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English in Brazil: A Sociolinguistic Profile

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Abstract

This paper is a sociolinguistic profile of English in Brazil. It explains how English operates in Brazil through a brief discussion of the history of English in Brazil, the Brazilian variety of English, users and uses of English, and attitudes towards English. The history of English is traced from the 16th century to today, highlighting the development of English language teaching throughout the years. The Brazilian variety of English is delineated through a focus on several features of loanwords that are present in the Portuguese language. In addition, a discussion of Brazilian-Portuguese- accented English outlines the phonological, syntactic, morphological, semantic and lexical differences, and pragmatic levels that exist within this language variety. In examining the users and uses of English, emphasis is placed on the symbolic and innovative functions played by English in Brazil as well as how it is presently used in schools. Furthermore, in imparting the attitudes that Brazilians have towards English, two sides are presented; English is rampant and knowing English is critical. Ultimately, this paper seeks to offer categorizations for the roles played by English in Brazil to bring clarity to this reality and to offer a point of comparison for the roles played by English in other countries.   It also presents an account of the power roles played by the global status of English and the implications of this presence in Brazil.

Introduction

This paper presents a sociolinguistic profile of English in Brazil, consisting of discussions of the history of English in Brazil, the Brazilian variety of English, users and uses of English, and attitudes towards English. A sociolinguistic profile is a way of providing information about the ways a language functions within a context through categorizations that best describe the variety of ways the language operates within the context in question. Ferguson (1966) devised a formula for sociolinguistic profiles that was explained as:
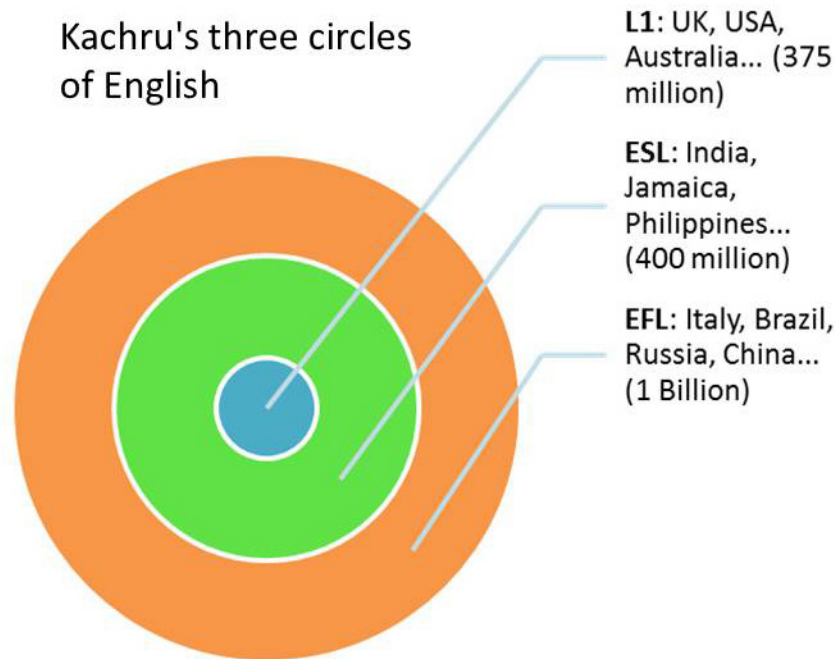
> A full-scale description of the language situation in a given country constitutes a useful and important body of data for social scientists of various interests. The question that is raised is whether it is feasible to summarize such a description in a quasi-mathematical way which will make it more convenient in characterizing a nation and more helpful for cross-national comparisons. (p. 309).

Extending Ferguson's definition of a sociolinguistic profile comes the framework suggested by Kachru (1986) and adopted by Berns (1990) in which languages within a context hold four functions: the instrumental, interpersonal, regulative, and innovative functions. A number of others have subsequently written sociolinguistic profiles of English, using this framework, in countries such as Brazil (Friedrich, 2001), Colombia (Vélez-Rendón, 2003), Argentina (Nielsen, 2003), Kenya (Michieka, 2005), Afghanistan (Sediqi, 2010), and Japan (Matsuda, 2001). The purpose for using such a framework as the basis for this paper will provide an extension on work previously conducted by Friedrich (2001) providing a point of comparison for other sociolinguistic profiles that also utilize the type of framework that is described here.

Brazil has been placed within a Kachruvian framework as part of the Expanding Circle. Kachru (1986) proposed three concentric circles to separate the ways English is used around the world, which can be seen in Figure 1. His focus in creating the concentric circles was on functions, history and status in various regions. The circles as described by Kachru (1986) are divided into three categories. The Inner Circle includes countries where English is considered the main, native language, such as England, USA, Australia, and Canada. Outside of the Inner Circle is the Outer Circle, which consists of countries with a history of English colonization and where English may be considered one of the main languages. India, Nigeria, and Singapore are examples of countries in the Outer Circle. The last circle is the Expanding Circle, which includes countries such as Brazil, Japan, and France, where English is an important language in business, science, technology and education, but where it usually has no history of colonization on local populations, is viewed as an international language, and taught as a foreign language (hereafter FL) (Crystal, 2003).

Kachru's three circles of English

L1: UK, USA, Australia... (375 million)

ESL: India, Jamaica, Philippines... (400 million)

EFL: Italy, Brazil, Russia, China... (1 Billion)

Figure 1. Kachru's three concentric circles of English.

