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*Telma Gimenez, Michele Salles El Kadri,
Luciana Cabrini Simões Calvo (Eds.)*

ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA IN TEACHER EDUCATION

A BRAZILIAN PERSPECTIVE

DEVELOPMENTS IN ENGLISH
AS A LINGUA FRANCA

EBSCO Publishing : eBook Collection (EBSCOhost) - printed on 2/9/2023 11:11 PM

via
AN: 3335141 ; Telma Gimenez, Michele Salles El Kadri, Luciana Cabrini Simes

Calvo / English As a Lingua Franca in Teacher Education : A Brazilian

Perspective

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English as a Lingua Franca in Teacher Education

Developments in English as a Lingua Franca



Editors

Jennifer Jenkins

Will Baker

Volume 10

English as a Lingua Franca in Teacher Education

A Brazilian Perspective

Edited by
Telma Gimenez
Michele Salles El Kadri
Luciana Cabrini Simões Calvo

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ISBN: 978-1-5015-1177-6
e-ISBN (PDF): 978-1-5015-0385-6
e-ISBN (EPUB): 978-1-5015-0379-5
ISSN 2192-8177

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A CIP catalog record for this book has been applied for at the Library of Congress.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2018 Walter de Gruyter, Inc., Berlin/Boston
Typesetting: Compuscript Ltd., Shannon, Ireland
Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck
♻️ Printed on acid-free paper
Printed in Germany

www.degruyter.com

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Telma Gimenez, Michele Salles El Kadri and
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Introduction

It is widely recognized that the discussion on English as a lingua franca (ELF) in a global context has evolved and a substantial body of literature has been already produced, especially in the Anglophone world, although not restricted to it. One of the fundamental consequences of decentering the normative orientations that have guided English language teaching around the globe is how to introduce these reconfigurations in teacher education programs. The challenges in doing so are related to the contrast between the persistence of models based on native speaker's use of the language and the desire for change (Seidlhofer 2004).

An ELF perspective in teacher education would join other proposals promoted within Applied Linguistics that draw on critical frameworks such as critical pedagogy and critical literacy, focusing on issues of language and power. The need to re-think teacher education programs in light of the discoveries in ELF research and the need to adopt a perspective that reflects the multicultural and multilingual realities of this language are paramount (Calvo, El Kadri and El Kadri 2016). Teacher educators more directly involved in implementing such approaches (Sifakis 2014) focus on reflective models that invite teachers to consider their own teaching conditions, i.e. their local contexts and their students' needs in order to make curriculum and pedagogical decisions. Not surprisingly, a great deal of the literature concentrates on teachers and learners' beliefs, attitudes and practices.

Some time has passed since Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey (2011) pointed out that Latin America was relatively absent from the international discussions on English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). In relation to Brazil, a substantial body of literature has been already produced (e.g. Calvo and El Kadri 2011; Bordini and Gimenez 2014); and much of this literature argues that ELF requires alternative pedagogies (Jordão 2014; Gimenez 2006; El Kadri 2010; Gimenez, Calvo and El Kadri 2011; 2015; Siqueira 2008). These publications, however, were written mainly in Portuguese and with a focus on ELF implications rather than reports of language teaching experiences that address that perspective.

Nonetheless, as an emerging economy, Brazil is a country in the so-called "Expanding Circle" that can shed light on the challenges faced by language

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DOI 10.1515/9781501503856-001

practitioners when they take a lingua franca perspective into their teaching and in the education of teachers. For this reason, we invited colleagues who are explicitly addressing ELF in their work to contribute with their reflections.

We hope this collection will add to the literature on ELF from a Latin American angle: first for bringing a Brazilian outlook on ELF; and secondly, by illustrating how ELF has been dealt within teacher education programs. Our intention is to engage in dialogue with colleagues in other regions about similarities and differences in approaching contextualized language teaching and teacher education. Despite our country's great cultural and socioeconomic diversity, English language teaching has been predominantly guided by monocultural models such as those promoted in the teaching of English as a Foreign Language. This book wants to highlight the need to reassess the assumption that there is only one (or two) English(es).

Several other reasons justify our intention to edit this book. In Brazil, the impact of the pressure for internationalization of higher education and the economic directives have been felt in schools, where practitioners often struggle with the implications of such forces for the teaching of English. Several discussions around the English language and globalization have been carried out in our context and found expression in books and journals. However, as practitioners, we often struggle with putting these ideas into practice in our teacher education programs. Understandably, most of these discussions are done in general terms, taking issue with terminological distinctions that recognize the global spread of English (and their underlying epistemological positions). These discussions, however, are limited to presenting pedagogical implications, with few studies documenting the practical application of such discussions in classrooms. It means that ELF as linguistic phenomenon is acknowledged, but with little reference to ELF as an academic discipline that informs pedagogy.

Moreover, we are at the early stages of acting according to the educational implications of a global language. As many other Latin American countries, we feel it is high time we had a collection of papers produced by Brazilian academics that reflect our views on this emerging area in Applied Linguistics that has so many intersections with critical literacy studies, the sociolinguistics of globalization and language education in contemporary societies.

Our own professional trajectories can also be seen as motivations to organize this book. As teacher educators, we have investigated and tried to rethink what it means to teach this language nowadays and how to discuss it with prospective teachers. In this scenario – with the status of ELF and with new varieties of English emerging throughout the world – our teacher education programs are faced with the challenge of deconstructing historical understandings that associate English solely with native speakers. We believe teacher educators are crucial agents in

order to transform beliefs and attitudes. Our previous research displayed that teacher educators recognize that ELF is an important perspective to be introduced into teacher education programs (El Kadri, Calvo and Gimenez 2014). However, it also portrays that the initiatives so far have been limited to a few teachers, mainly in the pedagogical component of the program, which means that, in general, traditional language assumptions are not challenged by language-related courses (only isolated attempts and initiatives). In addition, teacher educators generally report difficulties in dealing with ELF (Siqueira 2008; El Kadri 2010; Gimenez, Calvo and El Kadri 2011).

This book brings together Brazilian academics who are concerned with such perspective and who have developed approaches to the teaching of English as a global lingua franca. They come from different parts of Brazil (Bahia and Sergipe, in the Northeast; Espírito Santo and São Paulo, in the Southeast; and Paraná and Santa Catarina, in the South) from several state and federal universities.

The volume consists of three parts: i) a conceptual one aiming at critically discussing the concept of a global language and its implications for teaching and teacher education in our context; ii) a section in which beliefs about ELF are explored with teachers and learners, and iii) a practical section with examples of how English as a Lingua Franca has been dealt in language courses and teacher education programs.

Part I, entitled “Conceptualising English as a global lingua franca in teacher education”, includes three chapters. In the chapter entitled “Global Englishes, local histories”, Vanderlei J. Zacchi challenges commonsensical views that both globalization and the English language are contemporary phenomena that simply meet the demands of our times and that this status happened naturally, with no account to historical, political and cultural events, by relying on data from two research projects in Brazil. The author discusses possible implications for English language teacher education in preparing teachers to critically deal with English in the era of globalization and the appropriation of English locally so that the language is contextualized. The results of his analysis show that teachers see the status of English worldwide has not changed significantly in the past few years, which makes the case for questioning language teacher education in Brazil as regards English as a Lingua Franca. Based on that, the author endorses a situation where teachers should not rely on stability, but rather be prepared for the uncertain and the unexpected, taking into account a contextualized teaching, in connection with a language that is appropriated by teachers and students locally.

In “Globalization and the global spread of English: Concepts and implications for teacher education”, Eduardo Diniz Figueiredo discusses the link between globalization and language studies, arguing that studies of the global spread of English (GSE) may benefit from different theoretical perspectives that

explain what globalization is and how it happens. In this chapter, he reviews theories of globalization surveyed by O'Byrne and Hensby (2011) and explains how they connect with models of GSE in Applied Linguistics. By doing so, he displays how such connection brings a strong theoretical basis for the understanding of the concept of English in Brazil (and elsewhere), and how it relates to the ways in which such context has experienced globalization. This discussion is relevant for teacher education programs, as teachers need to be made aware of the sociocultural, economical and historical issues involved in how they approach the notion of English and its global role as a lingua franca. Also, it may help them advance their comprehension of culture and intercultural awareness, and how to deal with local, global and cultural phenomena in more informed ways as they better position themselves regarding the politics of English (in terms of identity, power, otherness, etc.) in today's age, and how it can impact their lessons.

Based on a posthuman (PH) perspective for the conceptualizations of aspects of language teacher education, in the last chapter of Part I, Clarissa Menezes Jordão and Anderson Nalevaiko Marques critically (re)examine different ways such findings may affect ELT teacher education in Brazil. They focus especially on how language, discourse, norm and pedagogic work, including materials design, can be practiced in our context. In “English as a Lingua Franca and critical literacy in teacher education: Shaking off some ‘good old’ habits”, the authors discuss how an ELF perspective may de-stabilize old habits in the ELT classroom, shifting practice from a normative-driven approach to language, learning and teaching, to the localized agency of participants upon meaning-making in discourse. Aligning ELF with contemporary views on critical literacy (CL) and posthumanism, they argue that ELF moves the focus from the learning-teaching of preconceived norms to the creation of spaces for negotiation, thus viewing contradiction and conflict as productive and meaningful concepts, considering them as positive in ELT settings. As a result, the authors argue that ELF, posthumanism and critical literacy may produce different perspectives on teacher-student interactions, allowing an approach to teaching-learning that is different from mainstream English as a Foreign Language (EFL) epistemology, promoting agency and localized practices since they constitute ways of conceiving meaning-making as the focus of attention in ELT discursive practices.

In Part II, “Teachers and learners’ beliefs about ELF”, there are four chapters. In “English as a global language in Brazil: A local contribution”, Kyria Rebeca Finardi discusses the global nature of English as an international language and global lingua franca through the lens of English students’ and teachers’ beliefs about the role of English and English language teaching in a local setting. The chapter reviews the role of English in Brazilian educational, linguistic and internationalization policies, teachers’ beliefs, and its relevance for research and teacher education programs. The author reanalyzes data reported in a study carried

out with 65 English students and teachers in the State of Espírito Santo whose population is made up of a large percentage of immigrants, as the state with the largest number of Italian immigrants in Brazil, proportionally to its population of almost 4 million people. The aim of the study was to investigate English students' and teachers' beliefs regarding the role of English and English teaching in Brazil and in the context of the State of Espírito Santo where a bill to include Pomeranian (a dialect spoken by Italian descendants in the State of Espírito Santo) as a foreign language in the curricula of public schools was proposed. She ends her chapter discussing the data in relation to the theory reviewed and concludes with some implications for the local, national and global scenarios.

Sávio Siqueira's chapter "English as a Lingua Franca and teacher education: Critical educators for an intercultural world" discusses the political, ideological and pedagogical consequences of English as a Lingua Franca and proposes changes, adaptations and re-orientations towards teacher education in the context he investigates. For that, he draws on English pre-service teachers' responses to a small survey addressing some ELF-related issues, carried out at Bahia Federal University in Salvador, Bahia. For data analysis, Siqueira chose three questions that address i) the status of English as a global lingua franca and how it affects the nature of the language itself, ii) the implications of such condition to ELT practice, and iii) what language educators think are preparing their students for when these latter start learning English. Along with those questions, he discusses which pedagogy to adopt in the view of English as a language of international integration and communication and issues related to intercultural encounters. In his findings, the author reveals that although there are traces of ELF awareness in the analyzed responses, there are still many things to be done to reach out the practice of teachers worldwide. So, he argues for a new attitude of English educators who will work in the process of educating intercultural teachers to safely and confidently operate in an intercultural world.

The next chapter "Teachers' and student-teachers' perceptions of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) and the teaching of culture in the language classroom", by Gustavo Berredo and Gloria Gil, brings insights into the perceptions of teachers and student teachers from the Postgraduate Program in English/Linguistic and Literary Studies of the Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Brazil, about the teaching of culture. Specifically, the authors analyze if the participants had a more traditional view of teaching culture associated with native speakers models or if their views considered an intercultural perspective according to ELF tenets. The research adopted a qualitative method of inquiry. Data was gathered through structured interviews with pre-established questions and qualitative content analysis was adopted as method of data analysis. The results show two types of views regarding culture in English teaching: one associated to a more

traditional perspective (having a ‘neutral’ integrative discourse) and other related to an intercultural approach (with an empowering discourse).

In the chapter “English as a Lingua Franca: Representations and practices of English learners and teachers in Brazil”, Jeová Araújo Rosa Filho, Mayara Volpato and Gloria Gil discuss the representations of teachers and learners from a formal educational context in relation to ELF. Specifically, the study analyzes if the research participants see ELF as a linguistic variety or not and how these representations come up in the pedagogical practice, in the teaching materials adopted in class and in the ways English is used outside the classroom. The investigation took place in the Extracurricular Course of Additional Languages offered by Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina and 104 students of different proficiency levels and 8 teachers answered questionnaires that were used to collect the data of the research. The results reveal that although most students use English as a lingua franca outside the classroom and teachers bring additional materials in class to raise awareness of the international status of English, students’ representations are still strongly associated with the notion of English as a foreign language that belongs to the US and England.

Part III, “ELF in teacher education programs”, comprises three chapters. In “The ELF Teacher Education: Contributions from postmodern studies”, Ana Paula Martinez Duboc presents two purposes for the chapter. The first one is to discuss some of the positive aspects of the ELF notion according to the contributions of postmodern studies, thus bringing together some intersections between ELF pedagogy and three conceptualizations from postmodern scholars. These conceptualizations are: the weak thinking (Vattimo 1987; 2004), the imperfect education (Todd 2009) and also the notion of interruption (Biesta 2006; 2010) as some of the new constitutive elements of a so-called postmodern English curriculum (Duboc 2015). The second purpose is to discuss some vignettes of her experiences as a teacher in an English teacher education context in order to exemplify how a supposedly postmodern English curriculum relies on the teacher educator’s attitude *between the cracks* (Duboc 2013; 2015) in a way that student teachers can critically question the mainstream. Duboc concludes her chapter by pointing out the need for constant self-critique of notions of “communication” and “native speaker” in a way to avoid generalization or romanticization. Additionally, considering the challenge to move towards a “postmodern curriculum” based on ELF principles, the author advocates small-scale, localized actions in her teacher education context in which teacher educators and student teachers can problematize and deconstruct knowledges and practices.

The next chapter, by Lucielen Porfirio, entitled “The concept of ELF and English language teachers’ education: What to expect from this relationship?” discusses how raising awareness about ELF among pre-service teachers can

contribute to their education and practice. Specifically, the author brings data from the initial phase of an extension project at the State University of Bahia, whose aim was to introduce ELF in language teacher education by raising questions and reflections on ELF and making connections to their own reality and teaching/learning practices. The analysis is based on six student diaries with the answers to the questions made during the meetings as well as oral contributions of the participants about the texts described in the diaries (audio recorded). Results show that, although the project is in its initial phase, promoting discussions on the ELF notion and the deconstruction of the native speaker model can show the possibility of challenging naturalized concepts and (re)discuss practices that can be broken little by little when submitted to observation and discussion.

The last chapter of the book “Awareness raising about English as a *Lingua Franca* in two Brazilian teacher education programs”, by Telma Gimenez, Michele Salles El Kadri and Luciana Cabrini Simões Calvo, describes two initiatives at pre-service teacher education level. They address the need to consider alternative approaches to “traditional” practices which ignore the changing nature of English as a global language. One of the initiatives, a 30-hour-elective course “English as a global *lingua franca*: epistemological and pedagogical issues”, aimed at raising awareness about issues around ELF and their pedagogical consequences. The other initiative was carried out during a curricular course and the topic “ELF” was implemented in 16 lessons, during 8 days (12 hours). The discussion and activities developed were based on the material “English in the contemporary world” (El Kadri and Calvo 2015) whose aim was to discuss beliefs and attitudes towards the English language, inviting reflections on the main implications of considering ELF. The experiences discussed in this chapter show the desire to incorporate ELF in pre-service teacher education following a reflective model by adding to the overall curriculum some course options that can lead the prospective teachers to consider alternative views on the English language and its use in *lingua franca* interactions. The examples illustrated here focused on reflection about ELF through different teaching resources (reading texts, watching videos, answering questions, doing activities) and on the students’ understandings about ELF when designing lesson plans as part of their assessment.

In general, either through regular or extramural courses, these texts reveal the dilemmas faced by those engaged in conceptualisations about the changing nature of language and their enactment in teacher education programs. Their conclusions are testimonies of the conflicting forces pushing English language teachers to, on the one hand, acknowledge the students’ backgrounds, experiences and beliefs, and on the other, to de-stabilize such understandings. It seems that we are making small dents in the edifice solidly built for many decades and that gets reinforcement by a culture of standardization and normativity.

In this sense, these texts provide a glimpse of the challenges faced by English language teacher educators interested in seeing ELF from a critical perspective. What is unique about the Brazilian perspective is the attempt to establish a dialogue with pedagogical approaches stemming from postcolonial studies and to go beyond predominant understandings of language and culture. Similar to other scholars working within an educational framework, ELF in Brazil represents an opportunity to question the status quo and thus, hopefully, lead to transformations in the ways we see English and its education in schools.

We hope that others trying to de-stabilize meanings about English language teaching will feel they are not alone. The changing times we live in require moving beyond what is known, and to embrace ELF as an opportunity to re-configure objectives, purposes, materials, evaluation and other pedagogical decisions within a new framework. Whereas we cannot be sure of the results, it may be worthwhile to give it a try.

Londrina and Maringá, Autumn 2017.

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Part I: Conceptualizing English as a global lingua franca in teacher education

Vanderlei J. Zacchi

Global Englishes, local histories

1 Introduction

It has been common sense, even among English language teachers, that English is the language of globalization. This notion usually comes together with the idea that this status happened naturally, with no account to historical, political and cultural events. As a result, both globalization and the English language are seen as contemporary phenomena that simply meet the demands of our times. A third element comes into play here as well: new information and communication technologies. Just like English, they are usually seen as intrinsic to globalization.

This commonsensical view was detected in at least two research projects, both carried out by myself. The first one involved teachers from Belo Horizonte, who were interviewed in 2002, and the second one took place in Sergipe in 2011. It seems that the way that teachers see the status of English worldwide has not changed significantly in the past few years, which makes the case for questioning language teacher education in Brazil as regards English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). The scenario, in fact, points to a situation where teachers should not rely on stability, but rather be prepared for the uncertain and the unexpected (Zacchi 2015b).

ELF can be seen as a global project (Mignolo 2003) and is connected with transcultural flows of communication. It can no longer be said that English is defined by a few and selected varieties. Instead, there are distinct varieties, referred to by Pennycook (2007) as global Englishes, which are appropriated by local subjects and adapted to specific contexts. Therefore, when we think of English as the language of globalization, we also have to take into account a contextualized teaching, in connection with a language that is appropriated by teachers and students locally. In that case, we might have the following questions in mind: what English? what globalization?

This chapter will draw on a few concepts related to the global spread of ELF, especially: global Englishes (Pennycook 2007), English as a hegemonic language (Zacchi 2003, 2006), cosmopolitanism and transnational literacies (Brydon 2011; Rizvi 2009; Zacchi 2014, 2015a). The aim is to discuss possible implications for a) English language teacher education in preparing teachers to critically deal with English in the era of globalization; and b) the appropriation of English locally so

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DOI 10.1515/9781501503856-002

as to be used in context. The data presented in the following discussion come from diverse research contexts and are only meant to illustrate and exemplify the points in question.

2 English and globalization

Both globalization and the role played by English in the world today have been dealt with at length in an ongoing discussion around one main aspect: the cultural (and linguistic) imperialism thesis, i.e. the idea that the world is dominated by powerful media corporations, especially from the US, which disseminate Western cultural values (the English language included) and threaten local cultures.

The idea of linguistic imperialism was advanced by Phillipson (1992) to describe the threat posed to local cultures and languages (some of them to the point of extinction) due to the dominance of a few European languages. So English linguistic imperialism takes place when “the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages” (1992: 47). He also seeks to describe to what extent the spread of English around the world was natural or motivated. Phillipson gives a number of examples to show that, not only English, but also English language teaching (ELT), have been promoted both by the US and Great Britain to feature prominently as a global lingua franca.

The first movement towards that dissemination had its root in British colonialism, when the British, through colonial power, imposed English as the medium of education in several countries. English would feature then as a superior language, with “civilizing properties” (Phillipson 1992: 128). So the colonized people “internalized the language and many of the attitudes of their masters” (Phillipson 1992: 128), setting the foundation for English linguistic imperialism. The spread of English continued with the rise of the US as a global power, especially after World War II. The promotion of English worldwide under US dominance remained a politically as well as economically motivated initiative.

Phillipson argues that English as a strategic resource has been explored by both Britain and the US as a way to advance their interests. In this process, the English language’s intrinsic and extrinsic qualities (what it *is* and what it *has*) are reinforced. For example, English is “civilizing” and “well adapted for change and development” (intrinsic – Phillipson 1992: 276). It is also “the language of technology” (extrinsic – Phillipson 1992: 279). He concludes that “The labels currently used in political and academic discourse to describe English are almost invariably positive ascriptions. By implication other languages lack these properties or

are inferior” (Phillipson 1992: 281). Such an imbalance, according to Phillipson, is perpetuated by present-day English language imperialism.

Kumaravadivelu (2008: 186–187) gives a good example of a similar pattern concerning cultural differences. It comes from a book called *Topics in language and culture for teachers*, published in 2004 in the US. He focuses on one exercise about different cultures, which was totally built on stereotypes and dichotomies, such as individualism/community, tradition/innovation, religious/secular. The exercise asks students to separate these aspects into two columns: one for US culture and one for “other cultures”. Kumaravadivelu concludes that it is not unreasonable to assume that students will link words such as individualism, innovation and secular (seen as positive ascriptions) with US culture and community, tradition and religious (seen as negative ascriptions) with “other cultures”.

But Pennycook tends to relativize Phillipson’s portrayal of the global spread of English as “indelibly linked to Americanization and homogenization of world culture and to media imperialism” (Pennycook 2007: 7). Instead, he makes the case for the existence of “global Englishes”, in the plural, which produce new forms of global identification. Therefore, he suggests,

we need to move beyond arguments about homogeneity or heterogeneity, or imperialism and nation states, and instead focus on translocal and transcultural flows. [...] I am interested, then, in locating English within a complex view of globalization here, not one that assumes that we are necessarily witnessing increasing levels of global similarity, but one that tries to understand the effects of cultural flows. (Pennycook 2007: 5–6)

Thus, Pennycook comes to dismiss visions of cultural and linguistic imperialism that imply a homogenization of the world by the English language and US popular culture “as they are thrust on to local populations” (2007: 97). Central to his argument is the notion of “transcultural flows”: cultural forms that not only move but also change and are used “to fashion new identities in diverse contexts” (2007: 6). So, besides cultural movement, there is a process of appropriation, change and refashioning that presupposes active engagement by those who are exposed to these transcultural flows, contrary to Phillipson’s tendency to overlook processes of resistance and agency towards imperialism. In the same vein, Pennycook believes that, if globalization brings new forms of power and control, on the other hand it also engenders processes of resistance, change and appropriation. Therefore, he proposes, we need to see English as a crucial part of globalization and not as a mere reflection of economic relations, so that we can ask “what kinds of desires and mobilizations are at stake when English is invoked?” (Pennycook 2007: 30).

Fairclough (2006: 40) also shows a more flexible approach to globalization. He classifies it into two main categories. One is globalism: discourses

that link globalization to the integration of markets and define it as inevitable, irreversible and beneficial to everyone. Such discourses represent globalization from a reductive neoliberal economic point of view. So, according to him, discourse can be used, among other things, to project a particular point of view about globalization and thus legitimate actions and strategies that are consistent with that point of view. But, on the other hand, he also identifies a type of globalization from below (Fairclough 2006: 121) that makes use of new discourses, practices and identities for the development of local and particular strategies.

Appiah also disputes the idea that globalization produces homogenization. He uses Ghana, his country of origin, as an example when he states that even villagers are connected with a series of places, but homogeneity is crafted locally (Appiah 2006: 102). Radio and TV programs are produced locally and broadcast in a local language. These villagers may engage in discussions about the Football World Cup, but the teams that they know best are from Ghana. Appiah concludes that the idea that cultural imperialism structures the consciousness of those in the periphery is deeply condescending. For him, what really happens is that people respond to Western products in accordance with their cultural context: “people in each place make their own uses even of the most famous global commodities” (Appiah 2006: 113).

In a similar vein, Thomas Friedman suggests that the Indians “take the view that the Moguls come, the Moguls go, the British come, the British go, we take the best and leave the rest – but we still eat our curry, our women still wear saris, and we still live in tightly bound extended family units” (apud Kumaravadivelu 2008: 149). Kumaravadivelu (2008: 147) refers to this process as “glocalization” as a result of the ongoing tension between forces of cultural homogenization and cultural heterogeneity. According to him, despite the free flow of cultural products and information services around the world, they seem to be received and used variedly according to people’s own purposes, echoing Pennycook’s concept of transcultural flows (2007) mentioned above.

According to Scholte (2005: 320), traditional, territorially based social movements, like trade unionism and anti-colonialism, have been losing ground. On the other hand, globalization would be facilitating a growth of new, supraterritorial social movements based on issues such as gender justice, racial equalities and disability. For him, the feeling of rejection to globalization is inflated by fears that global communication is threatening national cultures and that global capital is destroying national jobs, among others. Globalization’s implicit supraterritoriality would be motivating nationalist reactions in groups and persons that resent the end of the feeling of protection represented by territorial boundaries. Consequently, defensive action has been adopted to preserve national identities.

Scholte, among other commentators, has also pointed out that globalization is not necessarily a threat to local and national bonds. In some cases, it has even propelled them. He believes that the losses of cultural diversity are not intrinsic to globalization, but due to the “voracity of western modernity” (2005: 81). In fact, “There can be, and are, many globalizations”,¹ and there can be not only homogenization, but heterogeneization too. Globalization may be a threat to identities through cultural destruction caused by the electronic media, transplanetary tourism and the English language. But on the other hand, he argues, the technologies of globalization can also be used to revitalize “dormant” identities. For all these reasons, he believes that resisting globalization is not a solution, but it is possible to transform it and remodel it for better results.

For Mignolo (2003: 347), globalization has made it possible for languages eliminated during colonial and imperial expansion to reappear. Also, it allows for subaltern communities to create transnational alliances for aligning their struggles. Further still, it can create conditions for a “barbarian theorizing” (2003: 417), spreading from subaltern communities to the whole world. Mignolo admits that Western global designs may cause some type of cultural homogeneity, but he also suggests that fundamentalist resistance based on the local history is equally counterproductive. So he defends the need for a transient culture which rejects the assumption of “benefits for all” (2003: 407) in global designs from both left-wing and right-wing perspectives, since nationalist projects can also be responsible for homogenizing policies and practices.

Finally, Fairclough (2006: 122) believes that globalization allows for local access to universal resources and facilitates coalitions between different places and among groups that operate on a local scale and those that operate on national, regional or global scales, thus promoting new forms of “transnational activism”. One example of such activism comes from Brazil’s Landless Rural Workers’ Movement when it uses English and the new media to forge alliances with similar movements around the world (Zacchi 2010).

3 Global Englishes, global designs

As mentioned before, the spread of English did not take place naturally, but as a result of political, social and economic moves from mainly Great Britain and

¹ According to Santos (2003), neoliberal globalization is the hegemonic form of globalization, but not the only one.

the US. It took advantage of, but also fuelled, what Walter Mignolo (2003) calls “global designs”: colonialism, imperialism, capitalism. So globalization might just be another knot in that thread. However, such spread does not necessarily mean cultural and linguistic homogenization, so that different contexts will probably result in different ways of taking up and using English.

A second aspect worth mentioning is that many people, English teachers included, see English as the natural language of globalization, regardless of the historical, political and cultural contexts that may have shaped such relationship, as if English were “in the right place at the right time” (Crystal 1998: 8). Whereas neither globalization nor the spread of English can be seen as totalizing phenomena, as highlighted above, a neutral, naturalizing approach that does not question the causes of the status of English today is equally problematic.

The “naturalness” of the English-globalization relationship has been taken for granted by some English teachers in Brazil. In 2002, I conducted interviews with public school teachers from Belo Horizonte, the capital of Minas Gerais state. I interviewed them so as to capture the sentiment about English language hegemony in the world among those professionals who are directly involved with this language. I asked one of the teachers her opinion about the relationship between English and globalization (Zacchi 2006: 17). She answered: “Where does this globalization come from? So there’s no other choice but English being the language of globalization. For me, the way I see it, English and globalization, there’s no other language”.

In the following interviews, I incorporated that idea into my question: “In your opinion, is English the natural language of globalization?”. It is fair to assume that my question may have led the teachers to agree with such a possibility. And it just happened so with most of them. One of them was emphatic: “Definitely. It is and will be for many decades to come” (Zacchi 2006: 19). Another teacher, maybe influenced by the question itself, agreed about the naturalness of that relationship. So, in a rather contradictory way, he stated: “It happened *naturally by domination*, for political reasons, which eventually affected linguistic aspects as well” (2006: 18 – emphasis added).

Not all of those teachers agreed, though. One of them replied: “It’s not the natural language [of globalization]. Not at all. It could have been any other. I think it’s a historical issue” (Zacchi 2006: 24). As you can see, this teacher did not regard globalization and the spread of English as natural outcomes of contemporary international relations. Thus he chose to make the link of political and economic aspects with cultural and linguistic issues. Another teacher, although believing that English is the “natural” language of globalization, highlighted the necessity to explore with students the hidden agenda behind that issue (2006: 22).

In a more recent research, the connection between English and globalization came to the fore again. Thirty teachers from several schools in Sergipe answered

a brief questionnaire about ELT.² This time around, the connection was not motivated. When requested to “Write a short paragraph about the importance of the English language today”, fourteen out of twenty-nine teachers (one teacher did not give his opinion) mentioned the word “globalization”. Another eight resorted to words like “universal”, “international” or “worldwide”.

Apart from this, eight teachers also made some connection between English and technology. In a previous research, conducted in 1999, in Mato Grosso state (Zacchi 2000), I had found out that at least 31 out of 40 informants connected English with technological devices such as computers, cell phones and cable TV. 75% of them also agreed that it is necessary to know English in order to be good at computing. Just like English, new technologies of communication have also been found to be a natural part of the globalization process. Moreover, the English-technology connection points out to a tendency to highlight English’s extrinsic qualities (Phillipson 1992), as mentioned above.

Thus, there seems to be a commonsensical view of English nowadays – although that does not seem to be a fairly recent tendency – according to which English is strictly tied to aspects such as globalization, new technologies, international communication, business, science and so on. One of the informants from Sergipe wrote: “English is the language of world communication. With globalization and the technological improvements, English has become indispensable in *all* contexts: education, health, tourism, business, politics, etc.” (emphasis added). Another teacher commented: “It is known that English plays a central role on the world stage due to Globalization”. So this teacher takes it for granted – confirming the above mentioned commonsensical view – that the English language’s role in the world is a given. And such a view is not very different from those expressed in the previous research, conducted in 2002 in Belo Horizonte. Moreover, the connection with new technologies seems to be intensifying as they develop and apparently give additional impetus to globalization.

4 Local Englishes, local histories

So, one question that might be asked at this stage is: what English is that which these people are lining with the rise of globalization? When Phillipson (1992) argues for an English linguistic imperialism nowadays, he places that language

² The research spanned a two-year period (2010–2012) and involved several data collecting tools, such as questionnaires, interviews, class video recordings and field diaries. It was made possible through support provided by CNPq (process #401394/2010–7).

in a central position, capable of spreading to all corners of the world, but, above all, untouched. So English linguistic imperialism presupposes that there is a core language that spreads, dominates and imposes itself upon other languages. The source of that spread is, thus, the US or Great Britain. No account is taken of how people appropriate and make use of this language for own, local, purposes, as suggested by Pennycook (2007). And the view that the English in ELF has been both giving way to multilingualism and moving away from native speakers' norms (Jenkins 2015) is equally ignored.

Saying that English is the “natural” language of globalization seems to stress the same point: there is a core language that is surfing the tide of globalization. More problematic than this is the idea that one has to learn English so as to not be washed away with the tide, as long as it is a British or US variety. So, such idea implies that learners and teachers should focus on competence rather than performance, as I will discuss in more depth below. English, just like globalization, is seen as a grand narrative, or as I mentioned earlier, a global design.

One way to approach this issue is to think of English as a hegemonic language (Zacchi 2003, 2006). Hegemony, as put forward by the Italian thinker Antonio Gramsci (2000), demands negotiation and compromise from dominant groups. As a result, resistance can erupt from inside the structure. This is important when we think of grand narratives like capitalism and globalization. We might tend to think that, to oppose capitalism, we should resort to another grand narrative like socialism. Instead, if we turn to Gramsci's notion of hegemony, we can think of a counter-hegemonic globalization (Santos 2003) or a globalization from below (Fairclough 2006; Zacchi 2003), for example. A globalization that springs from local, smaller contexts to resist hegemonic forces within globalization itself. Counter-hegemony, as it were: the subalternity that incorporates in itself the hegemonic knowledge (Mignolo 2003: 336).

And the same applies to English. First of all, the kind of English that people, especially teachers, link with globalization is not only British and North-American, but also the standard variety of English in both countries, with little regard for other varieties. Language is thus seen as a fixed set of rules, independent of all the different contexts in which it is used. That is why competence is so valued, so that competent users or students should master most of those rules, what would entitle them to be proficient in that language, no matter the context.³

³ This “conventional linguistic sense” of competence is also dismissed by Jenkins (2015, p. 78) in favour of a notion that regards it as intercultural communicative awareness. She also refers to a situation where “multicompetence” is the norm, since in the ELF scenario, not only English, but other languages are at play, making the case for multilingual contexts.

Actually, the great variety of Englishes – hence global Englishes (Pennycook 2007) – in operation nowadays attests to the fact that it is a highly fragmented language.

A second aspect refers to the way that the English language is taken up and appropriated in other parts of the world, especially Brazil. Instead of turning down English for being a hegemonic language, we could think of how it is, or can be, adapted to audiences and circumstances. In this way, English can be seen as the language of resistance as well (Zacchi 2010). This does not mean that users and learners necessarily exert this resistance in a conscious way. When they appropriate the language to suit their own interests, they are also contesting the supposed dominance of hegemonic English.

Here, the opposition between competence and performance is illustrative. The idea of being competent in English presupposes the mastering of certain aspects of the language that will be put into practice afterwards, during performance. These aspects usually refer to general structures and abilities that establish languages as fixed and immutable systems based on a few standard varieties. Performance, on the other hand, is more context sensitive and allows for more flexibility and change. As a result, it places an emphasis on the local production and use of languages, paving the way for the construction of local histories (Mignolo 2003) to stand up against global designs like globalization and English as a hegemonic language. Pennycook (2007) sees a close link between language and identity in the wake of performative action. He argues that performance is not driven by “an underlying competence”, but rather “it is the repeated performances of language and identity that produce the semblance of being” (2007: 63). Therefore, languages are “the sedimented products of repeated acts of identity” (2007: 73). So, through performance, local appropriations of English may lead to identity refashioning and, in its wake, to the redefinition of the English language itself.

Identity construction is very much tied to language teaching and learning. The conflicts between identities and between global and local Englishes can be captured in the excerpts below. They were taken from a class from one of the teachers taking part in the research conducted in Sergipe.⁴ She is teaching in a rural context, so her students are familiar with life in the country (see also Zacchi 2015b). After a warm up exploring the students actual abilities (in Portuguese), she goes on to teach abilities in English based on a textbook (more specifically the verb *can*). When she asks her students about the things that they are able to do, the answers are varied and includes: washing up, singing, hair

⁴ This class took place in early 2012. It was recorded in video and later transcribed. See previous section for more details about the research context.

dying, hairdressing and horse riding, for girls; playing football, horse riding, taking care of cattle, harvesting, for boys. She goes on:

Teacher: Bom, quais dessas habilidades aqui podemos aprender simplesmente porque observamos, porque convivemos com pessoas que fazem essas atividades? [...]

Students: Cantar, lavar o cabelo, mexer no computador.

Teacher: Tipo cuidar do gado, pode ser?

Students: Pode.

Teacher: O que mais?

Student 2: Andar a cavalo.

Student 7: Jogar bola, futebol.

Students: Plantar, jogar.

Student 3: Colher.⁵

While the students are talking about general abilities, the teacher brings them back to their rural context (“taking care of the cattle”). And then gender identity is also at play:

Teacher: Aí eu pergunto pra vocês: que habilidades vocês gostariam de adquirir?

Student 1: Aprender a tirar leite.

Teacher: [Student 1] gostaria de aprender a tirar leite, por quê?

Student 1: Porque no dia que a gente se casar e tiver vaca no curral, se o marido sair de casa e o filho estiver com fome, quem é que vai tirar o leite?⁶

So several types of identity are being interwoven in this class. Claiming to be able to sing and to use a computer places these students in equal terms with young

⁵ Teacher: Well, which of these skills here can we learn by basically watching, since we deal with people who do these activities? [...]

Students: Singing, washing our hair, handling the computer.

Teacher: Taking care of the cattle, maybe?

Students: Yes.

Teacher: What else?

Student 2: Riding a horse.

Student 7: Playing football.

Students: Planting, playing.

Student 3: Harvesting.

⁶ Teacher: So, I'd like to ask you: which skills would you like to learn?

Student 1: Milking the cow.

Teacher: [Student 1] would like to learn how to milk the cow, why?

Student 1: Because when I get married and have a cow in the barn, if my husband goes out and my kid is hungry, who's going to milk the cow?

people all over the world, whereas milking the cow and harvesting are more typical of rural areas. Playing football is very common among Brazilians, whether in the countryside or in the city. Finally, when the girl states that she wants to learn how to milk the cow, she is supposedly stepping into men's territory: she will do that only if her husband is out.

What is seen next is the teacher and students trying to come to terms with the textbook in a listening activity. All they have to do is connect the audio with the pictures in the book using the verb *can*. Here are the sentences from the audio:

He can play the piano.

He can use the computer.

He can program the computer.

He can ride a motorcycle.

He can drive a car.

Flora can't play the guitar.

So the rural setting is all gone now. The textbook presents examples of general activities that can be performed virtually anywhere. There is a certain conflict here between the global and the local. The global may be represented by the textbook and the grammatical approach adopted later by the teacher. This conflict may be tackled by the teacher by not necessarily avoiding the textbook. Grammar may be secondary in this case, and more emphasis could be placed on students' identities. This is a moment when the familiar could be de-familiarized, and the unfamiliar familiarized, so that conflicts are not necessarily overcome but may become a chance to deal with difference. City vs. countryside, local vs. global, girls vs. boys, such "oppositions" do not need to be approached as dichotomies.

In relation to appropriating cultural items in English, a good example can be found in the world of digital games. It is well known that, just like the hip hop movement analysed by Pennycook (2007), digital games are mainly originated in the US. Also, they have a global reach, being played and consumed in all parts of the world. *World of Warcraft* (or *WoW*), for example, is an online game with millions of subscribers worldwide. Its popularity can also be measured by the number of sites, blogs and forums that revolve around it. The official site⁷ has also a forum tab and a Brazilian version of it.⁸ I would like to focus on a specific topic created by the Brazilian community.⁹

⁷ *World of Warcraft*. Available at: <http://us.battle.net/wow/en/>.

⁸ Available at: (<http://us.battle.net/wow/pt/>).

⁹ "Patch Notes PTR 5.2 em Pt-Br na Comunidade Brasileira". Available at: <http://us.battle.net/wow/pt/forum/topic/7593620641>.

First of all, the avatars and nicknames adopted by the players can only make sense in the realm of the game itself. It is a trend among players, wherever their place of origin is. Would it be enough to say that there is a type of homogenization taking place here? But this is still a Brazilian community, so that players keep switching between a familiar space (the community) and a general context (the game online). This means that they have to interact with foreigners but at the same time have a kind of safe place to go back to when necessary. It is a cultural translation done collectively, where one helps each other. But that does not do away with conflicts, as we shall see below.

A second aspect is related to language. The subject of this specific topic is the translation into Portuguese of some patch notes, released by the game producers. The entries provided by the Brazilian participants in the forum show a mixture of English and Portuguese that makes sense only to those familiar with digital games. So this is a way of performatively appropriating English for one's own specific purposes in a highly situated environment. The context may be enough to provide the meaning for so many expressions in English, especially for those who do not master the language.

The topic itself is about translation and part of the title is in Portuguese. The discussion among the participants revolves around the necessity or not to translate into Portuguese those patch notes. As far as language is concerned, there are several reactions to the company's decision to not translate the patch notes. Someone mentions that one can resort to Google Translator ("better than nothing"), so that a translation is not really necessary. Another one says that the game is in English, so that those who cannot read English should not be playing it. But a third opinion is that they are paying for that, so they have the right to have translations. Further on, other interesting issues that are not exactly related to the topic are raised, such as: what it means to be Brazilian; how Brazilians are seen by the developers and by players from other parts of the world; and consumer rights.

A few things can be highlighted from the above example. First of all, the fact that many of these players do not master the English language does not prevent them from playing the game and interacting with people from other countries. Second, all of them use English to a greater or lesser degree to suit their own needs, such as the nicknames that they adopt or the expressions in English that they use in their discourse. Third, they are taking part in a cultural expression that originates in English speaking countries and is shared by people all over the world. At the same time, they keep interacting with and getting support from Brazilians in the forum. Finally, they are aware of the imbalance between Brazilian players and English speaking players, and of the treatment received by Brazilians from the game developers. In a way they are not taking English and the Anglo-North-American culture wholeheartedly as if these structures were

imposed on them. So this has important bearings on their identities and points to a situation where the hegemonic knowledge is incorporated into a localized activity. All these aspects can be explored in classroom, as regards not only the English language, but also identity and cultural issues.

5 Transnational literacies and cosmopolitanism

Jenkins (2004: 117) uses the term *pop cosmopolitanism* to refer to “the ways that the transcultural flows of popular culture inspire new forms of global consciousness and cultural competency”. He mentions the fact that not only US popular culture is flowing around the world, but in the US teenagers are also consuming cultural items originated elsewhere, especially Asia. Popular culture, in this case, is equivalent to what was once called mass culture. The widespread use of technologies of communication has a strong effect on the definition of what is popular nowadays. Also, a great deal of popular culture, like hip hop and video games, is available in English.

So, once again, as far as English teaching is concerned, the point here is not whether young people should consume these cultural items or not, but how they do it, as exemplified by the video game community mentioned in the previous section and as I have already discussed elsewhere (Zacchi 2015a). For Rizvi, the current affair of transcultural flows calls forth the idea of cosmopolitan learning:

Much of the traditional learning about other cultures and cultural interactions has been nationally defined. Cosmopolitan learning, in contrast, represents an aspiration that seeks to develop a different perspective on knowing and interacting with others within the changing context of the cultural exchanges produced by global flows and networks. (Rizvi 2009: 264)

For him, cosmopolitanism should help students to come to terms with their “situatedness” in the world and in relation to social networks, political institutions and social relations that are potentially connected with the whole world, since they are no longer confined to nations and communities in particular. Kramsch (1998: 84) believes that what is in progress is not the compartmentalization of national cultures, but rather an increasing cleavage between those who have access to a supranational cosmopolitanism – through the Internet, travel privileges and knowledge of several languages – and those who are rooted in a national culture.

Such boundaries are not only physical, between countries and regions. More relevant are cultural boundaries that define personal and community

relationships, especially in terms of race, social class, age, gender, among other aspects. These are all boundaries that have been challenged, so that teachers and learners nowadays need to be prepared to deal with the other in a variety of ways (Zacchi 2015b). However, as suggested by Edwards and Usher (2008: 167), a transcultural and cosmopolitan teaching does not necessarily imply a definitive pedagogical solution, especially because much of current education still depends on local pedagogical practices, as exemplified by the class described in the previous section. Therefore, teachers' practices and methodologies in specific teaching contexts should not be ignored, nor should the particular aspects of their environments, which can vary widely from one school to another. For example, one of the topics discussed during the interviews with teachers from Sergipe¹⁰ was migration (Zacchi 2014, 2016). They were asked to talk about it as a worldwide phenomenon with diversified causes. Then they were asked to show some intersecting points with their specific contexts. So two teachers from Sergipe's countryside came up with opposing situations. Whereas one of them mentioned that in her town people are reluctant to leave – and when they do they tend to return – the other one stressed that people in her town, especially the young, tend to leave in search of better life conditions.

Just like globalization, cosmopolitanism can be seen as a hegemonic project. According to Santos (2003), whereas neoliberal globalization fails to recognize any sort of alternative version for globalization, cosmopolitanism also denies its own particularisms. For that reason, he coined the term “subaltern cosmopolitanism”, which is a cultural-political form of counter-hegemonic globalization and is suitable for the socially excluded, those “emancipatory projects whose claims and criteria for social inclusion go beyond the horizons of global capitalism”.

Another concept that is quite relevant in this context is “transnational literacies”. Brydon (2011: 77) considers them to be a key component of the multiliteracies approach, including multimodal practices, which are in tune with “the rapidly developing new information technologies” and the resultant changes in the way that we think and relate to knowledge. For her, transnational literacies go beyond the kinds of cross-cultural competences given priority by private and public sectors: “The full potential of transnational literacies only begins to be realized when the current knowledge/power structures of educational systems and language and identity practices are studied for the under-examined values they carry and assumptions they perpetuate.” Such assumptions can only be

10 As I mentioned before, the research with English teachers from Sergipe involved several data collecting tools, including interviews.

placed more fully in service of the communities involved if they are examined in their multiple, historical and spatial, contexts, and consequently contested, revised, or developed, a task that, according to Brydon, drive both educational and technological practices and cannot be done at a theoretical level alone.

For her, transnational approaches should not be limited to a “simple aggregate of localities”, so that their function, more than merely additive, must become transformational. This opposition to “aggregation” echoes the critique directed to some versions of multiculturalism that treat diversity as simply a juxtaposition of different groups and communities whose particular identities remain untouched, thus erasing power struggles and failing to really challenge inequalities. Subaltern cosmopolitanism does not presuppose a merely additive function either, since it applies to different groups and interests that cannot be perpetually grouped around a single cause or struggle. As a result, according to Santos (2003), cosmopolitan initiatives may have to come to terms with “their own empirical reality”, under concrete conditions and in a particular historical framework.

