present in their first language and target language as well as elements coming from

neither. The latter are called new forms and are frequently regarded as the essence of interlanguage.

Fossilization is held as one of interlanguage key constructs and refers to the moment the learner's L2 ceases to be developed. In Flexner and Hauck's (1988, p. 755) words, it means "to become permanently established in the interlanguage of a second language learner in a form that is deviant from the target language norm and that continues to appear in performance regardless of further exposure to the target language". It can be applied to different language subsystems (lexical, syntactic, and semantic) independently, but it is more noticeable at the phonological level, manifesting itself in the accents of those who have learned a language after childhood (BROWN, 2000). Conversely, some theorists hold that it is more sensible to refer to those as stabilization of linguistic forms instead, since it is not easy to precise when a learner stops taking new linguistic elements into their interlanguage. This concept implies that reaching a plateau in L2 acquisition does not mean to stop learning (VANPATTEN; BENATI, 2015). At present, there is a heated debate in applied linguistics about whether language acquisition progress should be measured against native speaker norms and if the term fossilization should be used.

The input hypothesis (KRASHEN, 1985) was one of the first efforts into the fashioning of a formal SLA theory in the early 1980s. It is otherwise known as the Monitor Model and gained popularity among language teachers at the time. This cognitive framework consists of five interrelated hypotheses claiming that L2 acquisition just takes place if comprehensible input is implicitly provided to the learner's LAD and if the level of anxiety (affective filter) is low (BROWN, 2000). This model was heavily attacked by scholars who argued that the learning/acquisition distinction was vague and the notion of comprehensible input rather hazy and it soon fell out of favor.

As a reaction to Krashen's (1985) subliminal language learning claim, Schmidt (1990) comes up with his noticing hypothesis. It posits that any form of implicit or unconscious language learning is impossible and that learners acquire language when they pay attention to the linguistic forms they hear. He draws on a cognitive information-processing theory (ATKINSON, 2011) and distinguishes between two different nuances of consciousness: consciousness as intentionality and consciousness as attention. Whereas the former refers to deliberate language learning, the latter refers to spontaneous L2 learning through input exposure (ELLIS, 2003). This author defends that learning with awareness is an essential condition to L2 acquisition and that even when forms of language are learned incidentally,

there is a certain degree of attention involved. Schmidt (1990) learned firsthand that awareness is an important component in language learning by observing his own study of Portuguese during a five-month stay in Brazil. He kept a diary in which he carefully registered language knowledge from classes and interactions and concluded that the forms he produced in oral speech were the ones he kept record of.

From the 1990s, SLA research has gone through significant changes with the addition of new socially-driven L2 acquisition theories. Those are considered to be stronger in two ways: they have shown sides of the language acquisition phenomenon that the previous approaches did not and provided the field with more epistemological variety as well (ORTEGA, 2011). SLA theoretical approaches, traditional and alternative, are now cognitive, social and sociocognitive. Although the cognitive approaches dominate the area, the Sociocultural Theory – SCT-L2 (LANTOLF, THORNE, 2006), the Complexity Theory – CT (LARSEN-FREEMAN, 1997) and the Identity Theory (NORTON; MCKINNEY, 2011) are three of the main alternative approaches to have recently entered the field.

The SCT-L2, also called sociogenetic cognitive theory, was inspired by the works of Vygotsky (1986). It sees language as a cultural artifact whereby our consciousness is developed and argues that the power of language is in its use value and in the meaning we make through it. This model is a theory of human mental activity and was not initially designed to explore L2 issues, but is not focused on understanding "if and how learners develop the ability to use the new language to mediate (i.e., regulate or control) their mental and communicative activity" (LANTOLF, 2011a, p. 24). Earlier research dealt with how learners self-regulated their L2 learning as they interacted in the Zone of Proximal Development[15], but SCT-L2 has underwent a pedagogical turn and researches the impacts of classroom activities on language learning. Most of the research using this model has centered on the adult learner, but also includes language acquisition by bilingual children.

Similarly, the CT proposed by Larsen-Freeman (1997) has variability at its center and conceives of language as a "dynamic set of patterns emerging from use" (LARSEN-FREEMAN, 2011a). The phenomenon of L2 acquisition is assumed to happen through the dynamic integration of the mental and the social dimensions where the learner and the environment mutually adapt to one another. The learner, who learns both from positive and negative evidences, is acknowledged to have an active role in the process. One of the works

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[15] It is a term coined by Vygotsky (1986) to describe metaphorically the space where the process of learning takes place through the interactions between a novice learner and a more expert one.

that has attempted to prove evidence for L2 acquisition as a complex system is the longitudinal study conducted by Larsen-Freeman (2006), in which she studied the production of written language by a group of five Chinese subjects learning English. The data showed the learners resorted to L1 patterns of language and some target-like forms as well. Overall, the language outcomes of these participants regarding fluency and accuracy were not linear due to the differing initial states of the participants' language learning and also to the different interactions among the components of their interlanguage.

The poststructuralist identity approach (NORTON, MCKINNEY, 2011) explores the bond between identity and language learning by taking into account three factors: the heterogeneous and multiple identities of the language learners; the power relations in society and their influence in the construction of those identities; the language learning opportunities L2 learners have in a specific context. According to this theory, learners are constantly "negotiating and renegotiating a sense of self in relation to the larger social world, and reorganizing that relationship in multiple dimensions of their lives" (NORTON, MCKINNEY, 2011, p. 591). Two important concepts which make up this theory are investment and imagined communities. Investment is a social alternative to the motivation construct (GARDNER, 1985) and is related to the benefits a learner expects to have in a given social situation by increasing their symbolic capital. The notion of imagined communities is related to the expectations for the future that learners have when interacting in the present in a way that they resort to communities they would like to belong to, which are not necessarily the ones they are surrounded by. This way, learners "can exercise agency, claim their right to be heard, change perceptions and institutional prejudices, and strive to become whoever they want to be" (KRAMSCH, 2013, p. 195). These concepts are particularly helpful when investigating language learning by immigrants and how their affiliations to different language and culture communities affect the way they learn the target language.

In the next section, I present in greater detail the two socially-oriented L2 acquisition theories I adopted in this study and the reasons why they are worth being discussed and revisited.

2.5 THE *CAT* AND THE *AM* SLA MODELS

The connection between language and identity has become a theme of great interest among applied linguists in recent times. It is widely accepted that L2 acquisition is

characterized by a drive towards acquiring native speaker language behavior and accommodating to native speech norms. Many learners that fit into this category will wish to sound like native speakers when learning an L2 because they tend to think it is the only way to achieve success in such task. However, people can still learn languages without fully embracing the life style of a given language community or even by rejecting it.

The two SLA theoretical models analyzed in this study were the Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) and the Acculturation Model (AM). I chose these theories due to the way they investigate the social aspect of L2 learning. Furthermore, they were two of the socially driven theories that first sprang in the history of SLA studies and still influence research on L2 acquisition. I discarded classical SLA theories for they do not take into account learners' heterogeneity.

The basis of the current CAT, formerly known as SAT and officially reassessed and renamed in 1987 (GILES et al., 1987), was put forth by a team of social psychologists as a response to Labovian's linguistic behavior descriptive appraisal (rather than an explanatory one) of speech variation (GILES, 1973). This theory criticized the view held by traditional sociolinguistics of variability as a stylistic continuum. Giles and Beebe (1984, p. 7) argue that SAT was first conceived "to explain some of the motivations underlying certain shifts in people's styles during social encounters […], the cognitive and affective processes underlying speech convergence and divergence". By this theory, these authors attempted to analyze mutual influences in verbal communication and the reasons why an individual either adapts (accommodates) their speech to that of their addressee or diverges from it.

Convergence is defined as "a linguistic strategy whereby individuals adapt to each other's speech by means of a wide range of linguistic features including speech rates, pause and utterance lengths, pronunciations" (GILES; BEEBE, 1984). In SLA, this can mean imitating native speaker language behavior and even behavior in general in order to demonstrate social cohesiveness. To put it differently, an individual will try to accommodate their speech to that of their interlocutor either when they wish to gain social approval or when they want to communicate effectively with native speakers. This probably occurs because of the fear of not being understood. Ellis (2003) adds that effective L2 acquisition is characterized by 'long-term convergence' towards native-speaker norms. On the other hand, the strategy of divergence leads to linguistic behavior maintenance and is usually employed by people who have strong ethnolinguistic identities. It described as "the way in which speakers accentuate speech and nonverbal differences between themselves and others"

(GILES; COUPLAND; COUPLAND, 1991). This strategy is considered to contribute little to an individual's L2 acquisition.

The CAT has currently moved from understanding variability in speech style through strategies of convergence and divergence to researching communication strategies in intergroup contexts. This model now has included three new premises: (1) interactions are social and historically situated; (2) communication is a means whereby social identities are negotiated; (3) accommodation happens through a series of paralinguistic, discursive and nonlinguistic features beyond the linguistic dimension. Giles et al. (1995, p. 127) define this framework in the following words:

> […] A multifunctional theory that conceptualizes communication in both subjective and objective terms. It focuses on both intergroup and interpersonal features and […] can integrate dimensions of cultural variability. Moreover, in addition to individual factors of knowledge, motivation, and skill, CAT recognizes the importance of power and of macro contextual factors. Most important, perhaps, CAT is a theory of intercultural communication that actually attends to communication.

Thus, the scope of this theory has become broader in the sense that linguistic features of speech are no longer its primary focus, but communication as a whole, in particular the one that happens cross-culturally. In this study, I attempted to find out whether learners felt the need to converge towards native speaker speech in order to feel linguistically competent.

The AM, in its turn, was proposed by Schumann (1976) in the mid 1970's and was tried to explain the L2 learning process of adult immigrants. It was inspired by previous works of Gardner and Lambert (1972) and Guiora et al. (1972) on theories of motivation. This model, which first emerged as the Pidginization Hypothesis, has been influential in SLA research and language education, and was already addressed by Brown (2000), Ellis (2003), among others. Like the CAT, this framework probes into social and psychological aspects of L2 learning and was constructed upon the metaphor of distance, which has to do with the extent to which the L2 learner integrates or distance themselves from the target language group.

The AM was born from a longitudinal case study involving six Spanish speakers of different ages who were learning English in the USA. The purpose of this study was to evaluate the linguistic progress made by those participants in the acquisition of interrogatives, negatives and auxiliaries over a period of ten months. A 33-year old Costa Rican named Alberto was the main researched subject and he is said to have developed a much reduced,

'pidginized' form of English when compared to the other five subjects. This pidgenization described by Schumann (1978) was the phenomenon that triggered the model. A pidgin is usually formed when two different speech communities try to communicate with one another and, in this case, was defined as "a simplified and reduced form of speech used for communication between people with different languages" (SCHUMANN, 1978, p. 69). Schumann (1976) concluded that Alberto failed in his L2 learning for three main reasons: ability, age and social distance from target language speakers. In addition, the author hypothesized that his subject Alberto did not achieve higher levels of proficiency in English because he was unwilling to acculturate to the host community to which he had migrated. Therefore, this L2 theory defends the main variable in L2 acquisition is acculturation, which is "the social and psychological integration of the individual with the target language group" (SCHUMANN, 1978, p. 29).

The social dimension of Schumann's (2013) AM is divided into 7 variables: (1) social dominance, (2) integration patterns, (3) enclosure, (4) cultural congruence, (5) group size, (6) group attitudes and (7) length of residence. The first factor has to do with power relations between the two groups in question in such a way that the L2 group will feel pressured to learn the language in the condition that it has lower status compared to the target language group. The second one entails either assimilating the new culture by giving up on their lifestyle and values or preserving its own by rejecting the language and culture of the new community. The consequence is not learning so much of the target language. The enclosure variable is related to the social environments the groups share, which means that the more they participate in the same social groups, the greater the linguistic gains the L2 group is likely to have. If this is not the case, interactions will be more restricted and so will language opportunities. The cultural factor describes how similar or different the cultures of both groups are; the more dissimilar, the lesser the intergroup contact. Furthermore, if an immigrant group is large and close-knit, it will tend to engage in fewer interactions with the host community if compared to a smaller one. The last two items regard attitudes and length of stay in the host country. Positive attitudes will foster greater possibilities for social interaction. The L2 immigrant or learner will be less interested in learning the language if they think they remain in the area shortly.

Whereas the first dimension seeks to understand how relationships between different groups take place, the psychological variables of this model are affective in nature and especially concerned with an individual's inclination to learn a given L2. Those variables

include: (1) language shock, (2) culture shock, (3) motivation and (4) ego permeability. Language shock is the degree of stress a learner might go through in a situation where they have to express themselves in an L2 in which they are not fluent yet, while culture shock is the anxiety they might experience when stepping into a new culture. The motivation factor is connected with the reasons for learning a language and it is largely assumed that an integratively-oriented student is more likely to learn than a student who is just interested in learning a language for utilitarian purposes (SCHUMANN, 1986). Finally, Guiora et al.'s (1972) notion of ego permeability is also incorporated into this model and it attempts to explain the ability some people have to acquire native-like pronunciation in L2 learning. However, these authors reinterpreted it by arguing that this notion is more useful when regarded as a general aptitude to learn an L2 rather than just to acquire the ability to sound like a native speaker of the target-language. In sum, Schumann (1986) maintains that if the individual is not able to deal with language/culture shock or have enough integrative motivation and ego permeability, he will not learn the language successfully.

In recent developments of this theory, the affective factors accounting for acculturation in L2 learning have given way to stimulus appraisal dimensions (SCHUMANN et al., 2004). They consist of 5 criteria: novelty, pleasantness, goals/needs significance, coping potential, and self and social image, according to which the learner evaluates emotional and motivational stimuli in SLA.

The social and psychological dimensions of this model are considered to tackle different aspects of acculturation which are neither interconnected nor independent. Schumann (1986, p. 384) points out that "SLA is just one aspect of acculturation and the degree to which the learner acculturates to the target language group, will control the degree to which he acquires the second language". This author has once tried to illustrate this relationship in the figure below:

FIGURE 1 – THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION AND SLA
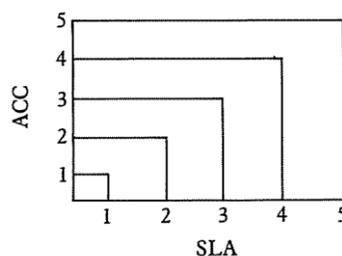
SOURCE: SCHUMANN (1986).

Although the graphic demonstrates that levels of L2 acquisition are directly proportional to acculturation, Schumann (1986) eventually reanalyzes it and concludes that the relationship between those two elements is more complex than he previously thought. This author believes that a bad language learning situation emerges when L2 users spend too long interacting with one another instead of communicating in the target language with native speakers and when the cultures are too different. Conversely, a good language learning situation occurs when there is little social-psychological distance between the L2 learner and the host community. In other words, this model holds that the lesser the distance between the individual and the target language group, the greater the linguistic gains they are likely to make. This hypothesis is of great significance for the data analysis of this study.

All in all, the CAT and the AM advocate that the learner needs to create a cultural-affective bond with native speakers so that they become linguistically competent in the L2. However, these models do not consider the possibility of other forms of identity affiliation but the one represented by native speakers. They argue that L2 learners are supposed to acquire sociolinguistic competence, that is, the acquisition of native-like speech patterns of the target language. If learners do not get it, they are considered to have failed.

Despite the fact that these models attempt to explain the relationship between L2 acquisition and acculturation/accommodation, they provide no definite answers. Schumann (1986) says that what we learn from these frameworks is not their outcomes, but how we interpret those results and check their applicability to different studies. As English has become a language spoken by more non-native than native speakers, this study aims to understand the relationship between language proficiency and Brazilian learners' identity affiliations before, during and after SA.

In the next chapter, I address the main concepts of qualitative research and its relevance for L2 research, which had been predominantly quantitative. I also outline the objectives, research questions and the profile of the six subjects who participated in this study. The data collection instruments and the analysis procedures are described as well.

3 THE PAIR OF GLASSES YOU WEAR CHANGES THE WORLD YOU SEE: METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

> In short, humans are creatures that are affected by what happens, can understand their worlds, and communicate with others, and together, these features can be said to comprise an interpretative qualitative stance in human and social science research (BRINKMANN; JACOBSEN; KRISTIANSEN, 2014, p. 21).

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Although SA research is predominantly quantitative and narrowly focused on L2 acquisition abroad, I highlight the importance of the qualitative research approach to understand identity-related aspects of the language learning process in such context. By taking participants' point of view into account, this methodological perspective is proven suitable when examining participants' past experiences, buried emotions and L2 learning assumptions and beliefs. The asymmetrical power between researcher and researched as well as fundamental concepts in qualitative research, like self-reflexivity, context and thick description, are addressed here too. Besides, I describe the two data collection instruments chosen, their advantages and how they can be combined in order to make up for possible shortcomings. SWB past participants' profile, procedures of data analysis and presentation are also found in this chapter.

3.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This thesis is guided by the following research questions, which will be eventually answered at the end of this study:

- What are the impacts of SA experiences on participants' language learning beliefs and L2 identities in English?
- How can the SWB program help Brazilian students deal more successfully with the diversity of English speakers?
- What do SA past participants' experiences have to inform SLA theories and how do they confront the tenets of the Acculturation Model – AM (SCHUMMAN, 1978) and the Communication Accommodation Theory – CAT (GILES, 1987)?
- How can the experiences afforded by an SA program help students become interculturally competent?

3.3 OVERALL OBJECTIVE

This study aims to investigate the general impacts of the SWB program on the reconstruction of Brazilian students' L2 identity through English, considering the different English language patterns they resort to when interacting with language users of different ethnolinguistic backgrounds in SA contexts.

3.3.1 Specific objectives

The aforementioned general objective unfolds into the specific ones as follows:
- Analyze the impact SA experiences have on participants' language learning beliefs and on the (re)construction of their L2 identities in English;
- Investigate how the experience in mobility programs can foster a better understanding between speakers of different cultures who resort to English for communication;
- Revisit binarisms of the social/psychological distance put forth by Acculturation Model – AM (SCHUMMAN, 1978) and the convergence/divergence one proposed by Communication Accommodation Theory – CAT (GILES, 1987) about linguistic competence.
- Understand how an SA program can foster an ICC in participants.

3.4 A QUALITATIVE APPROACH IN L2 RESEARCH

The process of choosing and outlining a methodological approach is never the most inviting step in research. It is often times taken for granted and regarded as a rather boring, unnecessary and fastidious task. I have assumed for quite some time that the data *per se* were more important than the tools for gathering them. As a matter of fact, this is the very first time I am giving this matter the attention it deserves.

By and large, researchers (myself included) concur with the view that working on a research methodology is a burden. To my surprise, Tracy (2013) tries to convince that engaging in research is as natural as breathing and talking and that we do it on a daily basis:

> We ask questions, listen to stories, watch others, participate in meetings, check out text messages, gossip, and engage in dialogue. In doing so, we gather qualitative data about social phenomena. Through talking to others we learn about their quirks, interests, pet peeves, and sense of humor. We learn about their culture. We think about these experiences, make patterns of meanings, and absorb the scene (TRACY, 2013, p. 2).

At the same time, we select our subjects, make judgments about their attitudes and express our evaluation either in conversation or virtually. These give us an understanding about the world around us and our place in it. What research methods do, for Tracy (2013, p. 2), is simply to turn those daily practices into more careful analysis "that may lead to better understandings – not only for us, but for others". Accordingly, I will go into the hows and whys of this research by force of habit.

Research is broadly conceived of as a purposeful study of people or things with the intent of getting deeper knowledge about those. However, a research methodology is understood as a philosophy, a general principle that guides an inquiry as well as the predicaments, hindrances and ethical issues involved (DAWSON, 2002). It also entails the design of research questions and hypotheses (when applicable), the choice of the subject, context and the procedures through which data will be collected, interpreted and analyzed. The decision of a research approach for a study is bound with the philosophical viewpoint of the researcher, which is "the result of the researchers' own personal experiences and academic socialization" (HUEBNER, 1998).

As I am not trying to prove anything in specific, this applied linguistics research in SA was not based on previously created hypotheses, as we usually proceed in this field nowadays. The unpredictability of the participants' responses makes the idea of a hypothesis unfeasible for this study. Instead, research in applied linguistics is expected to be carried out in a way whereby theory and practice are integrated rather than distinguished (MOITA LOPES, 2006).

The nature of research, the ways it should be conducted and whether certain approaches are more 'scientific' and enlightening than others have been a topic of heated debate in the last decades. This debate has most of the time centered on the quantitative-qualitative continuum with a clear preference for the former. Qualitative methods have only recently made their way into the researchers' agenda. Positivism has cast a shadow on earlier research practices by contending that the nature of the world could only be disclosed by careful hypothesis testing.

This belief is based on the assumption that there is a single reality out there that waits to be uncovered (TRACY, 2013). This knowledge objectification would only be eventually

challenged by constructivist approaches. The historical prominence on quantification in science led to the general thought that less quantifiable fields of enquiry (such as the ones in social sciences) are not reliable. Moreover, it has long been held that scientific maturity would only arise "as the degree of quantification found within a given field *increased* (my emphasis)" (GUBA; LINCOLN, 1994, p. 106). The field of SLA, for instance, is, to a great extent, ruled by quantitative research. However, an increasing discontentment with conspicuous emphasis on quantitative methods triggered the emergence of alternative approaches. The questioning of a positivist outlook in research would lead, according to Richards (2009), to the paradigm wars of the 1970s and 1980s.

Whereas quantitative research is commonly regarded as an objective scientific task backed up by numbers and focused on hypothesis testing and generalization, qualitative research does not resort to laboratory tests and is rather concerned with understanding phenomena in a given social context by taking the participant's stance into account (LARSON-HALL, 2013). Qualitative research is, for Denzin and Lincoln (2000, p. 2), a "situated activity that locates the observer in the world," and that qualitative researchers "study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them".

People's interpretation of their social reality is highly valued in this approach. In SA research, students' own views on the SA experience in general is pivotal to the understanding of L2 acquisition in the context of language immersion. According to Aveni (1998, p. 83):

> […] viewing the perceptions learners have about themselves and about the study abroad enterprise, whether objectively factual or not, can enlighten researchers, pedagogues, and program administrators, as well as the students themselves, about the learning and language use behaviors and ultimate success of students during in-country study.

Although quantitative and qualitative research perspectives are often set in opposition to one another, some scholars acknowledge today that both approaches can be used as part of the researcher's 'toolbox' to address different kinds of research questions. As there is not one single better or more accepted way of doing research, they should be seen as complementary and not competing and contradictory. Huebner (1998) stresses the importance of each perspective for SA research, depending on the dimension of the L2 acquisition phenomenon under investigation. In the author's words:

> These various approaches and methods are not necessarily incompatible. Each provides another perspective from which to look at language development and contributes to an understanding of the complexity of the process *of L2 acquisition* (my emphasis) in an SA context. Together, they shed light on what is universal to the SA experience and what is unique to a particular SA context (HUEBNER, 1998, p. 20).

Young (2013) conceives of qualitative research as an umbrella term that describes ways of doing research that are complex and continually evolving. Mendes (2004), in accordance with Young (2013), argues that qualitative research is often times seen as a multi-method which researchers draw on coming from different disciplines such as ethnomethodology, phenomenology, hermeneutics, ethnography and even cultural studies.

In this sense, Denzin and Lincoln (1994) add that there had never been as many methods to choose from and make use of as there are today. This research approach became more extensively used from the nineteenth century onwards and initially took the form of ethnographic studies in anthropology and sociology. Native populations abroad, foreign cultures and a society's outsider used to be the main objects of study of ethnographers like Malinowski, Mead and Franz Boas.

Although qualitative methods were heavily criticized for being 'soft' and little scientific in the first half of the twentieth century, qualitative researchers attempted to formalize them by stressing the importance of rigor in gathering data. Those matured as researchers' work became more refined while countering the shortcomings of previous paradigms in social research, positivism in particular (SNAPE; SPENCER, 2003).

The plurarization of life worlds brought about by rapid social change is one of the things that account for the recent growth of qualitative research (FLICK, 2009). This diversification challenged social scientists along with their traditional methodologies and has rendered fixed labels inadequate to portray modern societies, given the emerging lifestyles, subcultures and ways of living. Earlier traditional research approaches that worked on devising theories and examining them in the light of factual evidence are falling out of favor and sensitizing concepts[16] have become more appropriate when approaching the social contexts investigated.

Tracy (2013) highlights three notions that are fundamental in qualitative research: self-reflexivity, context, and thick description. Self-reflexivity is against the objectivity with

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[16] Sensitizing concepts are notions or theories based on researchers' own past experiences and personal interests serving as *jump-off points* which help them better design and organize the research problem, especially in heat-debated issues (Tracy, 2013).

which researcher and researched are regarded in science. It holds that the researcher's past experiences and set of beliefs can interfere with the ways a phenomenon is explored and interpreted and that the relationship between researcher and social phenomena is an interactive one. Contexts set the scene for qualitative research and are about "immersing oneself in a scene and trying to make sense of it" (TRACY, 2013, p. 3). They differ, for instance, from the research carried out in a laboratory by strictly controlling variables in order to replicate data in the future. For this research, I found it was extremely important to inquire Brazilian students who had had SA experiences in both ESL and EFL contexts. Thick description, in its turn, is closely related to context. It inquires about the specificities of a particular studied scene, by "drawing conclusions from small […] facts" (GEERTZ, 1973) which are reported on before further elaborate theories are constructed. Geertz (1973) underscores that another important feature of think description is the fact that the researcher does not describe reality, but interprets the researched subjects' interpretations.

Bearing this in mind, Young (2013) asserts that qualitative methods started to become more prominent in the field of SLA when researchers in social sciences moved away from a traditional approach to knowledge, which considered that research would only become valid when done through numerical data gathering subjected to statistical procedures of inference. As Richard (2009, p. 147) asserts, qualitative research "has opened dimensions of insight into the processes of language teaching and learning that were not even discernible on the horizon twenty years ago".

It is not even about not liking figures, but one of the strengths of qualitative research is "a realization that any numerical representation of L2 phenomena limits consideration of the multiple contexts in which languages are learned and limits attention to differences among learners" (YOUNG, 2013, p. 538). This author summarizes four common features of L2 qualitative research:

> Participation in L2 learning and use is recognized as subjective and different from one participant to another; the relationship between researcher and participant is recognized as collaborative and thus interpretation of data by a researcher is necessarily value-laden; analysis of data involves attention to the particulars and the context of L2 learning and use, a process that often emerges as the study proceeds; in presentation of their research to an audience, qualitative researchers aim for an informal style and a personal voice (YOUNG, 2013, p. 536).

However, the bulk of SLA and SA research is largely quantitative in nature. Those studies rely heavily on pre/post test scores in order to evaluate the improvement of different

language abilities in the context of short-term student mobility schemes, with special focus on audio-aural skills (GALLUCCI, 2011). An often cited study involving 2,782 college veterans majoring in French, German, Italian and Russian undertaken by Carroll (1967) is regarded as one of the first pioneering major-scale research attesting to the benefits of SA in terms of higher levels of language outcomes.

The ACTFL[17] Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI) was a typical research instrument employed in a myriad of studies carried out in the 1980s and aimed to examine changes in the oral proficiency levels of students. The results were usually converted into statistic data and it was concluded that students who had been abroad had higher OPI scores compared to those who stayed at home. One of the disadvantages of such studies was that no attention was paid to qualitative changes in students' language proficiency (FREED, 1995).

From the mid-1990s on, scholars have taken an interest into the sociocultural aspects of the SA experience. Researchers found out that proficiency levels varied even across students within the same program (DUFOND, 2013) so the role individual differences play in L2 acquisition has now become a focus in this area. Ethnographic and longitudinal studies began to emerge and since then the SA experience started to be understood not only by questionnaires, but through other qualitative research methods such as learner journals, field notes, and interviews (BLOCK, 2010). Qualitative methods have also proven useful for applied linguists who investigate language and cultural issues in the context of immigrants and refugees adjusting to the new social reality of their host country.

Despite the advances in SA research, Velliaris e Coleman-George (2016) call attention to the fact that studies drawing on control groups and more robust research methodologies are still scarce. Likewise, there has not been much research on the after effects of the study abroad experience.

A qualitative research perspective allows the researcher to get a deeper look into social phenomena by understanding the intricate relationships between the self and the other in a specific context (LEAVY, 2014). This approach is especially valuable to this study since I am investigating how Brazilians' L2 identities are impacted by SA. Also, the new ways whereby those participants negotiate meaning by means of a language in intercultural contact without necessarily resorting to native English speaker norms were given special attention.

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[17] American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.

3.4.1 Research methods

The selection of appropriate data collection procedures is as important as choosing the research methodology because "good research cannot be built on poorly collected data" (GILLHAM, 2000, p. 1). The tools I designed for this study were (1) a self-administered questionnaire and (2) an individual interview, both semi-structured, whose full versions are found in the appendix section of this thesis. The questionnaire covers a series of questions on language, identity, and cultural issues during the participants' academic year abroad. The interview is intended to complement the questionnaire by exploring more deeply how studying in another country has impacted their worldviews.

Dörnyei (2003) points out that the word questionnaire is actually a misnomer because this type of survey does not only consist of questions in the strict sense of the term, but also includes statements about which a participant's opinion is supposed to be obtained. Aligned with this idea, Brown (2001, p. 6) argues that a questionnaire is better defined as "any written instrument that presents participants with a series of questions or statements to which they should react either by writing out their answers or selecting from among existing answers". It is a valuable tool to collect respondents' factual, behavioral and attitudinal information.