A Brief History of English in Brazil

Brazil, an immense country taking up 8 million squared kilometers (Chaves, 2010), and about half of the South American continent, is bordered mostly by Spanish-speaking nations, but is the only Portuguese speaking country in Latin America. On the surface, Brazil may appear to be a linguistically homogeneous country with no apparent issues pertaining to intelligibility. Massini-Cagliari (2004) argues that this is both right and wrong, and that although Brazil is vastly made up of Portuguese speakers that will never learn another language, it is not a monolingual country. As Bianconi (2008) has stated, upon the arrival of the Portuguese in 1500, there were approximately 1, 500 languages present in Brazil, with up to 700 of these languages in the Amazon area alone. In present-day Brazil it is believed that there are 200 languages in use, of which 170 are indigenous languages. To best understand the presence of the English language in Brazil,

and how it plays a role in its rich linguistic history, it is helpful to look back at the history of this relationship.

According to Lima (2008) the relationship between England and Brazil began around 1530 when the Englishman, William Hawkins, a slave trader, embarked on his first journey of the Brazilian coast. His three subsequent trips to Brazil proved to be lucrative, establishing a positive relationship between England and the Portuguese colony of Brazil. Hawkins opened the way for other voyagers looking to take advantage of the abundant riches offered by the vast land of Brazil, namely the redwood, *pau-brasil,* from which Brazil received its name (Oliveira, 1999).

In the start of the 19th century, a series of events allowed for the further strengthening of the relationship between England and Brazil. With France blocking commerce between England and Europe, the relationship between Brazil and England was threatened. As a consequence, the Portuguese were forced to position themselves against their English allies, in order to avoid conflict with the French. Dom João VI, the King of Portugal, escaped to Brazil as a way to avoid a war with France, thus allowing for the English to establish houses of commerce in Brazil. With this rise in commerce also came jobs that English companies offered to Brazilians, with a requirement for such jobs being training in English. Because of this necessity for English, the king ordered the establishment of two language schools in 1809, one for French and one for English, this being the first time languages other than Latin and Greek were to be taught in Brazil (Pereira, 2010).

In 1837, with the formation of the prestigious Colégio Pedro II, a well-known school in Rio de Janeiro in which English is a part of the curriculum and has been since

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its establishment, came a new struggle to keep the teaching of modern languages in

schools and new considerations for teaching methodologies. Modern languages were

taught in the same manner as classic languages such as Greek and Latin, with focus on

text translation and reading. Moreover, English had not yet surfaced as a global

language, with French holding that title among elite members of society and as the

language required for admittance into higher education (Leffa, 1999).

       According to Oliveira (1999) the formation of the Republic of Brazil in 1889 and

the overthrow of the monarchy that ended the reign of Emperor Dom Pedro II, an

influential military leader and minister named Benjamin Constant initiated the exclusion

of modern languages such as English, German, and Italian from the school curriculum,

thus implementing a scientifically based curriculum. Nevertheless, this exclusion was

short-lived, with the reinstatement of the teaching of modern languages occurring in 1892

by another minister named Amaro Calvalcanti.

            Driven by World War II, a growth in the presence of the English language

was noted in the 1930s. It was in this period that the influence of England became

overshadowed by the rising political power and prestige of the United States. A push to

emphasize the importance of English was also a strategy of counterbalancing the

international supremacy of Germany (Schütz, 2012). Furthermore, it was at this point in

history that English began to make its mark and share space with the French language,

having long been considered the prestigious language of the elite classes. Along with

these changes came a modification in the school curricula, which emphasized modern

languages over classical languages, and a shift in the chosen language-teaching model,

which favored direct teaching in the target language, and was adopted by Colégio Pedro II.

As Oliveira (1999) explains, another consequence of the political and economical shift occurring in the world and locally came the creation of independent English courses and the birth of the Rio de Janeiro chapter of *Sociedade Brasileira de Cultura Inglesa* (the Brazilian Society of English Culture) in 1934, as a way to spread and promote the English language and culture. A year later, the *Sociedade Brasileira de Cultura Inglesa* also established another chapter in São Paulo, and in 1938, the first binational institute the *Instituto Universitário Brasil- Estados Unidos (University Institute Brazil-United States)*, later known as the *União Cultural Brasil-Estados Unidos (Cultural Union Brazil-United States)*, was also established in São Paulo.

In 1942, a reform called the *Leis Orgânicas do Ensino (Unified Laws of Teaching)* was proposed by the minister Gustavo Capanema, to standardize all primary and secondary schools. Under the new reform schools were designated in the middle grades to provide *ginásio*, and the higher grades were divided between the *clássico* (classical), emphasizing modern and classical languages or the *científico* (scientific) curriculum. During this period, until 1961, emphasis on language teaching (in favor of scientific and humanities based curricula) was greatly de-emphasized (Oliveira, 1999).

Oliveira (1999) further explains that with the switch to primary and secondary schools as a replacement for the *ginásio* and *científico* in the passing of the *Lei de Diretrizes e Bases* (LDB) in 1961, the teaching of modern languages was made only a partial requirement. Subsequently, in 1971, FLs were taken out of the primary grades

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altogether and the amount of time spent on FLs in secondary grades was reduced to one

hour per week.

Lima (2008) explains that it was not until 1996 that the LDB once again

reestablished the grade designations to *fundamental* (elementary grades) for ages 6-14

and *médio* (higher grades) for ages 15-17. These new designations emphasized the

importance of FLs, primarily English, in the lower grades, and furthermore, the

obligatory teaching of a modern language in the higher grades. The FL of choice was

mostly English. The new LDB guidelines also gave schools the option to provided a

second FL to students, this being described as an option left up to schools to decide upon,

based on the resources available to provide another FL.