So both the ideas of (subaltern) cosmopolitanism and transnational literacies are useful concepts to add to the discussion about ELF. Becoming cosmopolitan does not necessarily mean complying with the global spread of English and US culture as natural phenomena. Nor does it imply letting go of one’s local values and customs. Literacy involves a contextual dimension and it also presupposes a critical attitude from learners. So using English critically may be the key to having access to cosmopolitanism while reassessing local relations.

A certain degree of critique and situatedness is also claimed by Jenkins (2015) when she advocates for a multilingual approach to ELF. According to her, ELF has moved from a scenario where native English was seen as the norm to one that places multilingualism as “a resource rather than a problem” (2015: 60). That means that the ability to negotiate diversity should be prioritized and rewarded (2015: 79), so as to move away from an approach that favours strict adherence to native English norms and challenges the centrality of the English language altogether, even within the framework of ELF. For Jenkins, all these features should be incorporated into ELT.

6 Conclusion

The scenario for ELT nowadays, with special attention to the Brazilian context, is set upon shifting circumstances informed by instability and uncertainty. The increasing amount of people and information flowing around the world has had an effect on identity construction, which is now based on global as well as local

features. This aspect has also made language use and learning a much more flexible process, always dependent on its specific contexts. Whereas globalization has made cultural items, English language included, ubiquitous, it has also been promoting a reassessment of local attributes and a diversification in the way that English is used and appropriated. Such a diversity is essential for dealing with ELF.

Claiming that English is the natural language of globalization does not hold anymore. First of all, we have to ask: what English?, what globalization? If English is considered a global lingua franca, there are historical and political reasons for that, and not exclusively because of its intrinsic qualities. Also, it is not a homogeneous and immutable language that spreads from core countries and is taken up unquestionably by locals around the world. Hip hop is a case in point, since, as stated by Pennycook (2007), it does not promote a standard variety of English. A second aspect is that other languages and cultures are also travelling around the world, even if not with the same intensity as English. Jenkins (2004: 117) mentions the case of US young people consuming cultural items originated in Eastern countries.

The idea of connecting global Englishes with local histories takes into account the position of lingua franca assumed by English in past decades, but doing away with the imperialist bias. As I discussed earlier, it would be more suitable to think of it as hegemonic (Zacchi 2003, 2006), so that learning and using it could be an exercise of subalternity that incorporates in itself the hegemonic knowledge (Mignolo 2003: 336). This is where teaching and language teacher education become important. Stepping away from both ends of the spectrum – seeing English as an imperialist language, on the one hand, and teaching it as a commodity, on the other – might lead teachers to approach ELT from a critical standpoint while promoting the locality of their students. The result might be a situated teaching that is able to both stress the students' identities and, at the same time, create possibilities for the refashioning of these identities, making learning more meaningful in the process.

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Globalization and the global spread of English: Concepts and implications for teacher education

1 Introduction

Globalization can be defined as the “intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa” (Giddens 1990: 64). Considering this increasing relationship between localities, and between local happenings and global forces, there are two main reasons why studies of language are important to understandings of globalization. First, ties between people and places lead to stronger language contact, and increase the necessity for common languages of communication – i.e., lingua francas (Hammill and Diniz de Figueiredo 2013). Second, ideas we have about language(s) reflect ideas we have about ourselves and about the world (Seargeant 2009; Woolard and Shieffelin 1994), and thus examinations of language help our attempts to understand society and the ways we act upon our contexts (Blommaert 2010). This being the case, the global spread of English (henceforth, GSE) has received particular attention in applied linguistics, given the fact that the language functions as a worldwide lingua franca (Crystal 2003; Mufwene 2010), and that its global spread can be conceived as a metaphor of a globalized world (Seargeant 2009).

The comprehension that the status of English as a global language is tied to the concept of globalization itself means that studies of GSE may benefit from different theoretical perspectives that explain what globalization is and how it happens. In this chapter, I review eight theories of globalization surveyed by sociologists Darren O’Byrne and Alexander Hensby (O’Byrne and Hensby 2011), and explain how they connect with models of GSE in applied linguistics. My belief is that such connection contributes to the current ongoing development of a strong and comprehensive theoretical basis for the understanding of

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DOI 10.1515/9781501503856-003

the concept of English in Brazil (and elsewhere), and how it relates to the ways in which such context has experienced globalization¹.

More specifically, the chapter is important for teacher education for three main reasons. First, the linguistic choices a teacher makes in the classroom (e.g., which instructional variety/varieties to use, the goals of students in terms of proficiency levels, exposure to different models, etc.) reflect larger ideologies of dominance, internationalization and/or knowledge in our current context of globalization. Therefore, teachers need to be made aware of the sociocultural, economical and historical issues involved in how they approach the notion of English and its global role as a lingua franca. Second, it helps them advance their comprehension of culture and intercultural awareness, and to deal with local and global cultural phenomena in more informed ways. Finally, it allows them to better position themselves regarding the politics of English (in terms of identity, power, otherness, etc.) in today's age, and how it can impact their lessons.

The remainder of the chapter is thus divided as follows. First, I provide a review of the eight theories of globalization surveyed by O'Byrne & Hensby (2011). Then, I explain major applied linguistics (or closely related) frameworks that address GSE and discuss how they connect with those theories. Last but not least, I discuss the implications of such connections thoroughly in light of the practices of teacher educators in the Brazilian context.

2 The multiple understandings of globalization

Although it is very common for many people and for the media in general to speak of globalization as a single phenomenon, apparently well understood by all (or most) in a similar manner, global studies theorists seem to have a diverse range of views regarding what globalization actually is, and how it takes place in different parts of the world. In a recent appreciation of this concept and of its nuances in scholarly work, O'Byrne and Hensby (2011) provided “a survey of much of the main literature which purports, whether explicitly or implicitly, to be about this

¹ In a way, the work presented here is similar to that done by Dewey (2007). However, Dewey was mainly concerned with relations between globalization (understood in terms of *hyperglobalist*, *sceptical*, and *transformationalist* means of conceptualizing the phenomenon) and English as a lingua franca (one of the models reviewed here). The present work, on the other hand, engages with other theories of globalization and of GSE itself, and brings a stronger focus on implications for teacher education.

thing we call *globalization*” (p. 1, emphasis in the original). Although O’Byrne and Hensby defend that such literature would better be relocated from the study of globalization itself – which they consider confusing and unhelpful – to the broader view of global studies, their framework is still very useful in presenting how different scholars and disciplines have approached and defined this phenomenon. Hence, I have decided to use this framework to guide the understandings of globalization in this chapter.

The first theory discussed by O’Byrne and Hensby, which for them represents what globalization actually is, is what I will refer to as *the theory of the global village*. According to this framework, globalization is “the process of becoming global” (p. 11), whereby individuals, institutions, entities, and ultimately the world itself engage in the development of global consciousness, which has to do with the awareness of the world as a single place. This process is visible in instances of marketing strategies targeted at the world audience at large, as well as moments when individuals’ political actions “relate directly to the globe rather than through the level of the nation-state” (p. 31). Some examples include global events such as the Live Aid concert, and worldwide reactions to the 2004 tsunami and to the attacks on the twin towers on September 11, 2001.

The second process is what O’Byrne and Hensby call *liberalization*, which has to do with “the freer flow of goods, resources, people, ideas, capital” (p. 33). For the authors, liberalization has much overlap with the theory of the global village, but a significant difference is that while the latter emphasizes “a direct relationship with the globe *per se*” the former “focuses specifically on the alleged erosion of boundaries *between* nation-states” (p. 33, emphases in the original). Liberalization is thus characterized by neo-liberalism, with its “commitment to the free market and the ‘rolling back’ of the state’s role in economic and social life” (p. 43).

The third theory is called *polarization*, and, as the name suggests, it stresses north-south discrepancies caused by a continuous bias in economic policies benefiting those countries that are already wealthy. The model thus highlights “the need to locate national economies . . . within the broader system dominated by the major industrial powers” (O’Byrne and Hensby 2011: 59). They explain that this framework is in opposition to that of liberalization explained above, in that the latter focuses on the larger economic growth around the globe, whilst the former views liberalization “as an imperialist project developed to protect and extend the interests of the core elite” (p. 62). Scholars who associate themselves with this theory of polarization propose a “globalization-from-below” – which emphasizes the need for drawing on a country’s resources for development (rather than depending on foreign investment), and subjecting the state and private sector to monitoring by the civil society, amongst other measures.

Americanization, the fourth framework, is similar to polarization, but it singles out one country – the US – to show that distinct power relations amongst different nations do in fact exist. Therefore, rather than discussing imperialism as a whole, theorists who defend this framework focus on American imperialism. They suggest that the term “globalization” serves to “mask the reality of American political, economic and cultural power” (O’Byrne and Hensby 2011: 80). Two major concerns shown by those who defend this theory, according to O’Byrne and Hensby, are related to cultural imperialism (characterized by the promotion of American values across the globe), and military imperialism (which entails a more explicit exertion of power). These two types of “imperialism” have encountered several manifestations of resistance, whether through acts of protest and affirmation of local values, in the case of cultural imperialism, or through more violent acts, usually manifested against military imperialism and Americanization as a whole.

The fifth model is not exactly proposed as a theory of globalization per se, but rather as one which “has become intertwined with the literature on globalization” (O’Byrne and Hensby 2011: 124). It is called *McDonaldization*, and it centers on the assumption that “practices and institutions around the world are becoming increasingly similar” (O’Byrne and Hensby 2011: 104), or homogenizing. The model centers on four principles: a) efficiency (achieved with minimum effort); b) calculability (whereby quality is subordinated to quantity); c) predictability, which minimizes any “undesirable” surprise effect; and d) control, which has to do with the use of new technologies. A point that is emphasized by O’Byrne and Hensby is the McDonaldization of politics, where countries are entering “a global network of political consensus” (O’Byrne and Hensby 2011: 122), a fact that has been detrimental to true political debates in worldwide political discussions.

Creolization is the sixth framework, and it “focuses on . . . flows and exchanges of products, practices, ethics, aesthetics and people, between cultures, and interrogates an imagined world in which global interconnectedness results in the constant redefining of these flows in respect of localized meanings” (O’Byrne and Hensby 2011: 126). Cultures are hybridized, rather than homogeneous, and colonialism and imperialism are studied with a focus on how cultural forms are received, indigenized, changed and resisted, in which case there is an “active play between core and periphery” (O’Byrne and Hensby 2011: 126). O’Byrne and Hensby state that the model is in direct opposition to those of homogenization (e.g., Americanization), and is associated with postcolonialism and postmodernity. Creolization is “the product of two interlinking processes: one, the effects of imperialism and colonialism causing the cultural interplay of different traditions and national identities; and, two, the postmodern commercialization of culture” (O’Byrne and Hensby 2011: 139). It “symbolizes the tearing up, dislocation and

juxtaposition of a series of different cultural *identities, histories and livelihoods*” (O’Byrne and Hensby 2011: 139, emphasis in the original). The importance of the model, therefore, lies in its questioning of how global hybrid cultures and manifestations (such as food and music) are conceptualized.

In the seventh model, *transnationalization*, it is recognized that the power and bounded nature of the nation-state have become weaker in terms of decision-making, administration, and production. The model may seem very similar to that of the global village described previously, but the basic difference between them is that whilst the latter looks at the globe as a single space, transnationalization understands that there has been a shift “*from the nation-state, to a level above it*” (O’Byrne and Hensby 2011: 151, emphasis in the original), but does not necessarily highlight that this level is one of seeing the world as a sole stage. Likewise, transnationalization also resembles liberalization, but the two models differ in that transnationalization does not only stress the weakening of boundaries (like liberalization), but also emphasizes the emergence of a level of governance above the nation-state, as is exemplified by bodies such as the United Nations. Thus, a central idea in transnationalization is that of a multi-centric world, comprised of transnational organizations (e.g., NGOs), problems, events, communities and structures, all of which constitute networks of people, corporations and spaces.

The last theory reviewed by O’Byrne and Hensby is called *balkanization*. The *new international order*, according to this theory, is not one of integration and convergence, but rather one that “remains rooted in ideological and political conflict” (O’Byrne and Hensby 2011: 177) of new blocs formed based not only on geopolitics, but also on values, religions and related issues. In other words, the political workings that divided the world in the Cold War era have not been replaced by an integration of nation-states, or by an increasing sense of being global, but rather by cultural allegiances, in a world of “irreconcilable differences” (O’Byrne and Hensby 2011: 199), as exemplified by the September 11 attacks, and the subsequent War on Terror declared by the US.

O’Byrne and Hensby explain that these models are not mutually exclusive, but that they are all real and happening, “and, probably, at the same time, *none of them are*” (O’Byrne and Hensby 2011: 203, emphasis in the original). Thus, the current global condition is “driven by forces which are at the same time globalizing, liberalizing, polarizing, Americanizing, McDonaldizing, creolizing, transnationalizing and balkanizing” (O’Byrne and Hensby 2011: 203). Yet, O’Byrne and Hensby make it clear that certain theories seem to be in closer dialogue with each other. For instance, liberalization and polarization are competing economic theories; transnationalization and balkanization oppose one another as theories of political system; McDonaldization and creolization compete in the

sphere of global culture; and the theory of the global village and Americanization “sit somewhere outside this orthodoxy” (O’Byrne and Hensby 2011: 204).

3 The global spread of English

Not surprisingly, a close look at models of GSE will reveal that they share many similarities with the frameworks of global studies suggested by O’Byrne and Hensby (2011). In fact, several scholars (e.g., Blommaert 2010; Pennycook 2007; Seargeant 2009) have emphasized the connections between understandings of globalization and theories of global English(es), and have urged GSE scholars to make such connections more explicitly in order to make stronger, more theoretically-founded claims about how language issues relate to histories, cultures, social justice, and empowerment. Blommaert, for instance, criticizes previous work (mainly Calvet 2006 and Fairclough 2006) for showing “confusion about what exactly was understood by globalization” (Blommaert 2010: 18), and Pennycook (2007) states that there is an *obligation* of studies of GSE to engage with globalization theories, such as those proposed by Appadurai (1996) and Giddens (1990), amongst others.

In this section, I review four frameworks of GSE – three that have been classically used by several scholars (*World Englishes*, *English as a Lingua Franca*, and *Linguistic Imperialism*), and a more recent one, which will be referred to as *The Sociolinguistics of Globalization*. Although many readers may already be familiar with at least some of them, it is important to review them here – as well as some of the criticisms they have received – in order to explain how they may connect with the globalization frameworks presented above. I then suggest associations between these four models and those theories of globalization, in an attempt to present some *possible* connections between them – as proposed by Blommaert (2010), Pennycook (2007) and others – that can be used to theoretically inform scholars working with GSE as well as English language teachers and teacher educators.

3.1 World Englishes

According to Kachru (1992), the conceptualization of the world Englishes (hereafter WE) framework dates back to the 1960s, although “organised efforts in discussing the concept and its formal and functional implications were not initiated until 1978” (Kachru 1992: 1). Kachru explains that the use of the term *Englishes*,

rather than *English*, is symbolic of the numerous varieties, cultures, identities, functional and formal variations of the language, and that its study must therefore use different methodologies “to capture distinct identities of different Englishes, and to examine critically the implications of such identities in cross-cultural communication” (Kachru 1992: 2).

The model – well-known for its concentric circles representing GSE – has been praised for its importance in challenging beliefs that varieties other than those from the inner circle are deficient; instead, it proposes that they are different, due to the processes of nativization that English goes through once it expands into other places. Moreover, it has become crucial in disputing commonly held assumptions that the objective of learning English is to speak like a native speaker of the language, and it has stressed the need to look at ELT from a perspective of local values and identities. These factors have led to the empowerment of speakers of other varieties and also of other canons of English.

Nevertheless, the WE framework has been criticized for not being adequate to account for the way GSE has been shaped in the 21st century (see Bruthiaux 2003, and also Kubota 2012). Bruthiaux, for example, is highly critical of the fact that the model is based on colonial history, and that its emphasis is on the idea of the nation. For Bruthiaux, these factors oversimplify the complexity of the sociolinguistic realities of English in all circles. In the inner circle, for instance, the focus on language use on a national level does not account for the numerous varieties that exist within each country, and it also fails to consider differences between spoken and written forms. In terms of the outer circle, Bruthiaux states that the WE framework disregards local sociolinguistic arrangements, as it does not distinguish multilingual societies (e.g. Nigeria) from mainly monolingual ones (e.g. Hong Kong). Furthermore, it makes no mention of the fact that some countries only use English for official purposes, whereas others use it for unofficial ones as well. Finally, as regards the expanding circle, Bruthiaux explains that no reference to different levels of proficiency or communicative competence is made.

Despite these and other concerns, the WE model has proved to be quite successful in providing a theoretical lens for many scholars to approach different issues related to GSE and ELT, perhaps due to the very simplicity that has been the cause of the criticism it has received (a simplicity that is understood by many, including the present author, as elegance and sophistication, in light of the complex nature of the phenomenon under study). When understanding GSE and its connection to globalization, in particular, WE seems particularly useful in at least two ways. First, the notion of nativization of English is strictly related to theories of creolization, whereby global cultural symbols, including English, are appropriated and modified based on local needs – which is crucial for the study

of identity and history in the contemporary world. Second, the model emphasizes the notion of intelligibility across speakers of different varieties of the language around the world, which resembles the theory of the global village – in terms of the fact that these speakers communicate using one common language.

3.2 English as a lingua franca

Another framework that has recently been proposed in relation to GSE is called “English as a Lingua Franca” (ELF). Jenkins (2009) and Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey (2011) have explained that the model, in its initial phase, had more similarities than differences with the WE paradigm; yet, there have been interesting scholarly discussions related not only to how the two frameworks differ, but also to how some of the early definitions proposed by ELF may be problematic and in need of further development (e.g., Friedrich and Matsuda 2010).

In brief, ELF was initially proposed based on the works of Jenkins (2000) and Seidlhofer (2001), in an attempt to identify core features of English that were typically used in lingua franca situations (i.e. situations when English is used by speakers of different first languages), as well as features that did not affect communication in those cases². Two corpora of English use in lingua franca instances thus began to be compiled – the “Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English” – VOICE, launched in 2009, and the “English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings” – ELFA (Mauranen 2003)³. This phase of the framework was later called “ELF 1” by Jenkins (2015).

Hence, some of the most important contributions of ELF in its early orientation were its focus on communication, its recognition of various users and practices of English, and the compilation of the international English corpora. Major concerns, however, started to be expressed by several scholars, who felt there could be a danger of equating ELF to a variety of English, rather than a function of the language. As explained by Friedrich and Matsuda (2010), this view would fail to capture the reality of communication in English (when used as an

² The term “lingua franca English” (LFE) had been used previously by Firth (1990, 1996) and Meierkord (1998). For them, LFE was a linguistic function of English. The term was later developed by others (e.g., Canagarajah 2013) to refer to lingua franca interactions as a form of practice, where grammar is emergent and not dependent on shared norms. As will be explained later, in my view further developments in ELF, as conceived by Jenkins, Seidlhofer and others (e.g., Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey 2011; Jenkins 2015) have approximated it to this latter perspective.

³ Another corpus of international English, the “Asian Corpus of English” (ACE), has also started to be compiled (see Kirkpatrick 2010).

international or intra-national language), as it would not account for the diversity of speakers of the language worldwide or for the real uses of English in interactions between these speakers. Moreover, viewing ELF as a form rather than a function would also imply in the creation of a supra-national variety, which was not only unrealistic, but also meant that a new hierarchy of English would be created in ELT. When understood this way, the model would seem to be one more attempt to homogenize a particular entity (in this case, the English language), which resembled the notion of McDonaldization discussed above.

Further developments on the ELF model addressed these and other concerns. Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey (2011), for instance, have been categorical in stating that ELF is not seen as a variety, but rather as a function of the language (for stronger claims that ELF was in fact never proposed as a variety, see Jenkins 2015). According to them, scholarship on ELF later shifted its focus from trying to come up with a core of linguistic features, to looking more closely at “underlying processes that motivate the use of one or another form at any given moment in an interaction” (Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey 2011: 296), which have tended to be overlooked. Interestingly, Jenkins and her colleagues have also made the case that ELF emphasizes the fluidity of English rather than a nation-based perspective, a fact that is pointed out by those authors as a major difference between ELF and WE. This is what Jenkins (2015) has called “ELF 2.”

It seems understandable that ELF scholars have decided to de-emphasize national ties of English, since its focus is on communicative aspects of the language in interactions involving speakers from any region or nation. In this sense, the model seems linked to the theory of transnationalization presented above, whereby levels of governance occur at levels above that of the nation state. A more recent phase of the model (ELF 3), proposed by Jenkins, goes one step further in this direction, by focusing not only on the “E” of ELF (i.e., on English itself), but taking as a premise that “ELF is a multilingual practice” (Jenkins 2015: 63). In this new phase, ELF is positioned within multilingualism and multilingual communication, in which English is available “but is not necessarily chosen” (Jenkins 2015: 73)⁴.

The discussions around ELF that have taken place thus far have demonstrated its importance as an emerging framework. In Brazil, this particular paradigm seems to have been very prominent, with a growing number of studies focusing

⁴ In these more recent phases (ELF 2 and especially ELF 3), it seems that ELF has become more similar than different from other notions that have been put forth in opposition to it, especially Canagarajah’s lingua franca English (Canagarajah 2013), and Pennycook’s Translingua Franca English (Pennycook 2010), which focus on lingua franca interactions as a form of practice. For more on how these and other concepts relate to current understandings of ELF, see Jenkins (2015).

especially on issues related to its concept (e.g., Jordão 2014), attitudes toward it (e.g., Souza, Barcaro and Grande 2011), and the teaching of English through an ELF perspective (e.g., Salles and Gimenez 2010) – for more, see Gimenez, Calvo and El Kadri (2011) and Bordini and Gimenez (2014).

Yet, it seems that the model is still taking shape in respect to its definitions and core foci of study, both in Brazil and worldwide. It will be interesting to see the directions that scholars using ELF will take in the following years, and the contributions they will make to the study of GSE and ELT.

3.3 Linguistic imperialism

The theory of English linguistic imperialism was proposed by Phillipson, who defended that “the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages” (Phillipson 1992: 47). Phillipson, whose data comes from the analysis of documents and interviews with former members of the British Council, suggests that English linguistic imperialism is a type of linguicism, whereby unequal division of power and resources are legitimated and reproduced based on language (in this case, English).

According to Phillipson’s theory, the spread of English around the globe was neither naïve nor natural, but rather planned by the UK (with the British Council), and later the United States Information Agency, as a way to secure political and economic interests of these two nations. For Phillipson, this strategy has contributed to the hegemony of English, that is, to its maintenance as a dominant language. The world of Phillipson’s linguistic imperialism is therefore divided between countries in the center and those in the periphery, where the former always provide teachers, models, and materials for ELT, while the latter usually supply the learners of the language, in a situation of subordination. He proposes that the following fallacies dominate the world of ELT, guaranteeing this division and ultimately the language’s hegemony: a) that English is best taught monolingually; b) that ideal teachers are native speakers of the language; c) that the earlier one starts learning English, the better; d) that the more is taught, the better the results; and e) that if other languages are used, standards of English will decline. Phillipson is, of course, very critical of these tenets, and he objects to them based on arguments such as the colonial nature of the propositions, the disregard for the benefits of bilingualism, and the basic fact that teachers “are made rather than born” (p. 194).

Phillipson’s theory has become very important in applied linguistics overall and in the study of GSE more specifically. The model is a contribution to studies

of the political nature of GSE and ELT, bringing a perspective that perhaps the phenomena and enterprises related to the spread of English are not necessarily unplanned and innocent. In relation to globalization as a whole, the theory seems tied to the notion of polarization, whereby power relations between center and periphery are of imbalanced nature, and help perpetuate inequalities between people in those two spheres. Additionally, the idea of English being sustained through the interests of the United States in recent decades is in alignment with understandings of *Americanization*.

However, Phillipson's theory has also been heavily criticized, mainly due to its strong basis on structuralism. Canagarajah (1999), for instance, proposed that the model's macro perspective of the politics of ELT is inadequate to show how English is appropriated and resisted by students and educators in the periphery, as it disregards the agency that these people have when learning and using the language (see also Friedrich 2001). In other words, it fails to engage with a micro standpoint, and thus falls short of bringing a complex picture of GSE. Pennycook also criticizes the model on similar bases, stating that it is "first and foremost an economic model, with the nations at the *center* exploiting the nations in the *periphery*" – which constitutes a reductive view of global relations, "particularly when we are dealing with questions of language and culture" (Pennycook 2001: 62).

In spite of the heavy criticism the model has received, it is arguable that English linguistic imperialism exists at least to a certain extent, even if not necessarily in the ways described by Phillipson. A clear example of how the five tenets are strong in ELT and in language policy is the recent debate over the education of English language learners in the state of Arizona (and also California and Massachusetts). Recent state measures have been proposed and implemented to guarantee that English is taught monolingually, as early as possible, as fast as possible, by teachers who are not "heavily accented" (see Gándara and Hopkins 2010, for studies on the issue). Another example, this time in the case of Brazil, is the still strong standing of the native speaker fallacy in the context of English language teaching (see Diniz de Figueiredo 2011, for instance). These examples are illustrative of the importance of the model for discussions of the role of English and ELT around the world, even if, as pointed out, its over-determinism and lack of a micro standpoint weaken the claims Phillipson makes.

3.4 The sociolinguistics of globalization

A recent theoretical lens for studying language and globalization in general and GSE in particular has been proposed by Blommaert. Like many others, he is

critical of imperialism theories, and his critique is mainly based on the notions of space, time, nation and language that are taken for granted in Phillipson's model (where whenever a big language appears in a certain territory, other languages are "threatened"). For him, theories of such kind conceptualize space as a "place for just one language at a time", and thus they assume the "spatial 'fixedness' of people, languages and places", overlooking that an aspect of contemporary reality is "mobility" (Blommaert 2010: 43–44).

Sociolinguistic studies in the modern era of globalization, for Blommaert, cannot examine language phenomena in such a static manner, but must engage with dynamic, fragmented and mobile resources (i.e. bits of language) and ideologies "as deployed by real people in real contexts, and recontextualized by other real people" (Blommaert 2010: 43). Therefore, the author proposes a theoretical framework that emphasizes the mobility of signs and people across time and space, where this movement is understood not only in physical terms (across spaces), but also symbolically, "across social spheres and scales" (Blommaert 2010: 46). Equally important in the model is the idea of "locality" – which is seen as a powerful frame for the construction and reconstruction of meanings.

Based on these notions, Blommaert offers a descriptive frame to account for the complexities of language phenomena in light of globalization processes. It comprises three key components: a) scales; b) orders of indexicality; and c) poliocentricity. In brief, scales refer to moves of people or messages through time and space (as in the case of when something, be it a corporation, a group of individuals or a linguistic resource that is individualized or localized becomes collective or translocal through language). Orders of indexicality, in their turn, "define the dominant lines for senses of belonging, for identities and roles in society" (Blommaert 2010: 6); that is, they delineate hierarchies of indexicalities (what identities count as more important, as more desirable, and more powerful in society). As for poliocentricity, it simply means that there are numerous centers of authority to which one can orient oneself (perhaps at the same time) in the globalized world (e.g., one's own culture and a larger concept of a global culture).

Blommaert claims that the use of these tools should help in the understanding of how "language gets dislodged and its traditional functions distorted by processes of mobility" and also of how "contemporary sociolinguistic realities of globalization articulate old and new patterns of inequality and so make language a problem for many people" (Blommaert 2010: 197), as evidenced by patterns of migration where the languages of immigrants are seen as less valuable.

Thus far, the framework has seemed promising in being able to account for the interactions of language issues with globalization phenomena, and particularly for the study of GSE, which is the topic that “defines sociolinguistic globalization” (Blommaert 2010: 197). The examples given by Blommaert of how his tools can be used to engage with data coming from sources such as websites selling American accent, spam messages created in periphery countries for audiences in the center, and the case of an asylum application by a refugee from Rwanda in the UK show how powerful the theoretical lens he created can be. Moreover, the model is particularly based on notions of globalization theory. The emphasis on mobile resources that flow across time and space, for example, may be seen as an interesting case of creolization, and the overall emphasis on different scales and policentricity are strictly tied to the idea of transnationalization.

However, as explained by Canagarajah (2014a) in a recent critique of the model, Blommaert’s framework – in its current form – may be seen as over-deterministic and offers little possibilities for individuals to resist, renegotiate or reconstruct norms based on their needs and realities. This is particularly due to the fact that some norms (e.g., standard American English) seem to be predefined in terms of power and acceptance, without consideration of how different contexts and/or speakers may challenge or restructure them. Therefore, it is wise to say that the theory still needs to be extensively used and discussed in applied linguistics studies before any major conclusions about its usefulness and real contributions can actually be made.

3.5 A summary of current models of GSE

Tab. 1: Summary of GSE models.

Model	Brief description	Relation to globalization theories
World Englishes (Kachru 1992)	Uses a model of concentric circles to characterize the uses of English in different countries, based on how the language is learnt/acquired and used in each of them	Notion of nativization resembles the idea of <i>creolization</i> ; emphasis on intelligibility resembles the orientation to one world of the <i>global village</i>
English as a Lingua Franca (Jenkins 2000; Seidlhofer 2001)	Attempted to identify core features of English used in lingua franca situations that do not affect communication (ELF 1); later focus on communicative aspects of multilingual interactions (ELF 2 and ELF 3)	Current belief in the weakness of the nation-state and the regulation of English above national levels relates to <i>transnationalization</i> ; initial search for core features was connected to idea of <i>McDonaldization</i>

Tab. 1 (continued)

Model	Brief description	Relation to globalization theories
Linguistic Imperialism (Phillipson 1992)	English is a hegemonic language and the ELT industry has reflected and supported unequal power relations between center and periphery	Division of center and periphery are tied to the notion of <i>polarization</i> ; idea of English being sustained through American interests in recent decades resembles <i>Americanization</i>
The Sociolinguistics of Globalization (Blommaert 2010)	The study of GSE needs to engage with how language resources and ideologies move across boundaries	Notion of flows relates to <i>creolization</i> ; different scale-levels are tied to the notion of <i>transnationalization</i>

Table 1 presents a summary of these GSE frameworks, and the suggested connections I make between these theories and the globalization models presented by O’Byrne and Hensby (2011). Although the associations I present may seem to oversimplify the relation between globalization and GSE, my intent here – as previously stated – is to present *possible* links between the frameworks, with the objective of bringing interesting insights that can tie conceptualizations of English to wider sociopolitical, cultural and historical phenomena in different contexts of investigation. Moreover, the relations presented in Tab. 1 already correspond to similar associations made previously by other scholars. For instance, Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1997) are explicit in linking issues of linguistic human rights and imperialism with McDonaldization and Americanization. Blommaert (2010) presents the sociolinguistics of globalization with a strong basis on the notion of creolization. Finally, Pennycook (2007) also conceptualizes globalization in terms of creolization, as well as transnationalization. My belief, then, is that the connections I expose here – although perhaps simplistic – can help current and future scholars grasp the nature of English and of language itself in connection with the complexities of globalization in a well-informed manner.

Despite the differences between the GSE models in particular, there is still much overlap in some of the concepts they propose. For instance, WE, linguistic imperialism and ELF all denounce the heavy reliance on the native speaker in ELT; ELF and the sociolinguistics of globalization minimize the idea of nation-state; and studies of borrowing under the WE framework (e.g. Assis-Peterson 2008; Diniz de Figueiredo 2010; Friedrich 2002) seem to address (at least in part) the issue of mobile resources proposed by Blommaert (2010).

4 Implications for teacher education

As stated in the beginning of the chapter, there are at least three important implications of the understanding of GSE in tandem with globalization theories for teachers and teacher educators⁵. The first one has to do with the linguistic choices a teacher makes in an ELT classroom. For instance, it is still quite common in Brazil and elsewhere for instructors to rely mostly or even exclusively on standardized variations of either British or American English as an instructional variety (see Friedrich 2000, for instance, for the case of Brazil). Although such choice may not represent a problem in itself, the facts that it is usually made without any critical appreciation of students' needs and realities, that a complete disregard for other varieties often comes as a consequence, and that students are generally led to have their proficiency levels assessed based on their ability to sound either British-like or American-like have both linguistic and socio-historical reflections.

On a linguistic level, it represents English as a language that belongs exclusively to the United States and United Kingdom, without much consideration for its internationalization, for other peoples (from inner, outer and expanding circle contexts) who use the language for various purposes, or for the linguistic diversity that actually exists even within the US and UK themselves – see Matsuda and Duran (2013) for a problematization of the case of the US, for example. It also disregards research that shows that L2 users are cognitively different from monolingual speakers of a language, and that the former should thus be considered and assessed in their own right, rather than in comparison to the latter (Cook 1999). These and other criticisms in terms of linguistic consequences have already been raised over the years by some scholars, and very interesting and positive suggestions regarding these issues have been made, including the choice of varieties based on students' needs and realities, exposure of students to multiple Englishes from around the world, and developing positive images of L2 speakers (Cook 1999; Matsuda and Friedrich 2011).

Still, it is important for us to give higher emphasis to the socio-historical implications of these linguistic choices. For example, when a teacher exposes his/her students exclusively to a British or American variety of English *in an uncritical way*, s/he may be missing or diminishing wonderful opportunities of discussing the history of GSE and its relation to colonization (showing, for instance, how the language has developed in different parts of the world, with real examples of

5 The implications presented here are based on Matsuda and Friedrich (2011).

different varieties), the role the language has today as a *lingua franca* in several contexts (e.g., in science, business, and technology, showing instances of real encounters between native and nonnative speakers from around the world using the language), and of engaging his/her students in debates over issues such as how the language has been used in students' actual contexts (on a national and/or local level). In other words, teachers may be missing out on opportunities to relate the teaching of English to issues of social and historic importance on a global scale, discussions of which the language has been at the center. The ability to tie the teaching of English to theories of globalization and GSE, in these cases, is of crucial importance, as it can give teachers better tools to deal with these matters in ways that do not necessarily lead classes and discussions in one or another way (e.g., either towards views of imperialism and Americanization, or in favor of liberalization), but that can show how nuanced the spread of a language and its ties to other phenomena are.

For teacher educators, this implies bringing activities and texts through which their students (i.e., pre-service and in-service teachers) can become more aware of the ways in which English and languages as a whole are related to socio-historical factors worldwide, especially globalization. For instance, pre-service and in-service teachers could be asked/encouraged to reflect upon the ways in which their own language use, as well as that of others close to them, and the linguistic landscapes of their contexts (Shohamy, Ben-Rafael and Barni 2010) reflect larger globalization processes. They could also prepare activities (to be used with their current or future students) in which pupils would have to reflect upon similar issues, as well as notions such as translanguaging (Garcia and Wei 2014) and orders of indexicalities (Blommaert 2010) of different languages in their own contexts, and to relate those to larger globalization concepts and phenomena (such as the ones proposed by O'Byrne and Hensby 2011, and reviewed in this chapter). Some examples of texts that might be useful for such types of reflections include Jan Blommaert's "The Sociolinguistics of Globalization" (Blommaert 2010), Norman Fairclough's "Language and Globalization" (Fairclough 2006), Suresh Canagarajah's text on a new paradigm for ELT (Canagarajah 2014b), and chapters from "The Handbook of Language and Globalization" (Coupland 2010).

The second implication of the understanding of GSE in tandem with globalization that I wish to discuss here – and that is very closely related to the first one just presented – has to do with the teaching of culture and intercultural awareness. In spite of the close relationship between language and culture (Kramsch 1998; 2002), it is often the case that the two are either treated separately or that culture receives no consideration at all in English language classrooms (for an account of the case of Brazil, see Gimenez 2001). Moreover, as explained by

Gimenez (*ibid.*), many times when culture is addressed in ELT, it is done in ways that see it as a monolithic entity, usually conceptualized in stereotypical ways. Based mainly on Kramsch's work, Gimenez then goes on to defend that culture should be taught based on notions of interculturality, difference, and interpersonal relations, where disciplinary borders may be crossed by teachers. The understanding of English and its global spread in relation to globalization, in this case, is essential for teachers, as it can help them develop broader views of cultures, of how they have developed, and of how they have interacted with the English language across time (for a detailed example of preparing teachers to address these issues, see Diniz de Figueiredo and Sanfelici 2017). Hence, with such understanding teachers may be better able to help their students comprehend and explore the roles English plays in their local cultures, the cultures of their possible future interlocutors (both in "real" life and now in the virtual sphere), and in the concept of broader global cultures (Matsuda and Friedrich 2011), linking linguistic knowledge to other culturally-related phenomena in light of the current context of globalization.

Furthermore, the comprehensive understanding of different conceptualizations of globalization should enable teachers to better grasp how their students' as well as their own global realities have interacted with their national, social and individual realities (Kumaravadivelu 2008) in the constructions of their identities as teachers, students and individuals as a whole. As Kumaravadivelu explains it is only through such comprehension that "any meaningful cultural growth in this globalized and globalizing world is possible" (Kumaravadivelu 2008: 157).

In this sense, teacher educators could have their students (again, pre-service and in-service teachers) reflect upon different conceptualizations of culture (e.g., national culture, global culture, local culture, cyberculture, etc.), and the ways in which such conceptualizations are related to and have been shaped by globalization processes. They could also ask these pre-service and in-service teachers to reflect upon the ways in which languages help construct sociocultural realities, and to later assess the ways in which this is done in class materials, such as textbooks. Furthermore, pre-service and in-service teachers could be asked to prepare activities that could help their (future) students understand the way certain globalization phenomena (such as the Internet) have shaped their social and linguistic networks (for more on this, see Friedrich and Diniz de Figueiredo 2016), leading to an understanding of the ways in which cultures, societies and languages have been shaped by globalization processes.

The two aforementioned implications of grasping GSE in relation to globalization theories thus result in a third one: that teachers may become better prepared to deal with the politics of English in their classrooms (Kachru, 1986). When addressing questions of identity, for example, teachers may use knowledge of globalization

theories to discuss the role that English has played (again, both in “real” life and online) in students’ individual constructions of self (including the clothes they wear, the expressions they use, and the games they play, for instance), and how they view such constructions in relation to global phenomena that have been taking place – e.g., the increasing flows of people and cultural symbols, such as certain types of music, clothes, and so on; and the strong development of technology and its consequences, including the rise of social network websites and of massive multiplayer online games that have allowed many to overcome territorial borders that exist(ed) between people and places (Friedrich and Diniz de Figueiredo 2016). In addition, teachers may also become better prepared to engage in political debates over how these global phenomena and individual constructions of oneself relate to social and national realities, including the engagement of students with “real-life” and online communities and – in the case of Brazil – current discussions over whether the use of English should be restricted in public discourse (for more, see Bagno 2000; Diniz de Figueiredo 2014; Faraco 2001).

Finally, it is my hope that the understandings of globalization reviewed here and their relation to GSE can help teacher educators, pre-service and in-service teachers, and their (future) students engage with the tensions of how English is conceptualized by different people in different contexts – and sometimes even within the discourses of the same people within a single context (e.g., Diniz de Figueiredo 2014; Rajagopalan 2003). In other words, I hope that such understanding can help all to critically address the ways in which English can be positioned as an invasive and liberating entity, as a property of some and a possibility for all, in terms of love and hate – all at the same time. This engagement with the multiple conceptualizations of the language and of globalization as a whole, I believe, can help teacher educators and pre-service and in-service students deconstruct essentialized notions that are generally taken for granted in ELT, such as those of native and nonnative speakers. As explained by Jordão (2009), this implies being able to find and value the hybridity and heterogeneity that are a strong part of global phenomena. The comprehension that globalization and English can represent more than one thing at the same time – defended in the present chapter – should thus help pre-service and in-service teachers, as well as their (future) pupils, not only recognize these different types of discourses, but also engage with them in empowering ways.

5 Conclusion

In summary, English teachers (in Brazil and elsewhere) may benefit greatly from interdisciplinary understandings of English and its global spread that are tied to

understandings of globalization, such as the ones presented and categorized by O’Byrne and Hensby (2011) and reviewed here. To that end, it is important that English teacher education programs bring texts and activities that can help both pre- and in-service teachers build those connections and reflect about them in critical ways. Such importance becomes even more evident when we take into account the special role given to interdisciplinarity and to ties between language, culture and society in Brazil’s National Curricular Guidelines (*Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais*, or PCNs, in Portuguese). My hope is that the present chapter can be one such text and that it can help in the construction of courses and activities that may be influential in teacher education. Yet, it must be said that the ties between globalization theories and GSE frameworks presented here is only one take on the issue. I invite others to join the conversation and bring new insights that will help us advance.

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English as a lingua franca and critical literacy in teacher education: Shaking off some “good old” habits

1 Introduction

Most research produced until very recently in the area of English as a *lingua franca* (ELF) has resulted in descriptive and analytic approaches to the matter, evidencing the plurality of ways language users develop in order to adapt – linguistically and/or pragmatically – to situations of language use, reaching for different levels of intelligibility in English language interactions. Assuming that other research investments are needed in the area of ELF, this chapter critically (re)examines different ways such findings may impact English Language Teaching (ELT) and Teacher Education in Brazil (both at pre and in-service levels), focusing specially on how language, discourse, norm and pedagogic work, including materials design, can be practiced in our context. Based on a posthuman (PH) perspective for the conceptualizations of these aspects of language teacher education, this chapter will discuss how the perspective of ELF may shake off some good(?) old habits in the ELT classroom, shifting practice from a normative-driven approach to language, learning and teaching, to the localized agency of participants upon meaning-making in discourse.

From the standpoint taken in this chapter, such shift happens when we consider the tendency of some ELF studies to perceive language as a situated space in which different linguacultural aspects are seen as fuelling meaning-making (Cogo 2012; Canagarajah 2013; Dewey 2009). This way, we argue, ELF moves the focus from the learning-teaching of preconceived norms to the creation of spaces for negotiation, thus viewing contradiction and conflict as productive and meaningful, conceptualizing them as positive in ELT settings.

The assumptions underlying such aspects of practice will be shown as being closely aligned with contemporary views on critical literacy (CL) and posthumanism, especially in the particular set of ELF studies that question the traditional views of how language and communication are defined, understood and put into practice and, by doing so, pose new dilemmas to language teaching-learning.

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DOI 10.1515/9781501503856-004

Such questioning is, in our perspective, a productive space for the development of CL in a PH view, a view whose ontology can produce different perspectives on teacher-student interactions, allowing an approach to teaching-learning that is different from mainstream EFL epistemology, perceiving meaning as a matter of situated, multi-dimensionally dependent factors that can be productively analyzed in the light of PH. CL, PH and ELF therefore promote agency and localized practices, thus allowing for a decolonization of EFL teacher education and language teaching. As a result, we understand that ELF, CL and PH may converse well together, especially in the sense that they constitute ways of conceiving meaning-making as the focus of attention in ELT discursive practices, responding to the demands of contemporary language learning-teaching contexts.

It has been widely stated that the contemporary world presents us with different ways of understanding how people communicate and construct meaning, especially when such construction involves interactions between people from different linguacultural contexts through what they call “English”. When we look into English from the perspective of a contact language in relation to its spread (ranging from academic, scientific, migrational, commercial or any other social phenomena in contemporary interactions), the concept of ELF opens up a whole new standpoint for discussions involving language, discourse, norm and pedagogic work. Our aim here is to critically (re)examine how some key points risen from ELF findings and debates (and their implications in the learning and teaching scenario) encounter practices of language learning and teaching in Brazil. Our contextualized and situated understandings seek to problematize ELT practices which, in our view, have been taken for granted in our local context; we have been trying to find new routes for the local learning and teaching of English, taking ELF as an important starting point, especially for present and future action in teacher education.

When trying to find an opening argument to inform our position here, many different possibilities seemed suitable. However, none reverberated more to us than Firth’s (1996) paper titled *The discursive accomplishment of normality – on lingua franca English and conversation analysis*. In our perspective, for our purpose in this text, his discussion presents a crucial point of departure.

In his investigation of conversations between speakers of other languages in English, Firth (1996) successfully deviates our attention from what native-speakers (or scholars) of English would call *abnormalities* and *infelicities*, towards another possibility of understanding the phenomena. For him one should focus on the rich and productive sets of “extra-linguistic”¹ resources that perfectly

1 “Extra-linguistic” in a mainstream, traditional view of language, which differs from our own, as we will argue later on in this chapter.

serve the main purpose of communicative interactions which, in our view, may be simply defined as aiming to accomplish meaning-making.

Furthermore, his decision to embrace an argument placing real-world communication beyond descriptions of what would traditionally count as normal and meaningful renders priceless to our understanding of English language interactions, including learning and teaching practices. He relates such contexts of interaction to concepts such as *letting it pass* and *making it normal* which, in our view, constantly take place in successful communication in general (regardless of the geographical or linguacultural contexts of each language interaction), due to the unpredictability of interactional demands, happening also and particularly in teaching-learning scenarios. With these two concepts, Firth (1996) suggests the need for an acknowledgement of grammar *infelicities*, prosodic and pronunciation variants, for taking presumably unfamiliar (and supposedly wrong) constructions as part of the negotiation arena, placing contingency and unpredictability as important aspects of communication. Such perspective forces us to move into different ways in the field of ELT, without possibilities of looking back.

What we see a bit differently from Firth (1996), however, is his choice of excluding native speakers of English from his concept of ELF interactions: the way we see it, both native and non-native speakers find themselves in a position of meaning negotiation. As a result, we take the idea of ELF not as constituting a language or a language variety in itself, but instead we see ELF as a specific context of language use that produces language forms and ways of interacting and communicating markedly different from those expected from traditional interaction contacts (those taking the construct “native-speaker” as an absolute reference). Conceptualized as a specific context of language use, ELF means English *used as a lingua franca*, among multilingual speakers in contextualized practices. This is to say that the ways we use language are context dependent, context here understood as a much wider determinant than the usual concept of context as “situation of use”. Context, therefore, points not only at physical space or degrees of formality of particular cultures, but also at affective, historical, cognitive, spatial, perceptual, material, representational dimensions of our ontologies and epistemologies, of how interlocutors understand and thus have their interactional practices constructed.