Questionnaires are one of the most used methods for gathering data in L2 research due to their efficiency in saving researcher's time, and also for being cost effective and easy to administrate. They have been resorted to in order to understand phenomena that are not directly observable, such as learners' attitudes towards L2, learning styles and strategies, anxiety and language learning beliefs (ABBUHL, 2013). It has been pointed out that one of the advantages of self-completed questionnaires over the interview is that they encourage more genuine answers because they can be replied anonymously, and are also more economical in terms of time (COHEN; MANION; MORRISON, 2007).

The self-administered questionnaire drawn up for this study is made out of 12 semi-structured questions and statements and was sent to the participants via e-mail. The open-endedness feature of this questionnaire enabled them to answer, or comment on topics in their own words. The participant's personal name (optional), age, major and year they did the exchange program were informed in the profile section at the top of the questionnaire. The first two factual questions were about whether respondents had traveled internationally prior to their SWB participation and if they spoke an L2 other than English. They were asked to self-rate their language skills and to tell the frequency with which their language interactions

with native and non-native English speakers took place. Respondents were further inquired if they were able to share their own culture through English in the host country. The attitudinal core item of this questionnaire probed into the SWB past participants' opinion and beliefs on whether linguistic competence was bound with English speaker native patterns imitation.

Participants in a study cannot be forced into completing a questionnaire, but have to be strongly stimulated to do so. Likewise, it has to be guaranteed that they can leave the research at any moment as well as have the rights of anonymity, confidentiality and non-traceability safeguarded at all costs. It is important to consider the amount of time respondents will take to complete it since they are usually not willing to spend long hours on it. There is not a consensus on the optimal length of a questionnaire, but it is advisable that it should not be longer than four pages nor take over 30 minutes to complete. Dörnyei (2003) still points out that fatigue effects allied with acquiescence bias and halo effect are some of the main disadvantages of self-administered questionnaires. The former has to do with the fact that respondents tend to give socially desirable answers and not speak their minds by agreeing with statements they are unsure whereas the latter is related to our tendency of overgeneralization.

Brown (2001) calls the attention to the fact that this type of questionnaire also presents other disadvantages and limitations. First, it is not guaranteed that all participants will reply and the return rate is usually low. Second, the conditions under which those are answered are unknown to the researcher because they can be filled in hurriedly and superficially and, consequently, compromise data reliability. In addition, equal questions can be interpreted differently by different participants and if questionnaires are not self-explanatory enough, there will not be instances for further clarification.

For Abbhul (2003), questionnaires should be coupled with at least another research method in order to make up for any shortcoming due to the use of a single instrument. This combination of tools provides researchers with a clearer understanding of the problem investigated. Brown (2001, p. 78-79) believes that questionnaires and interviews are intrinsically complementary:

> in the sense that interviews are more suitable for exploring what the questions are and questionnaires are more suitable for answering those questions. Sometimes, you may want to use the strengths of both types of instruments in a single research project.

Gillham (2000, p. 82), in line with Brown (2001), adds that questionnaire results can be illustrated by semi-structured interviews and "bring your research study to life". Thus, I decided to carry out individual interviews because they can help participants become more involved and answer questions more spontaneously. Moreover, they can also allow an opportunity for clearing up a few items in the self-administered questionnaire which may have been misunderstood by participants.

The interview is technically conceived of as a question-based tool with specific purpose and structure that draws on interactants' verbal and non-verbal cues. However, an interview is a social, interpersonal encounter (COHEN; MANION; MORRISON, 2007), whereby both interviewer and interviewee influence each other in the co-construction of meanings. In this sense, Kvale (1996) defends that an interview is not a mere instrument of information transfer, a data collection exercise, but an *inter-change* of thoughts and views about a theme of mutual interest between two people. Therefore, interviews should not be regarded as a site where questions and answers are swapped back and forth unbiasedly, but as active processes through which we are constantly reshaped by getting to know others and ourselves (FONTANA; FREY, 2005).

Tracy (2013, p. 132) argues that qualitative interviews "provide opportunities for mutual discovery, understanding, reflection, and explanation via a path that is organic, adaptive and oftentimes energizing". In other words, interviews are not only aimed at collecting data about life and should be seen as part of life itself, for its "human embeddedness is inescapable" (COHEN; MANION; MORRISON, 2007, p. 349).

As this is a study on how L2 identities are refashioned and negotiated through experiences in a SA context, the interview is a suitable tool in gathering information about past experiences wherein cultural shock and hidden emotions are implicated. The greater emphasis is always placed on the interviewee's point of view and the stories and narratives which they might share as they talk, even if the researcher is in charge of leading the course of the interview.

The qualitative interview of this study consists of 16 questions and was devised in a way that some of the items of the self-administered questionnaire could be further explored. The fact that it is semi-structured means I can reword the item at any time. I attempted to conduct this interview as spontaneous as possible because it is believed that the more spontaneous the interview, the more unexpected are the participants' answers (KVALE, 1996).

3.4.2 The participants' profile

According to Block (2007), most SA participants are college students of a specific age group (18-22 years old), and are remarkably from middle-class backgrounds. The six subjects of this study fall under this category and were found with the help of mutual friends and former students of mine. Most of them pursued (or still pursue) their majors at Brazilian federal or private higher education institutions. I decided to choose SWB past participants who had traveled to either an ENL or an EFL country so that data would be richer. TABLE 1 synthesizes the background information of the participants:

TABLE 1 – SWB PAST PARTICIPANTS' PROFILE

PARTICIPANT	AGE	SEX	COUNTRY	MAJOR	YEAR OF THE PROGRAM
P1	19	F	CANADA	Engineering	2014.1 - 2014.2
P2	21	M	CANADA	Biomedicine	2013.1 - 2013.2
P3	20	M	AUSTRALIA	Engineering	2013.2 - 2014.1
P4	22	F	AUSTRALIA	Medicine	2014.2 - 2015.2
P5	20	M	GERMANY	Engineering	2012.1 - 2012.2
P6	22	M	HUNGARY	Engineering	2013.2 - 2014.1

SOURCE: The author (2017).

As shown in TABLE 1 above, participants' age when they traveled range from 19-22 years old and they did their program between the years 2013 and 2015. Male students account for 66% of the participants while female ones represent 33%, who were outnumbered by the male participants only by 16%. The participants' names were kept confidential in compliance with the university's Research Ethics Committee regulations and were replaced by alphanumeric characters (P1, P2, P3…).

Most students in this group, who had traveled abroad for either one or one and a half academic year, were either formal applied or health science majors because the program did not include students from human sciences. It is important to mention that only two participants in this group had international travel experience prior to the program. Most of them traveled through the SWB to countries where English has official L1 status. However, two out of the six participants chose to go to EFL countries and added that they also needed to

learn the native language of the host community in order to better communicate with the locals even though most of the communication happened in English.

First, participants were contacted through social network or telephone. They were then emailed the questionnaire along with the informed consent application. The interview was scheduled immediately after they returned the completed questionnaire. 50% of the participants (1 female, 2 males) were interviewed face to face at their home or workplace. As the other half lived in different cities away from my hometown, they had to be interviewed over the telephone or on Skype. Though the results of this study were discussed and reported in English, participants were inquired in Portuguese because I came to the conclusion that they would feel more confident and at ease if they spoke in their native language. I did not want them to feel uneasy by thinking that their proficiency level in English would be evaluated. Besides, their L2 proficiency was not the focus of this study and had already been measured when they applied for the SWB, since all participants had to take an international exam of some kind such as TOEFL[18] or IELTS[19] to be eligible for the program.

3.4.3 Data analysis procedures

Having gathered the data, the next step consists in analyzing them. Analysis is an iterative procedure that involves (1) managing the data, which is simultaneously rich in detail and convoluted in content, and (2) making sense of it through description or explanation (RITCHIE; SPENCER; O'CONNOR, 2003).

Data analysis in qualitative research is largely interpretive and it is the process resulting from the interaction between researcher and their data. Thus, Tracy (2003) reminds us of the importance of treating the data with extra ethical care because of the control the researcher has over the researched in terms of turn taking, dialogue direction and topical emphasis. Participants should be informed about the potential risks of the research, be protected from those and also be offered an exchange of services or reciprocity of some kind. In this regard, Huebner (1998, p. 20) suggests that in SA research this can be done in "the form of sharing with students the results of the study to make them more conscious of what language learning factors will maximize their learning".

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[18] Test of English as a Foreign Language.
[19] International English Language Testing System.

Gil (2002) states that interpretation can happen simultaneously with or after the analysis and is particularly aimed at "establishing a link between the obtained results with already known ones, be those drawn from theories or previous studies"[20] (GIL, 2002, p. 125). As part of this process, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) call attention to the fact that we tend to lose the synergy of the whole of the interview in analyzing fragments and in this case, the whole is of greater importance than the sum of its parts. Instead of focusing only on a few fragments of the interview, I decided to transcribe it fully so that I would not lose the holistic picture of the data. This also helped me when comparing the information generated by both instruments used in this study.

Once the data have been analyzed, they need to be classified and illustrated. Dörnyei (2003) argues that surveys usually provide us with a great amount of information which should be, whenever possible, presented in a reader-friendly way in the forms of tables and charts, rather than in the running text. Tables are usually considered to present research data more efficiently, but do not have the same visual impact of charts and schematic representations. As such, I used both tables and charts to present the data which were analyzed in accordance with the research questions and objectives of this study.

In the next chapter, I present a short history of the English language and its major developments from back in the day to recent times. I also discuss some of the most important developments and proposals which question native standards as the only references for guidance in ELT. Pedagogical implications for the teaching of English as an International Language in Brazil will also be approached.

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[20] "estabelecer a ligação entre os resultados obtidos com outros já conhecidos, quer sejam derivados de teorias, quer sejam de estudos realizados anteriormente".

4 FROM OLD TO INTERNATIONAL: THE MANY NAMES OF ENGLISH AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR L2 LEARNING

> For every one person who speaks standard English, there must be a hundred who do not, and another hundred who speak other varieties as well as the standard. Where is their story told? (CRYSTAL, 2004, p. 5)

4.1 INTRODUCTION

We live in times when languages have started to play a central role in our lives and cross cultural communication has become inevitable. The history of the English language is traditionally told through canonical works of literature and often ignores ordinary voices of people that have coexisted and made up the language. However, there have been recent discussions among linguists and other social scientists about the nature of English and its ubiquity the world over, whose non-native speakers far outnumber those who speak it natively.

In this section, I take a look back on the origins of the English language, its major phonological changes, lexical heritage and more current developments. I call attention to different names attributed to English and their impact on ELT. I particularly highlight the perspective of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), first put forth by Jenkins (2000; 2007) and Seidlhofer (2001; 2011), for the emphasis it places on the language learner and the multiple ways they are recreating the language. Moreover, I reflect on the authority and prominence native speaker models have always had in language matters at large and stress and the importance of finding balance on the native/foreign divide while inquiring about the relevance of such terms.

4.2 FROM WHERE IT ALL BEGAN: THE ORIGINS OF ENGLISH AND ITS FIRST MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS

The English language as we know today has gone through countless changes over centuries of evolution. It started as a dialect spoken mostly on the North Sea coast of mainland Europe and was taken to the British Isles by Anglos, Saxons, Jutes and Frisians around the fifth century. English is spoken today by more than 400 million people as a native language (CRYSTAL cited in DENISON; HOGG, 2006) and as an L2 by over a billion more.

As Medgyes (2001, p. 429) well puts it, "English is the unrivaled lingua franca of the world, and […] is rolling ahead like a juggernaut".

For Baugh and Cable (2002, p. 1), the history of a language "is intimately bound up with the history of peoples who speak it". Most of what is known about the early history of the English people was documented by the Benedictine monk Bede around the seventh century. He was a scientist, a historian, and was considered the most learned person in the Europe of his time. His work *Ecclesiastical history of the English people*, written in Latin and completed in the year 730, is the most detailed historical account of the early days of the English nation (ALGEO, 2010).

Crystal (2011) suggests that this history can be counted in two main different ways. The first one is by pinpointing its major periods of development (old, middle and modern periods, in the case of English) and the second one is by exploring the origins of words and phrases of the language found in well-known wordbooks. However, the author believes that the first approach is too broad and gives a clear view of the wood, but not the trees, whereas the second has the opposite effect, by showing many of the trees and providing a blurred picture of the woods. In order to make up for this shortcoming, he proposes that those perspectives be merged in a way that words are studied because a part of the history of a language can be told through them. For Crystal (2011, p. 6), vocabulary is "a primary index of a language's identity" and describes the English lexicon as a much diverse one, resulting from "the colorful political and cultural history of the English-speaking peoples throughout time.

The history of English is notably marked by ongoing invasions which left their legacy into the vocabulary, grammar and phonology of the language, and fostered periods of great social changes. Before fifth-century incursions, the languages spoken on the British Isles were of Celtic origin. Those Celtic languages had very little influence on English, since many communities were either wiped out of the island or ousted towards the west and the north. The dialects spoken on those areas gave birth to Welsh and Gaelic. Two major influences on English in its early days were Latin terms brought by Christian missionaries, which would, in the long run, be incorporated into the English language, and Scandinavian words as a result of the Viking raids on Britain, which are estimated to be over 1,800 (CRYSTAL, 2012).

The developments of the English language throughout its 1500 years of existence in present-day England are commonly understood within three major historical periods. They are not precise, but have been drawn up based on specific linguistic features, one of which is word inflection. The language that flourished in the fifth century developing up until the tenth

is known as Old English and was highly inflected. It is a collection of scattered manuscripts that reflects diverse scribal idiolects which were 're-constructed' and unified for historical purposes, leaving a hole in its greater picture (DENISON; HOGG, 2006). Like any language, Old English was not uniform and was distinguished in four main dialects: Northumbrian, Mercian (also known as Anglian), West Saxon and Kentish. These dialects were spoken in the regions illustrated by FIGURE 2 below:

FIGURE 2: THE DIALECTS OF OLD ENGLISH

SOURCE: BAUGH; CABLE (2002).

The first manuscripts and inscriptions in Old English were written in the runic alphabet, a sample of which is illustrated by Figure 3. This alphabet consisted of twenty-four characters. The early inscriptions of the fifth and sixth century were found on artifacts and usually carried information about its owner or maker.

FIGURE 3 – SAMPLE OF RUNIC INSCRIPTION[21]

SOURCE: adapted from CRYSTAL (2002).

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[21] This runic sample inscription was originally carved into the Ruthwell Cross at Ruthwell Church in Scotland. It is part of the Old English poem 'The Dream of the Rood' and it reads "Krist wæs on rodi ic wæs miþ blodæ bistemid" - Christ was on the cross, I was with blood bedewed (CRYSTAL, 2002, p. 182).

Most Old English manuscripts were written in West Saxon for it was the dialect spoken by King Alfred of the Kingdom of Wessex who turned out to be an important political and cultural figure of the ninth century (CRYSTAL, 2012). Besides his military victories over the Vikings, Alfred was especially acknowledged for reviving scholarship among the clergy and for his translation of Latin books into English, including the anthology of the *Anglo-Saxon chronicles* and Bede's *Ecclesiastical history*. These works comprise the two main records about the early days of the English language and its people (ALGEO, 2010).

According to Algeo (2010), English was one of the first highly developed vernacular languages in the European continent, comprising of a vocabulary that could express nuances of thoughts and feelings the same way a classical language like Latin did. The English culture was one of the most advanced ones in Western Europe and the fact that it was made out to be barbarian could not be further from the truth. The end of the six century represented a period of high scholarly activity in monasteries that helped preserve classical culture for future generations. Literature was also rich at that time and *Beowulf* is the first English poem we know of, even though the authorship remains unknown. This poem, which was composed early in the eighth century, was written down only much later and combines pagan and Christian elements. It is based on an account of a hero who embodies the ethos of the English people back then and continues to inspire contemporary epic novels as, for example, Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings*.

The twelfth century represented a turning point for the English society and would mark the beginning of new times in Britain after the Norman Conquest in 1066. Texts were still being written in the West Saxon dialect early in the eleventh century, but several historical events would change that course. English monks started to recover manuscripts damaged in a fire at monasteries in the city of Peterborough and the writing style would reflect the new conditions, vocabulary and grammar of English of that time (CRYSTAL, 2012).

The Middle English period, stretching from about 1150 to 1500, signaled transition between Old English and what would come to be known as Early Modern English. Middle English is characterized by displaying remarkable analytical grammar instead of highly complex one. Although keeping its basic Germanic structure, English was gradually becoming less a Germanic language from a lexical perspective by reducing word inflection. The phenomenon occurred due to phonetic changes and the incorporation of French and Latin words into the language (BAUCH; CABLE, 2002; JANSON, 2002). For the Swedish linguist

Janson (2002), this addition of new terms happened for two main historical and cultural reasons. First, the conquerors, in this case the Normans, used their own words for concepts and objects even when there were English correspondents. This phenomenon went on up to about the 1400s, for as long as a French-speaking elite ruled the country. Second, there was an introduction of new words to refer to new concepts in culture and science that were being usedwell before the Normans set foot on Britain. "It became possible to talk and write in English about philosophy as well as about triangles, about medicine, and about paintings" (JANSON, 2002, p. 158). This author still states that English underwent substantial changes over the period of about 300 years between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries and that West Saxon, a standard written language during this time, ultimately died out. FIGURE 4 gives us a better picture of what Great Britain looked in twelfth century, the period when Middle English emerged:

FIGURE 4 – BRITAIN IN MIDDLE ENGLISH TIMES
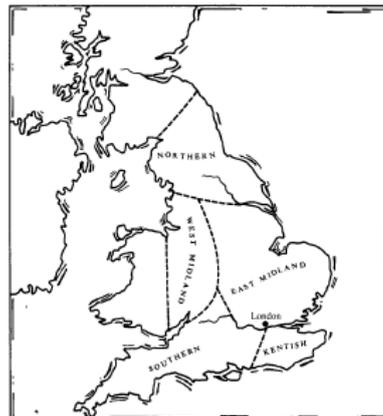
SOURCE: ALGEO (2010)

England was then a trilingual country and had not had an English speaking king for almost three centuries since King Harold. Norman French was the language of government and the upper class, Latin the language of the church, whereas most people in the country still spoke English, in a variety of forms. By the fourteenth century, England was becoming a nation state and several historical events would contribute for returning the English language to its central place in society. The Hundred Years' War between English and Normans, the Black Death and the rise of ordinary people to higher places in society, as a consequence of the labor shortage produced by the bubonic plague were some of the most crucial events leading up to the reascendancy of the English language. The translation and diffusion of the

Bible into English by John Wycliffe was pivotal in reestablishing the status the English language once had in Britain (ALGEO, 2010).

The rebirth of England as an empire would call for an official standard language, since many 'Englishes' were still spoken all over the country. The city of London became an important center of business, legal and intellectual activity in the Middle Ages. The East Midland dialect spoken in the London area would ultimately become Standard Modern English, given the political influence the city had over the rest of the country. The introduction of the printing press to England, with the first printing office inaugurated in the district of Westminster in London in the year 1476, would help fashion a new standard form for English writing. The so acknowledged standard British and American Englishes we know today evolved from the East Midland division of the Mercian dialect (BAUCH; CABLE, 2002; CRYSTAL, 2012; ALGEO, 2010).

Early Modern English (1500-1800) was also characterized by a great loss of inflection. Writers attempted to enrich the language by incorporating classical terms into it despite the objection of purists. The latter tried to restore obsolete English words (also known as 'Chaucerisms') instead, in order to preserve the development of native English vocabulary (CRYSTAL, 2012) as if such thing were completely feasible. English went on to become extraordinarily hybrid with influences from over a 100 languages. Moreover, English speakers started traveling abroad and, as a consequence, intercultural contacts were more frequent as they discovered new things they needed a name for. The language's vocabulary broadened like never before and the growth of specialized knowledge during the Renaissance also prompted writers to borrow words from other languages, in particular from Greek, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese (BAUCH; CABLE, 2002; CRYSTAL, 2012; ALGEO, 2010). Crystal (2012) asserts that the end of the fifteenth century marked a clear division between center and periphery, and that fostered linguistic bias, which came to reflect on the division proper (standard) language versus incorrect (regional) speech. This prejudiced view survived centuries of history and linguistic evolution and lives on today.

The sixteenth century inaugurated a new period of historiography for the English language and that regards in particular the way people started to sound. Baugh and Cable (2002) contend that sound change is as important in the history of a language as change in syntax and lexicon. The Great Vowel Shift is considered the most important phonological event in the history of English and is characterized by a series of changes (not a single shift) in the pronunciation of Middle English tense vowels, which were diphthongized, centralized

and then lowered. For instance, the late Middle English high vowel [i:] in the word *ride* would first be diphthongized into [əi] and then lowered and centralized to [aɪ] (ALGEO, 2010).

The early modern English period witnessed not only the emergence of a standard English language, but the publication of the first dictionaries and grammars, which are two main genres of language description. It watched as well as the ascension of a new empowered social class. In the path of its development, English would soon travel overseas and become an incomparable international language in a world constantly reshaped by multidirectional flows of people, ideologies and new technologies.

4.3 THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN TIMES OF DIASPORAS AND GLOBALIZATION

The English language would soon leave the British Isles to reach the ends of the Earth. The Empire was gone, but its language was the legacy left to the world. It would be eventually taken up and used by speakers from a myriad of countries. Although the British 'standard' is still quite highly regarded based on a false notion of linguistic purism, American English (General American) is the one that exerts the heaviest influence on people around the world today, given its spread by means of mass-produced cultural products such as films, books and mainstream music. This influence is felt through the advances of the internet, the wider array of scientific publication and economic activities in English

Therefore, the history of English from the 1800s onwards has been one of "expansion – in geography, in speakers, and in the purposes for which English is used" (ALGEO, 2010, p. 181). English has been taken to the five continents finding users who would ultimately outnumber mother tongue speakers. According to B. Kachru, Kachru and Nelson (2006), the spread of the language can be better understood in terms of four diasporas: The first one refers to the time when English made its way to Scotland, Ireland and Wales giving birth to the first native dialects of the language outside England. The second one accounts for the advance of English in Britain's first colonies overseas in America and Oceania where local native varieties would also emerge.

The third diaspora, on the other hand, marks the presence of English in new linguistic, cultural and social present-day postcolonial countries, such as the African, the Indian and the Asian one, namely the learning of English in unrelated language contexts. Lastly, the fourth diaspora corresponds to the status of international lingua franca that has been ascribed to English over the last decades due to its presence in pluralistic world scenarios (KACHRU;

KACHRU; NELSON, 2006). The last two diasporas were vital in boosting native and non-native forms of English which would be given a myriad of names.

The advent of digital technology and the migration of people to different parts of the world contributed to the spread of several European languages. The English language was promoted by broadcasting corporations and motion pictures from the United States and Great Britain. The establishment of the BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation), which became a respected and influential medium of information transmission throughout the globe, and the launch of the first American commercial radio station in the 1920s would influence the development of the language in the twentieth century and consolidate its international prestige. The first American musical feature film *The Jazz Singer* (1927) marked the decline of the silent movie era with the inclusion of dialogs in English (ALGEO, 2010).

The military victory of the U.S. in World War II strengthened the American-British bond. The fact that the language of the victorious country was the same one of the former empire accelerated the spread of English even more, once it already had a strong presence in countries that still belonged or had already been part of the British Empire. The English language gradually succeeded French in international organizations such as The United Nations, founded in 1945, within which it became the most important language (JANSON, 2002). The new position English got to in the second half of the twentieth century was boosted by a combination of military and economic forces, telecommunications and phonographic industry.

For Pennycook (2007), English is "closely tied to the process of globalization" and has become "a language of threat, desire, destruction and opportunity" (PENNYCOOK, 2007, p. 5). One of the impacts of globalization was certainly the new presence of the English language in the world as well as in many educational systems in numerous countries. Books and journals attributing the labels *world* or *global* to the English language were countless (CRYSTAL, 2006). However, Pennycook (2007) argues that 'global englishes' have to be understood in consonance with a more complex view of globalization, not merely in models of imperialism or world Englishes. In this view, the role of English would be critically conceived of "in terms of new forms of power, control and destruction – and in its complexity – in terms of new forms of resistance, change, appropriation and identity" (PENNYCOOK, 2007, p. 5). The author defends a 'translocal' perspective of English:

[…] We need to move beyond arguments about homogeneity, or imperialism and

nation states, and instead focus on translocal and transcultural flows. English is a translocal language, a language of fluidity and fixity that moves across, while becoming embedded in, the materiality of localities and social relations. English is bound up with transcultural flows, a language of imagined communities and refashioning identities (PENNYCOOK, 2007, p. 5-6).

Castles and Davidson (2000), in their turn, argue that the intense international mobility during the postwar period in 1945 was triggered by labor shortage in old industrial countries. These migratory waves resulted in new types of inflows in the 1970 giving rise to new immigration countries in Southern Europe, South America, Africa and Asia. Migration across country borders either temporarily or permanently increased cultural diversity in many countries, even in places like Japan or South Korea who bragged about their homogenous population. These new flows of people also relativized universal principles of citizenship, considering the new ways people construct their identities in multicultural societies and connect to different languages and cultures.

A hundred years ago, foreign languages would only be heard in international hotels and in tourist resorts in Europe. Those languages would vary depending on the country the tourist traveled to. French would be understood in places like Italy and Portugal whereas in Central and Eastern Europe some people knew German. English would be the language spoken in countries bathed by the North Sea such as Norway or the Netherlands (JANSON, 2010). Nowadays, it is not rare to encounter people in different parts of the world who can communicate in a foreign language when the need for communication arises. In our contemporary context, English is most of the time the language people resort to.

The rise of English as an international language has brought about fears of cultural homogenization, the slaughter and consequence demise of minor and less spread languages across the globe. While a group of scholars see cultural globalization as a process of westernization of the world having the U.S. at its center, sociologists like Giddens (2000), for instance, affirm that reverse colonization is taking place all over the world and is reinforcing local identities in response to the threat of a homogenizing globalization. Nevertheless, Robertson (1992) defends that the world has been simultaneously affected by both phenomena through a complex process of 'glocalization', in which the global is localized and the local is globalized by constantly reshaping and accommodating to one another.

It is against this backdrop of complex social phenomena where the lives of people are more and more interconnected and national borders are gradually eroding that the English language keeps evolving.

4.4 A MULTI/INTERNATIONAL DENATIONALIZED LANGUAGE INTO THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

English has undoubtedly become an international language. It has achieved such position not because of the growth in the number of native speakers that started back in the days of the British Empire's expansion, but due to "an increase in the number of individuals in the world today who believe it is to their benefit to acquire English as an additional language" (MCKAY, 2003, p. 1). English turned into a *global lingua franca* and has been used by a great variety of speakers and for as many purposes.

The current international status of the English language had already been predicted in the late eighteenth century by the second president of the United States John Adams (1735-1826). He foretold that English would become more important than Latin had ever been and than French was then, and said that it would be "the most respectable language in the world and the most universally read and spoken in the next century, if not before the close of this one" (MATHEWS, 1931, p. 42 cited in KACHRU, 1992, p. 143). Notwithstanding his prediction was somewhat inaccurate as far as time, English would not take very long to conquer the world.

As put earlier, English has become a language of desire and opportunity for the linguistic power it imbues omeone with, considering the prestige associated with its knowledge to the disadvantage of the position other languages occupy in the world. Bourdieu (1991) holds that verbal interaction is regulated by a linguistic market erected upon symbolic forces that ascribe certain values to languages which are bound to the world's social, political and economic statuses. Those values are not fixed and can be altered as the world's state of affairs changes.

Brutt-Griffler (2002), in line with Mckay (2003), contends that although the expansion of English was at first prompted by colonization and migration, macroaquisition is one of the key features of any international language meaning, in this case, acquisition by non-native speakers in non-English speaking communities. According to Mckay (2003), the spread of English due to macroaquisition implicates in new pedagogical issues for ELT and should make allowances for the fact that people can learn an L2 without incorporating cultural aspects of the people who speak it as L1. The author adds that learners' goals and motivations nowadays can be quite different from those of people who used to migrate exclusively to English-speaking countries given the current emergence of multilingual contexts. Moreover,

learners can also make use of English especially in order to share their own culture and for economic purposes (MCKAY, 2003).

The ever growing spread of English throughout the world and the ways people are recreating the language have been eliciting discussions among linguists and scholars about its uses over the last decades. Erling (2005) claims that the label *English* itself has been perceived by some as inappropriate because it portrays the national language of England bringing back memories from the old days of the British Empire. It is still argued by the author that the word *English* is "too narrow a categorization for a postcolonial, global language" (ERLING, 2005, p.43) and the different varieties that have been arising from it.

Many names from *world* to *global* have been given to the English language since it assumed a very ample and truly international dimension. For McArthur (2002), it is vital to understand who created those and the political implications of their use, considering they can tell us a lot about the phenomenon in general. Besides, "all such names are psycholinguistically charged. They are not innocent" (MCARTHUR, 2004, p. 397). In her turn, Erling (2005, p. 40) points out that those compounds have been proposed "in response to postcolonial ambiguity about the spread of English and a desire to shape a new ideology for ELT which more accurately reflects the global nature of the language and its diverse uses and users". Both authors concur that the coinage of those terms reflect the unprecedented numbers of speakers of English as L2 who make use of English when communicating without necessarily becoming affiliated to the cultures of inner-circle countries.