The *Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais,* or PCNs (National Curricular

Parameters), were created in 1999 to complement the new LDB. The PCNs describe the

position of FLs as something that must be relevant to the populations in question, and

describes the effective use of FLs as something that is reserved to a small sect of the

population, thus defining the need for FLs as low. The PCNs placed great emphasis on

the teaching of reading and writing, justified by be the lack of opportunity that the

average Brazilian would have to use a FL for purposes of communication with speakers

of that language, and furthermore, elaborating that written language is essential for

passing college entrance exams (Leffa, 1999). With the new parameters also came issues

of unqualified teachers and inadequate supplies and programs. The new parameters

certainly marked a period of transition for educators, and raised issues of the inadequacy

of FL teaching that are to this day still being discussed and negotiated by scholars,

educators, and policymakers.

The Brazilian Variety of English

As a country of the Expanding Circle, in which English is not a local language, there is not a widespread belief that a Brazilian English variety exists. Nevertheless, Brazilians make creative use of the English language and make it their own through the use of English loanwords in Brazilian Portuguese (hereafter BP) and through BP-accented English, which is English that is made Brazilian through the nativization of a variety of linguistic properties.

English loanwords

Many times, loanwords that are integrated into BP will stay in their original form, but many times may be altered in lexical meaning, phonological production, and in the ways they are used. BP contains examples of loanwords that are established enough in the local language that may be viewed as part of it, while there are others that are context specific and only function effectively in specific discourse communities. Paiva and Pagano (2001) discuss the roles played by English in different discursive groups as a means of identity negotiation. They point out that academic circles, homosexual communities, computer users, and Internet chatters are some notable groups that use English in different ways. In Brazilian culture, loanwords used as slang are appropriate for the discourses in which they are used. For example, as Figueiredo (2010) has discussed, an English speaker may go to Brazil and find that a word here and there is in English, but this person won't comprehend the "social and cultural meaning that it has in that particular linguistic, sociocultural environment unless s/he is familiar with it" (p. 10). Thus, not all English loanwords used in Brazil are familiar to all Brazilians, but are specific to certain discourse communities. An inventory compiled in Table 1 lists some

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English loanwords from the Brazilian version of *Marie Claire* that are commonly used in

Brazil and could be classified as part of the first type of loanword: loanwords common

enough to be understood by a large faction of the population.

Table 1: Examples of common loanwords (from Brazilian *Marie Claire*, August 2012)

BEAUTY	Standard	FASHION	Standard	TECHNOLOGY	Standard	MISCELLANEOUS	Standard
lazer	lazer	fashion	stylish	tablet	tablet	hot	Hot
botox	botox	girlie	girlie	online	online	by	By
beauty	beauty	punk	punk	blog/blogueira	blob/blogger	news	News
make	makeup	look	look	site	site/website	shopping	Shopping
cream	cream	t-shirt	t-shirt	zoom	zoom (camera)	list	List
repair	repair	sexy	sexy			top	Supermodel
spray	spray	sweet lady				lifestyle	Lifestyle
anti-aging	anti-aging	design/designer				introduce	Introduce
glitter	glitter	It-girl				total	Total
blush	blush	short	shorts			closet	Closet
nail polish	nail polish	bracelet	bracelet			congrats	congrats/congratulations
oil-free	oil-free	clutch	clutch (purse)			kit	Kit
		blazer	blazer			love	Love
		spikes	spikes/pumps			hello	Hello
		nude	nude			tomorrow	Tomorrow
		peep toe	peep toe shoes			statement	Statement
						tattoo	Tattoo
						hype	in style/must-have
						must-have	must-have/necessity
						addict	Addict
						best-seller	best-seller
						impeachment	Impeachment

As discussed by Major (2001) a significant attribute of loanword phonology in

any language has to do with the nativization process that the words undergo, which have

shown that usually loanwords do not incorporate anything from the L2 system, and

instead take on the features of the L1. The phonological changes that can be observed in English loanwords are in the changes in syllable- timing and substitution of certain sounds, and often involve what Kennedy (1971) calls "the softening of abrupt consonantal shocks, especially at the beginning and end of words, with the following results: *piquenique* 'picnic' *esporte* 'sport' "(p. 327). A typical example of sound substitution is in the word '*night*". This word is pronounced "[naɪtʃi] instead of the "standard" pronunciation [naɪt], because in most dialects of BP the pronunciation of a [t] is as [tʃ] when followed by an [i], which can also be said for the loanword *light* and another common one*, diet*. Moreover, the [i] at the end of *night* psychologically holds the place at the end of the word to account for the non-existence of [t] sounds at the end of words in BP being that it is a syllabic language, as previously discussed by Kennedy (1971). Furthermore, both vowel and consonant sounds undergo substitution when used in loanwords, and take on the features of BP phones.

As argued by Figueiredo (2010) some loanwords do not always hold the exact meaning of the 'loaner' word, but for the most part the loanword is related in lexical meaning to its original word, many times, to only one definition of many associated with that original word. Examples of words that take on a more narrow meaning than the original are: *point*, which means 'a cool place to go', *night*, which means 'a party', and *frozen*, which is specifically 'a frozen alcoholic beverage'. Furthermore, in his research of Brazilian websites' use of English loanwords as slang, Figueiredo (2010) found that of the 32 loanwords he analyzed, only 4 differed from their original loaner words.

Three types of suffixation added to loanwords were described by Figueiredo (2010) and are as follows:

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1) -ar, -ear (verbal suffixation) added to show an action, e.g.: *bikear*: to ride a bike,

nerdear: to surf the net.