Contemporary applied linguistics has only started to grasp the implications of such views to language “itself” and to its teaching-learning processes. However, we can already associate them with concepts of language that claim for a more integrative approach to what language is and does, such as Harris’ integrational linguistics (Harris 1998, 1990) and Pennycook and Makoni’s idea of “desinventing and reconstituting languages” (Makoni and Pennycook 2007), as well as to Latour’s (2005) reflections on the posthuman. These three perspectives

have a lot in common, from their emphasis on the fluidity of our understandings and the pervasiveness of power relations, to the notion of the impermanence and provisionality of the categories we create to make sense of the world.

2 English as a lingua franca and meaning-making

We are aware of (some of) the new questions related to the spread of English worldwide, particularly the new possibilities of understanding what counts as language. This is even more significant when we examine the idea of the concentric circles proposed in Kachru (1986, 1992), in which users of English are positioned in relation to their geopolitical connections with the language. But we are also aware that, as pointed out by Jenkins (2009a), such a representation of our landscape might be interpreted as too normative and colonial a view, especially if we pay close attention to the level of uncertainty and complexity carried out in specific practices of teaching and learning English.

For now, however, it suffices to recall that attempts at language description are greatly based on a reified view of languages as objects, as essentialized and autonomous systems for the expression of thought, purportedly functioning as more or less transparent codes. This is a view that develops too easily into normativity, establishing binary patterns of right and wrong, correct and incorrect, possible and impossible. Such patterns produce hierarchized language forms in their determination of better (or *not so good*) ways to use language and, consequently, label users as better and worse in their knowledge of a language abstract(ed) system.

This resembles very closely the colonial discourse founded on binaries of belonging and not belonging, having and not having, being and not being. Coloniality, understood as system of unequal relations of knowledge, power, resources and authority (among others), is not restricted to historical time, but “controlled and reproduced in the name of development; it [the colonial system] defines which knowledges are valued as knowledge and it establishes who is recognized as a full citizen and who is not (Souza 2012)”. Such coloniality is pervasive and ever-so present in applied linguistics and theories of language teaching and learning, most of which reproduce ethnocentric perspectives of monolingual users, idealized as efficient language learners (Pennycook 2010; Canagarajah 2005).

It sounds reasonable, therefore, to try to describe other discourses on ELF that inform us; such discourses will help us establish what we understand as fundamental for our theoretical-practical decisions as language users and teachers. We agree with Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey (2011) that different versions of ELF

have been depicted by specific researchers, and the ways ELF has been studied, discussed and conceptualized have been informed by a wide range of theoretical backgrounds. According to the authors, ELF in its modern sense has gone through several scrutiny agendas, ranging from the emergence of studies of English as a contact language in countries colonized by the British Empire, moving on to the acknowledgement of different varieties of English worldwide, the latter aligning ELF with some of the arguments raised in the area of World Englishes (WE), which is still seen as an umbrella term for such discussions. Our view of ELF, therefore, disagrees with the views of the authors who treat ELF as WE.

Because of differences and similarities between some ELF views and some WE standpoints, it seems important to mention what we consider as the main ideas that approximate and distance these two perspectives. As both shed light onto contemporary contexts where English is not (or has not been) a primary language, along with matters of emphasis on non-native speakers' identities rather than focus on conformity to preconceived grammar structures/rules, we see that both ELF and WE can be placed in neighboring positions.

On the other hand, the insistence from WE researchers, particularly influenced by Kachru's circles (Kachru 1986) in finding well-defined limits among different 'specimens' of English (as in Kachru, Kachru and Nelson 2006, for instance) leads us to favoring ELF in its most recent, less normative considerations, since we understand English as a fluid, hybrid and on-going process of meaning-making. This way, we tend to reject attempts to place the learning-teaching of English as conforming to specific varieties of the language, understood as domains and properties of nation-states. On the contrary, we tend to favor the understanding that English sets the stage for identity building and exchanging around the globe, an idea that places more attention on the *lingua franca* element of the ELF acronym (than it does to the *English* one), positioning English language closer to multilingualism, as argued, for instance, by Rajagopalan (2002, 2003). Nor are we in favor of the need or spread of a supposed common core of English (Jenkins 2000) as a basis for teaching-learning. Such core seems to us an impossible and undesirable task: impossible due to the ever-changing nature of languages, especially when we consider the movements of English in contemporary societies; undesirable because it could readily be assumed as a universal code. It is important to point out here that we do understand that such endeavor has been abandoned, as clearly stated in Baker and Jenkins (2015). At the same time, we do identify some ELF research that favors the situated and contingent process of learning-teaching of meaning-making in English, such as the ones that inform our own views and are described in Canagarajah (2007), Jenkins (2009b), Widdowson (2012), Leung (2013), Matsumoto (2014) among others. We depart from traditional perspectives of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and their

ingrained need for learners and teachers to approximate as much as possible to idealized native varieties of English, towards a focus on the processes of making-meaning in English, emphasizing the need to understand this language as it is constructed in each context of use.

By taking up an approach to ELF from its most recent conceptualizations, we are inclined to stand for the idea that, regardless the geopolitical origin of the speakers, in ELF we all speak a non-native language, as early mentioned by Jordão (2014), since even “native” users are expected to adapt and accommodate to the communicative situation, as the responsibility for intelligibility lies on all participants, speakers and listeners, writers and readers alike. Thus, any attempt to base pedagogic procedures to English learning-teaching on descriptive and normative approaches to language (particularly English) will prove lacking. In other words, for the accomplishment of learning-teaching English from an ELF perspective we ought to seek for the development of practices in which

speakers negotiate English according to their values, interests, and language repertoires² in each interaction. What accounts for success is not the fact that they share a single norm (whether British English, Nigerian English, or LFC³), but that they adopt context- and interaction-specific communicative practices that help them achieve intelligibility (Canagarajah 2014: 769).

Thus, learning and teaching English from an ELF perspective means we switch focus from institutionalized grammar rules to the encouragement of negotiation from diverse grammars and linguacultural collections that emerge from each and every communicative encounter in English. Concerning ELT and Teacher Education, classrooms must therefore be filled with as many possibilities of encounters with as many meaning-making situations in English as possible. Only that way can we start to grasp the productive potential of multiplicity and intelligibility through negotiation in English, particularly if we highlight the contingency of communication among identities in a transnational perspective.

In this sense, as pointed by Jordão (2014) referring to Pennycook (2007), such perspective also reverberates in the ways the histories of English perpetuate. By shaking off who and what counts for good communication in English, particularly dislocating the ownership of the language in EFL interactions, we make room

² As argued throughout this text, we see language as a space for meaning-making. In that sense, language repertoires may encompass any meaning-making strategies that emerge in every single communicative interaction, based on the histories of meaning-making (in English, or else) that constitute each and every participant in the interaction.

³ Lingua Franca Core (Jenkins 2000).

for relativizing social costumes and institutions, revealing the deep relations of power that exist in communication in any language: meaning-making in ELF may, in this way, foreground such power relations and thus make it impossible to account for interactions in ELF as neutral or immune to political-ideological implications.

This critical view of ELF is made possible by a poststructuralist perspective that sees language as a locus for the negotiation of meanings, as an open, situated and contingent system of meaning-making. What counts as norm does not come from abstract theorizations produced by linguists in their research labs, but from each context of practice (context here understood as a set of variables, from historical moments to personality traits, that exist and interact differently in each specific situation of language use). These contexts provide their participants with elements, dimensions, imaginaries that set the scene for language use based on how the participants of the specific event constitute that particular moment of interaction. Such imaginaries, however, are not established by each individual will alone, and cannot simply be transferred from one situation to another; they need to be constantly *translated* (Bhabha 1994), reinterpreted, rewritten, associated and resignified in relation to other individual and collective histories, expected regularities and cultural norms. Each situation of language use is constituted by multiple repertoires (Pennycook 2014) or resources that each participant brings to the scene. And more: the *non-human* dimension of the interaction also needs to be taken into account as an active dimension of communication.

3 ELF, desinventions and posthumanism

According to Latour (2005), besides conferring to all things human a central position in the world – and therefore ignoring the importance of the non-human to our existence and to our social practices – humanism has created a series of divisions and hierarchies that have proven to misdirect most of our research and understanding about how the world organizes itself. Downplaying the non-human can lead us, for example, into misconceived ideas about *context* (and for us more specifically contexts of language use) and how humans (with their agencies and will power) can control material reality. For Latour (2005), placing the human in a central position to all that exists has created too many certainties that need destabilizing before we can think differently. In his (2005) *Reassembling the Social*, he defends that we need to face some “sources of uncertainty” if we are to start grasping the deeper aspects of being in society. For us, the main lessons Latour teaches with these uncertainties are (1) the idea that our reality is made up

of conventional categories we ourselves have created; (2) such categories are productive as long as we never forget they are not constitutive of the objects we place under them; instead, they are provisional, fluid, impermanent, and (3) we need to take risks by living, thinking, feeling and researching in uncertainty, since it is uncertainty that brings about novelty, learning, cooperation.

Latour's (2005) view, when brought to theories on language and discourse, sheds a different light on some associations we tend to take for granted, so much so that their arbitrariness becomes practically invisible. One of the most significant of these artificial relations is the one between intelligibility and "correct" (normative) language use for effective communication; another is between intelligibility and the speaker or writer, rather than the listener or reader. Applied linguistics studies have traditionally focused on how language has to be *produced* correctly (grammatically) in order to be understood – intelligible. This has placed an emphasis on the speaker/writer, that is, the *producer* of language forms, as the only or most active element in charge of intelligibility: if the language they produce does not come out right, then understanding is compromised. This relates, of course, to another association: the idea of productive and passive language skills that applied linguistics has already challenged extensively (Widdowson 1978; Tarone 1983; Savignon 1983; Brown 2007, to mention a few). In this view, the listener/reader is conceptualized as passive and not directly (or maybe not even indirectly) responsible for the production of meanings, as meanings are supposed to lie on the language items produced by the speaker/writer, not on the language produced by the listener/reader. ELF theories, by analysing what goes on in multi/transnational contexts of language use, have demonstrated that both listeners and speakers are equally in charge of producing intelligible language (Rajadurai 2007), and that intelligibility rates are context-specific and depend on extra-linguistic resources as well as on linguistic ones, negotiation and accommodation being very common strategies used by language users in multinational situations, as already noted by Firth (1996), for instance.

In order to account for a more clear-cut notion of the ELF perspective that informs this chapter we see the need for a more precise concept of language. This way we think both conceptualizations will complement each other in the quest for bringing insights on learning and teaching of English in our context that would vary from what has, in our view, been traditionally and insistently taken for granted in the ELT Brazilian scenario.

It may sound risky to admit this, particularly because it could appear simplistic at a first glimpse, but the concept of language that supports our argument is that language is discourse (Jordão 2006) and the locus of meaning-making. In this sense, we view language-discourse from a poststructuralist perspective, particularly based on Foucault's (1983, 2002) ideas. That means we conceive

language as permeated by relations of power and, consequently, as an arrangement of socially constituted linguacultural interpretive mechanisms that allow, justify and legitimate certain interpretations while, necessarily, force the exclusion of others. Therefore, we cannot stand for a concept of language (and consequently language learning and teaching) that accounts for the *transmission* of meaning. What is left for us, in an optimistic view, is a concept of language that tries to account for the negotiated establishment of contingent meanings.

Likewise, another important revision we need to make is when considering Makoni and Pennycook's (2007) claim for new forms of (des)invention of the concept of language. Our favoring of language as discourse aligns with the perspective we take on ELF, especially as we agree with the authors (2007: 99) when they say that "English is subject to a set of discursive formations that are quite different from those at different historical moments. And this is where the notion of myth is so important, since it draws our attention to the ways in which stories are constantly being told about English". In this sense, the authors argue for the realization of the fact that English has been referred to as a language of international communication without necessarily being questioned in relation to its complex associations with matters of globalization and its various domains. Therefore, raising questions about how the reiteration of English, the myths surrounding it and their effects on people's identities and attitudes (especially towards English) is paramount. As a result, we end up taking language-discourse from an anthropological standpoint, in which

language is seen as a set of resources, means available to human beings societies. These resources can be deployed in a variety of circumstances, but when this happens it never happens in a neutral way. Every act of language use is an act that is assessed, weighed, measured socially, in terms of contrasts between this act and others. In fact, language becomes the social and culturally embedded thing it is because of the fact that it is socially and culturally consequential in use (Blommaert and Jie 2010: 7–8).

In this perspective, language resources are not impervious to the context, nor are they given objects independent from their use: resources change according to the contexts where they are being used and who is using it. This understands the set of resources that constitutes a language as emerging in specific situations of practice, rather than as a collection of autonomous ready-made formulas to be simply attached to each context by its users. Language here, as in Latour's (2005) view on objects, has agency, especially when an agent is defined, in Latour's words (2005: 71), as "anything that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference".

In respect to this, we tend to take the argument that in communication – especially in ELF – different grammars come to play, emerging as situated,

fluid and context-dependent, as pointed out by Canagarajah (2014). Thus, what really matters IN ELF interactions is how much investment and focus on negotiation and meaning-making interlocutors exercise in each context, since “as speakers from two different backgrounds interact in English, they will use resources from their first, second, or diverse other languages from their repertoire. As they collaborate with each other in attaining their communicative objectives, they construct certain norms that make their interaction possible. From this perspective, their shared norm or grammar is an intersubjective achievement (2014: 770)⁴”.

This goes against the idea supported by mainstream EFL researchers that the learning of preconceived structural elements for use in idealized communicative situations would account for some kind of consensual, precise transmission of meanings (Canale and Swaine 1980; Nunan 1989; Ur 1996). In fact, our posthuman perspective on language aligns with Latour’s (2005: 175) argument that “even linguists need a room, an office, an institution, a department, boxes of archives, a place to stay, a coffee pot, and Xerox machine so as to gather all the elements, which have been extracted from thousands of local interactions and millions of speech acts, and carefully fabricate a linguistic structure”.

This is to say that we linguists are mortals, living and working (and hopefully thinking as well) within specific contexts that inform, influence, determine and are determined by a multiverse of other beings, elements, dimensions, contexts, times, spaces, etc. Latour’s point is that we linguists, just like other scientists, mobilize such multiverse in order to *construct* (or “fabricate”) our sciences, but we do not do it randomly or arbitrarily: we build our own objects of analysis by creating and recreating associations among the multiplicity of actors that inhabit and are made to inhabit our local interactions. Thus, the rosy view once (and still often) rendered to communication is replaced by complex, context-driven, productive, situated meaning-making opportunities that emerge from contingent communication, especially brought to the fore in analysis of ELF situations.

⁴ This is not to say that English would be a pidgin or a creole, neither is it to affirm that ELF would be a dialect or a variant. We do not find productive the discussion around the status of English or ELF as (in)dependent language(s), or sublanguages, so to speak, or even as varieties. What we are trying to point out here, with Canagarajah, is that language users will resort to whatever they can in order to build meanings and “attain their communicative objectives”(Canagarajah 2014: 770), and their repertoire will inform their collaborative and contingent process of meaning-making.

4 Critical literacy as a posthuman pedagogy for ELF

In order to account for a pedagogical perspective that, from our point of view, converses with our notion of ELF, we favor local understandings of Critical Literacy (CL), especially in their acknowledgement of meaning-making as an on-going process of dialogical dialogue (Bakhtin 1984; Voloshinov and Bakhtin 1986), searching for the creation of spaces where different meanings can be negotiated. In this sense, CL, along with all its theoretical assumptions and pedagogical implications, presents a suitable alternative for the work in ELT from the perspective of ELF.

In a nutshell, CL perceives meanings as discourse in social practice. In other words, for CL meanings are *attributed* to texts rather than extracted from them, what confers to the reader/listener, in the spirit of Rajadurai's (2007) stance on intelligibility mentioned above, a shared responsibility with the writer/speaker for meaning-making. Such process is marked by relations of power and negotiation, thus not being neutral or independent of subjectivity. In a CL perspective, we interpret reality from our individual and collective experiences in negotiation with the context where and around which meaning-making takes place.

In situations of teaching-learning English in ELF contexts, we see CL working as propulsion for the emergence of meaning-making strategies that focus on the process of negotiation rather than investing much time and effort in the internalization of structures or pre-conceived communicative situations, emphasizing the understanding that meanings emerge (are constructed) *during* communicative interactions. Our argument seems to see eye to eye with what Canagarajah (2014) points out, particularly in terms of grammar issues and language awareness. Despite the fact that he focuses his attention on multilingual interactions and we talk from a supposedly monolingual classroom situation, we see deep connections between CL and the argument that every individual is language-aware and that “this kind of awareness has helped successful multilingual users intuit the grammar of the new speakers they interact with, adopt their grammars or borrow their words for their purposes, and find a middle ground between the divergent grammars of both parties in a communicative interaction (Canagarajah 2014: 772)”.

As a result, the practice of CL in an ELF perspective would break away with the idea that meaning-making is a pre-given activity, established prior to communicative encounters: in the classroom, therefore, meaning is constructed as students and teachers interact with English in their communicative opportunities, both inside and outside school. In other words, language *happens* as students and teachers make use of it, in the actual language practices people are involved in. The development of language learning and teaching based on CL claims,

therefore, for constant revisitations and revalidations of meanings to texts (verbal and non-verbal alike). This defines communication spaces as those where the participants agency is paramount. In other words, from a CL stance, everyone and everything participating in the learning and teaching of English necessarily bring their own perceptions of what English is and how communication can be more effective. It is only by means of negotiating such perspectives that situated, contextualized meanings will be made present, revealing the power relations that surround language interactions.

From the ELF standpoint we assume in this paper there are important implications to the practices of teaching and learning of English in formal contexts. Such implications might vary from the production of teaching materials that evoke conceptualizations of English in contemporary meaning-making practices, to the examination of how such conceptualizations may or may not reinforce normative views (and especially their silences and exclusions) on the histories of what counts as English. In our perspective, questioning those histories may help transgression and post-normativity based on situated, negotiated meaning-making practices.

In this sense, we view ELF as highlighting the importance of negotiation in communication, particularly because, in theory, the idea of a common repertoire shared by members of similar linguacultural scenarios is a construct that does not materialize into practice, and that is precisely what makes communication in ELF so interesting from a CL pedagogical perspective. This brings us also to Latour's notion of *translating* as the job of the scientist/teacher, rather than *transmitting* knowledge or truth, an idea that can be approximated to what we see as the role of the teacher in ELF and CL combined pedagogies.

For Latour (2005), the transmissive paradigm assumes a given reality to be passed on, unaltered, untouched, and untainted, by a neutral, unintrusive medium he calls "intermediary". In his post-humanist sociology of associations, however, every single unit of being (human or non-human) has agency and therefore modifies what it gets in contact with, makes it do things, transforms it, being instead a "mediator", i.e, that which "transforms, translates, distorts and modifies the meaning or the elements they are supposed to carry (Latour 2005: 39⁵)".

5 His example is the following: "A properly functioning computer could be taken as a good case of a complicated intermediary while a banal conversation may become a terribly complex chain of mediators where passions, opinions, and attitudes bifurcate at every turn. But if it breaks down, a computer may turn into a horrendously complex mediator while a highly sophisticated panel during an academic conference may become a perfectly predictable and uneventful intermediary in rubber stamping a decision made elsewhere" (p. 39).

It follows that teachers of English may never have taught English as a specific national idiom, focusing on standard pronunciation, grammar, lexicon; teachers of English may never have taught *textbook* English. Each teacher, as a *mediator*, as an agentive being, has probably been teaching *transformed, translated, distorted, modified Englishes* or, as a teacher once told us, they may have been teaching, in fact, “the English they can”.

This is to say that the teaching of English has been happening in a process of translation where mediators (teachers, students, English, texts) are induced into coexistence and thus transform one another in the process. To study this, we need to trace the translations between mediators and the possible associations perceived among them. Such study has to be always localized and situated, so that other associations can be made, by other researchers/mediators, from their particularities. From such perspective, the English language is a mediator with agency, as it changes those who make contact with it.

This is no short of what is postulated by many ELF researchers: English impacts its users, as much as its users impact English. In this sense, relating spaces of mutual diversity that come to exist in the exact moments of discourse encounters, in never-ending-translating environments – highlighted through ELF interactions – demands for an attitude to teaching and learning that is necessarily post-normative, as claimed by Dewey (2012). In other words, the teaching-learning of language moves away from normativity as localized norms, language and communication models, and informed strategies are called to play.

Again, it seems arguable to us that, from a CL perspective, meanings cannot pre-exist the discourse clashes that happen in teaching-learning environments. Therefore, the only way communication might successfully occur is through the negotiation of diverse repertoires that are brought into action in every single interaction: when using language we are not using a monolithic, homogeneous or stable system of structures – rather, we are putting in operation a complex and ever-changing body of meaning-making, open systems informed by our personalities, experiences, emotions, cultures, histories, political views or, as Latour (2005: 207) would put it, a series of clamps and plug-ins that allow connections to be made and therefore meanings to be formed.

As a result, we see English Teacher Education, particularly in the Brazilian scenario, in need of shaking off a few habits. We argue for such move because, in our view, such habits seem to be missing the chance to highlight the beauty and complexity of language interactions in the search for structured, clear-cut notions of what it means to communicate in English. By taking advantage of the locality of meanings and meaning-making, one might reach the conclusion that

there exists no global all-encompassing place where, for instance, the control room of the Strategic Air Command, the Wall Street floor, the water pollution map, the census bureau, the Christian Coalition, and the United Nations would be gathered and summed up. And if someone tries to do so [...] it is another place, another circuitous route loosely connected to the others with no claim to 'embed' or 'know' them (Latour 2005: 191).

By *being local* in ELT, we can thus construct agency for teachers and students of English, helping them to achieve ownership over ELF, to build awareness of their own and other's meaning-making practices, shortcomings and potentialities in language. Moreover, by co-constructing and resignifying what language (and English) can be and do in each communicative situation, posthuman CL seems to be hand-in-hand with our understanding of ELF and its implications to language education, especially in their view that language is more than just *the verb*, that agents are more than just *the doers*, that students and teachers are more than just *the receivers* of pre-conceived structures: languages, agents, students and teachers are active meaning-makers, using, constructing and deconstructing (in the Derridean sense⁶) varied, multiple and complex repertoires in constant negotiations that collectively assemble and disassemble associations, meanings, truths.

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⁶ For the philosopher Jacques Derrida, to deconstruct is to examine and question the assumptions of our *edifices*, considering alternatives even to what we hold as the dearest truths of our lives (Derrida 1976; 1978).

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Part II: Teachers and learners' beliefs about ELF

Kyria Rebeca Finardi

English as a global language in Brazil: A local contribution

1 Introduction¹

This chapter discusses the view of English as a global language and as a multilingua franca (Jenkins 2015) through the lens of Brazilian English as an additional language students' and teachers' beliefs about the role of English and English language teaching in a local setting. With that aim, the chapter reviews the role of English in Brazilian educational policies and the relevance of investigating teachers' beliefs. So as to foreground the discussion proposed, the chapter reanalyzes data reported in a study carried out with 65 English students and teachers in the State of Espírito Santo whose population is made up of a large percentage of immigrants, being the State with the largest number of Italian immigrants in Brazil, proportionally to its population of almost 4 million people. The aim of the study (Finardi and Porcino 2015) was to investigate English students' and teachers' beliefs regarding the role of English and English teaching in Brazil and in the context of the State of Espírito Santo where a bill to include Pomeranian (a dialect spoken by German descendants in the State of Espírito Santo) as a foreign language in the curricula of public schools was proposed.

The chapter is divided in five parts. The first part reviews the role of English in Brazilian educational, linguistic and internationalization policies. The second part reviews teachers' beliefs and its relevance for research and teacher education programs. The third part describes the methodology used to carry out the study on students' and teachers' beliefs on the role of English and English language teaching in Brazil. The fourth part analyzes the data in the study and the fifth part discusses the data in relation to the theory reviewed and concludes with some implications for the local, national and global scenarios.

¹ A similar Portuguese version of this chapter was published in Finardi and Porcino (2015).

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DOI 10.1515/9781501503856-005

2 The role of English in Brazil

Despite common belief that Brazil is a monolingual country, it is in fact a multilingual country with dozens of immigrant and indigenous languages spread in many communities where Portuguese is not the mother tongue. As pointed out by Leffa (2013), Brazilians must recognize and preserve this multilingualism by fighting against the omission and discrimination towards linguistic minorities through the reflection on and elaboration of language policies that promote understanding and tolerance among cultures, languages and identities. Leffa (2013) also alerts to the danger of linguistic isolation in Brazil, the only country in Latin America whose national language is Portuguese and where Brazilians face many challenges to learn additional languages, be them the language of their parents (heritage languages), of their neighbors (Spanish) or the language of “hegemony” (English).

As a *de facto* multilingual country, we must learn the language of the neighbor, but we must also allow the learning of heritage languages in immigrant and indigenous communities while also fighting against ideological obstacles to learn English as an international language, defined by Finardi (2014) as the language used by both native and non-native speakers of English in national, and transnational contexts as a tool for communication and without reference to the culture or country of its native speakers. Jenkins (2015) proposes the term English as a multilingua franca to refer to the multilingual communication in which English is available as a contact language of choice, regardless of whether it is used or not. Because Jenkins’ (2015) proposal refers to multilingual contexts where English is known by everyone and as such, is always potentially in the mix, I will use Finardi’s (2014) notion of English as an international language since most people in Brazil do not know how to communicate in English, as the study will show. In a country with over 200 million people, with many languages but not many English speakers, the development of multilingualism and the view of English as a multilingua franca (Jenkins, 2015) represents a huge challenge for educational policies in Brazil.

Aware of the difficult, but no less important task of reflecting about language policies, the Brazilian Association of Applied Linguistics – ALAB – selected this theme for their 2013 congress inviting applied linguists in Brazil to reflect on their role and the role of languages, be them native or additional² (hereinafter LA) languages. This chapter is an acceptance to this invitation and represents a humble

² The term additional language is used to refer to any language but the first and is preferred over the term foreign language because the latter is associated with a view that the language belongs to a stranger or an outsider.

yet important contribution to the reflection on the teaching of English as an additional language in Brazil.

I begin this reflection with Rajagopalan's (2013:21, my translation) definition of language policy as "... the art of leading the discussions around specific languages, in order to drive concrete actions of public interest in to (s) language (s) that matter to the people of a nation, a state or even larger transnational bodies." Grin (2003) reminds us that linguistic diversity (such as the one described in Brazil) entails some sort of conflict which in turn calls for some kind of intervention in the form of language policies. Rajagopalan (2006) claims that the teaching of additional languages is clearly a political issue since methodological aspects that directly affect the language approach used in the classroom stem from decisions taken elsewhere in the political arena. The very decision of which additional language to teach in schools is one such example.

Lagares (2013) claims that the teaching of additional languages in Brazil was sometimes treated as an extracurricular component being delegated to outsourced private language institutes that reinforced the belief that the school was no place to learn additional languages fluently. This belief is supported by authors (for example Tilio 2014) who suggest that just as the public school does not form mathematicians or historians (to give but two examples), it does not have the responsibility to form fluent speakers of additional languages either. Finardi, Prebianca and Momm (2013) and Finardi (2014) disagree with this view of the responsibility of Brazilian public schools based on the assumption that some knowledge of English is necessary to build global citizenship and public education must guarantee the teaching of English with quality. Gimenez (2013) and Finardi (2014) go a step forward to suggest that the lack of responsibility of public education to form fluent speakers of English increases the social gap of those who can afford to study English as a foreign language in private institutes and those who cannot.

In 2015 Brazil came in the 49th position (out of 54 countries ranked) in a survey conducted to verify Brazilians' proficiency in English. Gimenez (2013) reports that although only about 5% of Brazilians speak English fluently, there is general consensus that Brazilians want to learn English once they perceive this language as being necessary to participate in the globalized world where it plays the role of a *multilingua franca* (Jenkins 2015).

If, on the one hand, we accept Gimenez' (2013) claim that Brazilians want to learn English, and on the other, we recognize the statistics for the number of Brazilians who speak that language fluently, we will see a mismatch which might be explained by the role of English in Brazilian language and educational policies. It is important to note that the absence of policies aligned with the claims of the population can have serious social consequences as we have witnessed in the various protests in Brazil. One of these consequences in the case of the absence of

language policies for the teaching of English as an additional language in Brazil is the abundant offer of English courses in the private sector, which, as suggested earlier, increases social inequality.

Monte Mór (2013) suggests that the reflection on language policies in Brazil must consider a view of education aligned with the challenges of today's society recognizing the need for more investment in teacher education so as prepare teachers for the necessary mediations of languages, technologies and the local and global contexts. Finardi and Archanjo (2015) and Archanjo (2015) agree with this suggestion and add that this reflection is even more important now, when the country implements internationalization programs such as Science Program without Borders (SwB), the Language without Borders (LwB) and the English without Borders (EwB) programs.

Regarding the mediation of technology in local and global contexts as well as the role of English in the globalized world, Warschauer (2002) claims that we must acknowledge and fight against the digital divide phenomenon whereby many people do not have access to the benefits of the interconnectedness of the globalized world today. In that sense, Graddol (2006) and Finardi, Prebianca and Momm (2013) suggest that both English and technology (in the form of digital literacy) expand access to information and should be taught to guarantee access to the interconnected world.

This view of English as a “passport” to social inclusion and development is not exempt of attacks as shown by the claims of Saxena and Omoniyi (2010) that the teaching of English justified by the notion of progress serves to strengthen western democracy and globalization, or of Hamel (2013) that the hegemony of English in scientific productions is biased and serves to strengthen the power of the anglophone world or even the claim of Vavrus and Pekol (2015) that the world is divided in the powerful North, which benefits from globalization, and the suffering South, which struggles to deal with effects of globalization such as the internationalization and commodification of education.

Others seem to view globalization and the spread of English as a Global Lingua Franca as having both positive and negative effects (e.g.: Blommaert 2010; Bourdieu and Thompson 1991; Finardi and Csillagh 2016), one of which is the internationalization of higher education defined by Shin and Teichler (2014) as the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension in the mission, function of practice of a university. As pointed out by Jenkins (2015), English as a multilingual franca affects and is affected by internationalization of education, which in turn affects and is affected by globalization and the use of English as a Global Lingua Franca (Amorim and Finardi in press; Finardi and Ortiz 2015; Finardi and França 2016; Guilherme 2014; Hamel 2013;

Jenkins 2013; Saxena and Omoniyi 2010; Shin and Teichler 2014; Vavrus and Pekol 2015).

Regarding the danger of the commodification of language and education, Canagarajah (2013) suggests that teaching English as a neutral or apolitical instrument (value-free for the author) perpetuates the global domination of anglophone countries as it does not allow the trading of local and global identities. As it may have become evident by now, I tend to disagree with Canagarajah that the teaching of English may serve “mostly” for strengthening the anglophone world for I think that a greater danger lies in the lack of English teaching, be it political or not, once this lack increases the gap between those who have access to global information and agency and those who do not.

One solution to circumvent the hidden dangers of teaching English while also catering for its importance in the current global scenario would be to carefully consider its role in teacher education programs, equipping teachers with the necessary reflective skills to teach this language critically. In this sense, Finardi and Prebianca (2014) analyzed an English teaching Program in the same state and university where the present study was carried out and concluded that the curriculum of the English teaching program there does not cater for the reflection on how to teach English critically though some of the teacher educators in that program include this topic in their classes opening a space for discussion and reflection.

Regarding the role of English in Brazilian language policies and as suggested by Finardi and Archanjo (2015), the role of English seems to be threefold and divergent, depending on the level of education analyzed: in basic education English has the same status of any other foreign language and can be taught (or not) depending on the school choice. The Brazilian law of education (LDB) states that one modern foreign language must be included in the curricula from 5th grade on and though the inclusion of one foreign language is mandatory as pursuant to the law, the choice of language is optional and made by each school. In secondary education the panorama changes and there is an explicit mention to the inclusion of Spanish in the curricula as pursuant to Law 11.161 of 2005. Finally, in higher education and as can be seen in the prominence of the English without Borders program in relation to the investment in other languages and even in other internationalization programs such as the Language without Borders program, English is seen as the most important foreign language and perhaps as a global lingua franca.

Thus and as can be seen in the analysis of the role of English in Brazilian language policies and internationalization programs, it is possible to conclude that there is more than one language policy regarding the teaching of English as an additional language in Brazil: one for basic education, one for secondary

education and yet another for higher education and internationalization. This chapter represents an attempt to broaden the discussion on the role of English as a global language and its teaching in Brazil, proposing a reflection based on the “listening” of the voices of representatives of various segments in the local context of the Espírito Santo State: a group of secondary school students of English as a foreign language of a school community discussing a project to include Pomeranian (instead of English) as a foreign language in the curriculum, English teachers working in private language institutes, English teachers working in regular public schools, future English teachers studying at the English Teaching Program of the Federal University of Espírito Santo and English teacher educators in that program. Before hearing their voices we should first take a moment to understand why looking at teachers’ beliefs is important. This is the aim of the next section.

3 Teachers’ beliefs

The term belief has been associated and used interchangeably with other terms such as knowledge, perceptions, principles and theories, to name but a few, and according to Pajares (1996), it can be inferred by what people say and by what people do. The distance between what people say and what they do as well as the distance from theory and practice has called the attention of researchers (for example Finardi and Dalvi 2012) who are interested in understanding how this gap can be overcome. Since teachers’ beliefs seem to affect their pedagogical practice more than the theory they receive (for example Finardi 2010), it is important to understand teachers’ beliefs not only to improve teachers’ practice but also to use this knowledge for theory building (Finardi and Dalvi 2013).

The reflection on teachers’ and students’ beliefs can help the development of a critical thinking mass made up of autonomous educational agents who relate their experiences and theories to the context where they operate (Finardi and Dalvi 2012) through critical thinking (Johnson and Freeman 2001). So as to analyze teachers’ and students’ beliefs it is important to observe not only their practice and discourse but also the theory they receive and in this sense the study presented in this chapter intends to make a relevant contribution with the analysis of English students’, future English teachers’, English as a foreign language teachers’ and English teacher educators’ beliefs on the role of English in Brazil looking at what they say, what they do and also the theory they receive.

Finardi and Prebianca (2014) claim that the construction of teacher identity does not begin in teaching programs, though it is there that future teachers

contrast their experience with the theory received in the program. In a study about students' and teachers' beliefs about the role of English and English teaching carried out in two institutions, one of which is the Federal University of Espírito Santo (UFES) where the present study was carried out, Finardi and Prebianca (2014) concluded that, in general, future teachers still hold a transmission model of education and view English as having a secondary role in the construction of social capital of teachers. Results of their study of the English teaching degree program at UFES led the authors to suggest that the curriculum of that program should be reviewed in order to promote the inclusion of disciplines that equip teachers with the critical thinking skills required to face the challenges of contemporary times.

In another study carried out in the same English teaching program, Finardi, Porcino, Fadini and Alencar (unpublished research paper) investigated teachers' beliefs regarding the use of technologies and methodologies in English language teaching (ELT) concluding that the theory provided in that teacher education program, as observed in the course curriculum and in the observations of English Practicum classes, falls short of the expectations for teacher education in and for the 21st century.

Regarding teachers' belief on the role of English and ELT in Brazil, it is important to note that much of the knowledge that these professionals have is made up of theories of language acquisition which focus on results of ELT for learners rather than for social transformation and knowledge construction (Finardi and Prebianca 2014). Woods (1993) claims that when a teacher does not have access to theory he/she uses his/her beliefs to guide their practice while Binnie-Smith (1996) goes a step further to suggest that even when teachers have access to theory, their practice is still based on their beliefs, which ultimately filter the theory. As it is, the analysis of teachers' beliefs may be even more important than the analysis of the theory they receive in teaching programs to explain and eventually change their practice. So as to foreground the discussion in this chapter with empirical examples and to analyze students' and teachers' beliefs on the role of English and ELT in a particular context, a study was carried out and is described in what follows.

4 Methodology

This chapter reanalyzes data in a study (Finardi and Porcino 2015) carried out to investigate English students' and teachers' beliefs regarding the role of English and ELT in Brazil and in the context of the State of Espírito Santo where a bill

to include Pomeranian (a dialect spoken by German descendants in the State of Espírito Santo) as a foreign language in the curricula of public schools was proposed. The study was carried out with 65 participants of whom 43 were secondary school students in a community with a large percentage of Pomeranian immigrants in the State of Espírito Santo, and 22 were English teachers of whom 4 were teacher educators in an English Teaching Program in the State's federal university (UFES³), 5 were English as a foreign language teachers in private language institutes and 13 were undergraduate students in the English Teaching Program at UFES. Data was collected by means of class observations, interviews and two questionnaires (one for students and another for teachers) analyzed qualitatively (Dornyei 2007).

Maciel (2013) suggests the development of research in teacher education informed by ethnography to make room for the inclusion of legitimate local knowledge in research. The present study is not strictly ethnographic for it did not observe in-depth phenomena in situ, however, it is an attempt to rescue local knowledge through the inclusion of voices from representatives of various educational levels and contexts regarding the role of English and ELT in Brazil.

Two data collection instruments were developed for this study: a questionnaire for secondary students of English as a foreign language in a community in the State of Espírito Santo where there is large percentage of Pomeranian immigrants and where a project to include that language in the school curriculum was being discussed at the time of the study, and one questionnaire for English teachers of various levels working in different contexts in the State of Espírito Santo.

The questionnaire for secondary English as a foreign language students was administered to two intact classes in the city of Santa Maria de Jetibá, in the State of Espírito Santo, by an undergraduate English teacher taking the English Practicum Course at UFES and as part of her final study for the discipline and the course (Peruzzo 2014).

The purpose of the questionnaires was to assess beliefs about English and the teaching of foreign languages in general and of English in particular. Data analysis of the questionnaires was divided in two parts, first analyzing the answers to the questionnaire administered to the students and then analyzing the answers to the questionnaire administered to the teachers before contrasting results of

3 The Federal University of Espírito Santo (UFES) offers five courses on Languages (Letters), namely: English, Portuguese, French-Portuguese, Spanish-Portuguese and Italian-Portuguese. Of these, the only language teaching degree offered alone, without the double degree with Portuguese is English.

the two. After the analysis of the questionnaires data was triangulated with the observations and interviews carried out in all the contexts where the study was developed and with at least one representative of each participant population (English student, private institute English teacher, public English teacher and English teacher educator).

5 Analysis

5.1 Secondary English as a foreign language students' beliefs

The first question of the students' questionnaire asked them to rate foreign languages using a number from 1 to 5 where 1 was the language they most wanted to learn and 5 was the language they least wanted to learn. Results of this question show that the foreign language that most students wanted to learn was English, followed by Spanish. Although many of these students' parents and grandparents speak Pomeranian, very few students rated Pomeranian as a first or second choice of foreign language and overall Pomeranian came in the last position for the choice of foreign language after English, Spanish, French and Chinese. According to the observation of classes and interviews conducted with some of the students, the reason to choose English and Spanish over Pomeranian is justified by the possibility to use the former two languages outside the community and as a way to connect with the world whereas the latter is not so important since participants claim to be able to communicate with members of their community in Portuguese, without having to learn Pomeranian for that.

We can infer from these results that Pomeranian is not viewed as a foreign language in that community where it plays the role of a heritage language. Moreover, it is possible to infer that English is seen as a global language, as shown in the rating of this language by secondary students participants and which was confirmed by the second question in the students' questionnaire which asked them what foreign language they would like to learn if they could choose only one foreign language to study. English was confirmed again with 33 out of 43 votes as the language that most students would choose. Among the ten students who answered that they would like to learn a language other than English, four said they would like to learn Chinese, one would like to learn Portuguese in Portugal, one would like to learn Italian and one would like to learn Spanish. Only 3 students chose Pomeranian claiming that it might help them to talk to their grandparents.

5.2 English teachers' beliefs

Regarding the teachers' questionnaire, the first question was why we should teach English (rather than another foreign language) in schools in Brazil. Among the 22 respondent teachers, only one said we should not teach English but any other foreign language that is relevant in a given context. The other 21 teachers justified their answers saying that English is the international language and a global lingua franca using different terms to refer to the status of that language, among which we have: universal language, lingua franca, international language, transnational language, commercial language and global language. Another reason given by teachers to teach English in Brazil is related to the empowering nature of this language. Many teachers said that English empowers more than other languages because of the role of this language in the world today, offering more possibilities for communication and professional development worldwide, not to mention the fact that it is present in most scientific publications, businesses, and also in the internet. We can see that the teachers in this context view English as an international language rather than as a multilingua franca (Jenkins 2015) once most people in Brazil do not use it as a contact language simply because they do not know it. So as to check whether this language is taught as such, the next question asked teachers about their beliefs regarding the teaching of English.

The second question asked teachers what kind of English (for example Finardi and Ferrari 2008) they should teach and the vast majority (18 of 22) replied that they should teach international English using, for this answer, some of the same terminology mentioned in question 1 (universal language, lingua franca, international language, and global language). Only one teacher said that we should teach American English or British English and only one teacher said we should teach our English, that is, Brazilian English, probably referring to the type of English that Brazilians speak (for example Finardi and Ferrari 2008) or English as multilingua franca in Jenkin's (2015) view and in the context of Brazil. Two teachers said that we should teach several varieties of English, not focusing on just one variation.

The third question was which skills should be developed in English classes and most teachers (15 of 22) replied that we should focus on the four skills (reading, writing, speaking and listening). Two teachers (teacher educators) said we should focus on all skills (including critical thinking and translation), 3 teachers (private language institute teachers) said that we should focus more on oral skills and 2 teachers (public regular school teachers) said that we should focus more on writing. We can see that depending on the teaching/learning goals, the skills developed may vary though most teachers agree that all skills are necessary.

The fourth question was whether there was any difference between English teaching in public schools and in private language institutes. All the teachers answered affirmatively qualifying the differences between the two contexts as follows: teaching English in public schools is geared towards the development of citizenship and education and classes are usually large with uneven levels of proficiency, instruction is focused on the development of reading skills mainly. Private language institutes, on the other hand, have smaller classes which are better equipped and so teaching is focused on the development of communication skills and as such it is more efficient than the teaching in the public sector though the teaching in private language institutes is instrumental and geared to the market rather than to the society. These results suggest that ELT in the public sector, and as suggested by Tilio (2014), aims at developing a general citizenship rather than a mastery of the language and is based on language education whereas ELT in the private sector aims at developing proficiency in the language and is based on language training. This is the same conclusion to which Finardi and Porcino (2015) arrived at after analyzing the data in the study. I will return to this point in the discussion section.

Finally, the fifth question was how we should teach English in Brazil and some of the answers were: “as it is taught in private schools with at least 5 hours a week and using technology.” (Regular public school teacher, M.); “as a language of global and international communication, not in a structural way but in a functional and critically situated way” (English teacher working in both a public regular school and in a private language institute, M.C.); “it depends on the goals but in general and in the context where I work I think we have to teach English through contents that are relevant for students, such as discussing violence, for example, as a way to think critically about the world using the language for this.” (Regular public school teacher, M.); “just as any other discipline, that is, critically” (teacher educator, J.); “that depends on how each teacher sees the language right? Because it the end of the day, they will teach what they believe...” (Private school teacher, L.); “in the context where I work it would help a lot if we could divide classes by proficiency level so that we could develop the language as well as the education through the language” (Regular public school teacher, S.).

As we can see in the answers of some teacher participants, the way English is taught depends on the following factors: 1) the context where it is taught, 2) the goals for teaching and learning English and 3) teachers’ beliefs about the language. Considering the latter, analyzed in this study, we can say that most teachers believe English has the status of an international language and should be taught as such with both an educational focus and an instrumental one. Perhaps this is one of the challenges for ELT as a global or international language in Brazil: the gap between the education and the instrumental roles of the

language in the public and private sectors, respectively, making it difficult to integrate these two roles in both contexts.

By way of summary of English students' and teachers' answers we can say that in general, this population believes that English is the most important foreign language to be learned/taught in Brazil because of its role of international/global language. Moreover, they believe that English should be taught as an international language (with both educational and functional foci) so as to bridge the gap between ELT in the public and private sectors. So as to discuss some implications of the findings in this study for the local, national and global contexts, the next section discusses some of these issues in relation to the review offered in Section 1.

6 Discussion and conclusion

This chapter aimed to reflect on the role of English and ELT in contemporary Brazil by offering a local perspective from the State of Espírito Santo. With that aim, the chapter reviewed the role of English in Brazilian language policies. So as to foreground the discussion, a reanalysis of the data reported in Finardi and Porcino (2015) was carried out and whose aim was to analyze English students' and teachers' beliefs on English and ELT in Brazil.

The review of the role of English in Brazil and as suggested by Finardi and Archanjo (2015) and Finardi and Porcino (2015) shows that English has different roles/statuses depending on the level of education where it is analyzed. In basic education and according to language policies for that level, English has the same status as any other foreign language. In secondary education and again, according to language policies for that level, English and Spanish seem to have a somewhat privileged position in relation to other foreign languages since there is an explicit mention of these two languages in the legal guides for language education in secondary schools. Finally, the analysis of language policies and internationalization policies suggests that English has the status of an international/global language in higher education.

The analysis of English students' and teachers' beliefs on English and ELT in Espírito Santo suggests that the population in the study believes that English is the most important foreign language to be learned/taught in Brazil because of its role of international/global language. Moreover, the study showed that the teachers in the study believe that English should be taught as an international language (with both educational and functional foci) so as to bridge the gap between English language teaching in the public and private sectors.

In relation to the perceived gap between English language teaching in the private and public sectors, the results of this study corroborate suggestions in the literature (for example Gimenez 2013; Finardi 2014) that claim that the outsourcing of ELT to private language institutes creates a social gap between those who can afford to study English and those who cannot. Based on the review of the role of English in Brazil and the analysis of English students' and teachers' beliefs regarding this language in Espírito Santo, the chapter concludes that language policies and English teaching programs must be reviewed so as to reflect people's beliefs and aims regarding the role of English and its teaching/learning, respectively. Finally, this review should consider the role of English as an international language and as a potential *multilingua franca* (Jenkins 2015) in all educational levels (basic, secondary and higher education) and contexts (local, national and international).