Bearing this discussing in mind, Kachru (1985) is supposed to have been one of the pioneering scholars to bring about the discussion on the spread of English around the globe. He proposes the concept *World Englishes* to refer to the varieties in the language that have blossomed the world over, particularly the nativised ones in former British colonies[22]. It can be abbreviated into "WE", and implies inclusion and togetherness, as in *we* bridging the gap between English native and non-native speakers, rather than us, the center as opposed to "them", the periphery. Rajagopalan (2012) would later adopt the term *World English* in the singular because, in his view, it better portrays the language as a means of communication among people from different countries. He also maintains that he is more interested in "finding out how these different 'Englishes' communicate to one another, rather than how they go their apparently divergent ways" (RAJAGOPALAN, 2012, p.49), and, although it

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[22] According to Kirkpatrick (2007, p.5), nativized varieties of English are "newer varieties that have developed in places where English was not originally spoken and which have been influenced by local languages and cultures".

resembles the language of the old British Empire, it is quite a different one from the standards we were taught to recognize.

In the late 1990s, the word *global* became a catchphrase in both academic and business worlds (ERLING, 2005). In his article, *Recentering English: New English and Global*, Toolan (1997) renames the English language *Global* to refer to the language people from different backgrounds are using to communicate internationally as opposed to *New English*, the variety used in countries where English is a predominant native language. The author contends that the label *English* is significantly tainted for the way it references Anglo-Saxon countries without accounting for the fact that the language now belongs to whoever is using it. Besides, he asserts that even native speakers tend to code-switch into it and that an Irish consultant and an Indian one, for instance, will have to accommodate their speech when interacting to one another since both share responsibility for meaning negotiation in cross-cultural communication (TOOLAN, 1997).

Crystal (1997) is one of the first linguists to work on the conceptualization, dangers and consequences of global English in *English as a Global Language,* considered an influential work in the field. Ten years later, Pennycook (2007) would advocate for the use of a pluralized version, *global Englishes,* in an attempt to understand the uses of English in a more complex view of globalization that takes into account the effects of transcultural flows that have been refashioning and hybridizing cultural and linguistic practices all over the world. The author defends that *global Englishes* have to be understood at the interface of a critical theory of globalization and a critical understanding of language (PENNYCOOK, 2007).

Under similar track, Pennycook (2007) criticizes the *World Englishes* model introduced by Kachru (1985) as well as the concentric circles[23] framework for being too confining to explain the current global spread of English and its political implications. He argues the latter has several shortcomings, among which the way it locates well-defined identities in each circle and for privileging the standard language of the inner circle over the varieties of English spoken as second (outer circle) and foreign language (expanding circle):

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[23] Kachru's (1985) concentric circles framework attempts to explain the sociolinguistic spread of English users throughout the world by taking into account the language's historical context, status and functions. It is made up of three divisions: the inner circle comprises the countries where English is spoken as a major native language (norm-providing); the outer circle includes former English colonies in which English is still widely used in education, government, business and is spoken as a second language (norm-developing); the expanding circle consists of the countries which do not necessarily share a history of colonization with inner-circle users and English is spoken as a foreign language (norm-dependant).

> […] The concept of world Englishes does little more than pluralize monolithic English. The notion [….] leaves out all those other Englishes which do not fit the paradigm of an emergent national standard, and in doing so, falls into the trap of mapping centre linguists' images of language and the world on to the periphery.[…] The irony here is that while resembling a pluralist, localized version of English, this paradigm reinforces both centrist view on language and dangerous myths about English (PENNYCOOK, 2007, p. 22-23).

This author's view on the incompletion and inconsistencies of Kachru's (1985) model is echoed in Canagarajah's (1999, p. 180) work, for whom such a paradigm "follows the logic of the prescriptive and elitist tendencies of the center linguists". For Canagarajah (1999), Kachru (1985) does not include local forms of hybridized English when categorizing variations in the expanding circle of his model because he has to standardize the English language in a way that those varieties simply do not fit.

McArthur (2004), on the other hand, discusses the phenomenon under the label *international English*. He states that the compound cropped up for the first time around 1980 and he himself defined it in *The Oxford companion of the English language* as "the English language, usually in its standard form, either when used, taught, and studied as a lingua franca throughout the world, or when taken as a whole and used in contrast with American English, British English, South African English, etc. […]" (MCARTHUR, 2004, p. 1999).

As for the term *English as an International Language* (EIL), its initial use started to appear in publications in the mid 1980s and acquired such high popularity that soon made it become a household acronym in applied linguistic research at around the turn of the century. The first reflections about the connection between EIL and culture were initiated by Smith (1976). The author defends that learners of English do not need to assimilate linguistic or cultural features of any native English speaker due to the non-exclusive ownership status of the language. Widdowson (1998, p. 400), in his turn, defines EIL as a "composite lingua franca which is free of any specific allegiance to any primary variety of the language". In this concern, McKay (2003) adds that this "de-nationalized" aspect of English implicates a "de-linking" of the language from the countries where it is spoken as a major native language and brings new insights and postures into ELT.

Accordingly, Leffa (1999) holds that English is, first and foremost, a multinational language, since it does not represent a single country or culture, but many. He believes that a multinational language like English can be learned in order to receive tourists from different nationalities in one's country or even to commercialize and export a national product

overseas. For this author, to speak English as a multinational language means "to possess shares in a large corporation: in so far as the shareholder allies himself to other shareholders and becomes a majority, he can even influence the company's policies" (LEFFA, 1999, p. 348, my translation)[24]. Leffa (1999) adds that the teaching of English as a multinational language is synonymous with the teaching of English as a lingua franca, considering that native speakers have become a minority and interactions among non native speakers in the language for communicative purposes are increasing by the day.

In sum, these attempts in renaming the English language reveal a preoccupation of linguists who advocate for an emphasis on the functional aspects of a language that became so diverse that makes any cultural affiliation to inner circle countries irrelevant, especially in multilingual communities.

4.5. THE CONCEPT OF ELF

Of all the many names attributed to English nowadays, one that plays an important role for this study is English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). Before describing what ELF as a paradigm encompasses, it is important to define the term lingua franca. A lingua franca is by and large conceptualized as a means of communication among speakers who do not share the same linguistic code. Meierkord (2012) reminds us though that the use of *linguas francas* is not a new phenomenon and that people used to resort to them in the past in order to interact with speakers outside their native speech community or in situations of trade and commerce.

The term originally means language of the Franks, which was how Europeans of that time were referred to as Arabs. The Mediterranean Lingua Franca is one of the first registered languages that were used among speakers from different linguistic backgrounds. It came into being around the eleventh century at the time of the Crusades and was largely employed by sailors and traders on parts of the Mediterranean Sea coast in the Middle Ages until the beginning of the 1900s. This language had simplified Arabic grammar as its basis and the lexicon was made out from languages such as Italian, Provençal, French, Spanish and Portuguese (MEIERKORD, 2012; BELLOS, 2012).

Kirkpatrick (2007) argues that a lingua franca can be used either in situations of international communication or within a country where many other languages or dialects are

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[24] [...] possuir ações de uma grande empresa: na medida em que o acionista se unir a outros acionistas e formar com eles uma maioria, pode até decidir a política da empresa [...].

spoken. Whereas Mandarin works as a contact language among Chinese people who speak hundreds of different dialects, Bahasa Indonesia is the national common language that allows Indonesians to communicate with one another all over the archipelago. Swahili is also regarded as a lingua franca in East African countries (characterized as strong multilingual societies) as well as English in the countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)[25] among speakers whose mother tongues are different Asian languages.

The first uses of English as a lingua franca go back to earlier stages of the history of the language when it was used between tradesmen in the Middle Ages. In its original sense, it did not involve communication among native speakers of English (MEIERKORD, 2012). Canagarajah (2006) describes two major historical contexts in which English acted as a lingua franca. First, it was used as a contact language between settlers and natives when English started to spread across the world from the 1600s onwards and it would eventually become a common language among the colonized.

The massive migration of people to different parts of the world which started in the middle of the twentieth century coupled with current waves of globalization, new forms of technology and transnational economy resulted in a need of a lingua franca to bridge communication across international speakers. English has therefore begun to play a new role in the world by turning into a useful tool not only for speakers of former British colonies, but notably for broader communities that had no previous bond or cultural history with the English language.

The global expansion of English has only recently been regarded as a serious matter in applied linguistics, making special allowance for the fact that "the majority of uses of English occur in contexts where it serves as a lingua franca, far removed from its native speakers' linguacultural norms and identities" (SEIDLHOFER, 2001, p. 133-134). The interest in research on communication in English as a lingua franca back stretches about four decades and had initially been addressed in applied linguistics and intercultural communication studies. The ELF would only start to come up in publications in the 1990s, boosted by research in the fields of discourse analysis, conversation analysis and interactional sociolinguistics (MEIERKORD, 2012).

ELF finally becomes an important area of research from the year 2000 onwards, when interactions in English started to be investigated in a multitude of spheres, including

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[25] The ASEAN was founded in Bangkok, Thailand, in 1967 and is comprised of 10 member countries: Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam (KIRKPATRICK, 2007).

multilingual business settings, online chatrooms, refugee and immigration centers and "when corpus linguistics allowed for better informed descriptions of the particularities of lingua franca communication" (MEIERKORD, 2012, p. 13). Schmitz (2012) asserts that although Jenkins (2000; 2007) and Seidlhofer (2001; 2011) are the leading researchers who helped consolidate ELF studies, other scholars planted the seeds and paved the way long before them. He mentions Fishman (1975) as one of those who recognized the role of English as a lingua franca in the world back in the 1970s as well as a language that respects local varieties instead of wiping them out (SCHMITZ, 2012).

Seidlhofer, Böhringer and Hülmbauer (2008) stress that ELF can be conceived of as the use of the English language by speakers of different L1s in intercultural communication. Firth (1996, p. 43) defines it as "a 'contact language' between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common national culture, and for whom English is the chosen foreign language of communication". Jenkins (2007), in her turn, depicts it as "[…] an emerging language that exists in its own right and is being described in its own terms", once speakers and users are reshaping it regardless of English L1 patterns. In consonance with Jenkins (2007), Seidlhofer (2001, p. 138) defends that the 'right to description in their own terms' should have been afforded to ELF just as it has to nativized forms of English:

> We must overcome the (explicit or implicit) assumption that ELF could possibly be a globally distributed, franchised copy of ENL, and take on board the notion that is being spread, developed independently, with a great deal of variation but enough stability to be viable for lingua franca communication.

Therefore, EFL should be understood in its functional uses in intercultural contact rather than in accordance with strict native speaker patterns. For Widdowson (1997, p. 139), English as an international *lingua franca* (my emphasis) "is not distributed, as a set of established encoded forms, unchanged into different domains of use, but it is spread as a virtual language". He adds that while language distribution is related to adoption and conformity to inner circle varieties, language spread triggers a more empowered behavior on language speakers who resist those and adapt their speech to their communicative needs instead.

ELF studies gained momentum in recent years and have been evolving quite significantly. Jenkins (2015) presents three ELF landscapes, from a time when there was no previous empirical research to draw on to a current phase when more attention has been given to ELF speakers and language use in multilingual contexts. The author says that the first

phase (EFL 1) started in the late 1980 when the term ELF was not even in use and research was rather aimed at investigating language forms (pronunciation and lexicogrammar). This linguist began to question the emphasis given by the EFL industry on native language norms as she watched her students in multilingual classes reach mutual intelligibility by accommodating their speech without necessarily making use of native English forms.

The reconceptualization of the meaning of ELF marked its second phase (ELF 2) and research shifted focus to diversity and variability, which turned out to be major features of ELF communication. Despite the regularities found in corpora, ELF interactions are characterized by fluidity, meaning negotiation and unbound varieties, given that ELF users make "use of their multi-faceted multilingual repertoires in a fashion motivated by the communicative purpose and the interpersonal dynamics of the interaction" (SEIDLHOFER, 2009, p. 242). Unlike World Englishes, ELF cannot be linguistically and geographically categorized for the complexity it entails as interactants from different linguistic/cultural backgrounds access their multilingual repertoires. In other words, ELF is now seen as social practice, which means that the English language in these terms explore "the functions fulfilled by the forms, the underlying processes they reveal" (JENKINS, 2015, p. 50).

The ELF 3 panorama, still according to Jenkins (2015), emerges at the multilingual turn in applied linguistics, brought about by questioning the role of the native speaker in SLA and the recognition of the multilingual nature of ELF communication. This resulted in a need for further retheorisation of ELF studies by taking into consideration the ways through which ELF speakers relate to and engage with other languages, not only with their mother tongue. The notion of speech communities was replaced with Wenger's communities of practice (WENGER, 1998) to better account for those new language hybrid practices happening virtually or face-to-face. Besides, the scholar also believes that a further reconceptualization of the field is overdue because she feels that ELF research is becoming "too self-contained, too repetitive […] lacking the cutting edge it had previously had" (JENKINS, 2015, p. 62).

All in all, Both Jenkins (2000) and Seidlhofer (2001) contend that English speakers who depend on native English standards alone will never achieve successful communication when interacting with international speakers. A pedagogical approach based on an ELF discourse will better prepare English speakers to break cultural boundaries, interact and negotiate meaning with people the world over as they express themselves in English.

4.6 THE FOREIGN/NATIVE BORDER IN ELT: LANGUAGE COMMAND AND THE NATIVE SPEAKER PARADOX

It goes without saying that the native speaker has always been a central figure in L2 education in and outside the classroom, either when students learn English where it is a major native language or in their own country of origin. The native/foreign binarism is at the very heart of traditional linguistics and language education in general and makes up "the thread that holds foreign language instruction and learning together" (HAHN, 2013, p. 257).

According to Kramsch (1993, p. 49), the whole idea of a generic native speaker "has become so diverse that it has lost its meaning". Although extensively used as a criterion for determining legitimate knowledge of a language, the concept of native speaker is quite slippery and ambiguous. Before its appropriation by the field of linguistics, the word 'native' was first and largely used in anthropology. It was originally employed to refer to the local inhabitants of countries colonized by Europeans in a rather derogatory manner. In structural linguistics, the native was considered an indispensable source for data gathering, but did not mean much else (RAJAGOPALAN, 2012).

For Rajagopalan (2012), the major ambiguity about the notion lies in the meaning shift that took place after the inauguration of Chomsky's Transformational Generative Grammar school, also known as the chomskyan revolution. The native speaker is put on a pedestal because he is thought to have complete mastery of the language. Rajagopalan (2012) points out that the emergence of English an international language in the postwar period helped build up the new image of the native speaker.

Davies (1991) claims that the first documented use of the term native speaker in linguistics is found in the work of Bloomfield (1933, p. 43), *Language*, where it says that "the first language a human being learns to speak is his *native language*, he is a *native speaker* of this language". For Stern (1983), native speakers have, besides other abilities, a subconscious knowledge of language rules and an intuitive grasp of meanings. In this traditional view, they are hoped to "exhibit normal control especially in fluent connected speech" and "to 'know' another native speaker, in part because of an intuitive feel" (DAVIES, 2004, p. 433). They are supposed to be assisted by other linguistic and paralinguistic indicators and common cultural knowledge. However questionable and old fashioned, the concepts of native language/native speaker "draw their sustaining energy from each other" (RAJAGOPALAN, 2012, p. 42) and have perpetuated in language education to date.

The term native speaker also suggests that the individual is born in a country where a language is largely spoken, but "there is a large infrastructure of social and cultural elements that determine the notion of nativity" (SHAKOURI, 2014, p. 221). Bellos (2012) adds that the confusion of language and nationality and of 'native speaker competence' with country of origin is bound with the way Europeans nation states were formed and with the adoption of an official language. Although nationality is acquired by birth (either 'by right of blood' or 'by right of soil') and that we are all born with some sort of a 'language acquisition device', we come to the world *languageless.* In Bellos' (2012, p. 61) words:

> In practice, we are not born into any language at all […]. Yet we use the term 'native speaker' as if the contrary were true – as if the form of language acquired by natural but fairly strenuous effort from our infant environment were a birthright, an inheritance and the definitive, unalterable location of our linguistic identity. But knowing French or English or Tagalog is not a right of birth, even less an inheritance: it is a personal acquisition.

Bellos (2012, p. 57-58) still defends that even though being a native speaker is generally equated with speaking a language 'perfectly', "we also know, from observation and self-observation too, that native speakers make grammatical and lexical mistakes, and find themselves lost for words from time to time".

Additionally, evidence shows that being born in a country does not guarantee that the person will be a native speaker of that language, especially in times when multiethnic families are no exception. Kirkpatrick (2007, p. 8) underscores that "it is […] not necessarily true that the language a person learns first is the one they will always be best at". He gives an example of a woman who was born in Italy, learned Sicilian as first language and Italian as second, moved to Australia when she was 8, started learning English at this age and has been living there for over 30 years. It turned out that English, the language she learned third, is the one she is most fluent in and, even though she is considered to be a mother tongue speaker of Sicilian, she does not speak it at a "native speaker" level anymore, at least not in the traditional sense of the term. This phenomenon is called 'shifting L1' and is quite common in both multilingual and immigrant communities (KIRKPATRICK, 2007). Phenomena like these call for an urgent reconceptualization of what means to be a native and to speak a language as L1.

The ELT profession is loaded with instances where characteristics of inferiority are ordinarily ascribed to non-native language practitioners and sits on the borderline between "those who speak English natively and those who do not" (KUMARADIVELU, 2006, p. 22).

Although foreign language learning is deeply rooted in native language identity and target culture, Hahn (2003) emphasizes that the learner's culture should never be overshadowed by the native speaker's, considering the multiple ways they make use of their L2. The language learner is simultaneously "the native contending with the foreignness of a new language and also the foreigner who is striving to achieve the native identity in the target culture" (HAHN, 2003, p. 260). In addition, the author puts that the dichotomy native/foreign should have been long deconstructed in language education. The foreign language student is, depending on where they stand, neither foreign nor native, but both at the same time.

As far as terminology is concerned, Jenkins (2000) highly disapproves of the term 'foreign' in FLE in general for the negative connotation it carries with itself which tends to favor the native speaker as the norm in language learning. She proposes that an ELF 'English as a Lingua Franca' teaching perspective be taken up instead of the traditional EFL 'English as a Foreign Language'. For this author, ELF can better portray a language that has become an international means of communication among speakers of different L1's, and

> It suggests the idea of community as opposed to alienness; it emphasizes that people have something in common rather than their differences, it implies that 'mixing' language is acceptable (which was, in fact, what the original *lingua francas* did) and thus that there is nothing inherently wrong in retaining certain characteristics of the L1, such as accent; finally, the Latin name symbolically removes the ownership of English from the Anglos both to no one and, in effect, to everyone (JENKINS, 2000, p. 11).

This linguist still calls attention to the inappropriateness of the label 'native speaker' to refer to proficient speakers who learned English either in foreign or second language situations. She asserts that "the perpetuation of the native/non native dichotomy causes negative perceptions and self-perceptions of 'non-native teachers and a lack of confidence in and of 'non-native' theory builders" (JENKINS, 2000, p. 9). Thus, Jenkins (2000) suggests the following less anachronistic terms: native speakers who do not know any other language, for instance, should be referred to as monolingual English speakers (MES), whereas both native speakers and non-native speakers who are fluent in English and in another L2 should be called bilingual English speaker (BES). The term non-bilingual English speaker (NBES) would be useful to designate bilingual speakers who do not speak English.

For Kumaradivelu (2006), the super valorization of the 'native Self' against the 'non-native Other' triggers two phenomena that draw on the colonial rather than the global aspect of the language: the process of marginalization and the practice of self-marginalization. The

former process is related to the ways the center attempts to overpower the periphery by imposing a Western worldview with almost complete disregard for local knowledge. In terms of the ELT profession, it proclaims a superiority of native-speaking English teachers over foreign ones "treating monolingual speakers and societies as norms for forming hypotheses about bilingual development, and delinking the investigative processes of learning and teaching from sociolinguistic contexts" (KUMARADIVELU, 2006, p. 22). A self-marginalizing practice, in its turn, reveals itself when members of the periphery uncritically abide by the rules laid down by the center. This means that non-native professionals, for instance, end up admitting their own marginalization.

As a matter of fact, non-native English teachers are frequently regarded as "second class citizens in the world of language teaching" (RAJAGOPALAN, 2005, p. 283). The issue resides in the false belief that "native speakers are necessarily better at speaking English than non-native speakers, and that native speakers are necessarily better at teaching English than non-native speakers" (KIRKPATRICK, 2007, p. 8). The fact that I am a native speaker of Portuguese, for instance, does not automatically make me a teacher of Portuguese as a Foreign Language. Nevertheless, I have seen time and again novice native English teachers without any teaching background being worshipped at language schools as a marketing strategy to make it look more appealing and allure student enrollment. I cannot think of a single circumstance I passed by the reception desk of a school I worked for that I overheard a receptionist emphasize a Brazilian language teacher's teaching skills, experience or academic background.

Despite the fact that native English teachers are still seen as true guardians of a supposedly sacred standard English language and the ones and only reliable references in ELT, the new role that English has taken in the world is constantly affecting L2 teaching approaches. There has been a major shift in TESOL (my emphasis) "from correctness to appropriateness, from parochial domesticity and exclusive native-speaker norms to global inclusiveness and egalitarian license to speak in ways that meet diverse local needs" (SEIDLHOFER, 2001, p. 135). In line with Seidlhofer (2000), Kramsch (1993) points out that we need to "take our cues not from monolingual native speakers […] but from the multilingual non-native speakers that constitute the majority of human beings on the planet" (KRAMSCH, 1993, p. 49).

Furthemore, ELF speakers are less and less concerned with reproducing and conforming to L1 speaker norms, target culture or any related socio-psychological dimension

of it, but have been learning English "as an adaptable resource for meaning making […] which you can call your own" (WIDDOWSON, 1993, p. 304). That explains, for instance, the diversity of accents with which English is spoken around the world. In this regard:

> English speakers in the outer and expanding circles are not merely absorbing and parroting the English spoken in traditional centers of influence; they are actively reinterpreting, reshaping and redefining English in oral and written form (NAULT, 2006, p. 316).

Accordingly, ELF learners should follow the standards of an intercultural speaker (KRAMSCH, 1993; BYRAM, 1997), which demand the acquisition of skills that will enable them to mediate/interpret values, beliefs and behaviors ('cultures') of themselves and of other people's. They should do it in order to "'be the bridge' between people of different languages and cultures" (BYRAM, 2006, p. 12). Kiet Ho (2009, p. 63) asserts that teachers of English as an International *Lingua Franca* (my emphasis) "need to shift from a traditional stance to an intercultural one to develop both linguistic and intercultural competences of learners". In other words, language teaching must be made significant for the learner and the context he is in.

The L2 learner has always been expected to meet native unachievable standards in ways that rule out what actually makes the learning of an L2 successful. Letting go completely of native standards would be quite unrealistic in the instructional setting, given the way those patterns are ingrained in both teachers' and students' mind. However, there are many advantages in acknowledging L2 speakers as 'speakers in their own right' and 'multicompetent users[26]' rather than 'failed native speakers' (COOK, 1999). After all, mastering a language means to own it, to use it to your advantage by making it real and speaking your mind through it (WIDDOWSON, 1997).

The contributions of identity research to the field of applied linguistics are valuable for understanding the relation between language and identity. Interethnic communication in English has been causing unparalleled impacts on speakers' L2 identities particularly in outbound mobility contexts. The next chapter addresses the concept of language, culture and identity I adopted in this study.

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[26] Multicompetence refers to a person's knowledge of more than one language without having to be evaluated according to outside criteria and how they can benefit from it (COOK, 1999).

5 L2 ACQUISITION AND IDENTITY: UNDERSTANDING THE L2 SELF

> *Language is then a 'double-edged sword': constraining identity by erecting boundaries between 'them and us' be they geographical or sociocultural, and liberating identity by offering fresh opportunities to cross barriers and boundaries* (EVANS, 2015, p. 4)

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The current mobility of people across the globe has brought about new possibilities of identity affiliations. In this context, globalization has played a major role in erasing country borders and dismantling the idea of the nation state as the main site of cultural belonging and identity construction. The ubiquity of the internet and digital technologies not only made access to information of various kinds easier than ever before, but also shrank distances by connecting people from a myriad of different national cultures more instantaneously.

In this chapter, I outline the poststructuralist view of language, culture and identity drawn on for this study and show in what ways they are interconnected. Further, I underscore the significance of identity studies when examining the identity dimension in L2 learning in order to better understand how new identities are being formed in the current emerging multilingual settings.

5.2 THE MULTIFACETED PHENOMENON OF LANGUAGE

Over the centuries, linguists and philosophers have striven to come up with a clear-cut definition of language, but have not managed to find an only and satisfactory answer. It is a concept that has resulted in thousands of dictionary and encyclopedia entries. This is probably due to the fact that the phenomenon of language can be approached from different perspectives, giving the impression that we are referring to completely different objects. However, we are looking at the many faces of this multilayered phenomenon. The fact that language has functions that go from thought expression to metalinguistic uses makes its complex nature hard to define.

The first registered attempts at probing into the nature of language go back to Antiquity. The earliest studies of language, which started in the fourth century B.C. in India, came to be known in the western part of the world only recently. These were started by the grammarian Pāṇini, whose main concern was to fashion a Sanskrit grammar in order to

understand ancient texts of the Vedic religion. Historical linguistics also point out that systematic analyses of the sound aspect of language happened even prior to that and that the methods used by these early Indian investigators are usually considered quite similar to the ones used in modern linguistics (ALLAN, 2016). In Ancient Greece, language was viewed as an instrument of persuasion and education and was thought to be a mirror that reflected the world and the experiences of humans. It was mainly studied in philosophy through the works of thinkers such as Plato and Aristotle. In his work *Cratylus*, Plato discusses whether language is a natural phenomenon or a system of arbitrary signs and defends that metaphysics rules human minds. In contrast, Aristotle believed in the arbitrary aspect of human language and that meaning is established by human convention (CAMARA JR., 1986).

The relationship between language and philosophy analyses, which started with the Greek tradition, was revitalized in the Middle Ages. The written aspect of language was the main focus of language studies during this time because of the influence of classical Latin. Despite the curiosity about the languages spoken by people at that time, those were not studied systematically (CAMARA JR., 1986). The investigations into language would only start to take a different turn a few centuries ahead. Most of the language studies carried out during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were done comparatively and diachronically and are generally known as studies of historical linguistics. This pre-linguistics approach dealt with the kinds of sound change and meaning shift that languages undergo throughout time (CAMPBELL, 1988). These studies opened the way for the emergence of the scientific study of language as we know it today.

The foundations of modern linguistics were laid by the Swiss scholar Ferdinand de Saussure in the twentieth century with the publication of *cours de linguistique générale* in 1916. In contrast to the focus of historical linguistics, language started to be analyzed at a given point in time instead of throughout it. It was now conceived of as a system of arbitrary signs conventionally assigned and bearing no natural resemblance to their meanings. Saussure (2011) separated language into two parts: *langue* and *parole*. The first one was described as a self-sufficient system of signs and the second one as the individual speech act manifested in vocal utterances. This author believed that *langue* should be the main concern of linguistics while *parole* is only an accessory feature of language and represents a 'willful' and 'intellectual' act (SAUSSURE, 2011).

The behaviorism, a major psychological approach of the first half of the twentieth century, tried to explain language acquisition based on social conditioning which operates

according to a stimulus-response principle. In this perspective, children are 'blank slates' and language would be mainly acquired and developed through the creation of good language habits by imitation and positive reinforcement (LIGHTBROWN; SPADA, 2013). However, scientists would later be intrigued by the fact that children learn so much language with such poor stimulus. As a response to behaviorism, Noam Chomsky founded the generative-transformational linguistic school and hypothesized that humans are genetically endowed with a genetic capacity for acquiring language. This provides them with "a capacity to generate an infinite range of expressions from a finite set of elements" (CHOMSKY; HAUSER; FITCH, 2002, p. 1569) and is also responsible for the creative ways people use language. Chomsky (2002) believed that the environment is secondary to language acquisition and that language had to be viewed as a mental faculty rather than a social conditioned behavior.

Saussure's (2011) and Chomsky's (2002) formalistic paradigms, which have been built around oppositions such as *signifié/signifiant*, competence/performance, see language as a homogenous and abstract phenomenon. However, understanding language only an abstraction cannot account for the phenomenon as a whole due to its complexity. In this sense, Bourdieu (1991, p. 107) suggests that, in order to understand how meaning is made through language, we should go beyond its surface (structure) and take into consideration the ways people use language:

> As long as one treats language as an autonomous object, accepting the radical separation which Saussure made between internal and external linguistics, between the science of language and the science of the social uses of language, one is condemned to looking within words for the power of words, that is, looking for it where it is not to be found.

From the 1960 on, the linguistic functionalist approaches were inaugurated with the focus is on language use and on the meaning that people ascribe to linguistic forms. In contrast to the previous paradigms, scholars in this approach see language as heterogeneous, ever changing and dynamic and as "part of a matrix of meanings, beliefs, and values that extend beyond the knowledge of grammar" (SCHIFFRIN, 1994, p. 408). After all, language has functions lying outside the linguistic system that impact the internal organization of linguistic units. Schiffrin (1944, p. 414) adds that "social interaction is the locus of language use" and that our ability to use language is enhanced by our understanding of social interaction in real situations.