2) -zinho, -zinha (diminutive), e.g.: *brotherzinho*: little brother or little friend

3) -aço (augmentative), e.g.: *fakezaço*: very fake

Figueiredo (2010) elaborates that most suffixes are added to loanwords after they have already been borrowed. There are rare examples of loanwords such as *funkeiro* (a person involved in a Brazilian style of music called *funk*) and *streeteiro* (a skateboarder) that receive *eiro* (a person that does something, like *-er* in English) as an original element of the loanword. Furthermore, as exemplified above, changes made to loanwords regarding orthography pertain to morphological adaptations, such as suffixation, that are made to some loanwords in order to fit into the syntactic structure of BP, to show that the word is a diminutive, or to change the part of speech of the word.

Brazilian Portuguese-accented English

Because English holds no official standing in Brazil**,** the variety of English used by Brazilians is popularly believed to be modeled on "native-speaker" models such as American English or British English. Nevertheless, BP inevitably inspires the English of Brazilians. The BP influences in Brazilians' English can be detected in phonology, morphology and syntax, on a pragmatic level, and in semantic and lexical differences they display. It is important to note that these linguistic characteristics are examples of descriptive suppositions of what may be observed, are not the norms used by Brazilian speakers of English, and may be seen in BP-accented English to different extents.

BP- accented English possesses phonological characteristics that Major (2001) discusses as the typical transfer that can be observed in language contact situations. The

phonological characteristics observed of Brazilians' English, some of which are discussed

by Major (2001), could be classified as follows:

1) Vowel assimilation:	*Bad* [bæd]→ [bɛd]	
2) Vowel Insertion:	*Big Mac* [bIgmæk]→ [bigimaki]	
3) Consonant substitution:	*eat* [iyt] → [iytsh], *this* [ðIs]→ [dis]	
4) Underdifferentiation:	*dead* /dɛd/ & *dad* /dæd/ → [dɛd]	
5) Phonotactic Interference	*picnic* [pIknIk] → [pikiniki]	

The examples given in the first category, vowel assimilation, the second category,

vowel insertion, and the third category, consonant substitution, are examples of transfer

of L1 rules from BP. The fourth category, underdifferentiation, is an example of an

instance where the L2 has a distinction in sounds that don't exist in the L1, which is

shown through the English phonemes /ɛ/ and */æ/* may be replaced by Portuguese /ɛ/, which

is a little closer to English */ɛ/* than /æ/. Sound patterns in English are different than BP,

thus the syllable and word patterns in English are many times adapted to the patterns of

the L1, resulting in output such as one seen in the fifth example, phonotactic interference.

Characteristics of syntax and morphology that can be observed in Brazilian

English speakers' production also have to do with nativization. Most of these

characteristics are viewed as errors in the classroom and use models from the Inner Circle

as "correct" models of English (Mompean, 1997). Schütz (2012) offers an extensive list

of the possible morphological and syntactic manifestations presented by Brazilian

speakers of English. These manifestations are viewed as common errors made by

Brazilians and a condensed version of the typical Brazilian English that may be observed

as described by Schütz (2012) is provided below (my translations and examples).

1. Formulation of interrogatives without the use of auxiliary movement, e.g.: *"You are a student?"*

2. The use of double negatives, e.g.: "*I don't know nothing*"

3. Knowing when a noun is a non-count noun, e.g.: *There are many furnitures here.*

4. Using prepositions *in, on*, and *at* interchangeably for some situations.

Examples 1, 2, and 3 are items that result from the transfer of syntactic structures from BP. Example 4 occurs because of the limited appropriateness of these items within a structure. In BP the uses of similar prepositions are not always used in the same ways as these. Furthermore, English may have uses for some of these prepositions that don't instinctively make sense to many people, such as using *"on the bus"* when really one gets *"in the bus"*.

There are some instances of semantic and lexical differences that can be seen in BP- accented English, results of transfer from BP expressions, which are worthy of mention:

1. Use of "one" to represent "a/an"

e.g.: *"There was one girl in the classroom" = "There was a girl in the classroom"*

2. "*I' m doing great, thanks to God" = "I'm grateful to be doing well"*

3. *"Take care!"* = meant as a warning like, *"Watch yourself!"*

4. Using *make, take, do*, and *get* interchangeable or in unusual places, e.g.: *"I'm going to take some water" = "I'm going to get some water"*

Furthermore, there are many cognates between BP and English, because of the high frequency of Latin derived words in both languages. In English, many of the words that are cognates of more everyday BP words are considered more formal when utilized in English.   Because of this, BP-accented English possesses a high number of lexical items that may be described as "highly academic". Unfortunately, there are also many words that are false cognates, and will not match lexically when one relies on this transfer

when speaking English. False cognates, however, are very rare, and although it is helpful

to be aware of their existence, it is important to note that their occurrences are virtually

insignificant (Schütz, 2012).

On a pragmatic level there are many cultural representations that may transfer to

English. However, as Novinger (2004) found, Brazilians are, collectively, a very

adaptable group that pay attention to their own ethnocentric communication uses when

communicating with members of other cultural groups. This may perhaps be a clue as to

how a Brazilian may negotiate English depending on the interlocutors involved. If the

exchange is intracultural, and with another Brazilian, the use of English is more likely to

be influenced by the Brazilian cultural ways of the speakers. Conversely, being that most

aspects of pragmatics are largely unconscious acts that denote a person's intention in an

utterance, are at times paralinguistic, and may be influenced by previously acquired

information, one may not be aware of one's own pragmatic qualities that are born out of

one's native culture.

Nevertheless, there are many ways that BP- accented English can be observed.

For example, polite language is usually used when talking to older people or people of

authority. Examples of this polite language can be observed through the use of titles such

as *Sir, Mr., Madam, Ms., Mrs., Teacher* (the polite way of addressing one's teacher in

Brazil), or even *Dr.* (not always a signifier of an academic degree in this case, but a

honorific signifier of a position of authority such as a lawyer, manager, or police chief).