Regarding the implications of the study for the view of English in Brazil, it is important to highlight that the current status of English in Brazil must be reviewed so as to propose convergent language and internationalization policies that acknowledge the role of English as an international language in all levels of education. According to Finardi (2014), one way to achieve this goal would be to recognize the role of English in language policies making the teaching of English as an international language mandatory in basic education, dedicating the space reserved for foreign languages, to offer other foreign languages, besides English. While the teaching of English as a foreign language is optional in schools and aims at developing native like proficiency, the teaching of English as an international language would be mandatory in schools and the aim would not be to acquire native like proficiency but rather to develop communicative proficiency in English as a *lingua franca*. With this measure it is possible that one day we could reach Jenkin's (2015) notion of English as a *multilingua franca* in Brazil since English would be available to all Brazilians as a contact language and it would be always potentially in the mix of languages available for communication, thus fostering multilingualism.

Finardi's (2014) proposal represents a huge challenge for teacher education in Brazil, not only because of the number of English Teaching Degrees available, but also because of investments in education in general and in language teacher education, training and long-life learning in particular. Studies that analyzed English Teacher Degree Courses (for example Finardi and Prebianca 2014; Finardi and Porcino 2015; Finardi, Fadini, Alencar and Porcino, unpublished research paper) show that the education and training in these is not aligned with current trends and challenges in terms of the incorporation of technologies in ELT and in terms of the view of English either as an international or as a *multilingua franca*.

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Sávio Siqueira

English as a lingua franca and teacher education: Critical educators for an intercultural world

What motivates the learning of a language is the construction of the identities we desire and the communities we want to join in order to engage in communication and social life.
(Canagarajah 2004: 117)

1 Introduction

The internationalization and the consequent globality of several natural languages in the contemporary times, especially English, is a recurring phenomenon, and, without a shade of a doubt, they have contributed to the dissolution of national borders, calling our attention to the many consequences at various levels in different areas, including teacher education. As postulated by Snow, Kamhi-Stein and Brinton (2006: 261), “the global demand for English has broad implications for teacher preparation in lingua franca settings,” including the critical questioning of several consolidated ELT assumptions and practices that have remained untouched for decades.

The quest for a performance more consistent with the current global society of transcultural flows (Risager 2006; Pennycook 2007) has brought us to argue that, more than ever before, we are in need of intercultural language educators¹ for a world which has posed itself as more and more intercultural. In the case of English, due to its once unimaginable spread around the planet, the quality of teacher professional preparation has become a key issue. More than that, the global scenario that we see materialized today presupposes, among other aspects, an epistemic break with certain ideological and pedagogical traditions, which is to envisage

¹ In broader terms, intercultural language educators, in our view, are those language teaching professionals who assume and implement their everyday practice under an intercultural perspective; that is, teachers who have developed, among other things, a clear understanding of practices and pedagogies intrinsically associated with an intercultural orientation in language education. (Liddicoat and Scarino 2013)

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DOI 10.1515/9781501503856-006

possibilities and strategies for transformation, liberation, and transgression in the process of English language education in practically every corner of the world (Kumaravadivelu 2012). In other words, we are to experience a paradigm change which distances itself from the idea of solemnly drawing on ELT premises dictated by certain ‘brilliant minds’ of the global North, and that also conceive the act of learning a new language basically through instrumental and conventional lenses. In reality, we are seeing now the rise of a process of consciousness raising which has become deeply critical of the fact that so far what has prevailed in language education, ELT included, in practically all contexts, is the construction of a political activity solely inner circle oriented (Rubdy 2015). As Cook (2016) would remind us, for example, instead of concentrating on producing successful L2 learners in our classrooms, we continue ‘training’ them to stubbornly imitate native speakers.

With this scenario in mind, and drawing on responses to a small survey with English pre-service teachers from Bahia Federal University, in Salvador, Brazil, the objective of the chapter is to briefly reflect on the political, ideological, and pedagogical consequences of the expansion of English as a lingua franca, now widely taken as an international means of communication. Stimulated by the current globalization process, these consequences catapult the use and the expansion of certain (neo)imperial languages, along with the worldviews instilled by the phenomenon which, in the specific case of language teaching and learning, makes imperative a critical scrutiny and assessment of certain pedagogical postures considered untouchable for a long a time. Equally, the questioning of universalized evaluation systems, the conception of language courses and curricula, the overall adoption of certain teaching strategies, the practices and rationales behind the production of classroom materials, and so forth. Based on this, it is also our aim here to propose changes, adaptations, re-orientations, etc. towards teacher education in the aforementioned context.

These are some of the issues and discussions which, needless to say, will pose a demand for the rethinking of the contemporary language teacher profile, imprinting, among certain aspects, a more ‘glocal’² attitude which is able to make practitioners fully aware of their role as intercultural mediators or agents in the

2 The term ‘glocalization’ is a neologism resulting from the combination of the words *globalization* and *localization*, and refers to the presence of the local dimension in the production of a global culture; the term dates from the 1980s, and has its origins in Japanese business practices. It derives from the Japanese word *dochakuka*, which means ‘global localization’. The term was first introduced in the Occident by Robertson (1997), and according to this author, the concept has the merit of restoring the multidimensional reality of the current globalization movement. Adapted and translated by author from <<https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Glocalizacao>>. Access: Nov 11, 2015. See also Robertson (1994).

process of knowledge acquisition. According to Lantolf and Thorne (2006: 79 as cited in Liddicoat and Scarino 2013: 51),

[m]ediation is the process through which humans deploy culturally constructed artifacts, concepts, and activities to regulate (i.e. gain voluntary control over and transform) the material world and their own and each other's social and mental activity.

Following that line of thought, Liddicoat and Scarino (2013: 51) go on and affirm that “in the act of learning therefore, the teacher and learner use cultural products as tools to assimilate, create, or produce new knowledge and understanding.” For the authors, it is crucial to remember that “the intercultural communicator does not simply communicate in contexts of diversity but also monitors, reflects on, and interprets what is occurring in communication” (Liddicoat and Scarino 2013: 51).

In the case of English, this more than update debate is surely to make language educators aware of their main goal which is, thorough the teaching of a new and powerful language like English today, to prepare students to function effectively in contexts where it operates as a lingua franca (Ur 2010), plus guaranteeing their learners the skills and self-confidence to communicate with the other at the same level in any particular situation, anywhere on the planet.

2 Globalization and the idea of a common language

It is no longer necessary to have ourselves engaged in profound and heated debates in order to come to the conclusion that the current globalization process has provoked many changes, both positive and negative³, *to* and *in* the world society. Globalization has also marked its trajectory, to many an overpowering one, with the emergence of phenomena made more and more visible, and in several aspects, rather controversial. Doubtlessly, one of them is the global expansion of English, which has helped bring to surface the discussion about the hegemony of an

³ As posed by Kumaravadivelu (2001: 272), we are living times of shrinking space, shrinking time, and disappearing borders. In this sense, “people’s lives are affected by events on the other side of the globe, [...] markets and technologies change with unprecedented speed, [and] national borders are breaking down [...] for trade, capital, and information” as much as “for ideas, norms, cultures, and values.”

imperial language which, of course, navigates today throughout the world on the waves of the power of its strongest stakeholder, the United States of America.

While the argument stating that “English was in the right place at the right time” (Crystal 2003: 120) has lingered on over the years⁴, authors like Phillipson (1992; 2011), for example, have disagreed with such a conveniently propagated premise, and are always reinforcing the not always admitted intimate relationship between language and power. In his review of the volume *The Last Lingua Franca. English until the Return of Babel*, written by Nicholas Ostler (2010), Phillipson (2011) criticizes the author for his offering the reader a very soft facet of a language which, like several European imperial languages, carries blood in its historical path. For Phillipson (2011), Ostler views English in its expansion around the globe simply as a language of convenience. According to the author,

Coercive military force is occasionally mentioned, but there is not a word on the global militarism of the USA of the past century. He [...] uncritically considers English as ‘the world’s lingua franca’ and ‘the world’s language of choice’ (p. xix), profoundly classist, ethnocentric claims that are common in politicians’ special pleading for English. (Phillipson 2011: 197–198)

As we can see, the massive spread of English is just one of the many controversies involving the current globalization process. Certainly, there are other elements to be considered, and facts have shown us that such discussions do not take place in a very pacific, harmonious, and generalized way (Kumaravadivelu 2012; 2016; Pennycook 2001; Phillipson 1992 etc.). We are all aware that we have been experiencing a very complex contemporaneity in which a profusion of disputes at various levels continue to emerge. This becomes very clear when we realize that this is a global phase which distinguishes itself from the previous ones for taking into consideration several of its intrinsic and peculiar characteristics such as the conception of the world as a global village, or as Bloomaert (2010) prefers, a complex web of villages, encounters and/or confrontation of cultures, border dissolution, intensification of tensions and conflicts between center and periphery, the very high global mobility, superdiversity (Vertovec 2007), technological advances (unimaginable until recently), and, of course, the question of a common global language.

Concerning the “threat” of a single common language, be we aware or not of the effects globalization has also provoked in other languages of great territorial reach, it is always important to bear in mind that the hegemony of English is not

⁴ A rich debate on this topic can be found in Bolton & Kachru (ed.) 2006. *World Englishes: Critical Concepts in Linguistics*. New York: Routledge.

something unanimous, and, consequently, unquestionable. Other internationalized languages have also unveiled their power and, in the near future, they can surely compete with English in a more incisive and substantial way. Just for us to have an idea, in 2012, while the number of *Facebook* English-speaking users practically stagnated within the span of 10 years, Portuguese-speaking users in the same period have raised in more than 800%, along with Arabic speakers, who had the use of this language risen to over 500% in this social network⁵. Besides this, we have also to consider Chinese Mandarin which begins to leave the Asian giant's geopolitical cocoon and be studied and learned by hundreds of thousands of people all over the world, including the United States, still the world's economic and military superpower⁶, and a society notoriously oriented by a monolingual state of mind.

Despite this very broad picture, our reflection here zooms in on English exactly because it is still the most spread language of today's world. However, as it is plausible to suggest, several of the more general assumptions brought to the discussion, if not all, are absolutely compatible with any teaching context of a language which moves beyond its borders and travels around the world, experiencing, above all, intercultural encounters. In other words, several of those languages that we consider "denationalized" like Arabic, Portuguese, French, or Spanish, for example, preserving due proportions, are to be submitted to such principles and assumptions. In the case of English, once the language has won a status never reached by any other natural/national language, research studies about this process, naturally, excel and abound, provoking an avalanche of knowledge production on the very different aspects related to its development and effects. In other words, globalization and the condition of English as the common language sponsored by the phenomenon have made us write, speak, research, and theorize extensively *about* and *in* English, focusing on aspects that vary from the very nature of the language to, as pointed out early, the political, ideological, and pedagogical implications generated by the massive spread of the so-called post-modernity's global language (Cogo and Dewey 2012; Jenkins 2007; Kumaravadivelu 2016; Rajagopalan 2010; 2012; Seidlhofer 2011; Sifakis 2014; Siqueira and Souza 2014, among others).

Precisely because of this impressive expansion of English as the common language of globalization, it is possible to affirm that we are living a reality where

5 Source: <www.socialbakers.com/blog/1064-top-10-fastest-growing-facebook-languages>. Access: Oct 12, 2015.

6 Check TIME Magazine cover story, *Get Ahead! Learn Mandarin!*, June 6th, 2006. Available at: <<http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2047305-2,00.html>>. Access: Oct 12, 2015.

there has been an incredible emergence of a real “fever for English” (Kumaravivelu 2012; McCrum 2010; Rajagopalan 2004; Siqueira and Souza 2014). That is, English is more than ever *en vogue*, in fashion, and then the entire world feels compelled to learn the language of technology, entertainment, global scientific knowledge, of transnational businesses, etc. If these days one does not set to learn English, one is to feel like a creature of another planet, a real alien. The marketing industry, being more than aware of such a scenario, takes advantage of its enormous power and gigantic influence, and at all levels, incorporates and sells the idea of acquiring English as soon as possible and at all costs. Naturally, even unconsciously, people buy and follow that trend, not rarely, in an uncritical way.

And in this amazing rush for the language, in the pedagogical realm, for instance, it is possible to see the emergence of all kinds of opportunistic strategies to sell English. These promise to facilitate the access to this linguistic and cultural commodity: ‘learn English through hypnosis’, ‘learn English sleeping’, ‘speak English fluently in one week through exclusive methods’, or just like what has been happening in Asia, something like *Crazy English* is invented, a supposed methodology originated in China and that has become viral in that region. Under the ‘magic’ of *Crazy English* thousands of people gather together in huge venues such as parks, gymnasiums, and even stadiums, in order to join an instructor with the profile of a TV entertainer, and start their lessons literally screaming and shouting to themselves in English. The ‘celebrity’ behind this ‘method’ is Li Yang, and after he experienced unprecedented success in China, Southeast Asia, and even Australia, it seems that his ‘crazy’ invention is losing ground. However, it is a fact that his creation has turned him into one more millionaire of the ELT industry, along with famous writers of textbooks of great international penetration, usually connected to the powerful and transnational editorial conglomerates mainly based in Great Britain or the United States of America.

Early in the new millennium, when this ‘craziness over English’ reached its peak, especially because of the consolidation and massive use of the so-called new communication and information technologies, Pennycook (2001: 78) would remind us that, with or without resistance, “English is the world and the world is English.” Certainly, even for this author, whose more recent work concentrated on global diversity, local practices, transcultural flows, among others (Pennycook 2007; 2010), the impressive spread of this language around the planet never ceased to intrigue people, and, consequently, provoke heated debates and discussions on different occasions and at various levels.

Linguae francae, we all know, are a phenomenon as old as humanity itself, but what has called the world’s attention about English is exactly the reach of its trajectory. In other words, never before has a language traveled so far, landing on so many different grounds of the planet like English today. And as it could not

be otherwise, the phenomenon *per se* and its implications are to be conceived, investigated, analyzed, and interpreted through different perspectives. The one we advocate and are to place emphasis here, of course, is English as a Lingua Franca (ELF).

3 English as a lingua franca, function, research paradigm, knowledge field

According to Azuaga and Cavalheiro (2015: 103), “English occupies a unique place both in history and in today’s world.” As cause and consequence of the current globalization process, the phenomenal condition it reached as the world’s most influential and desired language nowadays, it is conceived and studied under different lenses and perspectives (Kachru 1995; McKay 2002; Rajagopalan 2004; Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer 2011; Cogo and Dewey 2012; Sifakis 2014, among others).

Out of these elaborations derive several research paradigms such as *World Englishes* (Kachru 1985; Berns 2009, etc.) or *English as a lingua franca* (Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer 2011; Cogo and Dewey, 2012, etc.). And many other names and labels are attributed to such a transnational process: *English as a global language*, *World English*, *International English*, *Post-imperial English*, *Globalizing English*, *Lingua Franca English*, *Globish*, this last one, a strange “creation” patented by a CEO in the automobile industry, Jean-Paul Nerrière. In a totally impressionistic manner, the executive has collected sentences from Standard English grammar and a list of approximately 1,500 words which, according to him, would be sufficient for one to use the language in some specific situations. In other words, for the person who conceived it, *Globish* would figure as a sort of ‘decaffeinated’ English to be utilized in business transactions and only for this sole objective.

With the deepening of actions related to globalization, it has become common practice to hear that English is supposedly a neutral language that puts people from different walks of life in contact, although we all know that, for the influence of its gigantic cultural industry and enormous military and economic power, one of the engines of this North-South globalization is exactly an Anglophone country, the United States of America. Because of this, and, of course, a controversial past connected to the British imperialism, the English language began to spread throughout the world like uncontrollable wildfire (Rajagopalan 2010). Its phenomenal expansion is described, examined, and criticized according to different points of view, challenging, for example, among other things, “the traditional view of language as a bound, unified, and fixed system [being] replaced by a pluralist understanding of language as diverse, fluid, and multifaceted” (Kubota 2015: 21).

Since the 1960s due to the academic and eminently political work of Braj B. Kachru, the term *World Englishes* reached its consolidation as an important field of investigation⁷, capturing followers and investigators affiliated to its principles in practically all corners of the world. As Saraceni (2015: 3) remarks,

World Englishes began very much as an anti-establishment, revolutionary philosophy, which opposed old, traditional, anachronistic, stale and unrealistically monolithic ideas about English, and proposed new, fresh, modern ideas that would take into consideration the diverse sociolinguistic realities in which English had relocated.

More recently, around the year 2000, the concept of English as a Lingua Franca (henceforth ELF) came to surface in a very solid and bold way, mainly due to the diffusion of seminal works conducted by Jennifer Jenkins (England) and Barbara Seidlhofer (Austria). In her latest article for *Englishes in Practice*, where she discusses the past, the present, and the future of ELF research, Jenkins (2015: 52) recalls some of the first steps in the field:

The first empirical research into ELF communication was, to my knowledge, my own ELF pronunciation research that began in the late 1980s (though the term ‘English as a Lingua Franca’ was not yet in use). Having observed the phenomenon of ELF communication among students in (and outside) the multilingual EFL classes I was teaching in London in the 1980s, the mutual intelligibility they habitually achieved with their ‘non-standard’ (i.e. non-native) forms, and the easy way in which they resolved any difficulties by means of accommodation (see e.g. Beebe & Giles 1984), I began to question the usefulness of the native English norms underpinning the EFL ‘industry’, and to research the ELF phenomenon.

For Saraceni (2015: 101), the official start of ELF can be attributed to the publication of “Seidlhofer’s (2001) seminal article calling for the closing of a ‘conceptual gap’ between the descriptions of varieties of English available within the traditional World Englishes framework.” For him, such elaborations emerged as “a new analytical orientation that was necessary in order to document the uses of English as an international lingua franca” (Saraceni 2015: 101). Equally addressing the beginnings of ELF empirical work, Cogo and Dewey (2012) do acknowledge the work of Seidlhofer (2001), but, contrary to Saraceni (2015), they highlight the importance for the field of Jenkins’ book-length empirical study of phonology in ELF, *The Phonology of English as an International Language*, published a little before Seidlhofer’s paper, in the year 2000.

⁷ The institutionalization of a field of knowledge and investigation takes place usually through the consolidation of a professional organization, a journal, and a regular (annual, biennial, or triennial) conference.

Based on this scenario, Cogo and Dewey (2012: 1) state that the sociolinguistic reality of today's world makes ELF "a phenomenon that is *sui generis*, and one which therefore requires a different methodological and theoretical perspective for conducting empirical research." In our view, this is also true for the teaching context, as it has not been uncommon to come across strong resistance to initiatives that may question a *status quo* which defends the perpetuation of dogmas and certainties originated in a center and irradiated to a consuming periphery that basically reproduces ideas, concepts, practices, and behaviors at various levels. As in the view of Kubota (2015: 23), perspectives like ELF "call into question the linguistic and pragmatic norms of English that have traditionally been taken for granted and conceptually pluralize the forms and used of English," thus provoking important shifts of culture in ELT that inevitably have to reach practitioners in order to get ample support and overall legitimacy.

Several are the researchers fully engaged in the task of coming up with a precise definition of ELF. For Cogo and Dewey (2012: 12), ELF can be delineated from three main levels, its settings, its function, and also as a research paradigm, thus emerging "as new field of enquiry in sociolinguistics"⁸. In fact, for these authors "the only way to describe ELF is as a lingua franca which is capable of operating as a fully complex language system, just like any ENL or nativized version of the language" (Cogo and Dewey 2012: 16). And then they do offer a definition:

ELF is a term used to describe the use of English in settings where it is spoken as a contact language by speakers of varying linguacultural backgrounds for whom there is not usually another shared language available. (Cogo and Dewey 2012: 8)

In this sense, as Seidlhofer (2005: 339 citing Firth 1996: 240) would argue, for its hybrid character, ELF is defined as "a 'contact language' between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture." Besides, as a consequence of its global spread and intense international use, a clear-cut fact about English cannot be denied: the language "is being shaped at least as much by its nonnative speakers as by its native speakers," although, paradoxically, "there is still a tendency for native speakers to be regarded as custodians over what is acceptable usage." (Seidlhofer 2005: 339)

8 ELF researchers have the opportunity to share their findings in a dedicated annual international conference (currently in its 10th edition), publish articles, papers, monographs, reviews, etc. in an exclusive journal entitled Journal of English as a Lingua Franca (JELF). They can also join other developments in the field like ELF ReN (ELF Research Network – www.english-lingua-franca.org) and the DELF Book Series (*Developments in English as a Lingua Franca*) edited by De Gruyter Mouton.

Making room for a quick deviation, this negation of the native speakers' custody of English, consequently, the questioning of this model as the "supreme" reference to be followed by ELT practitioners, finds important critique in the words of several authors. Ur (2010: 2), for instance, affirms that today many people are rejecting the native speaker as the ideal to be achieved "for pragmatic reasons associated with teachers' need to provide learners with a practicable and appropriate model for a future using English as a lingua franca." Some of the reasons pointed out by her are: native speakers currently make a very small minority of ELF users, they do not all speak the same variety of English (some of these varieties, indeed, are mutually incomprehensible), and "any one native is unlikely to be appropriate as a model for ELF because of specific usages that may not be acceptable outside the local community" (Ur 2010: 2). Besides that, the status of the native speaker as the model to be solely followed "condemns all learners to ultimate failure (Cook 1999), since nobody can become a native speaker of an additional language" (Ur 2010: 2).

Returning to the definition of ELF, Jenkins (2007: 1) conceives it as "a contact language used among people who do not share a first language, and is commonly understood to mean a second (or subsequent) language of its speakers." For Seidlhofer (2011: 7), ELF is "any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option." As Cogo and Dewey (2012: 16) add, "a lingua franca inevitably has a multiplex character." So, along with such a thought, we can perceive that the theorization about the importance of users' choice in relation to the speech context is relevant for the ELF definitions aforementioned, especially because, in practical terms, ELF brings about the pluralistic and multi-ethnic nature of its speakers. As Friedrich and Matsuda (2010: 25) would argue, ELF captures "the diversity and complexity of uses and users of English in today's world."

Clearly, the few definitions of ELF posed above place great emphasis on its users' denationalized role and the varied and diverse contexts where they operate, which lead into presuming that ELF is day-by-day developing within the most distinct cultures and for the most different communication purposes. In this sense, Rajagopalan (2011: 52) states that linguistic phenomena like World English⁹ or ELF

[...] make us consider the question of the need for communication in the first place, and, consequently, take the 'language' not as a means, but as a consequence. The language is to

⁹ In his writings, the author conceptualizes the global spread of English through the term *World English*, but frequently acknowledges similarities with the ELF paradigm as in the text quoted here.

adapt itself according to the communication demands among groups of people of different nationalities and ethnicities which are to grow year after year¹⁰.

Based on this brief theoretical explanation about the term ELF, it is our contention that this is the paradigm which, in many ways, contradicts and challenges the deep-rooted traditionalism prevalent along the years, for example, in the area of English Language Teaching (ELT). In our conception, it is ELF then that has systematically oriented its elaborations, among other aspects, around the ideological and pedagogical implications to the area. In our view, doubtlessly, ELF holds the potential to contemplate the education of the contemporary teacher of English, defying the panorama described by Kachru (2009: 180) when he affirms that “our current paradigms of constructs and teaching English continue to be based on monolingual and monocultural – and essentially Western – traditions of creativity and canon formation.”

However, changes are on the way, as Kohn (2015: 51) provocatively asks, “*Quo vadis ELT?*” Such an assumption, in a decisive manner, reinforces the importance of a discussion about different ELT related matters, including that of interculturality, which, although not brought to the center of our practice, it surely permeates and gives full support to the process of language teaching and learning. In fact, interculturality makes us realize that in the world we live today, considering the access to new languages, English especially, learners are to be prepared to engage in encounters that are essentially inter(trans)cultural. In other words, we have to prepare teachers of English based on the assumption that “in ELF situations, speakers of any kind of English, from EFL, ENL, or ESL contexts, need to adjust to the requirements of intercultural communication” (Seidlhofer 2001: 8). With this in mind, we strongly believe that it is crucial to discuss and understand the concept just referred to.

4 Interculturality and language teacher education

A denationalized language like English, which today has more non-native speakers than native, grants visibility to several important of its characteristics such as high levels of hybridity and great diversity of users. Above all, a language occupying a position like this makes possible for users to engage in more and

10 From the original in Portuguese: [...] *nos obriga pôr a questão da necessidade de se comunicar em primeiro plano e, por conseguinte, contemplar a “língua” não como um meio, mas, sim, como uma consequência. Ele vai se moldando conforme as exigências de comunicação entre um contingente de pessoas de diversas nacionalidades e etnias que vai aumentando a cada ano que passa.*

more meaningful intercultural interactions, having as interlocutors individuals from any part of the world, bearing the most diverse linguacultural backgrounds.

Contemporarily, we would argue that it may sound weird and outdated to discuss the process of teaching and learning languages without connecting certain fundamentals, for example, to the concept of interculturality. In other words, if the intercultural condition in language teaching is becoming more and more visible, and broadly acknowledged as extremely important, it is imperative that university courses, programs, and curricula begin to consider putting more emphasis on the process of educating intercultural language professionals. Such policies, naturally, are to create the conditions for the emergence of teachers who, in their daily classroom practice, oriented by equally intercultural approaches upon graduation, will leave for the real world of teaching much better equipped and more sensitive to the education of users of English. Certainly, these professionals will be much more aware of the fact that they will be dealing with potential users who need to be ready, not only to acquire a new language, which theoretically belongs to somebody else, but to appropriate, manipulate, and reshape it according to their own needs and interests (Nault 2006).

Once we embrace the term interculturality, we affiliate ourselves to the thoughts of Guilherme (2002: 297), when she defines the concept stating that it is “the ability to interact effectively with people from cultures we recognize as being different from our own.” For Estermann (2010: 33), “interculturality describes symmetric and horizontal relations between two or more cultures, with the objective of mutually enriching one another and contributing to greater human plenitude.”¹¹

In the same line of thought, Mendes (2012: 359) adds that the sense of intercultural that she defends refers to the “comprehension of what is possible, in the entanglement of cultural differences and shocks which are at play in the contemporary world.” In other words, continues the author, interculturality is about the establishment of “bridges, dialogues inter/between individual and collective cultures, so that we can live more respectfully and more democratically”¹² (Mendes 2012: 360). Consequently, as Siqueira and Barros (2013) argue, the intercultural dialogue to which these and other authors refer intends to contribute to the construction of a positive reading of the social and cultural plurality of the world we

11 *La interculturalidad describe relaciones simétricas y horizontales entre dos o más culturas, a fin de enriquecerse mutuamente y contribuir a mayor plenitud humana.*

12 *[...] compreensão do que é possível, no emaranhado das diferenças e choques culturais que estão em jogo no mundo contemporâneo... pontes, diálogos inter/entre culturas individuais e coletivas, de modo que possamos conviver mais respeitosamente, mais democraticamente.*

live in, departing from a point of view based on the “respect for difference under a perspective of education for alterity and on the comprehension of the different, which characterizes the singularity and the unrepeatability of each human being”¹³ (Padilha 2004: 14).

Similarly, Scheyerl and Siqueira (2006: 93) postulate that the intercultural dialogue is that one which “privileges the respect to differences and makes visible identity traces as constructors of a politics of solidarity.”¹⁴ Indeed, a solidary dialogue, but not necessarily a pacific one, that is, a dialogue generally crisscrossed by conflicts (Siqueira and Barros 2013). Under such lenses, Mendes (2007: 121) had earlier pointed out that conflicts among cultures are something inherent to most interactions, once

[t]here is no encounter between different cultures and people which does not count on an intricate web of forces and tensions which emerge from the battles of different world views. There is no encounter of differences without conflict.¹⁵

Having said this, and taking into consideration that “ELF interactions typically occur in highly variable socio/linguacultural networks,” (Cogo and Dewey 2012: 8), it is our conviction that, for being confronted with a totally new and even more challenging pedagogical dynamics, it makes no sense to insist on holding to the old tradition of educating English teachers to still plan and conduct their classes founded in paradigms, practices, and procedures notoriously anachronistic and distanced from the current reality. This is clearly illustrated, once again, by Cogo and Dewey (2012: 25):

In the past few decades a wealth of research has demonstrated that with globalization and increased mobility more people have come into contact, with the result that communication has become evermore ‘intercultural’. Since English is the primary means of international communication (Crystal 2003; Graddol 2006) it is increasingly regarded as the most common form of intercultural interaction.

However, for some sectors in research agendas, it seems that the panorama described above does not mean much. In this sense, Cogo and Dewey (2012: 25–26) insist that, “despite the fact that most communication in English takes place

13 [...] *respeito à diferença, numa perspectiva de educação para alteridade e na compreensão do diferente que caracteriza a singularidade e a irrepitibilidade de cada sujeito humano.*

14 [...] *privilegia o respeito às diferenças e dá visibilidade aos traços de identidade como construtores de uma política de solidariedade.*

15 *Não há encontro entre culturas ou entre povos distintos sem que esteja presente uma intrincada rede de forças e tensões que são provenientes do embate de diferentes visões de mundo. Não há encontro de diferenças sem conflito.*

between second language users, until relatively recently the focus of intercultural communication research was on native versus non-native communication.”

With such a picture in mind, and conceiving language as “much more than an object of teaching, but the bridge, the mediating dimension between cultural subjects/worlds [whose] focus lies within the dialogical relationships, within the place of interaction”¹⁶ (Mendes 2011: 140), it is our argument that we need to be aware of the fact that important changes are to hit today’s ELT practices once research findings and discussions of this kind reach the regular teacher. To begin with, the contemporary practitioner has to be prepared to deal with a new student profile, within a conception of language distanced from the structuralist tradition, still prevalent in most English courses in the majority of contexts. Consequently, this “involves an understanding that English is not a monolithic entity and its pluralistic aspects can be integrated and localised in and for the language classroom” (Cogo 2015: 9).

Besides that, we shall also need to seriously think about new ways of decolonization at several levels like methodologies, curricula, programs, assessment systems, instructional materials, among others, which are still extensively used in ELT classes, paying heed to what Kumaravadivelu (2012) calls an ‘epistemic break’, that is, a thorough re-conceptualization and re-organization of knowledge systems, of “the episteme which basically symbolizes West-oriented, Center-based knowledge systems that EIL practitioners in the periphery countries almost totally depend on” (Kumaravadivelu 2012: 15). But for this to start to materialize, it is crucial that we involve all ELT professionals, especially the ones in a pre-service condition, as these are part of a new generation of teachers who will have to work with a totally different student, today much better equipped to engage in global intercultural encounters. With those assumptions in mind, let us see what some pre-service teachers have to tell us concerning a few ELF-related issues in Expanding Circle Brazil.

5 Pre-service teachers’ perspectives on ELF – a brief survey

Despite the fact that many English educators around the world are well-aware of ELF and the pressing implications related to classroom pedagogy, it is in our belief that they still seem to be entrapped in a deep conflict which involves teaching

16 [...] *mais do que objeto de ensino, a ponte, a dimensão mediadora entre sujeitos/mundos culturais, [cujo] enfoque se dá nas relações de diálogo, no lugar de interação.*

English for a ‘fictitious’ purpose, solely based on a Standard variety which will rarely (or never) be used by their students,¹⁷ or teaching English ‘for real life,’ in this latter case, getting untied from distinct groups of speakers (Cogo and Dewey 2012).

In order to gain insights into feelings and perceptions from a group of future Brazilian teachers of English¹⁸ based on the Institute of Letters, at Bahia Federal University, Salvador, Brazil, a brief survey¹⁹ was conducted in that educational environment with the objective of addressing a few ELF-related issues. Originally, the questionnaire comprised five questions, but just three of them emerged as relevant for the purpose of this chapter (see chart which follows). We chose the questions related the status of English as a global lingua franca and how it affects the nature of the language itself, the implications of such a condition to ELT practice, and what language educators think they are preparing their students for when these latter start learning English. Embedded in these three questions, naturally, is the discussion of which pedagogy to adopt in such a way that it can reflect the real needs of those who use English as a means of international interaction and communication, and, of course, the issues related to the intercultural encounters users evermore tend to engage in in this globalized world.

Open-ended questionnaire for pre-service English teachers (UFBA, 2014)

1. *How does the status of English as a global language affect the English language itself?*
2. *What are the implications of the current status of English for your day-to-day ELT practice?*
3. *What do you think you are preparing your English students for?*

17 Standard English is basically the variety to be taught as we adopt the native-speaker model of English. As Kirkpatrick (2006: 73) reminds us, the native-speaker model is advantageous only for “those learners whose major aim is to converse with native speakers and to understand whichever native-speaking culture it is that they are interested in.” As this is not the case for the majority of global learners of English, “with the adoption of a lingua franca model, the focus of the classroom becomes one of communication rather than the acquisition of some idealized norm.” (Kirkpatrick 2006: 79)

18 The participants were all pre-service teachers in the Language Extension Program at UFBA’s Institute of Letters (NUPEL). Most of them were already towards the end of their undergraduate course, and just a few of them had contact with ELF issues and discussions. The questionnaire was sent to the entire group, which at the moment of the survey comprised a total of 30 student-teachers of English.

19 Data analysis and interpretation of the complete survey appear in Siqueira and Souza (2014).

As pointed out by Jenkins (2014: 126), “the questionnaire as a research method is not without its weaknesses.” Citing Adamson and Muller (2012), the author asserts that “there are limitations to the strength of conclusions that can be drawn from questionnaire research, as it can present a distorted picture of reality” (Jenkins 2014: 126). So, as the survey was not sent to a geographically disperse public, but to a small group of participants which share the same instructional context, same mother tongue and same working conditions, we understand that our samples should be taken as partial and limited concerning the scope of our conclusions. Despite this drawback, we regard this as a valid attempt to problematize a reality which, most of the time, in different spaces, is curiously maintained invisible. The discussions of the responses also serve the purpose of provoking a necessary debate about certain topics that are generally ignored in several ELT realities.

Out of 30 questionnaires sent through electronic mail over the period of one month (April of 2014), we had 12 of them returned, that is, less than fifty per cent. This may seem surprising, but, in many ways, it illustrates a reality that unveils to us the fact that there is still a lot to be done concerning such issues. Of the 12 respondents, 7 were female and 5 male. Their age varied from 20 to 33 years old, comprising, noticeably, a very young group of (future) ELT practitioners.

Concerning the first question, *How does the status of English as a global language affect the English language itself?*, the answers revealed very interesting findings as our respondents granted us with solid arguments and elaborations which make clear to us that the English language, like any natural language, is in a constant state of change, and needless to say, these changes are to be taking place at different levels, once several new varieties are to emerge and seek legitimization. This also includes assumptions related to culture. So, for our future teachers, “English is no longer American, British, Australian, Nigerian, and so on,” “English reached the status of an international language which doesn’t belong to its native speakers,” “English is influenced by many other languages, so we can assume that because of this status, it can incorporate aspects from different languages, from other Englishes,” “It is important to understand how the English language varies according to the place where it is spoken,” and “The role of native speaker changes drastically.”

In regard to the emergence and legitimization of different Englishes, Bamgbose (1998: 1) remarks that, “in spite of the consensus on the viability of non-native Englishes, there are issues that still remain unsettled.” As widely known, “these include the continued use of native norms as a point of reference, the ambivalence between recognition and acceptance of non-native norms and the adequacy of pedagogical models,” having in the background, naturally, “the constant pull between native and nonnative English norms.” (Bamgbose 1998: 1)

Such a discussion makes us realize that, although teachers, experienced or novice, do have a clear idea that the status of English as a lingua franca, in many ways, destabilizes several of these ideological and pedagogical canons directly derived from Inner Circle realities (refer to Ur's (2010) point previously mentioned), and that ELF research challenges "the deficit model and highlight the monolingual bias and ethnocentricity underlying the idealization of the native speaker" (Cogo and Dewey 2012: 38), so far we have not seen initiatives that would foment a systematic and consistent classroom work which takes into consideration important findings in ELF research, especially in Expanding Circle countries. In other words, despite the fact that these teachers are fully aware that the status of English as a lingua franca calls for important changes in terms of pedagogical orientations towards the language, the real impact of the revolution ELF is to trigger in the field has not been felt yet. In this sense, as Cogo (2015: 9) would argue, "an ELF approach to language teaching ultimately entails a shift in perspective, a 'change in mindset' (Jenkins 2007) and a 'transformative perspective' (Bayyurt and Sifakis 2015) on the side of teachers and teachers educators."

Continuing on with the exploration of topics, the second question, *What are the implications of the current status of English for your day-to-day ELT practice?*, has shown that our respondents do not (yet) have a precise idea on how the beliefs previously expressed can be reflected in their classroom practice. Most answers were very broad and sometimes contradictory (easier for some, more challenging for others) as, for example, "I try to expose students to different varieties of English," "I encourage them to be creative with the language," "Teachers must have a broader view of what English is today," or "It definitely makes things more challenging." However, more objective responses have come up: "To feel self-conscious of their accents," "It is not difficult for the students to find materials, resources, etc. to study this language," or "To show that there are many kinds of English and that students don't need to stick to one variety."

As previously mentioned, several are the implications when it comes to teaching a language that reached the status of a global lingua franca²⁰. Pragmatically speaking, solid and empirical evidence of ELF interactions has shown us that communication can take place successfully despite deviations from Standard English, learners' different accents, and exposure to diverse variations of the language apart from the two Anglo-American hegemonic ones. As Cogo and Dewey (2012: 5) remind us, "what ELF research has shown to be the most typical of lingua franca talk in English, in fact, is its fluidity."

20 For excellent insights on the implications of ELF for the regular classroom, see Bayyurt and Akcan (2015) and Bowles and Cogo (2015).

Researchers in the field like Jenkins (2007), Firth (2009), Seidlhofer (2011), Mauranen (2012), Cogo and Dewey (2012), Kohn (2015), among others, have repeatedly emphasized the use of common strategies speakers in ELF interactions have at their disposal to maintain and achieve communication success. Some of these strategies, just to refresh our minds, are accommodation, meaning negotiation, co-construction, prevention and repair of misunderstanding, ‘letting it pass’, etc. (Cogo and Dewey 2012; Kohn 2015). Although not made explicit by our respondents, just indirectly, we can assume that these teachers are very much aware of what Kohn (2015) calls the “ELF communication argument”. This means that, in a certain way, these Brazilian student-teachers of English seem to understand that their learners, “in the course of their communicative endeavor, [...] exploit, in a collaborative fashion, endonormative processes of ELF development.” (Kohn 2015: 53)

One last response from one of our participants still related to the second topic shows us that (future) teachers in the Expanding Circle are beginning to internalize the idea that their practice needs to be oriented by several pedagogical decisions that will be beneficial for all: “Upon preparing my classes, I can also be aware of how people deal with this new status of English, or how the English language is interfering with people’s lives.” With this in mind, we can possibly affirm that younger teachers of English, especially non-native ones, are more inclined to access and pay closer attention to ELF data and findings being generated in several research projects at a global level, and then, potentially, start planning (and teaching) their lessons naturally informed by important features pertinent to an ELF perspective. It is from drawing on these findings, for example, that they can understand and put into practice the pragmatics of ELF communication, which, as Cogo and Dewey (2012: 5) assume, involves “strategies used to negotiate meaning, solve or prevent non-understanding, and support communication in ELF contexts,” just like speakers usually do when interacting with one another in the real world.

As more and more teachers from different parts of the globe gain an ampler access to the knowledge being produced by ELF research, especially the younger generations, more we are to expect the development of a critical posture from these professionals who, among other things, will be able to conceive changes at the personal level, for example, “engaging in forming and reforming their identities in this globalized world” (Kumaravadivelu 2012: 12), and at the professional level, thus, focusing their classes “on what is essential for understanding to occur regardless of the accent or variety of English being used by participants in a conversation” (Chopin 2015: 198). With this ELF-sensitive background activated, which shows an increasing awareness of the implications of teaching a denationalized language, the third and maybe the most relevant question when it comes

to discussing ELF and interculturality, *What do you think you are preparing your English students for?*, revealed insights like: “I prepare my students to be able to linguistically interact with all sorts of people from around the world,” “To communicate in a global perspective,” “To treat English variants as equals, without any linguistic prejudice,” and a very expressive one, “I prepare them for life.” To a certain extent, these answers corroborate the premise which says that the process of teaching English today “should be liberating for teachers and learners.” (Kirkpatrick 2006: 79)

Even though words like ‘intercultural’ or ‘interculturality’ did not appear in their answers, it is plausible to affirm that this intercultural sensitivity is running in between the lines of their discourses. Preparing language teachers for the new global context and the demands attached to it is not a luxury, on the contrary, it is the logical thing to do. As Souza and Fleuri (2003) dispute, we are always interacting with people that differ from us culturally, near or afar, and within this interplay of communication, it is important to remember that intercultural relations, in many ways, “disturb the hierarchical and purist vision of cultures, power, and knowledge”²¹ (Souza and Fleuri 2003: 63). Candlin (1984: 22 as cited in Crookes 2013: 34), many years ago, advocated language curricula developed around relationships among certain issues like questions of race, gender, class, rights, etc., arguing that such an approach “helps in the relativizing, personalizing and problematizing of experience, the enhancing of intercultural understanding.”

So, as we can see, when it comes to language education, the intercultural element has always been present, but usually not given the importance it indeed has once we venture into a new world of learning a new language. Since looking at language as social practice has always had to battle against the prevailing dogma of language as a system within the foreign language teaching realm (Saraceni 2015), globalization and the incredible spread of English throughout the world have triggered a lot of considerations and discussions involving massive intercultural encounters that would become more and more common due this movement that, with its positive and negative consequences, has the English language riding on its back. As Cogo and Dewey (2012: 15) would remark, “what we are seeing in situations where ELF is operating is not at all a new phenomenon; what is unprecedented in terms of ELF is the global scale of the contact and the accelerated nature of the processes involved.”

Certainly, such a panorama, as aforementioned, brings about discussions on intercultural communication to the forefront, and because of this, teacher

²¹ *As relações interculturais, em certa medida, perturbam a visão hierarquizada e purificada das culturas, do poder e do conhecimento.*

educators do have to be aware of the fact that they need to abandon their traditional practices and be ready to humbly rethink a lot of what they have been doing over the years in order to indeed prepare intercultural English teachers to this more than ever intercultural world. Thus, an effective way of doing this is to clearly understand that English nowadays is spoken by people from vastly different linguacultural backgrounds and since they learn this additional resource mainly for intercultural communication (Cogo 2015), to say the least, it should be taught under an explicit intercultural perspective.

Whether we realize it or not, in fact, it is not at all absurd to affirm that foreign language teacher educators are sort of lost, puzzled with an extremely complex reality, which calls for a teacher education oriented by premises, practices, conceptions, tools, and strategies different from the ones still used, though many of us are aware that a great part of these latter orientations have been proven obsolete and outdated. Bluntly put, the education of this new language teacher implies, above all, the destabilization of the comfort zone of teacher educators themselves. This means, in many ways, going back to studying, reviewing concepts, and developing sensitiveness to what has been currently produced in different areas related to English language education.

For example, when it comes to intercultural communication, as Cogo and Dewey (2012) point out, the type of research undertaken in ELF differs from traditional intercultural communication research, which basically focuses on native versus non-native communication. As the authors would complement,

One common denominator in most research in intercultural communication is what might be described as the ‘conflict view’, which sees communication as inherently problematic, and sees research into cultural differences as a way of preventing conflicts. (Cogo and Dewey 2012: 26.)

For these researchers, then,

the type of research that we undertake is *intercultural* in nature (or maybe better still, *transcultural*), in that it concerns communication that takes place among speakers from various linguacultural backgrounds [...], interacting in English, and making use of the language as a contact language or lingua franca. (Cogo and Dewey 2012: 26)

Bearing some of these questions in mind, it is our argument here that today’s intercultural world, in fact, will demand intercultural teachers that, besides being introduced to the studies cited by Cogo and Dewey (2012) and many others, are able to understand what it means to deal with issues like identity, power, racial conflicts, social change, global mobility, just to cite a few, while engaged in the teaching of such powerful ‘cultural capital’ the English language represents today. In fact, more than intercultural we should aim at the *critical* intercultural

teacher of English, that is, this professional who is fully aware of the fact that interacting in ELF these days involves a very different kind of English that needs to be taught in a more realistically way. A professional willing to engage in empowering pedagogical practices that hold the potential to entitle him/her to search and devise local solutions to the many challenges he/she is certainly to face along their careers. As for a definition of critical pedagogy, Crookes (2013: 76) would assert that,

[it] is teaching for social justice, in ways that support the development of active, engaged citizens who will, as circumstances permit, critically inquire into why lives of so many human beings, including their own, are so materially (and spiritually) inadequate, be prepared to seek out solutions to the problems they define and encounter, and take action accordingly. And then, within the whole area of education, as second language teachers we focus on language and culture, which to a large extent makes us who we are.

Although the critical aspect did not surface so clearly in the responses of our participants, their sensitiveness and openness to several issues involving English and ELT today already put us in a position to believe that these future professionals are, in a way, relatively conscious of their role as potential critical intercultural teachers in this current globalized world. As Kumaravadivelu (2016) would suggest, English teachers can be empowered to see themselves as intellectuals and get equipped to move away from the subaltern position non-native practitioners of English have historically conformed to. Once these professionals internalize that “critical consciousness and the will to act can be achieved through education” (Kumaravadivelu 2016: 76), in our case, through a more solid and broader language teacher education, they will certainly respond much more positively towards the goal of, as Kumaravadivelu (2016: 78) again would remark, “[untangling] themselves from the colonial and hegemonic [matrices] of power, method, and discourse” that have practically remained untouched and unquestioned in our area throughout all these years.

6 Final remarks

Having worked on the responses given by this small group of future Brazilian teachers of English, it was an interesting opportunity for us to realize that despite the fact that there are visible and solid traces of awareness towards English being used mainly as a means of intercultural communication in lingua franca contexts nowadays, a lot still has to be done for such issues, findings, and discussions to reach the pedagogic practice of millions of teachers around the world. As Cogo and Dewey (2012: 27) remind us, “the contemporary situation of English in its

radically changing contexts requires a fundamentally different approach, one that takes much better account of the increased dynamism that characterizes an evermore globalizing world.” In several ways, this excerpt summarizes the arguments we have tried to pose throughout this chapter.

Once we refer to the need of our conceiving and privileging an English pedagogy which responds to the demands of the contemporary world, we align our thoughts with Dewey (2015: 121) when the author, stressing the importance of an implementation of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) research findings in opposition to the traditional English as a Foreign Language (EFL) practice, announces that “it is time to wake up some dogs.” In other words, what the scholar says, and we follow his argument along, is that it is way past the moment for us to have experienced a change in culture and mentality concerning the teaching and learning process of English as a lingua franca in each specific context like ours, and many others that do not reflect, for instance, students’ desires and objectives to be interacting with native speakers of English.