Discourse analysis and pragmatics are two functionalistic approaches aimed to disclose the extralinguistic dimension of utterances and written texts. These are concerned with studying the different meanings that an utterance can carry depending on the context where it is said and the people who is said by. Discourse analysts like Pêcheux (1997) contend that language as a system cannot express meaning and believe that language is better understood as a discursive practice, as an instrument whereby ideologies are conveyed. In pragmatics, language is an activity which is constructed by interactants and grammatically correct sentences are now replaced with speech acts (AUSTIN, 1990). It has performative function because when we speak, we are actually doing things such as asking, giving orders, etc.

In sum, language is both an innate endowment and one of the most important elements of a culture. This 'double nature' of language makes it hard to distinguish the part that belongs to the linguistic system from its cultural, social, political, and ideological connotations. The Brazilian linguist Bagno (2011) compares language to the Greek concept of *hypostasis*[27], a word that was once used to refer to the simultaneous divine and human nature of Christ, and describes it as language-subject, language with soul, desire and power. So, language stereotypes in Brazilian culture such as 'French is sophisticated' and 'German is harsh' are only possible because this "language-*hypostasis* is 'nothing which is everything'; even though it does not have a concrete and objective existence', it produces clear and tangible social consequences" (BAGNO, 2011, p. 359, my translation) [28].

The shift in language research in recent times towards functionalist approaches represents a deeper move into the essence of language, considering the ways a language develops and evolves through interaction (BROWN, 2000). In this regard, Volosinov (1973, p. 52) defends that language is "an ever-flowing stream of speech acts in which nothing remains fixed and identical to itself" and that the phenomenon of language can only be understood when speakers are placed in the social milieu interacting in an immediate social situation:

> In order to observe the process of combustion, a substance must be placed into the air. In order to observe the phenomenon of language, both the producer and the receiver of sound and the sound itself must be placed into the social atmosphere.

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[27] According to Bagno (2011), the Greek word 'hypóstasis'- ὑπόστασις - was translated into Latin as 'substantia'.

[28] "[...] lingua–hipóstase é o 'nada que é tudo', pois, embora não tendo 'existência concreta e objetiva', suscita consequências sociais muito claras e palpáveis".

> After all, the speaker and listener must belong to the same language community, to a society organized along certain particular lines (VOLOSINOV, 1973, p. 46)

As it is closely associated with the human mind and society, language is both cognition and social phenomenon. Because of its non self-evident nature, a plethora of definitions has been suggested. Cook and Seidlhofer (1995, p. 4) synthesize many of those and defend that they are all part of the phenomenon:

> Language is viewed in various theories as a genetic inheritance, a mathematical system, a social fact, the expression of individual identity, the expression of cultural identity, the outcome of dialogical interaction, a social semiotic, the intuitions of native speakers, the sum of attested data, a collection of memorized chunks, a rule-governed discrete combinatory system, or electrical activation in a distributed network. […] We do not have to choose. language can be all of these things at once.

Though I recognize the legacy of both structural and generative views on language, the perspective drawn on for this study is the sociointeractionist one usually adopted by applied linguists. As I investigated language uses through intercultural contact in SA contexts, I thought more appropriate to think of language as a dynamic, non self-sufficient phenomenon that takes culture and society matters into consideration.

5.3 THE INTERRELATEDNESS OF LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND THOUGHT

The cultural aspect of language was never a concern of linguistic inquiry at the beginning because language teaching was traditionally centered on the teaching of linguistic forms not foreign cultures. However, with the advances of cognitive linguistics and linguistic anthropology, the field of applied linguistics began to give more emphasis on the relations among language, culture and thought in L2 education (KRAMSCH, 2004). It is arguable that language and culture are so closely intertwined that we wind up losing the significance of one of the parts if they are treated separately. Nonetheless, this view is not unanimous among language educators.

For the most part, applied linguists have long concurred that language and culture are so interconnected that is impossible to learn a language without learning a new culture, a new set of beliefs. This would mean "to take life out of the language […] from all the historical

and cultural dimensions which shelter it" (MENDES, 2015, p. 212, my translation) [29], rendering it lifeless and meaningless. Despite this popular assumption on the inseparability between those two, Risager (2006, p. 2) contends that language and culture can be separated in some contexts because "languages spread across cultures and cultures spread across languages" and linguistic and cultural practices are not immutable. This author proposes that language and culture be examined analytically so that we become able to distinguish between the generic sense (inseparable) and the differential sense (separable):

> At the generic level, 'language' in general and 'culture' in general are, as mentioned, inseparable and interwoven in some way or other. But at the differential (and specific) level, one can, for example, ask: what specific forms of culture are associated with the Danish language? And what specific forms of culture are associated with the English language? (RISAGER, 2006, p. 6).

The purpose with which the Audio-Lingual Method (ALM) was devised is an example of how language can be separated from culture. This method was created during World War II by linguists in the United States aiming to hastily train militaries to be proficient in the languages of their allies (LARSEN-FREEMAN, 2011; BROWN, 2000). This proves that language can be used for utilitarian purposes and also for communication across cultures, as it is often the case of international languages. In the context of L2 education more broadly, there is always more than one language and one culture involved, which means that one language can represent several different cultures.

As for the term culture, Mendes (2015) argues that defining it is a highly complex task due to the manifold definitions that have been attributed to the term throughout the development of social sciences, and that the myriad of notions of culture along the years has led to confusion and trivialization. This scholar suggests that it is essential that we get to a concept of culture that helps us "understand man's *being-in-the-world* along with all aspects that implicate their existence in or out of their own community"[30] (MENDES, 2015, p. 204, my translation).

The notion of culture originally stems from the Latin verb *colere* (to cultivate), and was first associated with agriculture. Ancient Roman thinkers would broaden the use of the term that ultimately acquired the meaning of cultivation of soul and mind in order to develop intellectual skills and for personal refinement (SANTOS, 1984). The first scientific definition

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[29] "dissociar a língua da vida [...] de toda a dimensão cultural e histórica que as abriga"; "sem vida, sem sentido, sem função".

[30] "compreender o 'estar no mundo' do homem e todos os aspectos que envolvem essa vivência, dentro de seu grupo específico ou fora dele".

of the term was coined by Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917), a British anthropologist who merged the terms *kultur* (culture from German) and *civilization* (civilization from French) into the word *culture* in English to frame issues that we regard as cultural ones. For Tyler (2006), culture is "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society"[31] (LAIARA, 2006, p.25, my translation). Along these lines, culture has been described by other authors like Brown (2000, p. 176) as a way of life, as "the context within which we exist, think, feel, and relate to others, […] the 'glue' that binds a group of people together, […] our continent, our collective identity" to which language is its main medium of expression and access.

In addition, Brown (2000) thinks it is also important to consider not only the link between language and culture, but also the one between language, culture and thought. He sees culture as a fundamental aspect of the interaction between the other two. This is particularly important when dealing with cultural matters in SLA because of the way linguistic development shapes cognitive development and vice-versa. The use of euphemisms in language, the impact of syntax on nuances of meaning and how language users resort to an emotional speech to persuade their audience are examples of the way language can influence us both cognitively and affectively.

The *Sapir-Whorf hypothesis* is perhaps the most well-known theory approaching the relationship between language, culture and thought (cognition). It was proposed by Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf (1956), who drew on the Humboldtian thought, that the language we speak frames our *Weltanschauung[32]*. In brief, this hypothesis holds that language is the means whereby we have access to our social reality:

> The background linguistic system […] of each language is not merely a reproducing instrument for voicing ideas but rather is itself the shaper of ideas, the program and guide for the individual's mental activity […]. The world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which has to be organized by our minds – and this means largely by the linguistic systems in our minds […] (WHORF, 1956, p. 212-214).

The notion defended by this early theory that the way we talk conditions, if not determines, how we think was a heated argument in linguistics and anthropology for decades. This theory has a strong and a weak formulation. The strong version is usually referred to as

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[31] "este todo complexo que inclui conhecimentos, crenças, arte, moral, leis, costumes ou qualquer outra capacidade ou hábitos adquiridos pelo homem como membro de uma sociedade".
[32] *weltanschauung* - worldview, cosmovision in German.

linguistic determinism and defends that language is the lense through which we see the world and that people who speak different mother tongues see the world in a different light. Still according to this interpretation, the words we have for colors, for instance, should influence which colors we are able to perceive since not all languages have the same variety of terms to describe such nuances. However, Kramsch (2004) believes that this version of the hypothesis does not explain the use of language by multilingual or bilingual speakers nor translation between languages. In contrast, the weaker version, known as linguistic relativism, is the one that is generally more accepted. In this version, language would only influence our perception of reality and the way we see the world to a certain extent. Though Whorf's (1996) hypothesis has been overly criticized and misinterpreted, Brown (2000) and Nunan (2007) think it represents a significant milestone in linguistic thought. Yet it is still unknown to what extent language determines thought, we can know for sure that the linguistic choices we make within a language reflect our mindset and influence other people's views (COOK, 2003).

Contrary to the monolithic view of culture, Geertz (1973) sought to devise a specialized and broader concept of culture that could be more enlightening than the most complex whole proposed by Tyler (2006), once that notion came to a point that it became more obscuring than revealing. He regards culture as "interworked systems of construable signs" (GEERTZ, 1973, p.14):

> The concept of culture I espouse […] is essentially a semiotic one. Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning (GEERTZ, 1973, p.5).

An essentialist view of culture that sees language as simply a channel for cultural transmission from generation to generation in a static way, is rather vague and unsustainable. In times of ever growing social mobility and globalization, cognitive and affective spheres of our cultural behavior have been reshaped by our constant cross-cultural interactions that question the notion of culture as a stable phenomenon unaffected by changes (NEIVA, 1997). Canclini (2009, p. 268, my translation), in resonance with Neiva (1997), holds that the spread of intercultural programs and migration throughout the world, "undermine the argument of relativity of isolated cultural specificities"[33]. Intercultural relations, defined by Canclini (2009, p. 23) as "interpersonal relations among members of the same community or across

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[33] "minam a eficácia do relativismo respeitoso das especificidades culturais isoladas".

cultures"[34], call for a concept of culture which emphasizes its dynamic aspect, since there is no such thing as culture in its pure state. Cultures, just like languages, are constantly influencing the development of one another and are better seen as "[…] a process of permanent construction, de-construction and re-construction" (CUCHE, 2004, p. 63, my translation) [35]. In Kramsch's (2011b, p. 306) words:

> Nowadays, with the global spread of information technologies and global migrations, culture has lost much of its national moorings. It lives in the communicative practices of native and non-native speakers. In the teaching of foreign languages, and even more so in the teaching of English as an international language, culture has become the contextual foil of language practices in everyday life.

Santos (1995 cited in GUILHERME, M.; DIETZ, G., 2015), concurring with Canclini (2009) and Cuche (2004), enhances the concept of *diatopical hermeneutics*, a theoretical construct first proposed by Panikkar (ESTERMANN, 2008) on the incompleteness of cultures. The Portuguese scholar argues that no single culture can be the only standard of reference from which to make judgments about another culture; the *topoi* – cultural cosmovisions – of a single culture are just as incomplete as the culture itself, regardless of how strong and distinctive it might be:

> [...] The objective of diatopical hermeneutics is, therefore, not to achieve completeness – which is admittedly an unachievable goal – but, on the contrary, to raise the consciousness of reciprocal incompleteness to its maximum possible by engaging in the dialogue, as it were, with one foot in one culture and the other in another" (SANTOS, 1995 cited in GUILHERME, M.; DIETZ, G., 2015, p. 3).

In applied linguistics, the notion of culture goes beyond the patrimony of a nation or an ethnic group and is better understood as "membership in a discourse community that shares a common social space and history, and common imaginings" (KRAMSCH, 1998, p. 10). In this perspective, the study of culture relies on seeking an understanding of ourselves and reflecting upon the complexities that form us as individuals and producers of culture and habits that shape our identities. By the same token, it means to acknowledge that the world is filled with diversities and that cultural legacies are inherited from other ethnical groups that, in their turn, are a result of the contact among other cultural manifestations at different times and spaces.

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[34] "relações interpessoais entre membros de uma mesma sociedade ou de culturas diferentes".
[35] "est un processus permanent de construction, deconstruction et reconstruction".

It is my contention for this work that culture should not be conceived of as a mindset of a single speech community, but as a dynamic semiotic matrix of worldviews through which people negotiate meaning in ways that are, to a great extent, multiple and conflicting. This leads to a discussion on another important term for this study, which is identity.

5.4 ALL THAT IS SOLID MELTS INTO AIR: TOWARDS A POSTSTRUCTURALIST APPROACH TO IDENTITY

The idea of national culture and language clearly distinguishable in the context of supposedly solid nation states was mostly inherited from the nineteenth century motto "a nation, a language, a culture" (RAJAGOPALAN, 2003). However, people have been on the move today as had never before, and this notion does not account for the social changes that are reshaping their everyday life, neither the new forms of cultural and linguistic identities brought about by those changes. The multicultural nature of modern societies brought about by the legacies of colonialism, migration and globalization after World War II, allied with the outbreak of current social movements, contributed for identity to become a key construct in our contemporary world. It has also brought identity issues to the center of debates in social sciences and applied linguistics (WEEDON, 2004; NORTON 2013).

In social sciences, identity has long been understood as either biologically determined or shaped by social events. The biological determinist approach holds that the individual's behavior, just as much as their physical characteristics, are genetically determined. This approach manifests itself in discourse when people's actions are explained by genetic inheritance or when we associate a specific group of people, based on a discourse of race or sex, with particular behaviors. A social structuralist approach, on the other hand, is considered more progressive in outlook compared to the biological one, but is rather essentialist in nature. It bears out that individuals are shaped by their culture and that their behavior is determined by social categories of social class, religion, education, etc. (BLOCK, 2010).

The above-cited essentialist views on identity have been questioned by a legion of social theorists, among which Hall (1992), Norton (2013) and Block (2010). In his work *the question of cultural identity,* cultural theorist Hall (1992) distinguishes three categories of identity, namely: the Enlightment, the sociological and the post-modern subjects. The Enlightment subject was understood as autonomous and self-sufficient, born with a stable identity which he would carry throughout his entire life. The sociological subject, in its turn,

was formed by the self interacting with 'the other', whose values were socially mediated. Its essence was still considered fixed and unified, but constantly shaped by the cultural worlds outside the self, bridging the gap between the two. The post-modern subject, however, does not have an unchanging core and is composed of many conflicting and unresolved identities in social landscapes struck by discontinuities and uncertainties. According to this author:

> The very process of identification, through which we project ourselves into our cultural identities, has become more open-ended, variable, and problematic. […] Identity becomes a "moveable feast": formed and transformed continuously in relation to the ways we are represented or addressed in the cultural systems which surround us. […] Within us are contradictory identities, pulling in different directions, so that our identifications are continuously being shifted about. If we feel we have a unified identity from birth to death, it is only because we construct a comforting story or "narrative of the self" about ourselves (HALL, 1992, p. 598).

In Hall's (1992) view, the multiple identities of the 'de-centered' subject, which are the result of their displacement from their social and cultural worlds, caused identity to be in crisis. We live in times marked by difference and change that confront us with a complex array of possible identities which dismantles the idea of identity as a fixed entity. This set off a variety of different subject positions, by shaking old identities and opening up "the possibility of new articulations" (HALL, 1992, p. 600).

Though a national culture is traditionally viewed as made of cultural institutions, it is should be actually understood as discourse, composed of a set of symbols and systems of representation producing meaning that subjects can identify with. The common sense views of national identity and belonging are strengthened by representational and discursive strategies of 'narrative of the nation', 'the invention of tradition' and 'original people' that invisibly chain us to the past (HALL, 1992). However, the emergence of new transnational social spaces impacted on our notion of cultural identities for the way it has renewed our comprehension of national cultures.

A national culture is, for Anderson (1991, p. 6), an imagined community, considering that "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion". Norton (2013) enhances Anderson's (1991) concept by arguing that imagined communities are not only the groups of people we communicate with in our daily lives, but are composed of people that can be connected with through the power of our imagination as well, even if they are not physically reachable. When it comes to language, for instance, this

author adds that it is important to understand the way L2 learners affiliate with different imagined communities, and how these affiliations may affect their learning process because "these imagined communities are no less real than the ones in which learners have daily engagement and might even have a stronger impact on their current actions and investment" (NORTON, 2013, p. 8).

Whereas humanist theories frame identity as a steady, homogenous and fixed construct, a poststructuralist stand – the one considered for this study, portrays the subject as complex, conflicting and changing over time and space. Block (2010) calls attention to the multilayered aspect of identity and states that the self is socially constructed in relation to the other by means of sharing beliefs, values and practices, whether interactions happen physically or virtually. The author still argues that the process of identity construction is down to "negotiating new subject positions at the crossroads of the past, present and future", while subjects "are shaped by their sociohistories, but […] also shape their sociohistories as life goes on" (BLOCK, 2010, p. 27).

Weedon (2004), who writes extensively on cultural politics, language and identity, defends a poststructuralist take on identity as well. This scholar contends that a privileged form of identity can lead to ethnocentric behavior and violence, and is essentially linked to many forms of racism. Besides, she holds that cultural practices can foster new forms of identity when dealing with dominant ones.

> In order to understand the power of identity, and particularly the role it plays in repressive individual and social practices, we need to theorize it within broader conceptualizations of subjectivity that can account for the unconscious, non-rational and emotional dimensions of identity (WEEDON, 2004, p. 2).

The identity crises provoked by the weakening idea of culture as representing a fixed worldview triggered the "emergence of a more dynamic type of identity formation that confronts people with hybridized or cosmopolitan identities in the twenty-first century" (NUNAN; CHOI, 2010, p. 3). Poststructuralist approaches emphasize the dynamic nature of the phenomenon and maintain that identities are negotiated and not socially ascribed or imputed by others. Moreover, they regard identity as a multiple, shifting, ongoing process that is context-dependent and has to be seized in relational terms.

5.5 IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE: WHERE THE SELF AND THE OTHER MEET

Language exerts a crucial role in the construction of our identities and is a medium whereby they are manifested in our speech. Language, as a multidimensional phenomenon, is the locus wherein a wide range of selves, subjectivities, such as the self poet, the self Brazilian, the self language learner inhabit (SCHEYERL, 2010). This subsection is aimed at providing a bird's-eye view of some of the major classical attempts that have been made to fathom the bond among language, the self and the outside world as well as contemporary developments.

The earliest approaches trying to explain the connection among those three elements are found in philosophy, which has distinguished language in two main contrasting perspectives: an objective and a subjective one. The first one conceives of language as separate from self, though somehow still connected to it, whereas the second one views language as "inhabited by self, which co-constructs the world within discourse, through which self, in turn, is also constructed" (EVANS, 2015, p.16). However, Lyons (1968) considers the dichotomy objective/subjective outdated since the way we apprehend reality through our senses is always a subjective one (LYONS, 1968). In this regard, the German philosopher Heidegger (1949, p.239) holds on to the subjective view on language by stating that "language is the *House of the Being*, in its home human beings dwell", to underscore that we belong to language, rather than the opposite, and that our essence is found in speech acts. He adds that our speech is like a spiritual identity beseeching the presence of being that lies within us and that language allows the world to come into being. According to the thinker, "we, human beings, in order to be who we are, remain within the essence of language to which we have been granted entry" (HEIDDEGER, 1993, p. 423), and that we exist in language before anything else. Therefore, language carries in itself a significant dimension of our identity.

In the twentieth century, psychology became one of the fields most concerned with the relationship between the self and the otherness and how they are affected by one another. According to the psychoanalytic works of Lacan and Freud, there is an intimate bond linking language and the unconscious and that the subjectivity of an individual begins by their immersion in the language world. The existence of *self* relies on the influence that the *other* exerts on us, considering the ways we connect to people through language, our fantasies and affections (BRUN, 2010). That is, our identity is constructed by being immersed in language

and a particular language endows us, to a certain extent, with a worldview. Inspired in the works of Lacan, Weedon (1997, p. 32) introduces her view of identity as a discursively constructed phenomenon and prefers the term subjectivity, and defines it as "precarious, contradictory and in process, constantly reconstituted in discourse each time we think or speak". She stresses on the importance of language in understanding the way the subject interacts with their social milieu and believes that language is

> […] the place where actual and possible forms of social organization and their likely social and political consequences are defined and contested. Yet it is also the place where our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity, is constructed (WEEDON, 1997, p. 21)

Volosinov (1973) is in line with Weedon (1997) when he underscores the intersubjectivity underlying the concept of identity and makes a point that all utterances are dialogic in nature and that inner speech should be understood in terms of a process through which the subject interacts with the social. For Volosinov (1973, p. 86), a word is a "two-sided act", a "bridge thrown between myself and another". This philosopher adds that messages are produced within the intersubjectivity between oneself and the other and that meanings emerge from the border zone of the interaction between speaker and interlocutor. In the same vein, Zotzmann and O'Regan (2016, p. 113) state that

> the concept of identity sensitizes us to think about the reasons for and the conditions under which people use language, the way they are perceived by others as users of language, the meanings they want to convey in particular situations and the resources they draw upon in order to do so.

In the individualistic subjectivism perspective[36], language is conceived of as a dialogical process taking place through verbal interaction, which, by its turn, consists in its basic reality. Hence, a poststructuralist notion of identity translates into "the way a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (NORTON, 2013, p. 4). In other words, identity is co-constructed and its nature is both individual and collective. Along these lines, Weeks (1990, p. 88) argues that

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[36] According to Volosinov (1973, p. 65), this trend of thought in the philosophy of language is opposed to the abstract objectivism, which holds that "the system of language is an objective fact external to and independent of *any* individual consciousness".

> Identity is about belonging, about what you have in common with some people and what differentiates you from others. At its most basic it gives you a sense of personal location, the stable core to your individuality. But it is also about your relationships, your complex involvement with others and in the modern world these have become ever more complex and confusing. Each of us live with a variety of potentially contradictory identities, which battle within us for allegiance […] The list is potentially infinite, and so therefore are our possible belongings.

According to Block (2010), language identity – otherwise known as ethnolinguistic identity by sociolinguists[37], is an important construct in current identity studies. It is the association between the sense of self and a language, dialect or sociolect. Harris and Rampton (1997 cited in BLOCK, 2010) argue that language identity is comprised of three dimensions: language expertise, affiliation, and inheritance. Expertise is the proficiency level of a speaker in a language so that they become more easily accepted by other users of that language (dialect or sociolet); affiliation is related to the way speakers and learners of a language connects affectively with a particular form of speech, whereas inheritance refers to one being born in a community that is related to a specific language or dialect.

However, being born in a particular language community does not necessarily make the speaker proficient in or affiliated to that language, considering that language identities tend to change over the course of a person's life, particularly in times of intense social mobility that have been reshaping traditional notions of time and space. Le page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) assert that language identity could be understood as well in terms of acts of identity, whereby a person's identity traces are left in their utterances. In this concern, Hall (1992, p. 596) states that:

> the old identities which stabilized the social world for so long are in decline, giving rise to new identities and fragmenting the modern individual as a unified subject. This so-called *crisis of identity* is seen as part of a wider process of change which is dislocating the central structures and processes of modern societies and undermining the frameworks which gave individuals stable anchorage in the social world.

This fertile soil of multiple identities favored the birth a theory proposed by Butler (1999) that focuses on the performative aspect of identity. She argues that gendered selves are not naturally determined, but socially ascribed and that masculine or feminine ways of acting are perpetuated historically and work in accordance with societal norms. This concept is echoed by Pennycook (2004, p. 8) when he defines performativity as "the way in which we

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[37] "An identity expressed through belonging to a particular language community and articulated in settlements such as 'I speak Dutch', 'I am British [ergo I speak English]' […] Technically, ethnolinguistic identity is a complex notion covering both linguistic and 'ethnic' features" (BLOMMAERT, 2005, p. 214).

perform acts of identity as an ongoing series of social and cultural performances rather than as the expression of a prior identity". For Block (2010, p. 17), performativity can be broadened into a concept of identity as performance, as subject position, as "linguistic enactments of discourses at particular times and in particular spaces".

Therefore, as it can be seen from the aforementioned elaborations, identity should be understood according to a multidimensional perspective, rather than to an accent-class two-dimensional one, through which different features of identities, including nationality, gender and social class are disclosed.

5.6 APPLIED LINGUISTICS AND THE QUESTION OF IDENTITY

According to Klein (1990), there has been an increasing wave of hybrid fields that resort to a wide range of disciplines with the focus of an interdisciplinary approach to research. Applied linguistics happens to be one of those and is characterized by discontinuities and being against the idea of a homogenous science. It draws on different areas of research in order to investigate real-world issues where language is implicated. This area was brought into being with the creation of the English Language Institute at the University of Michigan in 1941 and the School of Applied Linguistics at the University of Edinburgh almost two decades later in 1957 (KRAMSCH, 2011).

Applied linguistics is usually regarded as a field of linguistic research which considers the experiences of people involved rather than the "matching up findings about language with pre-existing problems" (COOK, 2003, p. 10). Although language teaching has traditionally been the main research object of applied linguistics, many scholars like Rampton (1997), Celani (1992), and Moita lopes (2006) contend that this view is rather confining. Rampton (1997) calls for an applied linguistics closely associated with areas such as new literacy studies, critical discourse analysis and speech accommodation that focuses on the social dimension of phenomena. Additionally, it should take into account the study of culture and social structures and the way "language plays a part in the enactment of different forms of social action as well as the constitution of second order understandings of these actions" (BLOCK; GRAY; HOLBOROW, 2012, p. 3).

Nevertheless, Celani (1992) proposes that linguistics and applied linguistics should not be regarded as opposite poles of a continuum and argues that language research would be

more relevant if both areas benefited from one another as a 'two-way bridge'[38], allowing traffic in both directions. Besides, she draws on another metaphor coined by Pap (1972) who conceives of applied linguistics as crossroads, where linguistics is found at its core and language-related disciplines like anthropology, psychology and sociology are intersecting paths converging towards that center.

The interface between language research and other sciences that concentrate on the social, political, and historical aspects of language education are essential to a non conventional and contemporary applied linguistics. For Moita Lopes (2006), the discursive turn in linguistics is vital to the field. He reminds us that some of the most interesting issues about language have been raised by researchers from other fields and that "nowadays, it is important to step out of the linguistic field" and "read sociology, geography, history, anthropology, cultural and social psychology" (MOITA LOPES, 2006, p. 96, my translation) [39]. He also highlights that some of the greatest contributions to applied linguistics in Brazil comes from the works of scholars originally from education, literature and psychology, among other areas.

In line with Klein (1990), Moita Lopes (2016, p. 98, my translation) stresses on the importance of interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity in language research and that applied linguists have to position themselves at the boundaries of different fields of inquiry:

> The attempt to operate within a perspective of knowledge construction considering research doing under the angle of different sciences with an integrative purpose is more important than the concern with borders of an area of investigation[40].

The relevance of a social view of identity for linguistics, earlier seen as a fixed and unchanging phenomenon, was first introduced by Norton's 1995 groundbreaking work *identity and language learning – extending the conversation*. This perspective brought new insights to the field of SLA given the interrelatedness of language and identity and the importance of the studies of identity in L2 learning. Zotsmann and O'Regan (2016) argue that the recent interest of applied linguistics in identity is not only due to the fact that identities are constructed through language in a social setting, but for the way it conceives of language as a

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[38] "Ponte com tráfego em dois sentidos". This metaphor was first put forth by Pap (1972) in an attempt to describe applied linguistics as an interdisciplinary science.

[39] "nos dias de hoje, é preciso sair do campo da linguagem propriamente dito" e "ler sociologia, geografia, história, antropologia, psicologia cultural e social".

[40] "mais importante do que se preocupar com os limites de uma área de investigação, é tentar operar dentro de uma visão de construção de conhecimento que tente compreender a questão de pesquisa na perspectiva de várias áreas do conhecimento, com a finalidade de integrá-las".

social phenomenon rather than a merely cognitive activity or a neutral medium of communication. Language is then better interpreted according to socially acquired meanings. For Norton (2013, p. 55), language, identity and context are inevitably interwoven:

> I foreground the role of language as constitutive of and constituted by a language learner's social identity […]. It is through language that a person negotiates a sense of self within and across different sites at different points in time, and it is through language that a person gains access to or is denied access to powerful social networks that give learners opportunities to speak.

The shift in applied linguistics from approaching identity as stable to viewing it as a fluid and multidimensional social phenomenon is a consequence of the diversity that has emerged in late modern societies (PREECE, 2016). De Costa and Norton (2016) claim that identity has to be understood at the backdrop of globalization where multilingual interactions and 'hybridizing linguistic practices' are taking place.

By and large, globalization is a phenomenon conceptualized as a "set of social processes that […] intensify worldwide social interdependencies and exchanges while at the same time fostering in people a growing awareness of deepening connections between the local and the distant" (STEGER, 2003, p. 13), and thus opening up possibilities for new identity affiliations. The internet became its most distinctive feature and is the "engine that is driving the imperatives of economy as well as cultural/linguistic identities" (KUMARADIVELU, 2011, p. 2), bringing cultural diversity to the very center of modern societies without which changes would not be happening at this fast speed. Appadurai (1996) adds that migration is the second most striking feature of this age, since many people have been living deterritorialized lives in virtual realities electronically mediated. In view of the fact, Hall (1992, p. 622) asserts that we are going through crises of identities given their shifting nature. In his words:

> The more social life becomes mediated by the global marketing of styles, places, and images, by international travel, and by globally networked media images and communications systems, the more identities become detached – disembedded – from specific times, places, histories, and traditions, and appear "free-floating". We are confronted by a range of different identities, each appealing to us, or rather to different parts of ourselves, from which it seems possible to choose.