Additionally, very prominent features of Brazilian culture are the desire to please,

indirectness, and collectivism, all features that can be observed in the pragmatics

communicated in BP-accented English. For example, a Brazilian may be invited to a

party and will accept the invitation, with little or no intention of actually attending the party. Novinger (2004) explains:

> In accordance with Brazil's high-context communication style, a courteous response such as "Maybe" or "I will try" is clearly understood as "No" to a person familiar with Brazil's culture and contextual ritual. A person from a low-context culture such as the United States, England, or Germany will typically ignore the ritual because he or she is accustomed to focusing on the words. The listener takes the words literally, treats them as being information-specific, and is then disappointed (p. 159).

Novinger (2004) points out that such uses of language are not only the result of a culture that is high-context and has an indirect pragmatic style, but one that is also amiable and well intentioned. Thus, transfer from BP is not merely seen in more observable linguistic representations such as phonology or syntax, but also on a pragmatic level.

Users and Uses of English in Brazil

The functions of English, an essential part of a sociolinguistic profile, were suggested by Kachru (1986) and adopted by Berns (1990), describing English as holding four functions: the instrumental, interpersonal, regulative, and innovative functions. In Brazil, English can be observed in all of these functions except the regulative function, which is described by Kachru (1986) as the use of English in the legal system and administration. Kachru (1986) defines the instrumental function as the status given to English in the educational system as a medium of instruction. This function in Brazil is limited to international/bilingual schools and specific university classes that use English

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as a medium of instruction, and is less prevalent in Brazil than other functions such as its use in education as a FL, its interpersonal and innovative functions, as well as its symbolic function.

English in the Educational System

As with other Expanding Circle countries, the main function of English in Brazil is as a FL. Although English is not commonly used as the medium of instruction in Brazilian schools, it presently holds an important role as the most commonly taught FL in Brazil. English language courses are present in public and private elementary and secondary schools and English is the most sought out language in higher education and private commercial language institutes (Bohn, 2003).

The national curriculum.   On December 20, 1996 a law called the *Lei das Diretrizes e Bases da Educação (Law of Guidelines and Foundations of Education)* was passed enforcing the compulsory teaching of a FL to all students starting in the fifth grade. Under the new law, beginning in the middle grades, schools also began to offer a second FL, within the limitations of what schools were able to implement, which would last for the last three years of required compulsory education.   It was left up to the communities to choose the FL to be offered, with English being the most highly chosen language to date. According to Naves and Del Vigna (2006) the quality of the teaching of FLs after the passing of this law have been less than favorable under the law's requirements. The schools that have been observed to have students with the most success in the acquisition of English are free schools that take on a philosophy of holistic education that caters to individual students' interests.

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As previously mentioned, with the passing of the PCNs, FLs were recognized officially as a part of this document through the section *Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais* (PCNs): *Língua Estrangeira* (National Curriculum Parameters: Foreign Language). The document put forth ideas about the need for a FL curriculum that is critical in its teaching by exposing students to ideas about the hegemonic powers of languages like English, and the importance of mother tongue development, with an emphasis on language as a social practice. In addition, a socio-interactional approach was agreed upon as the ideal theoretical framework from which teachers should base their pedagogical practices. Bohn (2003) summarizes the PCNs' emphasis on FL teaching with a focus on language as a social practice with the following language objectives:

1. A multilingual world of which the learner is part;

2. Global comprehension;

3. Meanings expressed, rather than on correction form;

4. Development of learners' ability to perceive the foreign language as an opportunity for communication and participation;

5. Learners' ability to share the values of a plural world and to comprehend and identify their role in such a world;

6. Recognition that the development of foreign language competence will allow learners to access cultural values and goods and products from different parts of the world;

7. Interconnectedness of foreign language systemic and communicative knowledge and mother tongue knowledge and language practices;

8. Critical awareness of language use and language variation;

9. Development of critical reading ability to enhance learners' professional capacity and their continuous knowledge development;

10. Learners' communicative capacities to prep (p. 167).

No specific activities were proposed for the application of the aforementioned objectives, thus leaving teachers to interpret how to best put the objectives into practice.

In turn, the ideas put forth by the PCNs left much to be desired by educators, and an open dialogue has taken place amongst applied linguists and educators as to the ways that these objectives can best be carried out. Furthermore, the evaluation criteria proposed by the PCNs emphasize unity between the classroom practices and the ways students are evaluated, with a stress on the affect that is intrinsically tied to the language acquisition process as a factor to be considered when choosing appropriate practices for teaching and evaluation.

Elementary and secondary education. As previously discussed, FL education is compulsory beginning in the fifth grade. Before the fifth grade (ages 11-12), there are no laws requiring FL inclusion in the national public school curriculum. Even without having to adhere to the laws imposed on public schools, not all private schools include FL as a part of the elementary school curriculum. Paiva (2005) argues that there is no existing research to prove that there are any differences in language acquisition development when FLs are introduced to children below the fifth grade. Furthermore, she argues that the majority of private elementary schools that offer English generally peruse the teaching of decontextualized, isolated vocabulary through games and songs, mostly leaving out the use of social opportunities for interaction while using the English language. Thus, Paiva (2005) views this as a marketing ploy to attract parents to schools, offering them the idealized vision of privileging their children with the opportunity to learn English from an early age.

In secondary education, students may feel the pressure to acquire high levels of proficiency in English for the purpose of succeeding in higher education. Many universities require Basic English on entrance exams. Therefore, secondary students that are afforded the opportunity to receive English instruction outside of the required

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curriculum of school, raise their chances for admission to certain academic programs at university level.