For what it was discussed and explained here, although in a brief manner, for us, it is extremely important to highlight that a lot of the resistance for change in our area is anchored in the fact that teacher educators are somewhat confused, not to say, aloof, once they find themselves having to face a much more complex reality that is all the time testing and challenging their knowledge, beliefs, and flexibility, to say the least.

As we wanted to make clear, this scenario, which is very different from the ones we were all used to, has been calling for a language education oriented by premises, practices, conceptions, strategies, and tools very diverse from the ones teacher educators have been utilizing all these years, even in the case of those who have reached the realization that several of them, as previously pointed out, have proven to be obsolete and anachronistic, and are in need of being re-evaluated if not discarded.

In this sense, with all this reflexive apparatus inviting us to take action, it is important to pay heed to the fact that the education of this new language teacher (who will have in his/her room totally different learners from past years) implies, above all, a serious rethinking of the posture of educators. A change in attitude, for example, will bring teacher trainers and educators to reaching the goal of forming the long desired critical intercultural teacher who, potentially, will be much better equipped to safely and confidently operate in this intercultural world. Among several characteristics, this ‘new’ professional shall present in his/her background a broader general world knowledge, the effective acquisition of the target language, a full preparation to experience contact with the other, the ability of cultural mediation, intercultural sensibility, besides the capacity to relativize him/herself, and also value the other’s attitudes and beliefs (Corbett 2010).

More still, a contemporary English teacher who can brace together with his/her fellow teachers in order to fight for the updating of curricula, courses, programs, and disciplines, someone who can strive for a broader access to the knowledge produced in the area and other interrelated areas and, as Kumaravadivelu (2012) contends, a language professional who tries to free himself/herself from the historic dependence on language teaching hegemonic knowledge systems and orientations. Finally, teachers who support and sponsor the strengthening of an autochthonous epistemology, who demand the re-evaluation and restructuring of assessment systems, who engage themselves, as previously cited, in projects of decolonization of instructional materials (being critical towards the multibillionaire transnational textbook industry), who value their own empowerment as educators and language researchers, aiming at the (re)construction of a professional profile more adequate to their local reality so they, relying on their own means and efforts, are capable of producing local solutions for equally local challenges.

In short, we need to envision those English language teachers who are able to conduct their classes under the libertarian perspective of a critical intercultural pedagogy. In other words, we shall expect to form language teaching professionals engaged in a pedagogical practice seen as “an attitude to language teaching, which relates the classroom context to the wider social context and aims at social transformation through education.” (Akbari 2008: 276).

As the title of the chapter openly depicts, language education, especially concerning the status of English as a lingua franca, has been going through serious transformations, and, consequently, our goals need to be submitted to a complete scrutiny and systematically revised at the light of the enormous challenges that are (and will always be) naturally attached to them. However, moments of crisis should always be taken as instances of opportunities, once it is from the experience of ‘losing the ground under our feet’ that we certainly get to learn the best and most meaningful lessons. The common and lucrative utilitarian vision attached to English language teaching, so spread out all over the world, was to have been abandoned a long time ago, but consolidated and universalized practices, especially if originated in the centers of power, have always been resistant and refractory to any sign of change, mainly when closely associated with gigantic industries that feed on them and out of them get their enormous revenues and fat profits.

All in all, within the scope of the discussion, it is always important to keep in mind that, as Mignolo (2000: 37) reminds us, to learn a new language “is not a matter of learning a new code, but a new way of being in the world,” which, still in the author’s vision, “is most of the time hard and painful.” For this reason, we insist that the English Language Teaching field, more than ever, is in need of

teachers sensitive and attentive to the “pains” to be felt by future global English learners. Learners from a new era who, counting on the competence of those who are to guide them through many rocky paths, will develop the capacity of, without traumas and fears, entering the ‘brave new world’ that any adventure into learning a new language will always reserve for them. Once again, inspired by Dewey’s (2015) aforementioned words, the time to wake up some dogs has indeed arrived, and from what we have recently seen and experienced, they are very hungry.

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Gustavo Berredo and Gloria Gil

Teachers' and student-teachers' perceptions of English as a lingua franca (ELF) and the teaching of culture in the language classroom

1 Introduction

The new status of English in the world is a consequence of the linguistic changes that have accompanied profound transformations in the society since the end of the Cold War (Crystal 2003). Among these transformations, the globalization process, the rise of technology and the development of the Internet have been the main factors for the spread of English, which is today spoken more and more by “non-native” speakers. Consequently, nowadays, the predominant situations of communication in English happen not in monolingual contexts but in bilingual or multilingual ones all over the world.

Schütz (2014) argues that the necessity of speaking a foreign language nowadays is vital and, in the future generations, monolingualism will be a threat as illiteracy has been since the second half of the 19th century. Learning another language has had an increasingly important role in the history of mankind and people who cannot speak an additional language may be considered illiterate in the future. In this context, English is being recognized as the foreign language of greatest importance and has been integrated to education both in school education and private courses all over the world, as shown by Crystal (2003: 5):

English is now the language most widely taught as a foreign language – in over 100 countries, such as China, Russia, Germany, Spain, Egypt and Brazil – and in most of these countries it is emerging as a chief foreign language to be encountered in schools, often displacing another language in the process.

This internationalization of English may have serious implications for language teaching. Many authors have claimed that English language teaching should be adapted to the transformations in the nature of English now widely spoken by non-natives, so that people can learn it and use it more efficiently. Proposals for

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DOI 10.1515/9781501503856-007

teaching English for international communication, such as Jenkins' (2000) and McKay's (2002) have flourished and its main objective is to promote intelligibility and intercultural understanding in the communication in English worldwide. As already suggested, nowadays, the situations of communication in English take place predominantly between non-native speakers all over the world, who may be speaking different varieties of English (e.g. Jamaican English, Singaporean English or Indian English) or English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), the term we will be using in this paper, which does not consist of a new variety, but a polymorphous language characterized by its contexts of use (Seidlhofer 2006). According to Baker (2011: 197), ELF can be understood as communication among people "whether they are considered native speakers or non-native, second or foreign language users, and that ELF functions as an additionally acquired contact language for all".

Therefore, the objective of a pedagogy aimed at teaching ELF can represent an alternative that will be more appropriate to many teaching contexts worldwide. In the case of Brazil, there are already some pedagogical initiatives to implement the paradigm of English as a lingua franca in language teaching. One example of these initiatives is a discipline in a postgraduate program at Universidade Estadual de Londrina (UEL) (Coradim and Tanaca 2013). Moreover, some studies, such as Anjos and Siqueira (2012) and El Kadri and Gimenez (2010), have been conducted among Brazilian researchers and teachers, who consider the paradigm of English as lingua franca as an adequate alternative to the current teaching models in Brazil.

We agree with Seidlhofer (2011: 73), that "there are many aspects of ELF that can be said to characterize it as a postmodern phenomenon: it can be described as a hybrid, fragmented, contingent, marginal, indeterminate use of language". English as a lingua franca (ELF), thus, represents a

worldwide phenomenon that can be defined "as a common means of communication between people who do not share a primary lingua-cultural background, it is 'non-territorial' (...) in the sense that it can potentially take place everywhere between speakers of any origin" (Hülmbauer 2011: 44).

Following this new tradition, we decided to undertake a survey in one of the most important programs of English teacher education in Brazil, the *Programa de Pós-graduação em Inglês: Estudos linguísticos e literários*¹, (PPGI) of the *Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina*, Brazil, in order to understand some teachers' and student teachers' perceptions about the teaching of ELF. The study is justified because it is important to get to know teachers' attitudes toward this new paradigm and to investigate at which points the teachers agree with the

¹ Post-graduate Programme in English: Linguistic and Literature Studies.

tenets of the ELF pedagogy or if they demonstrate some resistance to abandon traditional paradigms of language teaching. In other words, it is very important to investigate how teachers and teacher educators perceive the principles of teaching ELF². Nevertheless, in this paper, we will deal with only one aspect of a larger research (Berredo 2015): by reporting on the part of the research that investigates the teachers' and student teachers' perceptions related to ELF and the teaching of cultural aspects. The next section, then, will specifically deal with that topic.

2 ELF and the teaching of culture: from native speaker culture to intercultural understanding

For McKay (2003b), the fact that English has become an international language and is being used as an additional language by individuals challenges the traditional assumption that cultural content for teaching should be derived from cultures of native English speakers. According to Hülmbauer (2011: 44) this change is:

directly implied in the definition of a lingua franca like ELF which centres on the kind of communication that typically takes place when people leave their original lingua-cultural communities or encounter interlocutors with different linguistic backgrounds than their own. The flexibility that characterises personal contact and communication in globalised contexts also brings about enhanced linguistic flexibility itself. Language as it realised through intercultural modes is not only becoming increasingly mobile, it is being mobilised in more and more different contexts, for more and more different purposes, and thus in more and more different ways.

Therefore, as in the case of pronunciation, lexicogrammar and pragmatics, the cultural aspects of English need to be de-centered from the domain of the native speaker, and culture should not be limited to the transmission of information about a foreign country (Byram, Gribkova, and Starkey 2002; McKay 2002).

The main changes regarding culture in the ELF classroom can be said to be concerned with the following principles (McKay 2003: 1):

- There is no need for students to internalize the cultural norms of native speakers of that language as before.

² In Brazil, according to Bordini and Gimenez (2014), several studies have already been conducted in order to understand student teachers' and teachers' perceptions on the teaching of ELF, such as Berto (2011); Souza, Barcaro and Grande (2011); Mott Fernandez and Fogaça (2009); Figueredo (2011); Zacchi (2006); Nunes (2006); El Kadri (2010).

- An international language becomes denationalized; therefore, there is no need to teach about the cultures of specific countries.
- The purpose of teaching ELF is to facilitate the communication of learners' ideas and cultures in an English medium, therefore *intercultural teaching* is proposed.
- Cultures and languages cannot be essentialized: there is a need to develop the ability to understand cultural issues from multiple perspectives.
- There is a complex relationship between language and culture.

First, learners do not need to internalize cultural norms of native speakers anymore. Indeed, traditional teaching practices usually have made learners acquire cultural norms that come from a unitary source, integrating cultural elements from some countries, such as Great Britain and the USA, to their own identities. In view of the changes in the use of time and space around the world originated with globalization (Bauman 1998), such educational goals can no longer be accepted.

In other words, English teaching should not be based on the assumption that a culture belongs to the native speakers any longer and, instead, should take into account the cultures of learners (Widdowson 1994). English teaching should look like a cultural exchange, where learners are free from those norms and use the language as a tool of communication, which would be adapted to their own identities.

Second, as globalization and the rise of technology and the development of the Internet have triggered cultural exchanges throughout the global community, there is a need to prepare English users to deal with these situations of communication. The problems that may arise from cross-cultural communication are based on traditional prejudiced attitudes towards other cultures and those who belong to these cultural backgrounds, which usually depict people from distinct cultures based on biased notions or stereotypes. In other words,

statements proposing that the English language somehow “contains” English culture, for example, “the English language [...] carries with it values and beliefs which are hidden in linguistic codes but control from the depths the process of meaning making during human interactions” (Gu 2009: 140), must be rejected as essentialist when we examine English used as a *lingua franca* in intercultural communication. (Baker 2011: 199).

Thus, in order to be prepared to communicate through ELF, learners need to have an open and curious attitude towards others and their culture and develop intercultural awareness, which is a kind of critical and non-essentialist awareness that results from confronting multiple possible interpretations of one's own culture(s) and other people's culture(s).

One example of a typical situation of non-critical and essentialized transmission of cultural information can be found in a study by Sarmiento (2004), for example, which investigates the cultural aspects constructed by teachers teaching English as a foreign language in their classes. The study [English as a lingua franca: teaching-learning and teacher education] reveals that teachers rely heavily on the transmission of cultural information usually resulting in the construction of stereotypes. Her study is a good example of the inadequacy of classroom practices in view of the new role of English as LF. Thus, the findings of the study show that the development of intercultural awareness was not present in the group of teachers under study. Likewise, Gimenez (2002) provides a typical traditional situation of culture-transmission in the foreign language classroom where some students are encouraged by the teacher to carry out a research about what American and Brazilian people eat for breakfast and compare them. And Gimenez does so, in order to show that that activity is based on the essentialist assumption that cultures are monolithic, and, thus, it perpetuates cultural stereotypes or clichés.

Therefore, instead of insisting on the existence of “pure” native/non-native cultures, and dealing with them in an essentialist way, the teaching of ELF should be based on the intercultural approach (Byram et al. 2002; Corbett 2003) which deals with culture as difference (Kramersch 1993), that is, understand that cultures are not homogenous but they are internally diverse. Understanding culture in this sense means avoiding to reduce culture simply to national traits, such as “Germans are like this”, “Brazilians are like that”, and including other cultural aspects such as age, gender and ethnic background.

Thus, the main tenet of the intercultural approach closely matches what is expected in the ELF pedagogy since it shifts from the transmission of knowledge or cultural products of specific native countries (traditional and communicative approaches, see below) to the mediation of intercultural awareness (Baker 2011). For Kramersch (1993), people’s perceptions about a culture are not absolute and may vary according to the culture of reference. This is why Kramersch (1993) advocates that to develop a more complete understanding of cultures, there should be a third perspective where learners have both views of their own culture (C1) and of the target language (C2). Kramersch (2009) explains that this happens when “they [students] get to understand both their own culture and language contexts (First Place) and the target culture and language contexts (Second Place). Using this knowledge, they move to a position in which they can develop intercultural competence to inform their language choices in communication (Third Place)” (Kramersch 2009: 244).

Like intercultural language teaching, ELF pedagogy should prepare learners to become intercultural communicators and mediators between the different social and cultural groups (Byram et al. 2002). Intercultural communication represents a shift in the objective of language learning proposed by communicative language

learning, which is acquiring native-like competence, to the promotion of cultural understanding and mediation among different groups (Corbett 2003). The same author uses a good example to explain the role of intercultural education, comparing learners to “diplomats” (Corbett, 2003: 2) who will be able to engage in these interactions in view of the sociolinguistic complexity of English use worldwide.

Further, Liddicoat and Crozet (1999) and Gimenez (2002) suggest that there are different approaches to culture teaching, which we call here traditional, communicative and intercultural. The first one, the traditional approach emphasizes cultural information transmission and culture is mainly represented as cultural products, e.g. literature, arts, music. In the second one, the communicative approach, culture is mainly understood as appropriate ways of behaving of a native group. Finally, in the third one, the intercultural approach, culture is seen as a way of acting and understanding the world³. These three approaches are summarized in Tab. 1:

Tab. 1: Three approaches to language and culture (adapted from Gimenez 2002).

Aspect	Traditional approach	Culture as communication approach	Intercultural approach
Culture	Cultural products e.g. literature, arts, music	Collective ways of acting through language Habits/ Customs	Worldview
Teaching	Learning with and about cultural products	Learning about the others' ways of acting and thinking	A third space: new views – connections-relations

3 Method

The research adopted a qualitative method of inquiry. Qualitative data collection method results in non-numerical and open-ended data, which are analyzed mainly by non-statistical methods. It is concerned with different insights offered by the participants, and focuses on describing, understanding and clarifying human experience. Data was collected through structured interviews (McDonough 1993),

³ According to Gimenez (2002: 3), the intercultural approach is an extension of the other two approaches as its goals involve learning about cultures (traditional approach) and the comparison between cultures, (communicative approach) and includes a new goal: the exploration of the meaning of culture.

with pre-established questions that were asked to all the participants. We used open-ended questions that allow for some flexibility, as opposed to fixed alternatives (such as yes/no questions) and scale items, which usually measures degrees of agreement (McDonough 1993). In this particular case, the interviews were conducted face-to-face because the presence of the interviewer allows for flexible approaches, especially when a new issue appears during the interview (Dörnyei 2007). The general objective of this chapter is to find out how teachers and student teachers perceive the teaching of culture in view of ELF proposed pedagogy. In other words, we wanted to see if the participants showed an adherence to a more traditional way of teaching culture or to a more intercultural perspective that matches the main tenets of ELF, according to the following research questions:

- What kind of approach to culture do the participants have?
- Do the participants have a view of culture that meets the tenets of EFL pedagogy?

The participants of the research are teachers and student teachers who develop activities at the *Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina*, Brazil, in the “*Departamento de Línguas Estrangeiras*” (Foreign Languages Department). The student teachers⁴ selected are those enrolled in the *Programa de Pós-graduação em Inglês/Estudos Linguísticos e Literários* – PPGI (Post-graduate Program in English/Linguistic and Literary Studies), including both master’s and doctoral candidates.

The Post-Graduate Program in *Letras* of the *Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina* (UFSC) was created in 1971, obtained approval of the CFE (Federal Education Council) in 1976, re-obtained approval in 1983 by the legal opinion 241/92 of CFE in 1992’ (Funck 2012: 122). On April 1986, the university approved the creation of the doctoral program in *Letras/English and Corresponding Literature* in the area of research of English Language and Applied Linguistics (Funck 2012). Nowadays, the program has two areas of concentration: Language Studies and Cultural and Literary Studies. The first area comprises four fields of research: Discourse, Education and Society; Teaching and Learning; Language and Cognition; and Translation. The Literature area has two fields of research: Literatures of the English Language and Theoretical and Cultural Intersections. Although PPGI has no official position towards the status of English as ELF, some of the teachers, mainly from the area of Language Studies, seem to have convergent ideas on its importance, as, for instance, ELF is sometimes included as one of the topics of the disciplines that they teach.

⁴ In this work, we refer to the students of PPGI as ‘student teachers’ because all of them have already taught or/and are teaching English.

The teachers were also chosen among those who work at PPGI. The criterion for selecting teachers was the diversity of areas of research. The teachers selected for the interview were the ones who worked with either areas of the program, namely Applied Linguistics and Literature. The aim was choosing teachers from as many diverse areas as possible, although the choice was limited to four by the availability of the teachers to participate in the research, who in some cases were very busy in their activities at UFSC. In the case of the student teachers, the same criterion was adopted, we tried to reach as many participants as possible, in order to obtain as many teacher backgrounds as possible. Finally, we interviewed ten participants altogether, that is, four teachers and six student teachers from whom we obtained the data used in the research. Some parts of the transcripts were suppressed and were not included in the analytic texts since they might give a hint about their identities.

Table 2 brings some information about the teachers, who will be referred to in the analysis as Participants 1, 2, 3 and 4:

Tab. 2: Participants' Profiles.

Participant	Sex	Concentration area
1	F	Applied Linguistics
2	M	Literature
3	F	Applied Linguistics
4	M	Applied Linguistics

The six student teachers, who will be referred to in the analysis as Participants, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10, belong to the Applied Linguistics area and have different degrees of teaching experience, as shown in Tab. 3.

Tab. 3: Participants' degrees of experience.

Participant	Sex	Program	Teaching Experience
5	M	Master	6 years
6	M	Doctorate	6,5 years
7	M	Master	3 years
8	F	Master	9 years
9	M	Master	5 years
10	F	Doctorate	9 years

The first phase of the research included the design of the semi-structured interview questions that were going to be used with all the participants of the research (See Appendix 1). The questions were designed to capture the teachers' and student teachers' perceptions about native speaker models, culture in language teaching, and the impact of the new status of English on the local society. The semi-structured interview was conducted in Portuguese to guarantee the maximum expressive ability of the interviewees, which were all native speakers of Portuguese. Questions 3 and 4 were directly related to cultural aspects and will be the object of discussion:

1. *Você acha que o ensino de cultura é importante no ensino de inglês? Por quê?*
(Do you believe that teaching culture is important for teaching English? Why?)
2. *Que aspectos culturais você acredita que devem ser construídos nas aulas de inglês? Por quê?*
(Which cultural aspects do you believe should be constructed in the English classroom? Why?)

The analysis was conducted according to the procedures of qualitative content analysis proposed by Dörnyei (2007), which involves transcribing the data, pre-coding and coding, growing ideas, and finally, interpreting the data and drawing conclusions. Additionally, we adopted the methods of qualitative data analysis compiled by Miles and Huberman (1994). The first part of this process consisted of the transcription of the data. The mp3 files containing the recorded interviews were transformed into textual form.

In the second phase, the data were coded, in order to simplify and systematize the information. According to Miles and Huberman (1994: 56), “codes are tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study”. The first step of the coding process consisted in creating a Start List of Codes (Miles and Huberman 1994), which contained the main “themes” of data so that we could extract from the text what was really relevant in order to answer the research questions adopted. The codes were then assigned to different parts of the text according to their relevance for the research. During the coding process, as new themes turned up, new codes were added to the list, so that the final codes list was composed. The main codes for the analysis used in the analysis here presented are: culture definition, culture as products/behaviours/awareness and purposes of teaching/learning culture. A table with these codes related to each participants' answers can be found in Appendix 2.

4 Data analysis and discussion

The objective of this section is to analyze the participants' perceptions of culture and of the approaches to culture in view of the ELF pedagogy. It is important to highlight here that the participants have a unanimous view on the status of English as a lingua franca in the world nowadays since they all acknowledge that there are many groups of people who use the language and that non-native users can be considered legitimate users of it. But, in spite of that, those participants do not seem to have a unique understanding regarding the role that culture plays when teaching English in a country like Brazil.

As seen before, there are three approaches to culture in the English classroom: a traditional perspective of culture in which it is seen as cultural products such as literature, painting, music and other arts, a communicative approach in which culture is mainly understood as behavior, and the intercultural approach, in which culture is seen as perspectives/awareness. We need to remember that the last one is the one usually thought to be that most closely matches the ELF perspective.

From the analysis, firstly, it can be seen that only one of the participants, Participant 2, who is a teacher of literature at PPGI, has *a traditional approach to culture* as he equates culture with products related to great music, literature, and art. When asked what kind of cultural aspects should be addressed in the classroom, Participant 2 answered the following:

For example, art issues such as how the arts are practiced in that context. Literature, music, painting, folklore relations, all these cultural expressions, I mean culture, they are imbued with linguistic practices, so when you bring to the classroom a chance to explore the cultural content of a particular language, you will have brought gains, not only cultural, but also linguistic gains (Participant 2). [our translation]⁵

Thus, dealing with the arts, according to this teacher brings about both cultural and linguistic gains, that is, something extra, it is something which is not already in the learner, who seem to be an empty vessel who has to be filled with this information.

Secondly, Participants 1, 3, 7, 9 understand culture as *behaviour*, such as habits, customs and etiquette norms related to specific national groups, especially American people. Thus, these participants seem to understand culture and

⁵ From now on, all of the original participants' comments in Portuguese were translated into English by the authors.

the culture and language relationship *from a culture as communication approach*. Let's see what Participant 1, who is a teacher at PPGI, says:

And I think the student has to know, for example, if we think about **touchy matters**, when you speak a foreign language we assume that you're going to interact with someone in that foreign language. So you have to know that, for example, that a certain country that speaks that language has many Catholics for example, Brazil. To avoid this kind of conversation, a conversation that can put into stake a discussion on religion or beliefs. So I think it's very important to know the meaning of things. Like, Thanksgiving, that is a date which for us [Brazilians] is not so significant, for them [Americans] is more significant even than Christmas. (Participant 1).

Thus, in the example, Participant 1 defines culture as “touchy matters” (“*assuntos delicados*” in Portuguese) that should be dealt with, that is, transmitted and discussed in classrooms to be avoided when communicating with native speakers. Those touchy topics, such as religion and the value attributed to important holidays such as “Thanksgiving” and “Christmas”, are seemingly related to the different ways in which national groups deal with cultural facts and behaviour, or with norms of etiquette. Similarly, for Participant 3 below, culture is related to holidays and celebrations, which can also be considered part of the cultural behaviour of native speakers:

Certainly, there are always units to compare different holidays and celebrations for example. Naturally enough, you will discuss cultural differences, but there are other **minimal things** that you have to use in order to discuss those cultural differences. (Participant 3)

Therefore, for Participant 3, who also is a teacher at PPGI, cultural behaviors, such as vacations and festivals, are not only a type of knowledge to be transmitted but also an opportunity for students and to explore the cultural differences between two national cultures: their culture and the cultures under study. Interestingly, while in the excerpt above Participant 3 calls those cultural differences “minimal things”, in another excerpt (see below), she says that these “minor cultural” aspects may appear in any kind of activity carried out in the classroom, such as working with songs and videos, and calls them “curiosities”. Her words were:

a song or a movie scene, or a scene from a TV show, they will bring these cultural differences, these curiosities about other cultures appear and then it is time to discuss. (Participant 3).

A term that Participant 7, who is a student teacher at PPGI, also uses to refer to cultural aspects:

I consider interesting to bring it [culture] to class **as a curiosity**, [...]. (Participant 7).

Both the terms “curiosities” and “curiosity” used by Participants 3 and 7 and the term “touchy matters” resemble the term “*esquisitices*” used by Gimenez (2002), who suggests that culture is usually approached in the classroom as information on customs, habits and even “oddities/curiosities of the native speaker and she labels that approach ‘what Americans eat for breakfast.’” (p. 1)⁶. Thus, the learner implicitly is seen as someone, as Gimenez (2002: 3) puts it, who “has to make a movement towards understanding and behaving like the Other, the native speaker, by incorporating the elements to be learned, such as conversational routines, gestures, and distance”. In other words, the learners “still have the native speaker as a model to whom they must conform in order to understand and be understood” (Gimenez 2002: 3) [our translation].

Furthermore, this understanding of culture as habits, customs and norms of etiquette that belong to a certain national group seems to be closely linked to the idea that there is a unique and homogeneous culture that belongs to that country. That reflects an essentialist view of culture related to the native speaker, and it may lead the learners to believe that the behaviour of all the people belonging to a national group is the same and that national identities are monolithic (McKay 2002). This view is clearly at odds with the main tenets of ELF pedagogy as shown in the theoretical section above.

Interestingly, some of the participants suggest that knowledge about native speakers’ cultural behaviour may not be always important for English learning. For instance, Participant 4, who is a teacher at PPGL, wonders about the necessity of including cultural information of English-speaking countries in teaching programs as suggested by participants 1, 3, 7 and 9:

Is culture necessary? Culture is necessary, everybody has a culture. Is the speaker culture, which has English as a native language, necessary? (Participant 4).

And then, he answers that native speaker’s culture will only be necessary if the students are specifically being prepared to visit their country. By suggesting that, Participant 4 means to say that knowledge about cultural behaviour would not be necessary when communicating with non-natives. This is also recognized by Participant 3, who, even though at a certain moment, as we have seen, seems to believe that it is necessary for learners to have some information about native speakers’ customs, in another part of the interview mentions that

⁶ “Quando aparece tem uma perspectiva de informações sobre costumes, hábitos e até “*esquisitices*” do falante nativo da língua aprendida. Rotulo esta abordagem de “o que os americanos comem no café da manhã”.

this kind of knowledge would not be necessary for international communication among non-natives:

When I'm using English in a situation as an international language and my partner is also using the language for the same purpose, the context is different, so the uses we do and what is required for communication will also be different, there's no way of denying that. (Participant 3)

Similarly, Participant 7 makes explicit that for him dealing with culture is something that depends on the main aim of students for studying English:

Because it simply will depend on why the students are learning English. Some students may be studying English for example because they are going to the United States, they are going to live there or something. Then yes, it will be important to learn the culture because they will have to be able to get along there. But there are people who simply want to speak English because they need to make do at college or need it because of work, and then culture doesn't have anything to do with that. It will depend much on the reason why the students are learning English [...]. (Participant 7)

In spite of the fact that Participants 3 and 7 show to have a certain understanding of how language learning is context dependent, all of them, in different degrees, seem to be giving importance to the knowledge of native speakers' behaviour and they seem to consider this an "adequate" or "appropriate" way of learning culture. Therefore, the perceptions of the Participants 1, 3, 7 and 9 above seem to be sustained by what Cox and Assis-Peterson (1999) call "integrative discourse", that is a neutral discourse which is shielded by the alleged neutrality of English, its global nature due to international commerce, technology, tourism and science and in which the participants do not have a critical attitude, that is, do not consider the power relationships that exist when cultures interact.

On the other hand, by adopting an intercultural approach which closely matches ELF principles, Participants 4, 5, 6 and 10, in different ways, stress the importance of intercultural awareness. For instance, according to Participant 4, who is a teacher at PPGI, what is most important for learners is not to have cultural knowledge about a specific foreign country, but rather to understand that *culture is shared knowledge* that makes communication possible:

What I mean is that, shared knowledge is culture, exactly what we understand to be culture. The culture of a people is the accumulated knowledge it has, and the members of a people have what is called culture, that is, culture is the accumulated knowledge of these people. Now, as I said, shared knowledge is necessary for communication and, therefore, I need to understand who is my interlocutor, who's my audience, who's my reader, who's my listener, so that I can understand him by means of language. (Participant 4).

Thus, for Participant 4 the raising of this kind of awareness of culture as shared knowledge, which is not equated to information about the native speaker but an awareness about the context of communication can prepare people to mediate cross-cultural encounters.

Furthermore, Participant 6, a student teacher at PPGI, seems to be concerned with *critical awareness*, in the sense that there is a recognition of how dominant ideologies determine the construction of understanding and meanings privileging the dominant groups and marginalizing others and/or undermining their importance. In this case, there is a critical awareness of cultural differences and the problems that may arise from *overvaluing the other's cultural values* as can be seen in the following excerpt:

So, the cultural aspects and also making the student understand and respect the other's culture and it is important also to value their own culture. I think we have to be very careful, because there are many teachers who end up teaching culture as only one aspect, as a product and end up valuing the culture of the other, and not valuing our culture, so have to be careful about it. (Participant 6).

Participant 5, who is also a student teacher, brings about a similar idea:

This [dealing with culture] is extremely important because, with the discussions of culture in the language classroom, students will have a chance to stop and think about their own culture, comparing with the other's culture. Then this intercultural dialogue helps the process of development of alterity – which is the respect for differences - and actually, it's essential in every educational environment. (Participant 5).

So, at this point, Participant 5 detaches himself from a hegemonic native speaker culture and includes the learners' own culture in order to develop an awareness to have respect for differences. Thus, Participant 5's perceptions agree with the teaching of culture according to ELF in the sense that he recognizes that the transmission of cultural knowledge of a specific country is not important but that the teaching of culture should have an equal perspective and encompass multiple cultures in its repertoire. That, in turn, can promote the establishment of a "sphere of interculturality" (Kramsch 1993), that means to consider the learners' culture in relation to other(s), thus, allowing the emergence of intercultural awareness.

Moreover, Participant 10, another student teacher, highlights an important critical aspect of intercultural awareness: becoming *aware of cultural prejudices and stereotypes*:

I think it's important if teaching avoids or makes the students become aware of prejudices[...] I think that if the teaching of culture isn't done in a thoughtful and critical way, it can lead to the creation of more stereotypes. So it must be done by a very critical and conscious teacher. (Participant 10).

According to Participant 10, then, one of the important objectives of language teaching is to make learners aware of prejudices so that they can avoid seeing people from specific nations through the lenses of stereotypes. In a world where wars constantly break out, many groups of people, authorities etc. may be acting moved by intolerance against the different (Freire 1995), thus, the intercultural dimension may bring the issue of culture to a higher degree of importance, what is actually necessary so that the learners are not confined to a single worldview.

Thus, the viewpoints of Participants 4, 5, 6 and 10 contest the traditional and the communicative ways of dealing with culture in the classroom by stressing that culture in the classroom is not only a knowledge to be transmitted but an awareness that has to be constructed. Intercultural awareness, thus, should help learners to understand the complexity and heterogeneity of culture(s). Whereas Participants 1, 2, 3, 7 and 9 conceive of culture as homogeneous and linked to a native country, Participants 4, 5, 6 and 10 view culture as awareness. Thus, these participants' perceptions of culture are closer to an understanding of ELF pedagogy, where culture and language are seen as "emergent and dynamic and the boundaries between one language and culture and another are less clearly delineated" (Baker 2011: 199). Implicitly or explicitly, the latter contest the essentialist equation one language=one national culture. So these participants' perceptions are examples of what Cox and Assis Peterson call 'empowering discourse', which is a discourse which questions the alleged neutrality of English and questions to whom EIL can serve by fostering a critical stance towards the ideologies embodied of hegemonic discourses in English that produce and reproduce social inequalities.

5 Concluding remarks

The results of the analysis showed that the participants' perceptions regarding the role of culture in English teaching were of two types: some have an integrative discourse and some an empowering discourse.⁷

Participants 1, 2, 3, 7 and 9 (three teachers and two student teachers) have a "neutral" integrative discourse and express views related to the traditional approach and the communicative approach, where teaching culture is accomplished through the transmission of cultural knowledge about a particular homogeneous native country especially the USA or Great Britain, that is, the study of the

⁷ Out of the ten participants only one, Participant 8, a student teacher, was not clearly identified either as having an integrative or as an empowering discourse.

cultural behaviour of their native speakers. Clearly, this kind of discourse contradicts the main tenets of ELF pedagogy related to culture.

Alternatively, Participant 4 (a teacher) and Participants 5, 6 and 10 (three student teachers), through an empowering discourse (Cox and Assis-Peterson 1999), reflect a conception of culture teaching linked to an intercultural approach which can foster the development of the intercultural sensitivity of learners to negotiate meaning and identity in view of the present multiplicity of contacts among individuals and cultural differences. Therefore, it can be noticed that the viewpoints of Participants 4, 5, 6 and 10 agree with the tenets of ELF in the sense that they emphasize the importance of culture as awareness that can allow people to culturally negotiate identities instead of fitting in the culture of the other. In other words, instead of focusing on the culture of a foreign country such as the U.S.A. or Great Britain, these participants highlight the learners' culture and the comparison of cultures.

Therefore, Participants 4, 5, 6 and 10 seem to adhere to the principles for ELF presented at the beginning of this chapter (McKay 2003a). For instance, they seem to believe that there is no need to teach about the cultures of certain countries and to internalize the cultural norms of native speakers of that language, and that instead, it is necessary to reflect on the students' own culturally influenced values, behaviours and ways of thinking. Also those participants seem to understand that cultures and languages cannot be essentialized, and that there is a necessity to develop the ability to look at cultural differences from multiple perspectives and to develop empathy, open-mindedness and respect for otherness. Furthermore, those participants seem to agree that the main purpose of teaching ELF is to facilitate the communication of learners' ideas and cultures in an English medium to negotiate common ground. Finally, they seem to recognize that there is a complexity of cultural matters in language teaching and learning.

Furthermore, the results seem to point out that among the teachers of PPGI interviewed the traditional view of considering English to be owned by native speakers and culture as habits and values to be apprehended is more pervasive and that this view seems to be cherished by two student teachers. On the other hand, the empowering discourse is more pervasive among the student teachers who have a tendency to see culture as awareness. Therefore, the results show that, in spite of the influence and persistence of some powerful "myths" related to the native speaker and their ownership of the English language and its culture (represented by participants 1, 2, 3, 7 and 9), more fluid associations related to the role(s) and possibilities regarding ELF and culture (represented by participants 4, 5, 6, and 10) seem to be appearing to change the present landscape of English teaching and learning and paving the way for an ELF paradigm.

Finally, in view of these preliminary results, it may be implied that the way the Post-graduate Program in English/Linguistic and Literary Studies – PPGI – deals with interculturality seems to be partially achieving the objective of developing an awareness on ELF pedagogy and getting over a monocultural view associated with English teaching. That may be due to the fact, already mentioned before, that the programme itself does not have an official position of supporting ELF pedagogy, even though some of its teachers support it by including it in their syllabi. Nevertheless, a larger study including more participants and analyzing the contents of all the language-oriented disciplines offered by the programme would be needed to confirm this implication.

6 References

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Appendix 1: interview sheet (translated from Portuguese)

1. Do you believe that the native English teacher is preferable to the non-native?
2. Do you consider important to adopt a standard variety in teaching English? Why?
3. Do you think the culture is important for teaching English? Why?
4. What cultural aspects do you believe should be constructed in English class? Why?
5. Do you believe that students should adopt the native speaker as a pronunciation model?
6. Do you believe that today English is no longer a foreign language, meaning that it does not belong to a group of and that one should use it as an additional language for their own purposes?
7. What is the importance of learning English in Brazil?
8. Do you believe that there is a wide access to English in Brazil or is it a privilege enjoyed for some social groups?
9. Free comments.

Appendix 2: codes used for the analysis

Participant	Culture definition	Culture as products/ behaviours/awareness	Purpose of teaching/ learning culture
1	Habits of a national group	BEHAVIOUR	To communicate with NS
2	Products=Big C culture: literature, arts, music, painting, folklore	PRODUCTS	To achieve better levels of English excellency p.
3	Curiosities=festival	BEHAVIOUR	To communicate with NS = BEHAVIOUR To communicate with NNS = ANOTHER WAY
4	Shared knowledge Appropriate behavior (American)	AWARENESS BEHAVIOUR	To communicate with other people (both native and non-native)
5	Perspectives not only products	AWARENESS	To learn about the other so respect them and become more conscious about their own identity To respect differences
6	Culture is not only valued products	AWARENESS	To respect the culture of the other and value their own
7	What is cultural depends on the context	BEHAVIOUR	To communicate when visiting or living in an English-speaking country Culture is irrelevant when learning ESP
8	Not defined	NOT CLEAR	Not defined
9	Habits, customs, conventions	BEHAVIOUR	To be able to participate in cross-cultural exchanges
10	Culture is something which is usually essentialized in the classroom	AWARENESS	To become aware of cultural essentialisms

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English as a Lingua Franca: Representations and practices of English learners and teachers in Brazil

1 Introduction

When discussing the impact of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) in teaching and learning contexts, understanding the phenomenon of globalization becomes a starting point to situate our research problem. The concept of globalization, however, is multidimensional. It unfolds in various academic disciplines, and the topic is so vast that a single theoretical framework would not fully explain it (Kumaravadivelu 2008).

In this article, following Sparke (2013), globalization is understood as a number of forces that expand, accelerate and intensify interconnections around the world, and English is seen as the main language of communication that drives and is driven by it. In other words, English has become a lingua franca (hereafter ELF) whose use worldwide can be explained by globalization, and the advance of globalization can also be explained by the emergence of a lingua franca (Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey 2011). Therefore, we understand the relationship between ELF and globalization as two converging and complementary forces.

In the context of English as a language for global communication, the notion of ownership and the figure of the native speaker have been widely discussed and problematized. There are many theoreticians (for example, Hülmbauer 2008; Jenkins 2007; Crystal 2003) that point to a democratization and universalization of English for international use and which is no longer defined by the binary categorization established by the dichotomy of native/non-native varieties. However, the non-native speaker is still commonly seen as a poor user of a language that belongs to the other, the native. Therefore, in order to challenge such relationship of asymmetry between natives and non-natives, theorists emphasize the

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DOI 10.1515/9781501503856-008

necessity to rebuild the identity of the non-native speaker as a legitimate user of a lingua franca rather than a speaker targeting a prestigious native variety of English (Cook 1999; Seidlhofer 2001).

This article aims at discussing perceptions about ELF in a formal educational teaching and learning context, paying special attention to the English use scenarios inside and outside the classroom, trying to understand to what extent teachers and students beliefs are close (or not) to the understanding of ELF as a legitimate linguistic practice. Through the results achieved in this research, we seek at contributing to the teaching of English in Brazil within a perspective that represents its status as a lingua franca through an approach that ensures linguistic and cultural diversity, the recognition of local cultures, the deconstruction of stereotypes and prejudices, and especially the development of an intercultural perspective.

Firstly, we intend to raise a brief theoretical discussion around the concept of ELF and its possible pedagogical implications. Then, the research context, the participants of the study and the data collection methodology will be presented. Finally, we will discuss the results, raise some implication for teacher education and point out some suggestions for future research.

2 ELF: A variety or a function of the language?

There are many terms used to name the ample use of English worldwide. *English as an international language*, *global English* or *global Englishes* are some of the examples. Here, we use the notion of ELF, since this appears to be a broader term, covering multilingual contexts in which the language is used *inter* and *intra*-nationally¹.

But after all, what it is a *lingua franca*? From a Latin origin, the term lingua franca refers primarily to a contact language used among people who do not share a first language and is commonly understood as a second (or subsequent) language of its speakers (Jenkins 2007). Originally, the term refers to a language of hybrid nature, without “native” speakers, but due to the unprecedented situation of English, its use was extended to interactions that include speakers from a variety of backgrounds, hence, from a range of different languages.

¹ The contexts of use of ELF involve both speakers of different L1, as well as speakers of a same native tongue who use English to communicate in specific situations.

Another question to be raised is: Is ELF a variety of English used for global communication that took on specific characteristics and can be understood as a language variety? The answers to this question seem to divide opinions. The project known as Lingua Franca Core (LFC) developed by Jenifer Jenkins, for instance, was an attempt to operationalize the notion of ELF as a language variety. Its main objective was to understand which aspects of pronunciation were fundamental to intelligibility in a context of international communication. Intelligibility was, therefore, a key word in the studies of pronunciation and, due to that, homogeneous representations of native varieties of prestige have started to be questioned as effective in this new scenario of English use.

The corpus of the LFC database was formed by data from informants from a wide range of L1 and were collected over several years under various methods such as field observation, recording of pairs of informants from different L1, group assignments, as well as production analysis and reception of accents in nuclear positions. The sample analysis aimed to see which “mistakes” of pronunciation led to intelligibility problems in a situation of communication with different L1 speakers. Other elements of linguistic analysis, such as syntax, copula, auxiliary, could also strengthen the idea of ELF as a variety, since sociolinguistic research shows that lingua francas presuppose a certain grammatical simplification and this is confirmed in the case of ELF. However, the focus of LFC was restricted to aspects of pronunciation, since the ultimate goal of the project was to create an ELF phonological core.

In the same direction, other empirical studies on ELF aimed at exploring other levels of language, such as the pragmatic research that has received much attention of theorists such as Firth (1996), Meierkord (2002) and House (1999; 2002), and more recently lexicon-grammatical levels have also been exploited by Seidlhofer (2004) who, from different databases, was able to point out some particular trends of ELF, such as the deletion of the bending of the third person singular, the indifferent use of the relative pronouns *who* and *which*, the omission of definite and indefinite articles when required, redundancy by adding prepositions, besides the pluralization of nouns that have no plural form in English.

However, although the project Lingua Franca Core has gained substantial recognition in the last fifteen years, it has been extensively criticized for its emphasis on the notion of ELF as a variety. For Friedrich and Matsuda (2010), for example, ELF must be defined as a function of the English language in a global context rather than as a linguistic variety. Thus, the characterization of ELF must be strictly elaborated regarding its use in different contexts.

From this spectrum, ELF should be seen as a community of practice, whose participants interact in constant changing situated practices. According to

Henry Widdowson, in his talk “ELF and the pragmatics of language variation”, the lack of interest in ELF might derive from the fact that its variations in relation to the idea of a normative center of English language are so random and non-regular that it could not be characterized as a variety, therefore out of the interests of sociolinguistics and not fittable as a stable model for teaching contexts. Bearing that in mind, Widdowson (2014) emphasizes the need for a different view of language that goes beyond prejudices nurtured by modernist fictions about the nature of language, and understand ELF from a communicative perspective.

In Brazil, many studies on intelligibility have conversed with the LFC and collaborated with the expansion of the project to create an ELF phonological core, for instance, Cruz (2006; 2012b) and Reis and Cruz (2010) who sought to investigate intelligibility in different contexts of interaction between speakers of different nationalities and to map pronunciation categories that resulted in communication failure, correlating the results with the categories proposed by the LFC.

In addition, El Kadri and Gimenez (2013) have discussed the impact of ELF on teacher education, for them the shift from English as a Foreign Language to English as a Lingua Franca is paramount. According to the authors, when English is seen as a lingua franca, non-native teachers are no longer seen as defective speakers, rather they have an advantage over native speakers, that is, they have already gone through what students are going through, hence they already know what it is like to use an additional language for specific purposes (Seidlhofer 1999), as well as what it is like to be a successful learner (Mckay 2002).

Moreover, Bordini and Gimenez (2014) reviewed studies that have been published in Brazil between the years 2005 and 2012. By reviewing approximately sixty-seven studies retrieved from CAPES database of theses, Scholar Google, and some qualified journals from the applied linguistics/languages field, the authors were able to conclude that the concept of ELF is related to contexts of language use between speakers of English, specially non-native speakers.

3 Pedagogical implications?

The notion of ELF implies the development of a new paradigm of English use that goes beyond the standards of a normative center, and challenges the idea language ownership by the deconstruction of the native speaker myth as a target

model to be followed. These new ideas are the basis for the development of a new language teaching model that, so far, is strongly linked to the English as a Foreign Language paradigm (EFL).

Although having a similar acronym, there are many conceptual differences between ELF and EFL, as shown in the table below:

Tab. 1: Comparison between EFL and ELF (Seidlhofer 2011: 18).

	EFL Foreign Language	ELF Lingua Franca
Lingua-cultural norms	Pre-existing, re-affirmed	<i>Ad hoc</i> , Negotiated
Objectives	Integration, membership in native-speaking community	Intelligibility, communication in a non-native speaker or mixed non-native speaker – native-speaker interaction
Processes	Imitation, adoption	Accommodation, adaptation

Considering the multicultural status of the ELF, its main learning objective is not achieving native-speaker proficiency, which for many learners is a distant and unattainable goal. Instead, many researchers stress the need for the development of an intercultural speaker (Byram 1997; Corbett 2003; Kramsch 1998; Lo Bianco et al. 1999) and the development of communication skills that enable the learners to achieve viable goals of cultural mediation and exploration.

McKay (2002) is one of the supporters of this paradigm that challenges the traditional view of teaching English as a Foreign Language by promoting: intercultural competence, awareness of other varieties of English, multilingualism in class, the use of materials that include local and international cultures and, ultimately, by introducing a culturally and socially sensitive methodology.

In theory, this discussion is not new in the Brazilian educational context. For instance, some official documents such as the National Curriculum Parameters (Brasil 1998) and the National Textbook Program (Brasil 2015) emphasize the importance of enabling learners to interact in different cultural contexts and, above all, to make them aware of their roles as citizens of their local communities and of the world, but there is no mentioning directly related to ELF. In addition, there are many challenges related to the implementation of this perspective and an intercultural approach that is based on ELF premises is commonly misinterpreted or neglected (Gimenez 2001). Furthermore, there is no explicit methodological approach related to ELF.