Block, Gray and Holborow (2012) criticize the predominantly cultural narrowing view of globalization in applied linguistics and emphasize that global processes, usually observed in the flows of people, ideas and information in every direction, are rooted in economy. For

the authors, our identities are "linked to stratification and where we stand in social, political and, importantly, the economic orders in which we operate" (BLOCK, GRAY, HOLBOROW, 2012, p. 57). The way political economy and neoliberalism are overlooked in language research leaves a loophole, a blinding spot in applied linguistics. In contrast, Appadurai (1996, p. 32) offers a broader and comprehensive picture of a globalizing world that, according to him, is a "complex, overlapping, disjunctive order" driven by different forces and flows and is better seen in a multilayered framework composed of five land-scapes: (1) ethnoscapes – groups of people that make up our shifting world; (2) mediascapes – the tools whereby flows of information are spread, (3) technoscapes – the technological apparatuses responsible for the shrinking of boundaries; (4) financescapes; – institutions that regulate the flows of capital and, finally (5) ideoscapes – a group of images comprising ideologies of state and counterideologies. This model is a tentative one that attempts to explain how and under which disjunctures among people, image, machinery, money and ideas current global flows take place.

For Appadurai (1996, p. 33), the suffix *scape* emphasizes the fact that these landscapes are not objective and can be seen from different angles, as 'perspectival constructs' and their uneven and multidimensional shapes are "inflected by the historical, linguistic, and political situatedness of different sorts of actors: multinationals, diasporic communities". The author also refashions the concept of *imagined community* put forth by Anderson (1991), thoroughly discussed previously in this chapter, and proposes the aforementioned landscapes as the cornerstone of *imagined worlds*. He considers the term *imagined communities* rather narrow and confining as a construct due to the wide spectrum of worlds created by historically situated imaginations of individuals and groups of people across the world, not only in communities. This way, people are able to subvert imagined worlds officially created by the enterprising mindsets around them.

The complex landscapes of globalization affecting every area of our social life, coupled with the wide access to digital technologies and social media, are inaugurating spaces for new forms of language and cultural affiliations. The breaking up of homogenous identities, which used to be bound to strong national cultures, is fragmenting cultural codes and allowing a multiplicity of new identities to come into being, given that more identities have been made available to us (BEINHOFF; RASINGER, 2016).

As addressed earlier, language use goes beyond thought expression and the voicing of ideas and plays a significant role in the construction of the individual's self-image even in a

foreign language. For Kramsch (2013), the fact that English has gone from a national to an international language is also a reason why the word identity became so important nowadays. In this regard, it became important to ask: who am I when I speak English? How do I understand my relationship to the world and who do I expect to be in the future? (NORTON, 2013) In other words, understanding an L2 identity means to understand to which extent expressing oneself in another language makes us construct a different perception of the world from the one we have in our L1. Discussions about L2 identity are rather scarce in the literature and have only started to be approached recently (DÖRNYEI; USHIODA, 2009; BENSON et al., 2013; AVENI, 2015).

As identity is constructed through language (VOLOSINOV, 1973), I defend there is a new sense of self when speakers interact with one another in a language other than their L1. In this sense, research on L2 identity seeks to find out how learning a new language changes the learner's personality since "knowing a second language influences both the learner's self and the possibilities for self-representation through language use" (BENSON et al., 2013, p. 1). Benson et al. (2013, p. 2) add that our L2 identity is constructed as we destabilize our ethnolinguistic identity and integrate the experiences we have in a second language into our sense of self and believe that "a second language adds to the possibilities for being, or being seen as, a different person in different contexts". This author defends that the narrative inquiry is, for instance, an invaluable research method to delve into a learner's L2 identity:

> People who have stories to tell about how they have learned a second language, however, are second language learners and users in a subjective sense, and their stories define the particular and individual senses in which they subscribe to language 'learner' and 'user' identities. They also help define their broader identities as people who know more than one language in contrast to those (including their previous selves) who know only one (BENSON et al., 2013, p. 9).

A language is, therefore, a "fundamental mechanism of self-presentation and social identity" (AVENI, 2005, p. 8). Identity is then both an individual and a social phenomenon that has to do with the ways our 'self' interacts with others and the world. Aveni (2005) understands the L2 learning not only as the accumulating of linguistic knowledge and skills, but as a process through which we redefine ourselves publicly, socially and personally. An L2 identity shows even more complex dimensions in situations of intercultural contact where an international language like English is used for communication. This study is particularly

interested in knowing how non-native L2 identities are formed and impacted by SA experiences.

In the next chapter, I present the findings of this research through the data generated by the questionnaire and the interview carried out with six former participants of the SWB program. In the first part of the analysis, I start out by commenting the questionnaire responses in the light of the theoretical basis of this study. Then, in the second and last part, I analyze the interview fragments selected according to four categories in order to find out how they (re)constructed their L2 identities in SA. The data of both questionnaire and interview were also compared and discussed.

6 A STUDY BEYOND BORDERS: THE IMPACTS OF SA ON L2 IDENTITIES

Language learning does not have to imply a choice between one's own native identity and a foreign identity. Instead, it can be an extension of one's native identity so to encompass the foreign. In this way, the self and ultimately the community become more inclusive (HAHN, 2003, p. 262).

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I proceed in the analysis of the data generated by the semi-structured questionnaire and the interview, which were analyzed in the light of applied linguistics and SA research. The central theme discussed here are: the effectiveness of SA to language proficiency as well as the contribution of learners' past L2 learning experiences AH in Brazil; the participants' language learning beliefs and their relationship with English native and non-native speakers; the development of ICC through English in SA; and most importantly, the ways which the students' sense of self and L2 identities were impacted by the international sojourn abroad.

The participants' beliefs were also examined through the tenets of the AM and the CAT which assess L2 acquisition according to socio/psychological distance and convergence/divergence variables. The data provided by the six past participants of the SWB program were tabulated, charted and triangulated. In doing so, the present study broadens the scope of previous research on SLA in SA by investigating the identity-dimension of English learning through intercultural contact in outbound mobility contexts.

6.2 SA, SLA AND IDENTITY

The nineteenth century *Grand Tour*, which is one of the earliest forms of contemporary SA, was exclusively aimed at the pursuit for high and classical culture. It was only accessible for a handful of people who could afford to travel back then. Nowadays, SA became a globalizing trend that apparently has come to stay. Byram and Feng (2006, p. 1) define it as a "fast-growing phenomenon, urged by the easy of travel, by political changes, by economic need, by cultural interaction". Besides, SA has the power of taking students out of instructional settings such as the classroom environment to places where they can have first-hand language and cultural experiences in a country other than their own.

Research findings have demonstrated that SA is particularly conducive to language learning in the case of students from countries where there is not a solid L2 policy. Overall, SLA scholars and language educators acknowledge that SA is crucial for target language acquisition in so far as it provides students with an amount of language use opportunities they would not have AH otherwise. One of the reasons why SA programs keep sending an ever growing number of students abroad for education is the common held belief that this is the most efficient way, if not the only, to acquire L2 proficiency. However, SA scholars have found out more recently that other variables such as program design, length of stay and learner difference might affect students' L2 acquisition (DUFOND, 2013). In addition, there is research indicating that SA students do not necessarily achieve higher levels of language proficiency than AH learners in every circumstance (COHEN; SHIVELY, 2007 cited in COLLENTINE, 2009).

As already alluded to, SA research is largely focused on measuring language gains during study or residence abroad. Although I address the language learning outcomes of the SWB program, this study places greater emphasis on how the participants' sense of self was affected by the overseas sojourn. It is aimed at looking into L2 identity-related issues in SA, given that speakers from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds show different identity affiliations in intercultural communication. The picture is even more blurred when it comes to language identity construction through international languages, considering there is a myriad of references to resort to.

It is argued that longitudinal studies investigating pre-depature, in-country and the after effects of SA are considered to provide the best results. But as the SWB program was put on hold last year (2016), I would not be able to contact a group of students in time to carry out a longitudinal study and conclude this research. Hence, I decided to probe into the accounts of the past participants in order to understand how the program affected their language learning beliefs and identities.

6.3 GETTING STARTED: QUESTIONNAIRE ANALYSIS

Asking questions is not only a natural human activity, but is also one of the most effective ways to collect information in qualitative research. I start out this section by analyzing the data gathered through the first research instrument described in 3.4.1: he self-

administered questionnaire. It is semi-structured in nature and contains both questions and statements.

Questionnaire items can be misunderstood by native and non-native speakers of a language alike, especially when it is written in the participant's L2 and their proficiency level is low. The one used in this study was originally written in English, but after some consideration, I translated it into Portuguese, since measuring participants' linguistic skills was not relevant. The initial idea of devising the methods in English was because the thesis is being written in this language and I did not want to have footnotes on nearly every page. However, I came to the conclusion that participants would feel more at ease if they expressed themselves in Portuguese. I was afraid to miss out on relevant information that they would have shared differently if they had felt constrained by a language barrier.

As said earlier, questionnaires are a very common method in L2 research for their ease of administration, and also based on the false belief that they are easy to construct. It is not rare to find research built on inspiring research questions which turned out to be jeopardized by the way data were managed. When designing a questionnaire, we have a tendency of cramming many items into it expecting that every answer will become valuable data for the research. Dörnyei (2003) warns us though that long questionnaires can be counterproductive and lead to boredom and fatigue because participants might not feel highly motivated throughout the whole process of completion. For this reason, I narrowed down to 12 items, kept them short and straightforward and avoided linguistic acronyms.

The respondents' answers were brief and punctual. They were fully transcribed and commented on. I translated the answers into English, but the original ones in Portuguese can be found in the APPENDIX section of this study. All the open-ended responses were preceded by Q01, Q02, Q03, etc. so that they could be more easily identified. Participants' real names were replaced with the alphanumeric characters P1, P2, P3, etc. due to ethic issues.

1. Did the *Science without Borders* program allow you to travel abroad for the first time? [   ] Yes [   ] No. If so, what country did you do your exchange in? If not, what country(s) had you been to before?

TABLE 2 – PARTICIPANTS' INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL EXPERIENCES

P1	YES	--	Canada
P2	YES	--	Australia
P3	NO	England, Germany	Canada
P4	YES	--	Australia
P5	NO	United States	Germany
P6	YES	--	Hungary

SOURCE: The author (2017).

Although traveling abroad has become more and more accessible, most of the researched students have had their first international experience through the SWB. Only two out of the six participants had traveled abroad before joining the program. Those had been to countries where English is spoken either as first or as a foreign language.

Students, who have done their programs in both ENL and EFL countries, were equally important for this study. This is because English is an international language that can be used for lingua franca communication in both contexts and those provided the current study with even richer data. At first, I thought students would rather do their exchange program in a country where English is widely spoken as a native language based on the assumption that they would achieve higher levels of fluency if they lived in such places. I found out eventually that the country choice had more to do with their majors and research interests.

In an article published in the weekly magazine Carta Capital, Paiva and Oliveira (2013) call attention to the fact that, even though the SWB program had established partnership with over 38 countries, Portugal was the second favorite destination among Brazilians. This was only topped by the United States. These authors emphasize that the country choice demonstrated the lack of knowledge in an L2 due to the general tedious grammar-laden classes in Brazilian schools. In view of the fact, the former minister of education Aloízio Mercadante announced that, in order to motivate students to learn a foreign language, Portugal would be no longer in the list as of April 2013.

2. Do you speak any foreign language(s) other than English? [   ] Yes   [   ] No. If so, what language(s)?

TABLE 3 – PARTICIPANTS' L2 KNOWLEDGE

P1	NO	--
P2	NO	--
P3	NO	--
P4	NO	--
P5	YES	German
P6	YES	Hungarian, French

SOURCE: The author (2017).

According to Pereira (2016), Brazilian students hold two great misconceptions regarding L2 learning. The first one is that learning a foreign language like English only makes sense if you have plans to travel to English speaking countries like the USA or England. The second one is that they do not think it is possible to become fluent in an L2 without traveling or spending time abroad.

As shown in TABLE 3 above, only the participants who traveled to EFL countries knew an L2 other than English. This undoubtedly reflects the absence of a more efficient language policy in Brazil that would promote the learning of foreign languages in middle and high schools. Brazilians' low performance in L2 is a consequence of the place that language education has had in the Brazilian education system along the last thirty years or so. The foreign language curricular component only became official again when an emergency plan for the teaching of languages in the country was devised in 1996. This measure guaranteed the reintroduction of an L2 in the curriculum from the fifth grade onwards as well a mandatory and an elective foreign language in high school curricula across the country. The language choice was supposed to be made by the local school community (LIMA, 2007).

It is common to see teachers with majors in non-language disciplines, such as history or geography, who need to teach language to accumulate enough hours for a full work week, despite having no formal linguistic background. Moreover, FLT in Brazil is still carried out in much the same way classical languages like Greek and Latin were taught in the past. That is, the focus remains on language forms and on translation and grammar exercises totally unrelated to the reality of Brazilian students.

3. What is your strongest English skill? On a scale of 1 to 4, where 4 is the strongest and 1 the weakest.
[   ] Listening   [   ] Speaking   [   ] Writing   [   ] Reading

TABLE 4 – PARTICIPANTS' L2 SKILLS SELF-RATING

P1	3	2	1	4
P2	4	3	3	4
P3	4	4	3	4
P4	1	3	2	4
P5	1	2	3	4
P6	3	1	2	4

SOURCE: The author (2017).

One of the initial prerequisites of the SWB program was that students had high levels of proficiency in the foreign language required by their host country and university. This prerequisite had to change though because of the general low level of L2 knowledge showed by Brazilians, who do not usually achieve, even by the end of high school, the A1 level of the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (2001). According to the latest English Proficiency Index issued by the international education company *Education First* in 2016, Brazil was ranked in the 40th position among the 54 countries surveyed and was rated as a country displaying very low English skills.

Even though the participants' English level itself was not the focus of this study, I requested them to self-rate their language skills. As shown by TABLE 4 above, the reading skill was unanimously evaluated as the most developed one. In addition, all the participants in this study had already learned some English at language schools before applying for the SWB and did not need to take language courses offered by the LWB.

4. Read this statement: "You need to imitate native speakers to achieve fluency in a second language". [   ] Agree   [   ] Disagree. Explain:

P4
(Q01) To have fluency, I believe that you need to be able to communicate without frequent pauses, in a clear and direct way and be able to understand and be understood. Besides, a foreigner will hardly speak a second language like a native speaker does.

P6
(Q02) I don't think native speakers should be imitated; I believe that trying to understand the structure of the language and practicing is the most important. "Imitating" maybe makes some sense as regards the pronunciation of certain phonemes which do not exist in one's native language. But overall, I don't think it is good exercise […].

P3
(Q03) During the exchange program, I noticed that foreigners communicated really well in English, despite the pronunciation having a heavy accent from their country of origin and some grammar mistakes. The context helped a lot.

P1
(Q04) I don't think that imitating is the best way to learn, but it is essential to have contact with native speakers of the language.

P5
(Q05) you must try to have the least indistinguishable accent as possible, but always within your limitations.

The native speaker has always enjoyed a privileged position both in the imagination of people and in language education in general. Traditionally defined as a person who has spoken a language since childhood (BLOOMFIELD, 1933; MCARTHUR, 1992), it is a highly idealized abstraction that has become an ever more disputable notion among applied linguists.

Furthermore, native speakers can "vary from each other in many aspects of grammar, pronunciation and vocabulary for dialectal, social and regional reasons" (COOK, 2013, p. 454). After all, what native speaker are we talking about? Can anyone speak a language perfectly? Notions such as native-like and perfect pronunciation are impossible to precise and should not be every learner's goal simply because English is learned for different purposes, be these driven by integrative or instrumental motivation. Although L2 education is rooted in the foreign/native dichotomy with the predominance of the latter, P4 emphasizes the importance of mutual understanding when communicating in an L2 and is aware that native-like language performance is unnecessary and delusive.

P6 does not think that imitation is the best method to learn a language. He argues that people are going to be limited in their language use until they realize that languages are better understood in contexts. He offers a practical example: "if you learn a certain sentence copying another person, you are going to be limited to use that sentence in the context in which you learned it. But if you learn the structure of that sentence, it is possible to use it in different contexts (Q06)". Whereas P1 expresses an ambivalent opinion, P3 adds that the foreigners he interacted with during his time abroad could communicate very well in English despite speaking with a strong accent.

Only one out of the six participants believes that an L2 learner has to speak close to a native speaker possibly because the native speaker is still looked to as the main reference in foreign language learning. This myth is erected upon the idea that an L1 speaker learns a

language effortlessly, speaks it 'perfectly' and has the answer to nearly every question about their native language.

5. Read this statement: "I was able to communicate personal values, my own culture and beliefs through the English language during my exchange experience". [   ] Yes   [   ] No. Explain:

P1
(Q07) As Canada is a multicultural country, I made friends from different nationalities there and this allowed me to have conversations in which I could express my points of view.

P2
(Q08) As I said before, it is very natural to succeed in communicating values, culture and beliefs even in another language. Both parties just need to be open to it and use *google translator* if necessary.

P6
(Q09) I needed to express myself in English in every circumstance during the exchange program and I didn't have any problem with that.

P4
(Q10) Talking about my beliefs in another language was complicated at first, but I got better with time.

Language and culture are oftentimes thought of as two sides of the same coin and the latter is nowadays considered of great relevance in L2 learning. Culture has originally been conceived of as a way of being that is exclusive to a specific ethnic, national group. Nowadays, this traditional notion has been revisited particularly in the case of the English language, given that the English cultures are extremely diverse, in constant flux and "far from being unchanging, homogenous and geographically specific" (NAULT, 2006, p. 317). Therefore, we cannot speak of a single culture or people when a language is used by a great variety of users. Statistics also indicate that English communication is increasingly taking place across people from different language backgrounds even in inner-circle countries which were once assumed monolingual.

SA programs often expose students to English varieties from speakers who hold different worldviews. P1, for instance, said that Canada is a very multicultural country and that she was able to express her points of view when interacting with people from different nationalities. Altogether, nearly all the participants enquired replied "yes" to this item and declared having had success in sharing their values, culture and beliefs through the English language without major issues. There was not any account of bias against the participants' language, culture or religion thus far. Only P4 reported having difficulties in sharing his

culture through English because of low language proficiency, but said he made progress with time. As put by P2, all you need is mutual cooperation.

6. In your opinion, is it possible to learn how to communicate effectively in a second language without traveling or spending time overseas? [   ] Yes   [   ] No. Explain:

P1
(Q11) I believe it is possible to have fluency in a language without living in a country where it is spoken as first language. However, it is very important to experience the host country context in which native speakers live.

P2
(Q12) It is impossible to duplicate the experiences and challenges of being surrounded by people who only speak English *in the home country* (my emphasis). Even in the classroom environment, few hours just don't do it.

P3
(Q13) I had always studied English in Brazil and didn't have any problem with the language. I could understand and make myself understood perfectly. But, of course, the international experience helped me a lot in the learning of specific expressions and vocabulary in the language.

P5
(Q14) The immersion in the country provides much more frequent contact with the language, but the internet nowadays is able to offer similar opportunities.

P6
(Q15) Yes, it is possible. There are several tools that allow a first contact with the language; whoever is interested might also find ways to improve language skills through courses, texts, movies, etc. (especially in the case of widespread languages like English). Of course an experience abroad allows for a deeper immersion and this is very interesting for the ones who have got this chance.

It is widely assumed that a country where the language is largely spoken offers the best L2 learning conditions. SA is frequently regarded as the optimal context for language learning for providing participants with opportunities to interact with native speakers in the language of the host country. Research evidence shows that SA students have positive language learning outcomes, especially in speaking and pragmatic skills, and usually outdo learners who have never traveled abroad (DUFOND, 2013). They are considered to develop communication strategies in real-life situations because they get more L2 input exposure compared to language courses in EFL contexts where opportunities are much fewer.

Once again, this item leads us to address one of the misconceptions pointed out by Pereira (2016) earlier in this chapter, which is the fact that English should only be learned with the sole purpose of communicating with native speakers from the U.S. or England. Learning English outside Brazil may have its advantages, but it does not make language learning effortless, automatic or easier. L2 acquisition depends heavily on what the SA

participants' motivations are, what they do with their time abroad and who they spend it with. Although 100 per cent of the participants emphasized the pros of learning an L2 abroad, most of them concurred it is possible to learn a foreign language without leaving Brazil through the internet, movies, books, etc.

P5, for instance, believes that the internet offers similar language exposure to the one he had during the SWB program. Likewise, there are opportunities to interact with foreigners who visit Brazil especially in touristy cities in the high season. P1 thinks that you can learn an L2 even without traveling to another country, but contends that it is necessary to have contact with native speakers of that language at some point. P2, in turn, argues that SA is crucial for language learning because the amount of time spent in the classroom is not enough to make you speak a foreign language fluently. Even though P3 places great emphasis on the role of SA in L2, he considers his English learning experiences in Brazil extremely positive.

7. During your exchange experience, in which contexts do you think helped you improve your language experiences: (1) In formal/instructed contexts such as classes, group meetings and projects held at the university; (2) In informal contexts such as outdoor places, bars, parties, etc. Explain:

P1
(Q16) Of course that the university helped me a lot in my academic experience and in mastering the language, but I believe that talking to friends and being immersed in a group of English speakers (even those who didn't speak it as mother tongue) was essential for enhancing my language skills.

P2
(Q17) 2 is more correct because it is essential to be in a more relaxing atmosphere "to free the tongue" without being afraid of making mistakes. The formal environment can be rather intimidating. It can work for some, but not for me.

P3
(Q18) As I didn't go out with friends very often, I used to spend more time with my family and had little language practice. I practiced my English more often in the academic environment. It was very profitable for me because I had many classes in which I interacted with classmates and presented seminars.

P4
(Q19) The formal environment helped me improve vocabulary, grammar and learn theories. However, it was in the informal environments where I I got to enhance my language skills because I had firsthand contact with people from different parts of the world and could hear different accents and expressions and speak more openly with people.

P5
(Q20) The second option. Friendship with native speakers of English was essential for improving my language skills.

P6
(Q21) As for English, a language that I already mastered fairly well, the answer is
(2). Informal environments allowed a more spontaneous exchange of experiences, as
well as contexts with which I hadn't dealt with in Brazil. Here I had already gone
through situations where I needed to express myself in English in more formal
academic or professional environments. As for the Hungarian, the language of the
country where I lived and with which I had no contact before, I believe that both
contexts were very important. The context listed in (1), particularly in the basic
Hungarian classes I took once a week, were really important so I could familiarize
myself with the basic structure and vocabulary of the language. After that, I could
better enhance other language skills in environments listed in (2).

Scholars like Huebner (1998) believe that the combination of formal instruction and immersion in the native speech community during SA can result in higher levels of language proficiency. Although there is research contrasting linguistic outcomes of SA and AH learners, Sanz (2014, p. 3) argues that "SA/AH comparisons end up comparing apples and oranges, because students who choose to go abroad are different from students who choose to stay in their home institutions". Besides, the formal/informal distinction in SA also becomes quite fuzzy due to learner's individual differences in L2 acquisition and makes students' preferred settings for language learning vary even among participants within the same program.

CHART 1 – FORMAL AND OUT-OF-CLASS L2 INTERACTIONS DURING SA
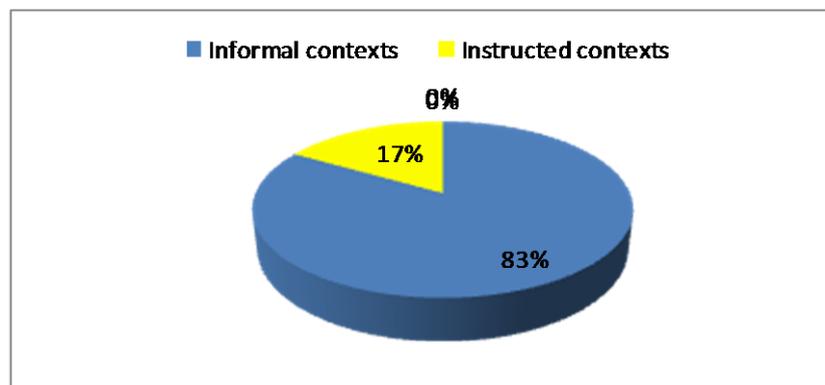
SOURCE: The author (2007).

As the information summarized in CHART 1 above indicates, 17% per cent of the participants reported to have had benefited more from learning situations outside the formal, instructed university setting. P2 claimed that the academic context did not work too well for her because it made her feel she was on a sort of language constraint that held her back. 83%

of the participants concurred that the non-academic context was the best one to make the most of language experiences abroad.

Most of P3's interactions took place at the university and he contends that, even though he did not go out as much as other students, he could still enhance his language skills during classes, research group participation and presentation of papers and seminars. P4 said that classes at the university helped him with grammar and lexicon, but the informal, out-of-class contexts were the ones which contributed most to his fluency in English. He adds that the latter environments exposed him to a greater variety of English speakers from different parts of the world. P1 argues that she benefited greatly from the contact with native and non-native speakers of English.

As P6 did his program in an EFL country, he said that he had to learn another L2 and considers that attending classes helped him become more acquainted with the basics of the language so that he could use it more efficiently in informal contexts.

8. Were your interactions in English more often with native or non-native English speakers?

P1
(Q22) Native speakers. Although I had exchange student friends from all over, my closest friends in and out of the university were native English speakers from Australia and Canada.

P2
(Q23) Non-native speakers. Given that Australia is a country made of immigrants. I usually interacted with Indians, Koreans, Germans, French and Ugandans, etc. Some of them were born in Australia, but I believe that many of these people consider the language spoken by their parents their mother tongue.

P3
(Q24) Non-native speakers. Toronto is an extremely cosmopolitan city.

P4
(Q25) I had more interactions with non-native speakers of English, but most of them had high levels of proficiency.

P5
(Q26) Non-native speakers, because my SWB program was in Germany

P6
(Q27) Most interactions in the host country happened with native Hungarians (that is, speakers of English as a foreign language). However, I interacted with people from different parts of the world when I traveled.

Multiculturalism and plurilingualism are becoming quintessential features of national societies which were once considered monolingual. The increase in student mobility programs

boosted by university internationalization policies has drawn students from all the corners of the globe and contributed to the internationalization of universities, especially in North America and Europe.

Participants P1, P3, P2 and P4, who had done their program in ENL countries, assert they communicated more regularly with non-native speakers. Only P1 said she had closer connections with native speakers of English, but adds she interacted with international students as well. P2 argues that Australia is full of foreigners and even some native born Australians she met, whose parents were from different ethnic groups, considered their parents' language their L1. Both P5 and P6 stated that they spoke more often with non-native speakers of English because of the EFL context they were in.

These SWB past participants' experiences demonstrated that there is a good chance of interactions with foreigners taking place about as often as with native English speakers even in ENL countries.

9. Did you experience any embarrassment or prejudice because of your accent when you interacted with speakers from different parts of the world (both native and non-native English speakers)?

P1
(Q28) No, Canada is a country that respects the diversity and I can't think of an embarrassing situation I had gone through. On the contrary, people helped a lot and I have always shown myself open to learn and to hear criticism.

P2
(Q29) Yes and no. Brazilians who live abroad have a habit of wanting to correct your pronunciation by Americanizing it, just liked they learned at language schools. English native speakers, on the other hand, are fascinated by the Brazilian/Baiano accent and would suddenly start to ask questions about my culture.

P4
(Q30) Some would confuse the sound of "p" by "b" when I spoke. For example: when I said "park" some would hear "bark". This was more common when I talked to oriental people. However, when I said the same word to Brazilians, they wouldn't get confused.

P5
(Q31) Yes, but nothing out of the norm, whenever I didn't understand something or the needed to hear a certain sentence over again.

P6
(Q32) No. In general, people were very welcoming towards Brazilians and would get really excited whenever I said I was from Brazil. The only difficulty I had was when I went to Newcastle, in the northernmost part of England, where there was a very strong accent. I had some difficulty in understanding people from there the first time they spoke. But even there, nothing out of the norm happened. One thing I

> noticed was that it was generally easier to talk to non-native speakers of English. British, Australians and Americans spoke fast and had the strongest accents.

The effects of outbound mobility programs on students' speaking skills have always been a mainstream topic in SA research. The OPI, a method commonly used in measuring linguistic gains in this field, has proved empirically that SA students make greater gains in oral proficiency compared to those AH. For this study, I found it was more relevant to enquiry about general attitude of people towards participants' English accent instead.

Pronunciation is regarded as the most blamed linguistic area for intelligibility issues and misunderstandings in communication. Jenkins (2000, p. 4) believes it is also "the area of greatest prejudice and preconception, and the one most resistant to change on all sides". Nonetheless, most participants in this study said they did not experience any linguistic bias against their accent neither by native speakers nor international students. Only P2 commented about biased attitude coming from fellow Brazilians who have the habit of correcting other people's pronunciation so they sound more American. However, she also states that that native speakers demonstrated extremely positive attitudes towards her spoken English and wanted to know where her accent came from. P1 says that her host country (Canada) is quite multicultural and open to cultural diversity and that such hostility did not happen to her. P6, in turn, thinks that native speakers are generally harder because they have 'stronger' accents. P4 says that some foreigners would confuse his [p]'s in initial position of English words for its counterpart [b]. P5 and P6, for instance, reported that it was quite common to have to negotiate meaning and ask for repetition and it is pretty evident that they had to accommodate to their interlocutor's speech to a certain extent.