Higher education. Although the PCNs do not specify any guidelines for higher education regarding FL teaching, Bohn (2003) points out that students are required to demonstrate basic reading skills in a FL for entrance into government funded universities, further elaborating that many of these entrance exams even make knowledge of English, specifically, a requirement for admittance. Furthermore, most universities require students to study a FL for the duration of their university studies, the requirements ranging from this being optional to being a university requirement and the duration requirements lasting anywhere from one semester to the entire program of study. Paiva and Pagano (2001) also point out that English is a requirement for most MA and Ph.D programs, most of which require not only the ability to use oral English but also the ability to effectively read and write in English. Programs with an emphasis on technical and biological sciences frequently require a working knowledge of a FL as an admittance requirement, and frequently have visiting professors that conduct classes in English (Paiva & Pagano, 2001). Furthermore, many technical fields in higher education peruse textbooks in English, making it so that students lacking proficiency in English may have a very difficult experience in understanding class content, limiting their ability to participate in class discussions.

Other English schools. English language institutes are very common in Brazil. Some examples of nationally recognized schools are *Cultura Inglesa, Instituto Brasil-Estados Unidos (IBEU), Wizard, Wise Up,* which provide courses for both children and adults. Locally run institutes also exist all over the country. With the lack of adequate FL

teaching in both public and private schools, wealthier students' families are the ones that can afford to seek outside English lessons, making this divide even more apparent. Bearing in mind these factors, Bohn (2003) also explains that it is easy to ascertain that having knowledge of English in Brazil is a status symbol, and a privilege that given the lack of appropriate EFL pedagogy, is reserved for those who can afford additional language learning opportunities. Because of the growing demand for English in schools and job opportunities, Paiva and Pagano (2001) report that in 2001 there were 3,000 English courses in the largest city in Brazil, São Paulo.

Nevertheless, the opportunity to learn English outside of what is offered in schools doesn't always put students under the guidance of strong pedagogical models of language teaching either. FL teaching in Brazil is something that has faced many issues. Some of the controversies observed have to do with observations made by Bohn (2003) in stating some of the issues pertaining to FL teaching:

> The optimal time for the introduction of FL teaching into the curriculum; a lack of consensus among teachers and applied linguists on the methodologies that produce the best results; the role of grammatical knowledge and language awareness in the acquisition process, and what sequence, if any, should be followed in the presentation of teaching materials (p. 160).

A small number of institutes also offer immersion programs, usually aimed at adult professionals needing to improve their English for their jobs. In these programs, students spend anywhere from a weekend and up to a week in an "English language village" where no language other than English permitted for the duration of the program.

These programs are designed for students with an intermediate level of English, thus these students are able to take advantage of the immersion environment to develop upon the English they have already acquired. The general idea of these types of programs, as described by their websites, is to unblock students' fears of speaking English, thus helping students to overcome affective issues of feeling insecure about speaking English, with much of their emphasis being on oral English. Some programs of this type are English Village, Nexus Institute, Language Land, and CELIL (Centro de Estudos Lingüísticos de Itajubá).

Interpersonal Function

Kachru (1986) describes the interpersonal function as being the role played by a language as the chosen code to connect different linguistic and cultural groups. In Brazil, English plays a role as an international language that allows Brazilians to communicate with non-BP speakers both in and out of Brazil. Many Brazilians travelling outside of Brazil will find that English is very useful, even in countries where English is not necessarily the local language. Knowledge of English can also prove to be useful for communicating with non-Brazilians traveling in Brazil.

As discussed by Friedrich (2000) English is viewed as an important component of professional success and mobility. Situations regarding professional mobility are similar in other Latin American Expanding Circle countries such as Argentina (Nielsen, 2003), Colombia (Vélez-Rendón, 2003), and Ecuador (Alm, 2003) all of which cite knowledge of English as an important factor for professional success. Rajagopalan (2003) also discusses the importance that Brazilians place on having knowledge of English as a prerequisite or at least as a desired skill for most white- collar and some blue-collar jobs.

He remarks that there is a widespread perception that English is the key to a promotion

or raise, and that not having a good level of English proficiency and general comfort

using the language severely hinders their chances to grow within their companies.

Furthermore, the ability to comfortably use English in presentations, emails, meetings

with members of international sectors of their companies, and in conference calls is

increasingly becoming not just a priority, but also many times a requirement for many of

the corporate jobs occupied by Brazilians.

Paiva and Pagano (2001) describe English as the language of science. It is the

official language of *Ciência e Cultura* (Science and Culture), the journal associated with

the largest scientific association in Brazil, as well as many other Brazilian scientific

journals. As a consequence of this emphasis on English, scientists publish articles in

English as a means of reaching a wider audience and being published in more reputable

journals. This emphasis on publishing in English is also due to the pressure put on

scientists to be recognized; something that is accomplished based on the journals in

which articles are published as well as the citations that publications instigate.

Furthermore, conference presentations are often presented in English, as well.