4 Method²

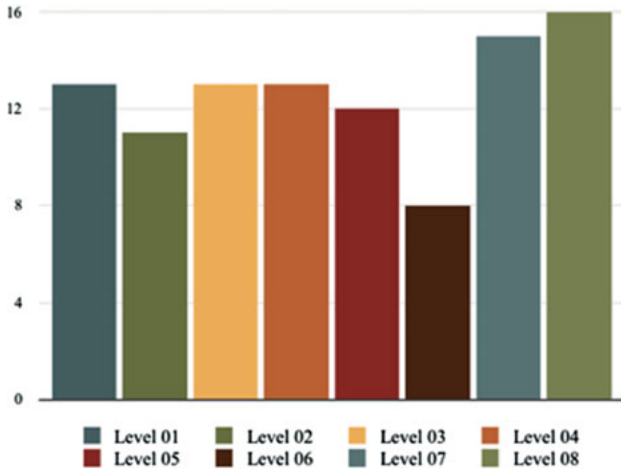
Considering the implications discussed in previous sessions, this study aims at investigating students and teachers' representations and practices in relation to their perception about ELF in a formal educational context. In order to do so, we examined students and teachers' representations of ELF, and how such representations emerge in the pedagogical approaches, in the teaching materials adopted in class, as well as in the different ways in which English is used in contexts outside the classroom environment.

This investigation took place in the Extracurricular Course of Additional Languages of Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina – UFSC. The Extracurricular offers five language courses (German, French, Italian, Spanish and English) to members of the academic community (students, professors and staff) or others who are interested in studying additional languages. The English teachers are admitted through a selection process and they are required to be connected with the university. Due to that, teachers are usually students from either the graduate or the undergraduate English programs at UFSC. Two coursebook series are used as teaching material in the English course. Three volumes of the fourth edition of *Interchange*, published by Cambridge University Press, and two volumes of the book *New American Inside Out*, published by Macmillan. The first series of books is used with elementary and pre-intermediate levels, and the second series with intermediate and advanced levels. Overall, the books adopted by the course follow the methodological approach of the communicative language teaching, in which language is seen as a tool for communication and culture is associated with the idea of a national identity. Such conclusion was based on the analysis of all the audio programs and transcripts provided by the books.

Moreover, despite the fact that these learning materials are global books, which are those seemingly produced for the whole world and not for a specific community, there are only few times when different linguistic varieties other than American and British are presented in audio programs. Therefore, the exposure to other varieties of English generally occurs through activities adapted from other sources brought by teachers. The choice of the Extracurricular course as a research context was due to the accessibility that we, the researchers, had to the learners and the teachers.

The research presented here was conducted with 104 English students from levels 1 to 8 (being level 1 the most elementary and level 8 the most advanced

2 The graphs and tables hereafter presented are responsibility of the authors.



Graph 1: Number of students by level of proficiency.

course offered by Extracurricular). From this total, the majority of the participating students studied English in formal education institutions from one to five years. Graph 1 shows the number of students by level, with an average of thirteen students enrolled in each class.

A total of eight teachers also participated in this study. Most of them are graduate-level students, with Ph.D. or master's degrees in English in progress. The group has a teaching experience ranging from five to thirty years, and they are of very different ages, ranging from twenty-four to fifty-four years old, as shown in the table below:

Tab. 2: Group of participating teachers.

Name	Age	Educational Background	Years of Teaching Experience
Teacher 1	24	Doctoral degree in progress	6
Teacher 2	27	Master's degree in progress	5
Teacher 3	28	Master's degree in progress	10
Teacher 4	29	Doctoral degree in progress	7
Teacher 5	30	Master's degree in progress	14
Teacher 6	30	Doctoral degree in progress	8
Teacher 7	36	High school graduate	17
Teacher 8	54	Bachelor's degree	30

Given the objective of this study, two questionnaires were developed, one for the teachers (See in Appendix I, a translated version) and another one for the students (See in Appendix II, a translated version). Regarding the students, different questions were created so as to enable us to understand if their representations and uses of English were in accordance to the notion of ELF. Therefore, the questions elaborated aimed at exploring the uses of English outside the context of the classroom, the association of English with specific countries, and students' perceptions of their own pronunciation of English, in order to understand if speaking with a foreign accent was seen as a problem or an identity constituent. Both questionnaires had questions in Portuguese, and the participants answered them in that language. The choice of Portuguese was made to ensure that the participants would feel really at ease when giving their answers.

The teachers' questionnaire followed the same format as the one presented to the students, but teachers were asked about their teaching practices. We included those questions in order to understand how their pedagogic approaches in classroom emphasized or not the notion of ELF. Teachers were also asked about their views on the textbook and whether or not they included extra material to make students aware of the varieties of English worldwide.

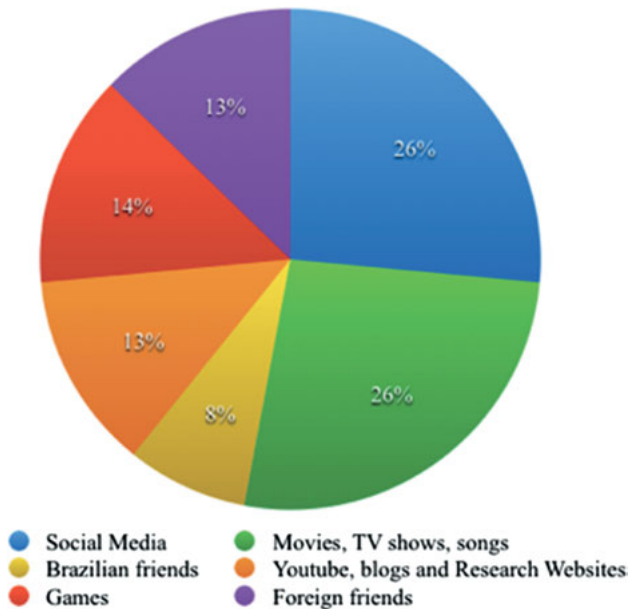
Through the implementation of data collection instruments described above, we sought to answer the following question: How do the representations and practices of students and teachers tend to be aligned with or distant from the notion of ELF?

Taking what has been proposed so far into consideration, and bearing in mind the research question presented, on the next session the results of this study will be discussed.

5 Results and discussion

As it was already presented at the beginning of this article, the promotion of English as a global language of communication is closely related to the phenomenon of globalization. In this context, where transnational interactions are increasingly common, English is seen as a lingua franca, dissociated from native-speaker norms (Jenkins 2006). This can bring about some pedagogical changes that are based on a teaching paradigm which aims at the development of intercultural competence and deconstructs the native speaker model as a learning target of an additional language. With that in mind, this study used questionnaires to understand if teachers and students were aware of the potential impacts of ELF in a formal educational context of language learning in Brazil.

Once the notion of ELF is related to a linguistic practice used *inter* and *intra*-nationally with speakers of the same or different languages, we first aimed at analyzing the contexts in which the English language is used outside the classroom environment. From the answers collected (Graph 2), it could be noticed that the majority of situations of language use³ takes place in virtual spaces commonly mediated by the internet.



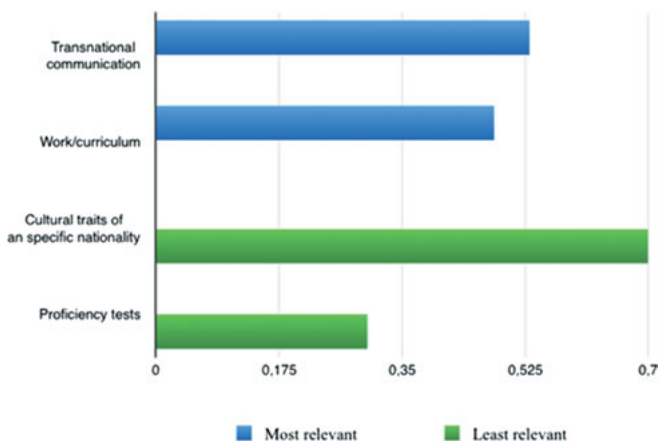
Graph 2: Uses of English outside the classroom.

From the graph presented, it is possible to notice how spaces of interaction have multiplied with technological advances and how the emergence of virtual environments of interaction, such as social networks, for example, are par excellence, spaces of ELF use involving speakers with different L1 in communicative situations.

³ A total of 65% of the situations presented in the Graph, which encompasses Social Media (26%), Movies, TV shows and songs (26%), and Youtube, blogs and research websites (13%).

The same question was asked to the group of participating teachers and from the analysis of the responses, it was possible to reach a similar conclusion. Most of them (six teachers) claimed to use English in situations outside the classroom when communicating with friends, colleagues or teachers in virtual interactive situations mediated by the internet. Therefore, in the communicative situations analyzed, English has been used by teachers and students as a lingua franca in global and local communicative contexts with speakers of the same or different L1.

In addition, we asked what had influenced the students to study English. Informants should choose objective responses suggested by the questionnaire (Appendix II). From total of one hundred and four students, 53% pointed communication with people from different nationalities as the main reason for studying English (Graph 3). In contrast to that, 70 % chose the development of knowledge about a specific culture as their least relevant motivation.



Graph 3: Most and least relevant reasons for studying English.

The contrast of these data entails interesting conclusions, since, although most participants have pointed to the understanding of a specific culture as their least relevant learning goal, in the series of textbooks used in class, the US and England are target cultures strongly highlighted throughout the lessons. In this regard, students' motivations do not correspond to what is provided by the textbooks, what might lead us to question up to what extent learners' needs were taken into consideration on the process of book selection.

As discussed above, the notion of ELF deconstructs the possibility of a single normative center. In this sense, the language is detached from those who are allegedly its owners, the native speakers, and it becomes part of the whole global

community that uses it. However, in the many students' representations this does not seem to be present. Such conclusion is quite contradictory, since although transnational communication was chosen as the most relevant reason for learning English (see *Graph 3*), students' beliefs regarding the English language are still grounded on places where English is spoken as a native language (see *Graph 4*).

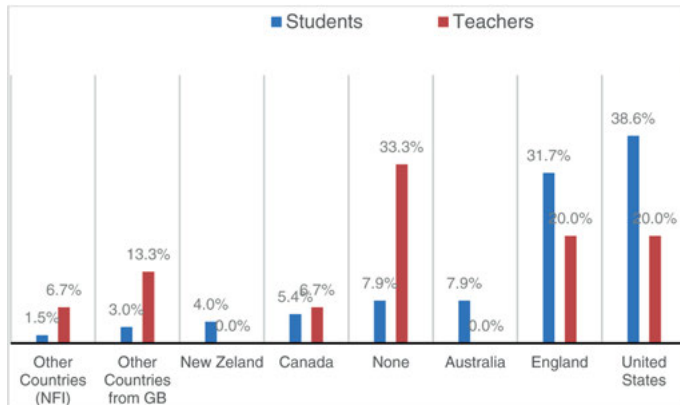
In another question developed for the questionnaires, we sought to examine whether participants associate the English language with specific countries. The result, which can be seen in *Graph 4*, shows us that while most students relate English to countries like the USA and England, most teachers⁴ make no association whatsoever and justified in their responses that, because of its international status, English is not seen by them as a language belonging to specific nations, as it is noticeable in the answer of a teacher:

I do not associate it with any specific country because I see how much English is a major language for communication. Even in countries where it is not an official language you can communicate in these contexts with English. (Teacher's questionnaire, teacher 1).

Although most students have associated the language to some specific countries, maybe influenced by the media, cultural products, their personal relationships, or even the textbook itself, some of them acknowledged the lingua franca status of English. The answer provided by *student 1* portrays this perspective: *"some countries come to mind when I think of English speakers: USA, Canada, England and Australia. However, it now has become a global language"* (Student's questionnaire, student 1). A similar opinion is shared by *Student 2*: *"I do not associate. In the past I used to associate English with the US and Britain, but over time I came to see English as an international language. People want to communicate, regardless of their country of origin"* (Student's questionnaire, student 2).

From the answers presented in this graph, it is compelling to think about the implications of what has been pointed out in *Graph 2*, presented below on the use of English outside the classroom, together with students' responses regarding the associations of English with specific countries, when we asked them the following question: *when thinking about the English language, do you associate it with any country in particular? If so, which country or countries? If not, please justify your answer.* By comparing these graphs, it is possible to notice an incoherence between the use and the representations of the English language, since, although widely used as a lingua franca in virtual spaces of interaction, the

⁴ Both teachers and students suggested more than one country when associating the English language to specific countries.



Graph 4: Association language/country.

language is still seen by students as represented by the US or England. From this, we can conclude that, although the virtual uses of English point to the notion of ELF, the students' beliefs and representations about the language follow an opposite direction.

This vision associated with specific countries can also be widely noticed in the teaching material. By analyzing the content present in the books *Interchange* and *American Inside Out*, material used in the Extracurricular classes, it was revealed that there is great appreciation of American culture(s) and to a lesser extent, the British one(s). At times, throughout the book, one can find cultural aspects of countries where English is not the native language, but there is always a focus on American customs and habits. It was also observed that audio programs of both books present a standardization of language varieties, representing a homogeneous version of the linguistic reality of the depicted countries. When asked if they can notice different varieties of English in the audio material used in class, 68% of students answered affirmatively and 32% negatively. Interestingly, one student pointed out that there is some difficulty in differentiating linguistic varieties, because there seems to be a standardization of the language in audio materials: *“on the audio books that I use, it is complicated as it seems to be kind of ‘standardized’”* (Student's questionnaire, student 3).

Leading the discussion to the ELF's influence on the pronunciation of English, we asked students if they longed for some approximation to a native speaking model while studying the language, or if having Brazilian Portuguese features in the pronunciation of English was a concern. Half of respondents claimed not to worry about Brazilian-like pronunciation, considering it as a constituent of their

identity as speaker of a lingua franca. This can be seen in some of the students' answers:

[...] We must respect the accent of each nationality. The right thing to do is to speak correctly. (Student's questionnaire, student 4).

I do not try to adapt. I think accent is something personal. Just like an American does not lose completely the accent when speaking Portuguese. I just try to learn the correct pronunciation in order to be understood. (Student's questionnaire, student 5).

It's not a concern of mine, because I know that my accent will always be the Brazilian one. (Student's questionnaire, student 6).

Since, for this group of respondents, it is paramount to be understood, intelligibility seems to be the fundamental goal in language learning. On the other hand, while some students considered the influence of their L1 on the pronunciation of English as an identity element, prioritizing the intelligibility and not the imitation of a native-like pronunciation, others saw the influence of the mother tongue as a problem (7 students). It is noticeable that for eight students, the native speaker is still seen as the model to follow.

Yes. When I talk to English people, I try to show empathy. When I talk to an American, I change my speech to an American Pronunciation. (Student's questionnaire. Student 7).

It is a concern, I do not want to talk with a *manezinho* accent or any Brazilian accent in general. (Student's questionnaire. Student 8).

I try to adapt my speech to the US English, perhaps due to the wide range of Hollywood films that I have seen. (Student's questionnaire. Student 10).

Besides the influence of the textbook on students' views about linguistic varieties, we can notice through the answer provided by student 10 that the media can also be considered an influent element, when it comes to pronunciation. If we look back to *Graph 2*, it is clear that many of the students keep in touch with the language through films and series that, probably, are Hollywood productions. All these factors together, the media, the audio programs and the textbooks used in class, can help to perpetuate the representation of English as a language belonging to only some specific countries. From this, it is possible to understand that some students, by resisting to accept their accents as legitimate, neglect the influence of their L1 as an identity constituent, and look at it as a trait that should be completely erased.

Moreover, it is also important to think of the influence that the teachers' perspectives may have on their students. Half of the surveyed teachers claimed that they do not attempt to adjust their students' pronunciation to a specific variety.

I try to make students aware of the fact that the accent is part of their identity. What matters is no longer to be like a specific group, but to produce language that is understood by all. I do not adapt my pronunciation. I speak just as I learned, and I do not impose changes in the way my students speak as long as they are intelligible varieties. (Teacher's questionnaire, teacher 5).

The attitude of not attempting to adapt students' pronunciation to a specific variety demonstrates the teacher's concern with intelligibility rather than idealizing the native speaker as a target model. This is, therefore, a teaching approach that is tuned with a learning paradigm that considers ELF as a legitimate linguistic practice. The challenge then seems to be the actual implementation of such ideas in the classroom, since many language courses in Brazil, as in the case of the investigated context, are grounded on teaching materials that bring a counter perspective to the notion of ELF. This situation is still prevalent in many countries as some studies that have analyzed ELT course-books have shown, such as Vettorel and Lopriore (2013: 497) who suggest that:

there have not been significant changes in the recently published ELT coursebooks in our corpus, particularly as to a shift towards awareness-raising activities related to the plurality of Englishes, not to mention ELF. Characters continue to be prevalently NSs, settings and accents overwhelmingly Inner Circle, Anglophone ones.

6 Final remarks

This study aimed to investigate the possible impact of ELF in a formal educational context, focusing on the views of a group of teachers and students on that matter. Therefore, we analyzed if the representations and practices constructed by students and teachers tend to be in alignment with or distant from the notion of ELF.

Considering the analysis of data collected through questionnaires implemented with one hundred and four students and eight teachers of English from the Extracurricular Course offered by UFSC, it was observed that, although most students use ELF outside the classroom, some of the beliefs and representations of many students still remain strongly based on the notion of English as a Foreign Language that belongs to a native speaker. The findings show that, even though for most of the teachers the notion of ELF brought implications for their teaching practices, such as the use of additional materials (Youtube videos, podcasts, for example) that seek to raise awareness of the international status of English, many students still believe that the English language belongs to specific countries, such as the US and England. This perception may be, in part due to the fact that the majority of the audio material used by the teachers comes from the textbooks

which highlight American and/British cultures and language varieties. From this, it is pertinent to reflect how far the students' practices with the language outside the classroom, where English is used by them as a lingua franca, can be considered a starting point for the development of English classes and for the choice of the textbooks adopted by the course.

In addition, it could be observed that issues related to the influence of L1 on English pronunciation and the teaching of pronunciation from an ELF's perspective may still raise a number of problems. On the one hand, some students still see in the native speaker a proficiency target model and any trace of their mother tongue as something that should be deleted. On the other hand, even though some teachers try to deconstruct such perceptions, they have to deal with teaching materials that go on representing English in ways which do not conform to the notion of ELF.

Also, as this study was limited to investigating only one language course, other educational contexts in Brazil can also be further investigated. In addition, since the data collection was carried out only on the basis of questionnaires, in further research on the topic, other methods of data collection, such as classroom observations, interviews and perception tests can also be implemented so as to obtain a more holistic outcome on the issue of ELF and its implications in the classroom.

Finally, the results of this study have raised one important issue related to teacher education. That issue is related to the fact that even though the teachers seem to have an awareness of ELF and its main tenets, we wonder whether they are aware of the important role they may play to encourage learners to deconstruct more traditional views of English and make learners aware of ELF. It is exactly this kind of awareness-rising which should be included in teacher education programs, in the syllabi of both linguistic-oriented and pedagogic oriented- disciplines.

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Appendix I – Teachers' questionnaire

Questionnaire

Dear participant, the questionnaire below is designed for you to talk about some issues related to teaching English as an additional language. We clarify that we will keep anonymous, under strict confidentiality, all the data that may identify you as a participant in this study. Thus, your name will not be exposed in the data analysis, but filling in the name field is important if there is a need to clarify some information.

Name: _____ Age: _____

Highest qualification: _____

1. How long have you been teaching English?
2. Do you communicate in English outside the classroom? If so, in what situations?
3. When thinking about the English language, do you associate it with any country in particular? If so, which country or countries? If not, please justify your answer.
4. When teaching English in language course, do you focus on any specific variety of English? If so, explain such preference.
5. What is the textbook that you use in your classes?
6. Does the textbook you use to teach favor a specific language variety or does it deal with several varieties?
7. Do you consider important to make students aware about the plurality of varieties of English around the world? If so, what methodological features help you to do this?
8. When teaching English pronunciation, do you try to adapt your own speech and the students' speech to the accent of a particular country? Or isn't having a foreign accent a concern for you?

Thank you for your participation!

Appendix II – Students' questionnaire

Questionnaire

Dear participant, the questionnaire below is designed for you to talk about some issues related to teaching English as an additional language. We clarify that we will keep anonymous, under strict confidentiality, all the data that may identify you as a participant in this study. Thus, your name will not be exposed in the data analysis, but filling in the name field is important if there is a need to clarify some information.

Name: _____ Age: _____

Highest qualification: _____

- How long have you been studying English (in regular schools or language schools)?

<input type="checkbox"/> from 1 to 5 years	<input type="checkbox"/> more than 10 years
<input type="checkbox"/> from 6 to 10 years	<input type="checkbox"/> less than one year
- Do you communicate in English outside the classroom? If so, in what situations?

<input type="checkbox"/> Games	<input type="checkbox"/> Other virtual spaces
<input type="checkbox"/> Brazilian friends	(which ones? _____)
<input type="checkbox"/> Foreign friends	<input type="checkbox"/> Other contexts
<input type="checkbox"/> Social Networks	(which ones? _____)
- Which of the following factors influenced you most to study English? (number them in order of relevance from the most relevant to the least relevant one).

<input type="checkbox"/> getting a job	<input type="checkbox"/> passing proficiency tests
<input type="checkbox"/> communicating with people of different nationalities (native and/or non-native speakers of English)	<input type="checkbox"/> getting scholarships abroad
<input type="checkbox"/> travelling to other countries	
<input type="checkbox"/> getting a better understanding of a specific culture	
- When thinking about the English language, do you associate it with any country in particular? If so, which country or countries? If not, please justify your answer.
- When studying English in a language course, can you notice if there is a kind of accent which is more used in the audio material? Can you identify it?
- When speaking in English, do you try to adapt your own speech to the accent of a particular country? Or isn't having a foreign accent a concern for you

Thank you for your participation!

Part III: ELF in teacher education programs

Ana Paula Martinez Duboc

The ELF teacher education: Contributions from postmodern studies

*... and english is
my mother tongue
is
my father tongue
is lan lan lang
language
l/anguish
anguish
a foreign anguish
is english (...)*

Marlene Nourbese Philip (Tobago, 1965–)

1 Introduction

I start my reflections by borrowing Marlene Nourbese Philip's famous, richly sonorous verses on the English language. By talking about a white European male father tongue in contrast to her black African-origin female mother tongue, the Caribbean-born Toronto poet raises a discourse of resistance against the mainstream established by coloniality in relation to issues such as language, culture, race, religion, gender. The reason why I quote Philip's verses lies in the fact that they somehow share a common ground with the recent debate on English as a Lingua Franca (henceforth ELF) inasmuch as both discourses attempt to unveil the ethnocentric and dichotomic logic under which many of us have been raised/educated in English, be it as a "second" or a "foreign" language. As Brazilian learners of English as a foreign language for such long decades, I tend to assume that many of us might have felt some degree of anguish and anxiety in the English classroom due to incessant attempts to achieve native-like pronunciation, accurate structure use, appropriate lexical choice, accent-free academic writing and the like. In my teenage years, I myself have felt some frustration and uneasiness by the time I was recognized as a Brazilian citizen during an English telephone

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DOI 10.1515/9781501503856-009

conversation with the French hotel clerk while trying to book a room in Paris. Willing to sound like a native, at that point, as an undergraduate student teacher, my view of language and language teaching used to be permeated by notions such as “accuracy”, “appropriateness”, “correction”, “error” always in relation to standards and norms dictated by native speakers of English much in response to the way I learned English as well as the way I had learned how to teach English.

In more recent times, as a teacher educator whose conceiving of language and language teaching has been profoundly altered on a new ontological and epistemological basis, I wonder whether my student teachers face such degree of anguish and anxiety when it comes to the uses of the English language be them in personal, professional or academic contexts. I also wonder whether their pedagogical practices as English teachers¹ resonate those concepts from the mainstream despite the recent ELF debate on the new nature and role of English as informed by the new globalizing processes and the advent of new digital technologies in postmodern societies.

In view of concerns such as those, this chapter presents a twofold purpose: firstly, I address some of the positive aspects brought by the notion of ELF in light of contributions from postmodern studies. In doing so, I intend to pinpoint some intersections between ELF pedagogy and three insightful conceptualizations brought by postmodern scholars, that is to say, the weak thinking (Vattimo 1987, 2004), the imperfect education (Todd 2009) and also the notion of interruption (Biesta 2006, 2010) as some of the constitutive elements of a so-called postmodern English curriculum (Duboc 2015). Secondly, as theory and practice are infused within each other (Cummins and Davison 2007), I present a couple of vignettes as experienced in my own English Teacher Education context as a way to illustrate how such a supposedly postmodern English curriculum relies on the teacher educator’s attitude *between the cracks* (Duboc 2013, 2015) in an attempt to move beyond fixed, homogenous, and prescriptive categories as informed by the modern paradigm so that student teachers have an opportunity to critically question the mainstream. I conclude my reflections by claiming that English Teacher Education programs have much to benefit from an ELF perspective for its transdisciplinary and cross-cultural nature, enabling future teachers to dialogue with what and whom is different and to ethically respond to difference (Biesta 2006; Menezes de Souza 2011) in a way that language education might highly contribute towards a new humanism in contemporary global societies (Todd 2009).

1 It might be worth mentioning that most of them already work as teachers in private bilingual schools and language schools.

2 The international ELF debate in contemporary global societies

Several discussions on the new roles of the English language in global societies have been carried out in the field of Applied Linguistics much as a response to new globalization processes and the use of digital technologies in today's societies. Human mobility, interconnectivity, transnational employment and large-scale displacement/forced migration (Goodwin 2010) constitute some of the emerging phenomena that bring language issues in the spotlight, being, English, in particular, a language which merits attention for its legitimate status as the contemporary global language (Gimenez, Calvo, and El Kadri 2011).

This explains the plethora of new acronyms such as ELF (English as a lingua franca), EIL (English as an international language), EAL (English as an additional language), EGL (English as a global language), WEs (World Englishes) to name a few (Jordão 2014; Rajagopalan 2011), which, regardless of eventual epistemological differences, share a critical stance toward the conventional concept of English as a foreign language (EFL). I do not intend to put all those labels under scrutiny in an ambitious attempt to define each of them². For the purpose of this chapter, I will be strictly referring to ELF as an umbrella label covering criticisms on the limitations regarding EFL literature.

Scholars such as Jenkins (2000, 2009) and Seidlhofer (2001, 2005) have pioneered ELF framework worldwide since late 1980s. On defining ELF in contrast to notions such as World English (WEs) and English as an international language (EIL), Jenkins (2006: 160) had once defined ELF as “a contact language used only among non–mother tongue speakers” or, simply, English as “the common language of choice, among speakers who come from different linguacultural backgrounds (Jenkins 2009: 200). As the author states, such definition might include Inner Circle speakers provided they don't set the agenda when it comes to linguistic norms (Jenkins 2009). Jenkins (2009) advocates for a positive attitude towards ELF, which would be based on “mutual negotiation involving efforts and adjustments from all parties” (Jenkins 2009: 201).

Similarly, Seidlhofer (2001: 146) views ELF as “an additionally acquired language system that serves as the means of communication between speakers of different first languages, or a language by means of which the members of different speech communities can communicate with each other but which is not the native language of either – a language with no native speakers”. Along

2 See Jordão (2014) for a critical and thorough analysis regarding such terminologies.

with Jenkins, the author (2005) also pinpoints that native speakers take part in ELF interactions whenever they communicate with people from different first language backgrounds. Seidlhofer (2001, 2005), then, claims for an empirically based description by which items frequently used in ELF expanding circle contexts would be systematized and codified³ moving beyond an impressionistic view on these uses of English. Ideally, the outcome of such project would serve as input for self-reflection and awareness raising towards mutual negotiation and quality improvement in the discursive practices among ELF users.

More recently, fresh insightful theorizations have been brought to the field of ELF bringing it up to date *vis-a-vis* new global, social demands. Whether taken as a global phenomenon, a particular communicative contextual language use, a concept, a theory, an approach, an orientation or a perspective (Baird 2012: 10) studies regarding ELF have reached a constructive, mature debate in which different positionings regarding ELF specificities and its implications to pedagogical practices are put at stake, doing justice to its very hybrid, flexible, diverse and ever-changing nature.

The more recent mushrooming of ELF publications has somehow helped build a solid response to the criticisms ELF studies have been facing since its emergence. In a broader sense, such criticisms have suggested a supposedly reification of ELF as being a static, homogeneous body of knowledge under a descriptive/prescriptive research orientation, not to mention the supposedly lack of engagement in issues such as discourse, power, and ideology, as claimed by O'Reagan (2014), for instance.

Contrary to its early stages, which indeed gave prior attention to issues such as pronunciation and lexicogrammar under a more descriptive investigation, contemporary ELF discourses have strongly claimed for its fluid, hybrid, and diverse nature, denying its limited notion as a “variety of language” on a universal basis (Baker and Jenkins 2015). Regarding the supposedly strictly descriptive orientation in ELF research, Baird (2012) claims that such description involves constant building and understanding of what speakers who do not share a first language do when using English, which, then, seems to conceive of description beyond a positivistic sense. In fact, ELF research has emerged as a field of inquiry driven by real-world problems, “which theory is drawn on, adapted, and developed as necessary, rather than decided a priori”. (Baker and Jenkins 2015: 193). As for the criticism concerning the supposedly lack of engagement with discourse, power, and ideological issues, Baker and Jenkins (2015) have claimed that many ELF scholars do

³ Such work has been made through Seidlhofer's corpus-based project VOICE, the *Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English*.

demonstrate involvement with such aspects as many publications have questioned constructs such as standard language ideology, native speaker model, and the like.

In a recent paper, Jenkins (2015) claims for the deepening of ELF theorization in light of contemporary demands. The author (2015) calls for prior attention to the very nature of ELF, that is to say, its affiliation and concern to multilingualism. That implies, in Jenkins' words (2015: 77), to move "from ELF as the framework to ELF *within* a framework of multilingualism" expanding the high emphasis on the English language per se. Such move seems significantly important and deserves further developments among scholars all over the world inasmuch as it allows us to engage the ELF debate with wider theories and different fields of inquiry. By addressing future directions to ELF research "from the inside out" in a mature self-critique, Jenkins (2015) recuperates the ever-changing nature of the field of ELF, in which theories are constantly revised in light of local, real-world problems. A supposedly static, homogeneous field of inquiry, as some critics' interpretations might insist regarding ELF, would definitely not give room for such openness and situatedness in relation to the emerging uses of contemporary English.

3 ELF studies in Brazil and its postcolonial vein

In Brazil, similar concern has been brought to light in recent publications concerning the new nature and role of English and its implications to English language teaching methodologies in Brazilian primary and secondary education. Authors such as Jordão (2011, 2014), Rajagopalan (2011), Siqueira (2011), Siqueira and dos Anjos (2012), Gimenez, Calvo and El Kadri (2011), to name a few, have been pioneering the ELF debate in Brazilian Applied Linguistics field by claiming for a revision of the EFL constructs which have long been framing the way English has been taught in our schools.

In a seminal publication, Gimenez, Calvo and El Kadri (2011) present an insightful collection of work which, in a broad sense, claims for a shifting regarding some theoretical and methodological decisions in English language teaching contexts. This would imply a revision of the reason English has been taught at schools, the inclusion of English language varieties other than prevailing American and British ones, the inclusion of global, social topics for discussion within educational contexts (moving beyond the strict teaching of language structure or communicative functions), the development of awareness raising and self-reflection in relation to the role of foreign languages in contemporary societies as well as the fostering of new meaning making processes towards written and oral semiotic modes in English classes.

In a state-of-the art text, Calvo and El Kadri (2011), in particular, invite us to reflect on the place of ELF in current Teacher Education programs and textbook industry as well as the way it has been conceived in Brazilian Applied Linguistics studies. The authors also show some concern to which methodological choices would better respond to an ELF pedagogy.

By taking a poststructuralist and postcolonial stance, Jordão (2011, 2014), Rajagopalan (2011) and Siqueira (2011) claim for the need of investing on the very ontological and epistemological basis within the ELF debate, which would lead us to critically reflect on the way we conceive of “nativeness” and “language”, among other notions. Founded on the notion of reality as a narrative construction, the argument posed by Rajagopalan (2011) calls the attention to the concept of “native” as an Eurocentric narrative to the detriment of definitions still limited in whether simply legitimating the native speaker as a participant in ELF interactions. Similarly, Jordão (2014) is concerned with the very concept of language and criticizes the still binary-oriented interpretation surrounding the English language teaching debate. The author, then, sees ELF as an attempt to move beyond a Western-based, normative stance inasmuch as the rules of new communicative situations would emerge from both native and nonnative speakers of English as a lingua franca. As Jordão states, this would rely on new ways of conceiving language as well as new attitudes towards the legitimation of discursive practices.

Such critical stance is also brought by Siqueira (2011) and Siqueira and dos Anjos (2012) in their reflections on the nature of English from the ELF perspective as well as the new roles of English teaching in Brazilian public schools. In his discussion on ELF, Siqueira (2011) has given prior attention to its pluricentric approach, an emphasis that clearly moves beyond a dichotomic orientation. By borrowing poststructuralist and postcolonial concepts such as contamination, hybridity, and deterritorialization, Siqueira (2011) has creatively defined ELF as a “mongrel dog” language, a language that incorporates and accommodates local contributions in a rich and colorful process of mingling, amalgamating, and juxtaposing elements. As for the teaching of English in today’s societies, the author (2011) optimistically envisions an ELF pedagogy engaged with turning invisible, subaltern peoples and cultures into visible, legitimate ones. Under such logic, public school students would have much to benefit from an ELF pedagogy towards transformative educational practices (Siqueira and dos Anjos 2012).

As one might see, ELF Brazilian scholars have clearly demonstrated a critical stance when referring to ELF theoretical and methodological aspects insofar as they have published on the topic under a discourse of resistance towards the dominant ethnocentric view of language and culture. This postcolonial orientation might well be explained by the power of the native speaker model in

our foreign language policies and the need for revisiting some of the constructs underlying many of our English teaching contexts.

Among the several postcolonial scholars within the field of Critical Applied Linguistics whose contributions resonate in Brazilian academic production, I must cite, by now, Kumaravadivelu's call for epistemic breaks as well as Canagarajah's critique on the conventional constructs in Second Language Acquisition theories.

By discussing the impact of globalization on the formation of individual identities, Kumaravadivelu (2012) calls for an epistemic break towards Western-oriented, Center-based knowledge systems. This would imply, in Derrida's terms, the decentering of the native speaker who is still viewed as a role model in periphery countries in a process of self-marginalization. The author does not discuss the ELF concept per se, but his ideas are worth mentioning here for his severe critique on the still prevailing native speaker episteme in classroom practices around the globe, textbook industry and job market.

In a similar vein, Canagarajah (1999, 2007) conceives of the English language by taking into account the existing power relationships among its users. As opposed to linguistic imperialism, the author (1999) talks about the more recent linguistic hybridity movement based on the fluidity of languages, identities, and cultures. Under this postmodern and postcolonial logic, languages and cultures deconstruct themselves moving away from standardization to the detriment of accommodation, negotiation, mixing and resistance processes. When referring specifically to the notion of ELF – lingua franca English in the author's terms – Canagarajah (2007) poses the contributions of such new body of knowledge inasmuch as it has now allowed us to reframe traditional constructs from the field of Second Language Acquisition theories and, mainly, to critically question them from the perspective of the so-called marginalized countries/cultures. This implies rethinking English communicative contexts in light of new categories such as performance, situatedness, negotiation, adaptation and emergency if one wishes to redesign the very notion of acquisition in today's transnational relations and multilingual communication.

Corroborating Canagarajah's critique, Baird (2012) refers to the importance of performativity in ELF discursive encounters. In advocating against binary views in language studies, he (2012: 10) concludes:

(...) what is deemed to be ELF language in ELF research should include open engagement with similarity and difference, and treat neither as creative nor conforming on face value, but instead look for contextual reasons, motivations, attitudes and social meanings associated with certain performances, forms and interactional choices. Dichotomising along the lines of 'standard' vs. 'non-standard', 'ENL/normative' vs. 'ELF/expressive' or perhaps

worse ‘creative’ vs. ‘conforming’ is to vastly oversimplify the linguacultural landscapes in which language is performed, the backgrounds and roles of the interlocutors, and the contextual identification processes involved in interactions.

In tune with the fruitful discussions brought by all the above-mentioned scholars, I find it extremely important to take a genealogical perspective, which would allow us to critically understand some of the constructs underlying ELF research in its different evolutionary phases. In this respect, I would pinpoint three aspects to bear in mind in such investigation, that is to say, the notion of “communication” itself, as it has been used in the ELF debate and elsewhere; the still imminent risk of generalizations toward the notion of “native speaker”; a relatively romantic view between English native speakers and nonnative speakers which still seems to be predominant. Comments on each of them will be drawn in the subsequent section. Before doing so, I present below a table that attempts to organize some of the key concepts surrounding the definition of ELF as opposed to mainstream EFL as discussed so far:

Tab. 1: Key concepts in two ways of conceiving the English language.

EFL English as a Foreign Language	ELF English as a Lingua Franca
accuracy	intelligibility
monocentricity	pluricentricity
error	variation
standardization	locality
pureness	hybridity
imitation	accommodation
deficiency	difference

4 The ELF debate under scrutiny: responses to still remaining issues

4.1 On the notion of “communication” in ELF studies and elsewhere

In relation to the predominant use of the term “communication” in the field of language studies in its broadest sense, my concern lies in the fact that such

term might still be interpreted under the logic of English as “an instrumental language”. Indeed, as Bishop and Phillips (2006) state, an instrumental notion of language was strongly established in Modernity as Modern Science would need a tool that could communicate their empirical work; language itself would function as such tool aiming at disseminating knowledge. This actually explains the increasing interest on language issues among Modern philosophers culminating in the advent of Linguistics as a field of inquiry in the beginning of twentieth century. Structural Linguistics of the 40s and 50s conceived of language as a system, whose meanings would lie on the relation between signs. Under such view of language, linguistic competence is confined to semantico-grammatical knowledge, being the so-called “sender” the one who would communicate an idea to a “receiver” in a context-free communication process, neglecting complexities in discursive situations. A more sociological orientation to language is, then, established in the last decades of the twentieth century, moving towards the acknowledgement of context and the social uses of language. Under this stance, language is conceived as discourse, with an emphasis on the rules of language use that would be appropriate to a particular communicative context. Still, as Rampton (2006) states, despite great advances towards Structural Linguistics, Sociolinguistics in late twentieth century would disregard conflict and difference within a certain discursive practice, in which the so-called communicative functions would still be taught in a normative, individualist fashion (Firth and Wagner 1997) as if communication among language users would take place in a conflict-free context (Brydon 2010; Ives 2006, 2009; Pennycook 1994). If one considers the complexities of contemporary global societies, such notion of communication needs to be put under scrutiny once again.

In view of this, I have stated elsewhere (Duboc 2015) that the very notion of communication has altered itself: instead of conceiving communication either as expression of reality (as imbued in the Modern paradigm) or as a social product (as present in the last decades in twentieth century), I would view communication in today’s digital, global times as highly imbued with the notion of agency. To put it another way, the conventional notion of language as a means for communicating information, ideas, perceptions would be expanded towards the notion of language as a means for critical agency, that is to say, a means for communicating and, most importantly, mobilizing in accordance to one’s interest. New meaning making processes made possible through digital and non-digital semiotic modes have significantly altered the ways of knowing, being, and acting in today’s world which have been heavily based on collaboration, sharing, experimentation (Lankshear and Knobel 2007). When one communicates, one makes sense of the world as a way that goes beyond informing so that social practices might be

transformed⁴. If one considers the current revisions on the concept of language per se, we must also revise the very notion of communication in contemporary societies.

The following table⁵ tries to summarize the changes in the concept of communication in three different times. In a broad sense, studies on ELF have discussed some of the issues I have pinpointed so far, which I see as a positive move. However, greater emphasis over the notion of communication per se seems to be a fertile terrain. Whenever asked to conceive of language, most of my student teachers define language as “a means for communication”. I wonder to what extent they are able to critically compare and contrast those several definitions whenever they meet the term “communication” in order to identify the ontological and epistemological basis on such notions and make their own decisions towards how they view language and communication as language teachers. As I infer from Jordão (2014), ELF studies should be more engaged in questioning the reasons why one communicates, along with the frequent definitions of ELF as “a language that serves as a means of communication between speakers of different first languages”.

Tab. 2: Three understandings on the notion of “communication”.

	Modern times	More recent times	Global, digital times
The meanings of communication	transmission of <u>the</u> universal reality	transmission of <u>a</u> situated reality	construction of different realities
The forms of communication	through language as a closed system	through language as a social system	through multimodal semiotic modes
The uses of communication	representation of absolute truth	performance of social functions	critical agency

⁴ By the time I was writing this section, I came across a piece of news on the importance of digital technologies among many Syrian refugees who have fled political and social tyranny. Way beyond their instrumental use, refugees have been using smartphones as a way to strive for a better life. Such powerful, collaborative use of language has even freed many of them from human trafficking exploitation inasmuch as many of them are now allowed to exercise their agency. Available at <http://exame.abril.com.br/tecnologia/noticias/6-tecnologias-que-estao-salvando-a-vida-dos-refugiados> Access Sept 13, 2015.

⁵ The table refers to a slightly revisited version of a primary one found in Duboc (2015).

4.2 On the imminent risk of generalizations towards the notion of “native speaker”

Especially in the early phases, definitions on the concept of ELF were permeated by the discourse of nativeness, in particular, whether or not the native speaker would be included in ELF interactions. Among several scholars, it seems to be consensus that native speakers are included in such debate provided they are no longer linguistic agenda setters. Nonetheless, despite the legitimate role of nonnative speakers in ELF communicative practices, in which linguistic agendas have been constantly emerging from new English language uses, it seems to me that we still tend to risk ourselves into getting to the traps of generalization whenever we bring the issue of nativeness into the spotlight. In other words, considering the fact that ELF studies embrace a plurilingual and transcultural approach by putting great emphasis on the creative, local uses of English among speakers from all over the world, I tend to believe that every and any resonance of the discourse of nativeness is a trap itself as it might carry a still Western-oriented or Center-based engrained discourse. And here I reckon Kumaravadivelu’s concern regarding the process of self-marginalization among many nonnative English teachers and policy makers by posing some questions for reflection: if ELF studies are truly concerned with the creative, local and hybrid uses of English in current communicative practices among people from all over the world, would it still matter to mention the native speaker in ELF studies? If the linguistic agenda is to be set in the very communicative practices among ELF speakers on a democratic, inclusive basis, couldn’t the native speaker be also an agenda setter depending on who they are and what attitude they bring in their encounters with the other?

While the former question seems to be more closely related to what I have been discussing so far, my latter question might give rise to some disturbance as it apparently counter-arguments some of the definitions previously brought. In fact, I do find it necessary to build a discourse of resistance towards decentering the figure of the native as the one who dictates language and cultural norms. As Kumaravadivelu (2014) pinpoints, although the discourse of marginalization of the nonnative speakers has become pronounced in the last decades, little has changed when it comes to a more active role of the nonnative speakers in language policies and practices, leading us all to attest that linguistic imperialism is out there, doing its job, “still alive and kicking” in Phillipson’s words (2012 apud Kumaravadivelu 2014). However, I also find it problematic to insist on a somehow universal way of dealing with the issue on nativeness as if all native speakers would respond similarly in their encounters with the other.

In this respect, Widdowson's argument on the fictitious nature of concepts is quite relevant as the author (2012) refers to the impossibility of establishing distinctions on empirical grounds, for they are all abstractions, that is to say and borrowing from Seidlhofer (2011 apud Widdowson, 2012), "convenient fictions". By referring to an "elusive native speaker", Widdowson questions the very concept of "standard" inasmuch as it has been conveniently invented by the authoritative institutions.

In a similar vein, Pennycook's (2010) discussion on the monolingual myth is worth recalling as it allows us to take a more relativistic look over the issue of nativeness in a process that questions the very stereotypical view of "the native speaker", leading us to think of the native as a myth. Regarding this aspect, Britzman (1991) discusses the danger of cultural myths as they position situations and identities as given without the quality of contingency. Influenced by the work of Foucault, the feminist scholar (1991: 05) explains that "[s]tereotypes engender a static and hence repressed notion of identity as something already out there, a stability that can be assumed. Here, identity is expressed as a final destination rather than a place of departure". Having said that, if we truly assume a plurilingual, transcultural, and inclusive stance towards the ELF debate, we might paraphrase Spivak's criticism by questioning ourselves "Can the native *speak* in ELF interactions?"

How does one move from a universal, elusive understanding of the native speaker? We must distance ourselves from this regime of discourse that has constructed the myth of the "native" and weaken such constructs as a way to avoid any risks of generalization. I am not whatsoever in disagreement with scholars like Kumaravadivelu (2014), in particular, his claim for moving towards a truly agentive role of nonnative speakers through a grammar of decoloniality. As the author (2014: 15–16) explains, "[i]n order to begin to effect this rupture, the subaltern community has to unfreeze and activate its latent agentive capacity, and strive to derive a set of concerted, coordinated, and collective actions based not on the logic of coloniality but on a grammar of decoloniality".

Kumaravadivelu (2014) has made a point by criticizing the recent return of the native through, for instance, British Council initiatives in shaping English language educational policies and programs in several developing countries (including recent Brazilian language policies). However, I still feel strong criticisms such as those might, paradoxically, fall into the traps of generalization inasmuch as the discourse might be interpreted as viewing the "native speaker" under a universal logic, neglecting the possibility of more dialogic encounters between "native" and "nonnative" speakers in some local ELF interactions.

If we do acknowledge the adjustments and mutual negotiation between ELF users "no matter which circle they come from" (Jenkins 2009: 201), then,

we would also have to acknowledge that native speakers might well participate in the process of setting the linguistic agenda. This way, we would prevent ourselves from assuming reified interpretations in a process that would contradict the very postmodern principle of decentering by actually centering the nonnative speaker and, simultaneously, marginalizing the native in a one-way, universal fashion. Assuming that the Derriderian concept of decentering lies in the principle of undecidability and *différance* (that is to say, meanings not only differ, but also, and mainly, are in constant deferment), then, any attempt to stabilize the roles of native speakers and nonnative speakers as well as stabilizing who or what the native speaker is might be quite problematic. Here is a fertile terrain that would, in my viewpoint, deserve further reflections within the field of ELF studies. I am not saying such discussion is absent, but claiming for a deepening investigation in wider philosophical and political perspectives.