Accordingly, Morley (1991) argues that pronunciation teaching should be more centered on the learners' needs and have its focus shifted from native-like pronunciation attainment to the development of speech modification strategies that can be used outside the language classroom. In line with Morley (1991), Dalton and Seidlhofer (1994) suggest that L2 education should not prescribe pronunciation norms to learners, but offer models they could relate to and be guided by. Hence, L2 pronunciation must be seen as an asset not a handicap. The participants' answers show that native-like pronunciation does not guarantee successful communication between native and non-native speakers of English in every circumstance because intelligibility "may be as much in the mind of the listener as in the mouth of the speaker" (MORLEY, 1991, p. 499).

10. What were some of the most challenging experiences you had in the *Science Without Borders* program?

> **P1**
> (Q33) I think that arriving in a country by yourself is in and of itself a very challenging experience, having to get by alone, opening a bank account, and all that bureaucracy. However. I think that the most challenging thing for me was interacting with other people at the university because of how seriously they took it.
>
> **P2**
> (Q34) Doing exams and completing most of the courses successfully at one of the 10 best universities in Australia (Monash University). They assess students through two gigantic essays. One of them can be written throughout the course, and the other one has to be done in about two hours at the end of the term. The first weeks were particularly hard.
>
> **P3**
> (Q35) When I rented my apartment, I had to inspect it before moving in and I came across several words and technical terms I hadn't learned in language schools. Understanding them and expressing myself correctly was quite challenging. Another moment was when I started my summer internship. My supervisor was Pakistani and had a very strong accent.
>
> **P4**
> (Q36) Going on a trip somewhere new all by myself to begin with. Keeping up the grades to be able to continue in the program. Watching my expenses, knowing where to look for a place to rent, getting used to new food and a new culture.
>
> **P6**
> (Q37) A challenging situation was when I had to give a presentation at a conference in Romania. It was the first time I had to do a presentation of this kind in English. Apart from that, my greatest difficulties were in places that were not prepared for welcoming tourists, where there were few signs and also where people in general didn't speak English. Another complicated situation was when a friend who was traveling with me was stolen and left with no money, credit card or documents. As we were together, there weren't big problems because I lent him money, but a lot worse could have happened.

Numerous studies point out the fact that the positive outcomes of SA programs are not only related to linguistic gains, but also to students' personal growth, intercultural development, academic performance, among others (WARD; WOLF-WENDEL, 2012). This item inquired SWB past participants about the challenges other than linguist ones they faced in the program.

To my surprise, the linguistic challenge was a constant one in nearly every response as shown by the transcriptions above. P2, for example, said that her biggest challenge (and eventual academic achievement) was to be able to write long essays in English and pass in almost every class while P6 said that the first time he ever gave a presentation in English was at a conference during the program. P1 and P4 contended that arriving in a country in one's

own and having to sort things out independently from their parents contributed to their personal growth.

According to some of the participants, SA proved that being proficient in a language is not enough for doing well in every communicative situation. Two out of the six participants observed that living abroad allowed them to learn specific words that they did not in language schools in Brazil, such as vocabulary for opening an account at a bank (P1) or technical words used in the context of real estate (P3). Some of them said having difficulties understanding native and non-native accents of English at the university. P3 reported he struggled when communicating with his Pakistani supervisor in the first weeks. These examples show that negotiation of meaning, and tolerance needed to be put into practice by both parties.

11. If you could describe your exchange experience in one word, what would it be?

P1
(Q38) Learning

P4
(Q39) Growth

P2
(Q40) Unforgettable

P3
(Q41) Life-changing

P6
(Q42) Freedom

P5
(Q43) Development

In this item, SWB past participants synthesized in one word what program meant for them They evaluated their sojourn abroad in a very positive light and did not mention any situation of rejection by host culture communities, extreme cultural shock, racial issues or sexual harassment. All in all, students concurred with how study abroad was defined by Velliaris and Coleman-George (2016, p. xvii), which is, among other things, "an invaluable chance to discover a diverse culture through a personal, professional, and educationally enriching experience". They emphasized, among other things, the freedom (P6) and the learning (P1) aspects of being abroad. SA has without a shadow of doubt both broadened students' horizons and also helped them grow and mature.

12. Please write down any other information about your *Science Without Borders* experience you find relevant sharing.

P1
(Q44) I made good use of my time during the exchange program since I could immerse myself in the Canadian culture and in all that it had to offer me, especially the multicuturality. I was not afraid to step into the unknown, show my mistakes and flaws and ask for help, I was not afraid to make mistakes and I believe this was one of the best things that I could have ever done. The experiences helped in my self-discovery and aroused tastes and peculiarities that I didn't know. Besides, I could also enhance my English skills.

P4
(Q45) A unique and enriching experience that gave me great friends, moments, knowledge about new cultures and life lesson learning.

P2
(Q46) I missed having the support of an advisor in the host country to guide our actions abroad. We were too "free", but depending on the focus and personal engagement, it was possible to do an interesting scientific program (after all, it is the goal of the program, starting by its name). But I believe that most Brazilians who studied through the SWB in Australia had to face many obstacles such as lack of references in Australia, homesickness, the feeling of not knowing anything or of being less smart than most.

P5
(Q47) The investment in overseas education of Brazilian students by the federal government was huge, but not very advantageous upon our return due to a lack of guidance by universities/ companies interested in Brazil.

P6
(Q48) I traveled at the end of my undergraduate course having had already met most of the coursework. This way, the most important thing in my exchange program, in academic terms, were the electives and the undergraduate research program in which I worked. Apart from that, Budapest is a wonderful city and I recommend everyone to pay it a visit.

In this last item, students shared information that they found significant which may not have been covered by the previous questions and statements. This time, they elaborated on what the experience meant for them personally and whether the program could be enhanced in any way. In general, most participants underscored the positive aspect of it. P1 said that spending time in Canada taught her a lot about multiculturalism and was also an opportunity for self-understanding. She said that joining the SWB program was one of the best things that she had ever done. Similarly, P6 declared that the program was academically and culturally enriching.

Although the linguistic gains afforded by SA were unquestionable, P2 and P5 mentioned a few negative aspects in the philosophy drive behind the program and how this

was articulated in practice. As said earlier in Chapter 2, the primary goal of the SWB program was to give greater visibility to scientific research undertaken in Brazil through partnerships and cooperation projects with international higher education institutions. P5 argued that, notwithstanding the high financial investment the Brazilian government made in the program, there was a lack of initiative on the side of our universities involved when the students returned from abroad. P2 adds that he felt neglected throughout the program. He thinks he could have benefited more from the SWB if he had had more support from representatives in Brazil.

In the next section, I analyze the interview data more in depth. These were classified into four categories which were devised in order to understand participants' language learning beliefs before, during and after studying abroad and how those affected their L2 identities. All such data were also compared with those provided by the questionnaire.

6.4 GETTING TO THE HEART OF THE MATTER: INTERVIEW ANALYSIS AND DATA TRINAGULATION

According to Briggs (1986), interviews account for 90 per cent of social science research and mark a transition from seeing people as mere data generators towards understanding knowledge being constructed intersubjectively in conversation (KVALE, 1996). Therefore, participants are not mere passive information providers, but are subjects rather than objects of a study. Furthermore, interviews allow investigators to "measure what a person knows, […] likes or dislikes […], and what a person thinks (attitudes and beliefs)" (TUCKMAN, 1972, p. 237) by giving access to their mindset.

The interview method allowed me to get to know some of the participants better and have a more personal contact with them. Three out of six had to be interviewed over the phone considering the varied and in some cases distant geographic locations of the interviewees. This method helped me explore some of the items featured in the questionnaire.

The direct contact between interviewer and participant has both advantages and disadvantages. Interviews can allow for more opportunities to make questions clearer while the interview is being carried out. The main inconvenience, however, is the influence the researcher can have on the participants' responses. The fact that they are being observed can lead them to answer questions in a way that meets whatever expectations they think the

researcher has. Before I started each interview, I made a point at telling them that I was more interested in understanding their perceptions than proving any hypothesis right or wrong.

As far as the layout, interviews range from being strictly planned and standardized to more spontaneously designed ones. As the former kind lacks flexibility and the latter would require extensive research practice which I do not have, I ended up choosing the semi-structured format. Like the questionnaire, the interview schedule was originally written in English but then translated into Portuguese so participants could talk more freely. Again, I did not want them to feel that their language skills were being evaluated. Likewise, I noticed that the informal tone with which the interview was conducted provided me with unique stories I would have never had access to otherwise.

The six interviews lasted approximately forty-five minutes each and were transcribed verbatim. I then selected the fragments that were going to be analyzed. The categories created for this analysis were based on both research objectives and questions, but not strictly planned in advance, since some of them emerged naturally from the participants' responses. This was because I wanted this analysis to be led by the data and not rigidly guided by the methods. The data provided by the questionnaire and the interview were also triangulated in this section and were analyzed according to four categories as follows:

- The relationship between outbound mobility and L2 proficiency;
- Language learning beliefs before, during and after the international experience;
- The development of ICC through cross-cultural communication;
- Brazilians' L2 identities in SA: revisiting the CAT and the AM.

6.4.1 The relationship between outbound mobility and L2 proficiency

As Goodwin and Nacht (1988, p. 16) point out, "the mastery of a modern language has traditionally been perceived as the most direct educational benefit of study abroad". This view is based on a popular belief that people who travel abroad tend to become more fluent in an L2 compared to those who stay at home. This idea was confirmed by the participants' responses in this study as well.

Nonetheless, the interrelationship of L2 acquisition and SA is considered by Wilkinson (1997) a language myth. This author defines it as an erroneous belief that participation in SA programs will automatically lead to language acquisition because of the

amount of L2 input participants are exposed to in such contexts. P6 contended, for example, that Brazilian learners within his program showed different outcomes when learning Hungarian not only because of the diverse language experiences they had before going abroad, but especially due to the time and focus they put into the task of learning the language:

P6
(I01) What is now clear to me is that the most important thing is to be willing and ready to learn, though I remember Brazilians who were not very interested and who didn't learn because they said it was very difficult […] I think what I learned from this experience as regards language learning is that there is nothing that is nothing impossible or too hard. You just have to be open to it.

Furthermore, SA researchers have discovered recently that the way students interact with the host culture has great impacts on L2 acquisition abroad. In her ethnographic study about the experience of two English women studying in France, Wilkinson (1997) found out that her participants chose to speak in their native language rather than in the language of the people from their host country because they had difficulties engaging in conversation with native French speakers outside the classroom setting. On the other hand, participants in this study did not bring up any unfortunate circumstance, neither anxiety or discomfort which can normally occur when speakers, who do not share a common language or cultural background, communicate with one another. On the contrary, they seemed to have engaged quite well with the diversity of cultures in their host countries.

For Dufond (2013), input is not the ultimate conducive factor accounting for higher levels of L2 proficiency, but the amount of time students spend with target-language native speakers. However, when enquired about whom they had interactions most frequently with, students reported having had conversations in the target language with both native and nonnative speakers of English, as displayed by TABLE 5:

TABLE 5 – SWB PARTICIPANTS' LANGUAGE INTERACTIONS ABROAD

	QUESTIONNAIRE DATA	INTERVIEW FRAGMENTS
P1	(Q22) […] Although I had exchange student friends from all over, my closest friends in and out of the university were native English speakers from Australia and Canada.	(I02) [...] We tried, but it wound never happen, ever! A friend of mine had a Greek boyfriend and we would sometimes leave him out because everyone started talking in Portuguese. He would say: "hey, speak English! And then we would speak English for

			half hour and switch back to Portuguese [...].
P2		(Q23) […] Australia is a country made of immigrants. I usually interacted with Indians, Koreans, Germans, French and Ugandans, etc. Some of them were born in Australia, but I believe that many of these people consider the language spoken by their parents their mother tongue.	(I03) [...] As for me, I would speak English the entire time, but there were some people who could not express themselves that well and then would inevitably resort to Portuguese. But even though we were Brazilians, our house was constantly packed with people from other places […].
P3		(Q24) Toronto is an extremely cosmopolitan city.	(I04) [...] There were Brazilians only in the internship at the lab […] I talked to them quite often there. […] There were three girls. As they didn't speak English very well, they would rather speak Portuguese. We would immediately switch to English as another person arrived […].
P4		(Q25) […] I had interactions more often with non-native speakers of English, but most of them had high levels of proficiency.	(I05) [...] I would always try to speak English with Brazilians, […] but it hasn't worked out, since it was more comfortable to speak Portuguese. [..] but […] when foreigners were around, we tried to speak just English.
P5		(Q26) Non-native speakers, because my SWB program was in Germany	(I06) [....] Brazilians would only speak English to one another if there was a foreigner in the context […].
P6		(Q27) Most interactions in the host country happened with native Hungarians (that is, speakers of English as a foreign language). However, I interacted with people from different parts of the world when I traveled.	(I07) When I was in a context only with Brazilians, we would always speak Portuguese. But whenever there was a foreigner in the group, we would speak English so the person wouldn't feel left out [...].

SOURCE: The author (2007).

Although much of SA research overemphasizes the importance of the interaction with "native speakers in natural settings about real-life matters" (BRECHT; DAVIDSON; GINSBERG, 1995), the data above show that students did not only speak with native English speakers during their program. Five out of the six participants answered both in the questionnaire and in the interview that they spoke more often with international speakers of English, even in countries where English is widely spoken as an L1.

CHART 2 – ENGLISH NATIVE/NON-NATIVE INTERACTIONS ABROAD
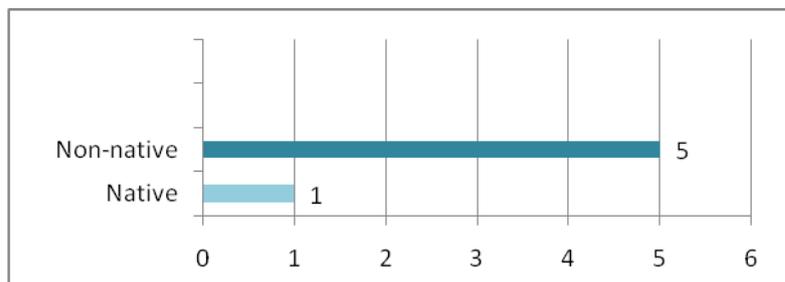
SOURCE: The author (2017).

The cosmopolitan and multicultural features of ENL countries nowadays make talking to international speakers almost inevitable. P1 said that when you walk downtown in big metropolis like Toronto or Vancouver, you hear people speak many different languages other than English. Most of the researched students said they also benefited from quality interactions with non-native speakers who had exhibited high levels of language proficiency, as highlighted by P3 in Q25.

SA students might find it easier to spend more time interacting in their native language with other compatriots instead of taking greater advantage of the language opportunities afforded by the in-country environment. In this regard, the researched students said they found it hard to talk to fellow Brazilians in English because speaking in the participants' L1 was inescapable. According to P2 and P3, this was even more likely to happen when the level of L2 proficiency of one of the parties is low.

As shown by the data, both ENL and EFL SA contexts offered students a one-off opportunity to experience the phenomenon of L2 acquisition from manifold perspectives, given the intercultural contact such environments provide. As said earlier, the interview was conducted in Portuguese because the main focus of this study was not to evaluate participants' English proficiency levels, but to probe into L2 identity-related issues. But as identity is constructed through language (VOLOSINOV, 1973), I decided to investigate their language skills during and after the program by requesting them to self-rate those as well as to indicate which ones their sojourn abroad helped improve the most.

Participants concurred in 100 % that their English made great progress overseas. P3 argued that even though the linguistic gains by the international experience were undeniable, he thinks that one of the SA after effects on his English was that he did not keep up with the

same level he had while abroad because opportunities for L2 practice in EFL countries like Brazil are much fewer. He felt his speaking skill slowed down a little ever since he returned.

In the questionnaire, students contended unanimously that reading is by far their strongest English skill. P1, P5 and P6 evaluated their listening and speaking as their least developed ones. By contrast, P2 and P3 rated their language skills very highly. As CHART 3 below demonstrates, a massive 83% of the interviewees believe that oral skill was most improved one abroad, immediately followed by listening.

CHART 3 – L2 SKILLS ENHANCEMENT DURING SA EXPERIENCE
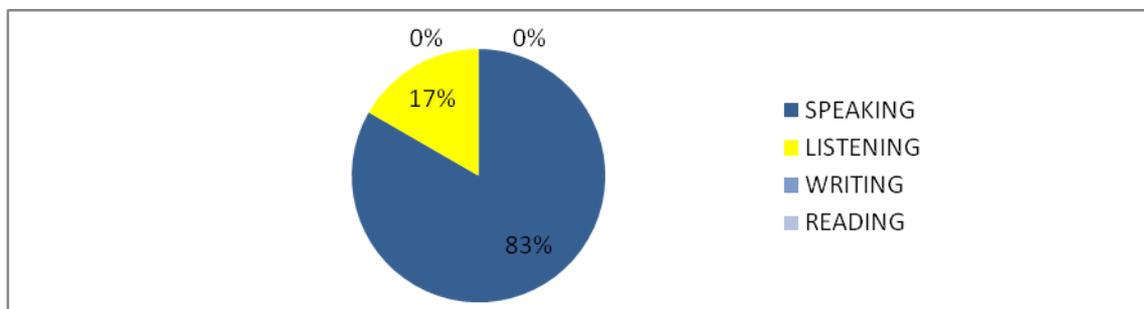
SOURCE: The author (2017).

Students also stated that their writing was not at its highest when they traveled and was rated as the least enhanced skill in the program. However, P1 said she took EAP[41] lessons three months prior to the beginning of her academic year and thinks that writing journals on specific themes helped improve her writing. In his turn, P3 said that his report writing abroad led him to write his undergraduate research paper in English when he came back to Brazil. The questionnaire self-rating items by the participants are confronted with the data in TABLE 6:

TABLE 6 – CURRENT LANGUAGE PERFORMANCE/LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY IN SA

	The most improved language skill in SA	Current best language skill
	INTERVIEW	QUESTIONNAIRE
P1	SPEAKING	WRITING
P2	LISTENING	LISTENING
P3	SPEAKING	SPEAKING
P4	SPEAKING	LISTENING
P5	SPEAKING	LISTENING

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[41] English for Academic Purposes.

P6	SPEAKING	SPEAKING

SOURCE: The author (2017).

As shown by TABLE 6, the language skills the participants had the most gains in abroad are still the one they are currently best at. There are a few mismatches though. While P2 and P3 said that the skill they improved abroad remain the strongest one today, the currently most developed one changed for the rest of the participants. Though linguistic progress through education abroad is overrated by SA research, studies such as Coleman's (1994) indicate that students' L2 performance might drop after returning from their year abroad. This decline was reported by P3 in the course of the interview.

6.4.1.2 L2 learning before applying for the program

Learning an L2 in Brazil is considered by most as an unimportant and annoying task, given the way classes – with only a few exceptions - are carried out in both public and private schools. English teachers are constantly ridiculed for teaching the present inflections of the verb *to be* over and over again, among other meaningless syntax activities. It is largely accepted that a person will only develop their speaking and listening skills in our country if they enroll in a language school.

Despite our bleak national L2 learning scenario, participants were asked in the interview whether learning English in Brazil before embarking was relevant. All participants concurred with the fact that they would have not fared too well abroad had they known little or no English before traveling.

P2
(I08) 100%, for sure! You can't have the same fluency, the same proficiency without going to the country, but when you go there without knowing a word, your life gets much more complicated.

P1
(I09) I think it was essential. If I had gone without knowing anything, I wouldn't have had much success. Despite learning formal English, it was interesting because I could build sentences.

P3
(I10) If I didn't master the language, […] if I only knew enough to get by, I would already be lost.

P4

(I11) I think that if I had traveled without any language proficiency or knowledge, it would've been a lot harder. It would have taken me longer to learn, especially the pronunciation [...] The fact that I had already studied the language in Brazil helped a lot.

The interview fragments above show that most students evaluate the English they learned in Brazil as unnatural and that their oral skills were only improved in SA. SWB past participants' thoughts about their language performance before, during and after studying abroad are summarized in TABLES 7 and 8, which were designed according to participants' ESL and EFL learning contexts:

TABLE 7 – L2 OVERALL PERFORMANCE BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER SA (ESL)

	ENGLISH BEFORE SA	ENGLISH DURING SA	ENGLISH AFTER AS
P1	(I12) [...] I think that I can get by, but I can't keep a conversation going. That's what I thought, I can ask for information, but not keep a conversation going for much longer. I miss having a wider range of vocabulary because I took intensive courses. When I lived here, I was more used to the American accent, because of music and movies […].	(I13) [...] I had already finished my English course when I got there, and even so my English was really weak when I first arrived. It was especially difficult to hear and understand different accents […] I sometimes had difficulties in understanding when I ordered something then I would ask to repeat slowly.	(I14) [...] I think I went with one (English) and came back with a different one, more colloquial.
P2		(I15) [...] In these situations I met people from all over. People who had just gotten to Australia. Most of them spoke English as a second language. This was really important for me to be more immersed in the language.	
P3	(I16) [...] Here we don't get to practice as often, we are limited to the classroom environment where we have […] two hours per week. […] Some studies say that we practice an average of 20 minutes per class in this communicative approach; and it's not a whole lot, is it? You are going to speak for 40 minutes a week. It's not much [...].	(I17) [...] When I learned something specific regarding pronunciation, say, the 'th' sound, I noticed it was more specific, which is a phoneme we don't have here. [...] As I communicated the whole time, I had the chance to practice the entire time.	(I18) It improved a lot […] including my writing skills. I used to do write several essays through which my grammar would be assessed […].

P4	(I19) When I arrived in Australia, my English was weaker than I wanted it to be [...].	(I20) [...] I think that [...] my English flows a lot better even being out of practice for a while [...].

SOURCE: The author (2017).

The participants who did their SWB program in an ENL country argue that they had hardly had any opportunities to use English in Brazil. TABLE 7 shows that the students' L2 learning prior to SA was often driven by a formal teaching approach that privileged American English patterns over other varieties. I noticed that students only started to develop a different idea about language learning after their experience in the host country. P1 said that understanding different accents of English was quite challenging for her because she was used to fewer varieties.

Despite having reasonable mastery of English grammar, students reported that they only got to understand the socio-pragmatic dimension of the target-language after engaging in intercultural communication abroad, as expressed by P2 in (I14). Likewise, P3 argues that the few classes students usually have at language schools per week are never going to be enough to truly acquire functional competence in English. In other words, the language practice in the classroom environment they had AH could not substitute for the L2 immersion they experienced outside Brazil.

As a matter of fact, all participants agreed that, even though learning English in their home country was crucial for their communication abroad, SA contributed to their language fluency which they believe they would have never achieved without traveling to another country.

TABLE 8 – L2 OVERALL PERFORMANCE BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER SA (EFL)

	ENGLISH BEFORE SA	ENGLISH DURING SA	ENGLISH AFTER SA
P5	(I21) [...] I had a very basic and formal English language education […] never learned to speak nor listen here in Brazil. […] Here I learned how to write.	(I22) [...] In Germany, I had the opportunity to practice my English. When I got there, communicating in German was out of question because I didn't know a word. Speaking English was my way out […].	(I23) [...] It was the international experience that gave me fluency. Learning a language takes time. It was a process [...].

P6	(I24) [...] I had little contact with foreigners before. I have an aunt who lives in the USA whose husband I would talk to sometimes. Apart from that, I had only reading, listening practices, but I hardly ever practiced speaking.	(I25) [...] I still needed a deeper immersion experience, to practice conversation, but I had already good vocabulary, I was familiar with the structure of the language, so I thought it was very important to learn this in Brazil before traveling abroad.	(I26) Practice was what I had there because I had never been abroad before.

SOURCE: The author (2017).

In SA abroad research, contexts where the L2 is not the widely spoken language of the host country community are usually not taken into consideration for language learning. However, the data presented in TABLE 8 show that EFL countries proved to be quite fruitful because of the opportunities they provided international students with to practice English. As P5 did not speak German at the start, English was an essential means of communication for him and worked as a modern day lingua franca (FIRTH, 1996; JENKINS, 2007; SEIDLHOFFER, 2011). It helped bridge communication between him, host country members and international students.

This participant also said that it was common for people to engage in multilingual practices and switch among three different languages: "It was funny because there was a huddle where people would speak Spanish, English and German at the same time and most of the people could understand each another, except for two or three who we noticed were lost" (I27). This is a clear sign that multilingualism is becoming an ever more common element in lingua franca communication through English nowadays.

6.4.2 Language learning beliefs before, during and after the international experience

As I have argued elsewhere, understanding the impacts of SA on participants' L2 identities is more relevant to this study than measuring how much English they learned abroad. According to Miller and Ginsberg (1995), the linguistic ideals held by students about the nature of language and how it should be learned might not only affect their language performance, but condition their L2 learning behavior. These authors call those representations students have folklinguistic theories of language learning "because of their

strong commonalities with scholarly and generally prevailing cultural views of language and the mind" (MILLER; GINSBERG, 1995).

British and American language and culture patterns are still the main and oftentimes sole references Brazilian students have when learning English. Nonetheless, those students come across a surprising multicultural scenario even when they go abroad to study at a university in an Anglophone country. This is a result of student mobility fostered by SA schemes, which are turning universities, particularly in English speaking countries and across Europe, into more internationalized settings. As a result, this brings about more opportunities for cross-cultural interactions. Most participants in this study mentioned that their classes at the university were largely attended by international students coming through different student mobility programs. Asians were said to account for a large number of the student body doing their exchange program especially in Canada and Australia.

Native speaker language standards are often regarded as the one and only references to be guided by in L2 education. That notwithstanding, the data in TABLE 9 describes the feelings of ambivalence the SA experience have instilled in the participants as far as the role of native and non-native speakers in language matters is concerned:

TABLE 9 – STUDENTS' BELIEFS REGARDING NATIVE AND NON-NATIVE LANGUAGE STANDARDS (ESL)

	NATIVE	AMBIVALENT	NON-NATIVE
P3	(I28) [...] When I got there I got in touch with my classmates who had very good English, good accent, I mean, compared to a native speaker. So, it was cool. […]	(I29) [....] I don't think that the person needs to be 100% like a native speaker to be able to communicate, understand and make themselves understood. Although I think it's nicer, because if I'm learning the language of a certain country, I want to master it and be as close as possible.	
P1	(I30) [...] I think that having contact with people who speak English as a native language is also good. The slangs, the way to say certain things you can't learn with other people […].		(I31) [...] Knowing people who knew more about the language was really enriching, not necessarily native speakers, in order to help enhance mine […].

P2	(I32) [...] Because Australians speak a lot of slang, right? They have a language of their own. For instance: flip flops means song. But Australia is a great place to have misunderstanding. Because they have a very unique vocabulary. Americans or English don't know about those when they go there. They *(Aussies)* create words and that's it! For example: "No worries" […] is an expression: it means "never mind, not at all". You say "thanks", they say "no worries" […].	(I33) [...] Of course a person who doesn't speak English as first language will always have something to add because she went through situations, experiences and have other ways of looking at it, of teaching you that. I think that this makes learning even more enriching when you get in touch with people from other places who speak English. This person who speaks English as a second language has an incomparable baggage […] Because she also had to rack her brains to learn English her way […].
P4	(I34) [...] Australians use many expressions, many slangs and when I was there, I wanted to learn and speak those slangs too […] there's a lot of funny expressions and […] I wanted to learn these words to feel better and to understand better what they said.	(I35) [...] I think it's interesting to learn these small things so you can better adapt to the place, especially when you are spending a lot of time there […] You have to learn to become a member of that community, I think that the most important is communication. I noticed that they didn't care too much about it, that you have to learn and speak that way.

SOURCE: The author (2017).

The expressions *language fluency* and *good accent* which came up in the data point to a 'native speaker ideal' subconsciously lying in the learners' minds. This overemphasis is due to, among other reasons, the fear of not being understood. The belief in a notion of correctness being strictly bound with native English language standards was also expressed by P3 as he was interviewed: "when I was a student, I thought that if I said something with a different accent, people wouldn't understand me" (I35). Therefore, this participant shares a common belief subscribed to by most L2 speakers that there is only one correct way to say things in English or in another foreign language and that the native speaker should be our most important reference:

P3
(I36) [...] It is important to have a native speaker reference because you sometimes try to say: *"I think"*, then you say: *"I sink"*. If you don't know the context, you

don't understand, just like what happened with my advisor […]. She says "*I sink*" because, as she is Chinese, she can't pronounce the 'th' sound. As long as you don't change words and say something completely different and the context doesn't help you, the conversation flows.

However, the importance of native speaker language patterns for L2 learning was not acknowledged by the participants without ambivalent feelings. Although all the students contended somehow that they did not feel the need to imitate native speakers to become proficient in English, P1 would rather sound as close as possible to an L1 English speaker because of the link he makes between native speaker linguistic norms and the language and culture of the host country.

P4 showed mixed feelings about the need of identification with the new speech community. Even though he says that Australians in Sidney were more open to diversity and did not demand that foreigners spoke with a local accent, he felt he needed to learn some of the expressions used by those speakers in order to feel more integrated into that society. The AM of L2 acquisition addressed in Chapter 2 has once tried to explain this linguistic behavior. This model advocates that a favorable language learning situation only happens when the psychological/social distance between L2 user and target language group is reduced. The problem with this model though is that it does not take into account the fact that L2 acquisition can be successful even when learners do not fully identify with the host community members.