Symbolic Function

The symbolic function is characterized by what Paiva and Pagano (2001)

describe as the impression that is delivered by a language within a context, further

elaborating that the impact left by English is one of 'English affiliation' with

comprehension of English not being of any importance. English in Brazil also plays the

symbolic function as a marker of status and "high living", and Rajagopalan (2003) also

explains, further supporting Paiva and Pagano's (2001) claims, that as long as the

message is recognized to be in English, it is not important that the target audience understand the lexical meaning behind a message. An example of this symbolic function is through the use of English in advertisements. Friedrich (2002) views the use of various languages in Brazil's advertisements as a great use of creativity. Brazilians make use of languages to activate the stereotypical images that consumers have of these languages. Some examples noted by her are of indigenous languages to make products look natural, French for its elegance, and of Italian for being viewed as artistic. Although stereotypical, these uses of creativity are a welcomed addition to the linguistic landscape of Brazil. Furthermore, because of the low English proficiency levels of the overall Brazilian population, English use is mostly comprised of one or two words or short phrases, remaining relatively intelligible to people while still transmitting a positive effect. The use of English in print is also something that Friedrich (2002) explains is more common than its use in television advertisements.

It is also common to see English business names in Brazil's linguistic landscape. As observed by Thonus (1991) business names using English-inspired words were not very high at the time she reported on it, with Rio de Janeiro having 9.75% of its businesses with names containing English. Paiva and Pagano (2001) also mention that in São Paulo, 15% of the names of bars and shops contain English. The numbers reported for these two cities are both from several years ago, and I predict that these numbers have grown, but have no substantiation other than casual personal observation from which to make such a claim.

Friedrich (2002) discusses the two major types of borrowings that she has observed in Brazil's linguistic landscape in business names. She describes the first as

names that intentionally use English related to the business itself. Two examples fitting this trend are two stores in Rio de Janeiro named *Babies* and *Alphabeto,* both of which are children's stores. *Alphabeto* uses a *'ph'*, or English- like spelling of the Portuguese word *alfabeto*. The other major type of borrowing is made up of names that sound like English or use actual English, but are not suitable for the brand they are representing. A good example of this is a hair salon called *Zap*, which may leave an English speaker puzzled over the choice of name that is seemingly unrelated to the beauty industry.

English writing can also be found on products. Friedrich (2002) explains that similarly to advertisements, the comprehension of English is not important when the choice is made to use English for a product's name. In addition, she emphasizes the effect that print media has is more powerful than the way that English "sounds" to consumers, thus placing emphasis on the printed use of product naming, as seen on product labels.

Innovative Function

Creative use of English in Brazil by Brazilian artists that is targeted at Brazilian audiences is something that has a notable history in Brazil. English has left its influence on Brazilian music, with contemporary Brazilian singers such as Marisa Monte, Céu, Caetano Veloso, and Bebel Gilberto (among others) having success with their occasional use of English in their music. Heavy metal in Brazil, particularly the Brazilian group Sepultura, are known for using exclusively English because of their belief that it fits the musical genre better than BP. The singer/songwriter, Malu Magalhães, has also been known to write original English lyrics and to sing in English more often than in BP.

Another group that has begun to have international success is Rosie and Me, a folk rock group from the city of Curitiba that writes and performs exclusively in English.

The use of English in Brazilian music has been observed by Paiva (1995) as having emerged in the 1920s and has continued to be observed in samba music, a musical genre considered one of the main representations of Brazilian popular culture. Paiva (1995) examines the ways that English is used in lyrics protesting what samba artists have viewed as the linguistic imperialism brought on by the spread of English. Paiva (1995) further elaborates her point that through samba artists' limited understanding of English speaking cultures, a stereotyped and symbolic view is what can be observed being communicated through this use of English. Some examples of artists from the 1930s and 1940s that partook in this protest were Assis Valente, who wrote "Brasil Pandeiro" and "Goodbye, Boy", known for being performed by Carmen Miranda, and "Alô, John" and "OK" both by Jurandir Santos. The songs cited point to the samba genre's overall disapproval of the fascination with all things American, their defense in preserving Brazilian culture, but also their unintentional reinforcement of the ideologies found in the class divisions of English users and of English as the language belonging to the elite classes. These types of musical protestations of English can also be observed in the present day and have occurred since their emergence in the 1920s, with a popular example being Zeca Baleiro and Zeca Pagodinho's "Samba do Approach" in which the two popular singers use English loanwords throughout the song as a way of criticizing the excessive use of English in the everyday BP of middle class Brazilians.

In the 1970s a phenomenon occurred under the pressures of censorship and the repression brought by the dictatorship (Paiva & Pagano, 2001). Led by the

singer/composer Morris Albert, several Brazilians composed and sang songs in English

using English sounding pseudonyms. The most well recognized artists of this kind were

also Forrest, Pete Dunaway, Mark Davis and Dave Maclean; as well as the groups Light

Reflections, Sunday, Lee Jackson, and Pholhas. These singers had much success on the

radio and were included on the soundtracks of soap operas of the time, with most people

completely unaware that the artists that they enjoyed listening to were actually Brazilian.

Perhaps the most surprising example above, Mark Davis, who is today known for singing

in BP, is the popular singer and public figure, Fábio Júnior. Many of the above

mentioned names had international ties, were following a trend for a public preference for

music in English, and were also benefitting from the facility of having local artists' music

available in stores when it was quite difficult to access music from outside Brazil. The

1970s is also known for the cultural movement of *Tropicalismo*, in which English use

was a way for artists to acknowledge the fusion of cultures within Brazilian culture.

Another use of creativity that has occurred in Brazil is that of 'English

sounding' names. Borrowed names can be seen as a symbol of creativity and as a way to

emulate what may be considered modern-- American culture, in this case (Thonus, 1992).