4.3 On a relatively romantic view on ELF interactions

Finally, a third issue I would like to pinpoint here is a relatively romantic view in English communicative situations and the need for establishing the debate under a more critical analysis on the underlying ideological and power relationships among English language users. Regardless of their terminological choices, scholars have informed against the inherent power relationships brought into light in recent transnational uses of English (Brydon 2010; Guilherme 2007; Ives 2006, 2009; Jordão 2009; Pennycook 1994; Sifakis and Sougari 2003; Warschauer 2000; Yano 2009 to name a few).

By relating issues of power, agency, and control in her analysis on the new ways of communication in current global societies, Brydon (2010: 06) poses some relevant questions such as: What kind of conversation will this be? Who sets the rules? Who decides the terms of engagement? How will global community be negotiated, local needs and compromises between differing views be respected?

In a similar vein, Ives (2006, 2009) calls the attention for the inevitable power relations and asymmetries at the heart of “global English” and states that behind some pseudo-neutrality among English speakers lies the sanctioning of the powerful to the detriment of the powerless.

Under a more relativistic view when compared to Ives’ thoughts, Canagarajah (1999) refers to the impossibility of eradicating power relationships altogether by reminding us that conflict is out there, in any communicative situation. Far beyond a deterministic view in his comparison between two models – the linguistic imperialism and the more recent linguistic hybridity movement – the

author optimistically envisions transformations as even power can be localized, decentered and negotiated through the very gaps in our language and cultural encounters.

Although power relationships have been addressed in more recent studies on the English language in the last ten or fifteen years, such reflections seem to deserve greater attention from ELF agenda. The way I see it, the legitimacy of emerging ELF language repertoires around the globe still have a long way to go through and this surely involves several epistemic breaks, in Kumaravadivelu's terms, along with the recognition of power relationships in ELF interactions. Under such orientation, we could move beyond the dichotomic view that sets native and nonnative apart and pose questions to anyone engaged in such discursive situations: To what extent are ELF participants aware of their own ELF agendas? To what extent would they be willing to conceive of ELF as a legitimate language and cultural phenomenon (Rajagopalan 2011) as a way to truly go beyond (self) marginalization? Whose verdict would count towards interpreting a certain linguistic choice (be it of phonological, lexical, grammatical or pragmatic nature) as an error or a variation? Who adjusts to whom? Who accommodates to whom?

In my viewpoint, answers to the above questions would rely on each English speaker's attitude towards ELF events, no matter their status. In other words, a more ethical and inclusive ELF interaction would rely on acknowledging contingency and subjectivity: the former referring to the imminent tensions and contradictions in any social practice whereas the latter referring to the identity formation of each individual who takes part in ELF interactions, regardless of their labeling as either "native" or "nonnative" speakers of English. It's time we acknowledge for imperfection in today's concept of humanism and all likely tensions, contradictions, and misunderstandings in current global communication. It's time we weaken the dichotomic view which has led us to fall into the traps of generalization over what would constitute "native" and "nonnative" speakers. It's time we interrupt conventional mindsets concerning the English language and English language methodologies. Recent postmodern studies seem to contribute to such endeavor, as I discuss in the subsequent section.

5 A postmodern English curriculum? On weakness, imperfection, and interruption

As Lyotard states (2004), postmodernity refers to a cultural condition subsequent to great social transformations in the field of Science, Literature, and Arts in late twentieth century. By questioning Cartesian and Newtonian models of thought

and all the grand narratives of the modern paradigm, postmodernity is broadly marked by the decentered subject and the legitimacy of the multiple and situated nature of knowledge, giving room to a new way of problematizing social phenomena. For the purposes of this chapter, I have chosen to discuss the ELF curriculum in light of three recent insightful contributions from postmodern scholars, that is to say, the postmodern notions of weakness (Vattimo 1987, 2004), imperfection (Todd 2009) and interruption (Biesta 2006).

By borrowing from Nietzsche the notion of truth dissolutions, the Italian philosopher Gianni Vattimo (1987: 09) discusses postmodern thought on a nihilist and genealogical basis attempting to prevent one from the traps of general truth, “[o]ne cannot escape from modernity by means of critical surpassing, which is still completely interior to modernity itself. It becomes clear that one must look for another way. We can call this the birth of postmodernism.” The author, then, advocates for a *pensiero debole*, or weak thinking, a mode of thought that acknowledges truth as a perspective to the detriment of universality. In this respect, one does not deny the notion of truth per se, but weakens it as reality is conceived of as interpretation. This implies taking into consideration history and genealogy in our interpretative processes, allowing us to unfold privileged narratives and, mainly, to understand the reasons of such privilege or marginalization.

In a similar vein, Todd (2009) also advocates for a relativistic approach to reality – a perspective of specificity in Todd’s terms – and claims for thinking humanity and education under the perspective of imperfection. As the author states, school models have long been associated with the development of dignity, tolerance, kindness, respect, and freedom in response to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The problem with those principles, as Todd explains, is that they seem to fail to address solutions towards more recent complexities in contemporary societies for schools still insist on treating them under the logic of universality, pureness, consensus. By demythicizing humanity as a coherent and benign universal, Todd, then, suggests rethinking schools as a space of and for plurality and difference, leading us to acknowledge such space as imperfect. In other words, instead of carrying the burden of resolving conflicts, an imperfect school aims at problematizing those pure, homogeneous principles towards the very notion of an imperfect humanism in which antagonisms, contradictions, animosities, violence are susceptible to exist and, most importantly, to be unresolved. Having said that, any educational project concerned with human rights must now face a new logic by acknowledging itself as imperfect as precondition to develop students’ abilities to live with the difficulties of pluralism. As Todd (2007: 594) states, “[t]he real potential of human rights education lies in its capacity to provoke insights that help youth live with ambiguity and dilemma, where freedom, justice, and responsibility cannot be dictated to them, but rather involve

tough decisions that must be made in everyday life.” In this respect, it is worth mentioning the discussion brought by Andreotti et al (2010) on the avoidance and erasure of conflict and difference, which helps perpetuate what they have called ‘benevolent pedagogical work’ (Andreotti et al 2010: 20).

The third and last notion I want to discuss in this section is the idea of interruption, brought by Biesta (2006, 2010). Along with Todd, Biesta presents his critique on universal humanism and the modern educational project for its prescriptive and normative orientation. In order to discuss his ideas, Biesta (2010) gives prior attention to the notion of subjectivity by claiming that if one’s singularity comes from one’s existence (to the detriment of the concept of essence), then, education should develop students’ subjectivities under the premise of constant change and unpredictability. This would lead to an educational model that would not be afraid of disturbing the “norm”; on the contrary, interrupting students’ ways of thinking, seeing, and acting would be paramount. Resonating Vattimo’s notion of weakening our thoughts, Biesta (2010: 91) defines his pedagogy of interruption as “(...) a pedagogy that aims to keep the possibility of interruption of the “normal” order open. It is first of all a pedagogy committed to the possibility of interruption and perhaps also a pedagogy that itself will interrupt. (...) A pedagogy of interruption is not a “strong” pedagogy; it is not a pedagogy that can in any sense guarantee its “outcomes”.

Such task, as Biesta (2010) explains, is not supposed to be that pleasant as many teachers would expect, in particular, those from the field of EFL studies inasmuch as English classes within the Brazilian contexts have long been labeled as “the fun part of the curriculum” in which apolitical, acritical activities prevail. Founded on critical theories, Biesta’s pedagogy of interruption seeks to briefly disrupt students’ minds by contrasting the known and the new, the familiar and the unfamiliar so that students have access to different ways of thinking and seeing. Such pedagogical movement within the classroom takes learning as response, to the detriment of modern notion of learning as acquisition as presented by Biesta (2006: 27):

Instead of seeing learning as an attempt to acquire, to master, to internalize, or any other possessive metaphors we can think of, we might see learning as a reaction to a disturbance, as an attempt to reorganize and reintegrate as a result of disintegration. We might look at learning as a response to what is other and different, to what challenges, irritates, or even disturbs us, rather than as the acquisition of something we want to possess.

Vattimo claims for a weak thinking as precondition for ethics and responsibility in today’s societies; Todd, in turn, defines a responsible education provided that such school is itself taken as imperfect; Biesta presents his pedagogy of interruption as essential if one wishes to truly acknowledge students’ subjectivities

distancing ourselves from a normative curriculum. Based on these very brief comments on each of three insights brought by these postmodern scholars, I question: how can we benefit from such contributions in the design of a postmodern ELF curriculum?

The notion of curriculum itself has long been imbued with modern categories, such as linearity, objectivity, stability (Popkewitz 2001). By discussing curriculum issues from a postmodern perspective, several scholars (Biesta 2006, 2010; Britzman 1991, Doll, Jr. 1997; Silva 2010 to name a few) have shed light on such endeavor but seem to frustrate those minds accustomed to clear-cut, directive frameworks for the very notion of “curriculum” is strongly invested with modernity (Silva, 2010) leading us to a conundrum (Duboc 2013).

As I discussed elsewhere (Duboc 2013, 2015), a response to such conundrum, then, would be referring to a *curricular attitude* in place of any fixed and normative set of curricular guidelines. By curricular attitude, I mean the teacher’s agency *between the cracks*⁶ of the curriculum so that any discursive practices in textbooks, course plans, lesson plans, school procedures, students’ and teachers’ ways of being, seeing, and acting might serve as starting points for a critical intervention towards transformation. Such attitude towards the curriculum would take place between the cracks much in response to contingency and unpredictability in social practices, as detailed below:

By the term “between the cracks” within the classroom context, I mean those moments in which we, as teachers, immediately identify fruitful spaces for expanding perspectives (Monte Mór 2008). Such expansion might occur by comparing and contrasting viewpoints, discussing further aspects on a specific theme, relating global and local contexts critically, inviting students to position themselves towards what they think and what others think about a certain issue, and so forth. (Duboc 2013: 62)

Having said that, how does the notion of a curricular attitude relate to notions of weakness, imperfection, and interruption, as previously discussed? When it comes to the ELF debate, in particular, how can an ELF curriculum benefit from such ideas?

Conceptually speaking, a curricular attitude is founded on the following postmodern premises: i. Reality cannot be defined on a universal basis; rather, it is socially constructed; ii. Knowledge is not neutral or natural; rather, it is socially constructed and imbued with ideology and power relations; iii. Language is not a system to be (de)codified; rather, it is socially constructed. As for methodological issues, a curricular attitude would seek to deconstruct discourses from the

⁶ Also referred to “between the gaps”.

mainstream by weakening “strong, universal truths” brought within the classroom through a perspectivist epistemology; by facing imperfection whenever addressing unresolved practices; by providing students with an opportunity to interrupting their own ways of seeing, being, and acting. Any content taught, any strategy developed, any comment made could serve as the gap or the crack one needs to critically deconstruct or decenter (Derrida 1988, 2002) hegemonic discourses and practices as well as emancipate veiled knowledges from subjection (Foucault 1994).

When redesigning English language teaching practices in light of ELF premises, the notion of weakening truths as brought by Vattimo seems helpful for preventing us from any universalizing thought. Several hegemonic constructs have been weakened giving room to a new set of terms within the ELF debate as I previously summarized in Tab. 1. I believe such move towards more local, relativistic terms such as *variation*, *accommodation*, *difference* in place of *error*, *imitation*, *deficiency*, to name a few, result from an exercise of weakening as precondition to start altering hegemonic terminologies in SLA theories.

As for Todd’s imperfect education, one might question to what degree her argument favoring pluralism in education is innovative especially when one considers the contributions of Sociolinguistics, which have focused on issues of language and cultural diversity in late twentieth century. Indeed, as I have mentioned elsewhere, the problem with traditional Sociolinguistic studies lies in fact that they have approached conflict and difference as if they were restricted to distinct cultural systems (seen as plural when compared to one another), neglecting the plurality within the same cultural system. This might explain those frequent textbook lessons which present two characters from different countries facing petty conflicts such as language misunderstandings or cultural shock as pretext to usually teach modal verbs such as *should*, *must*, *can*, *can’t* as in modelling structures such as *In Japan, you should bow* or *In Britain, you must drive on the left*. The way I see it, “cultural lessons” such as those seem to lack a more critical and political stance, although sentences like the ones I mention above are true and still relevant to be taught to many students, depending on our educational goals. Having said that, an ELF curriculum could benefit from Todd’s imperfect education for it invites us to bring to class communicative situations other than those romantic, trivial ones, in a way that would conceive of conflict and difference as inherent in any human relationship.

In this respect, on his analysis on the rhetoric of linguistic imperialism, on one hand, and linguistic hybridity, on the other, Canagarajah (1999) somehow resonates the idea of an “imperfect classroom” inasmuch as he sees such divergent discourses as a starting point for students’ agency and awareness raising. He, then, conceives of linguistic and cultural conflicts as mediated encounters in which local values and traditions play an important role in negotiating dominant

discourses. This way, processes such as mixing, modifying, appropriating, and resisting in communicative contexts would take place under the logic of imperfection in which conflicts and complexities are unveiled towards unequal power relations.

In practical terms, by taking the challenge of rethinking the English curriculum in light of ELF studies, I tend to focus on more localized, critical interventions as imbued in the concept of curricular attitude by seeking support in Kalantzis and Cope (2008: 33), for whom “[e]ducators need to be keen observers of change. This is the only way we can keep our teaching, and our schools, up to date and relevant. But, more than this, we must be agenda-setters and change-makers. We have the power to transform our classrooms and our schools.”

My emphasis on more localized agencies seem to counter-argument Kumaravadivelu’s recent call for a “collective, concerted, coordinated set of result-oriented actions” (Kumaravadivelu 2014: 17) as the only potential for us, the subalterns, to shake the ethnocentric discourse and to truly speak and act. I don’t know which interpretations might arise for what Kumaravadivelu has been calling a collective action, but I myself see the notion of “collectivity” as weaving backwards and forwards across and between different dimensions, from local to global so to speak. In this respect, I question: Would members of a transnational research group constitute a collective body? Would members of a national project constitute a collective? How about teachers who work at a same school? Would two teachers who share similar concerns and expectations suffice for constituting themselves a collective?

Seeking support for my preference on localized attitudes, I find Canagarajah’s discussion on agency and power in the classroom worth quoting here. By conceiving of power as localized and decentered, the author (1999: 211) poses the following:

The classroom doesn’t have to be at the mercy of power dictated unilaterally from above – by the larger social institutions. It has the relative autonomy not only to negotiate these sources of power, but also to develop alternative discourses and power equations within its own walls. We have to consider power as not necessarily exercised top to bottom; institutions like the school may serve to reconstitute power relations bottom up. At the micro-social level of the classroom, then, teachers and students enjoy some agency to question, negotiate, and resist power.

While we situate ourselves in an ongoing process of building new theoretical and methodological constructs founded on ELF principles, turning such debate more and more visible within Brazilian Applied Linguistics studies, I find myself redesigning my attitudes in my own Teacher Education program by decentering those predominant EFL constructs from SLA theories. The gaps or cracks within such curriculum are those very fruitful moments in which my student

teachers have the chance to weaken their (pre)conceptions, values, and perspectives regarding issues such as language, culture, knowledge, nativeness, among others as precondition for their exercise of (self) interruption. In doing so, usually through reading assignments and input sessions followed by debate and written accounts, any likely romantic views in either ELF or EFL interactions are put at stake by showing students the imminence of unresolved conflicts in certain communicative situations and the need for us, educators, to respond to imperfection by teaching our students to live with ambiguity and dilemma (Todd 2007).

Complexities of all kinds in contemporary globalizing processes are now becoming more and more visible. Towards the new notion of performance epistemology (Lankshear and Knobel 2003) in which predefined models no longer exist, my students and I find ourselves building ways of addressing local alternatives through attitudes aiming at (re)(dis)inventing knowledges and perspectives in English classes. Whether such attitude towards this curriculum makes a difference is worth investigating in the near future. By now, I simply share some of these moments as well as the outcomes as informed in my undergraduate students' meaning making processes.

6 Educating English teachers with an attitude: a personal account

In this section I intend to briefly describe and comment on some of my personal experiences as a teacher educator of English teaching methodologies at the School of Education in the last two years. The description of what I have been calling here “vignettes” seeks to illustrate the implications of a curricular attitude between the gaps of the English curriculum towards an ELF pedagogy. Due to space limit, few vignettes will be shared in an attempt to partially illustrate how the Teacher Education classroom transforms into an arena of multiple and conflicting narratives in which traditional assumptions, values, and perspectives coexist with alternative views. In order to better organize my partial conclusions, I come up with a couple of self-explained categories followed by a very brief analysis:

6.1 Using Portuguese as means of avoiding exposure?

The first vignette raises the everlasting controversy about the role of first language and target language in language teaching practices. Traditional SLA theories once condemned the use of first languages in foreign language teaching

contexts. Nowadays, scholars (Canagarajah 2007; Kumaravadivelu 2009) have welcomed hybrid language forms in the new processes of multi/translingual practices. By referring to reasons why first languages must be used in the classroom, Stern (1992 apud Kumaravadivelu 2009: 188) points out that both first and target languages are “deeply bound up with our personal lives” offering benefits in relation to an exclusively intralingual strategy.

In their discussion on multilingual communication, Canagarajah and Wurr (2011) advocate for the development of a repertoire of communicative practices and strategies instead of total proficiency competence. As they (2011: 11) summarize, “(...) the multilingual paradigm does not perceive communities as homogeneous, but in themselves diverse and requiring competence in different codes for survival. For this purpose, mastery of a particular target language is useless. What one needs is repertoire building.”

Although I am supposed to lecture in English – for this has been a tradition for years in the course – I find myself quite comfortable whenever I deliberately code switch or code mix, transiting myself into English and Portuguese whether for being coherent to the course reading assignments (Curricular guidelines written in Portuguese, for instance, are discussed in Portuguese) or for making a point in a more emphatic way. As for students, I don’t know to what extent such code mixing is deliberate for it seems to me that some of them still fear some exposure towards the classmates’ judgment considering the high mixed-level context I teach: while some struggle to use English whenever they are about to report more complex experiences, others would be positively ranked as “proficient users of English” by those international language standards. Such scenario demonstrates that some of my students still value accuracy over intelligibility, leading me to consider the need of further discussion on the ELF categories as previously presented in Tab. 1.

6.2 (Still) getting uncomfortable towards /θ/ sound

When I was teaching the 2014 second-term group of undergraduate students, there was a female student who admitted to get annoyed toward the way a colleague of hers would pronounce the /θ/ sound. Her positioning took place during a class in which we were all discussing the development of oral skills in regular education. Some of the guiding questions were: Do oral skills matter in regular education? If so, which contents/strategies/abilities would be more useful to teach? Does pronunciation still matter? Whose perspective? Which language varieties should be taken into account? The student’s comment came up right after I showed a comic strip that ironically presents a set of imperative steps to pronounce the /θ/ sound

culminating in the phrase “consult dentist” attesting, thus, the difficulties non-native speakers usually face whenever they come up with such sound.

She advanced on her thought by stating that a person who is not capable of pronouncing a certain sound, as it is the case of /θ/ sound for Brazilians, could not be allowed to teach. Attempting to weaken her strong thought, I, then, contextualized the notion of accuracy in contrast to intelligibility in the history of English language teaching methodologies. In fact, as Jenkins (2000) has stated, the mastery of certain sounds perceived as particularly English, as it is the case of “th”, is not crucial for ELF communication. The student insisted on her argument moving towards a biological stance on her explanation by saying: “Well, I see... Yeah... I’m not saying I don’t get what she is saying. I do... probably she has a malfunction and is not able to produce the sound... you know what I mean... put the tongue in the right place...” Once again, I made an intervention by pinpointing that such argument was founded on the notion of deficiency to the detriment of conceiving her way of pronouncing as simply different. My attitude between that gap attempted to invite my student to weaken her conceptions on pronunciation for, as a teacher educator, I am responsible for my students’ response (Biesta 2006) and have to make the most for deconstructing preconceptions of any kind. I don’t know to what extent such deconstruction took place for such attitude between the gaps of the curriculum is not supposed to indoctrinate, but, rather, simply problematize important issues.

6.3 Welcoming so-called “Brazilian way of using English” in local street signs

The last vignette I now share refers to my students’ reaction towards localized, hybrid, creative uses of English language. After having read texts⁷ regarding the teaching of English language in global times, I presented the following Brazilian street signs followed by these guiding questions: *How do you feel towards*

7 The reading assignments refer to the following texts: SIQUEIRA, D. S. P.; DOS ANJOS, F. A. Ensino de inglês como língua franca na escola pública: por uma crença no seu (bom) funcionamento. *Muitas Vozes*, Ponta Grossa, v.1, n.1, 2012; KUMARAVADIVELU, Balasubramanian. Individual identity, cultural globalization, and teaching English as an international language: the case for an epistemic break. In: ALSAGOFF, L.; MCKAY, S. L.; HU, G.; RENANDYA, W. A. (Eds.). *Principles and practices for teaching English as an international language*. New York: Routledge, 2012.

*the signs below? How do you judge this use of English? As a teacher, would you consider working with any of them in your English class? If so, which aspects could be raised?*⁸



Fig. 1: Brazilian street signs⁹.

Most of the students brought political and ideological aspects for explaining the recurring use of English in Brazilian street signs by retrieving the status of English as a commodity (Jordão 2009) as a gateway that would lead to access, power, and engagement in a globalizing world. Many of them addressed some practical actions aimed at a social dimension as we might infer from the excerpt below:

I would use them to raise some questions on the status that English language acquired all over the world, and would try to problematize this issue with the students: “Why do you think these people chose to write in English?” “Do you think something in English sounds better or more glamorous than something written in ‘plain’ Brazilian Portuguese?” (ex: do you think “Clube Noturno” would have the same effect on the reader as “Nahgt Club”?) (Ester)

When it comes to language issues which would focus on the content and form of English, most of them showed some difficulties in coming up with an activity that would cover such aspects. Some attempted to address language contents by

⁸ All comments were displayed on Padlet. Available at <http://pt-br.padlet.com/anaduboc/uy8w4ndkoh0c> Access October 17, 2015.

⁹ Available at <https://feijaocomnutella.wordpress.com/2008/12/12/crasse-de-ingreis/> Access July 10, 2017.

focusing on (meta)language awareness resonating a more sociolinguistic orientation when conceiving of these uses as language varieties:

I'm not sure about my answer. I think this is a way to see English through our culture because people wrote English expressions as, maybe, we would write them in Portuguese. Perhaps, we could work with these expressions to compare English and Portuguese letters and their sounds. Maybe, the teacher could ask to students if they knew other examples of this "variation" of English and also use them to make the comparison between English and Portuguese. (Mariana)

Others, however, would acknowledge these local, hybrid uses, but would conceive of them as incorrect forms, resonating a still EFL framework, which would deserve further development:

I would use the images in my English classes, for sure! The reason why I would use them is related to the propagation that the English language have nowadays. For example, I would explain my students that are better and more correct ways to express themselves in English, but the "incorrect" use of the language does not demonstrate that people do not know how to use it – besides other factors, it shows us how this language is taking part of our lives. (Beatriz)

The way I see it, although students' discourses partially echo EFL frameworks, student teachers are becoming more and more aware of the importance of widening perspectives when it comes to English teaching in Brazilian regular education. Such attitudes seem to positively go beyond EFL constructs which have long dictated English teaching methodologies. Despite its length, the following excerpt brought by one of my students somehow summarizes this move: a move that starts to bring into the classroom the so-called "Brazilian ways of using English" towards an ELF basis:

I think that we have to open our eyes to these uses of English that we tend to condemn. I agree it is not standard English, but we have to think that Brazilian people can say some words of English their own way, bringing English to their Brazilian realities. For instance, I had some students from language schools that knew lots of words in English but they were used to write them using the letters like in Portuguese. This situation is useful for the teachers, because they can use it as a "start" to show students the rules of standard English, showing the differences between letters and sounds, even awaring them that English has varieties, as we do with non-standard Portuguese, for example. I would work with it, raising phonetics and phonology aspects and differences between English varieties. I would never say to my student that it is completely wrong, because they are using their mother tongue to express themselves in a foreign language, and this mechanism is common when we are learning a second language. If teachers always say "this is wrong, you do not know how to speak English", the student will think that English is too much difficult and different that he/she will never learn it. (Leticia)

7 Towards an ELF pedagogy in teacher education programs

This chapter aimed at discussing ELF studies in light of recent postmodern principles, followed by a couple of vignettes attempting to illustrate how some of these discussions have been carried out in my local Teacher education program.¹⁰ Among ELF scholars, it is common ground that monolithical and ethnocentric orientations to English language and cultural studies as founded in EFL frameworks no longer respond to the complexities of today's global world, giving room to new constructs as brought by the ELF perspective. Despite rich contributions within the ELF field, I sense the need for constant self-critique so that we give prior attention to our own conceptualizations on the notions of “communication” and “native speaker” in order to prevent ourselves from getting into the traps of either generalization or romanticisation.

Alternative practices for avoiding such generalizations or romanticisation would be to assume a more relativistic attitude based on notions such as weakness, imperfection, and interruption as constitutive elements of a supposedly postmodern curriculum. To put in another way, an ELF pedagogy would rely on weakening categories such as “error”, “native”, “deficiency” to name a few as well as acknowledging imperfection in ELF interactions, marked by conflict and dilemma. Towards critical attitudes between the gaps or cracks of the curriculum, the ELF teacher, then, would interrupt fixed, homogenous ideas and preconceptions of all kinds as precondition for a new humanism in contemporary global societies (Todd 2009).

Instead of paradigmatic changes, when thinking of the challenge to move towards a “postmodern curriculum” founded on ELF principles, I tend to prefer small-scale, localized actions in my Teacher Education context – the curricular attitude between the gaps, so to speak – by which teacher educators and student

10 Undergraduate students who wish to get an English Teaching Degree must take the course *English Teaching Methodologies* throughout one year, among several other courses offered at the School of Education from the University of Sao Paulo, in Southern Brazil. Throughout the course, student teachers must plan and implement English lessons to be taught in regular schools (preferably public ones). Along with a partner, I have been responsible for such program whose content has been recently reviewed in an attempt to discuss the teaching of English toward issues such as globalization, culture and identity, multimodality and multiliteracies. A short version of the program is available at <https://uspdigital.usp.br/jupiterweb/obterDisciplina?sgldis=EDM0409&nomdis> and <https://uspdigital.usp.br/jupiterweb/obterDisciplina?sgldis=edm0410&nomdis>.

teachers would find some fruitful room for problematizing and deconstructing knowledges and practices.

I had started my reflections by quoting Philip's verses on the anguish felt towards how coloniality has dictated language, culture and identity formation. In this respect, I situated all the anxiety that many of us might have felt by the time we were learning English under an EFL perspective. I would like to end my reflections by bringing a slightly different perspective on anxiety: an understanding of anxiety that welcomes the new, the unpredictable, the uncomfortable; that kind of anxiety which is seen as part of our coming and becoming in the world; this feeling of anxiety that moves us ahead, towards our formation and transformation as individuals, as teachers, as teacher educators. As Kumaravadivelu (2012: 04) summarizes, "[s]imply put, learners and teachers are individuals too. They too are engaged in the task of forming and reforming their identities in this globalized world. Because of the intricate connection between language and culture, language classes offer a unique opportunity for them to try to wrestle with, and articulate their anxieties about, the complexities of identity formation."

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Lucielen Porfirio

The concept of ELF and English teachers' education: What to expect from this relationship?¹

1 Introduction

The concept of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF²) has been recognized as a way to deconstruct the model of native English speakers as the only reference for establishing communication in a foreign language as well as in teaching it (Seidlhofer 2011; Widdowson 2012). In addition, the idea of ELF allows reflection on different ways to enable global communication as English bridges interactions among speakers of different mother tongues (Crystal 1997; Siqueira 2008).

In the 21st century, considering the context of teacher education, discussions should be promoted on the concept of ELF in order to observe how such reflections can assist in the practice of pre-service teachers (Sifakis 2014; Bayurt and Sifakis 2014; Dewey 2012). The concept of ELF points out to some advantages to the practice of pre-service teachers of English, such as making participants agents of the interaction process in a target language considering speakers from more diverse languages origins (Seidlhofer 2011), considering mechanisms of adaptability to interactions which are not exclusively focused on native speakers (NSs) (Jenkins 2011), bringing up opportunities for discussions among speakers of different linguistic backgrounds (Seidlhofer 2011; Widdowson 2012), looking at the cultural aspects involved in conversations prioritizing local and diverse contexts of communication other than the hegemonic English speaking cultures (Baker 2012; Kramsch 1998; Siqueira 2008).

1 I should thank Juliana da Silva, a coworker from the ELF research group in UFBA, for the readings and valuable comments to this text.

2 The acronym ELF (English as a lingua franca) [...] has been adopted by a group of researchers who theoretically are aligned to the view that English nowadays has been used mostly in situations involving speakers from different mother tongues and not exclusively in interactions that have native speakers as the main focus. (Gimenez et al 2015)

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DOI 10.1515/9781501503856-010

In the Brazilian context³, El Kadri and Gimenez (2013) state some needs for English teaching education such as providing a space for discussion over the objectives and approaches of English teaching, taking into consideration linguistic, educational, social and political implications of working with ELF. English is not a homogeneous language and exposing students to different kinds of language uses can help build up the concept of diversity.

The main idea of this text is to show that raising awareness among pre-service teachers might contribute to a kind of education that questions the idea of homogeneity and prepares pre-service teachers to deal with a diverse context in which they should consider variability of cultural backgrounds and objectives during language mediated interactions, teaching and learning.

More specifically for this chapter, the aim is to consider how understanding ELF in teacher education courses can help pre-service teachers to reflect about their future practices. This chapter will bring reflections on the possibility of introducing ELF in English language teacher education through a discussion of an extension project at State University of Bahia (Universidade do Estado da Bahia - UNEB). The project involves a group of volunteer's pre-service teachers who took the challenge of introducing ELF into their education. The focus of this chapter will be discussing the beginning stages of the project, i.e. the participants' understandings and considerations of ELF, after readings and discussions were held.

2 Project rationale: What is ELF?

In this section I will explain the rationale adopted in the project for introducing ELF into initial teacher education.

The English language occupies a space of a common language of communication among people from different origins in order to fulfill interactions related to the economy, society, commerce and science (Crystal 1997). Social constructions, contexts, individual identities and personal histories emerge in such interactions (Cogo 2012) and English becomes the common language among those speakers and can be viewed as a Lingua Franca (ELF).

³ Other studies can be seen in the Brazilian context such as Siqueira (2008); Siqueira and Anjos (2012); Schmitz (2013); Fogaça and Mott-Fernandez (2009); Gimenez and Passoni (2014) among others.

Another aspect of English is that the number of speakers from the expanding and outer circle⁴ (Kachru 1990) has outgrown that of native speakers (Graddol 1997; Siqueira 2008), which leads to communication in English among people from different origins who talk about diverse objectives, from hip hoppers to businesspeople (Schmitz 2012). Therefore, ELF can promote more opportunities for developing different possibilities of communication to people from different mother tongues. This idea allows speakers to show all their repertoires, negotiate meanings, and accommodate communicative resources in order to fulfill communication in interactions (Cogo 2012).

Considering the current context, we can say that “ELF is a flexible and integrative mode of communication” (Cogo 2012: 292) which allows interactions among speakers of different languages and cultural backgrounds (Baker 2012). It can also be understood as a contact language among speakers of different mother tongues (Jenkins 2012) and it does not censor the mixing of languages among interactions (Schmitz 2012). As a matter of fact, ELF is able to include multilingual resources in order to expand meaning and establish understanding and knowledge among speakers (Cogo 2012) and it is not a deficient attempt at imitating native English at the same time that native speakers are not excluded from its definitions and context of communication (Jenkins 2011).

Jenkins (2006)⁵ defends that ELF speakers are not merely recipients of English. On the contrary, they must be considered as agents in the spread and development of the language because there is a stand-taking on appropriating the language while it is used by different speakers. The diversity and hybridism that emerges in interactions show that speakers make a constant effort to suit their communicative needs and purposes. The author says that ELF is not the same as English as a Foreign Language (EFL⁶), nor is it failed English as a native

4 Kachru (1990) described the spread of English in terms of three concentric circles: the Inner Circle, which relates to countries where English is used as a primary language, such as, England and New Zealand; the Outer Circle where English is not a native Language, but it is considered an official language for communication inside the country, for example South Africa and Philippines; the Expanding Circle is used to refer to countries where English is considered a foreign language and is used only for international communication, as most countries around the world.

5 Jenkins (2006) was one of the texts used for the discussions with the participants of the project, as it is explained in the methodology.

6 EFL focuses on the communication of NNSs to NSs and in the context of learning/teaching. (Jordão 2014)

Language (ENL). Instead, based on the idea of a third space⁷, Jenkins proposes that ELF should occupy a space that is not EFL nor ENL, as it floats freely and independently among those two. By understanding ELF as a free space of negotiation, it is possible to open up possibilities to accept norms which are different from native speakers (NSs) and to understand the variability of the communication flows (Jenkins 2006).

Some authors indicate characteristics of ELF which should be put into consideration. For example, Cogo (2012) indicates that ELF contexts include dealing with superdiversity in multilingual communities. According to the results of that research, variability and fluidity of the language emerge from the context of interaction and language are shaped by practice, co-constructed by users themselves and contingent in their communities of practice (Cogo 2012). Those results showed that speakers in an international Information Technology (IT) service use multilingual practices such as codeswitching to exclude or include interlocutors, use languaging to appear playful, include translations in the interactions for strategic purposes as clearing up meaning or sounding more precise.

Another example is in Baker (2012), who shows that ELF is “used most commonly not by native speakers but as a contact language between interlocutors with different lingua-cultures (linguistic and cultural backgrounds)” (Baker 2012: 63). The results of his paper indicate that

knowledge of the lexis, grammar, and phonology of one particular ‘linguistic code’ (for example Standard British English) is not adequate for successful intercultural communication through English. This needs to be supplemented by an understanding of the sociocultural context in which communication takes place and an understanding of the sociocultural norms of one particular native-speaker community, for example the United Kingdom or United States, is clearly not sufficient for global uses of English. (Baker 2012: 63–64)

This means that the NS models from hegemonic countries are not enough to accomplish the needs for communication in diverse contexts of the modern world. ELF interactions always involve people, places, purposes which exist based on a cultural and sociolinguistic backgrounds (Baker 2012) which emerge in interactions and are also put under negotiation and construction of meanings. Therefore, by considering that language, culture and social identity are always interconnected in interactions, we should suppose that when we learn or use English, we should consider multiple diversities of such contexts and avoid putting all of these elements inside a single reality to be followed.

⁷ Jenkins (2006) bases her ideas of a third space in Bhaba (1994) and Kramsch (1993).

Widdowson (2012) points out that competence in ELF does not correspond to native speaker competence because the knowledge from native and non-native speakers (NNSs) is as different as their primary background of socialization. Many linguists defend that language depends on context (eg. Hymes 1995; Savignon 1997; Kramsch 1993), so, for English use or teaching, not taking into consideration the settings experienced by real speakers would be the same as denying the value of those developments made in Applied Linguistics (AL) so far. It is essential to consider that speakers experience language differently, as an extension of linguistic resources they have (Widdowson 2012), and so they make connections with all their previous knowledge to build up interactions. Therefore, one can say that it would be complicated to establish a single model (the native speaker) to be followed in English learning. In fact, Widdowson (2012) questions how to define a native speaker. For the author, “[...] there are no such obvious criteria for defining who is an educated speaker, or even indeed who counts as a native, let alone what constitutes the standard language” (Widdowson 2012: 10).

Sung (2013) shows that there is a mismatch between the idealized notion of a native speaker accent and the accent in reality. Although native-speaker accents were thought to be the ‘ideal’ pronunciation model in his research participants’ minds, the participating students did not find these accents intelligible in reality. Native pronunciation was not always intelligible for participants and they reported not wanting to sound like native speakers (Sung 2013). The point is that native accents have social prestige, but they are not as practical and useful as they seem to be, given one will probably not be so easily understood internationally. As a matter of fact, participants involved showed that “it is not the ‘nativeness’ of the accent but the connotations associated with a particular accent that accounts for the appeal of it as the appropriate pronunciation model” (Sung 2013: 20). Participants, who are students of language at a university from Hong Kong, stated that in order to improve pronunciation they should expose themselves to different speakers of English and not necessarily to a model.

In the context of English teaching and learning, it is not hard to find examples of students who come to class with the intention of having fluency in English for different purposes, which might include academic ones, commercial trades, business or traveling around the world. Therefore, we should avoid the idea of getting all those students following a single native speaker model because it does not always contemplate diverse needs and learning goals (Porfirio and Silva, 2016). If we put up a model, we should ask ourselves if it is a real one or it is only a dreamy and unattainable objective that ideologically induces people to spend continuous amount of money on something almost impossible to get.

Schmitz (2013) argues that deconstructing the idea of the native speaker might help with raising some outcomes in the context of English language teaching (ELT): a) it is possible to create the legitimacy of using discriminated varieties of English: if we start considering many varieties in the context of English learning, then possibilities from discriminated areas would come into place during class preparation; b) promoting debate about native speakers might enable language teaching professionals to look for ways to empower NNSs (and teachers themselves) once they cannot be left aside from the context and are important to be considered as legitimate examples of English users; c) the decentralization of ownership which means that English would not belong to one or two nations, but it would be part of every speaker's rightful and repertoire. Therefore, a first step regarding the ELT context would be creating opportunities for teacher's raising awareness about alternative ways to think of English as common usage language to be taught (Sifakis 2014; Widdowson 2012). The point is that by raising awareness of the status of English today, it is possible to think about how language functions in social contexts of use (Mansfield and Poppi 2012).

In this chapter, by taking into consideration those facts associated to the concept of ELF, the project proposed for language graduation students intends on preparing pre-service teachers to question the idea of native speakers, motivating discussions on the concept of English teaching and learning, understanding the multiplicity of current contexts for English use and speaking and trying to build up reflections on the implications of these concepts for their own education and pedagogical practices.

3 ELF and teachers' education

Many researches in ELF have pointed to the need of considering important aspects in English education, such as interculturality (Baker 2012; Siqueira, 2010), pragmatic relations in communication (Widdowson 2012), more sensibility to the context of the classroom communication and culture (Sifakis 2014), variability and intelligibility in ELF interactions (Jenkins 2012). However, we should think that, in spite of all the efforts of theoretical discussions, there is a lot to be done regarding teacher's education. This must be considered in order to change ELT practices and promote ideas for the deconstruction of the native speaker as the ideal model, increasing self confidence in teachers as ELF users as well as promoting self-reflection in their pedagogical practices.

Sifakis (2014) supports the need of teachers' education to be based on questioning, reflecting, raising awareness through activities which evoke group discussions. The author proposes two phases for raising ELF awareness for in service

teachers: 1) reading research literature and promote discussions on these readings; 2) get engaged in projects catered for their own contexts, which they have the opportunity to prepare by themselves, as they become more aware of challenges and willing to change their teaching convictions. The author proposes that such actions promote knowledge production from teachers while reflections are constantly (re)evaluated. By doing this, it is possible to raise a continuous awareness not only about ELF, but also about their own practices instigating critical ways of (re)thinking their teaching reality.

Promoting ELF awareness is the first step for teachers' education practices that take into consideration the status of English today (Sifakis 2014; Baker 2012; Widdowson 2012; Gimenez and El Kadri 2013). If teachers have an informed and constant awareness of the ELF construct, it is easier for them either to change their deeper convictions about language, or promote continuous reflections to keep changing their every day practices (Sifakis 2014).

In the Brazilian context, El Kadri and Gimenez (2013) show in their study that pre-service and in-service professionals are still confused about the idea of adopting the concept of ELF. According to the authors, there are advantages in the process of exploring the concept of ELF in teacher's education because new options to the way they see their own job can be constructed: instead of seeing themselves as non-native speakers using English with a stereotyped accent, they can look at themselves as competent users of English. Therefore, the first benefit in raising awareness about ELF in teachers' education would be promoting more self-confidence for these professionals as well as activating in them possibilities of teaching how to be competent in English instead of how to speak English as a native speaker.

In another work, El Kadri (2010) shows the need for researches and discussions with the objective of working with the ELF status implications in teacher education programs, creating space for the decentralization of the native speaker, promoting intercultural competence in English classrooms, and contributing to linguistic policies that consider ELF. Bringing up studies and awareness among teachers who are in the initial phase of their education might result in some acceptance of new ideas in ELT context. Dewey and Leung (2010: 12) say that:

What is most important here is the need to promote awareness among the teaching profession of the inherent variability of human language. This lack of awareness represents a substantial challenge to orthodox opinion in language education. An important initial consequence of this is the need in teacher education to raise awareness amongst teachers of English of the fluidity of language, of the complex relationship between the rather abstract level of language models and the more immediate level of language as enacted in communication. Recognizing this pluralistic and complex nature of language in use would be an important first step towards fundamentally reconsidering current beliefs and practices in language pedagogy.

Many other scholars have been highlighting the need to make teachers aware of how language really works in the current world (Sifakis 2014; Baker 2012; Gimenez and El Kadri 2013; Mansfield and Poppi 2012). There is also an increasing need of making students acquainted with non-native speakers who use English as a means of communication and encourage them to have a positive attitude towards different kinds of English (Mansfield and Poppi 2012). English teachers should clear up in their minds, first for themselves, that they can be seen as real users of the language and competent interlocutors. Some actions that should be promoted in teacher education would be: acceptance and recognition of the transition from EFL speaker to ELF user (Mansfield and Poppi 2012); constant attention to language competence according to different varieties that are becoming more prominent in the world today (Jenkins 2012; Seidlhofer 2011); awareness of the status of English in contexts of Lingua Franca use and its implications to ELT context (Sifakis 2014; Baker 2012); group discussions and reflection in teaching courses about how to promote ELF discussions in current and every day English teaching lessons (Gimenez and El Kadri 2013; Sifakis 2014).

There is a great amount of challenges for teachers in our context, such as: making reasonable pedagogical choices, being able to rationalize about teaching, and being aware of the political side of their choices (Gimenez and El Kadri 2013). El Kadri (2010) points out, as one of the results of her research, that changes in teacher's education might be widely promoted by inserting disciplines or contents in Applied Linguistics related to ELF, or by the development of extension projects. This paper works exactly on reporting an extension project in which the main idea is raising awareness to nurture critical thinking among pre-service teachers about the relevance of the concept of ELF in their teaching contexts.

4 Methodology

As discussed in the previous section, promoting language awareness about ELF based on theoretical materials can get teachers to “overcome difficulties in adjusting to more theory-oriented investigative lessons that focus not on the form of the language but its particular meaning and function in the speech context” (Mansfield and Poppi 2012:162). Based on this idea, what we will analyze here are the initial results of one ongoing extension project developed at State University of Bahia (UNEB)⁸ – Alagoinhas – Brasil.

⁸ The research happened in 2015 when the author/researcher used to work for UNEB.

The participants are undergraduate language students, from different semesters of the course, who volunteered freely to take part in the project. The teacher preparation program comprises subjects of English language, English literature, language pedagogy, applied linguistics, linguistics. Discussions about ELF are not found in the content of the curriculum disciplines of the course, so a project that considers this idea is something new for students or even professors of the university.

During the first year of the project (2014), students from the 5th semester requested an extension course to practice language activities. As an answer to their need I proposed discussions on interculturality in English classes by developing activities that motivate cultural discussions having as basis an ELF perspective. Such activities were used with a group of 10 students to check how they would be able to negotiate meanings in interactions, something also contributed to their own education as future teachers (Porfirio 2015).

In the second year (2015), as other students wanted to join the group, the project was expanded to include English language students who were just beginning their teacher education course. For this phase of the project, plans were adapted to observations made during students' interactions in the previous year: it was necessary to have deeper discussions on the concept of ELF and its relation to English teaching practice. Therefore, the project's main objective for the second year was to develop discussions on conceptualizations of ELF and to encourage them to build reflections, questions and discussions as well as to bring examples from their contexts in order to reflect on how English language teaching can be influenced or connected with the idea of ELF.

The participants were 15 students from the first to the last year of pre-service the teacher preparation program. They attended weekly meetings, lasting approximately 60 minutes each. Some of the participants have been part of the project since the beginning, joining in discussions on important issues to understand language, learning and interaction based on intercultural activities. As these participants have been participating for longer, they actually had different contributions from the participants who were in the first semester at the University and motivated deeper discussions and concepts which the beginners had not developed yet. This may indicate that continuous discussions on some important characteristics of language and English nowadays may help teachers to develop different reflections, little by little, during the education years.

The plans for the meetings, as a whole, involve the discussion on texts about topics such as: 1) conceptualisations of ELF; 2) native and non-native speaker; 3) ELF and English teaching; 4) language variability; 5) intelligibility. The texts were proposed to be read at home and discussed in the meeting under the leadership of the author of this text. In addition to clarifications on the texts, the

participants were invited to discuss some questions (see Tab. 1) to show their own perspective during the classes.

The initial plan for the course previewed 12 meetings to cover all the 5 topics but due to a strike, the calendar was altered⁹ and only 6 meetings happened based on two first topics and are analyzed here by considering the diaries produced during the meetings. It is important to highlight that this report refers to the partial execution of the project. For this chapter, specifically, the objective is not to present a final view of the project as a whole, but to consider observations made during the first meetings in order to check how discussions based on the idea of ELF may have influenced the participants' view on language education by raising awareness and reflections on the subject. The meetings included topics 1 and 2 as explained in Tab. 1:

Tab. 1: Description of the contents and texts discussed during the classes.