Conversely, P2 did not bring up or highlight any native speaker reference in her language learning. She said she noticed that even native speakers of English might have communication issues when talking to Australians. Moreover, this participant shared a story about a Brazilian man that she (P2) met during her time abroad who helped her deconstruct another language myth related to L2 acquisition and living abroad:

P2
(I37) I know this guy […] who is Brazilian. He has lived there for about 9 years and you'd expect his English to be perfect, but it is not, because he moved there without knowing anything. And what he knows is very limited because he doesn't attend college, but works hard as a manual worker like many Brazilians there. He does gardening, house repairing, and these sorts of things. He works in things that need strength, so he doesn't need to communicate, he had to work […]. He has a daughter with an Australian. He got married to a woman from there and didn't develop his English the way we would expect him to.

The next table summarizes the thoughts participants shared about their L2 learning references. I selected the parts that, in my view, showed contrasting opinions:

TABLE 10 – STUDENTS' BELIEFS REGARDING NATIVE AND NON-NATIVE LANGUAGE STANDARDS (EFL)

	NATIVE	AMBIVALENT	NON-NATIVE
P5	(I38) I think it is interesting to have a single reference in L2 teaching because […] there's always going to be variation, accents and different ways of pronouncing those phonemes.		
P6			(I39) No, I don't think that this native speaker reference [....] is a real need. Actually, my experience proved the opposite. […] Germans, Dutch spoke very good English, impeccable, it was easier to understand and to have a more dynamic conversation.

SOURCE: The author (2017).

The information presented by TABLE 10 (EFL) shows opposing L2 learning views. On the one hand, P5 believes L2 education should focus on a single reference because too much diversity can confuse the learner. He just does not mention what variety he thinks there should be. P6, on the other hand, interacted with foreigners who spoke English very well and, according to him, were much easier to understand than some native English speakers. P6 thought that some native speakers of English can be quite hard to understand and that he struggled with understanding some of them when he visited the North of England:

> **P6**
> (I40) When I went to the North of England [...] I went to pay for stuff at the supermarket and it took a while for me to understand what the cashier was trying to say to me […] then a friend who lived there said that was asking for "proof of age". She wanted my ID card to prove I was old enough to buy alcoholic drink, and I only understood that after someone else explained it.

Thus, the views P5 and P6 held about both native and non-native speech patterns were expressed according to their experiences both in instructional contexts AH and in SA.

6.4.3 The development of ICC through cross-cultural communication

It goes without saying that the internationalization of universities through SA schemes, coupled with globalization and ICT's, have contributed to bringing people from different ethnic groups closer together. The link between linguistic and intercultural development in SA is not automatic, but is a necessary one. For Jackson (2011), the development of intercultural competence in intergroup communication is as important as learning an L2.

Scholars have not yet come to an agreement on a single definition of ICC. As a reference, I take Byram and Feng's (2006) definition for whom this competence means being able to behave and to 'stabilize the self' while interacting with people from different cultures. In TABLE 11, the selected parts of the interview describe situations that students said to have happened to them during the SWB program. Those indicate that some of the experiences they had through SA have made them more interculturally aware of other people's differences.

TABLE 11 – DEVELOPMENT OF ICC IN SA

P3	**ESL**	(I41) [...] The first week I started to talk to the guy, I felt hopeless because I didn't understand what he said. English is spoken as a second official language in Pakistan. And I said: My goodness! How can someone like him get where he is? He did his course there and his master's there and he is already getting his PHD. How can he do it? […] It was hard for me to understand. But after I got used to his accent, I came to realize that it was me who had a problem with that accent. But when I started to notice, we communicated perfectly. I was just used to another type of accent […] I had a different reference. Then I started to realize that such thing doesn't exist.
P1	**ESL**	(I42) [...] To begin with, I think that I became a completely different person. When we travel abroad and we get in touch with this multiculturality, we learn to be more open.
P2	**ESL**	(I43) I think that there isn't someone so different that you can't have anything in common with, that everybody has a weakness, everybody misses something, feels alone. I once sat down in front of a guy who was crying at the library. But as he was from an Asian background, he cannot cry, a man cannot talk about his weaknesses. I tried to help him, but he wouldn't talk. He would refuse. And sometimes you look to that Asian guy who scored the highest grades and you think he doesn't have a heart. Got it? And there are people crying alone. So I started to see more humanity, that there's something that might affect everyone […].

SOURCE: The author (2017).

The development of an ICC is a challenging process and there are no guarantees that SA participants will come back interculturally competent and more tolerant towards cultural and linguistic diversity. In this study, however, at least half of the participants demonstrated to have developed such competence through the outward mobility experience.

P3 shares a story that happened as he tried to communicate with his laboratory supervisor from Pakistan, a country where English has L2 official status. He said that even though he expected that his supervisor's English sounded more native-like, he eventually noticed that there was nothing wrong with the way he spoke. He reports having difficulties at the onset, but communication between them started to flow as he got more used to that variety of Pakistani English. He came to the conclusion that the problem was his lack of a wider range of non-native English language references. The fact that his supervisor did not seem to convergence towards English native-speaker norms does not mean that he is a failure as an English speaker. In the end, it was all about getting used to varieties spoken by other non-native speakers just like him. As the data indicated earlier in this analysis, it cannot be expected from everyone who spends time abroad or moves into another country to identify with the host community language/cultural habits.

A feeling of open-mindedness fostered by the international sojourn taught students, like P1, how to appreciate different worldviews by relativizing their own simply because "people don't necessarily need to share the same worldview you possess" (I44). Similarly, P2 said her experiences abroad helped her have more empathy for other people. She was surprised to find out that even people from the most different cultural backgrounds have the same needs and feels the same pain as hers.

6.4.4 Brazilians' L2 identities in SA: revisiting the CAT and the AM

The notion of L2 identity is intertwined with the concept of identity itself and is considered both an individual and a social phenomenon. As already referred to in Chapter 5, the approach of language and identity adopted in this study is a poststructuralist one, which conceives of those as complex and multifaceted phenomena. L2 identity is fashioned through the linguistic choices people make when interacting and expressing themselves through a target language and those are usually in accordance with beliefs of ideal(ized) speech patterns speakers identify with.

This analysis is more focused on the sociocultural rather than the psychological aspect of identity which, according to Ricento (2005), is the area of greatest innovation in applied linguistics research. It is important to bear in mind that SA allows greater possibilities of identity identification compared to AH contexts and those have special impact on students' sense of self, group dynamics and linguistic choices.

Although the learning of a foreign language is usually regarded as an opportunity for self-discovery and self-understanding (HAHN, 2003), the native identity and the target culture are overly emphasized in L2 education. As a result, learners look to native speaker behavior and speech norms as the only reference. The figure of the native speaker proved to exert a heavy influence on the participants' L2 identities, but with feelings of ambivalence, as their responses below confirm:

P3
(I45) There were several native speakers who were from foreign ascendancy. I had several Asian, Indian, Pakistani classmates. They spoke perfect English because they were born there in Canada […] no accent and the grammar was flawless.

P2
(I46) And as I already told you, accent is a beautiful thing and a feature. For instance, changing my accent would be the same as doing a nose job. I don't want that. And only in my adulthood I came to understand that it is a part of me that I am proud of […] and I don't want to talk like the recorded voice of the woman on language school CDs. That's what I tried to do. I tried to curl up the tongue so I would sound fluent, but this is not fluency, it's a lie, a mistake […] nobody speaks openly about it, but a person corrects you if you speak with the 'wrong accent'. They say: 'your accent is Brazilian, your pronunciation is wrong'. But it's not! You have to pronounce the phonemes in an understandable way and that's it! […].

In the interview fragments above, P3 and P2 reveal two extreme opposing L2 learning beliefs. P3 continues to associate the notions of perfect language and correct grammar usage to native speaker models subconsciously. P2, in turn, has a more provocative opinion and says that just because she was taught something a certain way, it does not mean she cannot question it and begin to see it in a different light. She adds that she only came to understand later in life, with hindsight, that she does not need to get rid of her L1 speaker identity to voice her ideas in English.

In this regard, P4 said he witnessed negative attitudes towards his accent (L2 identity) coming much more often from Brazilians than from native speakers of English themselves. P2 observed that her Australian boyfriend she met during the program could understand everything she said, even when she thought he was not following the conversation as said in (I48) below:

TABLE 12 – ATTITUDE TOWARDS SWB PARTICIPANTS' L2 IDENTITIES

BRAZILIAN ATITUDES TOWARDS SWB L2 IDENTITES	ENGLISH NATIVE SPEAKERS ATTITUDES TOWARDS BRAZILIAN L2 IDENTITES
P4 (I47) [...] As far as accent is concerned, I felt more prejudice coming from Brazilians themselves talking about my accent or my friends' than from locals, people from there.	**P2** (I48) I had already dated an Australian. You can imagine the kinds of conversation you have with a boyfriend […] those were the things I found out that I could do. And I tried to say something, I thought I was wrong, but he would say: 'I understand you'. And I: 'I told you I say things wrong'. He: I understand everything you say, you speak very well'. And I was like: Hein??? […].
P2 (Q29) Yes and no. Brazilians who live abroad have a habit of wanting to correct your pronunciation by Americanizing it, just liked they learned at language schools […]	**P2** (Q29) [...] English native speakers, on the other hand, are fascinated by the Brazilian/Baiano accent and would suddenly start to ask questions about my culture.

SOURCE: The author (2017).

As shown by the data, P2 calls attention to how much Brazilians who had higher level of English proficiency acted negatively towards other fellow Brazilians who spoke with a more Brazilianized English accent and did not care to imitate native speakers. P1, for instance, was not too worried about what others thought of her accent and was aware of the fact that she speaks with one. She just could not label it as belonging to a fixed category:

> **P1**
> (I49) I was not bothered, I know I have an accent. I can't describe what my accent is like, but it is obvious that there are words that I can't pronounce correctly. I know I have this difficulty […], but I can't say that my accent is like this or like that, that is similar to someone else's.

Although participants showed strong preference towards native varieties of English, I could notice different L2 identity nuances - both native and non-native. Some of the SWB past participants also acknowledged that you can have language practice with non-native speakers and learn something from them too. The references the students had for their L2 identities through beliefs detailed in TABLES 9 and 10 are summarized in TABLE 13 below:

TABLE 13 – STUDENTS' NATIVE/AMBIVALENT/NON-NATIVE

	SA CONTEXT	ENGLISH NATIVE SPEAKERS	AMBIVALENCE	NON-NATIVE ENGLISH SPEAKERS
P1	ESL	███		███
P2	ESL		███	███
P3	EFL	███	███	
P4	ESL	███	███	
P5	EFL	███		
P6	EFL			███

SOURCE: The author (2007).

According to Noels (2013, p. 289), "the relative socio-structural status of groups and intergroup relations have important implications for identity, motivation, and language learning and use". Thus, it is fair to say that the references upon which students reshaped their L2 identity are not fixed, but can be susceptible to changes in the future. The data presented in this study are based on my interpretation of how this reconstruction took place up to the moment of the interview.

The CAT addressed in chapter 2 posits that speakers either converge towards or diverge from native speaker norms or their own L1 speaking patterns as they fashion their *L2 identities* (my emphasis). The SWB experience impacted the participants' language learning beliefs and their L2-self in different ways. I noticed that most of the old beliefs still remained strong and, in fewer cases, some of them were thoroughly deconstructed. There was also room for a third reaction other than just total convergence or divergence wherein a feeling of both dependence and non-dependence on native speaker models emerged. As illustrated by TABLE 13 above, two in six participants showed ambivalent feelings regardless of being anchored in a native speaker reference as well. In addition, 50 % of the participants considered the non-native speaker stance along with another reference in the process of refashioning their L2 identities.

In this regard, Giles' (1986) theory does not seem to capture all these nuances because participants demonstrated convergence towards different speech varieties and this ambivalence needed to be represented somehow. The convergence/divergence binarism put forth by this SLA theory is revisited in CHART 4 below:

CHART 4 – CONVERGENCE/DIVERGENCE CAT TENETS REVISITED
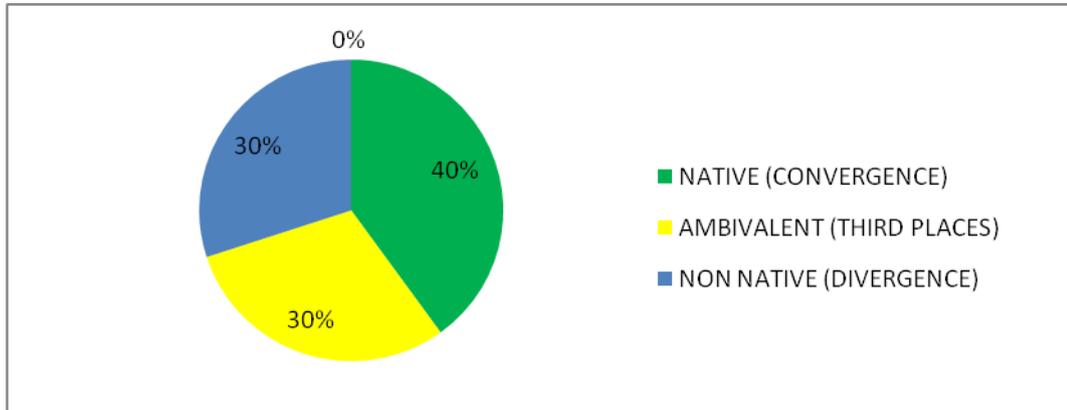
SOURCE: The author (2007).

CHART 4 shows that native speaker models were still the major references held by the participants. Yet it was possible to identify different identity re-articulations that were neither totally converging towards nor diverging from English native speakers they interacted with abroad. This chart synthesizes the information contained in TABLE 13 and reinforces that participants also valued interactions with international speakers. The 30% of ambivalence accounts for the fact that the students' references were not 100% native or non-native throughout. Although the CAT presupposes L2 learners usually make more progress when they draw on the strategy of convergence towards native speaker norms, the students reported that interacting with a wider range of speakers (native and non-native) was extremely positive as well.

Participants were also asked during the interview about how their sense of self has been impacted by the SA experience when they expressed themselves through English:

> **P6**
> (I50) I feel very at home, I don't feel like a foreigner speaking the language of another people, I feel like someone, how can I explain....like someone who is having the opportunity to communicate with other people.
>
> **P3**
> (I51) Ever since I came back from abroad (5 years or so), I only think in English in my daily routine. English is my language today, it doesn't feel like I'm just using it. No. It became part of me, because I speak English to myself […] This helps me use words the whole time so I'm never out of practice.
>
> **P4**
> (152) I have a strong relationship, for sure, especially last year when I was teaching, I came back home thinking just in English. I looked at things, but my thought was in

English, I wanted to speak English…And when I'm watching something in English, that influences my thought.

In language education, non-native speakers are constantly and unfairly compared to L1 speakers of English and oftentimes pressured to acquire native-like or near-native like competence as if this were the ultimate goal in L2 learning. P2 argues that this attitude is based on the belief that we are never going to measure up to native speaker language standards and their expectations: "we think that we're being evaluated the whole time. But we aren't. They don't want to judge or correct what you're saying" (I53).

P6, in his turn, says that he feels at ease when he communicates in a L2 language and believes that English allows him to build communication bridges with other people and that the language does not necessarily belong to anyone in specific. The feeling expressed by this participant is according to his understanding of language use for lingua franca communication, as approached by the works of Jenkins (2000) and Seidlhofer (2001). In sum, the fragments above indicate that the participants developed an empowering relationship with the English language rather than one of subservience.

The AM, previously introduced in Chapter 2, underscores that the learner needs to assimilate host community language and cultural norms in order to acquire an L2 successfully. This assimilation strategy has once been considered relevant in SLA research because it provided language educators with the psycho-sociological metaphor of distance that attempted to explain the L2 acquisition phenomenon by the adult learner. That notwithstanding, Ricento (2005, p. 897) argues that one of the shortcomings of this model is that it "attempts to control for the dynamic, interactive processes that are not easily isolated or measured". This model does not account for the learner's agency nor for the fact that attitudes towards their interlocutors are not static, but changing. Those depend largely on the learning contexts and the different types of interaction they engage in. The acculturation model proves itself inefficient to account for L2 language success of this study's participants since they reported they did not feel they had to imitate standard accents of English or behave like English language native speakers when interacting with them abroad.

As far as pronunciation is concerned, L2 speakers in general are not aware that, even when they try to pronounce isolate words and groups of sentences according to a certain native speaker standard, they are never going to match a native speaker a 100 % of the time in connected speech. Yet, some L2 speakers who have attained higher levels of proficiency buy

into the illusion that they speak with an accent that is either typically American or British, for instance.

Also, some L2 learners also fear rejection for sounding different and not being accepted by native speakers of the target language. However, Kramsch (1999, p.181) has already warned that behaving like somebody else "is no guarantee that one will be more easily accepted by the group who speaks that language, nor that mutual comprehension will emerge". In line with Kramsch (1999), McKay (2003, p. 7) believes that

> an approach to SLA research that is based on the notion that all learners of English need or desire so-called native speaker competence will do little to contribute to a better understanding of the various ways English is used within multilingual contexts for intranational and international purposes.

Overall, most participants of this study contended that they did not feel the pressure or need to incorporate linguistic target-like forms into their speech. They believe they became more aware of the wide variety of accents existing among native and non-native speakers after their sojourn overseas. SA taught that they do not necessarily need to sound native-like to achieve competence in English. Besides, the participants were able to testify through firsthand experience that being competent in a foreign language has little to do with abiding by the host country speakers' social conventions.

The fact that some of the students' L2 identities were still strongly influenced by the native speaker 'standard' is due to an essentialist view of the relationship between language and culture that keeps pervading language learners' imagination. This perspective does not allow us to see "neither the reciprocity of the inter-relations, nor the plurality and the variability of the meanings produced in these relations" (SOUZA; FLEURI, 2003, p. 57-58) [42]. Language and culture are better understood as hybrid, dynamic phenomena, notably in situations of intercultural contact. Ricento (2005, p. 904) adds that L2 learning in *a multicultural scenario overseas* (my emphasis) "reflects a process of transformation rather than one of replacement, in which the ultimate outcome represents an identity that is not exclusively anchored in one culture/language or another".

Undeniably, there is a constant battle raging between the real self and the ideal(ized) self in L2 learning either abroad or at home. The contact with native speakers of a language is usually regarded a key factor in the acquisition of sociolinguistic competence and

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[42] "nem a reciprocidade das inter-relações, nem a pluralidade e a variabilidade dos significados produzidos nessas relações".

sociocultural knowledge. Despite the fact that Stern (1983) has once highlighted that the native speaker language competence is a necessary point of reference in L2, Hahn (2003) suggests, in the quotation at the opening of this chapter, that we go beyond the native/foreign dichotomy. This means that the L2 linguistic identity does not mean the acquisition of a completely new identity to the disadvantage of the one we already possess, but is better understood as an extension of the L1-self.

The unrestrained search for the native-soundingness has led English learners from Asian countries like South Korea to popularize a certain type of surgery in people's tongue in order to try to sound closer to a native speaker of American English (REUTEURS, 2003 cited in SHIN, 2004). Therefore, it is paramount that language educators set up more realistic goals for L2 learners and not expect that they become what they are never going to be. After all, to have the native speaker model as the only reference in language matters is "falling into the trap of subordinating the group of L2 users to the group of native speakers, to which they could never belong by definition" (COOK, 2003, p. 454).

Though the metaphor of social distance and the convergence/divergence binary proposed by the SLA theoretical constructs used in this study attempt to explain sociocultural aspects in L2 acquisition, they do not account for all the variables of identity dynamics in linguistic behavior that language learning abroad entails. These SLA theories do not take into consideration that the contact with native and non-native speakers alike can provide students with quality L2 input as well as a wider range of English identities to choose from.

SA students in this study showed to have (re)shaped their L2 identities by resorting to different speech patterns they identified with and those are not just native or non-native throughout. Accordingly, it is advisable that FLT professionals place more emphasis on the multicompetent learner rather than on the monolingual native speaker (COOK, 1999), and not be based just on just one dialect of English. This is simply because people cannot understand different nuances of a language if they are exposed to little diversity.

I believe that we, as language educators, have a crucial role in making students aware of the diversity of the English speaking community which we are all a part of. Learners should be encouraged to develop a positive image of themselves as L2 users and to understand that the command of two or more languages is much more advantageous than remaining a native speaker of a single one. The attention that native speaker models have been given in language education should be reevaluated and more references should be

included in our language learning practices. As such, the L2 user is better seen as a speaker in their own right and not as a mere shadow of the native speaker.

All in all, SA contexts are not only an important variable in L2 acquisition, but interfered quite significantly with the way the Brazilian SWB past participants in this study refashioned their L2 identities through English in situations of intergroup communication. This is especially the case when international languages like English are used for *lingua franca* communication among speakers from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds in a world that is ever changing and becoming more and more complex.

7 CONCLUSION

It looks like I ended a lengthy and rewarding journey with more questions than final answers. This has been an exciting one throughout and, even though I have never left Brazil, I felt that the narratives I heard took me to places overseas every time I encountered with each of my story tellers. I am under time constraint as I write down these lines, so I hope I do not sound too hasty and disappoint the reader.

First off, I must confess I was quite concerned with the outcome of this study halfway through it because I thought it would be too self-evident. However, I had quite a few surprises down the road along with the spontaneity and openness with which I was received as the participants welcomed me into the comfort of their homes and workplaces. The ones I talked to over the phone did not sound less enthusiastic. As a researcher, I was nearly as impacted by their stories as they were by their own experience since those made me think about my beliefs as a language learner. Participants also emphasized how their sense of self was transformed by their sojourn abroad, as reported by one of them:

> (I54) I feel that my mind opened up to these new experiences [...] I try to see things beyond, some cultural things, some opportunities […] I question myself a lot more now, what I can do nowadays, the reason why some things are the way they are. […] This opportunity to be surrounded by other cultures, other people […] it changed my mind.

Moreover, the findings revealed that individual differences influenced the ways participants approached the new speech community quite significantly as well as how they negotiated meaning through English. It was also possible to verify the impacts such experiences exerted on language learning beliefs the Brazilian participants held prior to their SA sojourn and how interacting with students from different cultural backgrounds affected their L2 identities. SA research teaches us a great deal about variables in L2 acquisition, but only few studies have been dedicated to investigating the after effects of such experience. I believe the data provided by this research help fill in this gap since it probed into the identity dimension of L2 learning upon participants' return. Because this area is still largely centered on high school and college students` experiences, Dufond (2013) suggests that the inclusion of a wider array of different subjects such as children of international students and ex-patriots in this field would provide further insight into SLA during SA.

The focus of SA research, which has long been measuring L2 language skills in outbound mobility contexts, has gradually shifted and started to include themes such as identity-related issues in L2 acquisition and the development of intercultural competence. In order to deal with some of those recent concerns, the research questions guiding this study were the following: (1) What are the impacts of SA experiences on participants' language learning beliefs and L2 identities in English? (2) How can the SWB program help Brazilian students deal more successfully with a wider diversity of English speakers? (3) What do SA past participants' experiences have to inform SLA theories and how do they confront the tenets of the Acculturation Model and the Communication Accommodation Theory? (4) How can the experiences afforded by an SA program help students become interculturally competent?

Traditionally, we have been taught English as if we were only going to travel to ENL countries or interact with speakers to whom English is the first language. Although the native speaker of English is still the main reference in L2 learning, participants showed different reactions to this model during and after their time abroad. They came to the conclusion that it was not necessary to copy such speech patterns to communicate successfully in English. Besides, the experience allowed them to hear a greater diversity of speech patterns across native speakers as well, who might struggle when traveling to a place where a variety of English other than their own is spoken. Most participants contended that their communication through English happened more often with non-native speakers even in ENL countries. This is partly the result of an ever growing number of SA mobility schemes designed to internationalize universities. As a result, it has become more common that those students resort to English for lingua franca communication when speaking to people who do not share the same L1.

The tenets of the SLA theories drawn on for this study were addressed and then revisited in the light of Brazilian SA past experiences. Whereas the AM advocates that the lesser the social-psychological distance between L2 speaker and the host community language and culture the more linguistically competent they become, the CAT states that a good learning situation is when native-like language performance is achieved. Despite the strong presence of the figure of the native speaker in language learning ideals shared by Brazilians, the L2 representations illustrated by TABLE 13 in Chapter 6 demonstrate that they did not feel they had to imitate English L1 speakers anymore to acquire fluency. Instead, they began to object native speaker speech patterns as the only norms to abide by and feelings of

ambivalence affected their L2 identities. In other words, students acknowledged the native speaker as one of their main references in their language learning, but considered other varieties just as important.

The phenomenon of L2 acquisition in SA cannot be approached satisfactorily without considering the intricacies of the relationship between the culture(s) of the participants and the culture(s) of the host country. Student mobility programs or intercultural contact *per se* do not necessarily foster interculturality, but for authors like Jackson (2011), the development of an ICC is considered just as important as learning an L2. In this regard, the SWB former participants interviewed demonstrated to have become more sensitive to cultural differences and more aware of their cultural values and biases.

In the end, we live in an era that is not built around countries, but around individuals and that (FRIEDMAN, 2005) and according to Deardoff (2016, p. xxvi), "study abroad is about the learner, who should be at the center of international education efforts". It is important to stress that I never meant to make generalizations about Brazilian SA experiences in this study, but document some of these and contribute to the scarce bulk of research about South American participation in education abroad.

SA academic programs have more than one side to them and, due to institutional, financial and governmental interests, do not come without a cost. That notwithstanding, the launch of a major-scale academic mobility scheme targeted at Brazilian students allied with a renewed L2 learning strategy is a clear sign that the SA scenario is more diverse and we have become a part of it now like never before. Language programs such as PROFICI (UFBA) and LWB, which were created with the initial purpose to prepare students linguistically for SA, continue to help students to join exchange programs other than the SWB. In addition, learning an L2 is also a way to integrate them into a world which has relied more and more on international communication. Meanwhile, a revived interest in transnational education programs is growing at the fast pace of the emerging opportunities for overseas study.

I believe this thesis makes a relevant contribution to linguistic research in that it allows us to look into the differing nuances of cross-border education in the twenty-first century from a Latin American perspective. However, a thicker picture of the multilayered landscape of the SA phenomenon will only be drawn when researchers begin to include more programs and more students from different nationalities. I hope this study inspires more linguists and educators in Brazil and abroad to investigate experiences of Brazilians and other underrepresented student groups embarking on SA adventures. I end this piece of labor and

love feeling grateful for all the support I had from those with whom I shared such an incredible journey.

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APPENDIX 1 – QUESTIONNAIRE

Universidade Federal da Bahia
Instituto de Letras
Programa de Pós-Graduação em Língua e Cultura
Rua Barão de Jeremoabo, nº147 - CEP: 40170-290 - Campus Universitário Ondina Salvador-BA

QUESTIONNAIRE

Name (Optional) _____Age_____
Major _____Year of the program

Dear participant,

I kindly request your cooperation in completing this questionnaire which is part of a research project I am currently doing on language acquisition, culture, identity and student mobility. This project is entitled "Second language identity and Study Abroad: Brazilian experiences in the Science Without Borders program" and will contribute to English language education in our country. The privacy and anonymity of the respondents will be strictly guaranteed and the data will be used for academic purposes only. I am also committed to inform you about the results of this inquiry. Finally, I underscore once again the importance of your participation in this study, without which it would not be possible. I understand how valuable your time is and I also want to express my gratitude for your willingness to share your experiences and opinions on the topic.

1. Did the *Science without Borders* program allow you to travel abroad for the first time?
[   ] Yes   [   ] No
If so, what country did you do your exchange in? _____
If not, what country(s) had you been to before? _____

2. Do you speak any foreign language(s) other than English?
[   ] Yes   [   ] No
If so, what language(s)? _____

3. What is your strongest English skill? On a scale of 1 to 4, where 4 is the strongest and 1 the weakest. [   ] Listening   [   ] Speaking   [   ] Writing   [   ] Reading

4. Read this statement: "You need to imitate native speakers to achieve fluency in a second language".
[   ] Agree   [   ] Disagree
Explain:_____
_____

5. Read this statement: "I was able to communicate personal values, my own culture and beliefs through the English language during my exchange experience".

[   ] Yes   [   ] No

Explain:_____

_____

6. In your opinion, is it possible to learn how to communicate effectively in a second language without traveling or spending time overseas? [   ] Yes   [   ] No

Explain:_____

_____

7. During your exchange experience, in which contexts do you think helped you improve your language experiences:

(1) In formal/instructional contexts such as classes, group meetings and projects held at the university.

(2) In informal contexts such as outdoor places, bars, parties, etc.

Explain:_____

_____

8. Were your interactions in English more often with native or non-native English speakers?

_____

_____

9. Did you experience any embarrassment or prejudice because of your accent when you interacted with speakers from different parts of the world (both native and non-native English speakers)?

_____

_____

_____

10. What were some of the most challenging experiences you had in the *Science Without Borders* program?

_____

_____

_____

11. If you could describe your exchange experience in one word, what would it be?

_____

12. Please write down any other information about your *Science Without Borders* experience you find relevant sharing.

_____

_____

Thank YOU for your precious cooperation!

APPENDIX 2 – INTERVIEW

01. Tell me a little about yourself, your major, pastimes and your life in general.

02. How would you describe your experience of learning English in a country where it is spoken as a major native language? **ESL**

How would describe your experience of learning English outside Brazil in a context where English is also spoken as a foreign language? **EFL**

03. Could people easily tell where you were from by the way you sounded, looked or acted? Was it important for you? Would that bother you?