The use of English names in Brazil reflects the attitudes that people have towards

English, a desire to assign names that are unique in their context, and the

sociopsychological effect that is desired by the use of the names selected. The use of

English names can be seen in both male and female names, but has been found more

frequently in male names, and can be observed on a continuum of pseudo-Portuguese to

pseudo-English names with any combination of orthography from either language

combined with the names being of origin in either language. Thonus (1992) offers five

major categories for the types of borrowing she observed in her study of male names, which are as follows:

1. Names identical to English names in current use (47%);

2. English names with Portuguese spellings (15%);

3. Names with suffixes of English origin (34%);

4. Portuguese names with pseudo-English spellings (2%);

5. English names with pseudo-English spellings (2%) (p. 178).

Some name examples provided by Thonus (1992) are: *Bryan* and *Fred,* type 1; *Jônatha* and *Péterson*, type 2; *Faberson* and *Érisson*, type 3; *Raffael* and *Thyago*, type 4; *Davyd* and *Welingthon*, type 5.

Attitudes Towards English

Attitudes towards English in Brazil have made it to the forefront of the Brazilian media, and can be seen discussed on the Internet in blogs, newspaper and magazine articles, and in academic articles. Arguments against its hegemony and the regulation of the use of loanwords are at the forefront, while there is also a general sentiment that English is an important language to know in order to be successful in a global world. Although there is a common understanding that English has spread into the life of the everyday Brazilian, views towards this spread can be commonly viewed as either that it is rampant or that knowing English is critical. These two standpoints will be discussed next.

English Is Rampant

English has had an effect on Brazilian culture over the past several years in several ways. Some of the instances this influence can be observed are in loanwords, shop signs, advertisements, music, television, magazines, newspapers, and in clothing.

Paiva (1995) points to this influence as evidence of the hegemonic power of North America on the world. There are segments of the Brazilian population that have shown distrust towards the role that English now currently plays and fear that English "may negatively impact on Portuguese, the country's official language, and with it, who knows, ultimately the very integrity of their nation" (Rajagopalan, 2003, p. 95). Those that oppose the growing prevalence of English point to the issues of linguistic imperialism and linguicide that they fear English may have over BP.

A policy called *Lei dos Estrangeirismos* (The Law of Foreign Borrowings) was first proposed in 1999 by the Congressman Aldo Rebelo and was passed in 2003 to ban the use of foreignisms in public spaces for anyone living in Brazil for more than one year. The law, however, is still awaiting further approval by the Chamber of Deputies (Massini-Cagliari, 2004; Figueiredo, 2010). Rebelo proposed this law by declaring that the influx of loanwords seeping in to the BP of 'educated' Brazilians was ruining the integrity and purity of the local language. He proposed that instead of using borrowings from other languages, people were to use equivalent BP words or to look for ways to make terms more like BP. He justified this by declaring that there was no need to use borrowing, and that the effect would be a way to promote nationalism. The new version of this law, whish was approved by the senate in 2003, was put forth under the guise of uniting the country's citizens and to strengthen its relationships with other Portuguese-speaking communities. In the new version of the policy, foreign borrowings would be restricted in official documents, the media, and advertisements. Such official regulations on language use have come under much scrutiny by Brazilian linguists citing lack of

language expertise and linguistic prejudice as traits shared by proponents of such laws (Rajagopalan, 2003).

Furthermore, Rajagopalan (2003) also points to the downfall of the teaching of the other FLs other than English as a point of concern for many. For example, Brazilians who grew up before English became the more dominant FL, lament the days when French was the FL of choice. This has also crossed over on an official level, in that French has been eliminated as the language that diplomats training for overseas assignments must learn, replacing it with English and Spanish.

Knowing English is Critical

Because many Brazilians view English as the language that drives globalization, a correlation is often made between success and proficiency in the language. As Crystal (2003) has stated, "language exists only in the brains and mouths and ears and hands and eyes of its users. When they succeed, on the international stage, their language succeeds" (p. 7). Moreover, the current status of English as *the global language* has nothing to do with its structure or ease of acquisition; it has to do with its speakers' economic, military, and political influence in the world. In addition, there is an accepted worldview that knowledge of English can work as a passport into these higher levels of culture, politics, and economic matters (Macedo, Dendrinos, & Gounari, 2003). For Brazilians that share this view, English is considered an essential part of any education. Quero (2013) discusses the results of questionnaires conducted in Ro de Janeiro's international airport, which showed tourists' overwhelming displeasure with the lack of English displayed by the local Brazilians during this year's *Carnaval* festivities.

Although there is an overwhelming sentiment that English is important in Brazil, due to the PCNs, FL teachers are encouraged to support ideas of critical consciousness. With this, the emphasis placed on knowing English is not one of complacency, but one of allowing students to engage critically with the language, with an understanding that language is a social practice. Ideally, through this lens, students' awareness of the power of English will allow them to look critically at this reality, and allow them to empower themselves. In being able to see English with an awareness of its global influence, students also are encouraged to see how they can also own the language as their own, not always looking to "native speakers" as models for "correctness", but to themselves as creators, owners, and users of their own language variety.

Conclusion

This paper has presented a sociolinguistic profile of English within the Brazilian context. This is comprised of the historical aspects of the presence of English, the Brazilian variety of English, and the users and uses of English, which mainly discusses the functions played by English in Brazil.

The growing emphasis on English proficiency in the professional arena has come to the forefront of the discussion when addressing one of the most important points pertaining to English in Brazil. With the need for English proficiency for professional mobility comes the need for better implementation of pedagogical models of FL teaching. The national curriculum outlines the importance of critical pedagogy in FL teaching; nevertheless, as described by Bohn (2003), accounts from teachers of English give the idea that this appears to be a work in progress. Furthermore, there has long been a critical need to implement FL teaching that is effective enough to allow for students to

extend its use beyond the classroom domain. With English being a language that causes

class divisions, and in turn, is one of the keys to social and professional mobility, these

appear to be *the* issues at hand that are of critical importance for any discussion about the

status of English in Brazil.

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