Meeting	Topic	Supporting Text	Content of the text/meeting
1–2	Conceptualisations of ELF	“EAL – ELF – EFL – EGL: Same Difference?” (Jordão 2014);	The paper discusses some of the assumptions behind the use of the terms international, global, foreign, additional language and lingua franca when referring to English. Such terminology is approached from the angle of the pedagogical praxis surrounding teaching-learning English in Brazilian public schools. The uses of the terms are contrasted with English as a foreign language (EFL), as it has been traditionally used in Brazil. (Jordão 2014)
2–3	Conceptualisations of ELF	“Points of view and blind spots: ELF and SLA” (Jenkins 2006).	The article argues that mainstream SLA research can no longer afford to ignore the massive growth in the use of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), and highlights the irrelevance for ELF of concepts such as interlanguage and fossilization, and explores the extent to which a number of alternative perspectives offer greater promise for ELF. It concludes by making a case for ELF as neither EFL nor (failed) native English but as occupying a legitimate third space of its own. (Jenkins 2006)

⁹ There was a professor's strike and all classes were interrupted for about 80 days.

Tab. 1 (continued)

Meeting	Topic	Supporting Text	Content of the text/meeting
3–4	Conceptualisations of ELF	“EAL – ELF – EFL – EGL: Same Difference?” (Jordão 2014); “Points of view and blind spots: ELF and SLA” (Jenkins 2006).	For these classes both texts from the previous encounters were reviewed and questions were discussed with the participants, such as: What is your impression on the difference between EFL and ELF? How is the English language seen in your own context of teaching/learning? What do we learn at the university: ELF or EFL? Can ELF and EFL be put together in pedagogical practices?
5	ELF and native and non-native speakers	“Native Speaker and Non Native Speaker of English” (Schmitz 2013)	The paper examines the notions of “native speaker” and “non-native speaker”, by doing a literature review pointing to outcomes of the debate and setting out some implications for the role of English for Brazil in the ensuing years. The objective of the text is to present the state of the art with respect to the history of thinking about the complex term “native speaker” in language studies.
6	ELF and native and non-native speakers	“Native Speaker and Non Native Speaker of English” (Schmitz 2013)	Discussions of the previous text were developed as well as some questions during both meetings such as: What is a native and a non-native speaker? What is the implication of looking at the native speaker model in the classroom? Is it necessary to talk to native speakers to practice English?

It is important to admit here that only these meetings are not enough to raise complete awareness of pre-service teachers about ELF and its implications. However, the idea of the project was to start reflections which might be continued during all the graduation course and bring students to question some concepts they are going to be useful throughout their education. The project is carried out during extra curriculum classes and it is not part of obligatory subjects of the course. Students apply for participating to the project according to their specific interest of studies and get engaged in activities that contribute to their education. The main objective of the whole project is to raise questions and reflections on ELF and make connections to their own reality and teaching/learning practices. Summing up, the idea of the meetings is to provide participants with

opportunities for promoting critical views of English which can be continued either during the course curriculum disciplines, supervised teaching practicum or their practices as teachers. As it was an extension project, for future practices of the project, observations of English classes in basic education might be planned as well as some discussions with in-service teachers.

The data for this text is comprised of six diaries, one for each meeting, which were written with the help of a research assistant (student 11). These diaries were analyzed by considering specifically the answers to the questions made during the meetings as well as oral contributions of the participants about the texts described in the diaries. Classes were audio recorded and these audios were used to produce the diaries. Therefore, the analysis proposed in the next section considers extracts of the answers of the participants to the questions made (see Tab. 1) or the students' impressions on the readings of the texts with the intention of understanding how those interventions reveal contributions on ELF implications for English education practices.

5 Pre-service teachers and their point of view on ELF and its characteristics

By the first text proposed to students (Jordão 2014), it was noticed a certain insecurity from students on making up a difference between ELF and EFL¹⁰. After reading the texts, participants were questioned about their first impression on the concepts and after some time of thinking, three of the students' answered:

¹¹St 1: ELF is used for trade in the whole world and EFL would suit the learning context.¹²

10 Jordão (2014) understands EFL as an element opposed to ELF. She says that ELF brings the idea that English is used among people from different mother tongues and it is considered independent from ENL. On the other hand, EFL focuses on the communication of NNSs to NSs and in the context of learning/teaching it would follow the model of NSs.

11 All of the participants were categorized as St+no. (Student and a number).

12 As some of the participants were in first year of graduation and most of them did not have access to English learning in basic education before college, Portuguese was allowed during the meetings. However, all the students' speeches were translated into English considering their main idea while speaking. Detailed transcription was not deemed essential since the main objective was to take into account the content of the participants' contribution.

St 2: ELF would be a language for global communication and EFL would be an imported language.

St 3: ELF would be a language for legitimate use and EFL would be a secondary language.

It is important to highlight here that although these students may show insecurity on the theoretical concept, they begin, based on the text, to have the idea that EFL contemplates interactions valid for learning contexts and ELF implies common uses in different contexts. These participants indicate that ELF is used for trade (st 1), for global communication (st 2), or a legitimate language¹³ (st 3). The second student says that EFL would be an “imported language”. By considering “imported” as a word to define EFL, we can say that this student’s wording indicates it as something that comes ready to be used from abroad, something we (in Brazil, for instance) must receive the package and use it according to the instructions in the box. In fact, in the first meeting, students already seemed to be minimally aware that ELF prioritizes communication in everyday use, as it was indicated by students 1, 2 and 3. During the meetings about the first text, students were motivated to add some characteristics to each one of the concepts, ELF and EFL. One question was made in order to promote reflection: How is the English language seen in your own context of teaching/learning? As the time for the meeting was about to finish, this question was put under reflection during a week and discussed in the following class.

In meeting 2, after previous discussions and readings, we started by differentiating ELF and EFL. Interestingly, although most of the participants had never been exposed to ELF, they mentioned some important characteristics of ELF:

a) the decentralization of the native model:

St 5: native speakers do not dominate language anymore, since in each society or culture it – language – gets shaped to the needs of the speakers who actually use it.

St 3: native speaker, who is not the owner of the language, must also learn English.

St 4: If the centrality of language is based on a native model, certainly it will harm communication; but if the pattern is not based only in a native speaker model, it makes communication easier.

13 The participant says: “ILF seria uma língua de uso legítimo e ILE uma segunda língua”. Although we understand the concept used for *legitimacy* in the student speech, we do not intend to raise theoretical discussions on that, and based on the context and discussions during the class, it is possible to infer that the student meant “common use”.

b) the multilingual context of ELF as it is used by speakers of different mother tongues:

St 11: ELF takes place a multilingual context and it has an intranational and international character, while EFL is not used in national contexts.

St 11: EFL concentrates in communication from non-native speakers to native speakers, since ELF concentrates in communication among non-native speakers to each other, I mean, it includes all speakers from different mother tongues.

c) the possibility of understanding the speaker as user of a language instead of a learner:

St 11: ELF gives us the possibility to be speakers and not only learners of a language and EFL puts us in the condition of only learners. In ELF, we can be constructors of the language norms and everybody is considered equally foreigners in this perspective.

It is important to call the attention here to the speech of St 11, where, according to the diary produced for this meeting and checked on the audio, he says that “ELF concentrates in communication among non-native speakers to each other”. In his understanding the native speaker is excluded from ELF interactions. Although it may be positive to see the non-native speaker inside the scene of interaction, this understanding may require further discussions since current conceptualizations of ELF do not exclude native speakers. As the discussions may continue for those students, probably in the future some other ideas will come up for them.

Although students seem to be aware of some of the tenets associated with ELF, when they were questioned about how English is seen in their own learning context, there was a couple of minutes of silence in the classroom and students seemed to be trying to find out how they would fit all the concepts they were studying in their own reality. When students finally started expressing their opinions, they got to the conclusion that English is much seen as a language to be modeled and used by the standards of native speakers:

St 6: in my context, English should be seen as a global communication language, a lingua franca, but it is still considered in the context of EFL.

St 7: English is seen as an instrument for professional ascension and the model of the native speaker is always aimed for.

Such extracts suppose that there is a long way to change theory into classroom practice based on the view of communication language. Although students demonstrate to be initially aware of ELF, they indicate that this concept may not be present in their context. There should be many other further discussions on this point to get students to reflect on what they should do to change this reality, but

as a starting point, students were motivated to discuss about how to see English as a global communication tool and not an unattainable language. However, the first step of raising awareness seems to start being fulfilled and we insist that this project might raise other debates in the future.

For the second text (Jenkins 2006) and third text (Schmitz 2013), some other important points were considered by the plans and discussions of the texts (see Tab. 1): a) Understanding that, although we are in a setting of English learning, we can see ourselves as language users; b) Trying to think about native and non-native speakers as equals in interactions; c) Comprehending how these ideas would affect ELT.

From the analysis, it was possible to observe that participants do not see their own context of language learning in their undergraduate program as one that contemplates language interactions other than the ones modeled by native speaker standards. It is essential to say that the discussions based on the readings, the texts, students said that it would be possible to see themselves as language users and they would take into consideration different possibilities of English use other than the native speaker models (although the participants still have to be motivated for the discussion that native speakers are included as one of these possibilities). Each meeting we used a couple of minutes for constant reviewing of previous meetings. During this part of the meeting students were motivated to indicate their own understanding of previous discussions or to answer previous questions. In class 4 they were questioned about which English¹⁴ we learn at the university (ELF or EFL). One of the students (st 10) said that he was “a learner of ELF since he would be in contact with native speakers”. I questioned the group if we are really in contact with native speakers and after a couple of minutes of complete silence, the same student answered “no” and no other students had any other comment. It is possible to notice, based on this, that some misconceptions from students (or also in research literature) that may have been historically built and it is necessary to be put under reflection and deconstruction. It also brings up the fact that even though students started by showing awareness about English as a language for communication, they still would restrict themselves as likely to interact only with native speakers. I asked them (many times during the

14 Despite being aware that ELF is understood as a function of English around the world (Jordão 2014), this question was raised, on purpose, in order to make students reflect about how to visualize ELF in a context which is closer to them.

meetings) what or how to define a native speaker and some considerations from the students during the meetings were:

St 4: non-native speakers are usually put under the idea of inferiority when compared to native speakers and the future of English depends on those who do not speak this language as their primary one.

St 11: native speakers, on the context of ELF, would be also under the condition of language learners as they would have to make an effort to communicate in this context.

Two important things can be viewed here: st 4 criticizes the idea of non-equality between NSs and NNSs and st 11 highlights the idea that either NS or NNS must put effort into communicating in ELF interactions. It is important to say that st 4 and st 11 are both engaged in researches for final graduation papers that consider the idea of English as a language for international communication and they are doing constant readings on this subject. They start interacting with each other in one of the meetings:

St 4: In the perspective of ELF, communication with native speakers would not be considered then?

St 11: No, the native speaker can also participate in the process of communication when ELF is considered, but they are not the model, they are not at a prestigious point of view.

These students show a more mature awareness about ELF (compared to students who are just in the first semester of the course) whenever the native speaker's role is being deconstructed. Both of them were engaged in the project since its very beginning, which exemplifies how discussion on the ELF concept on a continuous base could help future teachers see English as free of a single model. During this discussion, there were very few first semester students interventions, which reveals that these students (ex. st 6 above) may still have the idea of English as a language modeled only by hegemonic native speakers.

St 11 is also engaged in being the assistant of the project and participates writing the diaries of the research. That student said during the classes that:

St 11: ELF makes it possible for us to be real language speakers.

St 11: ELF would be a means of negotiation between our mother tongue and EFL.

It is possible to notice here, that after some reading and discussions, st 11 is able to highlight important characteristics of ELF in teaching context: negotiation and

the possibility to be real users of the language. It is necessary to consider here though, that since the first year of the teacher preparation program, professors must get students engaged in reflections that would free them from the obligation of sounding “like natives” (Schmitz 2013: 148), and would give them a complete sense of having access to multiple varieties of English (Jenkins 2006).

Results so far show that promoting such discussions during the whole process of graduation as teachers, including in language classes, might help participants to see themselves as users (st 11), be independent of the model of native speakers (st 4, st 3) and understand language as means for interaction (st 4; st 2; st 5). Students who have been engaged in the project for a longer time (st 11 and st 4 for example) seem to be more mature about the concept of ELF which indicates that ongoing discussions take pre service teachers to new (re)considerations about language teaching.

Another important observation to be discussed in this paper is when students were questioned if it would be possible, as teachers, to consider ELF in the teaching/learning context, especially in public schools, where there are very few possibilities of interactions among speakers of different mother tongues. Only two students replied that:

St 4: It would be possible based on the idea that teachers should not alienate students and put in evidence the function of the language.

St 11: The English teacher could teach by approaching the functional character of the language

This point was raised based on the idea that some of the challenges for English teachers is to make pedagogical choices for teaching in their own context, and being able to be aware of the political character of these choices (Gimenez and El Kadri 2013). Even though not many students answered this question, as they probably did not feel completely comfortable to give an opinion, it is possible to see a light tendency from the participants to start considering a syllabus that includes functional language activities while teaching, instead of a simple focus on the form. It would not be possible yet to check how these students would deal with this idea in a more practical context, but this has not been the objective of the research.

As the initial objective is to raise awareness among future English teachers, the considerations from the students indicate that incorporating discussions about ELF might help them to deconstruct the idea of the model of the native speaker (e.g., change the idea they are going to speak only with native speakers (st 6)), indicate reflections about language use and motivate further discussions and

continuation of the process of reflection and awareness. According to Mansfield and Poppi (2012):

Awareness raising means incorporating into the learning curriculum a familiarity with other realities that students are more than likely to meet in any of the inner, outer and extended circles, of which they may themselves become a permanent or temporary member once they have left their formal learning environment. While it is indeed not difficult for students to envisage interacting with native speakers in a native environment e.g. London or New York, teachers must realize that EFL training does not prepare their students to cope with the pragmatic difficulties of communicating with other non-native speakers like themselves in Paris, Milan, and Singapore according to the professional activity they take up after graduating (Mansfield and Poppi 2012: 162)

Another important action is to promote a continuous effort from professors on elaborating a curriculum that explores critical thinking, ideologies, interculturality (Fogaça and Mott-Fernandez 2009). This has been a constant concern during the whole project. Results from the first year, which focused on intercultural activities, showed that, when students are motivated to act interculturally, they also seek possibilities to speak with speakers from different realities, as some participants actually did, trying to engage in interactions with people from Russia or read texts produced by African speakers (Porfirio 2015).

As we see, a process of continuous discussions among future teachers might gradually help to motivate slow changes into the concept of language, English teaching, models and educational possibilities for future pedagogical practices. We can say that gradual actions which bring up reflections about common practices that do not respond to the current context of English anymore may contribute to new possibilities of (re)thinking ELT practices (Sifakis 2014).

6 Some (in)conclusive words

The project analyzed in this chapter gives us some arguments to say that the appearance of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) on the international scenario may contribute to reducing conflicts in identity with regard to striving for a model accent (Schmitz 2012), focus on a more multiple variety of English uses (Jenkins 2006), motivate new reflections about classroom interactions in the current context (Sifakis 2014). Particularly in ELT practices, (re)visiting naturalized concepts through curriculum incorporation of ELF discussions to include awareness raising may be a necessary challenge for future teachers because it would change their own ways of thinking of the language (Mansfield and Poppi 2012; Gimenez and El Kadri 2013; Sifakis 2014).

The goal of this chapter was to show how some discussions about ELF concept in initial years of their education as teachers might help students into construction perspectives of English teaching that include a more reflective practice. Although results here represent only the beginning of the project, it is possible to say that motivating discussions on the concept of ELF and the deconstruction of the native speaker model can show the possibility of questioning naturalized concepts (e.g. we have to speak as a native speaker – especially like the ones from hegemonic countries) and (re)discuss practices that can be broken little by little when submitted to observation and discussion.

It is necessary to say that it is not the intention here to think that a project about ELF awareness alone can change all the naturalized ideas that influence future practices of our pre-service teachers. What we *can* say is that promoting awareness and possibilities to question and discuss ideas such as linguistic ideologies, interculturality, language policies, and English teaching approaches is desirable in the context of teacher's education because it might promote, at least, the consideration of different ways of understanding current English language teaching (El Kadri and Gimenez 2013).

Moreover, we must highlight that it is not the goal here to defend the idea that from now on, all of our students, pre-service teachers, must go through an education that would consider only ELF in all contexts of English learning. Instead, the intention which guided the texts choices and plans for the discussions was to look for curriculum possibilities to make students think of English as a linguistic phenomenon nowadays (Crystal 1997), bring up multiple varieties of English language to classrooms (Jenkins 2006), think of interculturality and language in English interactions (Baker 2012), and focus on strategies and abilities that motivate reflections during all English classes (Sifakis 2014; Gimenez and El Kadri 2013).

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Awareness raising about English as a lingua franca in two Brazilian teacher education programs

1 Introduction

The status of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) has generated a vibrant wealth of publications outside of the European/American traditional centers of ELT research and provided space for non-native English speaking academics to share their insights with the community-at-large (e.g. Aimonaho 2016; Bayyurt and Akcan 2015; Brosch 2015; Choudhury 2015; Fang 2016; Vettorel 2015, among many others). Most of these studies and reflections are framed within pedagogical concerns, since in the so-called “non-English speaking world” the challenges are related to acquiring the skills to participate fully in a world that has increased people’s dependence on the ability to use it effectively.

Whereas theoretical discussions have started to shake the initial foundations of the “ELF paradigm” and have pushed its conceptualisations beyond the boundaries of clearly defined languages (Jenkins 2015), practitioners around the world have started to question the tenets of the teaching of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and tried to incorporate ELF insights into their classrooms. Not that pedagogical concerns had been absent from the discussions around ELF from the beginning. On the contrary, one of the key publications about ELF revealed that teaching was very much at the heart of the establishment of a new way of thinking about English. Seidlhofer (2001: 133–4) points out this conceptual gap between the realization that “the majority of uses of English occurs in contexts where it serves as a lingua franca [...] and yet the daily practices of most of the millions of teachers of English worldwide seem to remain untouched by this development”.

If, on the one hand, we have applied linguistics researchers interested in developing new conceptual tools to explain the re-location of English in a

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DOI 10.1515/9781501503856-011

postcolonial perspective, i.e. detaching it from its historical native speakers, on the other hand we have teachers influenced by a growing market that reinforces the native speaker ideology and governmental policies that do little to “rock the boat”. In this context, teacher education acquires special significance, since it is a privileged context to challenge the status quo and try to close the gap. Several initiatives have documented the results of such efforts (Hahl 2016; Bayyurt and Akcan 2015; Sifakis 2007, 2014; Dewey 2012; Snow, Kamhi-Stein and Brinton 2006). In Brazil, a country where English is taught as a foreign language in the school curriculum, many teacher educators have addressed ELF and its implications for the teaching of English. The majority of these studies have dealt with beliefs and attitudes and approached the potential implications of considering the global reach of the language they are teaching (Bordini and Gimenez 2014). Suggestions on how to incorporate this perspective into teacher education and school teaching have also been put forward by authors such as Siqueira and Barros (2013), Longaray (2009); Calvo, El Kadri and Gimenez (2014); Gimenez, Calvo and El Kadri (2015); Duboc, in this volume; Porfirio, in this volume.

Thus, this chapter describes two initiatives at pre-service teacher education level that address the need to consider alternative approaches to “traditional” practices which ignore the changing nature of English as an international language. The courses were offered in two pre-service teacher education programs in Brazil, which prepare English language teachers to work in schools. Our aim is to provide examples of the attempts carried out since the discussions on ELF are limited to presenting pedagogical implications, with few studies documenting the practical application of such discussions in classrooms. In the next section we will bring some of the tenets that have guided teacher education initiatives within an ELF angle.

2 Rethinking teacher education from an ELF perspective

Rethinking teacher education from an ELF perspective is neither easy nor recent. Scholars have long stressed the need to provide room for ELF implications in the curriculum of English teacher education programs. They have, indeed, emphasized that the biggest challenge for teacher education is, therefore, how to deal with the re-conceptualization of the assumptions that the perspective brings for the teaching of English (Canagarajah 2006; Seidlhofer 2004; Snow et al. 2006). Such re-orientation includes to moving away from native speakers’ norm and going towards intercultural awareness, leaving behind the unreal notion of achieving a

native speaker's proficiency. Nowadays, it seems to be consensus among scholars that there are other needs beyond the one to engage ELF in language classrooms (Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey 2011), such as to change the ways to think about the description and teaching of English (Widdowson 2012), to change teaching methodologies and materials (Dewey 2012) and also beliefs and attitudes (Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey 2011).

Examples of practical proposals to introduce ELF in teacher education were discussed in Calvo, El Kadri and El Kadri (2016), based on the abstracts of papers presented at the International Conference of English as a lingua franca ELF5 (2012) and ELF6 (2013). That paper brings a mapping of initiatives around the world. The abstracts reveal that the proposals favor teacher education models that reflect the multilingual and multicultural realities of English today within a reflective paradigm.

One of the most disseminated model is the one proposed by Sifakis and Bayyurt (2013). The authors display *a model for ELF-aware teacher education based on Mezirow's transformative theory*. According to them, it is not enough to be informed about ELF issues to integrate them in the practice of EFL teachers. They believe it is necessary to have teachers becoming actively aware of, challenging and transforming some of their deeper convictions and beliefs about the teaching and learning of English. Through Mezirow's transformative theory, they argue teachers should a) read extensive articles from the ELF literature, b) view videos and c) answer a series of questions that prompted them to reflect both on ELF and on their own beliefs, experiences and practices and d) design lesson plans for their teaching context, justify their choices, teach and record their lessons and reflect on their impact.

Also based on reflection and focusing on teachers' awareness, Llurda (2013) formulates a teaching proposal in 5 stages in order to foster changes of attitudes in teacher education. He integrates his model of awareness with the phases presented by Sifakis and Bayyurt (2013): theory, application and assessment. To him, teacher education programs should cover: 1) the exposition of realistic situation with examples of the linguistic and cultural diversity: at this stage, according to the author, teachers are presented with data from films, internet videos and written texts, illustrating the diversity of communicative situations, including examples of fairly unintelligible NS English as well as the current multilingual and multicultural realities of global cities; 2) the analysis of data showing non-native speakers' professional performance: at this stage, according to the author, teacher trainees will be exposed to examples of successful use of English by NNS users in different professional fields; 3) the analysis of examples of academic uses of ELF: at this stage, data from corpora showing the use of ELF in academic contexts will be discussed and analyzed in detail; 4) professional

scenarios for international English: at this stage, teachers are presented with the dichotomy of a future world dominated by a single leading country vs. a world with multiple leaders (BRIC+US+Europe) and 5) the reflection on their own teaching identity, context and conditions (understanding) focusing on the ideal (and yet realistic).

As one can notice, the proposals presented in those events focused on the need to reconceptualize teacher education and to adopt a multilingual and multicultural approach to language learning (Calvo, El Kadri and El Kadri 2016).

The ELF-aware model was further explained by Sifakis (2014b) in his talk *“Towards a transformative ELF-aware education: challenges and opportunities for teaching, learning and Teacher education”*. According to this proposal, teachers should get familiar with issues related to ELF and connect what they understand about it with their own practical experiences as users and educators so they can engage in a critical reorientation of their beliefs about teaching, integrating ELF in their context of teaching English as a foreign language. The main premise of such approach is the need to foster reflection. In order to do so, the author suggests that teachers need to come up with a theoretical framework of what ELF means based on readings and discussions and to (re)think their pedagogical practices. It means the emphasis is placed on the need of fostering questioning, reflection and effective changes in their daily practices in the teaching of English. Sifakis and his team are aware that such process requires time of reflection, discussion, interaction and new reflection so that there is a gradual change in teachers' practices.

Thus, as we pointed out in Gimenez et al. (2016), the concept of awareness and reflection seems to be the key to rethink teacher education from an ELF perspective due to the recognition that it empowers teachers (Bayyurt 2014; Llurda 2014) allowing them to focus on the real use of the language (Llurda 2014) and take their own decisions about the curriculum as well as a reflection on the way English is used (Dewey 2014). These proposals seem to be anchored on a cognitive approach based on the idea that teachers need to reflect on their own teaching, local contexts and their learners' needs.

In the Brazilian context, one of our studies (El Kadri, Calvo and Gimenez 2014) investigated whether (and how) an ELF perspective has been adopted in English language teacher education programs with a quantitative-qualitative focus. The data was gathered through an open-ended questionnaire answered by educators of seven English language teacher education programs in Paraná, a state in Brazil considered progressive in terms of English language teaching. The analysis carried out suggested that, among those teacher educators, there was the recognition that ELF is an important perspective to be introduced into initial teacher

education programs as many of them informed familiarity with the subject, although we could not assess what exactly they meant by ELF. However, the idea of ELF is addressed mainly in the pedagogical component of the program, and not widespread among the teaching staff, which suggests that, in general, traditional language assumptions are not challenged by language-related courses, thus resulting in isolated attempts and initiatives by those who had contact with the ELF literature. Some examples of those attempts are reported in El Kadri, Calvo, Gimenez (2017) and Gimenez, Calvo and El Kadri (2015).

Due to their belief that there should be efforts to foster reflections on the changing nature of English in the contemporary world, some of those questionnaire respondents suggested the need to incorporate ELF related issues in their courses. They seemed to share the assumptions presented in the literature; however, they also found it difficult to implement language teaching based on ELF.

Other Brazilian publications also reveal that there is widespread recognition that an ELF perspective is relevant to our context. For many Brazilian academics some of the principles to be taken into account include: the study and the communication experience with different varieties of English, the reflection on identity issues and ownership of English, the discussion of how to assess productive skills that moves away from native forms, the intercultural nature of English and issues of intelligibility (Rajagopalan 2009; Gimenez 2006; Siqueira 2008).

In this chapter we describe the teacher education the activities developed in two pre-service teacher education programs. The dominant models of language development in the programs as a whole are based on discursive notions of language, although largely focused on a monocentric, native speaker ideology.

In one of such programs, a 30-hour-elective course “English as a global lingua franca: epistemological and pedagogical issues” was taught in one semester in 2015 and aimed at raising awareness about issues around the uses of ‘English as a lingua franca’ and their pedagogical consequences. In contrast with the normative view of English as a native language, associated mainly with the United States or England, the course encouraged the discussion of linguistic variation as well as the differences and similarities between ‘World Englishes’ and ‘ELF’. Although we agree that merely adding an elective course may not be enough to challenge common assumptions, it is a step forward in Brazil, a context where practical suggestions on how to teach English as a global language are scarce. The course included exposure to different

varieties of English, reflections on language learning experiences, and uses of English and discussion of texts. The pre-service-teachers were evaluated through a lesson plan in which they had to demonstrate understanding of the implications of the decentering of the native speaker for the teaching of English in contexts where diversity is the norm.

The other initiative was carried out during the 136-hour course “English Teacher Education Practice” for students from the third year of Language undergraduate program in a public university in the state of Parana, Brazil. The course syllabus comprises different topics about English teacher education and teaching and learning of English, such as: the roles of the English teacher; knowledge, skills, competences and attitudes of the English teacher; the process of teaching and learning English with emphasis on the Brazilian context; the teaching of English in articulation with the social-political-educational context; evaluation practices; among other topics. “English as a lingua franca” was one of the topics worked during the classes.

Both experiences will be described next.

3 Initiatives at pre-service teacher education

3.1 English as a global lingua franca: epistemological and pedagogical issues

3.1.1 Course description

The elective course had 6 student teachers (out of potential 20) enrolled, and had the following objectives:

- to present the main arguments for and against ELF
- to consider the pedagogical implications of adopting a lingua franca perspective

The programme consisted of the topics: a) ELF and language variation and change; b) differences and similarities between World Englishes and ELF; c) pedagogical implications of decentering the native speaker.

The classes were delivered interactively, with 15 weekly face-to-face meetings when the prospective teachers would discuss readings and engage with the concepts. Because they were also doing their practicum in public schools they could

reflect on the pedagogical implications considering their concomitant experiences as teachers. The following texts were read and discussed:

Tab. 1: Readings discussed during the course.

Author	Title	Task objective
Gimenez 2015	Renaming English and educating teachers of a global language	To introduce ELF and the issues for teacher education framed within a normative mindset.
Schmitz 2012	To ELF or not to ELF that is the question for Applied Linguistics in a globalized world.	To consider language variation and change as important knowledge for teachers
MacKenzie 2014	Chapter 9 – “ELF in the classroom”	To think about how ELF could be incorporated into the classroom
Gimenez, Calvo and El Kadri 2015	Beyond Madonna: teaching materials as windows into pre-service teachers’ understandings of ELF	To show an example of how ELF was interpreted by a group of students like themselves.
Jenkins 2006	Current perspectives on teaching World Englishes and English as a lingua franca	To consider the differences between WE and ELF in ELT
Science Monitor 23/4/2015	What will the English language look like in 100 years? http://www.csmonitor.com/Science/Science-Notebook/2015/0423/What-will-the-English-language-look-like-in-100-years	To consider language variation and change within a time frame.

In the first class the students were asked to complete the sentences below, in order to show how much they knew about ELF:

What we know already

A lingua franca is

English is a lingua franca (ELF) because ...

ELF is different from EFL in the following ways:

Next, they watched a video in which Pope Francis speaks in English to a young crowd in South Korea (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BkJJ_W7TzRA). This raised questions about communicative competence and grammatical correctness. We addressed issues of achievement of communicative purposes and power in language use. Another video was seen: one in which David Crystal talks about Global Englishes (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2_q9b9YqGRY). We then explored the plural form of English and what it meant for language teachers.

After this initial session the students were already eager to learn more. The course continued with readings, watching videos and discussing the issues in class. One of the videos, *Creature Comforts*¹, exemplified diversity of perspectives in life as well as different accents. The Brazilian jaguar was seen as an example of how communicative purposes can be achieved even when grammar use does not follow the standard and the students considered this a good way of raising awareness about ELF in high schools.

The students were also encouraged to look for teaching resources, by identifying websites that could spark ideas about how an ELF perspective could be incorporated into the classroom. In this sense, they found relevant: Nicos Sifakis' scoopit page <https://www.facebook.com/groups/601031896579177/>; the VOICE corpus <https://www.univie.ac.at/voice/>, as well as the sound archive of the British Library <http://www.bl.uk/learning/langlit/sounds/>, in which they could listen to different accents from Britain. This was an eye-opening activity in terms of demystifying the homogeneity of British English. In terms of pronunciation, they found the British Council website useful, especially the seminar <https://www.britishcouncil.org/voices-magazine/how-teach-english-lingua-franca-elf>. Another source considered relevant to them was the online course offered by York and St John University entitled "Changing Englishes: an interactive course for teachers": <http://www.yorks.ac.uk/changing-englishes/changing-englishes.aspx>. Those sources were complemented by the participation in Alessia Cogo's workshop in which she explored the multilingual nature of ELF.²

To sum up, the course managed to raise awareness about diversity in English and introduce ELF and World Englishes as important perspectives to challenge mainstream ELT in Brazil. The students noted, however, that most of the pedagogical suggestions were based on oral activities and pointed out that in writing it was more difficult to find examples of ELF use.

3.1.2 Lesson plans

The course assessment required the students to present a lesson plan in which the ideas discussed during the course would be reflected. They worked in pairs and presented three lesson plans. Those plans reflected much of what had been discussed during the course, including the type of teaching resources (videos, handouts, texts), as the table below shows:

¹ This is a famous animation by Ardman Animations that puts animals in zoo talking about how they feel about where they live. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OmNymPocKro>
² Alessia Cogo visited the university where the elective course was being offered and the students had the opportunity to attend the workshop run by her.

Tab. 2: An overview of pre-service teachers' lessons plans submitted for assessment.

	Team 1	Team 2	Team 3
Lesson objectives	To raise awareness about ELF	To understand what ELF is and reflect on the role of women in society	To introduce some English language varieties and motivate students
Teaching resources	Video "World Englishes on TED" https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LBYSuohdKs4 Text on ELF, standard and non-standard English	Video "Accents in the UK" https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J70VR2FWcd0 Website http://accent.gmu.edu/ Video "Malala Yousufzai receives Clinton Global Citizen award" https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r5Env1CwVA0	Website www.dialectsarchive.com/globalmap video "The world's English mania" https://www.ted.com/talks/jay_walker_on_the_world_s_english_mania Text "O que é international English" charges
Teaching procedures	Listening comprehension and discussion Role play Reading comprehension and discussion Teacher explanations	Listening comprehension and discussion	Warm up with balloons Listening comprehension Debate
Implicit ELF interpretations	There are different varieties (accents) of English. English language users adopt different strategies to communicate successfully	There are different varieties (accents) of English. ELF prioritizes communication rather than standard English	There are different varieties (accents) of English. English is used around the world.

As these lesson plans show, the students grasped the idea of diversity in English, but limited this variety to accents. This can be due to the sources they had been exposed to during the course. The same would apply to activities focussing on listening comprehension skills, since they could not find many examples of how ELF is used in written texts. Team 3 was the group that worked on more initial stages of raising awareness about ELF, since they focused on discussing that English is used in many parts of the world and there are many dialects. Team 2 focused on accents and tried to introduce a social issue into the discussion, in order to illustrate a less prestigious accent and make the point that English can

be a vehicle for the expression of social concerns. Similarly, team 1 emphasized communication and mentioned strategies.

These plans reveal the possibility of decentering the notion that only prestige varieties of English should be introduced in classrooms, despite the fact that only oral skills had been addressed. However, this can be considered a step forward. The course was short, and a longer version would have to combine practical implementation of the plans and reflections on the results. The course format was somewhat successful in articulating alternative views on English language teaching, but due to its focus it gave them perspectives closer to a “World Englishes” paradigm, rather than an ELF perspective. These results coincide with the ones we identified in a previous experience (Gimenez, Calvo and El Kadri 2015). We need to do more to include examples of how English is used in lingua franca communication and what kind of strategies users employ to achieve success. This may be the scope of a followup edition to this course.

4 English in the contemporary world

An attempt to raise awareness about the status of English as a lingua franca was carried out during the course “English Teacher Education Practice” for students from the third year of Language undergraduate program in a public university in the state of Parana, Brazil. This was a 136-hour course and the topic “English as a lingua franca” was implemented in 16 lessons, during 8 days (12 hours). The discussion and activities developed were based on the material “English in the contemporary world” (El Kadri and Calvo 2015), a teaching unit produced for the book “Teacher Education: linguistic-communicative skills and English as a lingua franca” (Calvo, Freitas and Alves 2015), directed to pre-service teachers enrolled in an online teacher education program from the same university.

Based on a previous analysis of the unit (El Kadri, Calvo, and Gimenez 2017), some of the aspects that needed further development as the articulation of ELF with didactic practices were addressed here. Also, as the unit was adopted in face-to-face encounters, the classes were more interactive and the teacher could ask students about their opinion and agreement or disagreement with the ELF concepts and implications.

As already mentioned in El Kadri, Calvo and Gimenez (2017), the material aims at discussing beliefs and attitudes towards the English language, inviting reflections on the main implications of considering ELF. It is divided into four sections, that are: 1) English expansion in the world, 2) linguistic implications, 3) political and social linguistic implications and

4) educational implications. In this last one, the following points are addressed: i) English varieties, ii) pronunciation: intelligibility issues, iii) articulation between the local and global: planetary citizenship, iv) the teaching of culture and v) teaching objectives. Theoretical explanation is interspersed with 20 tasks that use different resources for mediation, such as videos, texts, audios, excerpts from newspapers, sites from the internet etc.

The authors' views on ELF, supported by references to the literature, are expressed in between the activities, according to the following topics:

1. English relocation in the world (English is a lingua franca, historical factors that led to this status, English and globalization, Kachru's concentric circles) – Activities 1–4:

Activity 1: Read the following excerpts from two leading newspapers in Brazil. How are the points of view connected to the current status of English?

Activity 2: Before reading the first parts of the text, try and answer the following questions: what is a lingua franca? Why is English a lingua franca? What factors contribute to consider a language a lingua franca?

Activity 3: Watch the video “Global English” (David Crystal), available on <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WZI1EjxxXKw>>, and write down the aspects related to the reasons why a language becomes a global language and the different meanings of power “at different times in history”

Activity 4: Do a research and identify countries where English is used as a: a) first language/mother tongue; b) second language; c) foreign language.

2. Linguistic implications of ELF (decentering of native speaker's norms, reconsideration of “error”) – Activities 5–7

Activity 5: Read the quotations below and match the implications they refer to. Use (1) for Political Implications; (2) for Educational Implications and (3) for Linguistic implications

3 As already mentioned, the activities described in this section were taken from the didactic unit “English in the contemporary world”, elaborated by El Kadri and Calvo (2015).

Activity 6: Read the talk of India’s Prime Minister – Manmohan Singh – in 2005 and answer the following questions:

Activity 7: Visit the website Hawaii. Edu – available in the link below and describe the main characteristics of SINGLISH (the English variety of Singapore) and of another chosen variety.

<<http://www.hawaii.edu/satocenter/langnet/descriptions/index.html>>

3. Social and political implications (issues of exclusion, inequality) – Activity 8

Activity 8: Based on the ideas presented in El Kadri’s bibliographical review (2010), answer the questions. (The questions ask about authors’ perspectives and suggestions regarding the implications and the way foreign languages have been dealt in Brazil. Students are asked to take part and discuss teachers’ role in this scenario).

4. Educational implications – general implications as presented in the literature – (contrast between teaching English as a foreign language and as a lingua franca) – Activities 9–11

Activity 9:

Part A: Identify in the following sentences the differences between English as a foreign language and English as a lingua franca.

Part B: Now, put the main idea of the sentences from the last exercise in its appropriate space in the table below and compare the differences between the perspective of English as a foreign language and English as a lingua franca.

Activity 10: Watch Sávio Siqueira’s video in *Portal Sala* (<<http://www.sala.org.br/index.php/tv/entrevistas/390-o-ingles-do-mundo-uma-lingua-franca>>) and summarize the author’s main ideas concerning the current position of English in the world.

Activity 11: Read Leffa’s text “Teaching English as a multinational language” (2002), available on <<http://www.leffa.pro.br/textos/papers/multinational.pdf>>, and list the main priorities in English teaching suggested by that perspective.

(This activity was not done with the students during the lessons)

5. Models for teaching (varieties of English) – Activities 12–14

Activity 12: Watch David Crystal’s talk “Should English be taught as a global language?” on youtube <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tLYk4vKBdUo>>.

and explain what he says about a) Global English into the classroom; b) Global English in teaching production; c) Global English in teaching comprehension; d) Global English and pronunciation.

Activity 13: Watch another video from David Crystal (<<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0XT04EO5RSU>>). What is the author's position in relation to the question: Which English should we teach students?

Activity 14: (...) describe how would be the choice of varieties to be taught in your context in a perspective that considers the status of English as a lingua franca.

Search in the web three different English varieties (try to expand your search far beyond the inner circle countries!). Then, describe your reaction in listening to these varieties. Are you used to listening to them? What are the difficulties? What can you do to improve this language skill?

6. Intelligibility as a goal (pros and cons) – Activity 15

Activity 15: Watch the video “The Pink Panther” (<<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dphayJDCzog>>) and answer the questions: a) As a student, or even as a teacher of English, would you feel more confident knowing that “native – like” pronunciation wouldn't have the same importance or stress anymore? b) Can we keep our accent and identity while still being intelligible? Are there limits? c) What does the video tell us about learning and teaching English?

7. Global-local connections (planetary citizenship) – Activity 16

Activity 16: Answer the following questions: a) Why do the authors believe that developing planetary citizenship is one of the implications of ELF? And b) Brainstorm and write examples showing how it could be implemented in English classes.

8. Teaching of culture (interculturality as a goal) – Activity 17

Activity 17: Read [a text] and write a paragraph positioning yourself in relation to the ideas presented by the author.

(This activity was not done with the students during the lessons. Instead, they read and discussed the text “Tips for teaching culture in a globalized world” (2012), by Adelaide de Oliveira and the section “Teaching beyond stereotypes with intercultural communicative competence” from the text “English as a lingua franca, World Englishes and cultural awareness in the classroom: a North American perspective”, by Margaret Pederson (2011)).

9. Learning objectives (communication with native speakers × communication with non-native speakers) – Activity 18

Activity 18: a) Go to youtube (<<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8t5tEFyCTno>>) and watch the video about students' experiences and goals in learning English. Choose two of them and take notes of their objectives for learning English. b) What about you and your students? What are the objectives for learning English in Brazil? (The students didn't watch the video, but talked about the students' objectives of learning English in Brazil)

In activities 19 and 20 the students were required to analyze a teaching unit according to a set of given parameters and to consider a literary text that deviates from standard English to exemplify the acceptance of ELF in a university entrance exam. The pre-service teachers analyzed some of the units from the book *Intercultural Resource Pack for Latin America*⁴ (MATOS et al. 2009) but did not read the literary text from the university entrance exam.

The didactic unit itself was not handed in to the students; rather, some slides were prepared to present the topics and to discuss some ELF concepts and implications with the students. Almost all the activities explained before were developed with them (the students had most of the activities printed for them) and at the end of the explanations and discussions, students worked in pairs or in groups of three to prepare and present a lesson plan articulating some of ELF implications. An overview of their lesson plans can be found in the Tab.3 below.

Tab. 3: An overview of the pre-service teacher's lesson plans.

	Theme / Content	Lesson objectives	Teaching resources
Team 1	Corruption	To promote a discussion about how corruption is dealt around the world and locally, and how English works as a global language to enable people from various nationalities to work together	Newspaper articles from BBC News and Folha de São Paulo, a video "Fifa Scandal" and questions for discussion
Team 2	Theme 1: Different countries that have English as an official language;	Theme 1: – to talk about linguistic variation and to show that there isn't only "one English"	Questions for discussion;

⁴ Available on <<http://teachingenglish.org.uk/sites/teacheng/files/icrp-july07.pdf>>

Tab. 3: (continued)

	Theme / Content	Lesson objectives	Teaching resources
	Theme 2: Terrorism	Theme 2: – to talk about terrorism in different countries, including their own; to discuss the different ways students can engage in social solutions to confront the problem of terrorism.	– Headlines of news about terrorism from different countries and questions for discussion
Team 3	Accents	To work with different kinds of accent and to expose students to English variation	Videos and questions for discussion
Team 4	Accents	To show the students that there are different English accents in the world	Videos and questions for discussion
Team 5	Accents and misunderstandings	To know how the accent of the non-native speaker interfere on the understanding of a native and a non-native speaker	Videos and questions for discussion
Team 6	Accents	To talk about prejudice involving nonnative speakers of English	Videos and questions for discussion
Team 7	Stereotypes	To show that there are different stereotypes around the world	Questions for discussion, reading text, activities
Team 8	Celebration “Day of the Dead”/ Día de los Muertos	To discuss the Mexican holiday	Video and questions for discussion

As we can see in the outline of the students’ lesson plans, the ELF implication that most called their attention was the accent. This topic was addressed to show the linguistic variation in the world and to talk about misunderstanding and prejudice against the non-native speaker. Another implication that could be seen in their plans was the articulation of the global with the local, bringing themes that can be discussed at international level (e.g. corruption and terrorism).

The theme “stereotype” was presented in the lesson plan designed by theme 7, but they couldn’t challenge national stereotypes; rather some of them were reinforced by the activities proposed. In their turn, team 8 approached a Mexican celebration. Although they tried to talk about culture bringing a celebration from a country that does not have English as a first language, the way they worked with culture still addressed general stereotyped aspects of the holiday. In the post-activity, they tried to articulate the holiday with celebrations from other countries, as “Finados” in Brazil and they prepared two questions “What do you do in this day? / Does everyone you know celebrate it in the same way?” trying to show

the diversity of ways to celebrate a festival in a country but it was not enough to work with culture from an intercultural perspective.

5 Two initiatives and some challenges

The two experiences reported in this chapter illustrate the desire to incorporate ELF in pre-service teacher education following a reflective model that intends to de-stabilize some of the assumptions guiding the teaching of English as foreign language. They do so by adding to the overall curriculum some course options that can lead the prospective teachers to consider alternative views on the English language and its use in lingua franca interactions.

The activities and materials reveal that it is necessary to go beyond the teaching resources generally available to teacher educators, and that those tended to concentrate on readings and listening sources. One difficulty for teacher educators is to find examples of written ELF uses that could demonstrate that it means more than diversity of accents.

The approach adopted in both reported cases was an interpretation of the ELF-aware model (Sifakis and Bayyurt 2013), in which the course participants had to: a) read extensive articles from the ELF literature, b) view videos and c) answer a series of questions that prompted them to reflect both on ELF and on their own beliefs, experiences and practices and d) design lesson plans for their teaching context, justify their choices. Although we did not reach the stage of teaching and recording their lessons and reflecting on the impact of those classes, we believe both initiatives helped challenge the normativity associated with native speakers.

This approach focusses on: a) cognitive engagement with the ideas presented by authors who are discussing an ELF related perspective in teaching-learning English and b) on the development of analytical skills to the extent they have to access authentic ELF uses (both oral and written). Whereas it was possible to see the prospective teacher finding spaces to “translate” an ELF perspective into language classes, those spaces are limited to issues of intelligibility related to variety of accents. We believe this can be explained by the focus on the discussion of texts and listening activities (through videos), and less emphasis on other aspects of language use such as: pragmatic strategies, idiomaticity, lexicogrammar, trans-languaging, etc. The availability of authentic resources and ethnographic data collection may contribute to the expansion of understandings about ELF.

Another dimension that could not be forgotten is related to power associated with the use of English as the hegemonic language in many contexts and its relationship with issues of inequality and/or social exclusion. For us, each

experimentation is also an opportunity for learning about ELF and its potential to promote transformation in current ELT practices towards a more egalitarian form of interaction among speakers of English from multicultural backgrounds.

6 Conclusion

This chapter presented two initiatives at pre-service teacher education level to incorporate ELF in their curriculum. Those initiatives were implemented through two different courses offered in the programs of two public state universities in Paraná, a state in the northern region of Brazil. The purpose of the chapter was to offer practical examples of ELF in the classrooms of English teacher education.

The examples focused on reflection about ELF through different teaching resources (reading texts, watching videos, answering questions, doing activities) and on the students' understandings about ELF when designing lesson plans as part of their assessment.

The initiatives discussed here showed the important role of teacher education courses and teacher educators in incorporating ELF discussions and activities in their curriculum. In another opportunity, it would be interesting to look at other initiatives in different “spaces” of the curriculum, such as how ELF has been included in the English classes of these programs and how those pre-service teachers articulate the discussion they had in the university with their practice when they go to school in order to carry out their teaching practicum.

To conclude, we hope this chapter may contribute with educators working in teacher education programs who are interested in discussing and developing attempts to incorporate ELF into the classroom.

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