04. In your opinion, how were Brazilians seen by the members of the host country?

05. How often did you communicate in English with your fellow Brazilians throughout the program?

06. According to traditional theories of L2 acquisition, the more you accommodate to a host culture and language, the better you develop your language skills. Do you believe you have to sound, write or act like a native speaker to speak English fluently? Do you feel you need to belong to that speech community?

07. How much did learning English in Brazil before traveling help you in your language experiences abroad?

08. Do you think you attained a higher level of language proficiency after the exchange experience or were you at such a level before you traveled? What language aspects (listening, speaking, writing, reading) did you improve most in the host country?

09. Could you please share your English learning experiences at college and outside school?

10. Do you remember any misunderstanding in conversations that you were either involved in or heard from someone else?

11. How does it feel like to you express your ideas and thoughts in a second language? When you speak English do you feel that the language belongs to you somehow when you express yourself through it or that it will never be yours?

13. Did you go through any cultural shock or unusual experience during the *Science Without Borders* program?

14. What did you learn from this exchange experience that you would not have otherwise? In other words, how much has the *Science Without Borders* taught you about different world views, people and cultures?

12. Identity is about belonging, about what you have in common with some people and what differentiates you from others. How do you see yourself before, during and after this experience?

15. If you had an opportunity to go back in time and do this exchange again, what is that you would have done that you had not?

APPENDIX 3 - QUESTIONNAIRE DATA AND INTERVIEW FRAGMENTS IN PORTUGUESE

(Q01) Acredito que para ter fluência você precisa ser capaz de se comunicar sem pausas frequentes, de forma clara, direta, sendo capaz de entender e ser entendido. Além disso, dificilmente um estrangeiro será capaz de falar um segundo idioma da mesma forma que um nativo.

(Q02) Não acho que se deva imitar os falantes nativos; acredito que o mais importante seja tentar compreender a estrutura do idioma e praticar. "Imitar" talvez faça algum sentido em se tratando da pronúncia de alguns fonemas inexistentes na língua de origem. Mas de modo geral, não acho que seja uma boa prática [...].

(Q03) Durante o intercâmbio percebi que estrangeiros se comunicavam muito bem em inglês, apesar da pronúncia possuir muito sotaque do país de origem e alguns erros gramaticais. O contexto da conversa ajudava bastante.

(Q04) Eu não acredito que imitar seja a melhor maneira de aprender, porém é essencial ter contato com falantes nativos na língua.

(Q05) Deve-se tentar ter o sotaque mais indistinguível possível, mas sempre dentro de suas capacidades.

(Q06) se você aprende uma determinada frase imitando outra pessoa, você fica limitado a usar essa frase no contexto específico em que a aprendeu. Por outro lado, se você compreende a estrutura dessa frase, é possível, a partir dela, se expressar em outros contextos.

(Q07) Por se tratar de um país multicultural, no Canadá eu fiz amigos de diversas nacionalidades o que me possibilitou ter conversas nas quais pude imprimir meus pontos de vista e cultura.

(Q08) Como eu disse antes, é muito natural ter sucesso na comunicação de valores, cultura e crenças, mesmo que em outra língua. Basta ter interesse das partes envolvidas, e um empurrão do google translate, se precisar :)

(Q09) Em todas as situações vividas no intercâmbio, foi necessário me expressar em inglês, e não tive problemas quanto a isso.

(Q10) Inicialmente era complicado falar sobre minhas crenças em outro idioma, porém com o tempo, essa capacidade foi sendo aperfeiçoada.

(Q11) Eu acredito ser possível ter fluência em um idioma sem morar em um país que o tenha como primeira língua, entretanto é de suma que se experiencie o contexto vivido pelos nativos.

(Q12) É impossível reproduzir as experiências e desafios de estar cercado de pessoas que só falam inglês. Mesmo em sala de aula, poucas horas por semana não cumprem esse papel.

(Q13) Eu sempre estudei inglês no Brasil e não tive problema algum em relação ao idioma. Entendia e me fazia entender perfeitamente. Mas, claro, a vivência internacional ajudou bastante no aprendizado de expressões e vocabulários que são particulares ao idioma.

(Q14) A imersão no país confere contato muito mais intenso com o idioma, mas a internet hoje é capaz de promover um contato semelhante, considerando suas peculiaridades.

(Q15) Sim, é possível. Existem várias ferramentas que permitem um primeiro contato com a língua; quem tem interesse encontra também maneiras de aprofundar esse aprendizado através de cursos, textos, filmes etc. (especialmente para línguas mais difundidas como inglês). Claro que uma experiência no exterior possibilita uma imersão muito maior e isso é muito interessante para aqueles que têm essa oportunidade.

(Q16) Claro que a universidade me ajudou muito em minha experiência acadêmica e em adquirir um melhor domínio sob o idioma, porém acredito que me comunicar entre amigos e estar imersa em um grupo de falantes da língua inglesa (mesmo que não fossem a língua mãe) foi essencial para meu desenvolvimento.

(Q17) A 2 é mais correta. Porque é essencial estar em um ambiente descontraído pra "soltar a língua" sem medo de errar. O ambiente formal pode ser intimidador. Pode funcionar pra alguns, mas não pra mim.

(Q18) Como não saía muito com amigos para festas, eu vivia muito em família e por isso falava pouco inglês. A prática do inglês era mais em ambientes acadêmicos e foi muito proveitoso porque tive muitas matérias práticas, onde me relacionava com colegas de turma e apresentava seminários.

(Q19) Os ambientes formais me ajudaram a desenvolver vocabulário, gramática e aprender teorias. Porém foi nos ambientes informais onde pude desenvolver uma maior capacidade linguística, pois interagia diretamente com pessoas de diferentes partes do mundo, ouvia diferentes sotaques e expressões e falava de forma mais aberta com as pessoas.

(Q20) O segundo caso. No meu desenvolver na língua inglesa, as amizades de língua exclusivamente inglesa foram fundamentais.

(Q21) Para o inglês, que é um idioma que eu já dominava relativamente bem, a resposta é (2). Ambientes informais permitiram uma troca mais espontânea de experiências, assim como contextos com os quais eu não havia lidado no Brasil, pois aqui eu já havia passado por situações em que precisei me expressar em inglês em ambientes mais formais, acadêmicos ou profissionais. Para o húngaro, idioma do país onde morei e com o qual eu nunca havia tido nenhum contato na vida, acredito que ambos foram muito importantes. Os itens listados em (1), precisamente as aulas de húngaro básico que eu tinha 1x por semana, foram muito importantes para que eu me familiarizasse com a estrutura e vocabulário básicos do idioma. A partir daí, eu pude desenvolver melhor algumas habilidades em ambientes listados em (2).

(Q22) Nativos, apesar de ter alguns amigos intercambistas de variados lugares, os meus amigos mais íntimos dentro e fora da universidade eram nativos de língua inglesa da Austrália e do próprio Canadá.

(Q23) Não nativos. Porque a Austrália é um país feito de imigrantes, então, eu falava com indianos, coreanos, alemães, franceses, ugandenses, etc. Alguns nasceram na Austrália, mas acredito que muitas dessas pessoas consideram a língua falada no país de seus progenitores como sua língua mãe

(Q24) Não-nativos. Toronto é uma cidade extremamente cosmopolita.

(Q25) Diariamente, eu tinha maior interação com não-nativos, porém a maioria com bons níveis de inglês.

(Q26) Não nativos, por se tratar do programa CsF para Alemanha.

(Q27) No dia-a-dia, a maior parte das interações era com falantes nativos da Hungria (ou seja, falantes estrangeiros de inglês). Durante viagens, interagia com pessoas de várias partes do mundo.

(Q28) Não, o Canadá é um país que respeita as diversidades e eu não me recordo de ter passado por nenhum constrangimento, pelo contrário, as pessoas me auxiliavam muito e eu sempre me mostrei muito aberta a aprender e receber criticas.

(Q29) Sim e não. Os brasileiros que moram no exterior têm a mania de querer corrigir sua pronúncia pra algo mais americanizado, como aprenderam nos cursinhos da vida. Já os nativos se encantam pelo sotaque brasileiro / baiano e começam a fazer perguntas sobre minha cultura.

(Q30) Alguns confundiam o som do "p" pelo "b" quando eu falava. Exemplo: quando eu falava "Park" alguns ouviam "Bark". Isso foi mais comum conversando com orientais. No entanto quando falava a mesma palavra com brasileiros, eles não percebiam a confusão.

(Q31) Sim, mas dentro dos padrões da normalidade, por não entendimento de uma informação, ou necessidade de várias repetições.

(Q32) Não. Em geral as pessoas eram muito receptivas com os brasileiros e ficavam animadas quando eu comentava que era do Brasil. A única dificuldade que tive foi quando fui a Newcastle, no extremo norte da Inglaterra, onde existe um sotaque muito forte e eu tinha um pouco de dificuldade para compreender algumas pessoas na primeira vez que falavam. Mas mesmo lá, não aconteceu nada fora do normal. Uma coisa que observei foi que em geral era mais fácil conversar com falantes não-nativos de inglês. Britânicos, australianos e americanos falavam mais rápido e geralmente tinham sotaques mais fortes.

(Q33) Acho que chegar em um novo país sozinho é em si uma experiência bem desafiadora, ter que se virar sozinho, abrir conta em banco, todas essas burocracias. Entretanto, acho que o mais desafiador interagir com outras pessoas na universidade devido à seriedade com que os alunos a encaram.

(Q34) Fazer as provas e ser aprovada na maioria das matérias de uma das 10 melhores universidades da Austrália (Monash University). Eles usam um modelo de avaliação em que a maior parte da nota vem de 2 essays gigantescos. Um, você deve escrever ao longo do curso e o outro, fazer em mais ou menos 2 horas de prova, ao final do semestre.

(Q35) Quando aluguei meu apartamento tive que fazer a inspeção antes de locar e me deparei com diversas palavras e termos técnicos que não aprendi em cursos de inglês. Foi bastante desafiador entender e me expressar corretamente. Outro momento foi quando iniciei o estágio de verão, pois meu supervisor era paquistanês e o sotaque dele era extremamente carregado. As primeiras semanas foram muito difíceis.

(Q36) Inicialmente, realizar uma viagem para um lugar novo e desconhecido sozinho. Ter que manter boas notas para me manter no programa. Ter cuidado e controle de gastos, saber onde procurar moradia, acostumar com uma comida e cultura diferente.

 (Q37) Uma situação desafiadora foi quando tive que apresentar um artigo numa conferência na Romênia. Foi a primeira vez que precisei fazer uma apresentação do tipo em inglês. Fora isso, minhas maiores dificuldades foram em locais que não tinham muito preparo para receber turistas, onde não havia muita sinalização e também onde as pessoas em geral não falavam inglês. Outra situação complicada foi quando um amigo que viajava comigo foi roubado e ficou sem dinheiro, cartão ou documentos. Como ele estava comigo, não houve grandes problemas pois emprestei dinheiro a ele, mas poderiam ter acontecido complicações bem maiores.

(Q38) Aprendizado

(Q39) Amadurecimento

(Q40) Inesquecível

(Q41) Life-changing

(Q42) Liberdade

(Q43) Desenvolvimento

(Q44) Meu intercâmbio foi bem aproveitado, a meu ver, porque eu consegui imergir na cultura canadense e tudo aquilo que ela tinha a me oferecer inclusive a multiculturalidade. Eu não tive medo de enfrentar o desconhecido, mostrar meus erros e defeitos e pedir ajuda, não tive medo de errar e acredito que esse foi uma das melhores coisas que eu poderia ter feito inclusive para me auto-descobrir e despertar gostos e peculiaridades que eu não conhecia, além do obvio, aprimorar o inglês.

(Q45) Uma experiência ímpar, enriquecedora, que me proporcionou grandes amizades, momentos, conhecimento em novas culturas e aprendizado de vida.

(Q46) Falta apoio de um orientador brasileiro em solo estrangeiro para guiar nossas atividades no exterior. Ficamos muito "soltos". Claro que, a depender do foco e compromisso de cada um, há possibilidade de fazer um intercambio produtivo cientificamente (que no fim das contas, é o objetivo do programa, a começar pelo nome). Mas creio que a maioria dos brasileiros que estudaram pelo CSF na Austrália enfrentaram muitos obstáculos ao total proveito do que a universidade oferecia, como por exemplo, falta de referências na Austrália, saudade de casa, sensação de não saber nada, ou de ser menos inteligente que os outros.

(Q47) O investimento na formação dos alunos pelo governo federal foi imenso, mas muito pouco proveitoso após retorno ao Brasil, devido à falta de uma iniciativa de direcionamento de áreas de estudo e faculdades/ empresas interessadas no brasil.

(Q48) Eu viajei já no final da minha graduação, quando já tinha cumprido toda a carga de matérias obrigatórias do meu curso. Assim, em termos acadêmicos, o mais importante no meu intercâmbio foram as matérias optativas e o projeto de iniciação científica em que trabalhei. Fora isso, Budapeste é uma cidade maravilhosa e recomendo a todos que tentem conhecê-la.

(I01) o que ficou claro pra mim que a coisa mais importante é ter interesse, disposição pra aprender mesmo, justamente pelo exemplo de comparação com outros brasileiros que não eram muito interessados e que não aprendiam e falavam que era muito difícil [...] Eu acho que tudo o que for estudar de idiomas o resto da minha vida ficou isso como lição e assim, não tem nada que é impossível, nem muito difícil, tendo disposição é possível.

(I02) [...] A gente tentava, mas nunca conseguia, nunca! Tinha uma amiga minha que tinha um namorado que era grega, a gente deixava ele de lado e começava todo mondo conversar em português. Ele falava: Gente, falem em inglês. E a gente começava e ficava meia hora falando em inglês e voltava para o português [...].

(I03)[...] Eu, por mim falaria inglês o tempo inteiro, porem tinha o pessoal que não conseguia se expressar muito bem, acabava apelando para o português. Só que, como a gente é brasileiro, nossa casa vivia cheia de gente de outros lugares [...].

(I04)[...] Teve brasileiro somente no estágio, porque no laboratório que eu fui [....] eu descobri que tinham brasileiros. [...] eu me comunicava bastante com eles, lá. Mas eram três meninas. Elas não tinham um inglês muito bom, aí elas preferiam comunicar em português. Mas quando chegava outra pessoa, mudava para o inglês na hora [...].

(I05) Já tentei conversar em inglês com brasileiros, [...] mas não teve retorno, era mais cômodo pra gente falar português[...] mas [...] quando tinha estrangeiros a gente buscava falar só inglês mesmo.

(I06) [...] Não acontecia de dois brasileiros falar em inglês, só se houvesse estrangeiro no meio [....].

(I07) Quando tava em um contexto só com brasileiros a gente sempre falava em português. Agora sempre que tinha algum estrangeiro no grupo a gente fala em inglês pra não deixar a pessoa excluída [...].

(I08) 100%, com certeza! Não tem como você ter a mesma fluência, a mesma desenvoltura de falar,sem ter ido ao país, mas você ir pra lá na cara dura, sem saber nada, deixa sua vida muito mais complicada.

(I09) Eu acho que foi essencial, se eu fosse sem nada eu não iria conseguir não. Tanto que mesmo eu aprendendo inglês mais gramatical, foi interessante porque eu sabia construir frases.

(I10) Se eu não tivesse o domínio do inglês [...] se eu tivesse o inglês básico, necessário para entrar, eu estava perdido.

(I11) Eu acho que se eu tivesse ido sem nenhuma proficiência, sem nenhum conhecimento, eu teria passado bem mais dificuldade, eu teria demorado mais pra aprender, principalmente a questão da pronuncia [...] e por eu ter estudado aqui ajudou bastante.

(I12) [...] Eu acho que eu consigo me enrolar, mas não consigo manter uma conversação. Eu achava assim, eu consigo pedir informações, manter um conversação, mas não por muito tempo. A questão do vocabulário, eu acho que faltava um pouco. Por eu também ter feito cursos mais intensivos. Quando eu morava aqui, era a coisa mais americanizada mesmo, por causas das musicas, dos filmes [...].

(I13) [...] eu já era formada em inglês quando eu cheguei lá, mesmo assim, eu acho que cheguei muito "crua", bem 'crua' mesmo. E aí assim principalmente ter que lidar com sotaques, era o que eu mais senti dificuldade [...] Chegar para pedir alguma coisa, e as vezes eu não entendia, pedia pra repetir mais devagar.

(I14) [...] Eu acho que fui com um e voltei com outro, mais coloquial [...].

(I15) [...] E ai nessas situações eu conheci gente de tudo quando é canto. Gente que tinha acabado de chegar na Austrália [...] E a maioria absoluta usa o inglês como segunda língua. Isso foi a primeira e principal coisa pra eu conseguir me colocar nessa realidade, no cotidiano do inglês mesmo.

(I16) [...] Aqui, a gente não tem essa prática, só tem a prática em sala de aula. Onde a gente tem [...] duas horas e meia por semana. [...] Alguns estudos falam que a gente pratica em média 20 minutos por aula nessa abordagem comunicativa; não é muita coisa né? Uma pessoa vai falar 40 minutos por semana. Não é muita coisa [...].

(I17) [...] Quando eu aprendia uma pronúncia diferente, quando, eu percebia que, sei lá, o som do 'th' ele é bem mais específico, um fonema que a gente não tem aqui. [...] Como eu me comunicava o tempo inteiro, eu tinha essa possibilidade de praticar o tempo inteiro.

 (I18) Melhorou muito. [...] até pelo desenvolvimento da parte escrita, melhorou bastante. Lá eu tinha vários trabalhos para entregar onde fazia parte da avaliação, a parte gramatical [...].

(I19) Quando eu cheguei lá na Austrália eu estava com inglês bem mais fraco do que eu pretendia estar [...].

(I20) [...] Acho que [...] mesmo ficando um tempo afastado da língua inglesa quando eu volto, eu não volto tão travado [...].

(I21) Eu tive um ensino de inglês muito formal e básico [...] nunca aprendi a falar, nunca tive fluência em ouvir aqui no Brasil [...] Aqui eu consegui escrever, tinha habilidade de escrita formal.

(I22) [...] Na Alemanha eu tive a oportunidade de treinar o meu inglês. Quando cheguei lá o alemão estava fora de questão, não tinha como conversar em alemão, não sabia nada. Então a escapatória foi falar em inglês com o pessoal [...].

(I23) [...] Foi a experiência internacional que me deu a fluência. Leva tempo pra aprender uma língua. Foi um processo [...].

(I24) [...] eu tinha conversado muito pouco com estrangeiros antes. Minha tia mora nos Estados Unidos então o máximo é quando ela vinha com o marido aqui, eu conversava um pouco com ele. Fora isso minha experiência era toda de leitura mesmo, de áudio, mas de conversação quase não tinha.

(I25) [...] Eu precisava ainda de uma experiência maior de uma imersão mesmo, de uma conversação, mas eu já tinha um vocabulário mais extenso, já conhecia melhor a estrutura do idioma, então eu achei que foi muito importante aprender aqui no Brasil antes de mudar pra lá.

(I26) Aí o que eu tive lá foi mesmo a prática porque eu nunca tinha estado no exterior antes.

(I27) Era engraçado que a gente tinha uma roda com pessoas falando em espanhol, inglês, alemão ao mesmo tempo e a maioria das pessoas se entendiam, uns 2 ou 3 ficava de fora e a gente notava que estava perdido (risos)

(I28) Quando eu cheguei lá, eu entrei em contato com meus colegas de classe, que tinham um inglês [...] uma fluência muito boa, com sotaque muito bom, eu digo comprado ao nativo. Então foi tranquilo [...].

(I29) [....]Não acho que a pessoa necessita ser 100% igual a um nativo, para se comunicar, entender e se fazer entender. Embora eu acho mais legal, porque se eu estou aprendendo uma língua do país de origem eu quero masterizar naquilo, eu quero ser o mais próximo possível.

(I30) [...] eu acho que você ter contato com pessoas que tem o inglês como língua nativa é bom também. As gírias o jeito de falar certas coisas você não aprende com outra pessoa [...].

(I31) [...] Foi muito enriquecedor conhecer pessoas que tinham esse conhecimento maior na língua, não necessariamente nativos, para me ajudarem a aperfeiçoar a minha [...].

(I32) Porque o australiano tem muito *slang*, né?! Tinha uma linguagem própria deles, tipo assim: flip flops é song. Mas a Austrália a é um ótimo lugar para ter mal entendido. Porque tem um vocabulário muito diferente, até o americano o inglês, que vai pra lá, não sabe. Eles inventam as palavras e pronto! Aquele negócio tipo: *No worries* [...] é uma maneira de falar: Esquece, de nada. Você diz obrigado e eles dizem assim: No Worries [...].

(I33) Claro que uma pessoa que não tem o inglês como primeira língua, sempre vai ter alguma coisa a se acrescentar, porque ela passou por situações, por experiências, ela tem outras maneiras de te enxergar aquilo, de te ensinar aquilo. E eu acho que isso torna até mais rico o aprendizado quando você entra em contato com pessoas de outras lugares que falam inglês. Essa pessoa que fala inglês como uma segunda língua tem uma bagagem incomparável [...]. Porque ela também quebrou a cabeça para aprender o inglês da forma dela [...].

(I34) Australiano usa muita expressão, muita gíria e por eu estar lá, eu queria aprender, queria falar essas gírias também [...] tem muita expressão engraçada e [...] eu queria aprender essas palavras pra me sentir melhor e até entender melhor o que eles falavam.

(I35) [...] Essas coisinhas eu acho interessante você aprender pra poder tá se moldando melhor ao local, ainda mais por tá passando muito tempo lá [...] você tem que aprender pra se tornar membro lá daquela comunidade, eu acho que o mais importante realmente é a comunicação. Eu percebi que eles não se apegavam muito com isso não, de que tinha que aprender e falar daquele jeito.

(I35) Quando eu estudava, eu achava que se eu falasse alguma coisa com um sotaque diferente, as pessoas não iriam me entender.

(I36) [...] É importante você ter uma referencia do nativo, porque você acaba... às vezes você fala: " *I think*" aí você fala: "*I sink*" se você não estiver no contexto, você não entende, como era com a minha orientadora [...]. Ela falava "*I sink*", porque ela era chinesa, ela não conseguia falar o 'th'. Então desde que você não troque as palavras e saia uma coisa totalmente diferente e o contexto não te ajude, a comunicação flui tranquilamente.

(I37) Eu conheço, por exemplo, uma cara que [...] é brasileiro. Ele mora lá há uns 9 anos e você espera que o inglês dele seja perfeito, mas não é, porque ele foi sem saber nada. E o que ele sabe é muito limitado porque ele não vive num ambiente acadêmico, mas trabalha pra caralho, trabalho braçal mesmo que o brasileiro faz muito lá. No caso dele, jardinagem, concerto de casas, essas coisas, ele trabalha em coisas que precisam de força. Então ele não tinha necessidade de comunicar, ele tinha que fazer.[...] Ele tem uma filha com uma australiana. Ele casou com uma mulher lá e não desenvolveu o inglês no que a gente imagina que seja necessário para desenvolver.

(I38) Acho que é interessante ter uma única referência de ensino porque [...] sempre vai haver regionalizações, sotaques e maneiras diferentes de expressar esses fonemas.

(I39) Não, eu não acho que essa questão do falante nativo [...] é uma necessidade não. Na verdade, na minha experiência aconteceu justamente o contrário. [...]alemães, holandeses, eles falavam inglês fluente, impecável, era mais fácil pra gente entender e ter uma conversação com um fluxo mais dinâmico.

(I40) Quando eu fui pro norte da Inglaterra [...] e eu fui passar minhas compras no mercado eu fiquei um bom tempo sem entender o que a moça do caixa tava falando comigo [...] aí um amigo meu que morava lá falou que ela tava pedindo *proof of age*. Ela tava querendo a minha identidade pra eu provar que eu tinha idade pra comprar bebida, e isso eu só entendi depois que outra pessoa me explicou.

(I40) When I went to the north of England [...] I went to pay for stuff at the supermarket and it took a while for me to understand what the cashier was trying to say to me [...] then a friend who lived there said that was asking for "proof of age". She wanted my ID card to prove I was old enough to buy alcoholic drink, and I only understood that after someone else explained it.

(I41) [...] A primeira semana que eu comecei a conversar com o cara eu entrei em desespero, porque eu não entendia nada do que ele falava. E inglês é a segunda língua do Paquistão, língua oficial. E eu falei: Meu Deus! Como é que pode uma pessoa dessa, chegar onde ele está?Fez o curso dele lá, fez o mestrado dele aqui, já está no doutorado. Como é que essa pessoa consegue? [...] Era difícil pra eu entender. Só que depois que eu fui me acostumando com o sotaque dele, eu fui percebendo que, na verdade, era eu quem tinha uma barreira com aquele

sotaque. Mas, quando eu comecei a perceber, a gente se comunica perfeitamente. Só que eu estava acostumado com outro tipo de sotaque [...] minha referência era outra. Aí eu comecei a perceber que isso não existe.

(I42) [...] Eu acho que, para início de conversa, eu me tornei uma pessoa totalmente diferente. Quando a gente via para fora e a gente tem contato com essa multiculturalidade a gente aprende a ser mais aberto.

(I43) Eu acho que não tem uma pessoa tão diferente que você não possa encontrar algo em comum. Que todo mundo tem uma fragilidade, todo mundo sente falta de alguém, se sente sozinho. Eu já sentei na biblioteca, na frente de um menino que estava chorando. Só que ele é da cultura asiática, não pode chorar, o homem não pode falar fraquezas nem nada. Eu tentava ajudar ele, mas ele não falava. Ele se recusava. E as vezes você olha para aquele cara asiático que tem as notonas e você acha que ele é sem coração. Entendeu? E tem pessoas chorando sozinhas. Então eu enxergava mais humanidade, uma coisa que atinge todo mundo [...].

(I44) A gente que as pessoas não têm que obrigatoriamente ter a mesma visão que você tem.

(I45) Tinha vários nativos que tinham ascendência estrangeira. Eu tinha vários colegas, orientais indianos da parte do Paquistão. E eles tinham um inglês perfeito pelo fato de ter nascido lá [...] sem sotaque e a gramática muito certinha.

(I46) E claro como eu te falei, sotaque pra mim, é uma coisa linda, é uma característica. Tipo assim, mudar meu sotaque seria como se fizesse plástica no meu nariz. Eu não quero fazer isso. E depois de adulta eu entendi que é uma parte minha, que eu tenho orgulho [...] e eu não quero ficar falando igual a mulherzinha dos CDs da escola de inglês. Que é o que eu tentava fazer. Ficava lá enrolando a porcaria da língua para parecer fluente, mas isso não é fluência, isso é mentira, isso não é fluência, isso é um engano [...] ninguém nunca fala abertamente sobre isso, mas uma pessoa te corrige se você falar com o 'sotaque errado'. Falam: 'seu sotaque é brasileiro, está errado a pronúncia'. Não está errado não! Você tem que pronunciar os fonemas de forma entendível e acabou! [...]

(I47) [...] Em relação ao sotaque, eu senti mais preconceito dos próprios brasileiros falando do meu sotaque ou dos meus amigos assim [...] do que de locais, pessoas de lá.

(I48) [...] Eu namorei um australiano. Imagine as conversas que você tem com um namorado [...] eram coisas que eu descobri que eu conseguia fazer. E ai eu tentava falar uma coisa, achava que estava erra, ele: Estou estendendo você. E eu: 'Eu falei que eu falava errado'. Ele: 'Eu estou entendendo tudo o que você está falando, você fala muito bem'. E eu ficava tipo: Hã???[...].

(I49) Eu não me incomodava não, eu sei que tenho sotaque. Eu não consigo identificar como é o meu sotaque, mas é obvio que tem palavras que eu não consigo pronunciar corretamente, sei que tenho essa dificuldade [...], mas eu não sei dizer meu sotaque é assim ou assado, parece com o de tal pessoa.

(I50) Eu me sinto bem confortável, eu não me sinto como um estrangeiro falando uma língua de outro povo, eu me sinto como alguém, como explicar... como alguém que tá tendo a oportunidade de me comunicar com outras pessoas.

(I51) E o meu dia-a-dia a minha rotina, desde cinco anos ou mais, eu só penso em inglês. Hoje inglês é minha língua, eu não sinto mais tipo: estou usando o inglês. Não. Para mim já faz parte, porque eu falo comigo mesmo em inglês [...]. Isso me ajuda a ficar sempre utilizando as palavras o tempo inteiro, eu nunca perco a prática.

(I52) Minha relação é grande, com certeza, principalmente ano passado quando eu tava dando aula eu sempre voltava pra casa só pensando em inglês. Eu olhava pras coisas, mas meu pensamento ficava em inglês, queria falar em inglês... E quando eu tô assistindo alguma coisa em inglês eu fico com esse pensamento mais em inglês.

(I53) A gente acha que está sendo avaliado todo tempo, e a gente não está. Eles não querem julgar, corrigir o que você está falando.

(I54) Eu sinto assim, que minha cabeça ela abriu pra essas novas experiências [...] eu tento enxergar algumas coisas além, algumas coisas culturais, algumas oportunidades [...] eu me questiono muito mais o que eu faço, o que eu posso fazer hoje em dia, o porque algumas coisas são assim. [....] Essa oportunidade de conviver com outras culturas, outras pessoas, [...] mudou esse pensamento em mim.